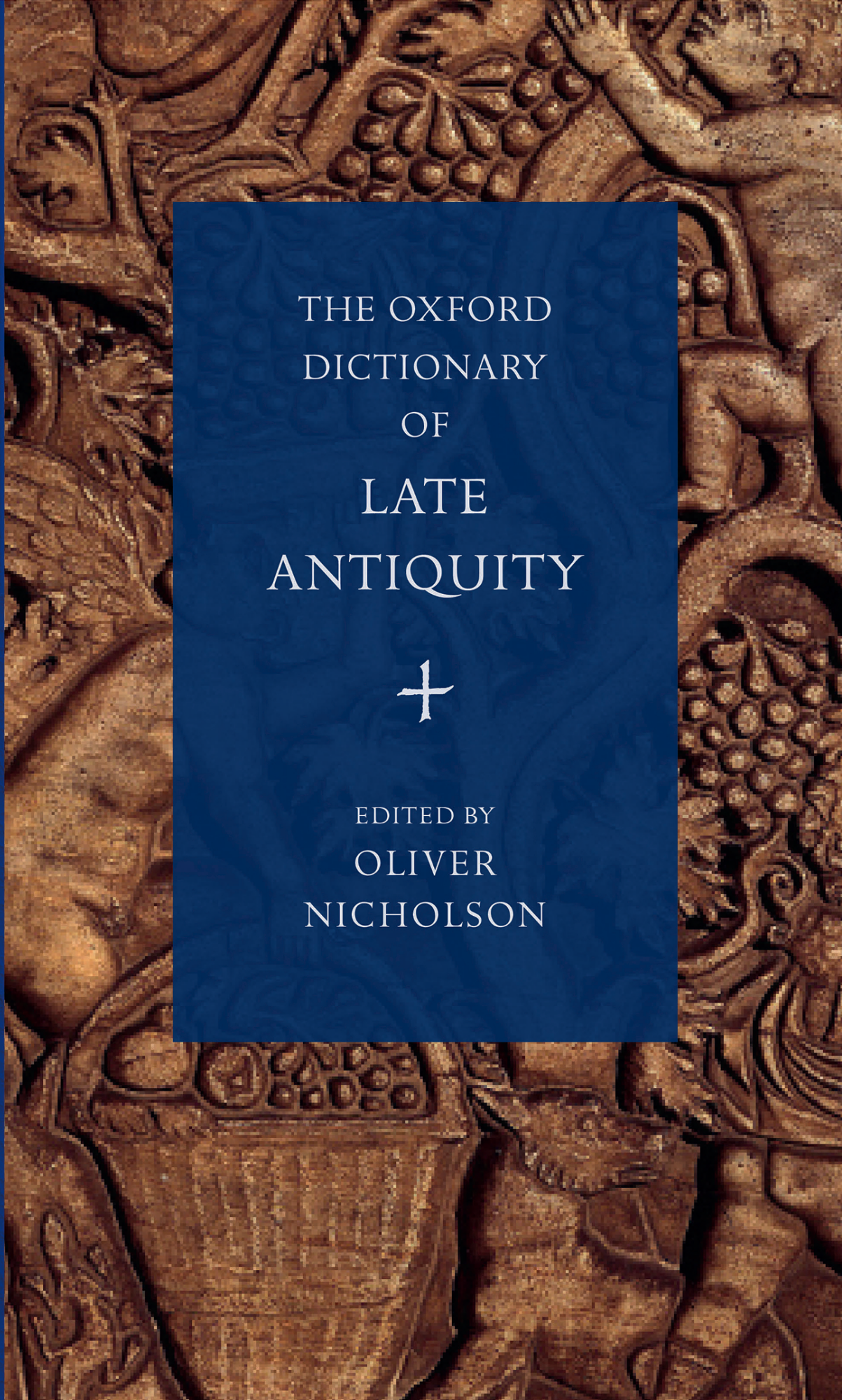


THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF LATE ANTIQUITY

EDITED BY

OLIVER NICHOLSON

The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity

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VOLUME 1

A–I

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MAGISTRIS DISCIPULISQUE

ὥσπερ Ἑρμαϊκή τις σειρά

PREFACE

The *Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* is designed to provide easily accessible information, alphabetically arranged, about the history, religion, literature, and physical remains of the half-millennium between the mid-3rd and the mid-8th century AD in Europe, North Africa, and Western and Central Asia. It will therefore occupy a place on bookshelves and on the Internet in between the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* and the *Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, and it follows many of the conventions established by these trusted publications. Some of these conventions are explained in more detail in the Note to the Reader. Lawrence of Arabia excused his refusal to provide an index for the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* by claiming that no one would insult their copy of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by using it to verify a simple fact; those with access to the *ODLA* (as we shall call this book hereinafter) need never again offer such offence to the shade of Edward Gibbon.

At the beginning of Late Antiquity in the 3rd century AD, Europe, the Mediterranean basin, and Western Asia were dominated by two empires, the Two Eyes of the Earth as they called themselves in their diplomatic exchanges, the Roman Empire extending from the northern half of Britain to the southern edge of Egypt, and the Persian Empire ruled by the Sasanian dynasty and extending from Mesopotamia to modern Afghanistan and northern India. *ODLA* covers relations between these superpowers. It covers also their dominant civilizations—those which expressed themselves in Latin, Greek, and Middle Persian. Roads and bridges held the empires together, but in Late Antiquity vernacular cultures emerged vigorously between the paving stones of Roman and Sasanian civilization in a way that is much more visible than it is in those earlier eras covered by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. *ODLA* gives substantial space to the broad variety of civilizations associated with those who spoke Armenian, Coptic, and Syriac, and also to civilizations beyond the borders of the empires in Ethiopia, the Arabian Peninsula, Central Asia, Central Europe, and Ireland.

There had been Jews in Babylonia since the Exile under Nebuchadnezzar (and indeed they were still there into the 20th century). Christians also formed a significant minority in Persian Mesopotamia from an early date, and in the course of Late Antiquity they carried their faith as far east as India and China. In the early 4th century the Romans stopped persecuting the Church, and in the course of the two centuries which followed, Christianity came to occupy the commanding heights of the Roman religious economy. Details associated with these profound shifts in mentality and institutions are covered in *ODLA*, as is the development of Late Antique paganism, but not aspects of paganism which survived from an earlier period such as the minutiae of classical mythology, which are comprehensively covered in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

During the 5th century, Western Europe and Latin-speaking North Africa were invaded and occupied by peoples from Central Europe who spoke Germanic languages. They were Christians, except the Huns (who did not come to stay and were not Germanic) and the Anglo-Saxons, but they maintained a distance from those they governed because they subscribed to Homoean doctrine about the nature of God which had been rejected by Roman Christians. *ODLA* provides details of the intricate symbiosis of the post-Roman residents and their new rulers in the barbarian kingdoms of early medieval Europe. It also covers the continuing East Roman Empire based in Constantinople, its attempts in the mid-6th century to regain North Africa, Italy, and parts of Spain, its prolonged conflict with its Persian

neighbour, and its eventual loss of the Levant, Egypt, North Africa, and its territories in southern Spain to the Islamic invasions of the 7th century. The most recent entries in *ODLA* are concerned with the 'Umayyad Caliphate which dominated the Near East for most of the 1st century of Islam.

Scholarly engagement with the history of Late Antiquity is, as Augustine said of God, *tam antiqua et tam nova*, as old as it is new (*Confessions*, X, 27, 38). Learned study of the Early Church and its writers started in the 16th and 17th centuries, making it one of the oldest of all academic disciplines. The Bollandist Fathers published the first volume of their massive, erudite, critical (and still incomplete) series of saints' lives, the *Acta Sanctorum*, in 1643, the year Louis XIV became King of France. One of the glories of Louis's reign was the penumbra of patristic scholars gathered around his court, including H. Valesius, editor of Ammianus Marcellinus (1636) and of the church historians (1659–73), S. Baluzeus, first editor of Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (1679), a text once described by T. D. Barnes as the most enjoyable work of history to survive from Antiquity, and Tillemontius (L.-S. Le Nain de Tillemont), compiler of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (16 vols., 1693–1712). These *érudits* had English counterparts, notably John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and editor of Cyprian (1682), the non-juror George Hickes, a pioneer of Anglo-Saxon studies, and Joseph Bingham, who took seriously the Church of England's claim to represent the practice of the Undivided Church and so scoured the fathers to produce his *Antiquities of the Christian Church* (1708–22, repr. 2 vols., 1875). Late Antique secular writers were also read and appreciated into the 18th century; the general Prince Eugene of Savoy, ally of the first Duke of Marlborough, owned a fine humanist manuscript of Ammianus Marcellinus and Dr Johnson enjoyed the poems of Claudian. Edward Gibbon was therefore able to draw on a substantial tradition of existing scholarship in order to write the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (first publication, 1776). Alas, it was at least in part Gibbon's depiction of the Later Roman Empire as an epoch of decline and fall which for almost two centuries discouraged English-speaking historians (aside from a few great men, such as Sir Samuel Dill, J. B. Bury, and N. H. Baynes) from taking an interest in Late Antiquity.

It is really only since the 1960s that English-speaking scholars have given Late Antiquity the same sort of treatment that has long been accorded earlier eras of the classical world, the Glory that was Greece and the Grandeur that was Rome. Two books marked the new interest, the series of lectures on *The Conflict between Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth Century* edited by A. Momigliano (1963) and A. H. M. Jones's massive study of Late Roman institutions *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (1964), a compendium whose publication was greeted by one reviewer as 'like the arrival of a steel-plant in a region that has, of late, been given over to light industries'. These were followed by Peter Brown's biography of *Augustine of Hippo* (1967) and his masterly essay *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971). Since then, numerous aspects of the era have been reconsidered, from the composition of law codes to the archaeology of cities, from the rise of the monastic movement to the wine trade. Syriac studies have been revolutionized by the presence on the Internet of Beth Mardutho: The Syriac Institute. Some Latinists have come to appreciate the particular beauties of the 'jewelled style' of Late Antique Latin literature. Late Antiquity no longer looks like a dismal coda to the classical period or an inchoate prelude to the Middle Ages.

The central pleasure of studying Late Antiquity, in fact, is its shifting kaleidoscope of contrasting civilizations and mentalities. At the heart of *ODLA* therefore is a wish to present the era in all its variety. This is meant to make it easier for specialists in one area to connect what they know with contemporary developments elsewhere, so that, for instance, the excavator of a beach in south Devon who finds 7th-century Byzantine pottery is introduced to the story told in a Greek saint's life about a bankrupt merchant from 7th-century Egypt who was lent a ship belonging to the church at

Alexandria so that he could fetch tin from Britain (it turned into silver—it was a miracle). Only connect—not by the bland general statements of a textbook, but by making available a mass of detail for the reader to choose from. With so much positive information to present, there has been no space in *ODLA* for the inclusion of modern theories. Rather, it is intended to provide raw material from which, should they so wish, scholars and students can form their own theories.

The sheer variety of the Late Antique world has also in recent times engaged the imagination of the general public. To appreciate Late Antique art and architecture it is no longer necessary to undergo the dangerous privations of the great Victorian and Edwardian travellers, learned and industrious pioneers like O. Parry (*Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, 1895), H. F. B. Lynch (*Armenia*, 1901), Gertrude Bell (*The Desert and the Sown*, 1907), or C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (*Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, 1910). Yeats's sages standing in God's holy fire as in the gold mosaic of a wall can be contemplated by anyone willing to take the train to Ravenna; in 1977 crowds thronged the Metropolitan Museum in New York to see its exhibition on *The Age of Spirituality* and they did so again for *Byzantium 330–1453* at the British Academy in 2008–9. Equally, whether or not we recognize the fact, we still live with institutions which developed in Late Antiquity, with the Church, with the codex (*ODLA* is a codex), with Roman law and Germanic law, first codified in Late Antiquity, and also with less tangible attitudes, such as our sympathy for victims of injustice which might well be argued to have some roots in Christian veneration of martyrs. More immediately, a familiarity with the history of Sasanian Persia is a significant aid to understanding the present public life of that ancient land. Some of the most important events in the modern history of the Near East occurred in the 7th and 8th centuries AD.

Individual readers will surely have their own uses for *ODLA*. Parents who have shared with their children Peter Dickinson's *The Dancing Bear* may want to know more about the reign of Justinian—or about stylites, or bears. Numismatists, bibliophiles, and military historians will discover the economic, intellectual, and political conditions which gave rise to the objects of their enthusiasms. The student of climate change may seek information concerning the historical context of the Migration Period Pessimum or the Dust Veil of 536. A parson leading a party to the Holy Land can find out more about early pilgrims, and about the wisdom of the holy men many of them encountered—there is a sermon to be composed about the encounter of the author of the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* with what he thought was a dead crocodile.

In a world which becomes daily more homogeneous, the study of Antiquity, of its history and languages, is one way to school oneself to appreciate genuine difference and true diversity. For no era of Ancient History do we have evidence more varied in its character than that which we have for Late Antiquity. Late Antique people cannot be assimilated to modern norms. They did not drink Coca-Cola—indeed they did not drink coffee or tea. The core of Late Roman education was not science and mathematics but the rigorous and methodical study of language. More seriously, they instinctively considered some people were more valuable than others—'take but degree away, untune that string and hark what discord follows'. Religious practice was not a private matter, it was at the centre of civic ideology. Political power (whoever happened to hold it) was deemed to be a phenomenon comparable to the forces of nature; Pontius Pilate would not have disagreed when Jesus told him that 'Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above'. The German invaders of Western Europe employed butter for the purpose which was fulfilled in our fathers' generation by Brylcreem—a little dab'll do ya. These people are quite different from ourselves. We may or may not admire any or all of them. But the study of their history, their mentalities, and their language is not mere entertainment; it enables one to come to terms more seriously with all that it means to be human. The only worthwhile Student Learner Outcome of such study is the acquisition of virtue. May it give you joy.

GRATIARUM ACTIO

Over the eighteen years during which *ODLA* has been in gestation, many people have done many things which deserve the thanks of both the editor and the reader. Most obviously I would like to thank the contributors, nearly 500 in number, who have distilled their expertise into a form palatable to the *grand public cultivé*. Writing for encyclopedias is not an enterprise universally valued by the sort of university administrators on either side of the Atlantic who wish to turn the life of the mind into Stakhanovite wage slavery, so it takes a particular generosity of spirit for scholars to agree to write for a publication such as *ODLA*. Gratitude should also be extended to those who, unable to write themselves, courteously suggested the names of friends, pupils, and colleagues who were in a position to help.

Thanks are due also to the Area Advisers who crammed their broad learning into the Procrustean limits of lists of potential headwords and proposed the names of contributors. Thanks also to the Area Editors who expertly assumed very substantial editorial burdens and performed them with alacrity and wisdom. The Consulting Editors have provided valuable reassurance; Gillian Clark has offered knowledgeable encouragement, Mark Humphries secured the services of numerous contributors, the late Robert Markus read through the first draft of the headword list and offered many valuable suggestions.

The patience of the Oxford University Press has been equalled only by its skill. From the time I met the late Michael Cox, the Commissioning Editor, and he handed *ODLA* over to Pamela Coote, I have realized I was among experts. In thanking the team in Great Clarendon Street, Jamie Crowther, Joanna Harris, Rebecca Lane, and Jo Spillane, I must mention particularly the marathon Skype calls between Minnesota and Oxford which regularly kept Jo Spillane in her office well after hours; her good humour was matched by her truly phenomenal efficiency and mastery of detail. At a later stage we have been fortunate to have benefited from the long experience of Edwin and Jackie Pritchard as copy-editors, the proofreading skills of Neil Morris and Michael Munro, and the managerial expertise of Sarah McNamee.

Nicholas Wagner kindly spent the summer of 2014 working most efficiently on the bibliographies for Gaul and Italy. And since 2013 Theresa Chresand has brought to bear on editing *ODLA* the eagle eye, the intelligence, and the *amicitia* characteristic of papyrologists; nothing has been too much trouble, whether it involved hunting down bibliography, answering copy-editing queries, or as the 'ideal reader' alerting us to entries which appeared too compressed or recondite to be understanded of the people. Without her, the work of editing, already extended over *nonas bis denique messes*, would have taken twice the time.

Many others have helped with advice of various sorts. I have benefited greatly from the good counsel of the Area Advisers and Editors, and also from that of Gudrun Bühl, Matthew Canepa, Lynn Jones, Mary Charles-Murray SND, and Liz James on art, of Aaron Beek on nautical matters, Ra'anan Bostan on Judaica, Sebastian Brock on Syriaca, Mark Dickens on Central Asia, John Fletcher on deer, John Søderberg on Irish archaeology, Andrew Scheil on the Anglo-Saxons, and Andrea Sterk on Greek patristics. Dr E. A. Livingstone provided encouragement at a crucial stage, and so did Bryan Ward-Perkins.

I must acknowledge also personal debts of gratitude. The Loeb Classical Library Foundation generously accorded me a year's Fellowship in 2007–8, which, supplemented by a University of Minnesota National Fellowship Supplement and a Single Semester Leave from the University of Minnesota for the latter half of 2008, resulted in the completion of the headword list. A sabbatical year from the University of Minnesota in 2011 and a further Single Semester Leave in 2013 also provided uninterrupted time essential to the success of the editorial work.

At an early stage, the graduate student staff of the Center for Mediaeval Studies at the University of Minnesota gave valuable assistance. Don Harreld and Ellen Arnold both did initial work on the headword lists. Rushika Hage, Tracey Daniel, Karolyn Kinane, and Evelyn Meyer did considerable work on two successive but alas unsuccessful applications for funds from the United States National Endowment for the Humanities in 2001 and 2002. Theresa Chresand was initially involved with *ODLA* through an enlightened arrangement called the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Programme, and Nick Wagner through the University's College of Liberal Arts Graduate Research Partnership Programme.

The staff of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies has been a constant tower of strength, and I am grateful to Nita Krevans and Melissa Sellew who have for 30 years prevented me from doing silly things. My greatest debt at the University of Minnesota, however, is to the hundreds of undergraduates who since 1986 have sat through my lecture-classes on the Ages of Constantine, of Augustine, and of Justinian and Muhammad. The sort of help which they would need to get started on their ten-page term papers has never been far from my thoughts when designing and editing this book.

At various times work on *ODLA* has been done under the hospitable roofs of Roger Mason in Oxford, Tilly Young and Colin and Julia Dyer in Devon, and Jim and Annamary Herther in St. Paul; to all much thanks. My family, Caroline, Faith, Phoebe, and George, have been what Mr Jorrocks would call werry certain comforts; the children have lived with *ODLA* for more than half their lives and yet have never once asked 'when will *ODLA* be finished?' My appreciation of their support goes beyond gratitude.

The dedication prompts me to express thanks specifically to those whose thoughtful schooling is my thought's best part. Like so many others working on Late Antiquity, I was touched by the spirit of Peter Brown. As a schoolboy I had read (with suspicion) shallow assertions characteristic of the 1960s about the study of history being merely the sociology of the past. Those of us who crammed together on the turkey carpet of the Hovenden Room in All Souls, sitting on the tails of each other's gowns, heard history with the people put back into it. And such people—Plotinus whose practice was to praise Reason but not live by argument, the uncommon common sense of the Desert Fathers, the zeal of Syrian holy men, and above all Augustine, relentlessly honest, relentlessly intelligent. At the same time Fr. Gervase Mathew OP, described by Peter Brown as 'the only actual Byzantine I know', was a masterful extempore exponent of the minds behind Byzantine art. For Michael Maclagan history could never be dull. The broad learning of Sabine MacCormack was generously deployed to draw out the full implications of a pupil's most jejune remarks. Henry Chadwick knew everything, and returned written work, proofread and annotated, the day after it was submitted, despite having a college and a cathedral to govern. *Funes mihi ceciderunt in praeclaris*. I hope future students of Late Antiquity may prove as fortunate.

OPN
Washfield, Rogation Sunday 2017

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GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

AD	anno Domini
ad ann.	*ad annum* (Lat. at the year) in chronicles etc., whether AD or AM or other
A.Gr.	anno Graecorum, Year of the Greeks (*see* ERAS)
AH	anno Hegirae, Year of the Hijra (*see* ERAS)
AM	anno Mundi (*see* ERAS)
Ar.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenian
AUC	Ab Urbe Condita (Lat. From the Foundation of the City, *scil.* of Rome)
Avest.	Avestan
b.	born
b. (in Arabic names)	*ibn, bin* 'son of'
BC	before Christ
Bd.	Band (German volume)
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
bp.	bishop
bt. (in Arabic names)	*bint* 'daughter of'
c.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	*confer* (Lat. compare)
chron.	chronicle
cm	centimetre/s
cod.	codex
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commentary
cos.	consul (with date, if any, as year AD)
d.	died
diss.	dissertation
DT	Dutch translation
ed(s).	editor(s), edited
edn.	edition
ep(*p*).	*letter(s)*
esp.	especially
ET	English Translation
et al.	et alii (and others)
f., ff.	and following
fasc.	fascicle
fl.	*floruit* (i.e. approximate age of 30 years old)
fol(s).	folio(s)
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FT	French Translation
ft.	foot/feet
g	gram/s
Geo.	Georgian
Gk.	Greek
GT	German Translation
ha	hectare/s
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica* (Lat. *Church History*)
Hebr.	Hebrew
i.a.	*inter alia* (Lat. among other things)
ibid.	ibidem (Lat. in the same place or work)
id.	idem (Lat., the same person)
introd.	introduction
Iran.	Iranian (Iranian group of languages)
IT	Italian Translation
kg	kilogram/s
km	kilometre/s
l., ll.	line, lines
Lat.	Latin
lb	pound (avoirdupois)
LT	Latin Translation
LXX	Septuagint
m	metre/s
mod.	modern
MP	Middle Persian
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n., nn.	note, notes
n.d.	no date
NF	Neue Folge
no., nos.	number, numbers
NP	New Persian, Farsi
NP T	New Persian translation
NS	New Series, nouvelle série
NT	New Testament
Ol.	Olympiad
OP	Old Persian
orig.	original
OT	Old Testament
oz	ounce/s
p.a.	per annum
Pahl.	Pahlavi

Patr.	Patriarch	*s.a.*	*sub anno* (under the year)
pl.	plate	*s.n.*	*sub nomine* (under the name)
plur.	plural	*s.v.*	*sub verbo* (under the word)
pref.	preface	schol.	scholiast or scholia
prol.	prologue	*scil.*	*scilicet* (Lat. that is to say)
prov.	province	*sed.*	*sedit* (held office as bishop)
ps.-	pseudo-	sel.	selected
pt.	part	ser.	series
q.v.	quod vide (Lat., which see)	sg.	singular
Q.	*Qur'ān	SpT	Spanish Translation
r.	reigned	Syr.	Syriac
ref.	reference	tr.	translation, translated by
Reg.	(Monastic) Rule	*viz.*	*videlicet* (Lat. namely)
repr.	reprint, reprinted	vol.	volume
rev.	revised/by	vs.	versus
S(s).	Saint(s)		

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AAE Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (1990–)

AArchArSyr *Les Annales archéologique arabes de Syrie: revue d'archéologie et d'histoire syriennes* (1966–; previously *AArchSyr*)

AArchSyr *Les Annales archéologiques de Syrie: revue d'archéologie et d'histoire syriennes* (15 vols., 1951–66; after 1966, *AArchArSyr*)

AASS J. Bollandus et al. plur., eds., *Acta Sanctorum quotquot Toto Orbe Coluntur: Vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus Celebrantur quae ex Latinis & Graecis, Aliarumque Gentium Antiquis Monumentis* (Antwerp, 1643–1770; Brussels, 1780–6, 1845–83, and 1894ff.; Tongerloo, 1794; and Paris, 1875–87)

ABD D. N. Freedman, ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992)

Abh. (Bayr.) Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen (und historischen) Klasse der (königlich) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (1835–)

Abh. (Berl.) Abhandlungen der (königlichen) preussischen [from 1947 deutschen] Akademie der Wissenschaften (1815–1907; philosoph.-hist. Kl., ibid., 1908–49)

Abh. (Gött.) Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft (Akademie) der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philolog.-hist. Kl. (1897–1939)

Abh. (Heid.) Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosoph.-hist. Kl. (1913–)

Abh. (Köln) Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Abh. (Mainz) Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz, geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse

Abh. (Sächs.) Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der (königlich) sächsischen Gesellschaft (Akademie) der Wissenschaften (Leipzig, 1850–1943; Berlin, 1950–)

Abr-Nahrain *Abr-Nahrain: An Annual under the Auspices of the Department of Semitic Studies, University of Melbourne* (1961–98), succeeded by *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* (1999–)

ABSAthens *Annual of the Bristish School at Athens* (1895–)

ACHCByz monographies Monographies, Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance (1982–). See also TM

ACO E. Schwartz et al., eds., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, iussu Societatis Scientiarum Argentoratensis* (1914–)

ACOR Publications *American Center of Oriental Research Publications* (1993–)

ACT Ancient Christian Texts (2009–)

Acta CIAC *Acta Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*

Acta Hyperborea *Acta Hyperborea: Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology* (1988–)

ActaIRNorv *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae (1962–)

ActAntHung *Acta Antiqua Academicae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (1951–)

ActArch *Acta Archaeologica* (1930–)

Actes historiens médiévistes *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (1970–)

ActOrHung *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (1950–)

ACW Ancient Christian Writers (1946–)

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Adumatu *Adumatu* (2000–)

AE *L'Année épigraphique* (1889–1961 published as a section of *Revue archaéologique* with title: *Revue des publications épigraphiques*; 1962–, issued as a supplement to *Revue archaéologique*)

Aegyptus *Aegyptus: rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia* (1920–)

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AIEMA Bull. *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaique Ancienne* (1968–)

ÄIH Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg, University of Heidelberg

AION *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* (1929–50), NS (1951–)

AJA *American Journal of Archaeology: The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America* (1897–)

AJP *American Journal of Philology* (1880–)

AJPhysAnth *American Journal of Physical Anthropology: The Official Journal of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists* (1918–)

AJS Review *Association for Jewish Studies Review* (1976–)

AKM *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1859–)

Akroterion *Akroterion* [electronic resource]: *Journal for the Classics in South Africa = Tydskrif vir die Klassieke in Suid-Afrika* (1970–)

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AMG *Annales du Musée Guimet* (1892–)

AMI *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (1–9: 1929–37; NF 1–28: 1969–95/6), continued by *AMIT* (q.v.)

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AMIT *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* (29–: 1997–), continuing *AMI* (q.v.) (and its numbering)

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AMS Asia Minor Studien (1990–)

AmStudPap American Studies in Papyrology (1966–)

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***AnatSt* Ramsay** W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, eds., *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (1923)

AnBoll *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882–)

AncCommAristotle Ancient Commentaries on Aristotle (1985–)

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AO *Ars Orientalis: The Arts of Islam and the East* (1954–)

APA: ACS *American Philological Association: American Classical Studies*

APf *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* (1901–)

AppJust Justinian, *Appendix Constitutionum Dispersarum*

Arabica *Arabica: Revue d'études arabes* (1954–)

ARAM *Aram periodical: Majallat Ārām* (1989–)

ARCA ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs (1976–)

ARCEgypt Conservation Series American Research Center in Egypt Conservation Series (2005–)

ArchAel *Archaeologia Aeliana or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne): 1st series, 1–4 (1822–55), 2nd series, 1–25 (1857–1904), 3rd series, 1–21 (1904–24), 4th series, 1–50 (1925–72), 5th series,1– (1973–)

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ArchAnz *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1889–)

ArchDelt *Archaiologikon Deltion* (1915–)

ArchEurasiaeMedAev *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (1975–)

ArchHistExSc *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* (1960–)

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ASAIAtene *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* (1a serie 16 vols., 1914–33; nuova serie 62 vols. 1939–2000; 3a serie 2001–)

ASC **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

ASE *Anglo-Saxon England* (1972–)

ASOR ArchRep American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports (1991–)

ASP American Studies in Papyrology (1966–)

ASSAH *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology & History* (1979–)

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Augustine, *ep.* Letters of Augustine

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BBGG *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (1947–)

BBKL *Biographisch-bibliographische Kirchenlexikon* (14 vols., 1975–98; with 14 Ergänzungsbände, 1999–)

BBOM Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs (1996–2004), later BBOS (2004–)

BBOS Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies (2004–)

BBTTs Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations (1991–)

BCCT *Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition* (1964–)

BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (1877–)

BCH suppl. *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique supplements* (1973–)

BCTH *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1885–)

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BEFAR Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (1877–)

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BGU Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden (1895–)

BHAC *Bonner-Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1964/5–86/9 (published 1966–91)

BHG F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (3 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a ^{3}1957) and *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 47, 1969)

BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, ediderunt Socii Bollandiani (Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 2 vols., 1898–1901); *Supplementum* (Subsidia Hagiographica 12, 1911) *Novum Supplementum* (ed. H. Fros Subsidia Hagiographica, 70, 1986)

BHO P. Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Subsidia Hagiographica 10, 1910)

BiblAntTard Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive (1998–)

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BIHR *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Resesarch* (1923–86), replaced by *Historical Research* (1987–)

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BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1903–)

BKV Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (1969–)

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BMB *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* (1937–86)

BMCR *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (1990–8 print and web; 1999– web only, at http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/archive.html

BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (1975–)

BMQ *British Museum Quarterly* (1926–)

BM Roman Coins H. Mattingly et al., eds., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 6 vols. (1923–), V Pertinax to Elagabalus (^{2}1975); VI Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus (1962)

BO *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1943–)

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BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African* Studies, *University of London* (1940–)

BSS Black Sea Studies (2003–)

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BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892–)

CAG Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 23 vols. (1882–1909)

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CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly: Journal of the Catholic Biblical Association of America* (1939–)

CCH Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez, eds., *La colección canónica Hispana* (1966–)

CCSG Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca (1977–)

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CCT Corpus Christianorum in Translation (2010–)

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***CII* III** *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* Part III: *Pahlavi Inscriptions*, 6 vols. (1955–)

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CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae Editum*, 16 vols. in 55 (1862–)

CIM Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts [Corpus van verluchte handschriften] (1993–)

CISem *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (5 parts, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1881–1962)

Civcatt *La Civiltà cattolica* (1850–)

CJ *Classical Journal*

CJust *Codex Justinianus*

CLA E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (1934–71)

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CM *Constitution of Medina*

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CPO Civilisations du Proche-Orient (1994–)

CQ *Classical Quarterly* (1907–)

CR *Classical Review* (1887–)

CRAIBL *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1857–)

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Scr. aeth. Scriptores Aethiopici (1903–12; 1953ff.);

Scr. arab. Scriptores Arabici (1903–12; 1922; 1926ff.);

Scr. arm. Scriptores Armeniaci (1953ff.);

Scr. copt. Scriptores Coptici (1906–49; 1949ff.);

Scr. iber. Scriptores Iberici (1950ff.);

Scr. syr. Scriptores Syri (1907–19; 1919ff.);

Sub. Subsidia (1950–)

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)

CSHB Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 50 vols. (Bonn, 1828–97)

CSS Cistercian Studies Series (1969–)

CTh *Codex Theodosianus*

CTP Collana di testi patristici (1978–)

CUA Patristic Studies Patristic Studies (Catholic University of America, 1922–)

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Dig *Digesta*

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DOS Dumbarton Oaks Studies (1950–)

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DSB *see CDSB*

DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique, commencé sous la direction de A. Vacant*, 15 vols. in 24, 1903 (1899–1950)

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EAH R. S. Bagnall et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 13 vols. (2012)

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Échos d'Orient *Échos d'Orient* (1897–1942), succeeded by *Études byzantines* (1943–5) and *REB* (1946–)

EconHR *Economic History Review* (1927–)

EdJust *Edicta* of Justinian I

EEBO Early English Books Online (1999–) at https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home/

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Emerita *Emerita* (1933–)

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ep. *letter*

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FC Fathers of the Church (1947–)

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FYROM Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia

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HA **Historia Augusta* (followed by the name of the emperor whose *Vita* is referred to)

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HarvStClassPhilol *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (1890–)

HarvUkrSt Harvard Ukrainian Studies (1977–)

HaskSocJournal *The Haskins Society Journal* (1989–)

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HBOW Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft (1979–)

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***HCCA* IV** M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia* IV: *The Age of Achievement AD 750 to the End of the 15th Century*, 2 parts (1998 and 2000)

HE *Historia Ecclesiastica* (various authors)

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HF *Gregory of *Tours, *Historia Francorum*

HGLA G. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar, eds., *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (1999)

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HistCoptPatr **History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*

HistJ *Historical Journal* (1958–); formerly *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1923–57)

Historia *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* (1950–)

Historisk tidsskrift *Historisk tidsskrift* (1840–).

History *History: Journal of the Historical Association* (1912–)

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HistPhilLifeSci *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* (1979–)

HLL R. Herzog and P. L. Schmidt, eds., *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Geschichte der römischen Literatur.* Band VIII): Bd. 4: K. Sallmann, ed., *Die Literatur des Umbruchs. Von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur 117 bis 284 n. Chr.* (1997), FT: under the direction of F. Heim (2000); Bd. 5: R. Herzog and P. L. Schmidt, eds., *Restauration und Erneuerung. Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.* (1989); FT: under the direction of G. Nauroy (1989)

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HTR *Harvard Theological Review* (1908–)

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1924–), formerly *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*

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ICUR G. B. de Rossi and G. Gatti, eds., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores*, 3 vols. (1857–1915)

***ICUR* NS** A. Silvagni, then A. Ferrua et al., eds., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores, Nova Series* (1922–)

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IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal* (1951–)

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873)

IGLRomania E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate* (1976)

IGLS L. Jalabert, P. Mouterde, et al., eds., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (1929–)

IJMES *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (1970–)

ILAlg S. Gsell et al., eds., *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, vol. 1 (1922; repr. 1965), vol. 2 (1957)

ILCV E. Dielhl et al., *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 4 vols. (1925–67)

IllByzStud *Illinois Byzantine Studies* (1990–)

IllClassStud *Illinois Classical Studies* (1976–)

ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (1892–1916)

Imago Mundi *Imago Mundi: Journal of the International Society for the History of Cartography* (1935–)

Index *Index: Quaderni camerti di studi romanistici, International Survey of Roman Law*

IndoIranJnl *Indo-Iranian Journal* (1957–)

InscrCret *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols. (1935–50)

InscrDacRom *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae (1975–)

InscrIt *Inscriptiones Italiae* (1931–).

***Inscr. Philae* II** É. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Tome II: Haut et Bas Empire* (1969)

InstJust *Institutes of Justinian*

InstNautArchAnnual *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Annual* (2008–12)

InstNautArchQuarterly *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* (1974–)

IntCongByzStud *International Congress of Byzantine Studies*

IntCongChrArch *International Congress of Christian Archaeology, Acta Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana etc.* (1894–)

IntJnlClassTrad *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (1994–)

IntJnlNautArch *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* (1972–)

IntJnlStChrCh *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* (2001–)

IQ *The Islamic Quarterly* (1954–)

IRAIK *Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* (*Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe de Constantinople*; 1896–1912)

Iran *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (1963–)

Iranistik Iranistik: Deutschsprachige Zeitschrift für Iranistische Studien (2001–)

IranStud Iranian Studies (1967–)

IrAnt *Iranica Antiqua* (1961–)

Iraq *Iraq*: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, later The British Institute for the Study of Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial) (1934–)

IRT J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins et al., eds., *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952)

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Isis *Isis*, History of Science Society (1913–)

IstMitt *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* (1933–)

IThQ *Irish Theological Quarterly* (1906–)

Iura *Iura. Rivista internazionale di diritto romano e antico* (1950–)

Ius Romanum Medii Aevi *Ius Romanum Medii Aevi, auspice Collegio Antiqui Iuris Studiis Pro vehendis, Société d'histoire des droits de l'antiquité* (1961–)

JA *Journal Asiatique* (1836–)

JAAR *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (1933–)

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JahresschrMitteldtVorgesch *Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte* (1902–)

JAL *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1970–)

James, *Desire and Denial* L. James, ed., *Desire and Denial in Byzantium* (SPBS Publications 6, 1999)

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JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1843–)

Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell* J. Jarnut, U. Nonn, and M. Richter, eds., *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Beihefte der Francia 37, 1994)

JBAA *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

JbAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1958–)

JbAC Ergänzungsband Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband (1964–)

JbDAI *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (1886–)

JbNumGeld *Jahrbuch für Numismatik Geldgeschichte*, herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft (1951–)

JbÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (1969–), formerly *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* (1951–)

JbRGZMainz *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 1954–)

JCH *Journal of Cultural Heritage [electronic resource]* (2000–)

JCSSS *Journal of the Canadian Society for the Study of Syriac* (2001–)

JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1914–)

Jean et al., *La Cilicie* É. Jean, A. Dinçol, and S. Durugönü, eds., *La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux. Table Ronde Internationale, Istanbul, 2–5 Novembre 1999* (2001)

JECS *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (1993–)

Jeffreys, *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization* E. M. Jeffreys, ed., *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (2006)

JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1950–)

Jerome, *Chron.* Rudolf Helm, ed., *Eusebius Werke 7er Band: Die Chronik des Hieronymus: Hieronymi Chronicon* (GCS 47, 1956)

Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, ed. E. Richardson, TU 14, 1, 1896; ET T. Halton (FC 100, 1999)

JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (1957–)

JFSR *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* (1985–)

JHistColl *Journal of the History of Collections* (1989–)

JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1880–)

JJP *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* (1946–)

JJP Suppl. Journal of Juristic Papyrology. Supplement (2002–)

JKMW *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* (1999–), formerly *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* (1921–96)

JLA *Journal of Late Antiquity* (2008–)

JMHist *Journal of Medieval History* (1975–)

JMLat *Journal of Medieval Latin* (1991–)

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (1942–), continuing *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (1885–1941) and *Hebraica* (1884–94)

JnlAssAcadSts *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* (1987–)

JnlBiblLit *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1881–)

JnlCanSocCoptSt *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* (2011–)

JnlFieldArch *Journal of Field Archaeology* (1974–)

JnlHistAstron *Journal for the History of Astronomy* (1970–)

JnlHistMedAlliedSci *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* (1946–)

JnlIslSt *Journal of Islamic Studies* (1990–)

JnlMedRenSt *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1971–96), subsequently *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (1996–)

JnlMusicTh *Journal of Music Theory* (1957–)

JnlOrNumSoc *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* (2006–), formerly ONS Newsletter (1970–)

JnlRelig *Journal of Religion* (1921–)

JnlRoyalGeogSoc *Journal of Royal Geographical Society* (1830–)

JnlSemSt *Journal of Semitic Studies* (1956–)

JnlStJud *Journal for the Study of Judaism* (1970)

Jnl Warburg & Courtauld Inst *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1940–), formerly *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 vols. (1938–9)

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JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (1988–)

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1834–)

***JRA* (Suppl.)** *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplements (1990–)

JRS *Journal of Roman Studies* (1911–)

JRSAI *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1892–)

***JRS* monograph** *Journal of Roman Studies* monographs (1982–)

JSAH *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1941–)

JSAI *Jersualem Studies in Arabic and Islam* (1979–)

JSP *Judea & Samaria Publications* (2002–)

JTS *Journal of Theological Studies* (1899–1949, NS 1950–)

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KF *Keltische Forschungen* (2006–)

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KKZ *Kerdir, Ka'ba-ye Zardosht inscription

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LAA Late Antique Archaeology (2003–)

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Lactantius, *Mort.* *Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*

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LAHR Late Antique History and Religion (2007–)

Lakōnikai spoudai *Lakōnikai spoudai/Études Laconiennes* (Hetaireia Lakōnikōn Spoudōn, 1972–)

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LCL Loeb Classical Library (1912–)

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LexMA *Lexikon des Mittelalters Online* (2009)

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LSA *Last Statues of Antiquity* (University of Oxford): http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/

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MGA Mathematica Graeca Antiqua (2011–)

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

MGH Auct. Ant. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, 15 vols. (1877– 1919)

MGH Capit. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Capitularia regum Francorum, 2 vols. (1883–97)

MGH DD Mer. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata Regum Francorum e Stirpe Merovingica, 2 vols. (2001)

MGH Ep. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistulae (1887–)

MGH Leg. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges

MGH LL Leges (in folio) in MGH Leg., 5 vols. (1835–89)

MGH LL nat. Germ. Leges Nationum Germanicarum in MGH Leg. (1902)

MGH Poetae MGH Poetae Latini Medii Aevi (1881–) in MGH Antiquitates

MGH, QQ zur Geistesgesch. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters (1955–)

MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores in folio (1826–)

MGH SS rer. Germ. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi (1871–)

MGH SS rer. Lang. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI–IX (1878)

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MHS, Serie Canónica Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Canónica (1966–)

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Mouseion *Mouseion: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada/Revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques* (2001–), formerly *Échos du monde classique/Classical Views* (1956–2000)

MPER NS Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Neue Serie (1932–)

MS *Mediaeval Studies* (1939–)

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NCHIslam C. F. Robinson et al., *New Cambridge History of Islam*, 6 vols. (2010)

NDSB *see CDSB*

NEA *Near Eastern Archaeology* (1998–), formerly *Biblical Archaeologist* (1938–97)

Nea Rhome *Nea Rhome: Rivista di richerche bizantinistiche* (2004–)

NEDC T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982)

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***Not. Dig.* [*occ.*], [*or.*]** **Notitia Dignitatum* in Partibus Occidentis/Orientis

NottMedSt *Nottingham Medieval Studies* (1957–)

NovAnth *Novellae* of *Anthemius

NovGlyc *Novella* of *Glycerius

NovJust *Novellae* of *Justinian I

NovJustmin *Novellae* of *Justin II

NovMaj *Novellae* of *Majorian

NovMarc *Novellae* of *Marcian

NovSev *Novellae* of *Libius Severus

NovTh *Novellae* of *Theodosius II

NovVal *Novellae* of Valentinian III

NPNF Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Augustine: 15 vols., 1871; Chrysostom: 5 vols. and Series II: 14 vols., 1886–1900)

NT New Testament

NTAC New Texts from Ancient Cultures (1994–)

NumChron *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1938–)

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O.Crum W. E. Crum, ed., *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others* (1902)

O.EdfouIFAO S. Bacot, ed., *Ostraca grecs et coptes des fouilles franco-polonaises sur le site de Tell Edfou. O. EdfouCopte 1–145* (2009)

OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta (1923–)

OCM Oxford Classical Monographs (1989-), formerly Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs (1938–88)

OCMA Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology monograph (2007–)

OCT Oxford Classical Texts or Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (1898–)

ODB A. P. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (1991)

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* J. J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (1979)

OECS Oxford Early Christian Studies (1993–)

OECT Oxford Early Christian Texts (1971–)

OED *Oxford English Dictionary* (^{3}2014)

O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* J. M. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire* (1983)

OGHRA K. Pollmann and W. Otten, eds., *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, 3 vols. (2013)

OGIS W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1903–5)

OHBS R. Cormack, J. Haldon, and E. Jeffreys, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (2008)

OHECS S. Ashbrook Harvey and D. Hunter, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (2008)

OHLA S. Johnson, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (2012)

OIP University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications (1924–)

***Okeanos* Fs Ševčenko (HarvUkrSt 7, 1983)** Cyril A. Mango, O. Pritsak, and U. M. Pasicznyk, *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (1983)

OLA Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta (1974–)

Oleson, *OHETCW* J. P. Oleson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (2008)

OLP *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (1970–)

OMT Oxford Mediaeval Texts

OpArch *Opuscula Archaeologica* (1956)

OPIAC Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (1969–)

Opitz, *Urkunden* H. G. Opitz, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites, 318–28;* Athanasius Werke III (3 Lieferungen, 1934)

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OrChrist *Oriens Christianus: Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients* (1901–)

OrChristPer *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (1923–)

Orientalia *Orientalia:* Pontificium Institutum Biblicum (1920–)

Origen, *CommEpRom* *Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*

OrSyr *L'Orient Syrien* (1956–67), amalgamated with *Melto* to form *Parole de l'Orient* (1970–)

Ostraka *Ostraka: rivista di antichità* (1992–)

Ostrogorsky, *History* G. Ostrogorsky, *A History of the Byzantine State*, tr. J. Hussey (German original, ^{3}1963; ^{2}1968)

OT Old Testament

OxJnlArch *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* (1982–)

P.Abinn. *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II*, ed. H. I. Bell, V. Martin, E. G. Turner, D. van Berchem (1962)

P.Achm. *Les Papyrus grecs d'Achmîm à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, ed. P. Collart (BIFAO 3, 1930)

P.Amh. Amherst Papyri: *The Amherst Papyri, Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A. at Didlington Hall, Norfolk*, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, 2 vols. (1900–1)

P.Ammon Archive of *Ammon Scholasticus of *Panopolis

P.Aphrod. Lit. J.-L. Fournet, ed., *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle: la bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (1999) (MIFAO 115)

P.Apoll. *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô*, ed. R. Rémondon (Documents de fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 19, 1953)

P.Argent. P.Stras. (q.v.)

P.Bagnall *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall*, ed. R. Ast et al. (2013)

P.Bal. *Bala'izah, Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, ed. P. E. Kahle, 2 vols. (1954)

P.Beatty *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, ed. F. G. Kenyon et al. (8 vols., 1933–41)

P.Berol. Berlin Papyri; *Berliner Griechische Urkunden* (1895–), *Berliner Klassikertexte* (1904–)

P.Bingen *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii*, ed. H. Melaerts (2000)

P.Bodmer Bodmer Papyri (1954–)

P.Bon. *Papyri Bononienses*, ed. O. Montevecchi (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, NS 42, 1953)

P.Cair Cairo Papyri: *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, ed. W. Spiegelberg, 3 vols. (1904–32)

P.Cair.Isid. *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan*, ed. A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie (1960)

P.Cair.Masp. P.Cairo Masp. = J. Maspero, ed., *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, 3 vols. (1911–16)

P.Charite *Das Aurelia Charite Archiv*, ed. K. A. Worp (Studia Amstel 12, 1980)

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P.Col. Columbia Papyri, 11 vols. (1929–98)

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PanLat *Duodecim *Panegyrici Latini*

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PatSyr Patrologica Syriaca, 3 vols. (1894–1926), continued by Patrologia Orientalis (1904–)

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PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1904–)

PBE J. R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: (641–867)* (CD publication, 2001)

PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome* (1902–)

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PG Patrologia Graeca, 166 vols., ed. J.-P. Migne (1857–66)

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PJML Publications of the Journal for Mediaeval Latin (1997–)

PL Patrologia Latina, 221 vols., ed. J.-P. Migne (1844–65)

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PraktArchEtair *Praktika tes en Athēnais Archaiologikes Etaireias*, *Πρακτικα της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρέιας* (1837–)

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PSAS *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (1970–)

PSI Papiri greci e latini; Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papyri greci e latini in Egitto (1912–)

PSS Persian Studies Series (1974–)

PTS Patristische Texte und Studien (1963–)

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Q. *Qur'ān

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RCHM Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (1908–99), succeeded by English Heritage

RE August Pauly, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus, and Konrat Ziegler, eds., *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1894–1980)

REAnc *Revue des études anciennes* (1899–)

REArm *Revue des études arméniennes* (1920–33, NS 1964–)

REAug *Revue des études augustiniennes* (1955–2003) then *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* (2004–)

REB *Revue des études byzantines* (1946–), preceded by *Échos d'Orient* (1897–1942) and *Études byzantines* (1943–5)

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RechAug *Recherches augustiniennes* (1–33, 1958–2003), later *Recherches augustiniennes et patristiques* (34–, 2005–)

RechScRel *Recherches de science religieuse* (1910–)

REG *Revue des études grecques* (1888–)

RegBen *Rule of S. *Benedict*

REGC *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* (1985–), succeeding *Bedi Kartlisa* (1948–84)

RegMag *Rule of the Master*

REI *Revue des études islamiques* (1927–)

REL *Revue des études latines* (1923–)

RendAccNapoli *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* (1937–); formerly *Atti di Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti* (1865–1935–)

RendPontAccRomArch *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*

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Representations *Representations* (1983–)

RÉS *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (8 parts, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 1900–68)

Restle, *Architektur Kappadokiens* M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Denkschr. Wien, 138/1–2, 1979)

RevArch *Revue archéologique* (1844–)

RevBén *Revue bénédictine* (1884–)

RevBibl *Revue Biblique* (1915–), formerly *Revue Biblique internationale* (1895–1914) and *Revue Biblique trimestrielle* (1892–4)

RevDroitCan Revue de droit canonique (1951–)

RevHistEccl *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1900–)

RevHistLittRel *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* (1896–)

RevHistRel *Revue de l'histoire des réligions* (1880–)

RevHistSc *Revue d'histoire des sciences* (1947–)

RevNum *Revue numismatique* (1. sér 1836–56; NS vols. 1–15, 1856–77; 3. sér. vols. 1–14, 1883–96; 4. sér. vols. 1–39; 5. sér, vols. 1–19, 1937–57; 6. sér. vols. 1–; 1958–)

RevScRel *Revue des sciences réligieuses* (1921–40, 1947–)

Revue de philologie *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1–2 (1845–7), NS 1–30 (1877–1926); 3rd series (1927–)

Revue de synthèse *Revue de synthèse: revue trimestrielle publiée avec le concours du Centre national des lettres* (1931–), formerly *Revue de synthèse historique* (1900–14, 1919–30)

Revue Mabillon *Revue Mabillon: revue internationale d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* (1905–)

Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms* E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (1973)

RGA2 *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 35 + 2 vols. (^{2}1973– 2008)

RGA Ergänzungsbd Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde (1986–)

RGZM Monographien Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz. Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 1975–)

RGZM Tagungen Tagungen des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz (2005–)

RH *Revue historique* (1876–)

RHEF *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* (1910–)

RhMus *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1827–)

RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (1921–)

***RIB* I** R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright; addenda and corrigenda by R. S. O. Tomlin, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* I: *Inscriptions on Stone* (new edn., 1995)

***RIB* II** R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright; ed. S. S. Frere, Margaret Roxan, and R. S. O. Tomlin; with contributions by M. W. C. Hassall, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* II, *Instrumentum Domesticum (Personal Belongings and the Like)*, 9 vols. (new edn., 1990–5)

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RIDA *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité* (1948–51, 1954–)

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RISBS *Rivista Internazionale di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* (Bologna) (1981–90), then *Rivista di Bizantinistica* (1991–4), then *Bizantinistica* (1995–)

RivArcCrist *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* (1924–)

RivFil *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* (1873–)

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ROC *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* (1896 to 1935/46)

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Romanobarbarica *Romanobarbarica* (1976–)

ROMEC Roman Military Equipment Conference (1983–)

RömMitt *Römische Mitteilungen* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Rom, 1886–)

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RQ *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* (1887–)

RSBN *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* (1964–), previously *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*

RSO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (1907–)

RTAM *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* (1997), replaced by *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales = Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters* (1998–)

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SAOC Studies in ancient oriental civilization (1931–)

SAPERE SAPERE: Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia (2000–)

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Sb Berlin Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung (1882–)

SBL Society for Biblical Literature

Sb München Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung (1871–)

Sb Wien Sitzungsberichte, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse (1848–)

SC Sources chrétiennes (1943–)

SCA Studies in Christian Antiquity (1941–)

SCH Studies in Church History (1964–)

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SCI *Scripta Classica Israelica* (1974–)

SCIAMVS *SCIAMVS: Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences* (2000–)

SDHI *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* (1935–)

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SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–)

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SEM Studies in the Early Middle Ages (2000–)

Semitica *Semitica: cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'études sémitiques de l'Université de Paris* (1948–)

SF Spicilegium Friburgense (1957–)

SGM Sources gnostiques et manichéennes (1984–)

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SHR *Scottish Historical Review* (1903–)

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Skyllis *Skyllis: Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie* (1998–)

ŠKZ **Res Gestae Divi Saporis:* Ph. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-I Zardušt*, 2 vols. (1999) and ed. A. Maricq, '*Res Gestae Divi Saporis*' *Syria* 35 (1958), 295–360

SLH Scriptores Latini Hiberniae (1958–)

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SLS Monograph Society for Libyan Studies Monograph (1989–)

Smith, *Philosopher and Society* A. Smith, ed., *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Brown* (2005)

Sobornost *Sobornost incorporating Eastern Churches Review* (1979–), *Sobornost* (series 2–7, 1935–78), *Journal of the Fellowship of St. Alban & St. Sergius* (1928–34)

SOCM Studia Orientalia Christiana. Monographia (Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies, 1987–)

SOR Serie orientale Roma (1950–)

SP *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented to the International Conferences on Patristic Studies Held at Oxford* (1957–)

SPBS Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies

SPBS Publications Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications (1995–)

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SSL Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: études et documents: pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines chrétiennes depuis la fin de l'âge apostolique jusqu'à la clôture du concile de Trente (1922–)

ST Studi e testi (Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1900–)

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StSam Studia Samaritana (1969–)

StudAntCrist Studi di antichità cristiana (1929–)

StudCelt *Studia Celtica* (1966–)

Studia Amstel. Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia (1972–)

Studia Iranica *Studia Iranica Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes* (1972–)

Studies in Conservation *Studies in Conservation/Études de conservation* (1952–)

StudIsl *Studia Islamica* (1953–)

StudOrChristColl *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* (1958–)

SubsHag Subsidia Hagiographica (1886–)

Sudhoffs Archiv *Sudhoffs Archiv. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (1907–)

Südost Forschungen *Südost-Forschungen* (1940–), formerly *Südostdeutsche Forschungen*

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SVS Popular Patristics Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press Popular Patristics Series

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SymbOsl *Symbolae Osloenses auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latinae* (1924–), formerly *Symbolae arctoae*

SymbOsl suppl. Supplements to Symbolae Osloenses (1925–)

Symmeikta *Symmeikta* (1966–), later *Byzantina Symmeikta* (Section of Byzantine Research of the Institute of Historical Research (National Hellenic Research Foundation). Available at http://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/bz

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TAPS Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (1771–)

TCH Transformation of the Classical Heritage (1981–)

Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord* G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord: le massif de Belus à l'époque romaine*, 3 vols. (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient 50, 1–3; 1953–8)

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TEG *Traditio exegetica Graeca* (1991–)

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TESC Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity (2003–)

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Teubner Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (1849–)

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Th und Ph *Theologie und Philosophie* (1966–), formerly *Scholastik* (1926–65)

TIB J. Koder et al., eds., *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (Denkschr. Wien 125 etc., 1976–), namely:

TIB 1 Hellas und Thessalia (Denkschr. Wien 215; 1976);

TIB 2 Kappadokien: Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos (Denkschr. Wien 149, 1981);

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TIB 4: Galatien und Lykaonien (Denkschr. Wien 172; 1984);

TIB 5: Kilikien und Isaurien (Denkschr. Wien 215; 1990);

TIB 6: Thrakien (Thrake, Rhodope und Haimimontos (Denkschr. Wien 221, 1991);

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TIB 11: Makedonien (südlicher Teil) (in progress);

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TIB 13 Bithynien und Hellespontos (in progress);

TIB 14 Lydien (in progress);

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TIB 16: Makedonien (nördlicher Teil) (in progress);

TIB 17: Asia (in progress);

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TIR *Tabula Imperii Romani* (numerous folding maps with gazetteers, 1931–)

TitAsMin *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (1901–)

TLL *Thesuarus Linguae Latinae* (1900–)

TM *Travaux et mémoires* Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France); Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance (1966–)

TM monographies Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France, monographies (1982–)

TMTT Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations (1983–)

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Topoi *Topoi orient occident* (1991–)

T'oung pao *T'oung pao: archives pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire, des langues, de la géographie et de l'ethnographie de l'Asie orientale* (1890–)

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Traditio *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* (1943–)

Transoxiana *Transoxiana: Journal Libre de Estudios Orientales* (Buenos Aires, I–II, 2000–9): http://www.transoxiana.org/archivo.html

Travaux polonaises Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences (1959–)

TRE G. Krause, G. Müller, et al., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 38 vols. (1976–2007)

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Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians* W. Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (2007)

TRG *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*: *Legal History Review* (1918–)

TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1872–)

Trierer Zeitschrift *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* (1936–)

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Tropis *Tropis Conference Proceedings* (Institute of Nautical Archaeology) I (1985), II (1990), III (1995), IV (1991), V (1999), VI (2001) VII 1–2 (2002)

TRW Transformation of the Roman World (1997–)

TSAJ Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum (1981–)

TSSI J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 4 vols. to date (1971–)

TTB Translated Texts for Byzantinists (2012–)

TTH Translated Texts for Historians (1988–)

TU A. von Harnack et al., eds., Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (1882–)

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VAemiliani *Braulio *Life of S. *Aemilian the Hooded* (*BHL* 100; *CPL* 1231)

VAlexanderAc *Life of *Alexander the Sleepless* (*BHG* 47)

VAmbrosii *Paulinus of *Milan, *Life of S. *Ambrose, *Bishop of *Milan* (*BHL* 377)

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VAntonii *Athanasius of *Alexandria, *Life of S. *Antony of *Egypt* (*BHL* 140)

VApTy *Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*

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VAugustini *Possidius, *Life of S. Augustine of Hippo* (*BHL* 785)

VBalthildis *Life of S. Balthild* (*BHL* 9050)

VCaesarii *Life of S. *Caesarius of *Arles* (*BHL* 1508–9)

VColumbae *Adamnan, *Life of S. *Columba* (*BHL* 1885)

VColumbani *Jonas of *Bobbio, *VColumbani* (*BHL* 1898)

VCon *Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of *Constantine* (*BHG* 361X)

VCuth *Bede, *Prose Life of S. Cuthbert* (*BHL* 2021)

VCuthAnon *Anonymous Life of S. Cuthbert* (*BHL* 2019)

VCypriani Pontius, *Life of S. *Cyprian* (*BHL* 2041)

VDanStyl *Life of S. *Daniel the Stylite* (*BHG* 489)

VDesiderii *Sisebut, *Vita Desiderii, Episcopi Viennensis (BHL* 2148)

Vestigia Vestigia: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte (1959–)

Vetera Christianorum *Vetera Christianorum* (1964–)

VEuthym *Cyril of *Scythopolis, *Life of S. Euthymius* (*BHG* 647)

VFructuosi *Life of S. *Fructuosus of Braga* (*BHL* 3194)

VGalli *Lives* of S. *Gallus (*BHL* 3245–47)

VGermani *Constantius of Lyons, *Life of S. *Germanus of Auxerre (BHL* 3453)

VHilarion *Jerome, *Life of S. *Hilarion* (*BHL* 3879)

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VigChrist *Vigiliae Christianae* (1947–)

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Vir. Ill. *De Viris Illustribus* (*Jerome or *Gennadius or *Isidore of *Seville or *Ildefonsus of *Toldeo)

VIsidori *Damascius, *Life of Isidore*, ed. C. Zintzen (1967)

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Vivian, *Journeying into God* T. Vivian, *Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives* (1996)

VizVrem *Vizantiĭskiĭ vremennik = Vyzantina chronika* (1894–1928); *Vizantiĭskiĭ vremennik = Byzantina chronika* (1947–)

VMacr Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of S. *Macrina* (*BHG* 1012)

VMartini *Sulpicius Severus, *Life of S. Martin of Tours* (*BHL* 5610)

VMel Gerontius, *Life of S. Melania the Younger* (*BHG* 1241–2; *BHL* 5885–6)

VNicSion *Life of S. *Nicholas of Sion* (*BHG* 1347)

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VPetrIber *John Rufus, *Life of *Peter the Iberian* (*BHO* 955)

VPlot *Porphyry, *Life of *Plotinus*

VPorph Mark the Deacon, *Life of S. *Porphyrius of *Gaza* (*BHG* 1570)

VProcli *Marinus, *Life of *Proclus*

VSab *Cyril of *Scythopolis, *Life of S. *Sabas* (*BHG* 1608)

VSadalbergae *Life of S. *Sadalberga* (*BHL* 7463–4)

VSevAnt *Zacharias of Mitylene, *Life of Severus of Antioch*, ed. M.-A. Kugener (with FT), *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scolastique* (PO 2/1, 1903, rev. edn., 1971)

VSeverini *Eugippius, *Life of S. *Severinus of *Noricum* (*BHL* 7655)

VSymeonSalos Life of S. *Symeon the Holy Fool of Emesa (*BHG* 1677)

***VSymeonStyl* [*Syr.*]** *Syriac Life of S. Symeon Stylites the Elder*

VTheodSyk *Life of S. *Theodore of *Sykeon* (*BHG* 1511Z)

VWilfridi *Stephen the Priest, *Life of S. *Wilfrid* (*BHL* 8889)

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WienByzStud Wiener Byzantinische Studien (1964–)

Wiener Jahrbuch *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1921–37, 1949–), formerly *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1885–1921)

WienStud *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie und Patristik und lateinische Tradition* (1879–)

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WSA Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century (Anglican Heritage Institute, 1990)

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (1950–)

***Xuanzang* I and II** S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vols. I and II (1884)

Yaḥyā Yaḥyā b. 'Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ET A. Ben Shemesh as *Taxation in Islam*, vol. 1 (1967)

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Young and Teal, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* F. M. Young with A. Teal, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and Its Background* (^{2}2010)

ZAC *Zeitschrift für Antike Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* (1997–)

Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi* R. C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi: A Compendium of Zoroastrian Beliefs* (1956)

ZAM *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* (1973–)

Zanker, *Mask of Socrates* P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*, tr. A. Shapiro (Sather classical lectures 59, 1995)

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1847–)

Zinbun *Zinbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University* (1957–)

Ziolkowski and Putnam, *Virgilian Tradition* Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*

ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1 Folge: 1877–1918; 2 Folge: 1920–30; 3 Folge: 1931–43; 4 Folge: 1950–)

ZKTh *Zeitschrift fur Katholische Theologie* (1877–)

ZNTW *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* (1900–)

ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (1967–)

ZRG (GA) *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Germanistische Abteilung* (1880–)

ZRG (KA) *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* (1911–)

ZRG (RA) *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Romanistische Abteilung* (1880–)

ZRVI *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta radova Vizantološkog instituta, Srpska akademija nauka* (1961–)

ZSS *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (1880–) (formerly *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte* 1861–78); *see ZRG (GA), ZRG (KA), ZRG (RA)*

ZTK *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*

Zumkeller, *Signum Pietatis Fs Mayer* A. Zumkeller, ed., *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag* (1989)

NOTE TO THE READER

ODLA aims to provide information about Europe, Western and Central Asia, and Africa north of the Sahara in the millennium between the mid-3rd and the mid-8th century AD. The very broad range of civilizations involved has often made it difficult to decide what terminology to adopt. The aim has in general been to use the names, words, and spellings that are most familiar to English-speaking scholars of Late Antiquity. It is hoped that the result may not appear excessively eclectic; the cross-references may help readers find what they are looking for.

Some specific observations may also prove helpful.

Abbreviations There are separate lists of general abbreviations and bibliographical abbreviations. The names of ancient authors are not abbreviated, nor are the titles of their works, except for the most obvious (e.g. *Chron.*, *HE*).

Alphabetical order Entries are arranged in alphabetical order of headwords. Arabic al- is ignored in forming alphabetical order and the prefix S. (for saint) is ignored when applied to persons, but not when it forms part of a place name (e.g. Mamas, S. is the martyr but S. Mamas is the harbour on the Bosporus). The sub-entries in areas covering multiple civilizations are sometimes arranged chronologically rather than alphabetically.

Authors The identity of the author of each entry is indicated by initials, and these are recorded in the list of contributors. In cases of multiple authorship, the initials of all authors are given. In particular R. R. Darley has contributed numismatic supplements to numerous entries.

Bibliography Most entries are provided with a brief list of suggestions for further reading. These follow a standard order.

First, if appropriate, stands a brief identifying reference to a standard multi-volume work of reference such as the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (*PLRE*), the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (*EncIran*), or the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*EI* 2 or *EI THREE*). References to names in *PLRE* are generally given not to the full name but only to the name under which an individual is alphabetized in *PLRE* (e.g. Severus 16, not Acilius Severus 16). References to *EI* 2 use its systems of transliteration.

Editions and translations of works written by the subject of the entry (if he is an author) are then listed, followed by details of other ancient sources (such as saints' lives). Such lists of ancient works are not intended to include every edition of an author but they do aim to give details of current critical editions, particularly those which have commentaries. Preference is given to translations into English, but some details of those into other modern languages or into Latin are also furnished.

Finally, modern studies are listed.

Cross-references At the first occurrence in an entry of a name or word that has its own entry in *ODLA* (or in some cases an adjective associated with such a name or word) an asterisk precedes the name or word. It has therefore been necessary to vary the conventional use of the asterisk in historical

linguistics: in *ODLA* a word in an ancient language which is not directly attested in a surviving text but whose existence may be scientifically inferred is marked by a double asterisk, rather than by the conventional single asterisk.

Dates and times All dates are AD unless otherwise stated. There was no 'common era' in Late Antiquity; in fact Justinian I required the date of all laws to be stated in three separate ways. Other eras, such as the era of the Greeks, of the Martyrs, the indiction cycles and so forth are explained in the entry 'eras'.

Periods of time are indicated by an en rule, thus:

Constantine I the Great (*emperor 306–37)

The outer ranges of possible dates concerning which precision is not possible are indicated by a shilling stroke, thus:

Constantine was born in 272/3

The abbreviation *c.* (about) is used only if greater precision is not possible. The abbreviation *fl.* (*floruit*—he flourished) indicates the date when a person was approximately 30 years old.

Measurements are given in metric and imperial (avoirdupois) units. When Roman miles or Roman pounds are meant, they are specified.

Names Uniformity has in general taken a second place to familiarity. In general the forms adopted are those most commonly used in English-language scholarship on Late Antiquity.

Personal names

For persons within the Roman Empire and its successor states English forms are used if they are familiar (e.g. Constantine, Ambrose). If no English form exists, then Latin forms are preferred to Greek (e.g. Procopius, not Prokopios).

Arab, Armenian, Georgian, Persian, and Syriac names are generally rendered in their own forms (e.g. al-Mundhir, not Alamundarus, Trdat not Tiridates, Jacob Burd'oyo not Jacob Baradaeus). This does not apply where an individual is better known by a different name (e.g. Cyrus al-Muqawqas, Patriarch of Alexandria, rather than the Georgian form Kyron of Mtskehta) or there is a familiar English form (e.g. Gregory the Illuminator, S.). Germanic and other barbarian names are not in general Latinized (e.g. Fritigern, not Fritigernus). Persian names are given in their transliterated New Persian form; a list of Middle Persian and Greek equivalents for the names of Persian kings is given in the regnal list at the end of the book.

Saints known for their sanctity are accorded the title S.; those known principally as authors or rulers are not. Variants of names are frequently given following the initial headword and appropriate use has been made of cross-references.

Place names

As with personal names, English forms are used if they are familiar (e.g. Lyons not Lugdunum or Lyon, Aleppo not Beroea or Haleb, Constantinople rather than Konstantinoupolis or Istanbul). This includes the names of modern capital cities (e.g. Ankara not Ancyra or Angora, but exceptionally Serdica rather than Sofia). Places principally known as the objects of archaeological investigation are given the names used by their excavators (e.g. Dağ Pazarı, Amorium).

If there are no familiar English forms, Latin forms are preferred to Greek or other ancient or modern forms (e.g. Ephesus not Ephesos, Hierapolis of Syria rather than Syriac Mabbog or Arabic Membij).

The names of Roman dioeceses are given in either the genitive or in the adjectival form (e.g. Dioecesis Thraciae, Dioecesis Pontica). The names of Roman provinces are given in the nominative forms found in the *Verona List* and *Notitia Dignitatum*.

Terminology Terms employed are those generally familiar to the vast bulk of English speakers, such as 'pagan' (rather than 'heathen' or 'polytheist'). Exceptions made in the interest of theological accuracy are Miaphysite rather than Monophysite and, where appropriate, Homoean rather than Arian. The Christian Church in Persian Mesopotamia is referred to as the Church of the East. A distinction is made between monotheism and henotheism.

Special problems arise with the term 'Byzantine'. Many historians of the Greek world, including the compilers of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire* (*PBE*), use the term Byzantine to refer to the history of the Roman Empire from the reign of Heraclius (610–41) onwards. On the other hand, historians and archaeologists working in Egypt and the Holy Land generally describe as Byzantine the period between the Tetrarchy in the late 3rd century and the Arab conquests of the mid-7th century, and other conventions exist in other bodies of scholarship. J. B. Bury eschewed the term altogether and wrote always of the East Roman Empire. *ODLA* has not gone to that extreme, but in general favours the term 'Roman' and applies the term 'Byzantine' to Late Antiquity only where 'Roman' would sound bizarre, so that Justinian I's Italian wars are termed the Byzantine invasion and occupation of Italy, rather than the Roman invasion of Italy.

Titles of officials and corps in the Roman imperial service These are given in Latin, as there are no universally agreed translations, and literal translation leads to banality (Master of the Soldiers), ambiguity ('chamberlains' might denote *cubicularii* or *castrenses*), or absurdity (Comes Rei Privatae as Count of the Private Thing, *agentes in rebus* as 'doers in things'). In particular, *advocatus* is not translated as barrister.

A

Aachen ambo ivories The *ambo at the cathedral in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) is embellished with six *ivories probably of the early 8th century from Late Antique *Egypt, each carved in high relief and dominated by *Isis, Bacchus, and unidentified nymphs and hunters. That they come from *Umayyad lands is suggested by the style of the vine scrolls and by the presence of the *stirrup, a technology introduced to the Mediterranean through Egypt in the 8th century. JEH

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 45–6, nos. 72–7, pl. 24–5.
H. Stern, 'The Ivories of the Ambo of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle', *Connoisseur* 153/617 (1963), 166–72.

Aba I, Mar (d. 552) Author and *catholicus of the *Church of the East. He was a former Persian official converted from *Zoroastrianism. After study at the School of *Nisibis, he travelled in the West with a disciple, *Thomas of *Edessa, visiting *Palestine, *Egypt, *Greece, and *Constantinople. *Cosmas Indicopleustes acknowledges him ('Patrikios', cognate with *Syriac *Aba* 'father') as his teacher (*Christian Topography*, II, 2). Aba was elected catholicus in 540. This was not long after the end of a period of schism, and Aba had to deal with the restoration of discipline, which he effected by a visitation of *dioceses. According to his biographer, he spent the night writing encyclical *letters, the first part of the day on scriptural exegesis, and then until evening on the adjudication of *disputes. Aba generally had the favour of *Khosrow I, but his success as a Christian leader antagonized the *Zoroastrian priestly establishment. He was exiled to Azerbaijan for seven years; then kept in chains; then near the end of his life released on condition that he would go to *Khuzestan and put an end to Christian involvement in a rebellion there.

A collection of compositions by Aba preserved in the **Synodicon Orientale* includes a treatise directed against Persian (consanguineous) and Jewish (Levirate) *marriage. His interpretations of the *Bible are known only from citations in later literature. When considering these citations, the present Aba has to be distinguished from two others also cited: Mar Aba, a disciple of *Ephrem; and the Catholicus Mar Aba II of Kashkar (641–751). JFC

GEDSH s.v. Aba I, p. 1 (Van Rompay).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 2.
Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 68–95 (text), 318–51 (FT).
Vita, ed. Bedjan, *Histoire*, 206–87.
GT of *Vita*: Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, 188–220.

Ab Actis A senior member of the **officium* of a *Praefectus Praetorio, *Praefectus Urbi, *Vicarius, or provincial *governor, probably from the late 4th century. He was head of the department responsible for records of civil cases. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 587, 592–3.

Abasgia (mod. Abkhazia) Abasgia occupied the north-east shore of the Black Sea. It was part of Colchis where the *cities of Gyenos (Ochamchire), *Pityus (Pitsunda), and Dioscurias (later *Sebastopolis) were founded during the period of Greek colonization. North of Abasgia was Apsilia with the fortress at Tzibile (Tsebelda) in the Kodori Valley. From AD 64 Colchis, including Abasgia, formed part of the Roman *province of Pontus Polemoniacus. The Abasgian province was later governed by an Archon appointed by *Constantinople.

Arrian in the 2nd century mentions a Roman military presence in Pityus and Sebastopolis and notes that Rhesmagas the King of the Abasgi was appointed by Hadrian (*Periplus*, 11). In the 3rd century Abasgia was overrun by *Goths and fell into decline. In the 4th and 5th centuries Abasgia was subject to *Lazica. Christianity reached the region in the 4th century, and the Archbishop of Pityus was subordinate to the *Patriarch of Constantinople. By the 6th century Abasgia had shifted to the north, between the rivers Gumista and Bzip; it was now subject to the Eastern Roman Empire with its capital at Anacopia (mod. Novy Afon). By this time Pityus and Sebastopolis were forts rather than cities (*NovJust* 28, pref.). In 550 the Abasgi revolted and called upon Persian assistance, but *Bessas forced

them back into the Roman fold. *Procopius avers that most Byzantine *eunuchs were Abasgian, but *Justinian I forbade the Abasgian kings to castrate their own people for profit (*Gothic*, VIII, 3, 15). In 768 Abasgia together with Apshileti joined the western Georgian Kingdom of Apkhazeti with Kutaisi as its capital. MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 65–6, 300–1.

'Abbasids (in Umayyad times) Caliphal dynasty (750–1258) who seized the *caliphate from the *Umayyads in the so-called 'Abbasid Revolution of 747–50. The 'Abbasids took their eponym from their ancestor al-'Abbas (d. *c.*653), one of the uncles of the Prophet *Muhammad. By later Umayyad times many of the 'Abbasid family resided at Humayma (in modern Jordan).

Some 'Abbasids joined the failed revolt of another Hashimite, *'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya (744–7). The 'Abbasid Revolution itself began in *Khorasan (mod. Turkmenistan) in 747. An 'Abbasid, Abu al-'Abbas b. 'Ali, was publicly proclaimed as the new caliph at *Kufa in Iraq, in 749/50. The Umayyad *Marwan II was defeated in the Battle of Zab in early 750. Subsequently, the entire Umayyad elite was killed, with the exception of an Umayyad prince, 'Abd al-Rahman I, who fled to *Spain and established the Umayyad Emirate of Cordoba.

The initiators of the revolution, based both in *Kufa and in Khorasan, were known as the Hashimiyya. The movement's name may be understood to refer to the claim on the caliphate of Muhammad's tribe of Hashim, or may refer to a claim in some sources that the 'Abbasids based their legitimacy on designation by a grandson of *'Ali, Abu Hashim (d. 717), whose father had already been unsuccessfully promoted as caliph in the failed revolution of al-*Mukhtar. KMK; AM

P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (2005).
H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (^{2}2004).
T. Bernheimer, 'The Revolt of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya, AH 127–130: A Reconsideration through the Coinage', *BSOAS* 69 (2006), 381–93.

Abbayei (Nahmani) (*c.*278–338) Head of the Babylonian rabbinic academy of *Pumbedita. Following the early deaths of his parents, Abbayei was raised by his uncle Rabbah bar Nahmani, who may have applied the nickname Abbayei (my father) to his nephew to avoid having to refer to him by his true name Nahhmani, which was his own father's name. In addition to Rabbah, Abbayei's primary mentor was Rav Joseph, and upon the latter's death in 323 Abbayei assumed leadership of the Pumbeditha academy. His numerous legal disagreements with *Rava, head of the academy of *Mahoze, are considered a central component of Talmudic discourse, but save for six cases the vast majority of disputes were resolved according to Rava. Abbayei evinced a high regard for Palestinian rabbinic teaching, and even supported a measure of Babylonian subservience to Palestinian traditions. Following his own personal lifestyle, Abbayei preferred the model of a rabbinic scholar who also took part in some sort of economic activity, rather than devoting himself totally to Torah study. He is also one of the first sages cited for distinguishing between the simple meaning of scriptures and their more elaborate exegetical interpretations. IMG

Neusner, *Babylonia*, vol. 4.
R. Kalmin, 'Friends and Colleagues or Barely Acquainted? Relations between Fourth-Generation Masters in the Babylonian Talmud', *HUCA* 61 (1990) 125–58.

Abbo (d. *c.*751) Rector of Maurienne and Susa (726) and probably *Patricius of *Provence (739–*c.*751). He founded the *Monastery of Novalesa in 726; his *will of 739 is a key source for contemporary Provence. HJH

Testamentum Abbonis: ed. (with ET and study), P. J. Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence: The Rhône Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age* (1985), 36–79.

'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahya al-Katib (d. 750) Secretary for the Umayyad caliphs *Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 724–43) and *Marwan II (r. 744–50). His early education probably covered the *Qur'ān, *Arabic philology, *poetry, and arithmetic. He was a teacher and private tutor in *Kufa before moving to *Damascus. During the *'Abbasid Revolution (747–50), 'Abd al-Hamid fled with Marwan II to *Egypt, and then returned to *Syria and possibly *Mesopotamia, whereupon legend says he hid with Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. *c.*756) until he was captured, tortured, and killed by agents of the 'Abbasids. What survives of his work reveals a distinctive epistolary style characterized by parallelism, simile, and metaphor, resulting in richly layered and musically balanced prose. His frequent use of Qur'ānic imagery endows his Umayyad political apologia with deep religious significance. His writings evince the growing sophistication of Arabic prose literature in general and the Islamic state chancery in particular. AJD

I. 'Abbas, ed., *'Abd al-Hamid ibn Yahya al-Katib: wa-ma tabaqqa min rasa'ilihi wa-rasa'il Salim Abi al-'Ala'* (1988).
J. D. Latham, 'The Beginnings of Arabic Prose Literature: The Epistolary Genre', in A. F. L. Beeston et al., eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983), 154–64.
W. al-Qadi, 'The Impact of the Qurʾān on the Epistolography of ʿAbd al-Hamīd', in G. R. Hawting and A. A. Shareef, eds., *Approaches to the Qur'an* (1993), 285–313.

'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas (d. *c.*688), or Ibn 'Abbas, was a son of one of the Prophet *Muhammad's uncles.

In the period after Muhammad's death, Ibn 'Abbas was instrumental in opening up scholarship on the *Qur'ān, and thereby ensuring that the holy text remained relevant in the rapidly transforming society after the early *Arab conquests. He was also the grandfather of the *Abbasid line of *caliphs. RHos; AM

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Abd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbas', 40–1 (Vaglieri).

'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr (624–91/2) *Caliph (r. *c.*684–91/2) during the Second *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*). Grandson of the first *caliph *Abu Bakr, and nephew of the Prophet *Muhammad's wife *'A'isha, 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr was well connected and well respected in the early Islamic community. His refusal to recognize *Yazid b. Mu'awiya's accession, and later that of *Marwan I, met with widespread support, especially in the *Hijaz (west *Arabia). So too did his claim to the *caliphate. He was eventually defeated by the *Umayyad *'Abd al-Malik. *Tabari is the principal source. NC

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 54–5 (Gibb).

C. F. Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik* (2005).

'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya (d. 748) Great-grandson of Ja'far b. Abi Talib (brother of *'Ali) and contender for the imamate (744–8). With Zaydi support, he briefly controlled *Jibal, Ahwaz, *Fars, and *Kirman, appointing governors, minting coins, and collecting taxes. When an *Umayyad *army forced him to flee to *Khorasan, the *'Abbasid general *Abu Muslim al-Khorasani (d. 755) arrested and executed him. 'Abd Allah's followers were known for their belief in metempsychosis; after his death, some of them claimed he was only hiding and would eventually return, while others believed his soul transmigrated to Ishaq b. Zayd. AJD

ANCIENT SOURCES

al-Shahrastani, *Kitab al-milal wa-l-nihal*, ed. M. S. Kilani, 2 vols. (1961).

STUDIES

T. Bernheimer, 'The Revolt of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya, AH 127–130: A Reconsideration through the Coinage', *BSOAS* 69 (2006), 381–93.

W. F. Tucker, *Mahdis and Millenarians: Shīʾite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq* (2008).

'Abd Allah b. Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 742) One of the most important figures in the formation, development, and interpretation of the Islamic tradition, al-Zuhri is viewed positively for his contributions, and negatively for his apparent laxity, with regard to the transmission of *hadiths and his close political ties to the *Umayyad *caliphate. Trained in *Medina, he was initially overlooked for political reasons by the Umayyads, but *'Abd al-Malik (685–705) was convinced to hire him as a tutor for the princes. Under the caliph *Umar II (717–20), al-Zuhri was charged with collecting *sunan* (customary practices, plural of *sunna*) and was instrumental in collecting and recording traditions that described the actions not only of *Muhammad, but also of the important figures of the early Muslim community. RHos

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* 'al-Zuhrī', 565–6 (Lecker).

N. Abbot, 'Hadīth Literature—II: Collection and Transmission of Hadīth', in A. F. L. Beeston et al., eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983).

'Abd Allah b. 'Umar (d. 693) A son of the *caliph *'Umar b. al-Khattab, famous for his character and scrupulousness in the transmission of *hadith. He converted to *Islam as a young man, and participated in some of the major early battles of the Islamic era. NK

EI 2, vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* ʿAbd Allah b. 'Umar al-Khattāb', 53–4 (Vaglieri).

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (646–705) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 685 or 692–705), builder of the *Dome of the Rock on Temple Mount, *Jerusalem. 'Abd al-Malik's accession was not clear-cut; he held sway in *Syria, but *Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr was acclaimed as caliph elsewhere, a dispute that became the Islamic community's second **fitna* (*Arab civil war). Historians thus differ in whether they date 'Abd al-Malik's reign from 685 (his predecessor's death) or 692 (his rival's defeat). His intent in building the Dome of the Rock, dated by *inscription to the latter year, is also debated; some have suggested he sought a *pilgrimage site to rival the *Ka'ba in *Mecca (controlled, during the *fitna*, by Ibn al-Zubayr), others that it was a victory monument. Its inscriptions—Qur'ānic verses comparing Christian monotheism unfavourably with Islam's (e.g. Q. 19:35, 'It does not befit God that He should take a son ...')—suggest sectarianism. 'Abd al-Malik also oversaw a standardization of *weights and measures, a shift to *Arabic in the *administration, and a *coinage revolution; Byzantine and Sasanian imagery was dropped, and a unified epigraphic form adopted in 696–7 (for *gold coins) and 698–9 (*silver). Like the Dome, these coins bore anti-Trinitarian slogans, notably Q. 112:1–4. NC

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān', 76–7 (Gibb).

Tabari, XXII and XXIII, *passim*.

S. Album and T. Goodwin, eds., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, 10 vols. (²1999–2012).

F. M. Donner, 'The Formation of the Islamic State', *JAOS* 106 (1986), 283–96.

O. Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (2006).

R. Hoyland, 'New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State', *BSOAS* 69 (2006), 395–416.

P. Grierson, 'The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik', *JESHO* 3 (1960), 241–64.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 503–22.
J. Raby and J. Johns, eds., *Bayt al-Maqdis*, 2 vols. (1992–2000).
C. Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik* (2005).

'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Ash'ath (d. 704) Arab military commander and rebel. 'Abd al-Rahman sided with *'Abd al-Malik during the Second *Arab Civil War (*c.*683–92). Dispatched against the *Zunbil with the 'Peacock Army', however, 'Abd al-Rahman allied with his target. The tradition labels this a revolt (699–704), blaming non-Arab convert disaffection and al-*Hajjaj's intransigence, but it may simply be a typical example of frontier commanders' autonomy in the *Umayyad period. NC

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* 'Ibn al-Ashʿath', 715–19 (Veccia Vaglieri).
Tabari, XXII.
R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Ashʿat und die Koranleser* (1977).
A. Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World* (2002), vol. 1.

Abdishoʿ (d. 1318) Abdishoʿ bar Brika, *Metropolitan of *Nisibis, is the last important east *Syriac writer. His *Nomocanon* (1290) and *Book on the Order of Church Decrees* (1314/15) were declared binding by a synod in 1318. Besides theological works, he also composed a *Book Catalogue*, which is our most important source for the history of east Syriac literature, much of it from Late Antiquity. HK; IP

GEDSH Abdisho bar Brikha, 3–4 (Childers).
Catalogue of Books: ed. (with LT) Assemani, *BiblOr* III, 1, 3–362.
ET in Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 2, 361–79.
Nomocanon: ed. I. Perczel (with introd. by H. Kaufhold), *The Nomokanon of Metropolitan Abdisho of Nisibis: A Facsimile Edition of ms. 64 from the Collection of the Church of the East in Trissur* (2005).
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 323–5.

Abgar legend Widely credited set of stories based on the apocryphal correspondence between Jesus and King Abgar of *Edessa. *Eusebius (*HE* I, 13) gives the text, found in the *city *archives of Edessa, of *letters exchanged between King Abgar and Jesus, who promises to send one of his disciples to heal the king's illness, a promise fulfilled when S. Thomas sent Thaddaeus (Syr. Addai), who converted the city 'by his wonderful *miracles' (II, 1, 6–8). When *Egeria (19) visited the city in 384 she was shown a longer version of the *letters than that which she and her sisters had at home, and was told about a Persian army which had been miraculously repelled by the Lord's letter.

The 5th-century *Syriac *Teaching of *Addai* tells a more elaborate story. It is the earliest text to say that Abgar's messenger, a scribe and painter, returned with a portrait of Jesus as well as a message promising that the city would not be conquered. It also preserves letters purportedly written by King Abgar to the Emperor Tiberius complaining that the Jews had crucified Jesus, together with the emperor's emollient response. These letters are also preserved in *Armenian by *Movses Khorenats'i. Versions of the story had a broad circulation and copies of the letters in *Coptic as well as *Greek were used as *amulets and as apotropaic charms fastened to the doors of *houses.

*Procopius (*Persian*, II, 12, 26) records that the *inscription of the letters on the city gate made Edessa impregnable. From the late 6th century onwards, with the development of the story of the *Mandylion of Edessa, the legend became increasingly elaborate, not least in the *Acts of the Apostle Thaddeus*. AD

H. J. W. Drijvers, 'The Abgar Legend', in W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, tr. from 6th German edn. by R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (²1991), vol. 1, 492–500.

Abila *City of the Decapolis in *Palaestina Secunda, located *c.*80 km (50 miles) north-east of *Amman (Jordan). Occupation dates from the Early Bronze Age, with significant expansion in the Roman and Late Roman periods, declining after the mid-8th century.

The site spans two tells (Tell Abila, Tell Umm al-'Amad) and the saddle in between. Urban amenities include a theatre, a *bath/nymphaeum complex, and at least four churches. The north-east church is an unusual five-aisled *basilica with *apses in the north and south walls. The city is connected by *streets partly paved with basalt; a paved road leading east out of the city crosses a *bridge over the Wadi Quweilbeh. A system of underground *aqueducts and water channels supplied *water to the city. In the *Umayyad period a well-built multistorey building was constructed in the theatre, later converted to industrial use. Tombs dug into the wadi ledges to the south and east of the site date to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Roman periods.

The names of three 6th-century *bishops are known, of whom one, Alexander, was exiled to *Constantinople in 553 for refusing to condemn *Origenism, and was killed there in an *earthquake (*VSab* 192 and 199 Schwartz). MESW

DHGE 1 (1909) *s.n.* Abila 1 (S. Valihé).
W. H. Mare, 'Internal Settlement Patterns in Abila', *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 6 (1992), 309–13.
D. Wineland, *Ancient Abila: An Archaeological History* (2001).

Abinnaeus, Flavius (*c.*286–post 351) Probably Syrian by birth and a Christian, Abinnaeus spent 33 years as *ducenarius* in the **vexillatio* of Parthian archers at Diospolis in the *Thebaid in Upper *Egypt. He was in *Constantinople in July 336 as escort to a

group of ambassadors from the country of the *Blemmyes when *Constantine I celebrated his Tricennalia *anniversary. On this occasion he was promoted to *_protector_. Abinnaeus was appointed *Praefectus of the *ala Quinta Praelectorum* stationed at the *Fayyum *village of *Dionysias by imperial *letter in 339 or 340, while he was on an embassy delivering Egyptian recruits to *Hierapolis. Although this appointment was disputed on a couple of occasions, perhaps as a result of religious politics, and interrupted in the mid-340s, it lasted until sometime after 11 February 351, when Abinnaeus retired to the village of Philadelphia in the *Arsinoïte nome.

Abinnaeus is known from more than 80 *papyri (P.Abinn.), mainly *Greek but also *Latin, that were acquired by purchase but presumably discovered in Philadelphia. These *petitions, *contracts, *letters, accounts, and receipts shed light on both his family's private affairs and his own public dealings (imperial interactions and service to the state as garrison commander and representative of the *Dux). Complaints sent to him while at Dionysias from all over the Arsinoite nome (from villagers such as Aurelius *Sakaon in *Theadelphia) illustrate typical juridical demands placed on an *ala* commander in 4th-century Roman Egypt. RA

ed. H. I. Bell, V. Martin, E. G. Turner, D. van Berchem, *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II* (1962).

'Flavius Abinnaeus', *Trismegistos Archives*, http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/1.pdf (consulted 6 September 2012).

T. D. Barnes, 'The Career of Abinnaeus', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 368–74.

Abitinae A town (*colonia*) in *Africa Proconsularis, modern Chouhoud el-Batin, near ancient Membressa, about 80 km (50 miles) from *Carthage. In 304 some Christians were arrested at Abitinae and sent to Carthage for interrogation. The *Donatist *Passio Sanctorum Dativi et Saturnini Presbyteri et Aliorum*, the *Passio Abitinensium* (*BHL* 7492), probably written a century later, asserts that Mensurius, Catholic *bishop of Carthage, and his deacon Caecilianus, refused to help these Abitinian *confessores* in prison. ETH

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 1, 56–62.

Passio Abitinensium: ed. P. F. de'Cavalieri (*ST* 65, 1935), 1–71.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 153.

A. Dearn, 'The Abitinian Martyrs and the Outbreak of the Donatist Schism', *JEH* 55 (2004), 1–18.

F. Dolbeau, 'La "Passion" des martyrs d'Abitina', *AnBoll* 121 (2003), 273–96.

Abkhazia *See* ABASGIA.

Ablabius Lost historian of the Goths mentioned by *Jordanes (*Getica*, XIV, 82) and *Cassiodorus. He possibly wrote at the court of the *Visigothic king *Euric, who wanted a Gothic history written (*Sidonius Apollinaris refused), since the passage of Jordanes heightens the dignity of the Visigothic ruling family by extending it anachronistically to the period before the *Hunnic invasions. PHe

PLRE II, Ablabius 6.

HLL 5, section 546.1.

Wolfram, *Goths*, 386–7.

abortion and contraception 'A contraceptive (*atokion*) does not allow conception (*sullepsis*) to occur, while an abortive (*phthorion*) destroys what has been conceived, and expels it.' Thus the 6th-century physician *Aëtius of *Amida (XVI, 16–17, pr) introduces his encyclopedic chapters on how to achieve both outcomes (with some preference for the first): methods which range from sneezing and jumping to *amulets made of mule testicles, and include many pharmacological applications and potions.

The persistence of the traditional approach to abortion, prioritizing women's health and survival, and the continued casual inclusion of contraceptive items, across the *Greek and *Latin medical texts of Late Antiquity contrasts with strong Christian condemnation of the former, and sometimes the latter, not always mutually distinguished. Abortion is equated with *parricide by *Ambrose (*c.*340–97) and *Jerome (*c.*350–420), for example, and Church *Councils established penalties for women (mostly) who sought to rid themselves of foetus or infant. Later Roman *law, and the early *leges barbarorum*, also reflect some of these complexities, in a range of ways. There is little interest in abortion (or contraception) as a category in itself (the **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum*) of 653/4 comes closest); the focus is rather on particular intersections with anxieties about poisoning, adultery, and *inheritance; and about the intricate workings of a compensatory legal response to *homicide. REF

Z. Mistry, '"Alienated from the Womb": Abortion in the Early Medieval West, c.500–900' (PhD thesis, University College, London, 2011).

K. M. Hopkins, 'Contraception in the Roman Empire', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8/1 (October 1965), 124–51.

E. Nardi, *Procurato aborto nel mondo Greco-romano* (1971).

J. T. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (1986).

Abot deRabbi Nathan This rabbinic work belongs to the so-called extra-canonical tractates of the Babylonian *Talmud, that is, it appears in the printed editions of the Talmud but is not an original part of it. It is based on the Mishnah tractate Abot and contains traditions which comment on, embellish, and supplement the earlier text. The tradents and editors were mostly

interested in internal rabbinic matters, such as the transmission of Torah learning, relationships between teachers and students, and proper rabbinic etiquette. The document is written in Mishnaic Hebrew and transmitted in two major versions (A is longer than B). Scholars differ over the relationship of the versions to each other and over their dates. Suggestions range from the 3rd to 4th century AD to early medieval times. CH

H.-J. Becker and C. Berner, eds., *Avot de-Rabbi Natan. Synoptische Edition beider Versionen* (2006).

J. Neusner, *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan: An Analytical Translation and Explanation* (1986).

Aboukir Promontory at the former mouth of the Canopic branch of the *Nile, north-east of *Alexandria, 'a greatly delightful place' (*Ammianus XXII, 16, 14). Aboukir encompasses three separate ancient sites which have been recently distinguished by underwater archaeology and textual analysis. The first of these, Canopus, was renowned for the festivals celebrated at its *temple of Osiris/Serapis (Strabo XVII, 1, 16–17) until the cult was destroyed by the *Patriarch *Theophilus, who established a Pachomian *monastery at the site (*Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 471; *Jerome, *Preface to the Rule of Pachomius*; *Rufinus, *HE* 11, 26). By the early 5th century, the monastery had acquired the name Metanoia ('Repentance'), and it became widely known throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Just to the east was the site of Menouthis, which possessed a shrine of Isis (*Zacharias, *VSevAnt*, 17–21 Kugener), and also boasted the shrine of Ss. *Cyrus and John, whose healing powers were recounted by *Sophronius of *Jerusalem and drew numerous pilgrims. Nearby was the site of Heracleion-Thonis, a pharaonic settlement which had previously served as the main entry point for Greeks to *Egypt. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 5 *s.n.* Metanoia, Monastery of the; col. 1608a–1611b (J. Gascou); and vol. 1 *s.n.* Abuqir col. 31b–32a (S. Randall).

Miracles of Cyrus and John, ed. (annnotated with SpT) N. F. Marcos, in *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (MAE 31, 1975).

P. Booth, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity* (TCH 52, 2013).

J. Gascou, 'Les Origines du culte des saints Cyr et Jean', *AnBoll* 125 (2007), 241–81.

F. Goddio, *Underwater Archaeology in the Canopic Region in Egypt: The Topography and Excavation of Heracleion-Thonis and East Canopus, 1996–2006* (OCMA 1, 2007).

Y. Stolz, 'Kanopos oder Menouthis? Zur Identifikation einer Ruinenstätte in der Bucht von Abuqir in Ägypten', *Klio* 90 (2008), 193–207.

Abraha Ethiopic Christian ruler of *Yemen (r. 525/530/543–after 559). South Arabian *inscriptions (*CISem* IV, 541) recount his victorious campaigns in the central *Arabian Peninsula 372 (*c.*540–50), which are alluded to in the *Qur'ān (105) as an abortive attack on *Mecca. PAW

L. Conrad, 'Abraha and Muhammad', *BSOAS* 50 (1987), 225–40.

A. de Prémare, 'Il voulut détruire le temple', *JA* 288 (2000), 286–335.

Abraham of Bet-Rabban (*fl.* 500–69) Third director of the *School of *Nisibis from 530, an interpreter and controversialist known for his exegeses (now lost) of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia's works. He extended the school which became very influential, and reorganized the education programmes. FJ

GEDSH s.v. Abraham of Beth Rabban, 8 (Van Rompay).

Life of Abraham (i.e. *Barhadbeshabba, *HE* 32), ed. (with FT) F. Nau, PO 9/5 (1913) 616/119–631/143; ET (annotated with introd.) A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008), 73–85.

DHGE 1 (1912), 177.

A. Vööbus, 'Abraham de-Bēt Rabban and his Rôle', *HTR* 58 (1965), 203–14.

A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Sub. 26, 1965), 134–210.

Becker, *Fear of God.*

Abraham of Hermonthis (late 6th–early 7th cent.) *Miaphysite *Bishop of *Hermonthis (mod. Armant), though he resided in a *monastery he established *c.*590 dedicated to S. *Phoibammon within the former *temple at Deir al-Bahri. He had previously been abbot of a monastery likewise dedicated to S. Phoibammon near Medinet Habu. Abraham's episcopal *archive, consisting of several hundred *letters, was discovered at Deir al-Bahri. Though mostly unpublished, Abraham's correspondence reveals the manifold duties and responsibilities of a bishop in Upper *Egypt—albeit a bishop largely cut off from his episcopal see, which apparently was controlled by a *Chalcedonian bishop. His will (P. Lond. 1, 77) is also extant and was written *c.*610. A 7th-century *icon depicting him is now in Berlin and his *ivory diptych in the British Museum. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Abraham of Hermonthis, col. 13a–13b (M. Krause).

ET of will, with comm. L. S. B. MacCoull in John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, with the assistance of Giles Constable, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 5 vols. (DOS 35, 2000), 51–8.

M. Krause, *Apa Abraham von Hermonthis. Ein oberägyptischer Bischof um 600* (Berlin doctoral thesis, 2 vols., 1956).

G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (APf Beiheft 13, 2002).

E. Wipszycka, 'The Institutional Church', in R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (2007), 331–49.
C. Fluck, 'The Portrait of Apa Abraham of Hermonthis', in G. Gabra and H. N. Takla, *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, vol. 2 Nag Hammadi–Esna, (2010).

Abraham of Kashkar (*c.*502–*c.*587) Monastic founder in the *Church of the East. After study at the *School of *Nisibis, and (according to some sources) a time in *Egypt and *Palestine observing monastic life, Abraham founded a *monastery on Mount *Izla, on the south edge of the *Tur ʿAbdin plateau, 30 km (*c.*20 miles) north-east of Nisibis. A set of monastic rules published in 571, perhaps twenty years after the foundation, reflects a coenobitic way of life with protection for silence, *prayer, and study. Distinctive *tonsure and *dress are also mentioned. *Syriac sources universally call Mar Abraham's foundation the 'Great Monastery'. His disciples, and their disciples, founded monasteries all over the territory of the Church of the East, effectively superseding the School of Nisibis as the training ground for the leadership of the Church after the 6th century. JFC

GEDSH s.v. Abraham of Kashkar, 8–9 (Van Rompay).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 23.
Rule: ed. (with ET) Vööbus, *Documents*, 150–62. GT of *Rule* in Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, 318–31.
F. Jullien, *Le Monachisme en Perse: la réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient* (CSCO 622, Sub. 121; 2008).
S. Chialà, *Abramo di Kashkar e la sua comunità: la rinascita del monachesimo siro-orientale* (2005) (with IT of *Rule*).
Fiey, *Nisibe*, 144–50.

Abraham of Natpar (*fl.* late 6th/early 7th cent.) East Syriac monastic author from Nathpar (mod. Guwair, south-east of *Mosul, Iraq). His spiritual treatises draw upon earlier material: *On Prayer and Silence*, for example, uses *John of *Apamea's *On Prayer* and is prefaced with excerpts from *Aphrahat's *Demonstration on Prayer*. His pupil Job is reported to have founded a *monastery over Abraham's tomb and to have translated some of his discourses (*memre*) into Persian. These Persian texts are lost, as is the *Life* of Abraham written in the mid-7th century by Sabrisho' Rustam, head of the monastery of Bet Qoqa. IP

GEDSH s.v. Abraham of Nathpar, 9 (Childers).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 24.
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 131.
Memre: ed. (with FT and introd.) C. Chahine (doctoral thesis, Rome, 2004).
ET S. P. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (CSS 101, 1987), 187–96.
R. M. Tonneau, 'Abraham de Natpar', *OrSyr* 2 (1957), 337–50 (with FT of selections).
F. del Río Sánchez, 'Abrahám de Natpar', *Studia Monastica* 42/1 (2000), 53–63.

Abthungi (Abthugnos) Small *city of *Africa Proconsularis 75 km (40 miles) south-west of *Carthage. *Donatists deemed the participation of Felix *Bishop of Abthungi in the disputed consecration in 312 of Bishop Caecilianus of *Carthage to have rendered the consecration invalid, because they accused Felix of being a *traditor* (one who handed over Christian scriptures to the *pagan authorities during *persecution). Investigations carried out in 314–15, ordered by *Constantine I and documented in the *Optatan Appendix, exonerated Felix. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 265–77.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 144–5.
N. Ferchiou, 'Le site antique d'Abthugnos', *BINP* 3 (1989), 121–6.
N. Ferchiou, 'Abthugnos, ville de Proconsulaire au IVe siècle', *BCTH* (1993–5), 197–202.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 131–6.

Abu Bakr ('Abd Allah b. Abi Quhafa) (*c.*573–634) *Caliph (632–4), immediate successor to *Muhammad. Abu Bakr, a wealthy *merchant was born in *Mecca in the Banu Taym clan of the *Quraysh tribe. He was one of the first Meccans who converted to *Islam, and was a companion of Muhammad during his emigration to *Medina as well as the father of *'A'isha, the Prophet's favourite wife. After Muhammad's death, Abu Bakr, supported by *'Umar b. al-Khattab, obtained the vacant leadership position against the opposition of the leading Muslims from Medina. Consequently, the Sunni tradition acknowledges him as the first of the four rightly guided (*rashidun*) caliphs. During the 27 months of his reign, he successfully quelled the rebellions of Arabian tribes that had apostatized after Muhammad's death (now known as the *Ridda Wars). After victories against the Sasanians in Iraq (633) and forays into *Palestine (634), Abu Bakr, while preparing larger campaigns, died in Medina after a short illness and was succeeded by 'Umar. KMK

K. ʿAthamina, 'The Pre-Islamic Roots of the Early Muslim Caliphate: The Emergence of Abū Bakr', *Der Islam* 76 (1999), 1–32.
F. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (2010).
W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1997).
M. Muranyi, 'Ein neuer Bericht über die Wahl des ersten Kalifen Abū Bakr', *Arabica* 25 (1978), 233–60.

Abu Hanifa (Nu'man b. Thabit) (699–767) Leading Iraqi jurist from *Kufa affiliated with the rationalist *ahl al-ra'y* camp, and eponym of the Hanafi school,

which would later become one of the four major schools of Sunni *law. HBR

EI THREE s.v. 'Abu Hanifa' (Yanahigashi).

Abu Jahl (*c.*570–*c.*624) One of *Muhammad's fiercest opponents in *Mecca and a prominent *merchant and member of the tribe of *Makhzum of the clan of *Quraysh. His nickname and the name by which he was known in Islamic annals, Abu Jahl, means 'Father of Ignorance', while his name was actually Abu al-Hakam 'Amr b. Hashim. He is said to have orchestrated the Meccan boycott of Muhammad's tribe, as well as an assassination attempt against Muhammad wherein the participation of multiple clansmen in the plot was arranged in order to protect any single tribe from retaliation. He was killed in the Battle of *Badr, seeking to rescue a Meccan caravan from ambush by the Muslims. NK

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Abū Djahl', 115 (Watt).

Abu Lahab A member of *Muhammad's family, Abu Lahab pledged to protect Muhammad in *Medina but withdrew his support after the death of Muhammad's uncle Abu Talib. He and his wife are mentioned in the *Qur'ān, where they are condemned (Q. 111). NK

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Abū Lahab', 136–7 (Watt).

Abu Mikhnaf (d. 774) Early Muslim historian. Around 40 titles, none of which survives, are associated with Abu Mikhnaf by later historians and cataloguers; he is very frequently cited by al-*Tabari and al-*Baladhuri in their histories, behind only al-*Mada'ini and al-*Waqidi. To judge from these references, his area of expertise was early Islamic Iraq, a region in whose politics his clan (the *Azd) had long been involved. His other interests included the *'Alids—some medieval sources suggest he may have had proto-*Shi'i sympathies, although there is little concrete evidence to support this—and Arab tribal lineages and 'battle-days' narratives (*ayyam al-'arab*). NC

EI THREE s.v. 'Abū Mikhnaf' (Athamina).

A. A. Duri, 'The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century: A Sketch', in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (1962), 46–53.

U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umaiyadischen Zeit* (1971).

Abu Mina Place of *pilgrimage dedicated to the cult of the *martyr S. *Menas, some 60 km (38 miles) southwest of *Alexandria. *Miracles attributed to S. Menas at the site of his reputed burial led to the development of an extensive complex of buildings and surrounding settlement to accommodate pilgrims who thronged to the site during the 5th and 6th centuries, often taking *pilgrimage flasks home with them.

The late 5th-century Great *Basilica, adjoining the Martyr Church, is the largest church known from Late Antique *Egypt. With its broad colonnaded *streets, the overall site is one of the last large settlements designed according to classical principles. At its peak in the 6th century, the site contained four churches, a *baptistery, several pilgrim *hostels (including a lavish multi-storeyed peristyle hostel for upper-class pilgrims), rooms designed for sleeping and incubation near the saint's crypt, an administrative centre, workshops, *baths, and domestic housing. Unlike the other churches, the North Basilica shares architectural features common to churches from Upper Egypt, suggesting that the site catered to both *Miaphysite and Chalcedonian pilgrims. Neighbouring sites in the *Mareotis indicate that most pilgrims disembarked at Marea 17 km (10 miles) north on Lake Mareotis.

Abu Mina was devastated during the *Persian invasion of 619, revived somewhat in the succeeding centuries, and was finally abandoned in the 9th century. CJH

CoptEnc I *s.v.* Abu Mina, 24–9 (Grossman).

P. Grossmann, *Abu Mina. I. Die Gruftkirche und die Gruft* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo 44, 1989).

P. Grossmann, *Abu Mina II. Das Baptisterium* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo 54, 2004).

P. Grossman, 'The Pilgrimage Center of Abu Mina', in D. Frankfurter, ed., *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (RGRW 134, 1998), 281–302.

Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (*c.*614–*c.*663) Representative for *'Ali b. Abi Talib in the arbitration between 'Ali and *Mu'awiya after the Battle of *Siffin (657–8). Primary sources offer contrasting assessments of his fitness for the task, alternatively describing him as cunning or naive, brave or cowardly, loyal or treacherous. Accordingly there are various assessments of 'Ali's motivations for his appointment. Some say that 'Ali genuinely trusted Abu Musa, being a prominent *Companion of the Prophet, governor of *Basra, and a military commander. Others say that 'Ali was ambivalent about him, but appointed him to stall fighting, secure Basran support, and consolidate his forces for a military victory. Still others claim that 'Ali chose a weak arbiter in Abu Musa in order to be able to justify rejecting any unfavourable outcome of arbitration. AJD

A. Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourses on Legitimate Leadership* (2002).

T. El-Hibri, *Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History: The Rashidun Caliphs* (2010).

M. Hinds, 'The Siffin Arbitration Agreement', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972), 93–129.

Abu Muslim (d. 755) Leader of the so-called *'Abbasid Revolution' (747–50). Abu Muslim's origins are obscure but he was almost certainly of Iranian heritage. In 747 he led a revolt in the Iranian province of *Khorasan, defeating *Umayyad armies to take the city of *Merw. From there he sent armies west. A new *caliph, Abu al-'Abbas al-Saffah, was proclaimed at *Kufa in Iraq in 749 or 750. Under Abu al-'Abbas (r. 750–4), Abu Muslim was the governor of Khorasan; one of the first acts of Abu al-'Abbas' successor, al-Mansur (r. 754–75) was to summon Abu Muslim to Iraq and have him killed. NC

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Abū Muslim', 141 (Moscati).
EI THREE s.v. 'Abbāsid Revolution' (Daniel).
*Tabari, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII.
S. S. Agha, *The Revolution which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor 'Abbāsid* (2003).
R. S. Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (1991).

Abu Sha'ar Late Roman fort (*see* FORTIFICATIONS) on the Red Sea coast of *Egypt, founded in 309/11 and garrisoned by the *Ala Nova Maximiana.* The fort (*c.*77.5 m × *c.*64 m (255 × 211 feet)) had ditches, two main gates, and twelve or thirteen quadrilateral *towers, and was connected through an overland path to Qena. Mention of a 'mercator' on an *inscription at the north gate suggests participation in local commerce, yet excavations have revealed little contact with Red Sea or Indian Ocean *trade. After the military left in the late 4th/early 5th century, the site remained in use into the late 6th or early 7th centuries. This mainly ecclesiastical phase is associated with a *principia*/church with a Christian inscription, Christian **graffiti*, and a 5th-century *papyrus recording Christian names. KS

S. E Sidebotham, 'University of Delaware Fieldwork in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, 1993', *DOP* 48 (1994), 263–75.
L. Mulvin and S. Sidebotham, 'Roman Game Boards from Abu Sha'ar', *Antiquity* 78 (2004), 602–17.

Abu Sufyan b. Harb (Sakhr b. Harb) (*c.*564–*c.*652) *Meccan *merchant and one of *Muhammad's main opponents. He led the 'Abd Shams, rivals of Muhammad's clan, Banu Hashim, both belonging to the tribe of *Quraysh. After the *Hijra to *Medina the Muslims attempted to raid one of his caravans. This triggered the Battle of *Badr (624), in which many prominent Meccans were killed. Abu Sufyan became the head of the Meccan opposition and commander in the Battle of Uhud (625). Later there was a certain rapprochement between Muhammad and Abu Sufyan, who became the main negotiator for the Meccans and was eventually responsible for the peaceful surrender of Mecca to the Muslims in 630. He accepted *Islam, fought in the siege of al-Ta'if, and became governor of *Najran in South *Arabia. Abu Sufyan had several children by different wives; the most important among them were Ramla (Umm Habiba), who married Muhammad in *c.*628, Yazid, a military commander in *Palestine, and *Mu'awiya, also a commander in Palestine and then the first Umayyad *caliph. KMK

Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad*, tr. A. Guilluame (1955).
R. S. Humphreys, *Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan: from Arabia to Empire* (2006).

Abydos Customs posts assessing naval traffic passing between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were sited at Abydos on the Hellespont and at *Hieron on the *Bosporus. An edict of *Anastasius I specifies tariffs and other controls; the *Comes was paid from the takings. *Justinian I introduced a customs house administered by a Comes with a state salary (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 25, 1–6). FKH

Haarer, *Anastasius*.
J. Durliat and A. Guillou, 'Le Tarif d'Abydos', *BCH* 108 (1984), 581–98.
H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance, l'octava, le kommerkion et les commerciaires* (1963).

Abydos customs inscription Notification, dated to the reign of *Anastasius I, of *tolls due at the customs point of *Abydos on the Hellespont. The *inscription records taxes on a variety of goods, including staples such as *wine and oil. Customs officers monitored the quality of goods, appropriate payment of taxes, and the export of illegal goods, such as *arms and armour. It is possible that the weight tolls, or the formality of the customs arrangement at Abydos, increased under *Justinian I. *Procopius (*Anecd.* 25, 2–6) writes that Justinian established a public custom house (contrasted implicitly with earlier practice) at Abydos and at *Hieron on the *Bosporus where, Procopius alleges, unscrupulous officials sought to maximize the tolls exacted. RRD

H. Ahrweiler, 'Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes a Byzance', *REB* 19 (1961), 239–52.
J. Durliat and A. Guillou, 'Le Tarif d'Abydos (vers 492)', *BCH* 108 (1984), 581–98.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 217–20.
A. Rubel, 'Die ökonomische und politische Bedeutung von Bosporos und Hellespont in der Antike', *Historia* 58 (2009), 336–55.

Acacian Schism Break of ecclesiastical communion between *Rome and *Constantinople (482–519). In 482, in an attempt to heal the divisions in the Church caused by the *Council of *Chalcedon, the *Emperor *Zeno issued the **Henoticon* which affirmed the traditional faith of the first three councils, condemned both *Nestorius and *Eutyches, made no reference to the number of natures in Christ, disclaimed in ambiguous

terms Chalcedon, and omitted any mention of the *Tome of *Leo the Great. It was rejected by Rome, thus provoking the Acacian Schism, named after one of the authors of the *Henotikon*, Acacius, then *Patriarch of Constantinople. The *Henoticon* was generally accepted by the churches of the East. Despite attempts to resolve the schism, it lasted until the accession of *Justin I. AL

H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (1981), 29–46.
Grillmeier, 2/1 (1987), 247–317.

Acacius (d. 538/9) Governor of *Armenia Prima during *Justinian I's reorganization of *Armenia (*Nov-Just* 31, 1 of 536). He gained his position by accusing his predecessor, Amazaspes, of treason, and murdering him on Justinian's orders. Acacius proved so unpopular that he was murdered in 538/9. MTGH

PLRE III, Acacius 1.

Acacius (Aqaq), Synod of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, PERSIAN EMPIRE.

access The technical term for access to a high-ranking person, especially the *emperor, is *admissio* (cf. **admissionales*). In Late Antiquity, this was strictly regulated. Until the 3rd century AD, access to emperors during their audiences was relatively open. *Diocletian regulated access to the emperor more strictly, embedding it in ever more complex *ceremony. Instead of the quotidian *salutatio principis* with a cheek or mouth *kiss, he emphasized **adoratio purpurae* and **proskynesis*. Those admitted were classified according to their rank; to adore the *purple was a privilege. At such receptions the emperor was surrounded by his *Consistorium; they were held on particular occasions in specific parts of the *palace, from the early 5th century almost entirely in *Constantinople. Less formal were *salutatio* and *admissio* where the emperor was seen from a greater distance. Unceremonial access was granted to informers and friends, especially the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi. The emperor was visible to a wider public at the *circus, and during *processions, both religious and political. DL

Jones, *LRE* 103, 368ff., 582.
A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1970).
Demandt, *Spätantike*, 261f., 279.
F. Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike* (2001).
Millar, *Emperor*, 3–12, 228–52.

accessio (accession to the purple) In the 3rd century *emperors emerged both as a result of appointment by the *Senate and after *acclamation by the army. Dynastic succession was also an important element, even if, as in the *Tetrarchy, divorce and adoption were needed to achieve it. The various investitures of the Tetrarchic years were unequivocally military ceremonies. The Constantinian dynasty came to an end with the death of *Julian in 363, and *Ammianus gives details of what acclamation by the army might mean. In the case of *Jovian, serious discussion was causing delays when a few rabble-rousers in the army acclaimed the commander of the *Domestici and dressed him in the *purple (XXV, 5). When Jovian died unexpectedly, senior officers were able to consult and make dispositions, with the result that when *Valentinian I made his appearance on the tribunal the parade accepted him; demands made by some soldiers clashing their shields that a supplementary emperor be appointed were dropped once the new emperor had made his speech (XXVI, 1–2 and 4). What emerges from all these accounts is an abhorrence of any vacuum at the summit of imperial power.

Similar zeal for continuity is apparent when the male line of the Theodosian dynasty failed at the death of *Theodosius II in 451; the dead emperor's sister *Pulcheria was allowed to choose a husband (*Marcian) to succeed him; a similar strategy was adopted on the death of the Emperor *Zeno in 491, when his widow, the *Empress *Ariadne, herself the daughter of *Leo I (457–74), chose as her new husband and the new emperor the **silentiarius* *Anastasius I. A detailed description of the accession of *Justin I in 518 can be reconstructed (largely from *Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Caerimoniis*, I, 93 and *Evagrius, *HE* IV, 1–2); it is possible to see the *Excubitores and *Scholae, two different sets of palace guards, and *Amantius the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi all promoting favoured candidates, while the Senate debated and finally proposed a compromise candidate, the commander of the Excubitores, who was brought up the spiral staircase (*cochlius*) into the imperial box at the *circus to be acclaimed by the assembled people.

During the 6th century the succession passed through the same dynasty, though the continuity involved adoption in the case of *Tiberius II and marriage in the case of *Maurice. The Senate, imperial guard, and people gave their approval, though in the case of *Justin II the people were only told that *Justinian I was dead after Justin II had already been crowned in the Great Palace. *Phocas came to the purple in 602 by means of a simple coup d'état and left by means of another in 610, when he was replaced by *Heraclius, whose lineage occupied the Eastern Roman throne till the reign of *Justinian II, which was followed by the short reigns of the Twenty Years' Anarchy, precisely the chaos at the head of affairs which Romans most wished to avoid.

The rituals of *accessio* by which a new emperor was recognized and then installed were therefore designed to emphasize continuity in the exercise of power. The

sense that political power was part of the order of nature was articulated in pagan times in the notion that the emperor was the lowest of gods and the highest of men, and divinity continued to hedge the emperor. The most persistent element in the *ceremonies which made a man the occupant of the imperial office was his investiture in the imperial purple, followed closely by the giving of *donatives or promises of donatives. *Constantine I was the first emperor to make the diadem part of the imperial *regalia. When *Julian was acclaimed as *Augustus by his troops in *Paris in 360, he was crowned with the torc worn by a standard-bearer; investiture with a torc continued to form part of the ceremony by which the army recognized a new emperor up to the accession of Justin II, as did raising the new emperor on a shield, a Germanic custom first known to have been part of Roman ceremonial in the same acclamation of Julian at Paris (Ammianus, XX, 4). *Leo I's coronation in 457 probably deserves the distinction of being the first to involve the *Patriarch of *Constantinople: Constantine Porphyrogenitus preserves a circumstantial account of the cooperation of army, Senate, and Patriarch in his elevation (*De Cer.* I, 91). This newly religious character eventually involved a change of place. In 518 *Justin I accepted the diadem from the Patriarch John in the Circus of Constantinople. In 641 *Constans II received it in the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. After this, the crown usually resided in the sanctuary of the church following an emperor's death. Returned to God, it awaited a new head and a fresh *accessio*. SEB; OPN

Dagron, *Naissance*, 102.
Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 54–83.
MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 161–221.
Vasiliev, *Justin*, 78–9.

acclamation Ritual chanting was an important method by which groups expressed support (or, sometimes, disapproval), in social, political, religious, and sporting contexts; it could have either an extempore or a formal character. In the Republican period, a successful general's right to a triumph could be acclaimed by his troops and granted by the *Senate (Livy XXVII, 19, 3–6), and *governors could be acclaimed on departure to and return from a *province.

In the Empire acclamation, in both *Greek and *Latin, was widely employed, often but not exclusively directed to the *emperor himself. The Senate's acclamation of Trajan was heralded as the first to be reported further afield (*Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 75, 2–6), the **Historia Augusta* includes many quotations of senatorial acclamations of emperors, and the *Gesta Senatus* which minute the Senate's reception of the newly compiled **Theodosian Code* record repeated and varied acclamations. Emperors were routinely acclaimed by the wider public too, on their *accession, at the games, or during their **adventus* in a *city. The chant '*Nika*!' (Gk. 'Win!') was as familiar to emperors as it was to charioteers such as *Porphyrius.

Legislation insisted upon acclamation of *governors and ordered that the content of acclamations, and also that of chanted criticism, should be reported to the emperor (*CTh* I, 16, 6, 1 of AD 331). Former holders of the offices of *Magister Officiorum, *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, and *Comes Rei Privatae and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum were also greeted with acclamations (VI, 9, 2 of 380). Acclamations were often a form of popular shorthand *praise, but they could also be used in political negotiation, as when petitioning for an appointment. In the case of the *Acta per *Calopodium* they were the prelude to chanted criticism of an imperial minister by the crowd in the *Constantinople *circus.

Acclamation could also articulate group approval of church *council proposals, canons, and similar pronouncements and might greet the announcement of a bishop's appointment (*Augustine, *ep.* 213, duly recorded by *shorthand writers). One of the panels of the *doors of S. Sabina in Rome shows people acclaiming a man in a *chlamys and an *angel. In the *Rossano Gospels Christ at the Entry into Jerusalem is shown greeted by people whose right arms are extended in acclamation.

Acclamations were usually formulaic and rhythmic, In time they might be published as *inscriptions on *milestones, *baths, porticoes, and other monuments (as at *Aphrodisias of *Caria) or in literary accounts. RDR

D. Burgersdijk, 'Pliny's *Panegyricus* and the *Historia Augusta*', *Arethusa* 46 (2013), 289–312.
MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony.*
C. Roueché, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984), 181–99.
C. Rapp, 'Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the Light of Epigraphy and Acclamations', in Sullivan et al., *Byzantine Religious Culture*, 291–311.

accusation (Lat. *accusatio*) In the criminal prosecution of a 'public' offence (**Digest*, XLVIII, 1–2), the accuser, acting as a concerned citizen, formally lodged a written indictment (*inscriptio*) stating the name of the accused and the charge (*nominis et criminis delatio*) and undertaking to pursue the case to its conclusion. The accused had the right to confront his accuser; the latter could request a formal suspension, but otherwise faced a penalty for abandoning an instituted accusation. The *Tetrarchy ruled that if the accuser failed to prove his charge he should be condemned to suffer the penalty threatening the accused (Riccobono, *FIRA* 1, 94). Imperial authorities also initiated prosecutions: magistrates, for example, heard and judged 'criminal' accusations under various administrative procedures

(*cognitiones*). Anonymous or vexatious accusations were forbidden, and those accused were barred from accusing others. In general, women could not be accusers, nor persons penalized by the loss of civil rights (*infamia*), among others; nor could freedmen accuse their *patrons, or slaves their masters. CFP

S. Giglio, *SDHI* 68 (2002), 205–63.

J. Harries, *Law and Crime in the Roman World* (2007).

S. Pietrini, *Sull'iniziativa del processo criminale romano: IV–V secolo* (1996).

B. Santalucia, *Diritto e processo penale nell'antica Roma* (²1998).

Achaea Late Roman *province in *Greece south of *Thessalia and *Epirus Vetus, governed by a *proconsul. In the *Verona List, it is probably represented by the word 'priantina' as a province of the *Dioecesis *Moesiae. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or*. III, 8) assigns it to the Dioecesis *Macedoniae. In *c.*750, *Slavs came to control Achaea, so only a small portion of the original province was incorporated into the *Theme of *Hellas. ABA; OPN

NEDC 211.

Barrington Atlas, map 101.

G. Fowden, 'Late Roman Achaea: Identity and Defence', *JRA* 8 (1995), 549–67.

acheiropoietos An object 'not made by human hands', most often a miraculous image of Christ's face on a cloth (e.g. the *Mandylion and the *Camuliana images). The 5th-century Acheiropoietos Church in *Thessalonica is so called because it housed in the Middle Ages an acheiropoietos image of the Virgin *Mary Hodegetria. SVL

Averil Cameron, *The Sceptic and the Shroud: An Inaugural Lecture in the Departments of Classics and History delivered at King's College London on 29th April 1980* (1980).

Achilleus Aurelius Achilleus was a *usurper in *Egypt under the *Tetrarchy. He is named in a *papyrus of 5 September 297 as Corrector of *Domitius Domitianus, who had initiated a revolt and issued *coinage in his name that summer. The literary sources (*Jerome, *Chron*. 226c Helm, *Eutropius, IX, 22–3, *Orosius, VII, 25, 4 and 8) ascribe the revolt to Achilleus, and it was Achilleus who (perhaps following Domitianus' death) was besieged in *Alexandria by Diocletian into the spring of 298. Diocletian then proceeded to Upper Egypt and it is the preparations for this imperial visit which are recorded in the *Panopolis Papyri. OPN

PLRE I, Achilleus 1.

NEDC 12.

Acilius Severus *Consul 323. Christian *senator from *Spain, correspondent of *Lactantius (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 80, 111) and *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome during *Constantine's *Vicennalia visit in 326; a *glass souvenir of this event portrays him. OPN

PLRE I, Severus 16.

NEDC 102, 130.

Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 180.

H. Fuhrmann, 'Studien zu den Consulardiptychen verwandten Denkmälern I. Eine Glasschale von der Vicennalienfeier Constantins des Grossen zu Rom im Jahre 326 nach Chr.', *RömMitt* 54 (1939), 161–75.

Acoemeti *See* ALEXANDER THE SLEEPLESS, S. AND THE ACOEMETES.

Acroinum, Battle of (Gk. Akroinon) In 740, Byzantine forces under *Leo III destroyed two *Arab contingents ravaging central *Anatolia, a victory doubly significant as a check to Arab expansion and an apparent sign of divine approval of Leo's *iconoclastic policy. EM

Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 571.

Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreiting der Araber* (1976), 152–3.

acrostics *Greek and *Latin authors incorporated acrostics into literary texts, variously, to identify a work's author, to secure it from interpolation, or as an exercise in virtuosity (for instance in *Commodian and most extremely in the works of the 4th-century poet *Porfyrius). Acrostics, generally concealing names, are also common in grave *inscriptions, pagan and Christian, in *Latin, and to a lesser extent *Greek.

Their association with *oracles goes back to the pagan *Sibylline Oracles; Cicero already alludes to it. The eighth book of the extant collection contains an acrostic whose initial letters spell out the ICHTHUS *monogram; although clearly Christian in origin, the lines are credited in *Constantine I's *Oration to the Saints* (18) to the Erythraean Sibyl.

Another form popular with pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity was the originally Semitic alphabetical acrostic or abecedarius; as well as being memorable, it suggests self-containment and comprehensiveness, useful in *hymns or devotional texts. Christian hymns, such as the *Syriac **Sogitha on the Church at *Edessa* and the **kontakia* of *Romanus the Melodist, also made artistic use of acrostics. JLL

E. Courtney, 'Greek and Latin Acrostichs', *Philologus* 134 (1990), 3–13.

acta *See* REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS and MARTYR PASSIONS.

Acta per Calopodium *See* CALOPODIUS AND *ACTA PER CALOPODIUM*.

actor In Roman *law, an *actor* was an agent who managed an *estate on behalf of its owner (as opposed to a *conductor*, who was a short-term lessee). Slaves were commonly employed for this purpose; as in classical Roman law, agents of free status entering into business contracts bound only themselves. Late Antique law liberalized this situation. PS

Jones, *LRE* 788–92.
Nicholas, *Introduction to Roman Law.*

actor (drama) In Late Antiquity, classical dramas were mostly read or recited before private audiences rather than staged as public performances in civic theatres (cf. *Synesius of *Cyrene, *De Providentia*, 13, 9). *Libanius suggests that actors connected with performance of tragedies were still active in *Antioch in the later 4th century (*Oration* 48, 40 of *c.*385/6; Puk, 239–42). *Ambrose (*On Elijah and Fasting*, 10, 35 of *c.*387/91) refers to *hypocrites* who sang tragedies on stage and *Augustine refers to one who played both Agamemnon and also other parts which the unfolding narration called for (*De Sermone Domini in Monte* II, 2, 5 of *c.*393–6). Such references are, however, rare and their significance is uncertain (cf. Kelly).

Less controversial is the view that drama, in particular classical tragedy, continued on the Late Roman stage principally on account of the art of the pantomime, a form of *drama and dance called *tragoedia saltata*. Pantomimes were *virtuosi* who acted both male and female *roles* drawn from the same store of mythological and historical themes on which classical drama was based. Some virtually presented themselves as heirs to the tragedic actors of old; the *epitaph of P. Apolaustos Memphios claims he performed acts identical in name to known plays by Euripides (*CIL* XIV, 4254; Webb, 63). But rather than perform full plays or acts, pantomimes demonstrated their *virtus* by adopting different roles, often representing both men and women in rapid succession (cf. Lucian, *On the Dance*, 66). Augustine relates how pantomimes performing tragedic *roles* evoked an emotional response from him as a young man in *Carthage (*Conff.* III, 2, 2). Many pantomimes became objects of fan adoration and partisan contention that could at times cause public *disorder. It was in the person and art of the controversial yet popular pantomime that classical drama most palpably lived on among the general public in Late Antiquity (cf. Libanius, *Oration* 64, 112). RLi

M.-H. Garelli, 'Pantomime, tragédie et patrimonie littéraire sous l'Empire', *Pallas* 71 (2006), 113–25.
H. A. Kelly, 'Tragedy and the Performance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity', *Traditio* 35 (1979), 21–44.
V. Malineau, 'La Representation des pantomimes victorieux dans l'antiquité tardive', *Travaux et recherches de l'Université de Marne-la-Vallée* 10 (2004), 113–34.
A. Puk, *Das Spielewesen in der Spätantike* (diss. Heidelberg, 2012).
C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (JRS monograph 6, 1993).
G. Theocharidis, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheater im IV und V Jahrhundert, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Predigten des Johannes Chrysostomos Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (1940).
R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performances in Late Antiquity* (2008), esp. ch. 4.

adaeratio The *taxation system of the High Empire had been highly monetized. However, the rapid price inflation and devaluation of the *silver *coinage characteristic of the 3rd century led emperors to resort to the collection of dues and payment of wages in kind. The growing stabilization of monetary conditions, resulting from the minting and dissemination of the *gold **solidus* introduced by *Constantine I from the mid-4th century onwards eventually permitted a progressive remonetization of the broader fiscal economy. This process was known as *adaeratio*; it meant that tax payments and official wages were increasingly issued in coin. This wave of fiscal remonetization was then further intensified in the Eastern Empire in the reign of the Emperor *Anastasius I (491–518), who overhauled the small denomination *bronze (*aes*) coinage, which was better suited to lower-level exchanges at the grass roots of the early Byzantine economy. By the reign of *Justinian I (527–65), taxes reckoned in gold could be paid in bronze. Fiscal monetization fuelled the monetization of the economy at large. PS

M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (1986).
J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour and Aristocratic Dominance* (^{2}2007).
C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphrodito (525/6)* (2004).

Adarmahan Persian *marzban (*fl.* 573–82). Based at *Nisibis, he devastated parts of the Roman East, including the *Antioch area and *Apamea, in a bold strike in 573 (*John of *Ephesus VI, 6). His subsequent raiding operations in *Mesopotamia and *Osrhoene (577/8–82), in conjunction with the commander *Tamkhosrow, were less effective. GBG

PLRE III, Adarmaanes.
Greatrex and Lieu, 143–66.
F. R. Trombley, 'War and Society in Rural Syria *c.*502–613 A. D.: Observations on the Epigraphy', *BMGS* 21/1 (1997), 154–209 at 176–85.

Adarnase I (Atrnerseh) (628–50) The *Erismtavari of *Iberia, and Prince of Kakhetia, 604–16. Together with the Catholicus *Kyron of *Mtskheta, he was an active proponent of Roman policy in the

Caucasus, notably during the souring of relations with the Armenian Church *c.*604–9. In 614/16 the *Persian Empire forced all its formal vassals to adopt the 'Armenian faith', the *Miaphysite form of Christianity practised in *Armenia. As a result, Adarnase and probably also Kyron abandoned Iberia. During the Caucasian campaigns of the *Emperor *Heraclius he sided with the Romans and their *Khazar allies and was restored to his full rights. In 637/42 he joined the Albanian prince *Juansher in attacking Persians in *Albania. NA

PLRE III, Adarnase I (Atrnerseh).

C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963).

Addai, Teaching of (early 5th cent.) An idealized account of the conversion of *Edessa by Addai (Lat. Thaddaeus), purportedly based on Edessa's *city *archives. The *Teaching* gives the fullest version of the *Abgar Legend, of which the earliest surviving account is in *Eusebius' *Church History* (*HE* I, 13; II, 1, 6–8).

The *Teaching* falls into four parts: an exchange between Jesus and King Abgar V Ukama (d. AD 50) of Edessa, including an account of Abgar's scribe painting a portrait of Jesus; the *miracles and preaching of Addai in Edessa, including an account of the finding of the *Cross by Protonike; Addai's instructions to the nascent Edessene Church; and events immediately following the death of Addai. The main purpose of the work was to confirm the apostolic origins and unbroken succession of Edessa's episcopate and the orthodoxy of its theological foundation, to refute the claims of *Manichaeans, and to create a historical precedent for responding to Edessa's pagan and Jewish citizens. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Addai, Teaching of, 9–10 (Wardle).

Text (with ET) G. Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (1981) (reprinting the text of G. Phillips, 1876).

ed. (annotated with FT) A. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (1993) (with translations of the Greek text by A. N. Palmer and of the Ethiopic by R. Beylot).

H. J. W. Drijvers, 'The Abgar Legend', in W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols (1991), vol. 1, 492–500.

J.-N. Saint-Laurent, *Missionary Stories and the Formation of the Syriac Churches* (TCH 55, 2015) ch. 2.

S. Griffith, 'The *Doctrina Addai* as a Paradigm of Christian Thought in Edessa in the Fifth Century', *Hugoye* 6/2 (2003), 269–92.

Ad Decimum, Battle of (13 September 533) Victory of the Byzantine expeditionary army under the *Magister Militum (*strategos autokratôr*) *Belisarius over the *Vandal army and their king *Gelimer, at the tenth milestone south of *Carthage. The eyewitness account of *Procopius (*Vandalic*, III, 17–19) emphasizes the importance of 'Fortune' in the victory. Successive *cavalry encounters permitted Belisarius to advance on Carthage, which then became his base for conquering the rest of the Vandal kingdom. IAPS

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 19–21.

Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.

Adiabene (Syr. Beth-Hadiab) Region in northern *Mesopotamia between the Zab rivers, including the towns of *Arbela and Hazza. It occupies the central lands of the ancient kingdom of Assyria, and more generally its limits extended as far as *Mosul. In the 1st century AD, under Parthian rule, Adiabene was a semi-independent kingdom governed by King Izates, who was a convert to *Judaism along with his mother Helena.

The Sasanians permitted less local autonomy in their provinces than had their Parthian predecessors, and when *Ardashir I took possession of Adiabene, he renamed it Naxw-ardashiragan, after himself. *Galerius marched back north through Adiabene after his successful campaign of 298 and took the title Adiabenicus Maximus, as did *Constantius II in 354, with rather slimmer justification.

Adiabene was one of the oldest Christian centres in Mesopotamia. Notable early Christians included Tatian, who put together the *Diatessaron* of the Gospels in the mid-2nd century, *Aphrahat in the early 4th century, and *Henana, head of the *School of *Nisibis in the late 6th century. In the church *council of the *Church of the East held in 410, three suffragan *dioceses are mentioned: Beth-Nuhadra, Beth-Bagash, and Beth-Dasen, dependent on Arbela. Many Christians suffered *martyrdom there between 343 and 620/1. Many of the *monasteries of the Church of the East on the western slopes of the Zagros whose histories are related by *Thomas of Marga lay in Adiabene. CJ

Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 3, 36–223.

DHGE 1, 561–3.

EncIran I/5 (1983) *s.n.* Adiabene, 456–9 (D. Sellwood).

M. G. Morony, 'Continuity and Change in the Administrative Geography of Late Sasanian and Early Islamic al-'Irāq', *Iran* 20 (1982), 1–49.

L. Schiffman, 'The Conversion of the Royal House of Adiabene', in L. Feldman and G. Hata, eds., *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (1987), 293–308.

J. Neusner, 'The Conversion of Adiabene to Judaism: A New Perspective', *JBL* 83 (1964), 60–6.

J. Teixidor, 'The Kingdom of Adiabene and Hatra', *Berytus* 17 (1967), 1–11.

adjutor Official who assisted a senior official within an **officium*. Internal appointment on promotion was normal. The term occurred in the *Cubiculum, the palatine ministries, the military, and in the *officia* of the *Praefectus Praetorio, *Vicarii, and provincial *governors. It was also used (Gk. *boethos*) of the local

officials in *Egypt who collected the taxes assessed by the **apaitetes*. AGS
Jones, *LRE* 567–97.

adlectio In the Late Roman Empire, *adlectio* was a right which *emperors possessed whereby they could elevate the status or rank of one of their subjects, typically by appointing them to the *Senate (*adlectio in senatum*), or appointing the favoured subject to a senatorial status equal to that of a former *praetor (*praetorius*) or a former *consul (**consularis*), without their previously having held either office (and thus, for example, not having had to pay for praetorial games). This latter privilege was typically granted to palatine civil servants of the central civil *adminstration upon appointment to the Senate and increasingly to *senators of *curial background. PS
Jones, *LRE* 541.

administration, Islamic With the establishment of a political community bound by treaty at Yathrib (later *Medina) in 622, *Islam began to acquire a tradition of political administration. Significant developments down to 750 were the conquest and settlement of the Roman and Sasanian territories of *Syria, Iraq, and *Egypt in the 630s and 640s and the consolidation of these gains and subsequent expansion into North *Africa, Iran, and *Central Asia down to the 730s, particularly under the *Umayyad *caliph *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685/92–705).

The later secondary literature provides extensive lists of officials in the upper echelons of the administration. These clearly include some anachronisms of terminology and chronology, but appear to be largely reliable guides to the personalities in the administration. The sources also describe administrative practices and include purported copies of *letters and other documents. The best documentary evidence for the early Islamic administration derives from the coins and *papyrus documents from Egypt. A very few documents also survive from early Islamic Syria, Iraq, *Khorasan, and *Sogdia.

The basic administrative structure of the empire can be recovered from the later literary sources. The new garrisons (**mis*r*s*) of *Fustat (643), *Kufa, and *Basra (638) became the centres of provincial government in Egypt, central, and southern Iraq respectively, and the senior seats of government (*'imara*) presiding over subsequent expansion west into North Africa from Egypt and east into Iran from Iraq. With the relocation of the capital of the empire to *Damascus, in Syria, in 661, the former capital of Medina became another provincial centre.

The governors (*amir*s) in the garrisons were responsible for the collection of *taxation (*fay'*) and the distribution of that revenue as payments in cash (*'ata*) and kind (*rizq*) to their armies. The mechanism for distribution was the **diwan* or 'register' of those eligible for payment—a system said to have been instituted by the second caliph, *'Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–44), who presided over the conquest of the core territories of the caliphate. *Diwan* also became the term for administrative 'offices' in the sense of administrative positions within the empire—hence, the *diwan al-rasa'il*, or 'writing office', *diwan al-kharaj*, or 'office for taxation', and so forth. During the 8th century, the office of 'judge' (**qadi*) became distinct and separate from that of *amir*.

The Arabian conquerors of the Roman and Sasanian Middle East generally sought to maintain existing taxation structures and initially replaced or closely supervised only the highest levels of the taxation system. That said, significant innovations were also introduced from the start: it is notable that a new *era and lunar calendar, counting from the foundation of the new community at Medina in 622, is found in some documents from as early as 643; some of the terminology used in the early *Arabic documents has no antecedent in the conquered territories, and reflects established documentary practice in Arabic. Furthermore, the *Arab conquests also led to the transfer of practices and terminology between the conquered territories.

There is an ongoing debate about the degree of centralization achieved by the caliphate in the middle decades of the 7th century. However, 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685/92–705) is typically regarded as having introduced the most far-reaching reforms of the early Islamic period. These reforms, meant to fulfil 'Abd al-Malik's particular vision of an Islamic polity, may broadly be understood to have been tied to patterns of Arabization and Islamization that were important in consolidating Umayyad authority. In his merging of the religious and political authority of the caliph, 'Abd al-Malik is also viewed as one of the chief ideologues of the early Islamic state. The abundance of written records containing religious content produced during and after his rule suggests that his policies had a profound effect on 'public' Islam in the Arab-Islamic Empire. The production of a new epigraphic *coinage, which eschewed references to the monarch in favour of religious slogans, is a clear instance of this change. A gradual move to Arabic and away from the use of *Greek and *Coptic can also be observed in the Egyptian *papyri, although the change is far slower than the literary sources suggest. Extensive infrastructure projects from the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and after, including state-sponsored monumental *mosques, are also testimony to greater organizational capacity in this period.

For the last decades of the Umayyad period, the literary sources preserve a significant corpus of 'state letters' attributed to scribes such as *Salim Abu al-'A'la and *'Abd al-Hamid; these are evidence for the use of writing in the public promulgation of Umayyad legitimacy.

The twin processes of Arabization and Islamization, which would shape administrative developments in the later Umayyad period, would continue to guide the policies of the *Abbasid caliphs, who themselves grappled with many of the same challenges of government and politics. AM; MCE

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v.* 'Dīwān', 323–37 (Ansari, Lambton, Duri, Gottschalk, Colin).
G. Khan, 'The Pre-Islamic Background of Muslim Legal Formularies', *ARAM* 6 (1994), 193–224.
M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (1984).
W. Al-Qadi, 'Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity', in A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I* (1992), 215–76.
C. F. Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik* (2005).
P. M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (2013).

administration, Persian civil and provincial Numerous imperial dignitaries and officials, together with their offices, are recorded on *inscriptions of the *Sasanian period from the *Persian Empire, particularly on *seals and sealings.

In the early Sasanian period, parts of the Empire were subject to direct royal rule, but others were in the possession of the *aristocracy, and royal power, including in matters such as *taxation and military recruitment, could be exercised there only indirectly through the local nobility. Over the course of centuries, the Sasanian kings welded together the Parthian patchwork of semi-autonomous kingdoms, cities, temple states, and satrapies into an increasingly centralized state. The attenuation of the nobility in the course of the popular uprisings of the late 5th century AD enabled the kings to consolidate power over the Empire under a cadre of military and religious administrators. The fiscal reforms of *Khosrow (Husraw) I led, albeit only temporarily, to a further increase in royal power as well as in domestic stability, increasing the king's scope for action both at home and abroad.

The officials named on royal inscriptions of the 3rd century and later seal legends include 'petty kings' (Middle *Persian *šāh*) in certain regions of the Empire such as *Armenia and Mesene (on the left bank of the lower Tigris and Shatt al-Arab), 'satraps' (MP *šahrab*) in other provinces or **shahrs* (MP *šahr*), and their immediate assistants, as well as officials in the districts (*kust*). Throughout the Sasanian period, the royal *court consisted of functionaries who performed administrative, military, and educational duties, and also maintained royal *ceremony and *Zoroastrian cult. The Zoroastrian priestly hierarchy composed a parallel judiciary. Following the reforms of Khosrow I, most of these officials no longer represented the interests of their own families, but were accountable to the king alone.

In late Sasanian times, the Empire was divided into four quarters, each under a military commander (*Spahbad), and into districts and sub-districts. Each *frontier region was controlled by a military governor (MP *Marzbān). The central administration was run by high officials and was divided into at least seven departments whose parallel hierarchies reached down into the provinces. Khosrow's tax reform paid for the system: the former agricultural tax charged as a proportion of the harvest was replaced by a tax to be paid in cash or kind on each unit of area under cultivation according to the type of crop, whatever the size of the crop. A new cadastral survey was carried out in the Sawad (southern Persian *Mesopotamia). Additionally, members of the male population aged between 20 and 50 had to pay a new annual poll tax in three instalments. This freshly centralized authority aspired to control local affairs through regular checks and written instructions on officials, elaborate infrastructure, and centralized intelligence and communication, though distance continued to place a check on the effective local exercise of central power, as it did throughout Persian history until the 20th century. JWi

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, chs. 1 and 2.
J. Howard-Johnston, 'State and Society in Late Antique Iran', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart, eds., *The Sasanian Era* (Idea of Iran 3, 2008), 118–31.
R. Gyselen, *The Four Generals of the Sasanian Empire* (2001).
J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (2010).
Z. Rubin, 'The Sasanid Monarchy', in *CAH* XIV (2006), 638–61.
J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia: from 550 BC to 650 AD* (new edn. 2001), 151–221.

administration, Roman central civil This entry outlines the departments and functions of imperial government, including both central (palatine) and provincial administration, for which the **Notitia Dignitatum* provides the largest single body of evidence. For internal structures (e.g. entry qualifications, careers, etc.) *see* CIVIL SERVICE, IMPERIAL.

Each *emperor was surrounded by an entourage—his *Comitatus, or *court. This included both household staff, and also various palatine departments of government. The head of the household staff was long known as the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi (Superintendent of the Sacred Bedchamber). As this title implied, the most sensitive household functions were performed by the staff of the Sacrum *Cubiculum (the Sacred, i.e. imperial, Bedchamber). These individuals (**cubicularii*) were almost always male *eunuchs of imported slave origin, and slave women. They attended directly upon

members of the imperial family, and controlled private *access to them. They could also serve as trusted emissaries. Their access to the emperor and *empress secured for the *cubicularii* a reputation for political influence.

Other household staff were subdivided by function and rank. Perhaps the most distinguished branch were the **silentiarii*, whose core function was to serve as palace ushers. In addition, they served as emissaries on sensitive missions. Further staff furnished a variety of services (for example, as hairdressers). These personnel were known as *curae palatiorum* (*see under* CUROPALATES), **ministeriales*, and **paedagogiani*—and collectively, often as *castrensiani*, because (though not expected to be eunuchs themselves) they were traditionally overseen by a eunuch, the *Castrensis Sacri Palatii.

The palatine departments of imperial government were diverse. At the core of government was the *Consistorium (the 'cabinet' of emperor and chief officials). This was served by a secretariat—the **notarii* (notaries)—who were headed by the *Primicerius Notarii. Due to their proximity to the emperor and his senior officials, the notaries were a dignified cadre.

The *Magister Officiorum became prominent under *Constantine I and long remained so, overseeing several other senior officials and departments. These included the *Magister Memoriae, who headed the **memoriales*; the *Magister Epistularum, who headed the **epistulares*; and the *Magister Libellorum, who headed the **libellenses*. These three departments were known collectively as the Sacra *Scrinia. They were responsible for a wide range of legal and administrative tasks, including handling *petitions and drafting imperial replies, issuing documents of appointment (**probatoria*) for many officials, and handling a wide range of government reports. In addition, the Magister Officiorum oversaw the Scrinium Dispositionum, a less dignified department whose functions are uncertain but which may have been concerned with the *court calendar. Other groups of staff came directly within the remit of the Magister Officiorum. These included the **agentes in rebus*, whose core function was to act as imperial couriers; the **admissionales*, who presented individuals to the Consistorium; interpreters (**interpretes*); and an array of minor functionaries such as lamplighters, doorkeepers, and *billeting staff. The Magister Officiorum was also responsible for the **fabricae*, factories where imperial armaments were made.

Another court official whose prominence increased from *Constantine I onwards was the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii. This person took charge of legal matters, which had previously been directed by the heads of the Sacra Scrinia. In particular, he was responsible for drafting legislation. He was supported by a staff of assistants, drawn from across the Sacra Scrinia.

There were two principal financial divisions. One was overseen by the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum (previously *Rationalis Rei Summae), who directed the minting of imperial *coinage, *mining for precious metal, certain taxes, and cash payments and *dress for the military and *civil service. By the later 4th and 5th centuries, he was supported at court by some eighteen specialized departments and teams, the *Sacrae Largitiones, whose staff were collectively known as **largitionales*. The other principal financial division was overseen by the *Comes Rei Privatae (previously Magister or Rationalis Rei Privatae) who managed the *imperial estates, including rents, accruals, sales, and grants. He was supported at court by a staff of *privatiani*, also known as **palatini*, who were divided into some five specialized departments. Both of these divisions also maintained a body of officials in the *provinces.

The combined palatine administrations of East and West are likely to have numbered some 5,000 substantive personnel by the early 5th century, together with supernumeraries (some of whom did actual work) on perhaps a similar scale. By contrast, the provincial administration was much larger but its main structural outlines were somewhat simpler. It probably numbered about 25,000 substantive personnel by the early 5th century, in addition to about 3,000 to 4,000 lawyers.

At the apex of the provincial administration was the *Praefectus Praetorio (Praetorian Prefect), who was the most prominent civil official of the Later Roman Empire. Under Constantine I, the Prefect's military responsibilities were largely transferred to the *Magister Militum, while his civilian duties increased. For much of the 4th and early 5th centuries, there were between three and five Praefecti Praetorio at any one time, each responsible for a region within the Empire, at a time when emperors themselves were often peripatetic. As a result, a Praefectus Praetorio might be found either with the imperial court or separately, depending on circumstances; this changed later, especially after the government of the Eastern Roman Empire settled in *Constantinople at the end of the 4th century. Whether at court or supervising the government of a prefecture locally, the Praefectus Praetorio acted as the senior appellate judge and head of the provincial bureaucracy, within his region of the Empire, subordinate only to the emperor himself. This involved wide-ranging administrative, judicial, and financial functions, carried out with the support of an **officium* (office staff) which has been estimated to have numbered 1,000 members per prefect by the early 5th century. They were known as **praefectiani*.

Each regional prefecture was divided into **dioeceses*, with a *Vicarius (deputy) in charge of each. Each *dioecesis* comprised a group of provinces, with individual provinces overseen by a provincial *governor. Just as

the Praefectus Praetorio had official staff, so each Vicarius and each provincial governor had his own *officium*. It has been estimated that the staff of a Vicarius—known as **vicariani*—typically numbered about 300, but sometimes 600; and that the officials of a provincial governor numbered about 100. At the provincial level, these personnel were known as **cohortales*. To one side of this geographical hierarchy, the *Praefectus Urbi (both at *Rome and at Constantinople) each had the support of an *officium*.

Each *officium* in the provincial administration appears to have been divided between judicial and financial branches. The judicial side dealt with both criminal and civil cases, maintained *archives of *reports of proceedings and cases, and oversaw the enforcement of court orders. Its staff therefore encompassed lawyers, administrators, and enforcers. The responsibilities of the financial side included the collection of provincial revenues and arrears; auditing of public works; and the administration of military expenses. The geographical hierarchy provided a framework for reporting and oversight: provincial offices reported to the office of the Vicarius of their *dioecesis*, which in turn reported to the office of the Praefectus Praetorio. At provincial level, offices were required to work closely with provincial *assemblies and with *city councils and councillors.

Imperial administration was also represented by the local officials in each province and *dioecesis* from the two specialized financial divisions mentioned above—the Sacrae Largitiones and Res Privata. The exact titles and dispositions of the principal officials varied over time; but at both local levels, and in both financial divisions, all these officials were supported by an *officium*.

Modern views of this palatine and provincial structure continue to vary. For some historians, it has appeared to be monstrously inefficient and corrupt. For others, it has appeared to be rather effective, notwithstanding some lineaments (such as the sale of offices) which jar with modern views about standards in public life. Either way, and with some evolution in detail, this structure was fundamental for several centuries to the political functioning of the Roman Empire, and its imperatives ran deep into the fabric of political, social, and economic life in the provinces.

AGS

Jones, *LRE*, chs. 11–14, 16.
Brown, *Religion and Society*, 46–73.
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*.
A. Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia nel basso impero* (1977).
P. Heather, 'New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial Elite in the Eastern Mediterranean', in Magdalino, *New Constantines.*
M. Claus, *Der magister officiorum in der Spätantike (4.–6. Jahrhundert). Das Amt und sein Einfluss auf der kaiserliche Politik* (1980).
M. Colombo, '*Constantinus rerum nouator*: dal comitatus dioclezianeo ai palatini di Valentiniano I', *Klio* 90 (2008).
E. A. Costa, 'The Office of the "Castrensis Sacri Palatii" in the Fourth Century', *Byzantion* 42 (1972), 358–87.
Delmaire, *Largesses.*

administration, Roman military The Roman army needed to manage the *recruiting, training, feeding, paying, and equipping of several hundred thousand men and animals and to maintain hundreds of installations across the Empire. From the reign of *Constantine I, the process of supporting the army, including raising recruits and animals and feeding them, was the responsibility of the *Praefecti Praetorio, though paying troops came under the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. Training and leading armies was the responsibility of *Magistri Militum and other military officials, while guard regiments and weapons factories (**fabricae*) came under the authority of the *Magister Officiorum. Before Constantine, all these functions had been combined in the person of the Praefectus Praetorio, except for paying troops which came under the *Rationalis Rei Summae. There are few details of the total number of troops. In the mid-3rd century, there were perhaps 400,000 men, and similar numbers are plausible for the 4th century, though declining by the 6th century to the point where *Agathias suggested 150,000 men in the reign of *Justinian I.

The **Notitia Dignitatum*, despite its profound complexities, provides a snapshot of military administration at the end of the 4th century. This document includes a list of all the senior posts in the Roman civil and military administration as well as a list of regiments under their command. Military administration was carried out in *Latin throughout the Empire, though by the end of the 5th century much of the East was administered in *Greek. Nonetheless, Latin remained embedded in military circles and was fossilized in the commands used to manoeuvre troops on the battlefield recorded in the **Strategicon* of *Maurice written in the late 6th century. The *Notitia* also details the staffs assigned to each official at the level of *Dux, *Comes, and Magister Militum. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, army staffs were supplemented by **protectores* and **domestici*, a role taken over by **scribones* by the 6th century. These individuals were usually attached to Magistri Militum and took on *ad hoc* roles including *intelligence gathering and escorting recruits to their regiments.

A second important source of information about military administration is *Codex Justinianus* I, 27, a law issued in 534, giving instructions for the re-creation of civil and military administration in *Africa following the *Byzantine invasion. Numerous other laws in the **Theodosian Code* and *Justinian's *Code* are also useful in reconstructing parts of the military administration.

Much information may be recovered from *papyri, especially from the mid-3rd-century collection found at *Dura Europus in *Syria, mostly referring to the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum, from the *Panopolis Papyri concerned with *Diocletian's travels in Upper *Egypt in 298, and from the *Nessana Papyri, a group of 6th- and 7th-century texts from *Nessana in *Palaestina Tertia, which refer to the regiment of the Theodosiaci. *Inscriptions occasionally provide evidence about organization and administrative practices, particularly those of the reign of *Anastasius I from *Ptolemais in *Libya and *Perge in *Pamphylia.

Military structures

From the time of Constantine I onwards, the Roman army was divided into *field armies commanded by *emperors or Magistri Militum and border troops. The border troops were commanded by a Dux (or occasionally a *Comes Rei Militaris) in groups usually of twenty or more regiments. This division into field army troops (**comitatenses*) and border troops (**limitanei*, *burgarii*, or *ripenses*) evolved from practice in the 3rd century when provincial *governors commanded troops on the *frontiers and the *emperor led a semi-permanent field army. The precise arrangements of the field armies varied in the 4th century according to the number of emperors. By the late 4th century in the West there were field armies in *Gaul supported by an imperial army in *Italy, while in the East there were regional armies in *Illyricum, *Thrace, and on the eastern *frontier (supplemented by a new Armenian army from the reign of *Justinian I onwards) supported by an imperial army at *Constantinople. The imperial armies initially included higher-status field army troops known as **palatini*, though many of these were dispersed through transfers into regional field armies. The *Notitia* records three border commands in *Britain, eleven along the Rhine and Danube, seven on the eastern frontier, and five in *Africa (including *Egypt). These numbers changed slightly over time, increasing in the East in the 6th century. Border commands could be supported by small groups of field army regiments under Comites Rei Militaris. Distinctions between the field army and border soldiers mostly concerned status and function; units were often transferred from border commands to campaigning armies and given the status of *pseudocomitatenses*. This flexibility was a characteristic of the Late Roman army, a flexibility also evident in the appointment of all sorts of imperial officials to lead operations, such as the *Quaestor Jovius, who led a column of *Julian's troops into Italy in 361, or *Belisarius, who in 533 held the rank of Magister Militum per Orientem while actually commanding the invasion of Africa.

Individual soldiers

Recruiting was a continual concern. Most recruits were conscripts, both the sons of *veterans (who were obliged to serve) and men recruited as part of a regular series of levies. These men were then collected together by **protectores* or **scribones* and escorted to their units. Conscripts were supplemented by volunteers from within and beyond the Roman Empire. Both the number of recruits from outside the Empire and the impact they had on military effectiveness (processes often described as 'barbarization') are controversial. However, the continued willingness of the army to accept non-Roman recruits suggests that any disadvantages were seen as being outweighed by the advantages. Problems in recruiting affected all periods of Roman history, and the supposed reluctance of Late Romans to serve appears no different from what happened in the Early Roman Empire. Once they were signed up, Roman recruits underwent a process of training that habituated them to Roman military culture. The army was often fiercely disciplined. It was a shock to some *Huns in Roman service when two of them were impaled by *Belisarius at *Abydus in 533 for murder (*Procopius, *Vandalic III*, 12, 8–9). At other times, however, men were less well disciplined and complaints about military abuses were common. The majority of regular soldiers served for twenty years or more. These long terms of service meant that there was a huge reservoir of military experience within the army. This longevity is found not just with individual soldiers but also with units, many of which also had long histories, like the Legio V Macedonica raised at the end of the Republic and still serving in Egypt in the early 7th century. At the end of their careers, soldiers received the status of veterans which brought with it a discharge bounty and various tax privileges.

Within regiments there was a gradated series of ranks above private soldier. It was possible to be promoted from the ranks to command a regiment, though this was unusual. Most officers were directly commissioned from the *aristocracy, often after service as a *protector*. When they were commissioned, officers received a letter of appointment from the department of the *Laterculum maius unless the appointment was as *Tribunus of a cohort or *Praefectus of an *ala*, i.e. the early imperial auxiliary regiments, in which case they were appointed by the department of the *Laterculum minus. The system did not always work flawlessly. When *Abinnaeus came to take up his post as *Praefectus of the Ala Quinta Praelectorum in Egypt *c.*340, he discovered that several other officers had similar **codicilli* of appointment, requiring him to petition *Constantius II.

Equipment was provided in various ways. *Arms and armour for individual soldiers were supplied by a

number of arms factories (**fabricae*), many of which specialized in particular types of equipment such as shields or spears. The products of these factories were supplemented by equipment produced by units themselves and by local suppliers. Larger equipment such as *artillery and siege machinery and *ships was probably custom-built.

Military training was conducted at several different levels. Within units, it was the responsibility of *campidoctores*, who managed individual weapon training. Units trained as a whole by marching and performing drills that might be used on the battlefield. And there were also military exercises in which armies practised manoeuvring together. In addition, a body of professional literature gave advice to officers and generals regarding the best practices. There is a strong similarity between the recommendations of this theoretical literature and practice as described by historians, suggesting a consensus about how military operations should be conducted.

Until the mid-5th century in the West, and throughout the history of the Roman East, the Roman army remained a well-managed organization. Although the army evolved continuously from the 3rd century, whenever the evidence allows we can see continuity in administrative practices.

See also ARMIES, ROMAN. HE

Jones, *LRE* 607–86.

[L.] Michael Whitby, 'Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius (ca. 565–615)', in Cameron, *BEINE* III: *States, Resources and Armies*, 61–124.

H. W. Elton, 'Roman Military Forces from the Third to the Seventh Centuries', in P. Sabin, H. Van Wees, and [L.] M. Whitby, eds., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (2007), 270–309.

D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, 2 vols. (Epigraphische Studien VII, 1969–70).

R. W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army*, ed. D. Breeze and V. A. Maxfield (1989).

administration, Roman provincial The administrative system by which Roman *emperors ruled their provincial territories was a key feature of Roman government. The period of Late Antiquity brought several structural changes to the system of provincial government which were aimed at an increased level of control by the imperial government. Various problems in the 3rd century had exposed vulnerabilities within the functioning of the Empire that called for an evaluation and reform of the administrative system. This reorganization ended up stabilizing Roman administration in such a way that it remained in place until the 6th century. Late Roman provincial administration is considered here in three aspects: its structure, its level of continuity, and the provincial perspective on Roman administration.

The structure of Late Roman provincial government

At the beginning of the 4th century a new hierarchical administrative structure for provincial government emerged which consisted of three components: each prefecture was controlled by a *Praefectus Praetorio, each **dioecesis* was led by a *Vicarius, and each *province was controlled by a *governor. Within this system, provinces became the smallest and prefectures the largest administrative units. The prefectures and *dioeceses* were new elements within the administrative system. In addition, the reduction in size of provinces caused their number to increase to about 100. This shrinking of provinces made territories easier to control, although according to *Lactantius (*c.*250–*c.*325) the appearance of many more officials at local level was experienced as a burden (*Mort.* 7.4).

There is much uncertainty about the precise moment of formation of the *dioeceses* and prefectures. Whereas it seems that it was *Diocletian (r. 284–305) and the *Tetrarchy who increased the number of provinces, the construction of the four prefectures and twelve *dioeceses* seems to have occurred under *Constantine the Great (r. 306–37) and *Licinius (r. 308–24).

The so-called *Verona List, to be dated to the early years of Constantine's rule around 314, gives the names of twelve *dioeceses*, though over the course of the 4th century some changes occurred, and some *dioeceses* were combined and new ones created. By the early 5th century, according to the **Notitia Dignitatum*, there were thirteen *dioeceses*. The *dioeceses* were combined into four prefectures—Galliarum, Italia, Illyricum, and Oriens—though it is not quite clear when they were first assigned to these clearly demarcated prefectures. An increase in the number of Praefecti Praetorio began with the creation of the *Tetrarchy in 293, when each *emperor needed a Praefectus Praetorio on his staff, although before 324 there is no evidence for more than two prefects. By 341 the three prefectures of Galliarum, Italia, and Oriens were clearly designated, whereas for certain periods up to the end of the 4th century the fourth prefecture seems to have alternated between Illyricum and Africa.

From the 4th century onwards, the basic structure of the system of provincial government remained in place to the reign of *Justinian I (527–65), when loss of the empire's territory made it difficult to uphold the provincial system. Nevertheless, those provinces that remained part of the Empire continued to be governed according to the system's principles. In the 7th century, however, the system of Roman provincial administration was abolished, when reforms in the Eastern Roman Empire led to the introduction of the so-called *theme system, based on military units, which was to

dominate the Byzantine administrative organization until the 11th century.

The changes to the structure of the provincial administration in the early 4th century led to various changes in the functioning and position of *governors. On the one hand, the reduction in province sizes led to more control by a governor over his province and this potentially strengthened his position. On the other, several of his prerogatives and powers were taken away. His military authority, for instance, was handed over to a military official, the *Dux, who ended up with the military command over the territory of several provinces at a time. Governors thereby became purely civil officials. Furthermore, the powers and responsibilities of Vicarii and Praefecti Praetorio, who led the *dioeceses* and prefectures respectively, overruled those of provincial governors. Both Vicarii and Praefecti Praetorio were of higher status than governors, with the exception of governors with the title of *proconsul who ranked above Vicarii. The presence of several officials in a single location, each official heading a larger unit within the administrative system of the emperor, must have caused complexities; for instance, *Antioch of Syria housed the headquarters of both the governor of *Syria Prima and the *Comes Orientis (ruling the Dioecesis of *Oriens), as well as those of the *Magister Militum, the most senior military commander in the prefecture of the East.

Continuity within Late Roman provincial government

Despite changes in the administrative system, there was also a strong degree of continuity. The rhythm of provincial government which saw governors sent out to the provinces continued on a regular basis for centuries and represents one of the unique features of Roman provincial administration, because of both the repetitiveness of the system and its long time span from the Republic through most of the period of Late Antiquity. In practice, this meant that throughout the centuries the provincial subjects grew accustomed to Roman governors arriving in their provinces for a relatively short term of office (on average, one to three years), governors with whom they needed to build friendly relations, because they represented a direct link to the imperial government, even if they were not staying for an extended period of time. This rhythm of provincial government which continued for centuries is truly remarkable for any empire as large as that of Rome. Despite the structural changes of the early 4th century by which the system of *dioeceses* and prefectures was added to the general structure of administration, the repetitiveness of governors' appointments and their regular appearance in the provinces was not affected.

Provincial perspectives on Roman provincial administration

From its first emergence, the system for provincial government relied heavily on local loyalty. Local elites in the cities of the Empire participated in the **conventus* (Gk. *koinon*) of their provinces. These provincial assemblies played an important part in the successful functioning of local administration, in particular by being intermediaries between the Roman governor, his staff, and the provincial population.

In Late Antiquity, local loyalty remained one of the cornerstones of provincial government. However, with a decreased status and position of power, governors found themselves more vulnerable in relation to local elites. Increasingly, governors were confronted with elites who, although they lived locally, had become part of an Empire-wide elite and were thus often of higher status and rank than governors. As a result of this development, members of the local elites themselves had direct ties to the imperial court and no longer needed governors as intermediaries. The *letters of *Libanius, the famous *rhetorician from Antioch, exemplify this. His orations show several instances of a provincial voice expressing serious criticism of a governor's behaviour. Open criticism by provincials was further encouraged by a change in the view of the Late Antique imperial government toward the accountability of officials. It was important to emperors that their governors, as representatives of the imperial power, behaved appropriately. An example of imperial interest in officials' conduct in the provinces can be found in the order of Constantine the Great that written records of provincial *acclamations should be sent to him for review (*CTh* I, 16, 6 = *CJust* I, 40, 3). The emperor could decide to punish his officials based on negative acclamations. The expression of provincial sentiments had thus become a powerful instrument in the relationship between governors and their provincial subjects, especially because the possibility of accusing a governor of misconduct in the *repetundae* (administrative malpractice) courts seems to have disappeared in Late Antiquity. DSl

O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Latercula Provinciarum* (1876).

Jones, *LRE* 1451–61 lists *dioeceses* and provinces.

NEDC 195–225 considers the Tetrarchic and Constantinian evidence.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire.*

Brown, *Power and Persuasion.*

D. Slootjes, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (2006).

C. Zuckerman, 'Sur la liste de Vérone et la province de Grande Arménie, la division de l'empire et la date de création des diocèces', in V. Déroche, D. Feissel, and C. Morrisson (eds.), *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron* = *TM* 14 (2002), 617–37.

admissionales A group of palatine staff under the oversight of the *Magister Officiorum (*CTh* VI, 35, 3; **Notitia Dignitatum* [*occ.*] IX, 14; [*or.*] XI, 17). Their duties involved introducing people to the imperial presence. Their deputy head was styled *Proximus Admissionum; their head, who by the early 5th century ranked as a *senator, was the *Magister (later *Comes) Admissionum (*Ammianus XV, 5, 18; XXII, 7, 2; *CTh* VI, 2, 23; XI, 18, 1; *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Cer.* I, 84.). The corps had ancient origins: an Officium Admissionum is attested from the reign of Nero (Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 14), which in turn had precursors. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 582.

Adomnán (d. 704) Ninth abbot of *Iona (679), and writer. The Irish annals record that Adomnán, a member of the royal Cenél Conaill line, was born in 624. Little is known of his early career, but it is likely he had strong connections with the *Columban federation from an early point. He wrote two important works—*De Locis Sanctis*, an account of the travels of the Frankish *Bishop Arculf to the *Holy Land, and the *Vita Columbae*. In 697 he travelled to *Ireland and promulgated the *Lex Innocentium* (Cáin Adomnáin), which sought to protect women, children, and clergy. A *Life* was written about him at Kells in the 10th century. ED

BHL 69.

CPL 1134.

ODNB s.n. Adomnán (Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha).

ed. with ET, A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (1991).

ed. with ET, D. Meehan, *Adamnán's De Locis Sanctis*, SLH vol. 3 (1958).

ed. with ET, K. Meyer, *Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan* (1905).

adoratio *Court *ceremony, probably introduced under the *Tetrarchy and with parallels in *Persia, first recorded in *law in 354 (*CTh* VIII, 7, 4). The participant performed *proskynesis* (prostration) and was invited to *kiss the hem of the *emperor's *purple robe. The right to perform *adoratio* was the perquisite of the holders of certain imperial offices (e.g. *CTh* VI, 13, 1; Ammianus XV, 5, 18); the rite formally established (or re-established) the participant's place in imperial favour or his position in the imperial *Consistorium (e.g. *Ammianus XXII, 9, 16). MMos

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 244–7.

W. T. Avery, 'The "Adoratio Purpurae" and the Importance of the Imperial Purple in the Fourth Century of the Christian Era', *MAAR* 17 (1940), 66–80.

Adraa (also Adraha; mod. Deraa or Daraa, Syria) *City located on a tributary of the *Yarmuk River in the plain of Batanaea. Few ancient remains have been investigated; *inscriptions record repair to its fortifications from 259 onwards. KETB

H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie (259–60 à 274–275) d'après des inscriptions récemment découvertes', *Syria* 29 (1952), 307–30.

Adrianople and the Battle of Adrianople Adrianople (ancient Hadrianopolis, modern Edirne, European Turkey), strategically located on the *road between *Constantinople and the Danube *frontier, was the principal *city of the *province of *Haemimontus. The city was a key defensive point for *Licinius when faced with *Constantine's aggression in 317 and 324 (**Origo Constantini*, 17 and 24), and in 354 *Gallus *Caesar rested there on his way west to execution (*Ammianus XIV, 11, 15).

The earliest-known bishop dates from the reign of Constantine. In 343 the Eastern delegation at the *Council of *Serdica withdrew to Adrianople to make their own decisions. Later devotion associated various *martyrs with Adrianople, notably S. Philip of Heraclea and his companions.

In 376 *Gothic insurgency in the city was aggravated by the Roman authorities at Adrianople arming the workers from the local armaments factory (Ammianus XXXI, 6, 2). On 9 August 378 a *Visigothic *army, united under *Fritigern the *Tervingian, won a substantial victory near Adrianople over the Romans led by the *Emperor *Valens (364–78). In 378 both emperors, Valens and *Gratian (375–83), were marching to *Thrace to crush the Gothic revolt that had started in 376, but, relying on faulty intelligence regarding the size of the Gothic *army, Valens decided to engage the Goths near Adrianople without waiting for Gratian. Valens's army was exhausted by the time it reached the Gothic wagon laager, but Valens repudiated the mediation of a Christian *priest sent as an envoy by Fritigern (XXXI, 12, 8–9). The battle then started before the Roman army was fully deployed. Amidst the confusion, the Gothic cavalry surrounded the Romans. The Romans lost their eastern field army, and Valens his life. Ammianus Marcellinus, who consulted eyewitnesses, compared the scale of defeat to that of Cannae (XXXI, 13, 12); modern historians have reached no consensus regarding the numbers of men lost. In the past the battle was also seen as a watershed after which cavalry dominated the battlefields; this interpretation is now questioned.

The Goths were unable to follow up their victory by capturing Adrianople (XXXI, 15, 1–16, 2). The arms factory was still there at the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 11, 32) and the city was important in the wars against the *Slavs and *Avars from the time of *Justinian I

(*Procopius, *Gothic* VII, 40, 36) into the 7th century. The 5th/6th-century Church of the Holy Wisdom survived into the 19th century and there are still small portions of the city walls. IAPS; OPN

TIB 6 (1991), 161–7.

T. S. Burns, 'The Battle of Adrianople: A Reconsideration', *Historia* 22/2 (1973), 336–45.

S. MacDowall, *Adrianople AD 378: The Goths Crush Rome's Legions* (2001).

Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai.*

adscripticius The **colonus adscripticius* (also *colonus originarius*; Gk. *enapographos*) was a tied agricultural labourer resident on an *estate whose taxes were paid to the imperial government by his landowning employer. Such *coloni* were forbidden from fleeing the estates which they worked and the status was hereditary. The legal institution may have originated under the *Tetrarchy and took shape over the course of the 4th century. Although formally a free man, the status of the *colonus* with respect to his employer was modelled on that between master and slave in Roman *law. PS

B. Sirks, 'The Colonate in Justinian's Reign', *JRS* 98 (2008), 120–43.

Adulis Ancient port settlement close to the Red Sea coast of Eritrea, *c.*50 km (30 miles) south of Massawa. There is inconclusive evidence for occupation during the last millennium BC. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the 1st century AD noted the settlement's import and export *trade under the authority of a king, Zoscales, often assumed to have been Aksumite but perhaps ruler only of a coastal kingdom. Later, Adulis was incorporated into the Aksumite kingdom, whose principal port it became; it was visited *c.*520 by *Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Christian Topography*, 2, 54–64), who recorded *inscriptions no longer extant. By that time, it was a major Christian settlement with its own governor under the Aksumite king, and perhaps its own *bishop. Archaeological investigation has been conducted on several occasions since 1868, but no comprehensive picture has yet emerged. DWP

F. Anfray, 'Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara', in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (1974), 745–65.

F. Anfray and C. Zazzaro, *Recherches archéologiques à Adoulis (Erythée)* (Toulouse, 2016).

D. Peacock and L. Blue, eds., *The Ancient Red Sea Port of Adulis, Eritrea: Results of the Eritro-British Expedition, 2004–5* (2007).

P. R. Schmidt et al., eds., *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea* (2008), 301–9.

adultery *See* MARRIAGE, ADULTERY, DIVORCE and REMARRIAGE.

Adurbad-i Mahraspand An influential *Zoroastrian high priest (*mowbedān* **mowbed*) active in the reign of *Shapur II (309–79).

Adurbad features widely in Middle *Persian literature. Two sets of *andarz* extant in Middle *Persian are attributed to him; one is addressed to Adurbad's son, the other is delivered to people in general on his deathbed. The *andarz* attributed to him in **Denkard* Book III are contrasted with pieces of evil counsel attributed to *Mani, and some of the sayings in *Denkard* VI have also survived in *Arabic translation (*Hekmat al-khaleda*).

He reportedly collected and codified the dispersed **Avesta* (*Denkard* 8), and may have persecuted non-Zoroastrians, perhaps at the dictate of Shapur II (**Arday Wiraz Namag*, 1, 11). The *Arday Wiraz Namag*, *Denkard*, and *Zand i Wahman Yasn* mention the famous story of his successfully surviving the ordeal of having molten metal poured onto his chest, apparently to prove the authenticity of his version of the *Avesta in a religious dispute. AZ

EncIran I/5 (1983) *s.v.* Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān, 477 (A. Tafażżolī).

Andarz: ed. (with NP trans.) Khudâyâr Dastur Shaharyâr Irani, *The Pahlavi Texts: Containing Andarz-î Âdarbad Mâraspandân, Andarz-i Vêhzâd Farkho Fîrûz, Andarz-i Khûsrû-i Kavâdân, Mâdigân-î Chatrang, and Kârnâmak-i Artakshtar-î Pâpâkan* (1899).

ET Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, 101–10 and 110–16.

Zand I Wahman Yasn = ed. (with ET) C. G. Cereti, *The Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse* (SOR 75, 1995).

Adur Gushnasp *See* TAKHT-E SOLAYMAN.

adventus The ceremonial 'arrival' of a person of high rank, especially an *emperor, but also provincial *governors, *bishops and *holy men, and even *relics, at a *city was 'the ceremonial *par excellence* of late antiquity' (MacCormack, 18). A procession of dignitaries and citizens met the honorand some way from the *city walls. After formal greetings, the honorand entered the festively decorated city to *music, *hymns, and ritual *acclamations; the climax of the ceremony was a formal public *panegyric. Games and other festivities followed. A successful *adventus* established cordial relations between the honorand and city; for a new emperor or *usurper, it conferred legitimacy and expressed popular *consensus* in his rule, as at *accession. Scenes of *adventus* were depicted in art, as on the medallion from the *Arras Hoard depicting *Constantius I entering *London in 296 or on the *Translation of Relics Ivory. Beginning with *Constantine I's victorious entry into *Rome in 312, imperial *adventus* acquired a markedly

triumphal character. It also acquired soteriological significance, modelled on the advent of Christ into *Jerusalem (as in the *Rossano Gospels). In time it was adapted, so that a Relic of the True *Cross was welcomed at *Poitiers in 569 with ceremonies recognizable as an *adventus*. JND

MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 17–89.
J. Lehnen, *Adventus Principis. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum* (1997).
Slootjes, *Governor and his Subjects*, 105–28.
K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, "Adventus" Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979), 113–33.

Adventus Saxonum Conventional term denoting the first coming of Germanic groups, identified by *Bede (*HE* I, 15) as the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, under *Hengest and Horsa to *Britain in AD 449. Bede's account, which draws on that of *Gildas (*De Excidio*, 23–4), is considered to be an origin myth that was elaborated in later sources such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

The idea of the *Adventus* as a date has exerted considerable influence over historical and archaeological thought. It has, for instance, been used as a fixed point in the construction of chronologies and typological sequences. At its simplest this has meant that Germanic-style material culture in Britain has been thought to post-date AD 450.

Research over the last two decades has shown that some of the earliest Germanic-style objects found in Britain do predate AD 450. Furthermore, the practicalities and logistics of population movement would suggest that the *Adventus* would be a complex and drawn-out process, rather than a single event. JFG

H. Böhme, 'Das Ende der Römerherrschaft in Britannien und die Angelsächsische Besiedlung Englands im 5. Jahrhundert', *JbRGZMainz* 33 (1986), 469–574.
C. Hills, 'Overview: Anglo-Saxon Identity', in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton, and S. Crawford (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (2011), 3–12.
P. Sims-Williams, 'The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle', *ASE* 12 (1983), 1–41.
B. Yorke, 'Fact or Fiction? The Written Evidence for the Fifth and Sixth Centuries AD', *ASSAH* 6 (1993), 45–50.

advocati A term applied to persons who exercised the legal profession of *advocatio*, especially in forensic/courtroom contexts (also referred to in the sources as *causidici*, *patroni*, *rhetores*, and sometimes translated into English as 'barristers'). According to the 3rd-century Roman jurist Ulpian (at **Digest*, 50, XIII, 1, 11): 'We must regard as advocates all those who work on pleading cases with a certain degree of application; but those who regularly receive remuneration for drafting a case without being present at the hearings will not be regarded as advocates.' The skill of an advocate thus lay in his rhetorical handling of the case, in both his preparation of written material for submission to the court and his expertise in pleading the case (see *CTh* II, 10–11 and *CJust* II, 7). In the late Empire the *advocatus* continued to be distinguished from the *iurisperitus*: a legal expert, learned in *law (also referred to as a *iurisconsultus* and, in the *Greek *papyri, *nomikos*). According to the 5th-century Christian *bishop *Augustine of *Hippo: 'The *advocatus* is paid for legal protection and the *iurisconsultus* for truthful advice' (*ep.* 153). From at least the later 5th century onwards, however, advocates who pleaded before the higher imperial bureaucratic courts were expected to be able to prove their knowledge of Roman legal principles, as well as to demonstrate skill in *rhetoric.

Within the Late Roman imperial bureaucracy, advocates came to be organized into corporate bodies attached to specific bureaucratic tribunals and gubernatorial offices, with regulated numbers of statutory and supernumerary members. Their privileges, immunities, and duties were regulated by imperial orders, offering opportunities for promotion by merit to other bureaucratic posts—including, for example, advancement to the prestigious post of *Advocatus Fisci ('Advocate of the Fisc'). According to an imperial constitution of *Theodosius II the government of *provinces was frequently entrusted to advocates who had distinguished themselves in the *patrocinium causarum* (*CJust* II, 7, 9). CHu

Jones, *LRE* 507–15.
J. A. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (1995).
C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (2007).

Advocatus Fisci A senior *advocatus* (barrister, lawyer) who acted as crown counsel. The post was one typically held by *advocati* at the end of their careers, with the term of office limited to one or two years (depending on the nature of the court to which they were attached), after which they were obliged to retire. By the 6th century in the Eastern Empire, such *advocati* were granted status of *senators along with very substantial salaries and rewards. *Photius notes that *Zosimus held office as an Advocatus Fisci. PS

Jones, *LRE* 422, 509–10.

Aedesius (*c.*280–*c.*355) Greek *philosopher from *Cappadocia, who studied with *Iamblichus in *Apamea. He eventually set up his own *school at *Pergamum where he taught *Maximus of *Ephesus, *Chrysanthius, Eusebius of Myndus, and *Priscus, and superintended the teaching of the *Emperor *Julian (*Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*, 461, 464–5, 474). EW

PLRE I, Aedesius 2.

Aegae of Cilicia (mod. Yumurtalık, formerly Ayas, Turkey) Port on the coast of *Cilicia, with an important *pagan healing shrine dedicated to Aesculapius, where incubation occurred. *Apollonius of Tyana studied there (*Philostratus, *VApTy* I, 7). *Shapur I captured it during his campaign of 260.

The *temple was destroyed by soldiers on orders from *Constantine I (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 56). *Julian (who especially honoured Aesculapius: *Adversus Galilaeos* 200AB) ordered that Christian depredations of the shrine be reversed, and *Libanius sought medical advice there through his brother (*ep.* 727, cf. *epp.* 695 and 1342 Förster), and later in person (*Oration* 1, 143), but by 386 complained that the sick who went to *Cilicia no longer found help from Aesculapius (*Oration* 30, 39).

The pagan *Isocasius, *rhetorician and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii (*c.*465), was cured by incubation at the Church of S. *Thecla just outside Aegae (*MirThecl* 39). Later legend associated Aegae with the martyrdom of a medical man, S. Zenobius, and his sister, S. Zenobia (*BHG* 1884–5), and with the medical saints *Cosmas and Damian (*BHG* 372). *John Moschus mentions various *stylites in the area (27; 29 and 57). OPN

TIB 5 (1990) *s.n.* Aigai 160–4.

S. Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian* (TTH 41, 2004), 182–6.

G. Dagron, ed., *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle: texte grec, traduction et commentaire* (SubsHag 62, 1978).

Aegidius (d. 465) Roman general. A native of *Gaul, he was appointed as general in Gaul, probably by the *Emperor *Majorian with whom he had been a fellow soldier. Perhaps *c.*457 he proved unable to prevent the *Franks from capturing *Cologne and *Trier. Angry at Majorian's execution by the general *Ricimer (461), he threatened to invade *Italy. He defeated the *Visigoths at *Orléans (463), and sent envoys to the *Vandals, perhaps trying to form an alliance against Ricimer. He died in 465 in circumstances which some sources suggest were suspicious. ADL

PLRE II, Aegidius.

MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, 82–L110.

Aegyptus **Dioecesis* detached from *Oriens and established separately *c.*381/2. At its inception it included five *provinces: *Libya Inferior and Libya Superior, *Thebais, Aegyptus, and *Augustamnica; that is, the provinces listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 23, 9–14), less *Arcadia, a slightly later creation. The *dioecesis* was headed by the uniquely entitled *Praefectus Augustalis based in *Alexandria. JGK

Jones, *LRE* 107, 373, 1459.

Barrington Atlas, 70–80.

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 55–7.

Aegyptus Jovia and Herculia, Aegyptus Prima and Secunda The *provinces of Aegyptus Jovia and Aegyptus Herculia are known from the *Verona List, along with a third Egyptian province, *Thebais, where they all form part of *Dioecesis *Oriens. Aegyptus Jovia encompassed the Western Delta; Aegyptus Herculia, the Eastern Delta and the Heptanomia ('Seven Nome Region'), in fact the Eastern Delta and the eastern part of Lower Egypt. The division of the Roman province of *Egypt into these three provinces dates from 314 or 315. (In the period immediately preceding there was a simpler twofold division into Aegyptus and Thebais.) In 322 Aegyptus Herculia may itself have been divided, one part keeping the existing name, the other being named [Aegyptus] *Mercuriana. In 324 the three (or two) Aegyptus provinces were recombined; but in 341, Aegyptus was again divided, the results being Aegyptus and *Augustamnica, the former equivalent to the earlier Aegyptus Iovia, the latter to Aegyptus Herculia. These two provinces were eventually themselves subdivided into numbered halves, as was Thebais. JGK

Barrington Atlas, 74–5.

NEDC 211.

Jones, *Cities*, 336.

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 49–53.

J. D. Thomas, 'Sabinianus, *praeses* of Aegyptus Mercuriana?' *BASP* 21 (1984), 225–34.

Aelia Following Aelia Flavia Flacilla (*Theodosius I's wife), this *title passed to other imperial women of the Theodosian dynasty and later 5th-century empresses. FKH

Holum, *Empresses*.

Aelius Aristides in Late Antiquity Rhetorician and dreamer (AD 117–*c.*180). The 52 surviving orations included his most personal orations, *The Sacred Tales*. In the 4th century, *Basil, *John Chrysostom, and other Christian rhetors imitated his style. He also had a following among *Himerius, *Libanius, and *Synesius. Libanius and his friends studied Aristides' orations, and exchanged his portraits and works. Libanius paid homage to his predecessor in his *letters and orations (e.g. *Orations* 64 and 3). Aristides continued to be popular in *schools and among lexicographers up to the 6th century and well into the Byzantine period. RC

R. Cribiore, 'Vying with Aristides in the Fourth Century: Libanius and his Friends', and L. Quattrocelli, 'Aelius Aristides' Reception at Byzantium', both in W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (eds.), *Aelius Aristides Between Greece, Rome, and the Gods* (2008), 263–78 and 279–93.

Ælle (Ælla) King of the South Saxons (*fl.* late 5th cent.), who landed in *Britain with three sons, at

Cymenesora (W. Sussex) in 477 (*ASC s.a.* 477). Ælle is the first of seven *Anglo-Saxon kings entitled *Bretwalda by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*s.a.* 827 cf. *Bede, *HE* II, 5). NAS

ODNB s.n. Ælle [Ælla] (Kelly).

Aemilia et Liguria *Province in central northern *Italy, created under the *Tetrarchy within the *dioecesis of *Italia Annonaria with capital at *Milan, Aemilia to the north, and Liguria to the south.

The province's name is missing from a defective section of the *Verona List but the *Consularis of Aemilia is addressed in a law of 321 (*CTh* IV, 13, 1) and the Consularis of Aemilia et Liguria in a law of 332 (*CTh* XI, 16, 2). *Ambrose was Consularis in 374. The last datable Consularis of Aemilia (before 399) had *Ravenna added to his domain.

A Consularis of *Liguria alone is attested in 397 (*CTh* IV, 22, 4) and the two provinces are separate in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. MMA; OPN

TIR L-32 (Mediolanum).

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Aemilian the Hooded, S. (*c.*473–*c.*574) Shepherd turned hermit, *holy man, and, unwillingly, *priest in the Rioja region. His cult was promoted by *Braulio, *Bishop of Saragossa (590– 651), who wrote his *Life*. RLS

V Emiliani (*BHL* 100; *CPL* 1231), ed. L. Vázquez de Parga (1943).

ET A. S. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (TTH 26, new edn. 2011), 15–43.

S. Castellanos, *Poder social, aristocracias y hombre santo en la Hispania Visigoda: la* Vita Aemiliani *de Braulio de Zaragoza* (1998).

Aemilianus *Usurper, 253. *Governor of *Moesia after *Trebonianus Gallus became *emperor, he attacked the *Goths, was himself acclaimed emperor, and marched into *Italy. Gallus' army killed their emperor and deserted to Aemilian (*Zosimus, I, 28–9). Three months later, confronting *Valerian, Aemilian died (Aurelius *Victor, 31; *Jerome, *Chron.* 219fg Helm). OPN

CAH XII (2005), 40–1.

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 252.

Aeneas of Gaza (*c.*430–520) Christian *Neoplatonic *philosopher and teacher of *rhetoric, Aeneas studied at *Alexandria under Hierocles before returning to *Gaza, where he taught rhetoric. His surviving works include *letters addressed to fellow sophists, former pupils, and dignitaries and a *dialogue entitled *Theophrastus*, probably composed in the late 480s, in which three characters, one of whom is a Neoplatonic philosopher named Theophrastus, discuss questions including the nature of the soul, reincarnation, and Providence. The discussion includes many references to Greek philosophers including the pre-Socratics, Plato, Xenophon, *Plotinus, and *Proclus and many examples drawn from classical *Greek literature and mythology, but the conclusions are in each case compatible with Christian doctrine, although this is not explicitly stated. The result is thus an implicit defence of Christian doctrine presented in a classicizing language and form replete with erudite allusions. RW

ed. (with comm. and IT) M. E. Colonna, *Enea di Gaza, Teofrasto* (1958).

ET J. M. Dillon and D. A. Russell (AncCommAristotle 2012).

Letters, ed. R. Hercher (with LT) in *Epistolographi graeci* (1873), 24–32.

M. Champion, *Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and Cultural Interaction in Late-Antique Gaza* (2014).

E. Watts, 'An Alexandrian Christian Response to Fifth-Century Neoplatonic Influence', in P. Brown, A. Smith, and K. Alt (eds.), *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity* (2005).

aesthetics, Islamic The prohibition of figural imagery in a religious setting eventually led to the development of a new aesthetic in *Islam that marked a departure from the past. This approach sought beauty in the perfection of line and the endless repetition of perfectly interlocking forms, be they geometric or foliate. It attempted to infuse these forms with a deeper meaning inviting the viewer to meditate on the glory of God.

The origins of many of these developments can be found in the *Umayyad period of Islam (661–750). However, the Umayyad period is also distinguished by an experimental aesthetics, in which the inheritance of the Roman and Iranian world was reworked in the new aniconic Islamic context. Three significant developments should be noted from the reigns of *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685 or 692–705) and his son al-*Walid (r. 705–15). First, the monumental *Dome of the Rock and the *mosques at *Damascus and *Medina were decorated with calligraphic *inscriptions, *mosaic images of heavenly *foliage and landscapes, and polychrome *marble. Second, the Roman and Iranian precious-metal *coinage began to be replaced by entirely epigraphic issues after 696–7. Third, ornamental, state-sponsored manuscripts of the *Qur'ān were distributed across the empire.

The most important and lasting element in this aesthetics was the introduction of sacred scripture itself as an object of beauty to be contemplated in the search for the divine. The practice of writing was raised to the highest level of art, and calligraphy became the apogee of Islamic aesthetics.

A different set of rules applied to daily life. Behind closed doors the Umayyad elite enjoyed paintings and sculptures that were a continuation of the traditions of their Roman and *Sasanian forebears. In the privacy of their *palaces they continued to celebrate the perfection of the naked body or the heavenly spheres and were unfettered by religious sensibilities. Whilst we can attempt to explain an Islamic religious aesthetic, the secular art of Muslims is a different matter entirely. AM; EL

G. Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (2004).
A. George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (2010).
O. Grabar, 'The Aesthetics of Islamic Art', in A. Ertug, ed., *In Pursuit of Excellence* (1993), 19–36.

aesthetics, Persian Under the *Sasanian dynasty the *Persian Empire introduced a new aesthetic into the visual cultures of Eurasia. The roots of early Sasanian visual culture can be found in traditions of Hellenistic and Parthian Iran, reinforced by contemporary influences from the Roman Empire, and the continued presence of the ancient monumental and sculptural patrimony of the Achaemenids. Early Sasanian sculptural forms engage with sculptural styles from the Roman Mediterranean. Classical and Achaemenid ornamental material, originally derived from stone carving, was adapted to the medium of *stucco carving. By the late Empire, these traditions yielded a cohesive tradition of architectural ornament characterized by a strong emphasis on covering an architectural surface in its entirety, often divided up into repeating panels. While early Sasanian ornament, as at *Bishapur or *Hajiabad, incorporated classical ornamental motifs such as the meander or grapevine *rinceau*, late Sasanian ornament, as witnessed in the stuccowork in the vicinity of *Ctesiphon and relief sculpture at *Taq-e Bostan, evolved a new and cohesive repertoire of symmetrically arranged geometrical motifs, such as interlocked arrays of lozenges, and repeating *foliage motifs, including the pomegranate with leaves arranged like the wings of a Sasanian *crown. This new aesthetic of symmetricality and total surface coverage was appropriated by and integrated into the Roman architectural ornament of elite structures in *Constantinople, such as the churches of S. *Polyeuctus, Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus, and the *Holy Wisdom. Sasanian *textile motifs, either incorporating geometrical designs or symbolic *animals such as *birds, boar, or winged *horses in *pearl roundels, spread into the Mediterranean and Central and South Asia. The shapes, iconographies, and ornament of Sasanian *silver similarly imprinted elite tastes as far apart as *Rome and Tang *China. Like its *court technologies and iconographies, the aesthetics of the Persian court put an indelible imprint on the visual cultures of power in Late Antiquity. The Persian royal taste for abundant precious metals, precious *stones, *crystal, pearls, and embroidered *silks in the royal costume was meant not only to overwhelm with a display of wealth, but to foreground the experience of *light-catching and reflecting substances. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*.
P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire* (1978).

aesthetics, Roman and early Christian The *art and architecture of the Later Roman Empire, and the literature which described it, both developed notions inherited from the classical past and also explored fresh visions and preoccupations. The acanthus *foliage of classical column *capitals developed into the wind-blown capitals of *Qalat Seman and the impost capitals of some 6th-century churches. The draping of the clothing worn by the figures depicted on the *Missorium of Theodosius, a *silver dish from the late 4th century, is characteristic of the *classicism of the period known to scholars as the *Theodosian Renaissance, but the figures directly face the viewer, exhibiting the *frontality introduced to imperial *portraiture under the Severans and later characteristic of *icons of Christian *holy men.

Similarly, an *architect or a *rhetorician composing an *ecphrasis in *praise of a building might have characteristically classical concerns with nature and with *mathematics and proportion. *Procopius' classicizing description of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople praises the harmony of its proportions and suggests that its many coloured *marbles evoke thoughts of meadows in full bloom, but he relates the creation of these beauties to the inspiration of God (*Aed*. I, 1, 27–65).

Procopius also praises the *light which filled the church. The **kontakion* written to be sung in public at the popular celebrations of the church's rebuilding in 562 goes further in praising this radiance not as mere physical light but as coming from the Sun of Truth and the rays of the Word of the Spirit. Such Christian notions may be compared with *Plotinus' conception of beauty as being generated not by Stoic symmetries but by relation to a single Platonic source of pure beauty (*Ennead*, I, 6, 1). It may also be associated with the preoccupations of *Neoplatonic *philosophy, especially as they were Christianized by Ps.-*Dionysius the Areopagite, with light and with the Ascent of the Soul. Writing about mathematics, nature, and light certainly provides a sidelight on the use of patterns, foliage, and reflective materials such as *gold, *glass, and marble in the decoration of Late Roman buildings. OPN

N. Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (2014).
G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (1963).

G. Mathew, 'The Aesthetic Theories of Gregory of Nyssa', in G. Robertson and G. Henderson, eds., *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (1975), 217–22.

Aetherius Leading member of the *Senate of *Constantinople, *Curator Divinae *Domus Antiochi, in the 560s. Accused of conspiring against *Justinian I repeatedly, he was executed under *Justin II. GBG

PLRE III, Aetherius 2.

Aethicus Ister Narrator and alleged author of the so-called *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister* (727/40), a fictional work posing as an ancient cosmography epitomized by S. *Jerome (not the same as the *Cosmographia Aethici* attributed to *Julius Honorius). Aethicus is not previously attested, and the work is demonstrably not by Jerome. The cosmographical portion depicts a flat earth surrounded by Ocean; the earth is attached to the heavens by hinges; the *Sun travels on a bed of clouds ('the Table of the Sun'). The ensuing travelogue describes the known world. Aethicus, 'a philosopher from Istria', narrates the travelogue, commenting on savage peoples in the north and east, where he encounters monsters, Amazons, and figures of Greek mythology. Aethicus describes marvellous inventions including a submarine used by Alexander the Great, who also immures 'the unclean races'. The last part deals in coded fashion with contemporary events in the *Balkans. Sources are chiefly the *Bible, *Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and *Orosius. The Latinity is a bizarre mix of learned vocabulary and proto-Romance syntax. MWHe

ed. (with ET and comm.) M. Herren (PJML 8, 2011).

ed. O. Prinz (MGH, QQ zur Geistesgesch. 14, 1993).

Aëtius (*c.*396–454) *Consul 432, 437, 446, *Magister Utriusque Militiae 433–54, **patricius*. Flavius Aëtius was born in *Durostorum, in *Scythia Minor, the son of Gaudentius, a general who served under *Theodosius I and *Honorius. Aëtius was enrolled in the **protectores*, but before his tenth birthday was handed over to *Alaric as a *hostage. In 408 he was transferred to the *court of the *Hun Uldin, and after his death remained among the Huns for an unknown period; his adolescence amongst them coloured much of his career. At the death of Honorius (423), Aëtius followed his father into the service of the *usurper *John, and helped secure him Hunnic support. The *army he brought to *Italy, however, arrived too late to save John from the forces of *Galla Placidia and *Valentinian III. After inconclusive fighting, Aëtius made peace with Galla Placidia and dismissed his Hunnic forces. He was awarded the title of *Comes and sent to *Gaul, where he achieved a series of victories against the *Goths (427 and 430), the *Franks (428, 432, and 448), the Juthungi (430), and the *Burgundians (436).

Aëtius was awarded the consulate in 432, but once in *Italy was stripped of his commands. Defeated in battle by Count *Boniface, he fled to Rugila, King of the Huns, and regained power with his help, receiving the title of *patricius* in 435. He held the consulship twice more (437 and 446). After 446, and probably after 448, he received the appeal known as the 'groans of the Britons' (addressed to 'Agitius ter consul'; *Gildas, I, 20), who sought help against barbarians, but he was unable or unwilling to respond. Aëtius had relied upon the support of the Huns, but from 445, when *Attila became their sole king, relations became strained. In 451 Attila invaded Gaul but was defeated at the Battle of the *Catalaunian Fields by Aëtius. In 454, following the death of Attila, Valentinian III, who had long resented Aëtius' influence, killed him with his own hand. AW

PCBE IV, 1, Aetius 1.

PLRE II, Aetius 7.

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (2007), 220–56.

T. Stickler, *Aetius. Gestaltungsspielräume eines Heermeisters im ausgehenden Weströmischen Reich* (2002).

Aetius (*consul, 454) Attested as *Comes Domesticorum et Sacrorum Stabulorum in the East while attending the *Council of *Chalcedon (451), he defeated a Hunnic army north of the Danube in 452; his consulship is likely to have been granted to reward this *victory. ADL

PLRE II, Fl. Aetius 8.

Aëtius of Amida (*fl.* first half of 6th cent.) Physician. A native of *Amida (mod. Diyarbakır, Turkey), Aëtius probably worked as a *court physician in *Constantinople. He wrote an extremely popular medical encyclopedia in sixteen books, divided into four groups of four (*tetrábibloi*). In it, he excerpted many earlier medical works, some of which are otherwise lost (e.g. Rufus of *Ephesus' *On Melancholy*), and generally adhered to the *Galenism of Late Antiquity. In the first five books, he deals with more general topics (e.g. nutrition, prophylactics, *diet, prognostics), then he discusses diseases roughly arranged from tip to toe (books 6–12), and concludes with books on poisons and insect bites, *surgery, swellings, and *gynaecology and obstetrics (books 13–16). Hirschberg (p. vi) characterized his book on ophthalmology (book 7) as 'the best, most intelligent, and most complete book' on this subject. PEP

PLRE II, Aetius 5.

ed. A. Olivieri, CMG VIII, 1–2 (1935–50) (books 1–8), and ed. A. Garzya, CMG, forthcoming (books 9–16).

ed. J. Hirschberg (with GT), *Die Augenheilkunde des Aëtius aus Amida* (1899).
ed. P. E. Pormann (with ET and essays), *Rufus of Ephesus On Melancholy* (SAPERE 12, 2008).
ed. (with GT) S. Zervos, *Gynaekologie des Aëtios* (1901).
J. Scarborough, 'Theodora, Aetius of Amida, and Procopius: Some Possible Connections', *GRBS* 53 (2013), 742–62.

Aezani (Gk. Aizanoi) Ancient *city of *Phrygia, today called Çavdarhisar after a Turkish tribe that settled a Byzantine castle. Situated on both sides of the Penkalas River, the city contained four stone bridges, but was not fortified. A Roman *bath and a *macellum* (indoor market) with a copy of the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict were converted into churches in the 5th/6th century, a *temple of Zeus only in about AD 1000. A colonnaded *street was erected around AD 400 and collapsed again in the 6th century. Rural settlements increased in number, extended onto marginal land, and received many new church buildings. PhN

P. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien; Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jh. n. Chr.* (2007).
F. Stroth, 'From Quarry to Church? The Late Antique Peristyle at the Gateway of the Theatre-Stadium in Aizanoi', in A.N. Bilgen and R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Archaeological Research in Western Central Anatolia* (2011), 151–63.

Africa The *dioecesis of Africa was created under the *Tetrarchy. From 314 it consisted of six *provinces: *Africa Proconsularis, *Byzacena, *Tripolitana, *Numidia, *Mauretania Sitifiensis, and Mauretania Caesariensis.

Africa Proconsularis was administered by a *Proconsul seated in *Carthage, assisted by two legates. The *governor of Byzacena was a *Consularis residing at *Hadrumetum. The governor of Numidia also held the title Consularis; he was based at *Cirta, which was renamed Constantina in 312 in honour of *Constantine I, who in 314 united the two Numidian provinces originally created by the Tetrarchic reforms (Numidia Cirtensis and Numidia Militiana). The governors of Tripolitana and the two Mauretanian provinces held the ranks of *Praeses. At the top of the provincial administration stood the *Vicarius Africae, who was subordinate to the *Praefectus Praetorio Italiae. In the east, the *dioecesis* bordered *Libya Superior, which belonged to the dioecesis of *Oriens (later *Aegyptus). In the west, the *dioecesis* bordered Mauretania Tingitana that belonged to the dioecesis *Hispaniae.

The integrity of the African *dioecesis* was dissolved by the *Vandal ingression into Africa and the establishment of the Vandal kingdom between 429 and 439 in Africa Proconsularis, parts of Numidia and Byzacena. In 455, the Western Roman government also lost effective control over the other African provinces. Alongside the Vandal kingdom, autochthonous states started to develop.

In 533–4, the Vandal kingdom was swept away by the *Byzantine invasion, and Africa came under a Praefectus Praetorio Africae appointed from *Constantinople (*CJust* I, 27, 1 and 2; *NovJust* 36 and 37), replaced in the late 6th century by the *Exarch of Carthage. From the middle of the 7th century, Arabian armies advanced from *Egypt into western North Africa and ended Byzantine rule by the end of the century.

Late Roman North Africa

Roman control over North Africa began after the third Punic War in 146 BC, when the first province with the name Africa was founded. This was enlarged under Julius Caesar and became the senatorial province of Africa Proconsularis. In AD 40, Mauretania was added as a Roman province. The provincial *era (Anno Provinciae), counted from that year, remained an alternative dating system in Mauretania into the 7th century.

From a geographical point of view, North Africa can be divided three ways: the coast, the semi-arid zone inland from the coast that was especially fertile near the great rivers like the Bagradas (mod. Medjerda), stretching between 240 and 480 km (150 and 300 miles) inland, and the desert zone separated from the semi-arid zone by mountain ranges in western North Africa and by the great salt lakes, the *chotts*, in central North Africa. Two major *roads ran east–west, one on the coast and one inland, and were interconnected by a system of a number of important north–south roads and smaller routes between settlements. Northern Africa Proconsularis was the most densely urbanized region of the Roman Empire outside *Italy.

The 2nd century saw considerable building in many *cities of Roman North Africa; this was often combined with a rise in municipal status (e.g. from *municipium* to *colonia*). At the end of the 2nd century, Septimius Severus, originally from *Lepcis Magna, became Roman *emperor.

The importance of North Africa for the Roman Empire and especially for Italy lay in its agricultural productivity. The most important products were *grain and *olives; in Late Antiquity Italy and especially *Rome relied heavily on Africa for these essential commodities. Grain and oil were transported in the **annona* system in which imperial officers collected resources centrally and organized their transport to Italy from such African *harbours as Carthage, *Hippo Regius, and Hadrumetum. Transport for the *annona* was provided by private merchantmen whose owners were in return exempted from *taxation. The African supply for Italy was regulated by the *Praefectus Annonae Africae, responsible to the office of the Praefectus Praetorio Italiae.

Much of the land in Africa was owned directly by the Empire and a relatively small group of wealthy private owners, who were not necessarily based in Africa. *Procuratores* took care of the business on the *estates. The land was worked mainly by **coloni* who leased land. The so-called Lex Manciana system, which dated from the 1st century AD and lasted at least through the Vandal period, enabled *coloni* to develop *marginal land themselves, paying a third of their crop to the landowners. Large estates with intensive *irrigation systems ensured high productivity; this fecundity, aided by the state-subsidized *annona* system, caused African grain and oil to dominate the Italian market from the 3rd century onwards. The encouragement of transport made it easier for African *merchants to sell other products overseas, especially *African Red Slip *pottery, the fine ware which dominated the markets of the Empire in the 4th and 5th centuries and was produced mainly in modern northern and central Tunisia. Africa was not hit as hard by the political and military difficulties that affected large parts of the northern and eastern Roman Empire in the Third Century *Crisis, and showed a nearly unbroken continuity of prosperity, which also survived the end of Roman provincial *administration.

During the Principate, the defence of Roman interests and territory was ensured by the Legio III Augusta, which was permanently stationed in Africa, and by the Limes Tripolitanus. The defensive system was changed under the *Tetrarchy. The defence of the *dioecesis* was divided between a mobile *field army, the **comitatenses*, and the **limitanei* permanently stationed in the *frontier zones. The *Comes Africae held the highest military command in Africa. In the late 4th century, successive Comites, notably *Firmus and *Gildo, sons of the *Moorish king Nubel, used their powerful positions to oppose the imperial *court in Italy.

Africa was an important region for Latin Christianity; Tertullian, *Cyprian, and *Augustine were theologians whose influence was felt beyond the region. The number of *bishops gives a good indication of the number and disposition of Christian congregations. Regular *councils of bishops took place from at least the time when Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage between *c.*248 and 258. More than 500 bishops attended the Council of Carthage in both 411 and 484. They came from sees as far apart as Mauretania and Tripolitana, though the highest density of bishoprics was in central North Africa. Church architecture showed some local specialities, in building techniques and ground plans. North African Christianity was also characterized by a strong cult of *martyrs that was particularly fuelled by the Great *Persecution which began in 303. The *Donatist schism arose in the aftermath of that persecution, from disputes concerning the legitimacy of a Bishop of Carthage consecrated by a bishop whose conduct in the persecutions prompted opposition. The Donatist Church formed a numerous and parallel organization, but was declared schismatic in 411.

Vandal and Byzantine Africa

During most of the Vandal period, the *Homoean (*'Arian') Vandal Church was promoted in Africa Proconsularis by the rulers. Aside from religious conflicts, the Vandal period saw considerable continuity in economy and artisanal production and even a blossoming of *Latin literary culture. The royal *court at Carthage formed a distinct political entity that depended to a large extent on the Late Roman system and its representatives in the administration of central North Africa. In more remote regions, autochthonous political units (labelled generally Moors or *Berbers in the sources) achieved effective autonomy during the Vandal period.

In 534 an army sent by the Emperor *Justinian I from Constantinople under the command of *Belisarius overthrew the last Vandal king *Gelimer. The principal archaeological characteristics of the Byzantine invasion and occupation are fortifications and churches, illustrating the two major tasks of re-establishing the range and organization of the Late Roman *dioecesis* and of Nicene orthodoxy. The Byzantine dioecesis of Africa included *Sardinia, which had been part of the Vandal kingdom. A Praefectus Praetorio was installed as the highest civilian officer. A *Magister Militum and later an *Exarch held the highest overall military command, with *duces* taking care of individual provinces.

In 647 an *Arab army defeated Byzantine troops near Sufetula. This is considered a decisive event in the process through which the Byzantines lost control of North Africa, a process practically sealed by the final capture of Carthage in 698. North Africa was thereafter ruled under the *Umayyad *caliphs from *Kairouan, a city now in central Tunisia, founded in 670. RB

CAH XIV (2000), 552–69 (Averil Cameron).

Y. Le Bohec, *Histoire de l'Afrique romaine, 146 avant J.-C.–439 après J.-C.* (2005).

Lepelley, *Cités.*

O. Perler, *Les Voyages de S. Augustin* (Études Augustiniennes, 1969).

Shaw, *Sacred Violence*.

L. Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (2010).

A. Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab Conquest* (2007).

Y. Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine: IVe–VIIe siècle* (2003).

Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*.

Conant, *Staying Roman.*

Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709)* (1896).
W. Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* (2010).

Africa, churches of Early Christian church architecture in North *Africa was based on the *basilica building type widespread in the western Mediterranean, but showed a number of characteristics that were unique to the region. Most African churches were three-aisled basilicas with rows of columns or pillars supporting arcades separating the nave from the side aisles. Some churches had multiple side aisles, with five, seven, or even up to nine as in the basilica of Damous el Karita in *Carthage. The middle rows of supports were sometimes doubled. Open timber roofs covered the nave; side aisles were sometimes vaulted, and sometimes supported galleries. The standard masonry technique was the local *opus africanum* consisting of regularly set vertical stone blocks with spaces in between filled up with smaller stones. *Opus africanum* walls were plastered and whitewashed or painted. Church floors were often decorated with multicoloured *mosaics in floral and geometric designs, less frequently showing figurative scenes. Burials inside the churches covered by mosaic *epitaphs or *inscriptions are frequently found. The usually semicircular, sometimes prolonged *apses were usually inscribed into rectangular ground plans, creating additional rooms on either side of the apse. The apse coverings were constructed in a specifically North African technique using ceramic tubes to form lightweight vaulting. Apses were elevated with steps providing access to the nave, where in African churches the *altar was placed, surrounded by chancel *screens. Often, *reliquaries were positioned under the altar containing secondary *relics.

African church building started in the cemeteries where the *martyrs were buried. The veneration of martyrs was a strong characteristic of African Christianity, and is most impressively illustrated in the numerous burials 'ad sanctos' at *Tipasa. The oldest transmitted date for the erection of a purpose-built Christian church is 324 for the basilica at *Castellum Tingitanum. Especially in the 5th century, more basilicas were built inside *cities, sometimes in decontaminated former *temples. Some cities like *Ammaedara or *Sufetula show large numbers of churches including double church complexes. *Baptisteries, most commonly cruciform or hexagonal in shape, allowed immersion via steps and were installed in annexe rooms or in separate buildings near the churches. Some churches received a second apse at the opposite end of the nave as a second liturgical centre or as a memorial place for honorific burials. *Triconchs were common as memorial buildings, as at *Theveste. Crypts were first used in Africa underneath apses to create further space for honorific burials, for example at *Cuicul (Djemila). Only after the *Byzantine invasion of Africa, in 533/4, did centralized buildings and transepts appear in African church architecture, and even then not frequently. RB

Gui, Duval, and Caillet, *Basiliques.*
J. Christern, 'Nordafrika', in B. Brenk (ed.), *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Supplementband 1: Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (1977), 253–71.
Duval, *Les Églises africaines à deux absides.*

African Red Slip Ware Wheel-made fine tableware, manufactured at various factories in North *Africa (mod. Tunisia and eastern Algeria) from the mid-1st into the 7th century (although imitations were also produced at workshops in *Greece and *Egypt). Characteristic of this widely distributed pottery is an orange-red self-slip over a rather granular orange fabric. Typical shapes are shallow bowls and dishes in various sizes, but ovoid flagons also occur. The decoration is initially simple, using occasionally slip-applications (Fr. *barbotine*) and rouletting, but by the 5th century stamped central motifs (animals, humans, *crosses) become more common. Some forms and decoration styles are clearly inspired by contemporary *silver vessels. JV

J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), 13–299.
Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Atlante delle forme ceramiche romane I–II (1981, 1985).

Africa Proconsularis Central *province of Roman North *Africa (also known as Africa Zeugitana), governed by a *proconsul from *Carthage, who was independent of the *Vicarius of the *Dioecesis Africae and could hear appeals from any African province. The reforms of the *Tetrarchy reduced Africa Proconsularis to modern north Tunisia and north-east Algeria. It bordered *Numidia to the west and *Byzacena to the south. The *Vandals ruled Proconsularis (with a judicial official holding the title *Proconsul of Carthage) from 439 till the *Byzantine invasion of 534, when *Justinian I reorganized Africa under a *Praefectus Praetorio Africae (*CJust* I, 27, 10–21). The Byzantine Exarchate of *Carthage was swept away by the *Arab conquest in the later 7th century. RB

Barrington Atlas, 32.
Jones, *LRE* 273–4, 381, 385–6, 481, 1075.
T. D. Barnes, 'Proconsuls of Africa, 337–392', *Phoenix* 39/2 (1985), 144–53.

Agape, Irene, and Chione, Ss. Christian *martyrs. At the start of the Great *Persecution in 303, seven women took refuge in the hills behind *Thessalonica, 'in accordance with the commandment' (Matt. 10:23).

Having been arrested and having refused to eat meat from *sacrifices, they were judicially examined. Agape and Chione were condemned to be burned alive and the rest were put in *prison, Eutychia because she was pregnant, the rest because of their youth. The following day Irene was arraigned for having Christian books (which Chione had previously stated had been handed over to the authorities). Irene was condemned to the public brothel, and was then burned alive on 1 April 304.

Their *martyr passion (*BHG* 34) recounts the trials in the style of an official *report of proceedings, embellished with rhetorical asides and preface. They were subsequently commemorated at a *martyrium near the city walls in Thessalonica (Delehaye, *Origines*, 229). OPN

BHG 34: ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Nuove note agiografiche* (ST 9, 1902), 15–19.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 140–1.

R. Darling Young, 'Martyrdom as Exaltation', in Burrus, *Late Ancient Christianity*, 85–93.

Agapetus (d. 536) *Bishop of *Rome 535–6, sent by *Theodahad, King of the *Ostrogoths, to the *Emperor *Justinian I to forestall the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy. He forced the resignation of *Anthimus, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, consecrating *Menas in his place, and died at Constantinople (**Liber Pontificalis*, 59). He founded a library in the *domus* of the future *Gregory I, of which the dedication *inscription survives. JJA

PLRE III, Agapetus 1.

W. Ensslin, 'Papst Agapet I. und Kaiser Justinian I', *HistJ* 77 (1958), 459–66.

Agapetus A *Constantinople *deacon who compiled (*c.*527) 72 paragraphs of advice for *Justinian I on how to succeed as *emperor, in both divine and human terms. Agapetus drew heavily on the 4th-century-BC Athenian orator Isocrates, on Hellenistic writers on kingship, and on moderate Christian authors, like *Isidorus of Pelusium. Agapetus, following *Eusebius of Caesarea, presents the emperor as God's vicegerent on earth, subject to no formal constraints (ch. 1)—but, crucially, only able to rule safely over subjects whose goodwill he enjoys (ch. 35). Agapetus does not defer to the upper classes; he even recommends redistributive *taxation (ch. 16). The work had lasting influence in the Byzantine Empire, and was widely disseminated in both Western and Eastern Europe until the 16th century. PNB

ed. (with GT) R. Riedinger (1995).

ET (with comm.): P. N. Bell, *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian* (TTH 52, 2009).

R. Frohne, *Agapetus Diaconus: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Wirkungsgeschichte des ersten byzantinischen Fürstenspiegels* (1985).

Agapius of Membij Mahboub, son of Constantine, *Melkite *Bishop of *Hierapolis of *Syria (Syr. Mabbug), died after 941/2. Wrote, in *Arabic, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, a chronicle from Creation, which survives up to the reign of Leo IV. For AD 630 to 754 he draws on *Theophilus of Edessa. OPN

ed. (with FT) A. A. Vasiliev, PO V/4, 557–692 (1910); PO VII/4, 457–91 (1911); PO VIII/3, 339–547 (1912).

ed. L. Cheikho (CSCO 65, scr. arab. 10, 1912).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 440–2.

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: Sources*, 190.

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 196–9.

L. Conrad, 'Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission', *ByzForsch* 15 (1990), 1–44.

Agat'angelos (Agatangeghos, Agat'angełos, Agathangelos) *The History of the Armenians* attributed to one Agat'angelos, reputedly scribe to *Trdat III [Tiridates], King of *Armenia Magna, tells the classic story of the *conversion of Trdat and of Armenia to Christianity by S. *Gregory the Illuminator in the early 4th century AD. The author's name borrows the Greek word meaning 'bearer of good news'; his account emphasizes the influence of the Greek Church in the process of conversion, and thereby obscures the beginnings of Armenian Christianity which initially entered Armenia from the *Syriac communities to the south. Obviously a compilation of oral and written folk, religious, and hagiographic traditions, the *History* probably reached its present form in the late 5th century. Some recensions also include a catechism, the *Teaching of S. *Gregory*, which interrupts the flow of the narrative and is usually omitted from translations of the *History*. The popularity of the *History* is attested by the fact that there are translations into various languages including *Arabic and *Greek.

The author begins by explaining how he came to write the work at the command of Trdat. He then commences his narrative with the fall of the Parthian Arsacids in in the *Persian Empire and the rise of the *Sasanian dynasty (AD 224). This serves as the framework for the history of the life of S. Gregory the Illuminator (known also as Gregory the Parthian) and of Trdat, the heir to the Armenian *Arshakuni (Arsacid) throne. Their long and tumultuous relations culminate in the conversion of the king and of Armenia to Christianity, an account of the destruction of Armenia's pagan *temples, of their visit to the Emperor *Constantine I in *Constantinople and the Council of *Nicaea, and finally of Gregory's death. The *History* is invaluable for the study of Armenian Christianity but must be used with care alongside other sources in the study of the 3rd and 4th centuries. LA

Thomson, *BCAL* 90–5.

ET R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (1976).
The Teaching of St. Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism, Translation and Commentary by R. W. Thomson (rev. edn., 2001).
HAndzB.
R. Darling Young, 'The Conversion of Armenia as a Literary Work', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 115–35.

Agathangelus *See* AGAT'ANGELOS.

Agathias (*c.*532–*c.*580) Historian, poet, and advocate, born in Myrina (whose history he promised to write: *Hist. Praef.* 15), a coastal *city in the *province of *Asia. His *education in *rhetoric in *Alexandria, then in *law in *Constantinople, reveals a prosperous background. There he became an advocate, but found the work hard going, although financially essential (*Hist*. III, 1.3). At some point he became *Pater Civitatis of *Smyrna, where he was responsible for building public lavatories (*AnthGraec* IX, 662; IX, 642–4).

His chief interest became poetry: he first wrote a collection of short poems on love and romance, the *Daphneiaka*, in nine books of hexameters. Of this, only his introduction survives (*AnthGraec* VI, 80). Other works, both prose and verse, are also lost. He then turned to writing *epigrams in archaizing, classical *Greek on traditional themes, some erotic, and some autobiographical. They include one on his *cat, who had decapitated a pet partridge (*AnthGraec* VII, 304). Three, however (*AnthGraec* I, 34, 35, and 36), address the Archangel Michael: in one he joins three fellow law students in dedicating an *icon of the archangel at the shrine at *Sosthenion. These were included, along with poems from friends, including *Paul the *Silentiary, in his *Cycle*. This does not survive in its original form, but the later *Greek Anthology contains more than 100 of his poems.

His expressed intention as a historian was 'to record the momentous occurrences' of his own times 'which might have a positive value for posterity', and thereby presumably win public (including imperial) recognition (*Praef.* I, 10–11). If this was his intention, he did not entirely succeed (*Praef.* I, 16–20; V, 20, 7). The surviving text, incomplete on his death, is in five books covering the years 552–9. It is advertised as a continuation of *Procopius' *Histories*, although it goes back in time when necessary. In practice, the work concentrates on *Narses' campaigns against the *Franks in the West and the wars with the Persians in the East, and is on a larger scale than the *Histories* of Procopius. Its historical merits have been disputed; Agathias seems to have lacked political and military experience as well as access to official documents; although he boasts of obtaining access to Persian *archives through *Sergius the *interpreter (*Hist.*V, 2–5), he was concerned more with morals and literature than with facts. Often, however, his is the only surviving account of events he describes, and he lacks Procopius' personal animus against particular individuals. His lengthy digressions also give his work richness and wider interest. These include the earlier history of both the Franks, whose alleged (Christian) virtues he commends, and the Persians. He recounts his personal experience of the devastation on the island of *Cos after an *earthquake (551) and a later outbreak of the *plague. He also describes the disappointed quest of *pagan *philosophers, unhappy with *Justinian following the disendowment of the Platonic Academy at *Athens (529), to discover in the *Persian Empire and its king, *Khosrow I, an ideal Platonic polity. He gives details of the rebuilding of the *dome of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople after another earthquake (558), and praises Paul the Silentiary's *Description* of the church following its restoration (563).

Like Procopius, but unlike contemporary ecclesiastical historians, Agathias wrote in a classicizing manner, in both theme and language, and avoided Christian partisanship or terminology as well as church politics, although he does address social and intellectual issues. The need to demonstrate his orthodoxy, whether or not sincere, has sometimes been taken to explain the writing of his Christian epigrams. Others have seen Christian thinking underlying his approach.

His native city set up a statue of him, along with statues of his brother and father. The verse *inscription, however, commemorates his oratory and poetry, but not his *Histories* (*AnthGraec* XVI, 316). PNB

PLRE III, Agathias.
Epigrams, ed. (with IT and comm.) G. Viannino (1967).
ed. (with ET) in W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (5 vols., LCL, 1925–7).
Histories, ed. R. Keydell (CFHB 2, 1967); ET: (CFHB 2a, 1975).
ed. Averil Cameron (with ET, comm., and introd.) 'Agathias on the Early Merovingians', *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa*, series II, 37 (1968), 95–140.
ed. Averil Cameron (with ET, comm., and introd.) 'Agathias on the Sassanians', *DOP* 23/4 (1969/70), 1–150.
Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (1970).
A. Kaldellis, 'Agathias on History and Poetry', *GRBS* 38 (1997), 206–53.
R. C. McCail, 'The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus', *Byzantion* 41 (1971), 205–67.

Agathon, Patriarch of Alexandria (r. 661–77) Successor to *Benjamin I as Coptic *Patriarch; his reign is recounted in *HistCoptPatr* 15. A native of the *Mareotis district, Agathon secretly ministered to the non-Chalcedonian (*Miaphysite) community in

*Alexandria prior to the *Arab conquest. He assisted the ailing Benjamin I in the administration of the Egyptian Church. During his own patriarchate, Agathon ordained numerous clergy, consecrated churches and *monasteries, redeemed Christian captives, and negotiated with *Egypt's new Muslim rulers on behalf of the Christians. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Agathon of Alexandria, cols. 65a–66b (C. Detlef, G. Müller).

J. den Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarriğ et l'historiographie copto-arabe* (CSCO 513, Sub. 83; 1989).

Swanson, *Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt*.

Agathonicus of Tarsus Probably a fictional character, described as a 4th-century *Bishop of *Tarsus and supposed to have written several theological treatises. The works under his name are known only in *Coptic translations, but were written originally in *Greek in an Egyptian monastic milieu sympathetic to the spirituality of *Evagrius Ponticus (4th–5th cent.). AFVD

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Agathonicus of Tarsus, cols. 69a–70a (T. Orlandi).

T. Orlandi, 'Il dossier copto di Agatonico di Tarso: Studio letterario e storico', in D. W. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (1981), 269–99.

Agathon the Deacon Distinguished archivist and secretary to the *Patriarch of *Constantinople from *c.*681 to 713. He served as a **lector* and **notarius* at the Third Council of Constantinople (681) which anathematized *Monotheletism. A trusted official, Agathon copied the complete conciliar *Acta and sent the official *creed to the five patriarchates. In 713, Agathon was promoted as an archdeacon, but soon fell out of favour under the *Emperor *Philippicus Bardanes, a Monothelete sympathizer. ABA

PBE I, Agatho 3.

PmbZ 132.

Epilogus, ed. R. Riedinger, *ACO* II, 2, 898–901 = Mansi XII 189–96.

A. Veglery, G. Zacos, and J. W. Nesbitt, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 (1972), no. 1692A.

Agaune (S. Maurice, Switzerland) The supposed burial place of S. Maurice and his *Theban Legion. The *Burgundian King *Sigismund founded a *monastery there in 515, at which he was buried. The monastery subsequently adopted the practice of *laus perennis*, perpetual *praise, involving shifts of monks chanting continuously. EJ

DACL 1 (1920) *s.v.* 'Agaune', 850–71 (H. Leclercq).

A.-M. Helvétius, 'L'Abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune dans le haut moyen âge', in N. Brocard, ed., *Autour de Saint-Maurice* (2012), 113–31.

agentes in rebus Imperial agents who came under the oversight of the *Magister Officiorum. In the East in 430 the corps numbered 1,174 (*CTh* VI, 27, 23), rising marginally to 1,248 by the reign of the *Emperor *Leo I (*CJust* XII, 20, 4). Their titles of rank were taken from the hierarchy of non-commissioned officers in the *cavalry. In ascending order, with numbers as stipulated by Leo, they were *equites* (450), *circitores* (300), *biarchi* (250), **centenarii* (200), and *ducenarii* (48). At the start of the 5th century, numbers in the West are unlikely to have been very different. They had various functions, notably as imperial couriers; being posted to the provinces as inspectors (*curiosi*) of the *Cursus Publicus, *harbours, and other matters; and directing **fabricae* (arms factories). They concluded their service with appointment as *Princeps Officii. *Augustine describes how a pair of *agentes in rebus* abandoned their efforts to be 'friends of the emperor' in favour of being 'friends of God' (*Conff.* VIII, 6, 15). AGS

Jones, *LRE* 578–82.

G. Purpura, 'Il "magister officiorum" e la "schola agentum in rebus"', *Labeo* 25 (1979), 202–8.

ager publicus Land belonging to the Roman *Populus*, as opposed to that held privately or by other governmental divisions. Typically it had been acquired in antiquity by expropriation from conquered peoples, and was therefore often on the periphery of the Empire. The amount of land in this category was initially very large, but was gradually reduced as the state reassigned or sold it to military *veterans, colonists, or private purchasers. Veteran colonies continued to be founded in this way until at least the 3rd century AD.

Ager publicus was predominantly agricultural land, and that remaining in possession of the state was consigned in a number of different ways, all with differing legal implications. If arable, it could be rented by the state to communities or individuals for active cultivation; in this case the rights of usufruct were distributed in various ways. Conversely, it could remain an entirely public resource, used by any or all individuals in local communities for grazing animals. By the 6th century, this category of land no longer existed, although *ager vectigalis*—land owned by towns, *cities, or the Church—was structurally similar, allowing the user nearly total use and enjoyment of the leased land (**Digest*, 6, 3). AAB

A. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (1990).

Agilbert (d. 679/90) *Bishop of the West Saxons and latterly of *Paris. He was born into a powerful *Frankish family, with probable *Merovingian and perhaps Kentish connections, and became bishop of an unknown see before studying in *Ireland. In 646 he was asked by King Cenwealh to become bishop of the

West Saxons at *Dorchester, Oxon. (*Bede, *HE* III, 7) He eventually fell out with the king and travelled to Northumbria, where he ordained *Wilfrid priest and upheld the Roman observance of *Easter at the synod of *Whitby in 664 (Bede, *HE* III, 26). He returned to Francia for Wilfrid's consecration later that year, and became Bishop of *Paris *c.*668 (Bede, *HE* III, 28). He built a crypt at the double *monastery of *Jouarre, governed by his sister, where the sculpted *sarcophagus in which he was buried survives. SL; STL

LexMA 1, 207 (O. G. Oexle).

C. I. Hammer, '"Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian Bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', *Peritia* 22/3 (2011–12), 53–82.

Agilofings *See* BAIUVARI AND BAVARIA.

Agilulf *Lombard king (r. 590–616). Also referred to as Ago, Agilulf is recorded as of *Thuringian stock, but was related to his predecessor King *Authari and was probably one of his trusted *Duces, being based in Turin in the 580s. To help secure his accession in 590, Agilulf married Authari's *Frankish widow, *Theudelinda. Their children included Gundoberga, who married a later Dux of Turin, Arioald (himself Lombard King 626–36), and Adaloald (king 616–26, ousted by Arioald), married to the *Frankish King *Theudebert's daughter.

Agilulf probably became king following the Byzantine attempt in 590 to remove the Lombards, when the Byzantines subsidized a Frankish invasion and Lombard Duces rebelled. Agilulf forcibly reunited the kingdom, subdued rivals, and confronted Franks and *Avars in north-east *Italy in the 590s–600s. He attacked Byzantine territory in *Aemilia and the Rome Duchy, even besieging *Rome in 593. Various treaties ensued, some supported by tribute payments (e.g. 12,000 **solidi* from the Byzantines in 605). Byzantine seizure of Agilulf's family 601–3 caused conflict.

Papal policy used Agilulf's Frankish Catholic queen Theudelinda to try to convert him. During Agilulf's reign the Irishman S. *Columbanus founded the *monastery of *Bobbio. *Paul the Deacon describes murals showing scenes from Lombard history at Theudelinda's palace at Monza, while a gilded *bronze plaque (the 'Elmo di Agilulfo') preserved in *Florence depicts an enthroned (newly crowned?) king, *court, and personified *Victories. The Monza treasury contains items associated with *Gregory I and Theudelinda; the probable tomb of the queen was excavated in 1941. NJC

PLRE III, Agilulfus.

ANCIENT SOURCES

*Gregory I *Registrum Epistularum* IV, 2; V, 34; VI, 63; IX, 11 and 66; **Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, 6; *Fredegar, *Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards.*

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N. Christie, *The Lombards* (1996), 87–95, 185–6.

P. Delogu, 'Kingship and the Shaping of the Lombard Body Politic', in Ausenda et al., *Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, 251–88.

G. P. Brogiolo, 'Towns, Forts and the Countryside: Archaeological Models for Northern Italy in the Early Lombard Period', in Brogiolo et al., *Towns and their Territories*, 299–324.

G. C. Menis, ed, *I Longobardi* (Exhibition catalogue, 1990), 96.

G. Haseloff, 'Die Funde aus dem Sarkophag der Königin Theodelinda in Monza', *Germania*, 30 (1952), 368–77.

agio A word with many meanings. In the ancient world (which had no *gold standard), it could be used to mean the premium required to integrate a payment delivered in worn coins, especially *gold coins, which circulated only according to intrinsic value as gold. This was probably fixed as one-sixth of the paid value by a law of 325 (*CTh* XII, 7, 1) and then abolished with the introduction of the compulsory melting down of all paid gold under *Valentinian I (*CTh* XII, 6, 12 and XII, 7, 3). The payment called in the sources *obryzum was similarly interpreted; this seems to have been a payment to tax-collectors and money changers for their services (which, when fixed as a percentage of the handled sums, could also be defined as *agio*). FC

Hendy, *Studies*.

F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (2009).

Agnellus (*c.*794/804–after 846) Also known as Agnellus Andreas, cleric and author of the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*. Agnellus was a member of a prominent *Ravenna family. He was ordained *priest between 817 and 835 and composed the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* in the 830s and 840s. He was still alive in 846 when he completed the lives up to Archbishop Georgios (837–46). The date of his death remains unknown.

Although the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* is modelled upon the Roman **Liber Pontificalis*, two further preoccupations characterize the approach of Agnellus, his desire to demonstrate the independence and apostolic credentials of the see of Ravenna, and a wish to highlight the moral decline of recent *bishops and their erosion of the rights of the clergy. The *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* is an invaluable source for the architectural panorama of Ravenna. It mentions churches and other religious structures and also *palaces, public buildings, and *bridges. Agnellus describes wall paintings and *mosaics, and reports on S. Vitale and the images there 'beautifully created in *mosaics' of Bishop *Maximian (546–57), and of *Justinian I (527–65) and *Theodora (*c.*500–48). CTH

ed. A. Testi Rasponi, *Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis. Volume Primo, Agnelli Liber Pontificalis* (3 vols. in 2, 1924).
ed. C. Nauerth (with GT) *Liber Pontificalis: Bischofsbuch* (FontChr 21, 1996).
ET (annotated): D. Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna: The Book of the Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (2004).
J. M. Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (1995).

agora *See* FORUM.

Agrestius (d. after 626) *Notary of *Theuderic II, monk in *Luxeuil. According to *Jonas of *Bobbio (*VColumbani* II, 9–10), Agrestius unsuccessfully accused S. *Columbanus' successor *Eusthasius of *heresy and attacked liturgical and ritual practices at Luxeuil. ADi
PCBE, IV/1, Agrestius 5.
B. Dumézil, 'L'Affaire Agrestius de Luxeuil', *Médiévales* 52 (2007), 135–52.

agriculture *See* FARMING.

agri deserti The problem of deserted lands (*agri deserti*) features prominently in imperial legislation in Late Antiquity from the 3rd to the 6th century, and has often been thought to indicate agricultural decline in the period or a population crisis. This is, however, to misconstrue the nature of many of these laws. The tax on land was the main source of imperial *taxation revenue, and accordingly the imperial *administration was keen to maximize the amount of taxable land under cultivation. The government thus wished to secure the cultivation of even marginal land. The *agri deserti* of the *law codes would appear to have frequently been marginal (and thus relatively unproductive) land, abandoned by those who were legally responsible for paying the taxes due on it (rather than depopulated as such). The imperial government typically responded to such abandonment by making the land available to new owners on preferential terms, reallocating their tax burdens to neighbouring landowners or fiscal communities (such as *city councils), or using them to provide allotments for military *veterans. PS
Jones, *LRE* 812–23, 67–8, 774–5, 1039–40.
C. R. Whittaker, '*Agri deserti*', in M. I. Finley, ed., *Studies in Roman Property* (1976), 137–75 and 193–200.

agrimensores *See* SURVEYORS.

Agrippinus (*fl.* 450s/early 460s) *Magister Militum in *Gaul, accused by his successor *Aegidius of supporting barbarians. After he was restored as Magister, apparently with the support of *Emperor *Libius Severus and the general *Ricimer, he surrendered *Narbonne to the *Visigoths to win their support against Aegidius. RVD
PLRE II, Agrippinus.
PCBE IV, 1, Agrippinus 1.

Agroecius *Bishop of Sens in 470, in old age, when he received a *letter from *Sidonius Apollinaris. He may be identifiable with the homonymous author of a work on spelling, *Ars de Orthographia* (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* VII, 113–25), dedicated to *Eucherius, Bishop of *Lyons (d. 450), and a lay contributor to the funding of a church at *Narbonne in 445. JDH
PLRE II, Agroecius 3 and Agroecius 2.
PCBE IV.1, Agroecius 3 and Agroecius 2.

Agula Township on the Makalle–Adigrat road in northern *Ethiopia. Ruins first noted by the 1868 British Magdala expedition were those of a *basilican church whose architecture suggests a possibly *Aksumite age. DWP
Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 48–9.

Ahriman The chief adversary of *Ohrmazd in *Zoroastrianism. Prior to creation he was 'in darkness in the depths with backward knowledge and desire to kill' (**Bundahishn*, 1). Ahriman is responsible for bringing evil and all its negative consequences into the world: ageing, decay, and *death. Zoroastrian scribes expressed their scorn by writing his name upside down. Ahriman is visually depicted in the *rock relief of *Ardashir I's investiture at *Naqsh-e Rostam being trampled underfoot by Ohrmazd's *horse, a composition replicated by *Shapur I and *Bahram I. In Zoroastrian *eschatology Ahriman is finally defeated and the world is purged of him and his evil minions. It is the duty of Zoroastrians to cooperate in the suppression of evil. YSDV
P. O. Skjærvø, *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism* (2011), 83.

Ahudemmeh of Balad, Mar (d. 559) West Syrian *Miaphysite *Bishop of *Beth ʿArabaye (mod. al-Jazira) consecrated as *metropolitan by *Jacob Burd'oyo in 559 to convert the *Arabic-speaking tribes of northern *Mesopotamia. *John of *Ephesus' *Church History* and a *Life of Ahudemmeh* by an unknown author provide information. Ahudemmeh's missionary work among the Arab tribes earned him the title 'Apostle to the Arabs', and he founded many *monasteries and churches in northern Mesopotamia, especially around *Takrit and the Monastery of *Mar Mattai. Ahudemmeh spread Miaphysite Christianity in an area which was predominately east Syrian and Dyophysite. He debated Christology with the *Catholicus of the *Church of the East (perhaps Joseph, 522–65) in front of the Shah *Khosrow I (John of Ephesus, *HE* 240–1, 316–18).

The *Life* describes Ahudemmeh as missionary saint and *miracle worker whose *prayers and healings won him converts from the Arab Bedouin tribes. Ahudemmeh built a church to Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus in 'Ain Qone (*Qasr-e Serij) that connected his community to the pilgrimage shrine of these saints in *Sergiopolis-Rusafa. The *Life* also claims that Ahudemmeh baptized the son of Khosrow I, which angered Khosrow so much that he put Ahudemmeh in prison where he died. His *relics are shared between the Monastery of Qrunta and the Church of Takrit. The hagiography is an important source for the establishment of Miaphysite Christianity in the *Persian Empire with an ecclesiastical jurisdiction separate from both the Church of the East and the Miaphysites in the Roman Empire. *Syriac Orthodox Christians honour Mar Ahudemmeh as the first Metropolitan of the East. JNSL

GEDSH s.v. Ahudemmeh of Balad, 13 (Brock).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 36.

ANCIENT SOURCES

BHO 35: ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *Histoires d'Ahoudemmeh et de Maroutha*, PO 3:1 (1905), 7–51.

ed. E. W. Brooks (with LT), *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia* (CSCO 105–6, Scr. syr. 54–55 (1935–6).

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J.-M. Fiey, 'Ahoudemmeh', *Le Muséon* 81 (1968), 155–9.

Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*.

J.-N. Saint-Laurent, *Missionary Stories and the Formation of the Syriac Churches* (TCH 55, 2015), ch. 7.

Aidan, S. (Áedán) (d. 651) Irish missionary, a monk who was sent from *Iona in response to a request by King *Oswald in 635 for a *bishop to minister to the Northumbrians. He became Bishop of *Lindisfarne, and his deeds are reported by *Bede (*HE* III, 3–5 and 14–17). HFF

ODNB s.n. Áedán (Mayr-Harting).

Aila (mod. Aqaba, biblical Elat/Elath/Eilat, Ptolemaic Berenice, Nabataean Aela/Aila) *City at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, incorporated into the Roman *province of *Arabia in 106 as Aelana, and in the Late Roman province of *Palaestina Tertia. Aila was a key port for the redistribution of Indo-Arabian *trade to the Mediterranean.

Under the *Tetrarchy, Legio X Fretensis formed the garrison. *Bishops are attested from 325. The town was garrisoned until the early 5th century. In 630, Yuhanna b. Ru'ba made a treaty with *Muhammad and paid the **jizya* (*Ibn Ishaq, 902), so securing the city's protection during the *Arab conquest.

Archaeological exploration has identified a possible church which must pre-date 325 and, less contentiously, a 'legionary' fortress constructed in the late 4th/early 5th century. In *c.*650, a new town plan was created imitating those of contemporary fortresses such as *Lejjun and *Udruh. The site remained a significant stopping point for those undertaking the *pilgrimage to *Mecca from *Egypt. PWMF

S. T. Parker, 'The Roman Aqaba Project: The 2002 Campaign', *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 47 (2003), 321–33.

'A'isha bt. Abi Bakr One of the wives of *Muhammad and the daughter of the first *caliph, *Abu Bakr (r. 622–4). She died in 678. She married Muhammad at the age of 9, and was his close confidante. She was also extremely controversial. An incident in which she was impugned of sexual misbehaviour occasioned the *Qur'ānic verses 24:11–20 forbidding slander. After Muhammad's death, she fought *'Ali to contest his bid for the caliphate. The Battle of the Camel ('A'isha rode into the battle seated in a litter on a camel) took place in 656. NK

Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān, vol. 1 (2001), 55–60, *s.v.* ʿA'isha bint Abī Bakr' (D. A. Spellberg).

'A'isha bt. Talha Daughter of *Muhammad's *Companion *Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah. She was also the niece of *'A'isha bt. Abi Bakr; Abu Bakr was the first *caliph after Muhammad's death. A *poet and transmitter of *hadith, she died in 728. NK

Aistulf *Lombard king, brother to King *Ratchis and his successor as *Dux of *Friuli in 744. Aistulf became Lombard king in 749, when Ratchis, viewed as too pro-Roman, was probably ousted in a coup. Aistulf duly pursued a more aggressive policy against both the *exarchate of *Ravenna and the papal territories, seizing Ravenna itself in 751, invading Istria, and capturing forts north of *Rome in 752. At Ravenna he issued *gold and *bronze coins with his name, but in Byzantine style. Aistulf also tightened Lombard royal control by removing the Dux of *Spoleto. Aistulf's threats against Rome prompted papal appeals to the Carolingian *Frankish *Mayors of the Palace for relief, leading to *Pippin III's martial interventions in 754, defeating Aistulf in Susa Valley in the Alps and forcing the king to cede the exarchate to Rome. Further Frankish intervention came in 756 following Aistulf's extended siege of Rome in 755, during which the **Liber Pontificalis* claims the Lombards despoiled the *catacombs (94, 41).

Aistulf's set of 22 *laws, stressing Lombard military obligations, probably reflected anticipation of such Frankish action but sought also to build up Lombard arms; he also banned trade with the Romans. Soon after, in 756, Aistulf (labelled 'atrocious', 'criminal',

'pestilential', 'perfidious' by the *Liber Pontificalis*) died in a *hunting accident. His best-known religious foundation is Nonantola Abbey near Modena (ancient *Mutina) of *c.*752, whose first abbot Anselmo was Aistulf's brother-in-law and also a Friulian Dux. NJC

PBE Aistulf 1.

Laws: ed. F. Bluhme, *Leges Langobardorum* (MGH, Leges 4, 1868), 194–205.

Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 42–6.

N. Christie, *The Lombards* (1996), 104–5, 140.

E. A. Arslan, 'Le monete', in G. C. Menis, ed., *I Lombardi* (1990), 165–77.

S. Gelichi, M. Librenti, and A. Cianciosi, *Nonantola e l'abbazia di san Silvestro alla luce dell'archeologia: ricerche 2002–2006* (2006).

Aithallaha *Bishop of *Edessa 324/5–345/6. Aithallaha participated in the *Council of *Nicaea (325) and commissioned ecclesiastical buildings in Edessa. A *letter commenting on the Nicene *Creed, preserved in *Armenian, is attributed to him, but probably dates to the early 5th century. UP

GEDSH s.n. Aitalaha, 13.

CPG 3340:

ed. (with LT) I. Thorossian, *Aithallae Episcopi Edesseni Epistola* (1942).

GT (with study) P. Bruns, 'Brief Aithallahas, des Bischofs von Edessa (Urhai) an die Christen des Perserlandes über den Glauben', *OrChrist* 77 (1993), 120–36.

D. Bundy, 'The Letter of Aithallah (CPG 3340): Theology, Purpose and Date', in R. Lavenant, ed., *III Symposium Syriacum 1980* (OCA 221, 1983), 135–42.

P. Bruns, 'Aithallahas Brief über den Glauben. Ein bedeutendes Dokument frühsyrischer Theologie', *OrChrist* 76 (1992), 46–73.

E. Fiano, 'The Trinitarian Controversies in Fourth-Century Edessa', *Le Muséon* 128 (2015), 85–125.

Akathistos Hymn A **kontakion* in praise of *Mary, sung 'without sitting' (*akathistos*). Its 24 stanzas form an *acrostic of the *Greek alphabet. They trace the spread of God's *praise across the world, starting from the Annunciation. The long stanzas contain theologically sophisticated *acclamations of *Mary, ending with the refrain 'Hail, bride unwedded'. They alternate with shorter verses which relate how the events of the Incarnation evoke the response 'Alleluia'. The **Synaxarion of Constantinople* says it was sung on 7 August 626 to celebrate the lifting of the Persian–Avar *siege of Constantinople, commemorated in the second prelude. It was probably composed under *Justinian I, and is sometimes attributed to *Romanus the Melodist. JJD; OPN

ed. C. A. Trypanis in *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (WienByzStud 5, 1968), 17–39.

ed. (with ET) in C. A. Trypanis, *Penguin Book of Greek Verse* (1971).

L. M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (2001), including ET and text.

***akatos* (Lat. *actuaria*)** A light and narrow open merchant galley of rather small size that was essentially oar-driven, and used until the 8th century AD. JC

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 159–60.

P. Heilporn, 'Registres des navires marchands', in P. Bingen, 339–59, No. 77.

Akhtal, al- (Abu Malik Ghiyath b. Ghawth) (*c.*640–710) Christian *Arabic *poet of the *Umayyad period. Al-Akhtal, along with *Jarir and al-*Farazdaq, is one of the central representatives of the literary culture of the Umayyad *court. The *Caliph *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685 or 692–705) bestowed the title of 'The Poet of the Umayyads' on him, and his political poetry is of considerable historical value. Al-Akhtal's *panegyrics are dedicated to members of the Umayyad ruling class and to his *Miaphysite tribe, the Banu *Taghlib in northern *Syria. The *praise poetry of al-Akhtal stays close to the established poetic canon and contains references to pre-Islamic poets such as Tarafa and al-Nabigha al-Dhubyani. His wine songs continue the tradition of the earlier Christian Arab poets 'Adi b. Zayd al-'Iyadi and al-A'sha, at the same time anticipating the later Abbasid wine poetry. Al-Akhtal's affiliation with Christianity is reflected in his lines on the frailty of human life, marking the transition from the motif of fate prominent in pre-Islamic poetry to the philosophical reflections by Abbasid poets such as Abu al-'Atahiya and al-Mutanabbi. Through his professional rivalry with Jarir, al-Akhtal contributed significantly to the development of polemical poetry (*naqa'id*). KDm

EI THREE s.v. 'Al-Akhtal' (Seidensticker).

Al-Akhtal, *Shi'r al-Akhtal Abi Malik Ghiyath b. Ghawth at-Taghlibi*, ed. Fakhr al-Din Qabawa (1970; repr. 1989).

Aksum Location in Tigray region of northern *Ethiopia, where arose a settlement that became the capital of a major state during the first seven centuries AD. (Although the term 'Aksum' is often loosely applied to this state, in *ODLA* it refers specifically to the capital.) The immediate location, unlike the nearby Beta Giyorgis hill, had seen little previous occupation. The initial settlement of the Aksum site dates to *c.*1st century AD, when build-up commenced of a large terrace used for elite *burials in a manner known long previously at Ona Negast on Beta Giyorgis. By the late 2nd century, Aksum had become the capital of a localized kingdom, expansion of which continued through the 4th century, as detailed in the royal *inscriptions of King *Ezana. In the process, Aksum attained great

prosperity, both through centralizing the resources of its subject territories and through its export *trade in *ivory and other commodities; issue of Aksumite *coinage began, and the terrace noted above was extended in the 3rd and 4th centuries to accommodate burials of unprecedented magnificence, presumably those of kings. In the mid-4th century, largely through the efforts of *Frumentius, *Christianity was adopted as the official religion of Aksum but only later spread through the kingdom's population beyond the capital.

Aksum's extent and population are difficult to estimate since the settlement was not walled or otherwise demarcated; they probably exceeded 110 ha (*c.*270 acres) and 50,000 persons respectively. In its heyday, Aksum controlled great wealth and extensive territory, which may on occasion have extended into southern *Arabia. Its population and extent increased substantially. Through its port at *Adulis, Aksum participated in the Red Sea *trade extending between the Roman Empire in one direction and East Africa and peninsular *India in the other. *Diplomatic contacts with Rome appear, however, to have been minimal and, until early in the 6th century, largely concerned with religious matters. Aksum's emphasis on its independence was apparent in several fields such as monetary policy, use of *Ge'ez, and adherence to *Miaphysite, non-*Chalcedonian doctrine.

Under King *Kaleb in the early 6th century, military operations were conducted in southern Arabia. The resultant overextension, coupled with excessive exploitation of resources in the Aksum area, marked the beginning of stresses leading to economic decline. By the early 7th century Aksum ceased to be the political capital; its successor—known to *Arabic writers as Kubar—was at an as yet unknown location in the highlands of eastern Tigray. At this time or shortly afterwards, issue of Aksumite coinage ended. Control of the Red Sea waterway shifted into *Arab hands and Aksum's overseas trading links were broken. DWP

K. A. Bard et al., 'Archaeological Investigations at Bieta Giyorgis, Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–95 Field Seasons', *JnlFieldArch* 24 (1997), 387–404.

R. Fattovich, 'The Development of Ancient States in the Northern Horn of Africa, *c.*3000 BC–AD 1000', *Journal of World Prehistory* 23 (2010), 145–75.

J. W. Michels, *Changing Settlement Patterns in the Aksum-Yeha Region of Ethiopia, 700 BC–AD 850* (2005).

Munro-Hay, *Excavations at Aksum.*

S. C. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (1991).

Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97.*

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation.*

Aksum, Kingdom of *See* AKSUM and ETHIOPIA.

Alacamii *See* FLAVIOPOLIS OF CILICIA.

Alahan (Roman Apadnas) A well-preserved Late Antique ecclesiastical complex in *Isauria. The site sits on a south-facing terrace towards the top of a mountain at an altitude of about 1,400 m, above a small Roman *city or large *village. The buildings include two three-aisled *basilicas (east and west), a *baptistery, a cave church, a small necropolis, and a *bathhouse. The west basilica has a doorway decorated with images of archangels. The east church has a compact plan with a central tower that could, though probably did not, support a *dome. Michael Gough excavated in 1955, while Paolo Verzone independently carried out a survey in the same year. From 1961, Gough began a series of excavations, with work continuing until 1975. He identified three major architectural phases, the original settlement in the caves (Primary 1), expansion (Primary 2) with the construction of the basilicas, baptistery, and walkway in the late 5th and early 6th centuries, and then a phase of reuse (Secondary). The site has been described as a *monastery and as a place of *pilgrimage; arguments have been made for and against imperial *patronage. No ancient name is known for the site, although Hild and Hellenkemper (193–4) have proposed Apadnas, based solely on *Procopius' statement that *Justinian I restored a monastery at Apadnas in Isauria. HE

TIB 5 *s.n.* Apadnas, 193–4.ed. M. Gough, *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (1985).

H. Elton, 'Alahan and Zeno', *AnatSt* 52 (2002), 153–7.

P. Verzone, *Alahan Monastir* (Turin, 1956).

Alamans (Alamanni) A collective term used by Roman authors in Late Antiquity to designate the populations of what is now south-west Germany, specifically those in the region east of the Rhine, north of the Danube, and west and south of the former Upper German and *Raetian *frontier, from which the Roman administration retreated *c.*260.

It is not clear when Roman authors started to use the term Alamanni. Relying on Cassius Dio, some scholars argue for 213, which would mean that Alamans already existed beyond the frontier several decades before its abandonment, but others regard this allusion to them as a later interpolation, and instead consider a *panegyric of 289 by *Mamertinus on the *Emperor *Maximian to be the first secure reference. If so, the name Alamanni was probably a term newly coined for a population already living on former Roman territory.

The formation of the people called Alamanni is uncertain. While there is no archaeological indication for people maintaining a typically Roman style of settlement in Alamannia in Late Antiquity, the scarce

archaeological data from the region also differs in many respects from the settlement patterns characteristic of Germania beyond the former frontier.

In the first half of the 4th century, several soldiers of Alamannic origin gained high positions within the Roman *army, but were superseded by mainly *Frankish officers during the reign of Emperor *Valentinian I. *Ammianus Marcellinus informs us that in the later 4th century the Alamans consisted of several groups governed by *reges* or *reguli*. The names of these groups derive from regional entities (Bucinobantes, Lentienses, and Raetovarii). Only the Juthungi, who were regarded by some Roman authors as Alamans, bore a previously attested name. Although some Alamannic *reges* occasionally joined forces for common military action, there is no indication of a common Alamannic political structure or identity. Whether or not the Alamans ever constituted a distinct ethnic group is therefore uncertain. The Emperor *Julian defeated a coalition of Alamannic kings at the Battle of *Strasbourg in 357, but conflict continued under *Valentinian I and *Gratian.

The scanty sources of the 5th century report occasional Alamannic raids on *Gaul, *Italy, and *Noricum. In 496 and probably also in 506 *Clovis defeated Alamannic *reguli* and gained control over some Alamannic territories. In 536 the *Ostrogoths, who had previously claimed suzerainty over the Raetian parts of Alamannia, ceded their territories north of the Alps to the *Franks, which facilitated the integration of the Alamans into the Merovingian kingdom. HF

K. Fuchs, ed., *Die Alamannen. Katalog zur Ausstellung 'Die Alamannen', 1997/1998 hrsg. vom Archäologischen Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg* (exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart, 1997).

E. W. Bangs, *Threads of Identity: The Persistence and Change of Expressed Memetic Variants of the Suebi and Alamanni in Southwest Germany, the First Century BC through the Sixth Century AD* (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2010).

B. Bleckmann, 'Die Alamannen im 3. Jahrhundert', *Museum Helveticum* 59 (2002), 145–71.

H. Castritius and M. Springer, 'Wurde der Name der Alamannen doch schon 213 erwähnt?', in U. Ludwig and Th. Schilp, eds., *Nomen et Fraternitas* (2008), 431–49.

J. F. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496 (Caracalla to Clovis)* (2007).

D. Geuenich, *Geschichte der Alemannen* (²2005).

D. Geuenich, 'Wann beginnt die Geschichte der Alemannen?', in A. Bihrer, M. Kälble, and H. Krieg, eds., *Adel und Königtum im mittelalterlichen Schwaben* (2009), 45–53.

Alans (*Ἀλανοί*, Alani) Term used for various confederations of Scytho-Sarmatian steppe *nomads, most probably of Iranian origin. First mentioned in Roman sources in late Republican times, they appear repeatedly down to the 8th century as warrior bands. Between the 1st century BC and Late Antiquity, Alan groups lived north of the Black Sea.

At the end of the 4th century, they came under the dominance of the *Huns, although they obviously managed to retain a privileged position. The Alan cavalry is known for having participated in important 4th- and 5th-century battles, e.g. on the *Gothic side at *Adrianople in 378 (*Ammianus, XXXI, 12), and alongside the Huns at the *Catalaunian Fields in 451 (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 202). The poet *Claudian expressed his admiration for their way of fighting (*De Bello Gothico*, 581–5), and according to *Vegetius, the Late Roman *army was strongly influenced by Alanic fighting techniques (1, 20, 2–4).

In the 5th century, the Alans were divided into several groups, some of which turned westward. Others remained in the East, where *Aspar and his son *Ardabur, both of Alanic origin, held high ranks in the Roman army. Most prominently, an Alan group of unknown size crossed the Rhine in 406/7 together with *Vandals and *Suebes. Some of them, led by Goar, went over to the Romans, and backed the regime of *Jovinus, while others, under the command of Respendial, saved Vandal forces from extinction at the hands of the *Franks (*Frigeridus, *apud* *Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 9). In the early 440s, groups of Alans were finally settled by *Aëtius in the region of Valence and in *Brittany (Armorica), under Sambida and Eochar (Goar?) respectively (*Gallic *Chronicle* of 452 AD, 124, 127; *Constantius, *VGermani* 28).

Meanwhile, other Alans had also in 411 crossed into *Spain with the Vandals, where they went on to settle the Spanish *provinces of *Lusitania and *Carthaginiensis. *Hydatius (49) reports how the land was distributed by drawing lots. Their leader Addax was killed by the *Visigoths under *Wallia in 418, after which they amalgamated with the Vandals, and left for *Africa in 429 under *Geiseric (*Possidius, *VAugustini* 28). In Africa, the Vandal kings claimed to rule over both peoples, as shown by two *edicts of *Huneric (*Victor of Vita, 2, 39; 3, 3–14) and a *silver dish attributed to *Gelimer, with the inscription *Rex Vandalorum et Alanorum*. Following the *Byzantine invasion of Africa in 533, Alan warriors continued to fight in the army of *Justinian I.

In the Caucasus, meanwhile, the Alans had, according to *Procopius, retained their autonomy, while mostly allying with the Persians against the Romans in the wars of the 6th century, as in 542, when a large Persian *army attacked the kingdom of *Lazica (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 3, 4). The Alanic settlers living north of the Caucasus suffered from the *Avar and Turkish invasions of the early Middle Ages. No texts written in Alanic have been preserved. From the evidence of personal names their language is commonly regarded as belonging to the Iranian language family. GMB

A. Alemany, *Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation* (2000).
B. S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West: From their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (1973).

***Alaric, Breviarium of* (*Breviarium Alarici, Lex Romana Visigothorum*)** A collection of abbreviated and modified Roman legal material, constructed in *Toulouse in 506 on the orders of King *Alaric II of the *Visigoths. Its sources are the **Theodosian Code*, later laws (*Novels) of 5th-century *emperors, works of the *jurists Paul, Papinian, and Gaius, and the *Gregorian and *Hermogenianic codes. For most of these texts, original material is supplemented by 'interpretations', clarifying the original laws or adapting them to contemporary circumstances. Traditionally, it has been interpreted as *law intended only for those identifying as ethnically Roman, but it is now often understood as intended to apply territorially.

The text was superseded in the Visigothic kingdom by the **Book of Judges*, but remained the most important source of Roman law in the West for some centuries after its compilation. It was widely copied, especially in the *Frankish kingdoms, and was the basis of numerous further abridgements. TWGF

ed. (annotated with appendices etc.) G. Haenel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum: Ad LXXVI Librorum Manuscriptorum Fidem Recognovit, Septem Eius Antiquis Epitomis, Quae Praeter Duas Adhuc Ineditae Sunt* (1848).
R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004).
M. Rouche and B. Dumézil, eds., *Le Bréviaire d'Alaric: aux origines du Code Civil* (2008).
J. Gaudemet, 'Le Bréviaire d'Alaric et les épitomes', *Ius Romanum Medii Aevi*, I, 2 b aa β (1965).

Alaric I (d. 410) Visigothic leader. According to the 6th-century historian *Zosimus, Alaric was originally the dissident leader of Roman troops protesting at his lack of promotion. But Zosimus has garbled Alaric's early career in making the join between his two main historical sources—*Eunapius and *Olympiodorus. Two independent contemporary commentators—*Claudian and *Synesius—report that Alaric was actually the leader of a large-scale revolt among those *Tervingi and *Greuthungi who had been settled in the *Balkans by treaty in the year 382, following the Battle of *Adrianople of 378. This is much more likely to be correct. Over the next fifteen years Alaric proceeded to add two further major bodies of recruits. Following the fall of *Stilicho in 408, many non-Roman soldiers attached to the Roman *army of *Italy defected to him. These were probably the higher-status warriors that Stilicho had recruited from the followers of *Radagausius. Alaric's numbers were further swelled by large numbers of runaway slaves during the siege of *Rome in 409/10. During his career, Alaric thus created a larger military-political unit (at least *c.*20,000 warriors) than anything previously documented in the Gothic world.

This explains why the other great theme of Alaric's career—finding a *modus vivendi* with Roman imperial power—found no final resolution. The treaty of 382 had granted the Goths continued autonomy in return for military support. But Gothic suspicions about the costs involved, manifest in a first rebellion during *Theodosius I's civil war against *Magnus Maximus, were confirmed by the heavy losses the Goths suffered during Theodosius' campaign against the *usurper *Eugenius in 393. Many were thus willing to unite behind Alaric in 395, and Alaric used their strength to force the East Roman regime dominated by the *Praefectus Praetorio *Eutropius to offer the Goths improved terms in 397: a generalship for Alaric himself and greater economic support for his followers. But this proved so unpopular in *Constantinople that it was unilaterally revoked when Eutropius fell from power in 399, and none of his successors was willing to revive it. Alaric next tried the West by invading Italy in 401/2, but successful Roman resistance left the Goths in limbo until Stilicho's need for military manpower—in the face of threatened outside invasion—led him to approach Alaric for an alliance in 405. Again, however, this proved unpopular in high Roman circles and was revoked on Stilicho's fall, leading Alaric to return to Italy in force. This time, the Gothic leader's strategy is well documented. Threatening Rome over eighteen months was not an end in itself, but a stratagem to force the Western Empire to negotiate. Alaric's most ambitious demands would have inaugurated a virtual Gothic protectorate, making Alaric an imperial general with his forces resettled around *Ravenna. But that was perhaps only a bargaining counter, because Alaric also proposed, with his military dominance—tellingly—at its height, that the Goths should be settled far away from the political centre and receive only limited annual *grain subsidies. Political instability at the Roman centre and the intransigence of the Emperor *Honorius made it impossible nonetheless to generate a settlement, and Alaric was eventually forced to allow his followers to sack Rome in August 410. He subsequently moved them south to threaten a crossing to *Africa, but that failed and Alaric himself died in Calabria in late 410. PHe

PLRE II, Alaricus 1.
Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 213–32 and 462.
Wolfram, *Goths*, 136–61.
Ferrill, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 90–104, 113–14.

Alaric II King of the *Visigoths (r. 484–507). Son and successor of *Euric, husband of Theodegotha and son-in-law of the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic

(*Auctarium Prosperi Havniense* ad ann. 486; *Chronicle of 511*, 666; *Chronicon Theoderici* 12; *Jordanes, *Getica*, 245, 297–9).

Alaric reigned during a period of Frankish expansion. When *Clovis defeated *Syagrius of *Soissons in 486, they became neighbours, and conflict was inevitable though not immediate. Alaric returned the fugitive Syagrius to Clovis, and met Clovis in 502 (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 27).

A *Homoean ('Arian') king under pressure, Alaric made benefactions to the church at *Narbo (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IV, 17) and attempted to accommodate his Catholic Gallo-Roman subjects by promulgating in 506, in emulation of the Code of his father *Euric, an abbreviated, annotated version of the *Codex Theodosianus* known as the *Breviarium of *Alaric II*. The *bishops and *aristocracy supported this legislation; Alaric convened the *Council of Agde the same year.

The Franks, allied with the Burgundians, ultimately campaigned against him; *letters of Theoderic record the *diplomacy which preceded the war (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, III, 1–4). Alaric rushed into battle precipitately, and was defeated and killed at the Battle of *Vouillé in 507 (*Chronicle of 511*, lines 688–90; *Chronicle of Saragossa* ad ann. 507; Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 35–7; *Procopius, *Gothic*, I, 12, 40). This effectively ended the Visigothic kingdom of *Toulouse. GDB

PLRE II, Alaricus 3.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 1 (2002) *s.n.* Alaricus [3], cols. 424–5 (W. Eder).

Albania, Caucasian (Arm. Ałuank', Geo. Rani/Hereti, Iran. Arran) Kingdom in south-east Caucasus, in the territory of modern Azerbaijan and south Dagestan. In AD 252/3, Albania, together with *Iberia and *Armenia, was annexed by the *Persian Empire of the *Sasanians who dominated the region until the *Arab Conquest, despite the Albanians' persistent adherence to the Christian faith. According to Armenian tradition, the Albanian King Urnayr (*c.*313–71) was baptized in the mid-4th century by S. *Gregory the Illuminator, apostle of the Armenians. In AD 451, the Albanians, together with Armenia and *Georgia, participated in an unsuccessful rebellion against the Persians. Around the same period, the Albanian King Vache built a capital city in the region of Uti, initially named Perozabad, but later renamed *Partav. By the end of the 5th century, the *Arshakid royal house had become extinct. It was replaced by the Parthian *Mihranids, who ruled Albania until the early 9th century. In 552, the seat of the Albanian *catholicus was also transferred to Partav. During the late 6th-century ecclesiastical controversies in the Caucasus, Albania, like Iberia, adopted a *Chalcedonian position. Only in the 8th century did the Albanians join the Armenians in opposing the Chalcedonian Christology of the Georgians and the Empire in *Constantinople. By the 8th century, Albania, together with other minor adjacent principalities, while retaining some territorial and ecclesiastical integrity, had ceased to be an independent kingdom, and the Albanians were gradually assimilated by the Armenians, Georgians, and Iranians, and later by Turkic peoples. NA

EncIran I/8 *s.v.* Albania, 806–10 (Chaumont).

Bais, *Albania caucasica.*

Albanian language A north-east Caucasian language spoken in Caucasian *Albania, an ancient kingdom in modern southern Dagestan and Azerbaijan. The Albanian language is now extinct but has developed into the Udi language spoken by approximately 8,500 people, who mostly live in three villages—two in Azerbaijan and one in *Georgia. Albanian was the only north Caucasian language with an original writing system (dating back to the 5th century), though *Armenian tradition attributes the creation of the Albanian alphabet to the Armenian scholar *Mashtots' (5th cent.). Until recently, all samples of Albanian writing were considered lost, except those using a much later Armeno-Albanian alphabet (15th cent.) and occasional inscriptions and *graffiti*, but in 1991, some 300 Albano-Georgian palimpsests were discovered in the Monastery of Mt. *Sinai. The lower texts of the palimpsests revealed fragments of the Albanian *Bible Lectionary and of the New Testament books. The Albanian text is tentatively dated to the 6th century. Most of these fragments have been deciphered, allowing a proper description of Albanian grammar. The alphabet has 52 letters and reveals typological and graphical affinities with the Armenian and Georgian alphabets. NA

J. Gippert, W. Schulze, Z. Aleksidze, and J.-P. Mahé, eds., *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (2008).

Albertini Tablets A collection of 34 texts written in *Latin cursive on 45 wooden tablets, discovered by chance in the 1920s in a cache in the Djebel Mrata, south of Tebessa (*Theveste) in south-east Tunisia. All seem to have been produced around 493–6, and are dated according to the regnal years of the *Vandal King *Gunthamund, despite lying some way to the south of the frontiers of the *Vandal Kingdom. Thirty-one texts relate to property transactions in the Fundus Tuletianos *estate owned by Flavius Geminius Catullinus, a Flamen Perpetuus in Cillium. These typically refer to quite small parcels of arable land containing *olive trees and other arboriculture, and particular reference is made to *irrigation systems and other improvements. The rights to farm this land are exchanged according to the 1st-century Lex Manciana. Two of the remaining documents comprise articles of

sale including an olive *press and a slave boy 6 years old. Taken together, these documents provide an unrivalled glimpse of the activities of tenant farmers towards the fringes of the cultivable zone of North *Africa. The final document in the collection is the record of the dowry of one Ianuarilla of the Geminii, presumably the daughter of the estate owner. The listed trousseau includes clothing, *jewellery, and other accoutrements, along with their respective values in *bronze *folles*. AHM

ed. (with FT, comm., and study) C. Courtois, L. Leschi, C. Perrat, C. Saumagne, *Tablettes Albertini: actes privés de l'époque vandale (fin du Ve siècle)*, 2 vols. (1952).

Albini *See* CEIONII.

Albinus junior (d. after 522) *Consul, 493, *Praefectus Praetorio Italiae (*c.*500–3), and *patron of *Rome during the reign of *Theoderic. In 522 he was accused of *treason and defended by *Boethius. His fate is unknown. JJA

PLRE II, Albinus 9.

J. Moorhead, 'The Decii under Theoderic', *Historia* 33 (1984), 107–15.

Alboin *Lombard king (560/1–72). The **Origo Gentis Langobardorum* names him as son of King *Audoin, succeeding to the Lombard throne in *Pannonia in 560/1 (*Paul the Deacon, *HL* I, 27; *Gregory of Tours, *HF* IV, 41). Alboin had already fought in territorial conflicts there in the 550s against the *Gepids who occupied lands east of the Danube (Paul the Deacon, *HL* I, 23–4). As king he engaged in various alliances with the Byzantines and conflicts against the Gepids (a first wife, Chlodosinda, was *Frankish royalty; his second, Rosemunda, a Gepid princess). He allied with *Avars against the Gepids and Byzantines in 566, defeating and effectively eliminating the Gepid kingdom (*Theophylact Simocatta, VI, 10, 8–12; *Menander Protector, fr. 24–5).

In 568 he elected to lead the bulk of his people, along with allied and subject groups (including *Heruli, Noricans, and *Saxons), to new homes in *Italy (Paul the Deacon, *HL* II, 5–9; *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, 5). The invasion saw dukedoms, each headed by a *Dux, established in key *cities in north Italy. *Milan was captured in 569 (Paul the Deacon, *HL* II, 25) and chosen as a royal capital; Alboin was (re)crowned there in 570. He was assassinated in his other *palace in *Verona in June 572 in a conspiracy seemingly led by his wife Rosemunda and Hilmegis, one of Alboin's bodyguards (*Spatharius) who sought the throne. Since Rosemunda and Hilmegis, and Alboin's daughter by Chlodosinda (Albsuinda), then moved to *Ravenna with some of the royal treasury, the plot suggests Byzantine intrigue to disrupt the Lombard kingdom. Albsuinda was subsequently dispatched to *Constantinople (Paul the Deacon, *HL* II, 28–30). NJC

PLRE IIIA, Alboin.

N. Christie, *The Lombards* (1995), 58–64, 76–9.

N. Christie, 'Pannonia: Foundations of Langobardic Power and Identity', in G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, eds., *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2009), 6–29.

Album of Timgad *See* THAMUGADI AND ALBUM OF TIMGAD.

Alcaudete Sarcophagus An early Christian funerary monument of the 5th or 6th century, found in two connecting fragments in Alcaudete in southern *Spain. Its biblical imagery is similar to Roman models, but its style is unique. EMB

L. Drewer, 'The Alcaudete Sarcophagus', in E. Sears and T. K. Thomas, eds., *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object* (2002), 151–9.

alchemy Alchemy is the intellectual endeavour to grasp scientifically processes of change in nature and to apply this knowledge to improve matter artificially, bringing the flawed to perfection. It is generally assumed, against the alchemists' own claims of *Egyptian ancestry, that alchemy began at the time when its *Greek name *chemeia* first appeared in texts of Graeco-Roman origin collectively called the Corpus Alchemicum Graecum (1st–14th cents.). However, the word *chemeia* first appears only three times in the Corpus and possibly indicates a substance (elixir) rather than the science which is called the 'divine' or 'holy' art. The etymology of *chemeia* is uncertain, rooted either in 'km.t' (Egyptian for black/Egypt) or in *chéo*, *cheuma*, *chymós* (Greek for *inter alia* I pour, flow, cast, fluid).

The earliest Greek alchemica, in the form of two *papyri (3rd cent.) and the *Physica et Mystica* of Ps.-Democritus (1st/2nd cent.), present essentially recipes for *gold, *silver, precious *stones, and *dyes. A new era opened with *Zosimus of *Panopolis (3rd cent.) who transcends the mere recipe approach and sets the agenda for future alchemy. His works comment on a multitude of earlier pseudonymous works now lost and aim at real transmutation of matter rather than imitation of properties.

The main operation of alchemy is distillation, and its manipulations of matter concentrate on the improvement of metals, the ultimate goal being the production of *gold, considered to be not just a precious mineral but a divine substance. The metaphysical aspect of alchemy firmly sets it in the realm of secrecy, regarding not only the Secret it strives to discover but also secrets it

is bound to keep. A twofold reason therefore underlay the alchemist's use of enigmatic allegorical language; he wished to: both to speak of the Unspeakable and also to cover his tracks.

Its terminology and purpose place alchemy alongside both *metallurgy and *medicine; its protagonists (*inter alia* *Hermes Trismegistus, the alleged founder of the science) and its dealings link it closely to contemporary magic, Gnosticism, and Hermeticism.

Historians have been accustomed to see alchemy as a fusion of ancient Egyptian *temple craft (practice) and Greek philosophy (theory); so Hellenocentric a view ignores the profusely documented fact that alchemists intrinsically desired to assimilate novelties (theorems, strategies, means of expression). It seems worth considering that alchemy might in fact be much more Egyptian in thought as well as in craftsmanship, the Greek being merely a phase in alchemy's development like its later *Arabic and *Latin phases.

Despite the wealth of texts in Arabic, *Coptic, Greek, Latin, and *Syriac, the periodization of alchemy is problematic since all sources survive only as fragments in late copies and most of the pseudonymous authors defy conclusive identification and dating. TH

CORPUS ALCHEMICUM GRAECUM:
ed. (with FT) M. Berthelot and Ch.-Em. Ruelle in *Collections Alchimistes* (1888, repr. 1963).
ed. M. Mertens (with FT) *Alchimistes Grecs* (1981–).
J. Lindsay, *The Origins of Alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1970).
M. Mertens, 'Graeco-Egyptian Alchemy in Byzantium', in P. Magdalino and M. Mavroudi, eds., *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (2006), 205–30.
L. M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (2013).
I. Vereno, *Studien zum ältesten alchemistischen Schrifttum auf der Grundlage zweier erstmals edierter arabischer Hermetica* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 155, 1992).

Aldhelm (d. 709/710) *Anglo-Saxon *bishop and abbot, scholar and poet, sometimes called the 'first English man of letters'. Few biographical details of Aldhelm's life are secure. Most likely born of noble blood and with familial ties to the ruling house of Wessex, and perhaps fostered with members of the royal house of Northumbria, Aldhelm was probably only one generation removed from *pagan ancestors. Some early portion of his life and education was apparently spent in *Ireland, or perhaps under the tutelage of the Irish abbot *Adomnán in the island *monastery of *Iona in the 660s. Aldhelm continued his education in the celebrated school of *Canterbury with *Theodore of *Tarsus and *Hadrian sometime after 670. He was then appointed Abbot of Malmesbury in Wessex, probably in the early 680s. Around 688 he made a journey to *Rome and was consecrated as Bishop of Sherborne (Wessex) in 705 or 706, where he remained until his death at Doulting (Somerset).

Aldhelm was a man of very broad learning, and his works were copied and studied in the school curricula of later Anglo-Saxon England. He is known principally for his substantial corpus of *Latin works (prose and verse), written in a difficult, hyper-learned register known to modern scholarship as the 'hermeneutic style'. His principal works are the *De Virginitate* (a twinned treatise [*opus geminatum*] in both prose and verse, on virginity, addressed to the nuns of *Barking); the *Carmina Ecclesiastica* (a collection of dedicatory church poems); the *Epistola ad Acircium* (a composite work of prose and verse on numerical allegory, metre, and poetics); a collection of 100 *Enigmata* (*'riddles' or 'mysteries'); twelve *letters; and the *Carmen Rhythmicum* (a poem about a storm). Aldhelm also reputedly composed Anglo-Saxon *poetry, but none has survived. APS

ODNB s.n. Aldhelm (Lapidge).
CPL 1331–9.
ed. R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera* (MGH Auct. Ant. 15, 1919).
ET M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (1979; repr. with addenda and corrigenda, 2009).
ET M. Lapidge and J. Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (1985; repr. with addenda, 2009).
A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (1994).
M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *ASE* 36 (2007), 15–69.

aldius Term for a half-free person in Lombard *Italy. Aldii were not legally competent, but are referred to in Lombard *laws issued by *Rothari (636–52), *Grimoald (662–71), and *Liutprand (712–44). Compensation for injuries to *aldii* was reckoned as one-quarter of that of freemen, making them equal to *servi ministeriales*, i.e. household slaves. CTH

K. Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (1973).

Aleppo (ancient Beroea) *City in northern *Syria, 90 km (55 miles) east of *Antioch, on the road leading to *Hierapolis, the Euphrates River, and the Persian *frontier. Continuously settled since the Early Bronze Age, the Hellenistic city grid is still evident in the modern *street pattern. The city expanded beyond the city walls in the 4th–6th centuries, although little has been excavated. *Libanius in 386 complained bitterly about the destruction of a *bronze statue of Aesculapius at Beroea (*Oration* 30 *Pro Templis*, 22–3), though he had no very high opinion of the place (*Oration* 33, 21–5). The early 6th-century cathedral of S. Helen was built over the Hellenistic/Roman *agora; the city was elevated to a *metropolitan bishopric in 536. In 540 the city was attacked by the *army of *Khosrow I; *Procopius mentions that the citizens took refuge in the citadel (*Persian*, II, 6–7). During the reign of

*Emperor *Maurice (582–602) the Legio IV Parthica was stationed in the city. Aleppo was occupied following the *Persian invasion between 604 and 628; during the *Arab conquest it capitulated in 636. The *Umayyad Great *Mosque was built over the cathedral cemetery in 715; next to the mosque is the Madrasa Halawiye, which was converted to Islamic use only in the 12th century, and preserves piers and columns from the aisled tetraconch cathedral. MESW

EI 2 vol. 3 (1972) *s.v.* Halab, 85–90 (Sauvaget).

R. Burns, 'Aleppo', in his *Monuments of Syria* (^{3}2009).

J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIX^{e} siècle* (1941).

H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Aleppo: Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole* (1984).

Alethius (*fl. c.*353–63) Poet and **rhetor* from *Bordeaux, praised as Latinus Alcimus Alethius by *Ausonius (*Professores*, 2) and mentioned by *Jerome (*Chron.* 239g Helm) as teaching in *Aquitaine in 355. He may be the author of poems attributed to 'Alcimus' in the **Anthologia Latina*. DRL

PLRE I, Alethius 2.

Alexander *Senator, created **comes* in 530. He negotiated with Persia in 530 (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 16) and 531 (I, 22), and the *Ostrogoths in 534 (*Gothic*, I, 3 and 6). PNB

PLRE III, Alexander 1.

Alexander, Itinerary of (*Itinerarium Alexandri*) Anonymous *Latin work, written in or soon after AD 340, which summarized the Eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great and Trajan. Only the part about Alexander survives (emphasizing not only his great achievements but also his personal flaws). The work is dedicated to *Constantius II on the eve of his own campaign against the Persians, as an encouragement for him to surpass his famous predecessors. It takes inspiration from a work of Varro (written in 77 BC for Pompey, before his Spanish campaign) and makes extensive use of Arrian's *Anabasis*. It is possibly the work of Julius Valerius Alexander *Polemius, who translated the *Alexander Romance* into Latin. RECS

HLL 5, section 540.2.

ET: I. Davies, 'Alexander's *Itinerary*', in *AncHistBull* 12 (1998), 29–54.

R. Lane Fox, 'The Itinerary of Alexander: Constantius to Julian', *CQ* 47/1 NS (1997), 239–52.

Alexander II Coptic *Patriarch of *Alexandria (704 to 729), whose life is recounted in *HistCoptPatr* 17 (PO 5/1, 1910). Alexander's patriarchate spanned a period of profound administrative and cultural change in the Islamic Empire which had repercussions in *Egypt. Escalating fiscal demands made his position as leader of Egypt's majority Coptic Christian community difficult. This was further exacerbated by the increasing economic and political pressure on the Church and its extensive possessions. Before becoming patriarch, Alexander was a *priest in the Monastery of *Ennaton (al-Zajāj) on the Mediterranean coast some 14 km (8 miles) west of Alexandria. PMS

Swanson, *Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt*.

Alexander of Lycopolis Author of a late 3rd-century philosophical treatise challenging the teachings of *Mani. An erroneous tradition stretching back to *Photius made Alexander *Bishop of *Lycopolis, although on the basis of the treatise's internal evidence I. de Beausobre in the 18th century identified Alexander as a *pagan. Alexander's familiarity with the doctrines of Mani derived from his acquaintance with a Manichaean mission arriving in Lycopolis in the second half of the 3rd century. Alexander (§ 4) indicates that he had personal contact with the vanguard Manichaean mission to *Egypt, where his own philosophical *school in Lycopolis was targeted by first-generation Manichaeans including Papos. As a *Neoplatonist, Alexander regarded Mani's teaching to be an aberrant form of Christian theology, which Mani had corrupted by introducing extravagant, mythological claims for his *cosmology and theodicy. Mani's theology is presented by way of a doxography (§ 4–§ 8), in which his central doctrines about the universe, matter, and Christ are offered in recognizable philosophical language. The remaining portions of Alexander's treatise are concerned with a summary refutation of Mani's teachings, with Alexander's Platonist position intent on exposing the philosophical and ethical problems raised by Mani's dualism. In all likelihood, the philosophical translation of Mani's teachings was completed not by Mani, but rather by Alexander himself precisely in order to expose its lack of genuine philosophical credentials. NJBB

CPG 2510: ed. P. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld (with ET), *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus'* (1974).

FT (annotated with introd.): A. Villey, *Alexandre de Lycopolis: contre le doctrine de Mani* (SGM 2, 1985).

Alexander of Tralles (*fl.* first half of 6th cent.) Physician. Probably from a family prominent in the *city of *Tralles (mod. Aydın, Turkey), he travelled widely, and at the end of his life was called to *Rome. He wrote a number of medical works, among them a medical encyclopedia entitled *Therapeutics* (with topics arranged from top to toe); an epistle *On Worms*; and a monograph *On Fevers*. He adhered to the pervasive

*Galenism of Late Antiquity, but his independent medical intellect was not afraid to challenge authorities such as Hippocrates and Galen. He argues, for instance, that when other therapies fail, patients should be given the choice to explore popular and *magical remedies. PEP

PLRE IIIA, Alexander 8.

ed. (with GT and study) T. Puschmann, *Alexander von Tralles* (1878–9, repr. 1963).

D. R. Langslow, *The Latin Alexander Trallianus* (JRS Monographs 10, 2006) (with further literature, including editions).

Alexander Romance A fictionalized biography of Alexander the Great purporting to be written by his own historian, Callisthenes (so sometimes referred to as Ps.-Callisthenes). The *Romance* exists in many languages; the *Greek version itself has several different recensions.

***Alexander Romance,* Armenian** Translation of the *Greek version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, transmitted in various redactions and elaborations. Probably first translated in the 5th century, the Armenian version has had relevance for the reconstruction of the lost original Greek text. The addition since the 13th century of *kafa*s, short lyric interludes and comments (by e.g. Khach'atur Kech'arets'i, Grigoris Altamarts'i, Zak'aria Gnunets'i), lavish illumination, and a rich oral tradition underline its sustained popularity in *Armenia. TMvL

Thomson, *BCAL* 80–1, supplement 169–70. *Patmut'iwn Ałek'sandri Makedonac'woy. Haykakan xmbagrut'yunner*, ed. H. Simonyan (1989).

ET A. M. Wolohogian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes: Translation from the Armenian Version with Introduction* (1969).

***Alexander Romance,* Coptic** This version of the Alexander Romance, composed of nine parchment fragments currently housed in St Petersburg, Paris, London, and Berlin, contains several unique episodes and references: Alexander's escape from Gedrosian 'Chaos', the Rivers of Paradise as explicitly identified in Genesis, and a section in which a certain Selpharios writes a Byzantine-style *will, incorporating biblical allusions. LSBM

ed. (with GT and comm.) O. von Lemm, *Der Alexanderroman bei den Kopten* (1903).

L. MacCoull, 'Aspects of Alexander in Coptic Egypt', in R. Stoneman, K. Erickson, and I. Netton, eds., *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East* (2012), 111–17.

D. Selden, 'The Coptic Alexander Romance', in Z. D. Zuwiyya, ed., *Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages* (BCCT 29, 2011), 133–55.

***Alexander Romance,* Greek** The oldest version (Recension A) of the Greek *Alexander Romance* was compiled at some point between the mid-2nd and mid-4th centuries, possibly in the 3rd century AD, reflecting interest in Alexander at this period. Composed in a mix of linguistic registers, it incorporates material in circulation from the Hellenistic period onwards, including a collection of fictional *letters. The high proportion of Egyptian material in the A Recension may point to an origin in *Alexandria.

According to the *Romance*, Alexander was the son of Olympias and an Egyptian magician, Nectanebo. The *Romance* tells the story of Alexander's campaigns in Persia and *India and the land of the Amazons, and his death by poison. The author shows an interest in character, as evidenced by the letters, portraying Alexander as a master of strategy and a benevolent conqueror. Recension A omits the lengthy letter to Olympias with its marvellous travel descriptions, including visits to the Isles of the Blest and a flight above the earth that is preserved in the L Recension.

The B Recension, to which the L Recension belongs, was known by the author of the 5th-century *Armenian *translation. Other versions belong to the 7th century and later and adapt the presentation of Alexander to a Christian context by emphasizing, for example, his *monotheism. RW

ed. R. Stoneman (with IT by T. Gargiulo), *Il Romanzo di Alessandro* (2007).

C. Jouanno, *Naissance et metamorphoses du Roman d'Alexandre: domaine grec* (2002).

***Alexander Romance,* Latin** (4th cent.) *Latin translation by Julius Valerius Alexander *Polemius of Ps.-Callisthenes' historical fiction on the life and death of Alexander the Great. *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis* is divided into three books covering his birth, famous deeds, and death. Polemius' accomplished translation (of greater literary merit than the extant *Greek version of Ps.-Callisthenes) was one of many versions of the *Romance* that circulated widely in various languages throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. RECS

HLL 5, section 540.1.

ed. M. Rosellini, *Iulius Valerius: Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (2004).

M. Paschalis, 'The Greek and Latin Alexander Romance: Comparative Readings', in M. Paschalis, S. Frangoulidis, S. Harrison, and M. Zimmerman, eds., *The Greek and Roman Novel: Parallel Readings* (2007), 70–102.

***Alexander Romance,* Syriac** The *Syriac version belongs to the alpha branch of the tradition, but diverges from the *Greek especially in the rendering of proper names and the translation of some terms. It has been supposed that it was derived from a lost Middle *Persian version, but it may have been made directly

from the Greek by Syriac Christians in the *Persian Empire familiar with Persian culture. JWW

GEDSH s.v. Alexander Cycle, 36 (Brock).

E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version, Edited from Five Manuscripts of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (1889, repr. 2003).

ed. G. J. Reinink (with GT), *Das Syrische Alexanderlied* (CSCO 454–5, Scr. syr 195–6, 1983).

C. A. Ciancaglini, 'The Syriac Version of the Alexander *Romance*', *Le Muséon* 114 (2001), 121–40.

Alexander's Wall *See* WALLS, DEFENSIVE; PERSIAN; DERBENT.

Alexander the Monk (probably mid-6th cent.) Author of *Discovery of the True Cross* (*BHG* 410–11) and almost certainly an encomium of the Apostle Barnabas (*BHG* 226). *Discovery* describes this event after first listing prefigurations of the *Cross in the OT, Christ's life and events to *Constantine I. There follow, possibly later additions, *Cyril of Jerusalem's *letter to *Constantius II on the Cross's appearance over *Jerusalem and a lengthy list of Cross *acclamations. *Discovery* was either a source for *Theophanes and several late lives of Constantine or relied on a common source. RDS

PG 87, 4016–76, based on two mss. but at least 40 exist.

Laudatio Barnabae apostoli, ed. P. van Deun and J. Noret, *Hagiographica Cypria* (CCSG 26, 1993).

ET R. Scott in Mullett, *Metaphrastes*, 157–84.

J. W. Nesbitt, 'Alexander the Monk's Text of *Helena's Discovery of the Cross* (*BHG* 410)', in Nesbitt, *Byzantine Authors*, 23–39.

Alexander the Sleepless, S., and the Acoemetes Alexander (d. 430) was born on an Aegean island, and moved to *Syria in around 380. He founded a *monastery by the Euphrates, but moved round the whole region, where his aggressive preaching made it impossible for him to stay long in any one place. Eventually he moved to *Constantinople, where he founded a monastery with a novel way of life, including an uninterrupted *liturgy 24 hours of the day (later modified to three eight-hour shifts), which earned the monks the names of 'Acoemetes' or sleepless ones. This monastery was suppressed in 426/7, but Alexander was able to found a new one at Gomon on the Asiatic side of the *Bosporus, where he died in 430.

His community soon moved to a new site (Irenaeum, mod. Çubuklu, ancient Katangion) further south on the Bosporus, which became a major centre for the defence of Chalcedonian Christology, even though *Peter the Fuller (anti-Chalcedonian *Patriarch of *Antioch, d. 488) came from the monastery and was for a time granted refuge there. In the reign of *Justinian I the opposition of the Acoemetes to any compromise with the non-Chalcedonians led to charges of *Nestorianism and even to excommunication by *Rome. The monastery housed an important *library, where the Roman *deacon Rusticus (*fl.* 550) found the materials for his edition of the *Acts* of the *Council of *Chalcedon and his *Synodicon*, our principal source for Syrian opposition to *Cyril of *Alexandria. RMP

Vita (*BHG* 47), ed. (with FT) E. de Stoop, PO 6 (1911), 605–704.

ET: Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 250–80.

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 13–15.

DHGE 1, 274–82.

Alexandria 'Seat of the immortal gods, august and wealthy, foundation of Alexander! The gentle climate and fertile soil of *Egypt provide you with all good things, happy land! There is abundant *grain, infinite flax; from your *harbours sail *ships with rolls of *papyrus and brilliant *glass . . . ' (P. Gron. inv. 66).

In this way, an anonymous 2nd-century encomium of Alexandria continues a longstanding tradition of praising Alexandria's unique role as the eastern Mediterranean's pre-eminent emporium for *trade and commerce. Yet Alexandria underwent considerable change across Late Antiquity, and it was appreciably different from the *city that had once been the dynastic capital of the Ptolemies.

Several of Alexandria's best-known structures (the Mouseion, the tomb of Alexander, and the Great *Library) had been destroyed by the end of the 3rd century. Some buildings were rededicated as churches, notably the Caesareum in 312/57, and the *Serapeum in 392. New extramural necropolises were created, and in some cases entire urban districts underwent thoroughgoing transformation (as at Kom el-Dikka). At the same time, there appears to be little or no alteration to the overall layout of *streets and monumental districts. Alexandria's continuous urban morphology was driven by the needs of the populace, the will of the governing authorities, the pressures of religious factionalism, and by dynamics created far beyond the *city walls. Given Alexandria's size, economic importance, and political significance, it was perhaps more sensitive than other Mediterranean cities to the vicissitudes of urban transformation in Antiquity.

Throughout nearly six centuries of Roman rule, Alexandria reaped the economic benefits of serving as the entrepôt of the East. Vast wealth was generated by the city's position as a transit point for luxury goods from the East via the Red Sea, by the several hundred thousand tons of Egyptian grain that were shipped annually from its harbours to *Rome (and later to *Constantinople), by the rents paid to absentee owners of property upriver, and by the revenue connected with the city's judicial and administrative functions. Alexandria was the centre of imperial administration in Egypt,

directed by the Praefectus Aegypti (known by the late 4th century as the *Praefectus Augustalis), and supported by a bureaucracy of officials. Although issues of Alexandrian tetradrachms had ceased by the end of the 3rd century, an imperial mint headed by a Praepositus Monetae and divided into several *officinae* issued imperial coins regularly throughout the 4th century, and then sporadically until the *Arab conquest, from the 6th century using its own denomination system.

Recent archaeological work has highlighted the extensive economic relationship between Alexandria and its hinterland of *Mareotis, located to the southwest of the city on either side of the *Nile-fed lake of the same name. The Mareotis region provided the city with *wine, *olive oil, and grain, and served as a place of *pilgrimage with the rise of the cult of S. *Menas at *Abu Mina in the 4th and 5th centuries.

The *emperors, especially those of the 2nd century, maintained the tradition going back to the Ptolemies of sponsoring monumental construction. Some of these projects were undertaken in response to the destruction or damage suffered by previous structures rather than as new initiatives. These projects included Septimius Severus' renovation and enlargement of the Serapeum after a fire in 181 and Hadrian's earlier construction of an entire district with an accompanying *temple erected in his honour following the devastation associated with the Jewish Revolt of 115–17. Later, Antoninus Pius built the massive *city gates of the Sun and of the Moon which framed the *dromos*, sometimes referred to as the Via Canopica.

In all these instances, Alexandria shared a morphology common to many cities in the eastern Mediterranean during the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, notably the decline of new projects generated by the ostentatious benefactions of local civic *aristocracies. At Alexandria, as elsewhere, imperial *patronage partly made up for this decline. Indeed, imperial benefactions at Alexandria had the added motivation of maintaining the longstanding tradition of monarchically sponsored construction. These emperors recognized all too clearly the often pivotal role played by Alexandria in usurpation and civil war. Against the more distant backdrop of Antony and Cleopatra, there was Vespasian's *acclamation in Alexandria in July of 69, Avidius Cassius' revolt in 175, and the strong Alexandrian support given to Pescennius Niger in his war with Septimius Severus.

The 3rd century was not kind to Alexandria's urban fabric, since the city became embroiled in the political instability endemic to the Empire as a whole. While it was spared the disastrous effects of plundering by a foreign power—like that experienced by *Antioch in its capture by *Shapur I in 253 and again in 260—factional conflicts within Alexandria on behalf of various claimants to the imperial throne are said to have resulted in widespread destruction. At one point in the 260s, the Christian *bishop, *Dionysius, claimed that the city was so torn by civil war that it was easier for him to correspond with his colleagues upriver or in other Mediterranean cities than it was for him to communicate with his flock in a different district within Alexandria itself.

*Aurelian's determined campaign to reclaim the East for Rome after it had come under the control of the Empire of *Palmyra led to an armed struggle in 271 which left portions of the city in ruins. In the aftermath, the palace district of Bruchion was destroyed and some of the city's walls were demolished. A century later, *Epiphanius of Salamis mentions that the entire district was still deserted. Unfortunately, the city's 3rd-century tribulations had not yet run their course. In 297, Alexandria joined with *Coptos in supporting the revolt of *Domitius Domitianus and, after his death, the revolt of his successor, Aurelius *Achilleus. The Emperor *Diocletian considered the ramifications of this revolt to be so serious that he personally directed a protracted siege of the city that lasted nearly half a year. After cutting the Canopic canal that helped supply Alexandria's fresh water, Diocletian finally captured the city amid considerable bloodshed.

As so often occurs in the history of a great city, these episodes of tragedy and destruction literally prepared the ground for Alexandria's renewal. Throughout the city, and especially at Kom el-Dikka near the city centre, luxurious *villas and town houses from the Early Roman period show evidence of abandonment or outright destruction. Sometime in the mid- to late 4th century, the remains of these houses were filled in and the entire region of Kom el-Dikka was rebuilt on the basis of a new design. This design included a huge public *bath complex, built in three phases. A monumental colonnaded street led south from the baths to an exquisite odeion or theatre crafted in *marble. To the east, a newly built quarter of multi-storeyed artisans' *houses and workshops was erected above earlier Roman villas.

Significantly, the redevelopment of this central district continued unabated after the *tsunami of 365 and a serious *earthquake in 535. Indeed, it was only in the late 5th and 6th centuries that the region's most astonishing structures were erected. Along the colonnaded street and its immediate vicinity, a complex of nearly two dozen auditoria or lecture halls were constructed which altogether could accommodate between 500 and 600 students.

For those inclined to measure Alexandria's urban vitality solely with reference to its intellectual life, the auditoria at Kom el-Dikka stand as stark testimony to this ongoing scholarly tradition. Throughout this period, Alexandria maintained its pre-eminent role in the teaching of *philosophy, *rhetoric, *mathematics, and *medicine. True, by this time the Mouseion and the Great Library were long gone, especially since both

were probably located in the much-battered region of the *palaces. In all likelihood, it was in the Kom el-Dikka auditoria that *Ammonius, *John Philoponus, and other celebrated Alexandrian teachers of the 5th and 6th centuries maintained the city's intellectual reputation.

One phenomenon noted by the excavators of Kom el-Dikka was the tendency to leave some areas unbuilt, even in close juxtaposition to densely inhabited neighbourhoods. In addition, the colonnaded 'theatre street' appears to have marked the eastern boundary of an unpaved region measuring some 300 by 180 metres, demarcated on four sides by colonnades. It appears that one feature of the Late Roman city was to set aside former inhabited regions as *gardens for the wealthy or as open spaces intentionally incorporated into the city's design. Until the 8th century, however, most of the rest of the city seems to have maintained its previous patterns of dense habitation, as attested by papyri, various literary sources, and archaeology.

In the past, historians have emphasized the catastrophic effects of the *Persian invasion and capture of the city in 619 and the Arab conquest by *'Amr b. al-As in September of 641. However, despite the short-term consequences of these military actions (and here might be added the struggle for possession of Alexandria between the forces of *Phocas and *Heraclius in 609), these episodes appear to have had little effect on the city's vitality. The initial Arab conquest occurred under the terms of a negotiated surrender. Under the *Umayyad governors, Alexandria maintained its function as a centre for trade, *shipbuilding, and administration. It continued to attract pilgrims and other visitors from as far away as *Ireland, who used Alexandria as a place to start their tour of the *Holy Land.

The lifeblood of Alexandria's prosperity was trade, but a combination of factors between the 8th and 10th centuries brought an end to the dynamics that had created and sustained ancient Alexandria. The transfer of the *caliphate from *Damascus to the plains of *Mesopotamia in the mid-8th century, the gradual disappearance of the Canopic branch of the Nile and the attendant shift of trade to the east, and, finally, the re-establishment of an indigenous power in Egypt under the Tulunids and the Ikshidids with an emerging political centre at the apex of the Nile Delta, all contributed to the transformation of Alexandria from centre of commerce into its medieval function as a *thaghr*, that is, a frontier military outpost. As a final indication of Alexandria's changed status, a series of earthquakes in the 10th century appear to have destabilized the massive structure of the Pharos until, at the beginning of the 14th century, yet another earthquake brought to an end the extraordinary 1,700-year history of the great *lighthouse, and with it, the last great monument of Alexandria's glorious past. CJH; RRD

GENERAL

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T. Derda, T. Markiewicz, and E. Wipszycka, eds., *Alexandria Auditoria of Kôm el-Dikka and Late Antique Education*, JJP Suppl. 8 (2007).

E. J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (2006).

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CHRISTIANITY

Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy.*

A. Martin, 'Alexandrie à l'époque romaine tardive: l'impact du christianisme sur la topographie et les institutions', in Chr. Décobert and J.-Y. Empereur, eds., *Études Alexandrines* 3, *Alexandrie médiévale* (1998), 9–21.

A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IVe siècle, 328–373* (1996).

Alexandria, mint of *Alexandria had a mint throughout the 4th century (*mint mark usually ALE), though issuing mainly copper coins. No late issues of *Theodosius II or *Marcian have been discovered, suggesting a brief hiatus in the 420s. *Anastasius I's coinage reform of 498 closed the mint, and when it reopened under *Justinian I it used its own denomination system, up until the *Arab conquest of the city in 646. RRD

Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins*.
Grierson, *DOC* II/2.

Alexandria, philosophy and science at Throughout Late Antiquity *Alexandria remained one of the Roman world's leading intellectual centres. At the dawn of the period, Alexandria still welcomed leading thinkers to the Museum; its intellectual life was probably centred in the Bruchion quarter. This quarter of the city was damaged in the attacks on Alexandria by *Aurelian and *Diocletian, and, by the mid-4th century, the area around the *Serapeum, which housed the collections of the 'daughter library' to the famous *Library of Alexandria, seems to have supplanted it. The Serapeum's destruction in 392 ultimately led to the creation of a large complex of at least 25 lecture halls in Kom el-Dikka, an area in the centre of the city next to the Tychaeum, a large *bath and an open area called the Temenos of the Muses. Completed sometime in the mid-5th century, the Kom el-Dikka complex remained the primary location for grammatical, rhetorical, philosophical, scientific, and medical teaching until the 7th century. Throughout Late Antiquity, these facilities attracted large numbers of students from around the eastern Mediterranean, particularly from *Egypt, *Gaza, and *Anatolia.

One of Alexandria's greatest strengths was its particular concentration of visionary textual critics, *philosophers, scientists, mathematicians, and *doctors. In Late Antique Alexandria these interests were blended to a remarkable degree. Many of the most prominent Late Antique Alexandrian philosophers taught and wrote extensively about science and *mathematics. These included *Theon and *Hypatia in the 4th century, *Ammonius in the 5th, *Olympiodorus in the 6th, and *Stephanus in the 7th century. All of them taught both philosophy and science, and many of them wrote commentaries on both philosophical and scientific texts. In addition, Gessius and other Alexandrian physicians combined advanced philosophical and rhetorical training with their medical education. These cross-disciplinary combinations reflect a consensus opinion that science and philosophy were interdependent.

Alexandria's impressive library and teaching facilities ensured a steady supply of students and excellent teachers, but the sheer size of the intellectual establishment also meant that innovative scientific and philosophical ideas often struggled to enter the mainstream. From Ammonius Saccas, teacher of *Plotinus in the 3rd century, to *John Philoponus in the 6th century, Alexandrian philosophical innovators often found the city resistant to their challenges to established philosophical norms. Alexandrian teachers also often proved slow to adapt to innovations pioneered elsewhere. Iamblichean *Neoplatonism, for example, only seems to have become firmly implanted in the city in the 440s, after Neoplatonist philosophers at *Athens began attracting students who were already studying under Alexandria's more conventional teachers.

The caution and doctrinal conservatism typical of many Alexandrian teachers ensured that their classrooms were friendlier to Christian students than those of contemporary schools in smaller centres like Athens. This had much to do with the long-term presence of Christians in the city's schools. In the 3rd century, *Origen and the future *Bishop Heraclas both studied Platonic philosophy in the city. *Arius too may have received some philosophical training around the turn of the 4th century. While Christian students remained a fixture in Alexandrian philosophical and medical schools throughout Late Antiquity, conflicts between pagan Alexandrian teachers and church leaders occasionally exploded into violent confrontations. In 392, pagan philosophers fortified the Serapeum and used it as a base from which to counteract Christian provocations. In 415, the philosopher *Hypatia was lynched by a Christian mob. And in 486 a *riot prompted by the beating of a Christian student by a pagan philosopher led to three days of violence and looting. These incidents were memorable but rare. By and large, Late Antique Alexandrian teachers displayed a remarkable ability to adapt their teaching to suit the needs of their city. While this caused Alexandrian teachers to be more measured in what they taught and how they presented it, this caution also ensured the long-term survival of Alexandrian philosophy and science in what would become an overwhelmingly Christian city. EW

Watts, *City and School*.
E. Watts, *Riot in Alexandria* (2010).
C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (1997).
H.-I. Marrou, 'Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism', in Momigliano, *Conflict*, 126–50.
M. Vinzent, '"Oxbridge" in der ausgehenden Spätantike. Oder: Ein Vergleich der Schulen von Athen und Alexandrien', *ZAC* 4 (2000), 49–82.
P. Athanassiadi, 'Persecution and Response in Late Paganism', *JHS* 113 (1993), 1–29.
M. Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria*, tr. F. Lyra (1995).

Alexandria, See of Although later tradition ascribes the founding of the Egyptian Church to the

Evangelist S. Mark, the NT mentions only in passing an Alexandrian Christian teacher named Apollos (Acts 18:24–8). The **History of the Patriarchs* (collected in the 10th century) and other Egyptian sources concur that S. Mark established a Christian community in *Alexandria and placed it under the authority of his first reported convert, the cobbler Annianus. These traditions also ascribe the founding of the church in *Cyrenaica to S. Mark before his return to Alexandria and eventual *martyrdom.

*Eusebius provides the names of Annianus' successors on the episcopal throne of S. Mark, but it is not until the episcopacy of Demetrius (*c.*189–231) that information becomes plentiful enough to sketch the outlines of the Church's structures of authority. It was during Demetrius' long episcopacy that the Alexandrian bishop asserted his authority over churches throughout *Egypt and Cyrenaica. Likewise, by the early 3rd century the *bishop became closely linked to an emerging institution within Alexandria which has become known as the Catechetical School. Beginning with Heraclas in 231, all of Alexandria's 3rd-century bishops had previously served as head of the Catechetical School. *Dionysius (bp. 247/8–264/5) speaks of the expanding authority of his position when he states, 'I inherited this rule and example from our blessed pope (*papas*) Heraclas' (Eusebius, *HE* VII, 7, 4)—the first known usage of this title. Despite sporadic *persecution (248, 250–1, 257–60), civil strife (262, 273/4, 297/8), and the ravages of *plague (263), the Alexandrian Church grew until it encompassed several parishes and named church buildings at the dawn of the 4th century.

Over the course of the 4th and 5th centuries, the *Patriarch of Alexandria became one of the pre-eminent churchmen of Late Antiquity, second only to the pope in Rome. The expanding authority of the see of *Constantinople was contested vigorously (and successfully) by Patriarchs *Theophilus (r. 385–412) and *Cyril (r. 412–44). However, the deposition at the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) of the Patriarch *Dioscorus (r. 444–54) and the subordination of the Alexandrian see to a status beneath that of Constantinople opened up a persistent division within the Egyptian Church between a *Miaphysite succession of Alexandrian Patriarchs (also called the Coptic Patriarchs) and a Chalcedonian (or *Melkite) succession that ended only with the *Arab conquest of Egypt in 642. CJH

S. J. Davis, *The Early Coptic Papacy: The Egyptian Church and its Leadership in Late Antiquity* (2004).

A. Jakab, *Ecclesia alexandrina: évolution sociale et institutionnelle du christianisme alexandrin* (2001).

E. Wipszycka, 'The Origins of the Monarchic Episcopate in Egypt', *Adamantius* 12 (2006), 71–89.

Alexandrian World Chronicle *See* CHRONOGRAPHIA GOLENISCHEVENSIS.

'Ali b. Abi Talib (*c.*597–660, r. 656–61) Fourth Muslim *caliph and first *Shi'i imam; cousin of the Prophet *Muhammad, first male convert to *Islam, and prominent warrior during the *Medinan period of Muhammad's career. 'Ali's caliphate is central to the First Muslim *Arab Civil War (*fitna*). His accession to power followed the assassination of the third caliph *'Uthman. Opponents of 'Ali accused him of failing to bring to justice the rebel assassins; some even accused him of complicity in the regicide. Although it is unlikely that he conspired directly with the rebels, many medieval and modern scholars suggest that 'Ali sympathized with the rebels and that perhaps they were included among his partisans. Two famous battles during this *fitna* are the battles of the Camel, in which 'Ali defeated a coalition led by *'A'isha, a widow of the Prophet, and *Siffin, a protracted campaign against 'Uthman's second cousin *Mu'awiya, who had been governor of *Syria. When the conflict at *Siffin stalled at arbitration, a group of 'Ali's party withdrew their support (hence the pejorative label of *Kharijite, 'those who withdraw [from the community]'), and 'Ali subsequently fought and defeated them at al-Nahrawan. One of the Kharijites, Ibn Muljam, murdered 'Ali in 661, after which Mu'awiya acceded to the caliphate. The controversy surrounding 'Ali's leadership role is the first in a series of historical events that contributed to the formalization of distinct Shi'i and Sunni theologies of leadership. While most Muslims share reverence for 'Ali as a prominent *Companion of the Prophet, defender of Islam, pious exemplar, and eloquent sermonizer, Sunnis and Shi'a differ over whether 'Ali and his descendants have a special prerogative to lead the Muslim community. In general, from a Sunni perspective, 'Ali's position as the fourth 'rightly guided' caliph reflects his relative merit with respect to those caliphs who preceded him, thus ensuring that from the outset the caliphate has been occupied by the most qualified leader. On the other hand, from a Shi'i perspective, 'Ali was the Prophet's designated successor (*wasi*) and most deserving to occupy the caliphate. Further, his descendants from his *marriage to the Prophet's daughter *Fatima, who populated the line of Shi'i imams, represent the most qualified leadership of the Muslim community regardless of who may hold real political power. Many of 'Ali's speeches and *letters have been preserved in the 11th-century collection *Nahj al-balagha* (*The Peak of Eloquence*), reflecting his great command of Arabic rhetoric and depth of pious wisdom. He was also a prolific narrator of traditions of the Prophet (*Hadith) and is an important source of Islamic *law (*fiqh*). AJD

A. Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (2002).
Ibn Abi al-Hadid, *Sharh nahj al-balagha*, ed. M. A. Ibrahim (1959–64).
W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1997).
M. Yazigi, 'Alī, Muhammad, and the *Ansar*: The Issue of Succession', *JSS* 53 (2008), 279–303.

'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali, Zayn al-'Abidin (d. *c.*713) Fourth imam of the Twelver *Shi'a. After narrowly surviving the massacre of his *'Alid kinfolk at *Karbala, he withdrew to *Medina and abstained from any rebellion against the *Umayyads, including that of *Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr. While his political quietism failed to attract support from the Kaysaniyya (except in a small way after the death of *Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya in 700/1), his renowned piety and wisdom gained him a large following among the majority of the more pacifist 'Alid loyalists. Accounts of his death vary, with some Shi'i sources alleging he was poisoned by the Umayyad *Caliph *al-Walid I b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 705–15). After his death, his followers recognized his son *Muhammad al-Baqir (d. *c.*733–5) as their imam. AJD

A. R. Lalani, *Early Shī'ī Thought* (2000).
W. al-Qadi, *Al-Kaysaniyya fi al-tarikh wa al-adab* (1974).
M. H. Tabataba'i, *Shi'ite Islam*, tr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Persian original, 1975) (1977).

'Alids A family of early Muslims and their supporters who took their name from the fourth *caliph *'Ali b. Abi Talib (r. 656–61), a first cousin and son-in-law to the Prophet *Muhammad. It was this genealogical association which provided the earliest 'Alids with their claim to leadership of the Muslim community as *ahl al-bayt*, 'the family of the house [of the Prophet]', and it is they who held the leadership of *Shi'a sects as imams due to this kinship. While most sources suggest 'Ali had some 35 children, only two (or perhaps three) were borne by Muhammad's daughter *Fatima. While it seems kinship with 'Ali was paramount for early generations of 'Alids, direct kinship with the Prophet through Fatima provided genealogical precedence for claimants amongst the group, and became decisive after the *'Abbasid Revolution.

Their claims to the caliphate often failed to meet with success. Following the assassination of 'Ali and the accession of *Mu'awiya, the 'Alids were split on whether to outwardly seek the caliphate. Prior to the 'Abbasid Revolution, three major instances of open revolt surrounding the 'Alids occurred. The most tragic of these was led by *Husayn b. 'Ali in 680 and resulted in the deaths of many 'Alids. A revolt by al-*Mukhtar championing *Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya also occurred in the mid-680s, with a later revolt by *Zayd b. 'Ali in 740; all three failed attempts found their support in the 'Alid stronghold of *Kufa. RJL

EI THREE, *s.v.* 'Alids' (Farhad).
Al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, tr. I. Howard: *The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imams* (1981).

Allectus *Usurper in *Britain, 293–6, after the death of *Carausius (Aurelius *Victor 39, 39; *Eutropius IX, 14). His full names are unknown, as are details of his earlier career. One of the **Panegyrici Latini* calls him a henchman (*satelles*) of Carausius (VIII (V), 12, 2).

It is assumed that Carausius' loss of Boulogne (Gesoriacum) in 293 caused the collapse of the continental outpost of revolt and the end of hostilities in *Gaul, but three years elapsed before *Constantius I was able to regain Britain. Coins of Allectus in Gaul, centring on *Rouen, suggest continued successful resistance by forces loyal to Allectus, as well as the possession of a viable naval base.

Construction work in *London, dated by tree-ring analysis to 294, is interpreted as the building of a *palace at the seat of Allectus' administration. Major reform of the *coinage suggests a well-conducted and, apparently, confident regime.

In 296 a naval attack by Constantius I under cover of a Channel fog led to the death in battle of Allectus (*PanLat* VIII [V], 16), and the recovery of the British *provinces, symbolized by the scene of Constantius' *adventus to London on a *gold medallion from the *Arras hoard. PJC

PLRE I, Allectus.
NEDC 11.
A. Burnett, 'The Coinage of Allectus', *British Numismatic Journal* 54 (1984), 21–40.
P. J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers* (1994).

allegory and allegorical interpretation in art Late Romans who looked at images in an allegorical manner aimed to see beyond the obvious by associating what they contemplated with ideas and perceptions drawn from their broader knowledge, whether this was mundane information assimilated from experience and reading or a spiritual understanding of a superior other-worldly reality, in itself beyond depiction. In the latter case the contemplation of images became a means to an end and the viewer was subservient to their initiatory effects.

The move towards allegorical modes of viewing occurred under the influence of *Neoplatonist philosophers such as *Plotinus, *Porphyry, and *Proclus, as well as Christian writers such as *Origen and, later, *Augustine and *John Cassian. One of the earliest and most influential allegorical interpretations of a picture is recorded in the 1st-century *Tabula* of Cebes and involved the interpretation of a *votive tablet as a lesson of salvation in which looking at an image actually constituted a journey from material naturalism to saving

spirituality. The viewer was expected to 'read' the otherwise 'empty figures' actively, acknowledging a superior truth, as is suggested by *Paulinus of *Nola in a *letter written in 403. Figures and scenes from traditional mythology, such as the Labours of Hercules, the Theogony, *Dionysus, Orpheus, or Endymion, could be seen to point to hidden truths, in the same way as *Porphyry represented *Homer's Cave of the Nymphs as a place from which to start the Neoplatonic Ascent of the Soul and *Lactantius made the Parting of the Ways an allegory for Christian *conversion (*Inst*. VI, 2–4). Even animal and floral motifs and representations of the *seasons were more than mundane, obvious, and everyday as they might prompt consideration of the fundamental rhythms of nature.

For Christians, scenes from the Old Testament might suggest more immediately Christian associations, so that Daniel in the Lions' Den painted on a *catacomb wall might evoke thoughts about *persecution, and the Crossing of the Red Sea, as depicted on the *sarcophagus now in S. Trophime at *Arles, became a type of the liberation brought by *baptism. Building on such typological exegesis, entire networks of ideas could be constructed in images through the representation of events, especially *miracles and other instances of direct divine intervention, drawn from the whole sweep of world history recorded in the Old and New Testaments. DK; OPN

D. Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (1992), 127–240.
J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer* (1995), 15–48.
Grabar, *Iconography*, 109–48.
D. Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (1998).

allegory and allegorical interpretation in literature

Allegorical interpretation involves the search for an author's 'deeper' or 'hidden' message beneath the more literal 'surface meaning' of a text. In Late Antiquity, it was a key interpretative approach for *Neoplatonists, who not only sought to construct a coherent philosophical system from exegesis of the works of Plato, but also often tried to argue that this could be harmonized with other revered texts, including the works of *Homer and Hesiod. Allegorical interpretation of Plato and Homer was already practised by the 2nd-century *philosopher *Numenius, and this approach to traditional *myth is well represented in the works of *Plotinus, who identified the relationship between Ouranos, Kronos, and Zeus as signifying the three 'hypostases' of 'the One' (*to Hen*), intellect (*Nous*), and soul (*Psyche*) (e.g. *Enneads* V, 1, 7). Similar identifications had an earlier history among Stoic philosophers (e.g. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, 60–72).

Plotinus' pupil *Porphyry also engaged in detailed philosophical interpretation of literature, most famously in his *De Antro Nympharum* (*On the Cave of the Nymphs*). This treatise consists of an extended allegorical exegesis of a single passage from *Odyssey* XIII, 102–12, describing the cave on Ithaca where Odysseus was placed by the Phaeacians. Porphyry reads the description of the cave, with its separate entrances for mortals and immortals, as well as the nymphs, *bees, and objects within it, as symbolizing the journey of the soul from the material world up to the heavens.

Allegorical interpretation of literature continued to flourish within Neoplatonism after Porphyry, probably reaching its zenith in the writings of *Proclus, for instance in his commentary on Plato's *Republic*. He sought out a unified theological system across Plato and Homer, combining his reading of these works with exegesis of Hesiod, the **Chaldean Oracles*, and Orphic texts, all of which were regarded as providing access to truth for those who knew how to interpret them properly. Most allegorical readings concern revered texts of this sort, but there is also a surviving fragment by a certain 'Peter the Philosopher', in which the same Neoplatonist approach is applied to *Heliodorus' novel *Ethiopica*, with Chariclea representing the soul and Theagenes the intellect (*Nous*).

The interpretative strategy of seeking out another level of meaning within a text is better represented in extant *Greek literature of Late Antiquity, especially Neoplatonic texts, than it is in *Latin. Nonetheless, there are some notable Latin examples, particularly *Macrobius' *Commentary on Cicero's Dream of Scipio*, which opens with a guide to the philosophical interpretation of stories and *dreams (*In Somnium*, 1, 1–3). Macrobius reads Cicero's brief story of Scipio's dream as an explication of many Neoplatonic doctrines and also incorporates some allegorical readings of Homeric passages, as does *Boethius in his *Consolation of Philosophy*. Late Antique scholiasts on *Vergil also continued the tradition of reading the *Eclogues* allegorically in order to identify references to *Vergil, Octavian, and other contemporary figures among the text's characters. They were also read as Christian prophecy (*Lactantius, *Inst*. VII, 25; *Constantine, *Oration to the Saints*, 17).

For Christians also read allegorically. *Origen applied allegorical methods to interpreting the text of the *Bible. The *sermons of *Ambrose married Neoplatonic *philosophy to allegorical reading of scripture (e.g. *De Isaac*, 77–9) in a way which was a revelation to *Augustine and instrumental in the process leading to his *conversion in 386 (*Confessions*, V, 14, 24; VIII, 2, 3). *John Cassian identified four ways of interpreting scripture (*Conferences*, XIV, 8). A literal reading furnished facts about the past. In an allegorical reading the obvious indicates that which is not obvious; for instance, a pattern of events such as those of the Exodus resembles, through *typology, the liberation brought about by Christ's Resurrection. Tropological reading points to moral significances, and

anagogical interpretation uncovers meaning which may contribute to spiritual growth. This fourfold method of interpretation became standard among Christian Bible readers in the Western Middle Ages.

As well as the allegorical interpretation of existing texts, Late Antiquity also saw some texts being written as allegories. Notable amongst these is *Synesius of *Cyrene's *De Providentia*, which uses the Egyptian myth of Osiris and Typhos as a way of discussing the political turmoil in *Constantinople in 400. It has also been suggested by T. Gelzer that *Musaeus' love story of *Hero and Leander* was written as a Christian Neoplatonist allegory, although this theory has not attracted widespread acceptance.

Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* is also written as an allegory, specifically as a *personification allegory, where individuals within a story represent particular abstract ideas or concepts. Boethius has the Lady Philosophia herself appear in person. This technique is also used in *Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (*Marriage of Philology and Mercury*) and, most extensively, in *Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, in which numerous virtues and vices are presented as female warriors battling for control of a Christian's soul.

Allegorical interpretation also affected more generally the way that Christian authors such as *Gregory the Great and *Bede composed their works. In Gregory's *Dialogues* individual *miracles of S. *Benedict are typologically linked to biblical prototypes; Bede's *Historia Eclesiastica* lends itself to all four forms of interpretation. RAF; OPN

L. Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology* (ET C. Tihanyi, 2004).

Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*.

T. Gelzer, 'Introduction', in C. A. Trypanis, T. Gelzer, and C. Whitman, eds., *Callimachus: Fragments; Musaeus: Hero and Leander* (1975), 297–343.

Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*.

Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Cicero (tr. with introd.),W. H. Stahl (1952).

J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie: les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiens* (rev. edn., 1976).

P. H. Sellew, 'Achilles or Christ? Porphyry and Didymus in Debate over Allegorical Interpretation', *HTR* 82/1 (1989), 79–100.

R. J. Starr, 'Vergil's Seventh *Eclogue* and its Readers: Biographical Allegory as an Interpretative Strategy in Antiquity and Late Antiquity', *CQ* 90 (1995), 129–38.

P. T. Struck, 'Allegory and Ascent in Neoplatonism', in R. Copeland and P. T. Struck, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory* (2010), 57–70.

alleluia A Hebrew expression ('praise God') superscribed to twenty of the *Psalms (104–6, 110–18, 134–5, and 145–50), sung as a liturgical response in the monastic Office and Mass, initially only to the alleluia-psalms (cf. *John Cassian, *De Institutis Coenobiorum*, 2.11), but later extended to other psalms as well (cf. Ps.-Jerome, PL 30, col. 295; *Regula Benedicti*, cap. 15). The development of a responsorial tripartite chant (alleluia-verse(s)-alleluia) occurred relatively late, perhaps modelled on the Eastern *allelouïarion*, which had established a tripartite structure much earlier. AJH

C. Thodberg, *Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia, viii; 1966).

J. W. McKinnon, 'Preface to the Study of the Alleluia', *Early Music History* 15 (1996), 213–49.

allocutio *See* HAND AND HAND GESTURES.

allod (*allodium*) A term used primarily in the *Frankish kingdoms for land owned outright, with full rights, which could usually be passed on to heirs or alienated freely without the permission of any other party. It is first attested in **Lex Salica*. TWGF

LexMA 1, 440–1 (K. H. Burmeister).

S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (1994).

almsgiving, Christian Gifts of food, money, clothing, and shelter for the involuntary and voluntary *poor and the ransom of captives. Almost all Christians recognized their duty to almsgiving both direct and indirect through intermediaries, especially the local *bishop and monks. Almsgiving was understood to atone for post-baptismal sin, expressing love for Christ (cf. Matt. 25:31–46). Recipients' *prayers enabled donors to acquire heavenly treasure. Thus, while *sermons exhorted people to almsgiving regardless of the recipient's religion or morals, Christians were thought more deserving than others.

The **Apostolic Constitutions*, probably a late 4th-century *church order from *Antioch containing 3rd-century material, envisage the bishop assisted by his *deacons as prime distributors of alms drawn from individuals, collections, alms-boxes, and a proportion of the offertory gifts. From the 4th century, revenue from church lands was partly used for alms. In Greek dioceses an *oikonomos* often administered almsgiving. Privileged recipients of episcopal alms, primarily *widows, dependent children, and consecrated *virgins, were enrolled on a list, the **matricula* *Emperors periodically swelled charitable funds in at least the major *cities under their rule, while *empresses displayed piety by munificent almsgiving and unmediated service of the poor. Western royalty later adopted such public generosity. Lay people gave alms when accosted by beggars, and also when on *pilgrimage at important shrines. The first attested *hospitals opened for poor relief in the 4th-century East. Monks became valued recipients

of alms, and *monasteries centres for their redistribution, responsibility for which in the West rested, according to the *Rule* of S. *Benedict, with the cellarer or *porter. *Caesarius, Bishop of *Arles from 502 to 542, promoted the giving of tithes, redistributed in almsgiving by the Church, as a moral obligation, and the *Council of Mâcon legislated for such a tithe in 585, though compulsory tithes appear only in the late 8th century. RDF

R. D. Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313–450)* (2006).

J. Herrin, 'Ideals of Charity, Realities of Welfare: The Philanthropic Activity of the Byzantine Church', in Morris, *Church and People in Byzantium*, 151–64.

T. Sternberg, *Orientalium more secutus. Räume und Institutionen de Caritas des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts in Gallien* (JbAC Ergänzunsb. 16, 1991).

almsgiving, Islamic There are two types of almsgiving in classical *Islam. The first, *zakat*, is a tax on annual income and holdings whose ownership exists over the course of a year. In *Shi'i Islam, a one-fifth payment is required, called *khums*. (In Sunni Islam the *khums* is a one-fifth payment on booty taken in war.) Mandatory alms go to the maintenance of the poor, including wayfarers, prisoners, orphans, and widows, and to the defence of the community. The second, *sadaqa*, is a voluntary donation. *Zakat* became one of the five so-called 'pillars of Islam', and is incumbent on all believers. It is unclear when precisely *zakat* became prescribed, though it was probably early in *Muhammad's prophetic career, perhaps the early 620s; in the *Umayyad period (661–750) the collection of the alms tax came to be managed by a *diwan al-sadaqa* ('office of the alms'). The later, classical distinction between the terms *zakat* and *sadaqa* is not evident in the *Qur'ān and the early sources. NK

A. Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies* (2008).

Alopen *See* ALUOBEN.

Alpes Cottiae, Alpes Maritimae, and Alpes Graiae et Poeninae Three *provinces occupying the south-west end of the Alps, with their principal *cities at Segusio, Ebrodunum (Embrun), and Augusta Salassorum (Aosta) respectively. The former province of Alpes Maritimae, bordered on the south by the Mediterranean and on the West by *Narbonnensis Secunda, was extended northwards by the reforms of the *Tetrarchy. Alpes Cottiae lay to the east of it and Alpes Graiae inland to the north. The *Verona List places Alpes Maritimae in the *Dioecesis Viennensis and Alpes Graiae et Poeninae in the Dioecesis *Galliae. The **Notitia Dignitatum* places both in the Dioecesis *Septem Provinciarum. Both the Verona List and *Notitia Dignitatum* place Alpes Cottiae in *Italia. All three provinces were governed by a *Praeses. OPN

Barrington Atlas, map 17.

Topographie chrétienne Gaule, vol. 2: *Narbonensis Secunda et Alpes Maritimae*, ed. Y. Duval (1986) and vol. 3: *Viennensis et Alpes Graiae et Poeninae* (1986).

Alsace The territory *Alsatius* is first attested in 609/10, and by 693 designated a **pagus* encompassing the *Frankish lands between the Vosges and the Rhine. During the early 7th century Alsace straddled the contested border region between the kingdoms of *Burgundy and *Austrasia. From the 630s to the 740s, it was organized under a *Dux. HJH

*RGA*2, *s.v.* Elsass, VII (1989), 175–88 (D. Geuenich et al.).

H. J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (2005), 1–63.

Altar of Victory A statue of *Victory with an *Altar were erected in the *Senate House at *Rome by the *Emperor Augustus in 29 BC to commemorate his victory at the Battle of Actium. *Senators offered *incense and made *oaths on the Altar, including their oath of loyalty to a new emperor.

Statue and Altar remained in place until 357, when *Constantius II removed the Altar during his visit to Rome. Restored, probably under *Julian, the Altar was removed again in 382 under *Gratian, who also confiscated endowments which financed public pagan *priesthoods. The Senate sent *Symmachus, 'the orator', to Gratian to request the Altar's return.

Gratian was killed in 383. In July 384 Symmachus in his *Third Relatio* as *Praefectus Urbi petitioned *Valentinian II for the Altar's return. Valentinian denied the request, influenced by *Ambrose, *Bishop of *Milan (*epp.* 17 and 18). For Symmachus the Altar secured the bond mediated by Roman religion between the state and the gods, a bond that had won Rome its Empire. Ambrose explained to the emperor that this was not a matter of personal preference but of public safety; the emperor had to choose whether his rule was to be protected by the One God or the traditional gods. The bishop deliberately evoked the *persecution suffered by Christians earlier in the century to sharpen the contrast.

A further deputation sent to *Theodosius I in Milan in 389 also failed to obtain the Altar's restoration, as did an embassy to Valentinian II in 391, when Symmachus was *consul (Ambrose, *ep.* 57). The *usurper *Eugenius acceded to a request from *Nicomachus Flavianus in 394 (*Paulinus of Milan, *VAmbrosii* 26), but Eugenius was soon deposed by Theodosius I, and the Altar disappears from history.

A decade later, in 402/3, the Christian poet *Prudentius wrote a poem, *Contra Symmachum*, answering in detail the arguments of Symmachus' *Third Relatio*.

Like Prudentius, some modern scholars have found in this confrontation a convenient compendium of points at issue between some Christians and some *pagans. DMG; OPN

Cameron, *Pagans*, esp. 33–51.
Croke and Harries, *Religious Conflict*, 28–51.
D. M. Gwynn, 'The "End" of Roman Senatorial Paganism', in Lavan and Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, 135–61.

altars The *pagan altar (Lat. *ara*) shows no formal or ritual relation to the Christian altar (Lat. *altare*). The production of pagan altars apparently stopped towards the end of the 4th century (e.g. *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di S. Pietro* I (1951), 14). The Christian altar is the place where the *Eucharist is celebrated with its aspects of both meal and *sacrifice and it therefore takes the form of a table, case, or block. Stone became the predominant material. Beneath the altar, *relics might be deposited (*ILAlg* 1, 0427; *ILCV* 2110). JDW

RAC 22 (2008) *s.v.* Kultgebäude, 373–5 (S. de Blaauw).
J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1924).
E. Loosely, *The Architecture and Liturgy of the Bema in Fourth to Sixth Century Syrian Churches* (TESC 1, 2003).

Aluoben (Alopen) (*fl. c.*635) First known Christian missionary to *China, probably a *bishop of the *Church of the East. The name (recorded on the *Xi'an Stele) is perhaps a transcription of the *Syriac title *rabban*. Aluoben was received by the Tang Emperor Taizong in 635 and was granted permission to practise Christianity in China in 638. HT

M. Nicolini Zani, *La via radiosa per l'Oriente: i testi e la storia del primo incontro del cristianesimo con il mondo culturale e religioso cinese (secoli VII–IX)* (2006), 83–8.

Alypius (perhaps 4th cent.) Author of an *Introduction to Music* (*Eisagoge mousike*), a tabular summary of Greek modal notation (instrumental and vocal). Both the number of Alypius' modes (fifteen) and his brief prose introduction adhere to the (later) Aristoxenian tradition; mentioned by *Cassiodorus (*Institutiones*, II, 5, 10). AJH

PLRE I, Alypius 1.
ed. K. von Jan in *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, 357–406.
Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 593–607.

Amahraspandan Six 'life-giving immortals' closely associated with *Ohrmazd in *Zoroastrianism. 'Good Thought', 'Best Order', 'Well-Deserved Command', 'Life-Giving Humility', 'Wholeness', and 'Immortality' are also associated with humans, *fire, metals, the earth, water, and plants respectively, forming a divine heptad with Ohrmazd (**Bundahishn*, 3). They are responsible for fashioning the pre-soul (**Frawahr*) of Zarathustra prior to *Ahriman's assault on Ohrmazd's creation (**Denkard*, 7). Zoroastrians, since they assemble thrice daily, are exhorted to visit *fire temples and 'deposit good deeds and righteousness there' (*Denkard*, 6, 301). YSDV

Shaked, *Wisdom*, 115.
Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 14–15, 94–5, 140.

Amalasuintha (d. 535) Daughter of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, regent for *Athalaric (526–34), and Queen of the Ostrogoths in *Italy (534). Well educated and fluent in *Latin, *Greek, and Gothic, she assumed the regency when her 10-year-old son succeeded Theoderic. She governed effectively, overseeing the peaceful end of Ostrogothic rule over the *Visigoths, claiming (questionable) *victories over the *Burgundians, *Franks, and East Romans (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, XI, 1, 10–14), and assisting the *Emperor *Justinian I in his war against the *Vandals in *Africa. Opposition to her rule increased as Athalaric approached maturity. After his death, she adopted the title of queen and elevated her cousin *Theodahad as consort. Within months, he turned on her, imprisoning Amalasuintha and ordering her murder. JJA

PLRE II, Amalasuentha.
V. Fauvinet-Ranson, 'Portrait d'une régente: un panégyrique d'Amalasonthe (Cassiodorus, *Variae* 11,1)', *Cassiodorus* 4 (1998), 267–308.
S. Krautschick, *Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit* (1983).
Wolfram, *Goths*.

Amali *Cassiodorus' lost *Gothic History* (as known from his *Variae*) and *Jordanes' *Getica* represent the Amal dynasty as the pre-eminent ruling family of the *Goths, ruling first all the Goths, and then all those Goths who remained outside the Roman Empire in 376.

This is anachronistic. Jordanes (again probably following Cassiodorus) attempts to represent Amal pre-eminence as lasting longer than it actually did by tracing a family link between *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth and the *Ermenaric who appears in *Ammianus Marcellinus. This is demonstrably false. A large body of contemporary evidence makes it clear that Amal pre-eminence was actually built up over the careers of Theoderic himself (474–526) and of his uncle Valamer (*fl. c.*455–70) who united a whole series of Gothic and other groups to create a power base of unprecedented size at the same time that *Attila's *Hun empire was collapsing. This unification was not based on ancient prestige but was intended to achieve political and military effectiveness. When Theoderic's heirs proved incapable of countering East Roman aggression in the 530s, they were quickly ousted and replaced. PHe

Wolfram, *Goths.*

P. Heather, 'Cassiodorus and the Rise of the Amals: Genealogy and the Goths under Hun Domination', *JRS* 79 (1989), 103–28.

Amandus Leader of the *Bacaudae in *Gaul, suppressed by *Maximian in 285–6. His coins call him Augustus. OPN

PLRE I, Amandus 1.
NEDC 10.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 281–2.

Amandus, S. (d. 675/6) The most significant missionary to emerge from the *Merovingian Church. His hagiographer wrote in the late 8th century, and may have tried to portray him in the mould of later Irish or Anglo-Saxon saints. Like them, he did have close links with *Rome, but we cannot be certain that he preached among the *Basques or the *Slavs, or even that he was *Bishop of Maastricht. For much of his life he did missionary work in the Scheldt Valley, as confirmed by his companion *Jonas of *Bobbio. He founded the *Monastery of Elnone there (later S. Amand-les-Eaux). EJ

PCBE IV, I, Amandus 10.
DHGE 2, 942–5.
Life (*BHL* 332), ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 5, 395–485.

Amantius Anti-*Chalcedonian *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi under *Anastasius I. As a *eunuch Amantius could not be *emperor, but after Anastasius died, he conspired with *Andreas to block *Justin I's accession. They were executed, so were later considered *Miaphysite martyrs. He may be the Amantius who built a Church of S. Thomas on the south coast of *Constantinople in a quarter called ta Amantiou (*AnthGr* I, 5). OPN

PLRE II, Amantius 4.
Vasiliev, *Justin*, 102–8.
Janin, *CPByz* 307–8.
Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 248–50.

Amanus Mountains Mountain range in south-east Turkey (mod. Nur Dağları). The pass called the Syrian Gates connected *Cilicia to *Antioch and that named the Amanian Gates connected Cilicia and *Edessa. A *holy man called S. Symeon the Ancient initiated the conversion of the Amanus in the later 4th century, founded two *monasteries, and was known to *Theodoret's mother (*Religious History*, 6). KETB; OPN

Amaseia (mod. Amasya, Turkey) Metropolis of the *Tetrarchic *province of *Diospontus. Basil, *Bishop of Amaseia, was martyred under *Licinius (*Jerome, *Chron.* 230g Helm). Sixteen *sermons of the late 4th-century Bishop *Asterius are extant. The 6th-century *city is vividly evoked in Eustratius' *Life of Eutychius* (*BHG* 657). Parts of an *aqueduct survive, cut into a cliffside west of the town. PJT

BHG 657: ed. C. Laga (CCSG 25, 1992).
J. Dalaison, *L'Atelier d'Amaseia du Pont* (Numismatica Anatolica 2, 2008).

Amatus *See* REMIREMONT.

Amay (prov. Liège, Belgium) Settlement on the Meuse. The Church of S. George, in which the tomb of *Chrodoara (= S. Oda) was found in 1977, is of *Merovingian origin. It was the seat of a religious community from the 7th century onwards, but never a *monastery for women, contrary to a legend originating in the 13th century. ADier

M. Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum in frühkarolingischer Zeit* (1980), 31–58.
A. Dierkens, ed., *Le Sarcophage de sancta Chrodoara* (2000–1).

amber and the Amber Road Amber (Lat. *succinum*, 'gum stone'; Gk. *elektron*, 'formed by the sun', whence Lat. *electrum*; the Lat. term *electrum* is also applied to a *gold–*silver alloy) is petrified tree resin that varies in colour from creamy white and pale yellow to very dark brown. It was imported into the Mediterranean world from the shores of the Baltic, where it is most abundantly found, from the 2nd millennium BC onwards. The amber workshops of *Aquileia, which relied on supplies brought along the Amber Road which crossed the Danube *frontier at *Carnuntum, declined after the late 2nd century AD, but amber continued to be imported into Roman territory by routes which reached the Rhineland and the shores of the Black Sea—amber beads are found in burials of the *Černjachov/Sîntana De Mureş Culture. Amber *jewellery and the technology for working it also spread northwards from the Empire. Worked amber has been found in the graves of the *Hassleben group, and lathe technology imported from the Empire into the *Wielbark Culture in the 2nd century AD spread northwards into Lithuania, where amber beads continue to be found in 5th-century graves.

In the Roman world amber was used to make jewellery, spindle whorls, and *amulets. It was also employed in *medicine, and was burnt for light, fumigation, and *divination. *Caesarius of *Arles condemns its use for *amulets (*Sermons*, 13, 5; 14, 4). It also continued in Late Antiquity to be a substance of considerable scientific interest. *Servius (*Commentary on the Aeneid*, VIII, 402) refers to *Pliny the Elder's lengthy discussion of amber (*Natural History*, XXXVII, 11–12, 42–51), and *Isidore's account (*Etymologiae*, XVI, 24; cf. XVI, 8–7) appears to draw on both Pliny and Servius. Pliny and *Ambrose (*Hexaemeron*, III, 15, 63) both knew that amber originates as a liquid because of the insects

which are incorporated in it, and *Bede (*HE* I, 1), relying on the 3rd-century geographer Solinus (22, cf. 21), knew that amber, like *jet, retains heat when warmed. OPN; ECD

*RGA*2, *s.v.* Bernstein und Bernsteinhandel, II (1976), 288–98 (Bohnsack, Follmann).

A. Bliujienė, *Northern Gold: Amber in Lithuania (c.100 to c.1200)* (2011).

Jan Bouzek, 'The Amber Tradition and Baltic-Black Sea Amber Route', in *Amber in Archaeology. Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Amber in Archaeology, Belgrade 2006* (2009), 132–41.

V. I. Kulakov, *The Amber Lands in the Time of the Roman Empire* (BAR IntSer 1356, 2005).

Amblève, Battle of (prov. Wallonia, Belgium) In April 716 *Charles Martel surprised and scattered *Neustrian and *Frisian forces opposing his claim to his father *Pippin II's *inheritance. The victory consolidated his authority within *Austrasia and led to his subsequent success at *Vinchy. EM

Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, 58–64.

ambo A raised platform with a staircase placed in the centre of a church, used predominantly for reading lessons from the *Bible, for singing the *Psalms (*Council of *Laodicea canon 15), and, rarely, for the *bishop's *sermon, as by *John Chrysostom (*Socrates VI, 5; *Sozomen VIII, 5). The predominant ambo type, probably created in *Constantinople, shows two axial staircases, positioned across from each other.

No ambos survive from before the late 5th century. An important ambo with figural decoration from *Thessalonica survives from the 6th century, and others from Peyia in *Cyprus, from Selcikler in *Anatolia, and *Perperikon in the *Balkans. An ambo made of green *Thessalian *marble was found among the early 6th-century church *furniture in the 'Church Wreck' (*Marzamemi II) off *Sicily. The monumental ambo in the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in Constantinople, described in a poem by *Paul the *Silentiary, appears to be unique. JDW

RAC 22 (2008) *s.v.* Kultgebäude, 387–9 (S. de Blaauw).

R. Warland, 'Der Ambo aus Thessaloniki. Bildprogramm, Rekonstruktion, Datierung', *JbDAI* 109 (1994), 371–85.

Ambrose (Aurelius Ambrosius) (*c.*339–97) *Bishop of *Milan (374–97), exegete, theologian, and powerful participant in the secular and ecclesiastical politics of the Western Roman Empire.

Early life

Ambrose was born at *Trier into a prominent family; his father was *Praefectus Praetorio of *Gaul. He received a rhetorical education and embarked on a legal career in *Sirmium at the headquarters of the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum, before being appointed *Consularis of *Aemilia et Liguria at Milan. At this point Ambrose was not baptized, though his family was Christian and his sister had dedicated herself to the ascetic life in the 350s (*De Virginbus ad Marcellinam*, 3, 1–3). Intervening in a disputed episcopal election in Milan in 374, he was, to his own surprise and reluctance, acclaimed bishop. This necessitated *baptism and a rapid ascent up the hierarchy of clerical offices (*Paulinus of Milan, *VAmbrosii* 3).

Episcopate

Ambrose's predecessor in the episcopate, *Auxentius, had been a *Homoean (*'Arian'), and Milan was a city divided between Homoeans and pro-Nicenes. Milan was also an important centre for the western imperial *court, and this brought Ambrose into contact with several *emperors whom he variously mentored and rebuked: he tutored *Gratian in Christian doctrine (*De Fide* and *De Spiritu Sancto*); he came into conflict with *Valentinian II and his mother *Justina over Homoean claims to Milanese *basilicas (*Letter* 20; Paulinus, *VAmbrosii* 4–5); and he chastised *Theodosius I for rebuilding a *synagogue at *Callinicum in 388, and ordering a massacre at *Thessalonica in 390 (*epp.* 51, 40 and 41 and Paulinus, *VAmbrosii* 24). As well as shaping imperial behaviour and policy, Ambrose was an active player in ecclesiastical politics of his day, championing Nicene orthodoxy, cultivating leadership of other Italian bishops, and decisively influencing the *Council of *Aquileia in 381 at which two Arian Illyrian bishops were deposed. His miraculous discovery of the remains of Ss. *Gervasius and Protasius in 386 simultaneously secured his control over a key church building in the ongoing dispute with Arians over church property, and confirmed his special relationship with the holy dead (*ep.* 22). Ambrose also intervened in disputes with pagans, interceding with the emperors on behalf of Christian Roman senators opposing the restoration of the *Altar of Victory.

Works

Once installed as bishop, Ambrose devoted himself to a programme of Christian learning under the Milanese priest Simplicianus. Ambrose's extant works all date from his episcopate and include a large number of commentaries on the *Bible and exegetical treatises, especially on the OT; many of these were clearly developed from *sermons. His *funeral orations on Valentinian II and Theodosius I show Ambrose deftly balancing roles as tutor and censor of emperors with those of exegete and pastor. Ambrose wrote several

exhortations to virginity, and a number of explanations of Christian ritual and doctrine, including a set of homilies on the sacraments addressed to the newly baptized. His *hymns also testify to his role in developing *liturgy at Milan in a fraught political context; they were designed to be sung by the faithful occupying basilicas, to fortify spirits and theological convictions. Their simple accentual metre was often imitated by later hymn-writers. Four of those which survive are authenticated as Ambrose's by *Augustine, two are attributed to him by *Cassiodorus, and one by *Bede (Homes Dudden, 293–7). Ambrose wrote two extended and influential treatises on morality and doctrine: the *De Officiis Ministrorum*, a large work on clerical duties which borrowed and transformed the structure and terms of Cicero's *De Officiis*, and *De Fide*, a long anti-Arian tract written at Gratian's request. He also arranged a large body of *letters into a ten-volume collection modelled on that of Pliny the Younger.

Thought

Ambrose was famous for integrating *Neoplatonic thought into Christian exegesis and doctrine. He made much use of the works of Philo and *Plotinus, notably, for instance, in his treatment of the soul in *De Isaac vel Anima*. Ambrose's deployment of classical learning in the service of the Church is visible in works such as the Ciceronian *De Officiis Ministrorum*. That said, Ambrose's many works of biblical exegesis demonstrate that he had also immersed himself in scripture, and in *Latin and *Greek Christian literature; indeed, Ambrose's *allegorical interpretation of scripture owed much to *Origen and *Basil of Caesarea, as well as to Philo. Biblical stories and imagery shape not only Ambrose's language—as in his use of the Song of Songs in his *funeral oration on Valentinian II—but also dictate his prescriptions for behaviour, as in his demands that Theodosius should model himself on the penitent King David (*Apologia Prophetae David*). Ambrose's brand of ascetic, philosophical, learned Christianity proved very attractive to the young Augustine at Milan, who credits Ambrose as an important influence, not least in inculcating the hermeneutical lesson of interpreting the spirit rather the letter of scripture (*Confessions*, V–VI, especially V, 14 23–5, VI. 1, 1–2, 2).

SJL-R

PLRE I, Ambrosius I.

BHL 377–81, of which *Paulinus of Milan, *VAmbrosii* (*BHL* 377) contains eyewitness material.

PL 14–17, reprinting J. Du Frische and N. Le Nourry (1686–90).

Hexaemeron and works on OT, ed. C. Schenkl (CSEL 32/1, 2 and 4, 1897).

Commentary on Psalm 118, ed. M. Petschenig (CSEL 62, 1913), and *On Twelve Psalms*, ed. M. Petschenig (CSEL 64. 1919).

On Creed etc., *Funeral Orations*, ed. O. Faller (CSEL 73, 1955); *On Faith*, ed. O. Faller (CSEL 78, 1962); *On the Holy Spirit* etc., ed. O. Faller (CSEL 79, 1964); *Letters*, ed. O. Faller (CSEL 82, 1968).

On Sacraments etc., ed. (with FT) B. Botte (SC 25, 1961, ^{2}1980).

Commentary on S. Luke, ed. (with FT) G. Tissot, 2 vols. (SC 45, 1971, and 52, 2006).

On Penitence, ed. (with FT) R. Gryson (SC 179, 1971).

Apology of David, ed. (with FT), P. Hadot and M. Cordier (SC 239, 1977).

On Jacob, ed. (with FT) G. Nauroy (SC 534, 2010).

De Fuga Saeculi, ed. C. Gerzaguet (SC 576).

De Officiis, text and ET (annotated with introd.) I. Davidson, *De Officiis*, 2 vols. (OECS, 2001).

ET (annotated) R. Deferrari, *Theological and Dogmatic Works* (*FC* 44, 1963).

ET (annotated) M. Beyenka, *Letters* (FC 26, 1954).

ET (annotated) M. McHugh, *Seven Exegetical Works* (FC 65, 1972).

ET (annotated) J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches* (TTH 43, 2005).

B. Ramsey, *Ambrose: Early Church Fathers*, III (1997).

E. Dassmann, *Ambrosius von Mailand: Leben und Werk* (2004).

F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols. (1935).

McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan.*

C. Markschies, *Ambrosius von Mailand und die Trinitätstheologie. Kirchen- und theologiegeschichtliche Studien zu Antiarianismus und Neunitzänismus bei Ambrosius und im lateinischen Westen* (1995).

J. Moorhead, *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World* (1999).

G. Nauroy, *Ambroise de Milan: écriture et esthétique d'une exégèse pastorale* (2003).

H. Savon, *Ambroise de Milan* (1997).

D. H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts* (1995).

Ambrosian Iliad (*Ilia Picta*) Illustrated manuscript of *Homer's *Iliad*, of the end of the 5th century, now at *Milan (Ambrosiana cod. F. 205 Inf.). It contains a set of miniatures whose style of figure illustration is related to that of the *Charioteer Papyrus. NAS

Ilias Ambrosiana: cod. F. 205 P. inf., Bibliothecae Ambrosianne Mediolanensis (Fontes ambrosiani; 28, 1953).

Ambrosian Liturgy Family of Christian *liturgical rites used in the region of *Milan, in northern *Italy, named after the *city's most famous bishop, *Ambrose (*sed.* 374–97).

There is no doubt that Ambrose introduced liturgical innovations. These include *hymns 'in the manner of the Eastern parts' (*Augustine, *Conff.* IX, 7, 15; cf. IX, 12, 32), of which six surviving examples, in accentual iambic quatrains, can be securely attributed to him. Ambrose may also have removed from the local liturgy elements reflecting the theology of Auxentius, his *Homoean predecessor. But there is no positive evidence to connect him with the details of the surviving sacramentaries, none of which dates from earlier than the 9th century. The elaborate *processions and chants of the 12th-century stational liturgy at Milan have been associated with the particularities of the city's urban topography, which had their origins in the layout of the Late Roman *city. OPN; MFC

CPL 1906–10.
P. Borella, *Il Rito Ambrosiano* (1964).
ET E. G. C. F. Atchley, *The Ambrosian Liturgy: The Ordinary and the Canon of the Mass According to the Rite of the Church at Milan* (1909).
E. Cattaneo, *La Chiesa di Ambrogio: studia di storia e di liturgia* (1984).
C. Troelsgård, 'Stational Liturgy and Processional Antiphons in the Ambrosian Rite', in E. L. Lillie and N. H. Petersen, eds., *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan* (1996), 85–94.

Ambrosiaster (*fl.* 370) Anonymous Christian author writing in *Rome during the episcopate of *Damasus I, whom he names once (*Commentary on I Timothy*, III, 15, 1). The name Ambrosiaster was coined by the Maurist editors to denote the author of literal and common-sense *Commentaries* on the Pauline Epistles which had long been transmitted under the name of *Ambrose and were very popular in the Middle Ages. In the early 20th century *Questions on the Old and New Testaments*, a collection of exegetical, theological, and polemical treatises which had long been transmitted under *Augustine's name, were also definitively attributed to Ambrosiaster. There are between two and three authorial editions of the *Commentaries* which reveal interesting adjustments of style and theology, and the *Questions* survive in three classes of manuscripts containing different numbers and selections of questions, some of which were also revised by the author. Ambrosiaster reveals very little about himself in his writings, but it is possible, given his concern to promote Roman presbyters above ambitious *deacons (*quaestio* 101), and the homiletic style of some of his *Questions*, that he was a *priest in an extra-urban Roman church with responsibilities for catechizing and preaching. He seems to have been in dispute with *Jerome, criticizing the promotion of rigorous *asceticism (*quaestio* 127) and a project of biblical translation that sounds like the *Vulgate (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, V, 14, 4–5); Jerome attacked nameless opponents for just these sorts of critiques (*epp.* 45 and 27). SJL-R

PCBE II/1, Ambrosiaster.
HLL, section 643.
CPL 184–8:
ed. A. Souter (CSEL 50, 1908).
ed. H. Vogels (CSEL 81, 1966–9).
ed. M.-P. Bussières (annotated with FT, SC 512, 2007).
IT (annotated) A. Pollastri (CTP 43, 61 78, 79, 1984–9).
CHECL 307–9 (Hunter).
T. De Bruyn, M.-P. Bussières, S. Cooper, D. Hunter, and S. Lunn-Rockliffe, 'Ambrosiaster Revising Ambrosiaster', *REAug* 56 (2010), 69–91.
O. Heggelbacher, *Vom römischen zum christlichen Recht.Iiuristische Elemente in den Schriften des sog. Ambrosiaster* (1959).
D. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (2007), 130–70.
S. Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology* (2007).
A. Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (1905).
A. Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul* (1927).

amicitia *See* FRIENDSHIP.

Amida (mod. Diyarbakır, Turkey) *City and metropolitan *bishopric of *Mesopotamia. Located on a high plateau commanding the River Tigris, Amida was an essential element in the eastern Roman *frontier and of key importance in Roman–Persian *warfare. *Ammianus Marcellinus gives a vivid eyewitness account of the 73-day siege of Amida by the Persians in 359 and provides topographical information about the 4th-century city. After the loss of *Nisibis to the *Persian Empire in 363, Amida was enlarged to accommodate the newcomers from Nisibis and became the main fortress in the area. The siege and capture of Amida in 502–3 is described in the *Chronicle* of *Joshua the Stylite. In the 6th and early 7th century frequent conflict between the Romans and Persians around Amida is recorded in the church histories of *Zacharias of *Mytilene and *John of *Ephesus, and by *Procopius and his continuators. It was captured by the *Arabs in 639.

The *city gates and walls of Amida are still the city's most important feature, despite the deliberate destruction of two stretches in the 20th century. Procopius records that *Justinian I restored them (*Aed.* II, 3, 27). However, based on analysis of the gates and towers, some scholars claim that *Anastasius I may have undertaken the main reconstruction of the walls. They were considerably rebuilt in the medieval period, but this rebuilding essentially followed the 4th- to 6th-century foundations. The area within them measures about 1.5 km (1 mile) by 1 km between the gates at the

cardinal points. The relative positions of the Late Roman *cardo* and *decumanus* can be deduced. A tetrapylon, a tripyrgion, an amphitheatre, *apotheta* (storebuildings), public *baths, and *aqueducts are recorded in the ancient texts.

John of Ephesus, a native of Amida, gives a firsthand account of Christological disputes in and around the city. His *Lives of Eastern Saints* and other texts mention many churches and *monasteries in and around the city. Those in the close vicinity of the city are the monasteries of John Urtaya (John of Ephesus' own monastery), John of *Anzitene, Ar'a Rabtha, Zuqnin, Mar Giln, Mar Mama and Kalesh, Hawronyotho, the Monastery of Lepers, and the Monastery of Tella-d-tuthe. The churches recorded in the city are those of the *Forty Martyrs, S. Thomas, Mar Ze'ora, S. John the Baptist, Beth Shila, and the Great Church of Amida. Some of these names may refer to the same church or monastery. There were also five monasteries within the city.

The Great *Mosque of Amida, located in the centre of the city, has a courtyard surrounded by *façades, three of which incorporate Late Antique *spolia. Some scholars identify the structure that was there with the Church of S. Thomas, which it is claimed was built by *Heraclius when he recovered the city in 628 after 26 years of Persian occupation. The Church of Mar Cosmas at Amida was located in the south-west quarter of the city and was destroyed completely in 1930, leaving only a box of *opus sectile wall fragments which are now in the store of the Diyarbakır museum. This church was recorded by Gertrude Bell in 1911.

The best-preserved church in Amida is that of the Virgin *Mary (el 'Adhra), which is today the seat of the *Syrian Orthodox Bishop of Diyarbakır. It is an aisled *tetraconch church, of which only the *apse and parts of the outer ambulatory wall survive. The style of the architectural *sculpture in the apse is typical of 6th-century sculpture in the region. The so-called Church of S. George, located in the Citadel of Amida, is a confusing building which some scholars identify as a *Nestorian church and others as an Islamic foundation. This building is now being restored to be converted into a museum. EKK

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 164–95.

Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur 'Abdin*.

A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (1940).

M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski (eds.), *Amida: matériaux pour l'épigraphie et l'histoire musulmanes du Diyar-bekr* (1910).

J. Crow, 'Amida and Tropaeum Trajani: A Comparison of Late Antique Fortress Cities on the Lower Danube and Mesopotamia', in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, 435–55.

C. Mango and M. Mango, 'Inscriptions de la Mésopotamie du Nord', *TM* 11 (1991), 465–71.

Greatrex and Lieu.

S. Ashbrook-Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (1990).

Amiens (*civitas Ambianorum*: dép. Somme, France) An important Roman military base in *Belgica Secunda, situated at the junction of a ford across the Somme River and the intersection of *roads linking the *harbour of Boulogne (Gesoriacum) with *Lyons (Lugdunum) and the upper Rhine *frontier. The settlement contracted significantly in the 3rd century; some 20 ha (*c.*50 acres) of it was walled between the late 270s and 336, when S. *Martin of *Tours famously donated half of his cloak to a pauper at its gate (*Sulpicius Severus, *VMartini* 3, 1). It had a *bishop by the mid-4th century, but the early history of its church is otherwise legendary. Its continuing importance, presumably for military reasons, was noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XV, 11, 10). The mint of Amiens (Ambianum, mint mark AMB) operated during the revolt of *Magnentius (350–3), during which it struck coins for Magnentius and *Decentius, and for *Constantius II and *Gallus immediately thereafter. *Valentinian I based himself at Amiens in 367. In the early 5th century barbarian invaders overran the *city, which eventually came under *Frankish rule. Its subsequent history is obscure, although *Gregory of *Tours noted an oratory there dedicated to S. Martin (*VMartini* 1, 17).

RVD; STL; RRD

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 14 (2006), 143–53.

E. Frézouls, *Les Villes antiques de la France*, vol. 1: *Belgique* (1982), 7–106.

Coquelet, *Capitales*.

Ammaedara City in southern *Zeugitana, *Africa. The *theatre was improved under the *Tetrarchy. Six churches were constructed in the 4th to 7th centuries. The largest is probably of the late 4th/5th century. Another, dedicated to the *martyrs of the Great *Persecution, was built in the 4th century in the eastern necropolis. *Epitaphs of three notables of the *Vandal period survive, two holding office as **flamen*, one as *sacerdotalis* of the *province of Africa. A fort, incorporating a church, was built over the city centre under *Justinian I. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 64–8.

N. Duval, 'Topographie et urbanisme d'Ammaedara', in *ANRW* II.10.2 (1982), 633–71.

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 179–81.

Amman (ancient Philadelphia) A Hellenistic foundation, capital of modern Jordan but a minor provincial centre in Late Antiquity. It gained importance

under the *Umayyads, who built a network of *palaces in the surrounding region including one constructed *c.*720 on the natural citadel of the acropolis (mod. Jebel al-Qal'a). This complex was expanded under the *Caliph *Hisham (724–43) and is believed to have been the regional administrative centre until 750. EL

K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (rev. edn. by J. W. Allan, 1989).

I. Arce, 'The Palatine City at Amman Citadel: The Construction of a Palatine Citadel under the Umayyads II', in Bartl and Moaz, *Residences, Castles, Settlements*, 183–216.

Ammianus Marcellinus (*c.*330–*c.*395) The last great *Latin historian in the classical manner, author of the *Res Gestae* in 31 books, from the death of Nerva (AD 98) until the Battle of *Adrianople and the death of *Valens (378). Books I–XIII are lost; the remaining books contain a very detailed description of the events from 353 to 378. By choosing the death of Nerva as his starting point, Ammianus presents himself as the continuator of Tacitus. A comparison of the period covered by the first thirteen books (*c.*250 years) and that treated in Books XIV–XXXI (25 years) shows that Ammianus started his work with a rapid survey of the earlier imperial period. Barnes (23–31) has proposed that Ammianus' work originally comprised 36 books, of which the first eighteen are lost and the second eighteen survive.

Origins and military career

The traditional identification of the historian with 'Markellinos', a fellow citizen of *Antioch whom *Libanius congratulates in his *ep.* 1063 on his literary successes at *Rome, is challenged by Fornara, but defended by Matthews. Nevertheless, the many casual remarks about Antioch and its environment reveal a familiarity with that *city which suggests that Ammianus spent at least part of his life there. Apart from this disputed item and an observation by the 6th-century **grammaticus* *Priscian about a verb form in 'Marcellinus', all we know about Ammianus stems from his own writings.

In the *sphragis* of his work (XXXI, 16, 9) Ammianus calls himself 'a former soldier and a Greek'. He served in the elite corps of the **protectores domestici*, from which *army commanders and even some *emperors were recruited. He was attached to the staff of the general *Ursicinus (XIV, 9, 1), whom he greatly admired. With him he travelled from Antioch to the *court in *Milan and from there to *Cologne on a mission to eliminate the *usurper *Silvanus. Still serving under Ursicinus, he took part in the war in *Mesopotamia against the Persian Shah *Shapur II during the years 357–9. Ammianus lived through the siege of *Amida and barely escaped to Antioch (XVIII, 4–XIX, 9). Ursicinus was blamed for the fall of Amida and was cashiered. In 363, Ammianus took part in *Julian's Persian campaign, after which his military career came to an end.

The Res Gestae

Ammianus tells his readers repeatedly and with pride that his native language is *Greek; Barnes contends that 'Ammianus thought in Greek' (viii). His command of *Latin, however, is impressive and his vocabulary shows a thorough knowledge of his Roman predecessors in the genre. In both respects he resembles his younger contemporary, the poet *Claudian. He studied authors like *Pliny the Elder, Gellius, and Solinus and inserted digressions into his work about the geography of various parts of the world and natural phenomena such as the rainbow (XX, 11, 26–30). His favourite authors, however, are Cicero and *Vergil. By contrast, Ammianus' knowledge of classical Greek literature, including Herodotus and Thucydides, appears superficial. Only *Homer is mentioned fairly often, three times with a literal quotation. In his digressions Ammianus flaunts the names of ancient Greek philosophers, but it is clear that he had no direct knowledge of their work.

The question of Ammianus' historical sources is complicated. After Thompson (1947) it was the common view that Ammianus—as he says himself in XV, 1, 1—relied mainly on his personal experiences and on oral information from contemporary witnesses. The many verbal resemblances, however, between his work and those of Libanius, *Zosimus, and *Zonaras suggest that Ammianus' use of written sources was more extensive than he declared in that programmatic statement.

Ammianus wrote his *Res Gestae* in Rome. He is full of admiration for the tough forefathers of the Roman Republican period and for the greatness of the ancient capital, which he calls *urbs aeterna* and *venerabilis*. He provides an almost complete list of holders of the office of *Praefectus Urbi for the years 353–74; their prefectures are briefly characterized in separate chapters. About Rome's citizens he speaks scathingly in two satirical sketches of Roman life and manners (XX, 6 and XXVIII, 4). Ammianus obviously felt himself an outsider in Rome. The latest allusions in his work to datable events refer to the early 390s.

The central figure in the *Res Gestae* is the Emperor Julian. In Books XV–XXI the attention is still divided between Julian's achievements as the *Caesar in *Gaul and the campaigns of *Constantius II Augustus on the Danube *frontier and in Mesopotamia, but after his proclamation as *Augustus and the death of Constantius it is Julian alone who dominates the scene. At the beginning of his report on Julian's military operations

Ammianus announces that his report will be truthful, but at the same time almost like a *panegyric in its subject matter (XVI, 1, 3). Indeed, Julian proved to be a surprisingly competent military commander. His greatest success in Gaul came during the campaign of 357, when he defeated a coalition of seven *Alaman kings under Chnodomar in the Battle of *Strasbourg (XVI, 12), the high point both in Julian's career as Caesar in Gaul and in Ammianus' account of these years.

Julian had been baptized and brought up as a Christian, but at the age of 20 he secretly renounced Christianity. As soon as he became sole ruler after Constantius II's death, he no longer made a secret of his return to *paganism. During his stay in *Constantinople he started reopening *temples and restoring *sacrifice on a grand scale (Book XX). Julian's Persian expedition, described in Books XXIII–XXV, was an unmitigated disaster. During the retreat of the Roman army along the Tigris, Julian died in battle at the age of 33.

To Ammianus the failure of the campaign and the premature death of his hero must have been a personal tragedy. It is evident, if only from his digression on *divination in XXI, 1, 7–14, that he himself was also a pagan, but that was not the main reason why he held Julian in such high esteem. Indeed, when Ammianus permits himself to criticize Julian (XXV, 4, 16–21), he denounces his religious practice and his anti-Christian measures, stating that his excesses in sacrificing and divination were more characteristic of **superstitio* than of true *religio*, and strongly condemning his ban on the teaching of classical literature by Christian professors. This is not to deny that there are instances of anti-Christian innuendo in the *Res Gestae*, but Ammianus does not judge his characters solely according to their religion. In his opinion, Julian, as successful army commander, honest judge, and dedicated ruler, embodied the four cardinal virtues (XXV, 4, 1). Had he been as successful in the East as he had been in Gaul, peace would have been assured in the whole Empire.

Books XXVI–XXXI deal with the *Pannonian emperors, represented by *Valentinian I and his brother Valens. The programmatic statement at the beginning of Book XXVI has often been taken to mean that Ammianus originally wanted to end his history with the death of Julian. That interpretation is, however, not cogent. It is more likely that the description of Valentinian I and Valens, who signally failed to live up to the standard of Julian, was intended from the start as a dark contrast to the latter's reign. Although Valentinian I is praised occasionally for his military achievements and for his neutral stance in religious matters (XXX, 9, 5), the Pannonian emperors are portrayed as cruel and vindictive. Both were ultimately responsible for terrible miscarriages of justice in Rome and Antioch (XXVIII, 1 and XXIX, 1).

The *Res Gestae* lead up to the Battle of Adrianople, the worst defeat of a Roman army since Cannae (XXXI, 13, 19). The choice of this ending shows that Ammianus was fully aware of the importance of the event, and the author lived to see some of the consequences. Still, he rejects the view that the invasion of the *Goths across the Danube was the blackest page in Roman history (XXXI, 5, 11). Ammianus firmly believed that even after Adrianople Rome 'would live (and conquer) as long as there will be men' (*victura dum erunt homines*, XIV, 6, 3). DdH

PLRE I, Marcellinus 16.

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ed. W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (1978).

ed. G. Sabbah, J. Fontaine, et al., copiously annotated with FT, 6 vols. (1978–99).

text (with ET), J. C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (LCL 300, 1935; 315, 1940; 331, 1939).

ET (selected) W. Hamilton (1986).

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J. A. Wagner and C. G. A. Erfurdt, *Ammiani Marcellini quae Supersunt cum Notis Integris Lindenbrogii, Valesiorum et Gronovii*, 3 vols. (1808, repr. in 2 vols. 1975).

P. de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentaries* on Books 14–19 (1935–82), continued by J. den Boeft, J. W. Drijvers (from Book 22 onwards), D. den Hengst, and H. C. Teitler, Books 20–8 (1987–).

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J. W. Drijvers and D. Hunt, eds., *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (1999).

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G. Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (2008).

J. F. Matthews, 'The Origin of Ammianus', *CQ* 44 (1994), 252–69, 328–44.

K. Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1982).

G. Sabbah, *La Méthode d' Ammien Marcellin: recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les* Res Gestae (1978).

E. A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (1947).

Ammō, Mār One of *Mani's earliest disciples, renowned as the founder of Manichaeism in the East. A number of Iranian sources commemorate Mār

Ammō's mission to the Central Asian and Indo-Iranian border territories. He was active in the province of Abarshahr and the city of *Merv. He is said to have conversed with Bagard, the spirit of the East, and converted the local royal families to Mani's teachings. NJBB

EncIran I/9 (1989) *s.n.* Ammo, Mar, 979 (J. P. Asmussen).

H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (1993), 203–6.

Ammon Egyptian desert ascetic and author of the 4th century. According to the **Apophthegmata Patrum*, Ammon (Ammonas) spent fourteen years in *Scetis, travelled to visit S. *Antony the Great at the latter's cave in *Pispir, and eventually became a *bishop. If he is the same person mentioned in **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, 15, which seems likely, he became a disciple of Antony at Pispir and succeeded him as head of the anchoretic colony in AD 356. Fourteen *letters attributed to Ammon, replete with their own particular demonology, offer valuable evidence on the practice of spiritual guidance in the desert. JG

CoptEnc 1 (1991) *s.n.* Ammonas, Saint, col. 113 (L. Regnault).

CPG 2380:

Letters (Syriac), ed. (with LT) M. Kmosko (PO 10, 1913), 567–616.

Letters (Greek), ed. (with FT) F. Nau (PO 11, 1915), 432–64.

ET D. J. Chitty and S. [P.] Brock, *The Letters of Ammonas: Successor of Antony* (Fairacres Publications 72, 1979).

D. Brakke, 'The Making of Monastic Demonology: Three Ascetic Teachers on Withdrawal and Resistance', *CH* 70 (2001), 19–48.

F. Klejna, 'Antonius und Ammonas: Eine Untersuchung über Herkunft and Eigenart der ältesten Mönchtumsbriefe', *ZKTh* 62 (1938), 309–48.

Ammon (4th cent.) Egyptian *bishop. A native of *Alexandria, Ammon became a monk after hearing *Athanasius preach, and from 352 to 355 lived in the Pachomian *monastery of *Phbow. A *letter of *c.*399 preserves vivid reminiscences of Pachomius' successor Theodore. JWH

CoptEnc s.v. Letter of Ammon 5, 1445a–1445b (Veilleux).

CPG 2378: ed. J. G. Goehring (with ET and study), *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism* (PTS 17, 1986).

ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* (SubsHag 19; 1932), 97–121.

ET A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia II: Pachomian Chronicles and Rules* (CSS 46, 1981), 71–109.

Ammonius (*c.*435–between 517 and 526) *Alexandrian *philosopher called 'the greatest commentator who ever lived' by a contemporary (*Damascius, *VIsidori* 57C). He was the son of the philosopher Hermeias and grandson of the *Athenian *Neoplatonist *Syrianus. Having studied with *Proclus, he returned to Alexandria and was appointed to a public chair in the early 470s. There he taught the Neoplatonists Damascius, *Olympiodorus, *John Philoponus, *Simplicius, and *Asclepius of *Tralles, as well as *Zacharias Rhetor, the future *Bishop of *Mytilene, and the doctor Gessius. He is known to have lectured on Plato (Olympiodorus, *Commentary on the Gorgias*, 183, 11), Aristotle, and *Porphyry as well as on *geometry and *astronomy. He was the author of three lost commentaries on Platonic works (Olympiodorus, *Commentary on the Phaedo*, 7, 5; *Commentary on the Gorgias*, 39, 2), a range of Aristotelian commentaries, and a work on the *astrolabe (*Catal. Cod. Astrol.* II, 182). In 488, he responded to an imperial investigation of Alexandrian *schools by reaching an agreement with the *Patriarch of Alexandria, Peter Mongus, to limit his teaching. He kept his publicly funded position as a result, but the terms of the agreement alienated Damascius and some of his colleagues. EW

PLRE II Ammonius 6.

Watts, *City and School*, 204–31.

R. Sorabji, 'Divine Names and Sordid Deals in Ammonius' Alexandria', in Smith, *Philosopher and Society*, 203–14.

Ammon scholasticus (*c.*281–372) Lawyer active in the first half of the 4th century and associated with the Roman government in Upper *Egypt. His family were high-ranking *pagan priests of *Panopolis in the *Thebaid before the triumph of Christianity. Ammon's *archive, dispersed over various *papyrological collections (P. Ammon 1, 2), partly concerns the slaves of his brother *Harpocration, a panegyrist belonging to the imperial *Comitatus who died abroad in 348. There is also a fragment of *Homer. The title *scholasticus* indicates education in *rhetoric, *law, and *philosophy. IA

P. Ammon 1 = ed. W. H. Willis and K. Maresch (with GT), *The Archive of Ammon Scholasticus of Panopolis (P. Ammon)*, 1 (*Pap. Colon.* 26/1, 1997).

P. Ammon 2 = ed. K. Maresch and I. Andorlini (with GT), *Das Archiv des Aurelius Ammon (P. Ammon): Papyri aus den Sammlungen des Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' (Università di Firenze), der Duke University, Durham N.C., und der Universität zu Köln*, 2,A (*Pap. Colon.* 26/2; 2 vols., 2006).

P. van Minnen, 'The Letter (and Other Papers) of Ammon: Panopolis in the Fourth Century A.D.', in Egberts et al., *Perspectives on Panopolis*, 177–99.

Amorium *City and bishopric in the *province of *Galatia, later Galatia II Salutaris (western Turkey). *George Cedrenus (I, 615) states that *Zeno rebuilt Amorium. Excavations (1988–2009, under R. M. Harrison, then C. S. Lightfoot) support the impression of significant urban renewal, with fortifications,

churches, *baths, and public buildings built in the later 5th and 6th centuries. *Inscriptions attest a cult of S. Conon the *martyr and monastic foundations. From the mid-7th century onwards, Amorium rose in importance as headquarters of the *Anatolic *Theme and an archbishopric (8th century). Destroyed in 838 by the *Caliph al-Mu 'tasim, excavations have uncovered important evidence for this event, and for urban life during the so-called 'Dark Ages' of the 7th–9th centuries. EAI

TIB 4 (1984) *s.n.* Amorion, 122–5.

E. A. Ivison, 'Amorium in the Byzantine Dark Ages', in Henning, *Post-Roman Towns 2*, 25–60.

C. S. Lightfoot and E. A. Ivison, eds., *Amorium Reports 3: The Lower City Enclosure—Finds Reports and Technical Studies* (2012).

Amoun of Nitria (d. *c.*353) A pioneer of Egyptian monasticism. Amoun is credited with founding two major *monasteries in lower *Egypt, *Nitria and *Kellia. When Amoun died, S. *Antony the Great, thirteen days' journey away, had a vision of Amoun ascending into heaven (*VAntonii* 60). *The *Historia Monachorum* (22) and *Palladius, *Lausiac History* (8), give accounts of him and the **Apophthegmata Patrum* (Amoun 1) preserves three stories. JWH

CoptEnc 1 (1991) *s.n.* Amun, 119 (L. Regnault).

Harmless, *Desert Christians.*

Amphilochius of Iconium (d. after 394) *Bishop of *Iconium in *Lycaonia, cousin of *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and addressee of *Basil of *Caesarea's Letters on the Canons (*epp.* 188, 199, 217). The writings of his fellow Cappadocian fathers provide information about him; the hagiographies (*BHG* 72–75a) are late and unreliable. Amphilochius was educated and worked as an advocate in *Constantinople before renouncing his secular career for an *ascetic life near *Gregory. He became Bishop of Iconium in *c.*373, and was thereafter a friend and frequent correspondent of Basil. He participated in *councils at Iconium (376), *Side (390), and Constantinople (394), defending *Nicene orthodoxy and attacking over zealous ascetics. His works are mostly lost or fragmentary but some *sermons survive, and also a synodal *letter, and a poem to Seleucus on Christian *education (*CPG* 3230). SJL-R

PLRE I Amphilochius 4.

PCBE III, Amphilochios 1.

CPG 3230–54:

PG 39, 9–130, reprinting A. Gallandius (1770).

ed. C. Datema (CCSG 3, 1978).

CPG 3230: ed. E. Oberg (PTS 9, 1969).

B. Coulie, *Thesaurus Amphilochii Iconiensis* (1994).

K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium. In seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (1904).

Rousseau, *Basil.*

Amphipolis (Greece) Town in the *province of *Macedonia Prima, *c.*4 km from the mouth of the River Strymon, on the *Via Egnatia. The bishopric, probably established in the 5th century, was last attested in 691/2. The Late Antique phase of the larger Classical and Hellenistic *city occupied only the acropolis of the site, protected by a new fortification wall. Churches Alpha, Beta, Gamma, and Delta were three-aisle *basilicas with atria, although the atrium of Gamma stood south of the church. The basilicas, as well as the two-storey hexagonal church also with an atrium, all dating from the mid-5th to mid-6th century, were richly decorated, with floors of *mosaic, *opus sectile, or *marble slabs, evidence for wall mosaics, and marble architectural *sculpture. The excavation of a *pottery kiln and cisterns in a building earlier believed to be the *bishop's residence has cast doubt on that identification. CSS

Ch. Bakirtzis, '*Ανασκαφή Χριστιανικής Αμφίπολης*', *PraktArchEtair* (1996), 533–47.

A. Taddei, 'I monumenti protobizantini dell'acropoli di Amphipolis', *ASAIAtene* 86 (3a ser. 8, 2008), 253–310.

F. Papazoglou, *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (BCH suppl., 16, 1988), 392–7.

N. Zikos, *Amphipolis: Early Christian and Byzantine Amphipolis* (1989).

amphorae *Pottery vessels used for storing and transporting foodstuffs (e.g. oil, wine, salted *fish and **garum*, fruit). By the 4th century amphorae had over 1,000 years of complex development, notably in the East. Stamps typically used on Greek and early imperial Roman amphorae as labelling had given way to formulaic information indicating contents, weight, and *merchants, written in ink. Various shapes were in use.

Certain Byzantine forms, all evolved from older shapes, have come to be recognized as dominant in 4th- to 7th-century *trade—Late Roman Amphora (LRA) 1–7: LRA 1 (Eastern *Cilicia, *Cyprus), carrying *wine, not *olive oil; the globular LRA 2 (*Cos, *Chios, the Argolid - *see* ARGOS AND THE ARGOLID), carrying oil, which exploded in the fortress storeroom at *Dichin on the Danube *frontier; the small Ephesian LRA 3; 'cigar-shaped' LRA 4, associated with the Byzantine wine *presses of *Gaza and Ascalon; its smaller Palestinian cousin LRA 5, and LRA 6, a black fired version from Beth Shan (*Scythopolis); LRA 7, serving the wine presses of middle and upper *Egypt. These classes were not generally traded in the West until the late 4th–5th centuries.

Distribution trends vary and reflect complex supply networks. Archaeological sequences of deposits in ports such as *Carthage, *Rome, *Marseilles, *Tarragona, *Beirut, and *Alexandria permit some relative quantification of traded amphorae, as well as table- and kitchenwares. Whereas LRA 1 can be found in huge quantities

at major ports, LRA 2 is far rarer in the West and the Levant. Both are, however, characteristic of state-organized supply to military sites on the Danube, in the Aegean, and *Greece. The Church, too, played an important role in the distribution of its products, for example from Egyptian *monasteries.

The production of south Spanish (Dressel 20), Tunisian, and Tripolitanian amphorae (Keay; Bonifay) in the 2nd to 4th centuries can be linked to imperial incentives connected with the supply of olive oil to Rome and the armies of the north-west *provinces (the **annona*). Meanwhile, *Spain, Portugal, and *Africa (Tunisia) were just as important, perhaps more so, for their exports in a host of amphora forms carrying dried fish and fish sauce (*garum*), traded by merchants across the Roman world in the 3rd to mid-5th centuries. *Italy also turned to its local wines in this period, carried in flagon-shaped, free-standing vessels. A multitude of Greek and Aegean wines were supplied to their close regional markets in distinctive amphorae (Samian, Cnidian, Cretan, Laconian, Corinthian).

The 5th to mid-6th centuries saw a major increase in exports of Levantine and African amphorae to the West (e.g. in large, cylindrical Keay 62). Aegean Samian and 'Ikarian' amphorae reached certain major western ports (Marseilles, *Naples, *Pisa, *Carthage). *Sinope, on the Black Sea, more specifically supplied *Antioch and the Levantine cities first with its 'carrot' -bodied amphorae and *c.*450–*c.*630 with amphorae imitating LRA 1. *Syria supplied itself and its armies with goods carried in painted globular (Euphrates fortresses) and free-standing forms (e.g. *Apamea).

After the *Byzantine invasion of Africa until the end of the 7th century Tunisian amphorae supplied Byzantine enclaves (*Cartagena, Naples, *Ravenna) in the West as well as non-Byzantine ports (Tarragona, Marseilles) in the western Mediterranean basin, whereas Tunisian exports to the East (primarily the Aegean and *Constantinople) were primarily fine wares and sparse numbers of amphorae, particularly the tiny so-called *spatheia*. After *c.*650 Tunisian amphora exports included a few large forms as before (Keay 8B and 61) and *spatheia*, as well as new, semi-globular forms related to LRA 1 and LRA 2. This latter class was to typify the production of amphorae across the Mediterranean after the fall of Carthage, with the emergence of globular forms of 'Byzantine' style produced in the Aegean, Cyprus, Egypt (LRA 2/13 imitations, as well as Palestinian forms, exported to *Umayyad Beirut), southern Italy (Naples, *Otranto), and perhaps the *Balearic Islands. Again the Church may have played an important role in the production and distribution of these goods. Furthermore, the recycling of Late Roman amphorae, like the ones found in the 7th-century *Yassi Ada *shipwreck (Bodrum) and in Umayyad Beirut, suggests longer use of these containers. PR; JV

CIL XV.

M. Bonifay, *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique* (2004).

S. Keay, *Late Roman Amphorae in the Western Mediterranean* (1984).

D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide* (1986).

LCRW: Conference proceedings with various editors under the title *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean* I (BAR IntSer 1340, 2005), II, 2 vols. (BAR IntSer 1662, 2007), III, 2 vols. (BAR IntSer 2185, 2010) (Conferences); IV, 2 vols. (BAR IntSer 2626, 2014).

P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700: Ceramics and Trade* (2010).

ampullae *See* PILGRIMAGE FLASKS.

'Amr b. al-'As (*c.*580s–*c.*663) Early Muslim military commander and first Islamic governor of *Egypt. 'Amr was born in *Mecca into the Banu Sahm clan of the *Quraysh tribe and was a rich *merchant holding a substantial estate near al-Ta'if. Like most members of the Meccan elite, he initially opposed the early Muslims and fought against them in the Battle of Uhud. Together with *Khalid b. al-Walid and *'Uthman, 'Amr accepted *Islam in 8 AH/629–30. After his conquest of *Oman, which he governed until *Muhammad's death, 'Amr was entrusted with the conquest of *Palestine by the *Caliph *Abu Bakr. In 639, under the latter's successor *'Umar I, 'Amr set out for Egypt, which he had conquered by 643. He founded the military settlement al-*Fustat (Gk. Fossaton, now within modern-day Cairo), built the first *mosque in Africa, and governed the province rather independently. After conflicts with the third caliph, 'Uthman, 'Amr left Egypt for his estates in *Palestine. In the conflict between *'Ali and *Mu'awiya, 'Amr took the latter's side and again became governor of Egypt from 658 until his death. KMK

F. M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (2010).

M. Lecker, 'The Estates of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs in Palestine', *BSOAS* 52 (1989), 24–37.

Amu Darya *See* OXUS, RIVER.

amulet (also phylactery, Gk. *phylakterion*, *sômatophylax*; Lat. *amuletum, adalligare, deligare*) A physical substance, botanical, animal, mineral, attached to a patient, often accompanied by a brief *prayer or incantation, designed to ward off or alleviate a specific complaint, fever, or lesion, as obstetric aids, as a protection

against dangerous reptiles, or to ward off mystical attack, e.g. by child-killing *demons, in the brothel, or in the courtroom.

Later also a written text (various synonyms, including *sphragis*, *sêmeion*, *horkismos*, *exorkismos*) addressed to one or more deities to protect a patient or client from spirit-attack, *witchcraft, or *katadesmoi* (binding *curses). In the case of natural substances, prescriptions were available in handbooks, e.g. Ps.-Apuleius and the first book of the encyclopedic compilation called the *Cyranides*. Graeco-Egyptian and *Jewish practitioners created texts for written phylacteries, most often on precious-metal sheets but occasionally on lead, carried in sealed containers. The finest examples (e.g. *SEG* 41: 1530; 49: 2383) employ *cosmological schemes and lists of obscure divine powers to generate invocatory weight. Jewish divine and *angelic names provide an important secondary source of authority (e.g. *SEG* 14: 593; 53: 1110; 54: 975). Engraved semi-precious *stones form a significant intermediate mode between substances and exclusively verbal amulets; the major literary sources are the Greek Lapidaries (*Lithica*).

Graeco-Egyptian workshops produced thousands of similar amulets for medical and spirit-protection, which circulated widely in the eastern Mediterranean. Jewish material occurs here too—an important late type is the 'Seal of Solomon' pendant, mass-produced in *Syrian workshops. Specifically Christian amuletic gems, which are not common (most are *seal *rings), date from the late 3rd and 4th centuries; apart from the chi-rho symbol, IESOU, and ICHTHUS, the main types are an anchor with two fishes and the *Good Shepherd. RLG

ed. T. Gelzer et al. (ed. comm.), *Lamella Bernensis. Ein spätantikes Goldamulett mit christlichem Exorzismus und verwandte Texte* (1999).

ed. (with comm.) R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze 'Lamellae'*, Part I: *Published Texts of Known Provenance (Pap. Colon. XXII.I)* (1994).

Lithica, ed. R. Halleux and J. Schamp (with FT and comm.), *Les Lapidaires grecques* (^{2}2003).

S. Giannobile, 'Medaglioni magico-devotionali della Sicilia tardo-antica', *JbAC* 45 (2002), 170–201.

Robert, 'Amulettes grecques', in his *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 7 (1990), 465–506.

S. Michel, *Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum*, 2 vols. (2004).

G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008).

J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (2007).

anachoresis (from Gk. *ἀναχωρέω*) An act of retreat or flight, notably the well-documented phenomenon of villagers and farmers fleeing their registered place of residence (*ἰδία*) in order to avoid their responsibility to the fisc. The phenomenon had far-reaching consequences in communities where tax obligations were corporative and fellow villagers could be held accountable for the tax liabilities of those who absconded. It is the subject of occasional *edicta and is documented in *petitions and complaints in *papyri from *Egypt.

In Christian contexts, *anachoresis* designates societal disengagement through withdrawal to a life of *asceticism. RA

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* anachoresis, cols. 119–20 (A. Guillaumont).

A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie, 'Flight and Oppression in Fourth-Century Egypt', in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, 3 vols. (1957), 325–37.

Anagastes Gothic general in the Roman army who fought *Goths and *Huns in *Thrace in 466/7, and in 469 as *Magister Utriusque Militiae killed *Dengizich, son of *Attila. When passed over as *consul for 470, he rebelled, but was reconciled to *Leo I, blaming his revolt on *Ardabur, son of *Aspar. OPN; FKH

PLRE II, Anagastes.

Brian Croke, 'Dynasty and Ethnicity: Emperor Leo and the Eclipse of Aspar', *Chiron* 35 (2005), 147–203.

anagnostes *See* READER.

Anahid A water goddess associated with fertility in *Zoroastrianism, Anahid was extremely popular in the *Persian Empire and in pre-Christian *Armenia, as seen by her symbiosis with Near Eastern and Greek goddesses such as Ishtar, Nanai, and Anaïtis/Athena. Under *Bahram II (r. AD 276–93), the high priest *Kerdir claims in his inscriptions that he controlled two sacred *fires at *Staxr, the Fire of Anahid the Lady, and the Fire of Anahid-Ardashir. She is depicted taking part in the investiture of *Narseh on a *rock relief at *Naqsh-e Rostam. YSDV

EncIran I/9 (1989) *s.n.* Anāhīd, 1003–11 (M. Boyce, M. L. Chaumont, and C. Bier).

J. R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Harvard Iranian Series 5, 1987), 235–60.

G. Herrmann, D. N. Mackenzie, and R. Howell, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-i Rustam, Naqsh-i Rustam 6, The Triumph of Shapur I* (Iranische Denkmäler 13, 1989).

Anamur (Roman Anemurium) *City on the south coast of *Cilicia, 65 km (40 miles) from *Cyprus. Repeated *Isaurian raids instigated enlargement of its walls in *c.*382 by Matronianus, *Comes Isauriae. Residences and industrial installations (including a *lamp industry) encroached on Roman monuments, but new smaller *baths indicate Late Antique prosperity continuing into the 6th century. Although, according to

his apocryphal *Acts*, S. Barnabas visited Anamur, intramural churches paved with *mosaics mentioning donor names appear only in the first half of the 5th century and the first *bishop is attested at the *Council of *Chalcedon (451). Anamur was reduced to a village after a disaster (perhaps an *earthquake) *c.*580 and largely abandoned *c.*660, with only limited activity until the early 8th century. IJ

TIB 5 (1990) *s.n.* Anemurium, 187–91.

J. Russell, 'Anemurium: Eine römische Kleinstadt in Kleinasien', *Antike Welt* 7/4 (1976), 3–20.

Ananias of Shirak (Anania Shirakats'i) (*c.*610–685) Armenian mathematician and cosmographer. Ananias, scion of a noble family from Aneank' in Shirak (in mod. Armenia and Turkey), devoted his life to *mathematics. Disappointed with the lack of knowledge in *Armenia, he spent eight years in the 630s in *Trebizond studying in *Constantinople with Tychicus, a student of the influential *Stephanus of *Alexandria, before taking up teaching in Armenia. He compiled the *K'nnikon*, a systematic introduction to the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, *music, *geometry, and *astronomy), containing both theoretical and practical sections, which became a central text in the educational system in Armenia.

Ananias' 'autobiography' must have been written as the preface to a scholarly work, possibly the *K'nnikon*. Vital information on Ananias' societal context is found in 24 arithmetic exercises which possibly formed part of the *K'nnikon*.

The Catholicos Anastas Akołets'i (661–7) invited Ananias to establish a fixed calendar, resulting in a perpetual calendar based on a 532-year cycle, which however was not implemented.

The *Ašxarhac'oyts'* or *Geography* is ascribed to Ananias. Based on *Ptolemy's *Geography*, Ananias' direct source is *Pappus of Alexandria's *Chronographia Oecumenica* (4th cent.); it adds information on Armenia, *Georgia, and Caucasian *Albania apparently from local sources. A long recension (before 636) and a short one, both abbreviating and expanding on it (after 640, but 7th cent.), are preserved. Yarut'iwnean's recent re-ascription of the *Geography* to *Movses Khorenats'i hinges on dating Movses Khorenats'i and his *History of the Armenians* to the 5th century, a position not generally upheld in Western scholarship.

Ananias composed a number of other scientific treatises as well as theological works. TMvL

T. Greenwood, 'A Reassessment of the Life and Mathematical Problems of Anania Širakac'i', *REArm* 33 (2011), 131–86.

R. H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc'): The Long and Short Recensions* (1992).

J.-P. Mahé, 'Quadrivium et cursus d'études au VIIe siècle en Arménie et dans le monde byzantine d'après le "K'nnikon" d'Anania Širakac'i', *TM* 10 (1987), 159–206.

B. Yarut'iwnean, 'Ašxarhac'oyc'', in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'—Classical Armenian Authors*, vol. 2 (2003), 2123–92.

anaphoras, Syriac *See* LITURGY AND LITURGICAL BOOKS, SYRIAC.

Anastasia *Empress. Aelia Anastasia, wife of *Tiberius II. Excluded from the Palace by the Empress *Sophia while *Justin II lived, she became *Augusta when her husband became *Augustus in 578 and survived him till at least 593. Their daughter married the *Emperor *Maurice. OPN

PLRE III, Anastasia 2.

Anastasia, archive of Flavia Anastasia, daughter of Menas, a one-time *pagarch, was an illustrious (**illustris*) landholder (*geouchousa*) in the *Oxyrhynchite *nome of *Egypt. Her activities are documented in *papyri dating from the last three decades of the 6th century, concentrated between 587 and 595 and housed in various collections in Giessen (especially), Erlangen, Oxford, Columbia, and Ann Arbor. Although it has been known of since 1910, publication of the archive (in truth, a dossier) is still incomplete. JGK

PLRE III, Anastasia 4.

T. M. Hickey, 'Reuniting Anastasia', APf 49 (2003), 199–206.

T. M. Hickey and B. J. Haug, 'The Dossier of Flavia Anastasia, Part One', *BASP* 48 (2011), 99–112.

Anastasiopolis of Lycia *See* TELMESSUS

Anastasius *Magister Officiorum in *Justin II's first year (565), then *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, he was praised in a surviving *panegyric by *Corippus. As a Chalcedonian, Anastasius opposed Justin's briefly implemented pro-*Miaphysite policy, and after the negotiations he conducted on behalf of the *emperor failed, in 571/2, he tried and exiled various Miaphysite *bishops. He is consequently portrayed negatively by the Miaphysite *John of *Ephesus (*HE* 3, II, 29). He seems to have died by 575. OPN; FKH

PLRE III, Anastasius 14.

Cameron, *Corippus*, 123.

Anastasius I Emperor (491–518). Anastasius was born in *Dyrrachium *c.*430. Little is known about his early life, except that he was a candidate to be *Patriarch of *Antioch in 488, and that he was one of the 30 **silentiarii* in the imperial *palace. *Ariadne, widow of *Zeno the *Isaurian, helped select him as emperor in April 491; a month later Anastasius and Ariadne were married. Anastasius exiled the unpopular Isaurians from *Constantinople and sent armies against them in *Isauria. By 498, the principal Isaurians had all been

killed or captured. *Victory was celebrated in *panegyrics by *Priscian and *Procopius of *Gaza, and in poems by *Christodorus of *Coptos (*AnthGraec* II, 398–406 and the lost *Isaurica*).

After the Isaurian war, Anastasius concentrated on financial reform. *Taxation, the *coinage, the land and the *army, bureaucratic procedures, and the judicial system were all made more efficient. Anastasius' 498 *copper coinage reform in many ways represents the beginning of Byzantine coinage. It introduced new denominations: in 498 the large 40 *nummi* coin (**follis*), the half-*follis* and *decannumium*, and in 512 a five-*nummi* and new **nummus*, and stabilized the currency system. This enabled Anastasius to reduce taxation (e.g. by abolishing the **collatio lustralis*) and subsidize building and other activities, but still leave 320,000 pounds of *gold in the treasury at his death. A fragmentary *inscription concerning army regulations and *customs dues, found in several places in *Arabia, indicates Anastasius' concern for effective administration and a strong economy.

Defence and *diplomacy were central to Anastasius' foreign policy. Being in no position to oust the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic ruling in *Italy, Anastasius was content to curb Theoderic's expansionist plans and to form alliances between the Empire and the *Franks and *Burgundians. He built or restored the Long *Walls west of Constantinople in order to control *Bulgar incursions. In the east, he forged an alliance with the powerful *Ghassanids, hoping they would help in the event of Persian attack. When the Persians did invade in 502 they won several easy victories, although the Roman army had some success in later years. A peace treaty was negotiated in 506, and Anastasius strengthened the defences along the eastern *frontier, especially by building *Dara.

Anastasius became increasingly involved in doctrinal debate between *Miaphysites and supporters of the decisions of the *Council of *Chalcedon. He inherited from Zeno the **Henoticon*, a document which sustained an uneasy compromise amongst the eastern patriarchates, and the *Acacian Schism, a split between the Churches of *Rome and Constantinople. Anastasius' own inclination towards Miaphysite views did nothing to promote reconciliation with Rome and led to the deposition of four eastern patriarchs. His seemingly uncompromising stance on Christology was the pretext for rebellions by *Vitalian. However, Anastasius' support for the Miaphysite cause was crucial in maintaining the loyalty of the eastern provinces, particularly important in the face of the Persian threat. He died in 518 and was buried alongside Ariadne in the *Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. FKH; RRD

PLRE II, Anastasius 4.

ed. (with FT) A. Chauvot, *Procope de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée: panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase Ier* (1986).

Alan Cameron, 'The House of Anastasius', *GRBS* 19 (1978), 259–76.

Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I.*

Charanis, *Church and State … Anastasius I.*

B. Croke, 'Poetry and Propaganda: Anastasius I as Pompey', *GRBS* 48 (2008) 447–66.

P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage* (1999).

Greatrex, *RPW.*

Haarer, *Anastasius.*

Meier, *Anastasios.*

D. Motta, 'L'imperatore Anastasio: tra storiografia ed agiografia', *Mediterraneo Antico* 6 (2003), 195–234.

J. Prostko-Prostyński, *Utraeque res publicae: The Emperor Anastasius I's Gothic Policy (491–518)* (1994).

Anastasius II (Artemius) (d. 717 or 719) *Emperor 713–15. Previously Protoasecretis (chief secretary), Anastasius was proclaimed emperor after the deposition of *Philippicus Bardanes. After executing the chief plotters, and potential rivals, Anastasius repudiated his predecessor's *Monotheletism. His reign was dominated by preparation for imminent full-scale *Arab attack. He ordered the restoration of *Constantinople's *walls, the construction of *ships, and the stockpiling of resources. In 715 he dispatched a *fleet, joined with contingents from the *Opsikion, to Rhodes to attack the Arab fleet. The Opsikion detachment rebelled, returned to besiege Constantinople, and proclaimed as emperor a tax-collector who became *Theodosius III. Anastasius retired to a *monastery. Sometime between 717 and 719 Anastasius attempted to regain power aided by the *Bulgars, but they surrendered Anastasius to *Leo III, who had him executed. MTGH

PBE, Anastasios 6.

PmbZ 236.

G. Sumner, 'Philippicus, Anastasius II, and Theodosius III', *GRBS* 17 (1976), 287–94.

Speck, *Kaiser Leon III*, 62–102, 415–41.

Anastasius of Sinai (d. *c.*701) Prolific 7th-century Christian writer, operating in *Egypt and/or *Syria-*Palestine; little is known about Anastasius' life. He was a strident *Chalcedonian, and wrote several *sermons and theological tracts attacking *Miaphysitism and *Monotheletism. His *Questions and Answers* reveals much about the quotidian concerns of ordinary Christians, pluralism in religious practice, and broader cultural changes. In particular, there are repeated questions over bodily and spiritual *purity, and the significance of the *Arab conquests. MTGH

Quaestiones et Responsiones, ed. M. Richard and J. A. Munitiz (CCSG 59, 2006).

ET (with introd. and notes) J. A. Munitiz (CCT 7, 2011).

Viae Dux, ed. (with comm.) K.-H. Uthemann (CCSG 8, 1981).

Sermones Duo, ed. K.-H. Uthemann (CCSG 12, 1985).
J. Haldon, 'The Works of Anastasius of Sinai', in Cameron and Conrad, eds., *BEINE* I: *Literary Source Material*, 107–47.
J. A. Munitiz, 'Anastasius of Sinai's Teaching on Body and Soul', in James, *Desire and Denial*, 49–56.

Anatolia The peninsula of Asia Minor, divided in Late Antiquity between the *Dioeceses of *Asiana and *Pontica, was one of the wealthiest and most densely populated parts of the Late Roman world. Survey work at *Sagalassos, *Aezani, and in parts of *Lycia has revealed a flourishing Late Roman rural *landscape, a picture vividly confirmed by the 6th-century *saint's life of S. *Nicholas of Sion and the early 7th-century life of S. *Theodore of *Sykeon. Thanks in part to the development of the *Pilgrims' Road across the peninsula, the 4th and 5th centuries were a period of particular prosperity in inner Anatolia (*see* ANKARA; CAPPADOCIA). The character of *city life in Late Roman Anatolia has been much debated; recent work has emphasized the continuing vitality of large urban centres (*Ephesus, *Pergamum, *Sardis, *Aphrodisias, and others) well into the 5th century. The causes of 6th- and 7th-century urban decline, often attributed to the Justinianic *Plague of 541/2 and the impact of the 7th-century *Persian invasion and the *Arab conquest of the Levant, remain controversial. PJT

S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* I–II (1993).
P. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien* (2007).
O. Dally and C. Ratté, eds., *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity* (2011).

Anatolia, local languages of The only local languages of *Anatolia that competed with *Greek in the written sphere between AD 250 and 750 were *Armenian and (possibly) Phrygian. Neo-Phrygian funerary *inscriptions were produced in central Anatolia in the first three centuries AD, but whether any of them postdates 250 is uncertain. About one half of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions display code-switching with Greek, and the common association of Phrygian with *curse formulae suggests that it was the less prestigious language in this *bilingual environment. The *Armenian alphabet was created in the 5th century AD, and Armenian literacy steadily developed in eastern Anatolia in the centuries to follow.

We have anecdotal evidence about the preservation of several more vernacular languages in the oral sphere. Thus *Basil of *Caesarea (AD 329–78) informs us that *Cappadocians were saved from a certain *heresy because their language did not distinguish between 'with' and 'and' (PG 32, 208). According to *Jerome (d. 420) Celtic was still spoken in *Galatia in his lifetime (PL 26, 357). S. Auxentius of *Bithynia (5th century) is said to be 'barbarian in language' on account of his *Mysian background (PG 114, 1428). When the mere name of S. *Symeon Stylites the Younger (AD 521–92) cured an *Isaurian paralytic, his compatriots issued cries of joy in their own language (Holl, 243). A *Lycaonian *exorcized at the tomb of S. Martha, mother of S. Symeon, went on telling others about his cure accompanied by an interpreter (*AASS*, Maii V, 418–19). IL

Pedro Bádenas de la Peña, 'La diversidad étnica y lingüística en Bizancio', in P. Bádenas et al., eds., *Lenguas en Contacto: el testimonio escrito* (2004).
K. Holl, 'Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in Nachchristlicher Zeit', *Hermes* 43/2 (1908), 240–54.
R. Woodard, ed., *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor* (2004).

Anatolic Theme Element of the *theme system, descended from the army of the *Magister Militum per *Orientem and first attested in 669, the Anatolic was one of the original Anatolian themata. Encompassing central, eastern *Anatolia, its *Strategos was resident at *Amorium. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *History*, 723–43.
TIB 4, 63–6.

Anatolius As *Magister Utriusque Militae per *Orientem 433–*c.*446, Anatolius constructed the key fortress of *Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) and in 441 defended the *frontier against the Persians. Later (in 443, 448, and 450) he went on embassies to the *Huns (*Priscus, frs. 5, 8, and 13–14). A correspondent of *Theodoret and benefactor of the church at *Edessa and *Antioch, he was senior imperial commissioner at the Council of *Chalcedon in 451. OPN

PLRE II, Anatolius 10.

Anatolius of Beirut (4th cent.) Agricultural writer. Vindonius (Vindanius in *Photius cod. 163) Anatolius of Berytus, uncertainly identified with the *jurist Anatolius (*PLRE* I, Anatolius 3), was the author of *Sunagōgē geōrgikōn epitēdeumatōn*, which survives in *Greek only as fragments or incorporated into compendia (*Geoponica and *Hippiatrica). It was translated into *Syriac. An *Arabic version (*Kitab al-Filaha* of Yūniūs) preserves the author's name and much of his format. Not to be confused with the 6th-century *Beirut jurist (*PLRE* IIIA, Anatolius 3) who helped compose the *Digest. RR

For edition of text see *Hippiatrica*, *Geoponica.*
RE 1.2 (1894) *s.n.* Anatolius 14, 2073, (M. Wellmann).
GEDSH, 173, *s.v.* Geoponika (Brock).
C. Scardino, *Anatolius Arabicus. Die Rezeption griechischer Fachliteratur am Beispiel der Landwirtschaft* (Habilitation Marburg, 2012).
McCabe, *Horse Medicine*, 71–97.

Anaunian Martyrs Three clerics, Sisinius, Martyrius, and Alexander, who were martyred in northern *Italy in 397. The priests were nominally under the influence of *Vigilius, *Bishop of Tridentum. When they arrived in the supposedly wild region, they attempted to build a church. Local pagans responded by burning them in front of a statue of Saturn. Their ashes were sent by Vigilius to Simplicianus of *Milan and *John Chrysostom along with *letters that narrated their passion (*epp.* 1–2, = PL 13:549–58; *BHL* 7794–5). *Maximus of Turin delivered two *sermons on the festival of these saints which blame superstition among the uneducated more than any organized *paganism (Maximus, *Sermons*, 105–6). RJM

L. Chaffin, 'The Martyrs of the Val di Non: An Examination of Contemporary Reactions', *SP* 10 (1970), 263–9.

R. Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', *JRS* 80 (1990), 156–73.

Anazarbus (mod. Anavarza) Ancient *city and metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda, also known as Justinianopolis. The city walls are comparable to the Theodosian fortifications of *Constantinople. The Church of the Apostles is outstanding for a passage around the *apse and an eclectic reuse of varied ancient ornaments. There is a tetrafoil building which may also be a church. PhN

TIB 5 (1990) *s.n.* Anazarbos, 178–85.

I. Engelmann and P. Niewöhner, 'Bauen nach der Krise. Die Spoliengalerie an der Apsis der Apostelkirche von Anazarbos', in Kreikenbom et al., *Krise und Kult* (2010), 109–37.

R. Posamentir, 'Anazarbos in Late Antiquity', in Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor*, 205–24.

Anbar *See* PEROZ-SHAPUR.

Anchialus (mod. Pomorie, Bulgaria) Principal *city of the *province of *Haemimontus, set on a rocky peninsula on the west coast of the Black Sea, north of Burgas. *Procopius (*Aed.* III, 7, 18–19) noted warm healing springs and fortification by *Justinian I. CSS

TIB 6 *Thrakien* (1991), 175–7.

V. Gjuzelev, 'Anchialos zwischen der Spätantike und dem frühen Mittelalter', in R. Pillinger et al., eds., *Die Schwarzmeerküste in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter* (1992), 23–33.

Ancyra *See* ANKARA.

Andabilis (later Eski Andaval, mod. Aktaş near Niğde, Turkey) **Mansio* on the *Pilgrims' Road between *Sasima and *Tyana, on an *estate which the *Bordeaux Pilgrim (577, 5–6) says produced *horses for chariot racing. A small 6th-century three-aisled *basilica with massive masonry, a polygonal *apse, and, originally, a timber roof was later given a barrel vault and Byzantine wall paintings. Its deterioration since Gertrude Bell's visit in 1909 has been arrested by restoration and excavation directed by M. Sacit Pekak. OPN

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981), 140–1.

Restle, *Architektur Kappadokiens*, 36–42 and plates 46–58.

al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) Name for Muslim-ruled territory in the Iberian Peninsula between the *Arab conquest of 711 and the fall of Granada in 1492. NC

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'al-Andalus', 486–503 (Latham, Colin, Balbás, Lévi-Provençal).

NCHIslam, vols. 1 and 2.

Andarin *See* ANDRONA.

Andarzbad (MP: Chief Councillor, Chief of Staff; NP Darandarzbad) Attested in *inscriptions, on *seals, and in literary sources, the Andarzbad who served the Shahanshah seems to have been one of the highest-ranking functionaries of the *Sasanian court hierarchy, but *andarzbad*s are also attested for the queen's court, for priests, the equestrian class, *cities (e.g. Ardaxshir-Xwarrah), and provinces (e.g. *Sagastan). AZ; JWi

***andarz* literature** Middle *Persian compilations offering advice (*andarz*) about proper behaviour, whether in the form of *Zoroastrian religious precepts, counsel about ethics and good manners, or information about the good things of life, such as *chess, good food and *wine, *hunting, and *polo.

The learned *andarz* incorporated into the sixth book of the **Denkard* is anonymous, but other sets of sayings are often fathered on great royal or religious figures of the past, or incorporated into framing stories concerning them. The gnomic advice attributed to *Adurbad-i Mahraspand in two collections of sayings, one addressed to his son, the other from his deathbed to people at large, advocates frugality, happiness, and the regulation of life in accordance with the rhythms set by the Zoroastrian calendar. The short work *King Khosrow and his Page* (*Kusraw ī Kawādān ud rēdak-ēw*) offers insight into the pleasures and expecations of *court life, including fine wine, fine women, and fine *horses.

After the *Arab conquest of Iranshahr sayings about Zoroastrian belief and practice were collected in compilations such as the *Chitak Handarz-e Poryotkesan* (*Selected Precepts of the Ancient Sages*) in order to sustain Zoroastrian practice and belief. *Andarz* literature enjoyed considerable attention among the Muslim conquerors; courtiers of the *'Abbasid caliphate found the Sasanians congenial models of culture and manners, so many of these works were later translated, more or less modified and redacted, into *Arabic and later also into New Persian. Early Arabic *adab* literature relied heavily both on

Persian handbooks of general etiquette and on more political mirrors of princes that combined ethical with political advice. The *Ayadgar-ī Wuzurgmihr ī Bōtagān*, a collection of sayings attributed to *Bozorgmihr, minister of *Khosrow I, survives both in the original Pahlavi and in an early *Arabic translation, and receives the ultimate accolade of appearing, in a verse adaptation, in Ferdowsi's great epic, the *Shahnameh* (*Book of Kings*). OPN

EncIran II/1 (1985) *s.v.* andarz, i. Andarz and Andarz Literature in Pre-Islamic Iran, 11–22 (S. Shaked).
EncIran I/4 (1983) *s.v.* adab: ii. Adab in Arabic Literature, 439–44 (Ch. Pellat).
EncIran (2014) *s.n. Kusraw ī Kawādān ud rēdak-ēw* (M. Moazami).
EncIran V/5 (1991) *s.n. Chidag Andarz i Poryotkeshan*, 559–60 (M. Shaki).
EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.n. Ayadgar-ī Wuzurgmihr* 127–9 (S. Shaked).

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ed. (with NP trans.) Khudâyâr Dastur Shaharyâr Irani, *The Pahlavi Texts: Containing Andarz-î Âdarbad Mâraspandân, Andarz-î Vêhzâd Farkho Fîrûz, Andarz-î Khûsrû-i Kavâdân, Mâdigân-î Chatrang, and Kârnâmak-î Artakshtar-î Pâpâkan* (1899).
Denkard, VI: ET Shaked, *Wisdom*.
Adurbad-i Mahraspand:
ed. (with NP trans.), Khudâyâr Dastur Shaharyâr Irani, *The Pahlavi Texts: Containing Andarz-î Âdarbad Mâraspandân, Andarz-î Vêhzâd Farkho Fîrûz, Andarz-î Khûsrû-i Kavâdân, Mâdigân-î Chatrang, and Kârnâmak-î Artakshtar-î Pâpâkan* (1899).
ET Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, 101–10 and 110–16.
Kusraw ī Kawādān ud rēdak-ēw:
ed. (annotated with ET) J. M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi Text 'King Husrav and his Boy'* (doctoral thesis, Heidelberg, 1921).
Chidag Andarz i Poryotkeshan:
ed. J. M. Jamasp-Asana, *The Pahlavi Texts Contained in the Codex MK II*, 41–6.
ed. (with ET) M. F. Kanga, *Čītak Handarž i Pōryōtkēšān. A Pahlavi Text* (1960).
ET R. C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi*, 20–8.
Ayadgar-ī Wuzurgmihr:
ed. (with ET) J. C. Tarapore, *Pahlavi Andarz Nāmak* (1933), 38–57.

Andelot, Treaty of Agreement of 28 November 587 between the *Frankish King *Guntram and his nephew *Childebert II (and Childebert's mother *Brunhild) establishing friendship between their kingdoms and intended to settle quarrels between them, some of which went back to the death of *Chlothar I in 561. In particular the treaty dealt with the allegiance of *civitates* (and parts thereof), in dispute since the death of *Charibert in 567 and complicated by the deaths of *Sigibert I in 575 and *Chilperic in 584; with the failings and rights of royal followers (**leudes*); and with the treatment of royal power, family members, and their property in the event of either king's death, tacitly excluding the claims of the infant *Merovingian *Chlothar II. The text of the treaty is given by *Gregory of Tours (*HF* IX, 20). ACM

Andreas qui et Lausiacus **Cubicularius* who plotted with *Amantius and Theocritus, *Domesticus of Amantius, against *Justin I. They were executed within ten days of Justin's accession and were later deemed *Miaphysite martyrs. OPN

PLRE II, Andreas 10 and *s.v.* Amantius.
Vasiliev, *Justin.*

Andrew of Crete (*c.*660–740) Homilist and hymnographer, best known for his *kanōnes*, multi-stanza *hymns that originated as ornaments to and, subsequently, replacements for the Canon of the Nine Odes (*canticles) sung during the morning Office (Orthros). Although the tradition of attributing to him the invention of the genre is probably exaggerated, his *kanōnes* helped establish the nascent genre. His best-known work is the 'Great Kanōn' of 250 stanzas, the longest in the genre. AJH

PmbZ 362.
PBE, Andreas 3 *CPG* 8170–219: ed. in PG 97, 1305–444.
Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 500–2.
S. Harris, 'The "Kanon" and the Heirmologion', *Music & Letters* 85 (2004), 175–97.

Andriace (Andriake) The ancient *harbour of *Myra in *Lycia and a veritable town in Late Antiquity. The *agora features in the *Life* of S.*Nicholas of Sion and was home to large-scale production of *purple *dye. *Baths, a large *house, five churches, and a minute ring of walls also date from Late Antiquity, after which the site seems to have been given up, possibly due to Arab raids and/or silting up of the harbour. PhN

E. Akyürek, 'Andriake: The Port of Myra in Late Antiquity', in *Trade in Byzantium*, eds. P. Magdalino and N. Necipoğlu (2016), 465–87.
P. Niewöhner, 'Andriake in byzantinischer Zeit', in M. Seyer, ed., *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra*, Akten des internationalen Symposions Wien, 3.–5. Dezember 2009 (Forschung in Limyra 6, 2012), 223–40.

Androna (Arabic al-Andarin) Ancient *village north-east of *Hama in *Syria. Androna is an important example of a large, fortified Late Antique *village (Gk. *kōmē*). It is first mentioned as a *mansio* (stopping place) between *Palmyra and *Chalcis in the late 3rd century AD, but it developed into a more substantial settlement

with distinctly urban characteristics, covering about 160 ha (395 acres). Located on the fringes of the desert, the site was well provided with *water through extramural reservoirs and a system of underground canals (*qanat*).

Most of the *Greek monumental *inscriptions are from the 6th century, and help to date structures such as the *kastron* (558–9) and the lavishly appointed *bath-house (*c.*560). The intramural churches, *martyrium, and *stylite column all indicate the dominant presence of Christianity in Late Antique Androna. Occupation continued into the early Islamic period, although the conversion of part of the main baths into a *pottery kiln suggests some degree of urban transformation. The settlement is described as a ruin in the 13th century. MCM

Marlia Mango, 'Excavations and Surveys at Androna, Syria: The Oxford Team 1999', *DOP* 56 (2002), 307–15.

Marlia Mango, 'Baths, Reservoirs and Water Use at Androna in Late Antiquity and the Early Islamic period', in Bartl and Moaz, *Residences, Castles, Settlements*, 73–88.

C. Strube, 'Androna/al Andarin. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagnen in den Jahren 1997–2001', *ArchAnz* (2003), 25–115.

Anecdoton Crameri A fragment of a Paris manuscript (*Codex Parisinus graecus 1555*, fols. 7r–23r) containing extracts from a lost *Ecclesiastical History* discovered and published by Oxford don John Anthony Cramer in volume 2 of *Anecdota Parisina Crameri.* Cramer was the first to publish a wide range of Greek manuscripts from Oxford libraries and the Royal Library at Paris. This fragment belongs to an early 7th-century epitome of *Theodore Lector (Anagnostes) *HE* but was extended anonymously from 527 to 615. BC

ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Parisina Crameri*, vol. 2, 87, 6–111, 31.

G. C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte* (GCS NF 3, ^{2}1995), XXV–XXXIX.

Anecdoton Holderi (between 522 and 538) More properly *Origo Generis Cassiodororum*, an excerpt of *c.*200 words from *Cassiodorus' memoirs, named after A. Holder, who discovered it in a 10th-century Karlsruhe manuscript (Cod. Augiensis 106 fol. 53v; cf. Reims 975). Dedicated to Rufius Petronius Nicomachus (*consul 504), it contains valuable details about *Symmachus (**patricius*, *philosopher, author of a seven-book Roman history), his son-in-law *Boethius (particularly his theological interests), and Cassiodorus' own life and work. SAHK

CPL 909.

ed. H. Usener (1877).

ed. T. Mommsen (MGH Auct. Ant. 12, 1894), v–vi.

ed. (annotated) J. J. O'Donnell, in O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 259–66.

ET (annotated) S. J. B. Barnish, *Selected Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* (TTH 12, 1992), xxxv–xxxvi.

angaria Largest class of wagon of the *Cursus Publicus (*CTh* VIII, 5, 4), drawn by oxen with a maximum load of 1,500 Roman pounds (492 kg). The *Latin word *angaria* (cf. Gk. ἀγγαρεία) denotes a compulsory public *service in connection with transport (as in *papyri, **Digest* L, 5, 10, 2: *angariorum praestatio*; cf. *angariare* = to requisition). The meaning originated with the courier services of the Persians (ἀγγαρήιον, Herodotus, Xenophon). In the post-Roman world *angaria* means any compulsory service (cf. possible later inclusion of the words περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν into the title of *Libanius, *Oration* 50 see Norman, Loeb edition, 1977, 57). AKo

A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (2000), 17, 50–1, 214–16.

angels Spiritual beings. Most cultures have believed in beings intermediary between the divine and the human. In the classical world such beings were most commonly called *daimones*, in the scriptures they are called angels (*aggeloi*), though several other names are used as well: seraphim, cherubim, thrones, principalities, archangels, powers, authorities, etc. Philo comments that what Moses (i.e. the Old Testament) calls angels, other philosophers call *daimones* (*On Giants*, 2, 6). The word *aggelos* means 'messenger', and in classical sources both Hermes and Iris are called 'angels' (or sometimes *euaggeloi*: 'good angels'). Angels, and such spiritual beings generally, are understood to communicate between God (or the gods) and human beings, carrying petitions from the human to the divine and bringing blessings (or sometimes *curses) from the divine to the human. In the scriptures, such heavenly beings constitute the court of heaven, engaged in perpetual *praise of God. In the Christian *liturgy, those who take part are understood to join together with these spiritual beings as they worship God: the *hymn of *acclamation known as the Sanctus (based on Isa. 6: 3) is introduced by reference to 'thousands of Archangels, and tens of thousands of Angels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim, six-winged and many-eyed, soaring aloft upon their wings' (*Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom), with whom the Church on earth joins in its worship. Various attempts were made, by both Christians and *Neoplatonists, to order these celestial beings in ranks, the most influential being that found in the *Corpus* associated with *Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite with three ranks of three (in descending order): Seraphim–Cherubim–Thrones, Dominions–Powers–Authorities, Principalities–Archangels–Angels (Gk.: Archai–Archaggeloi–Aggeloi). The Areopagite's

ordering betrays Neoplatonic influence, the 3 × 3 arrangement going back to *Porphyry.

Apart from the involvement of angels in the Christian liturgy, some celestial beings also became the focus of devotion, mostly associated with *miracles believed to be performed by them. One of the most famous in Byzantium was the cult of S. Michael, associated with the miracle at Chonai in*Phrygia, where an attempt to drown a local hermit was thwarted by the archangel's intervention.

Depictions of celestial beings draw on their swift movement (hence, wings) and their depiction in the scriptures, notably Ezekiel's vision (1: 5–21), with its depiction of four living creatures (a tetramorph), with flashing wheels. Archangels, also called *archistrategoi* ('general'), are commonly depicted with *arms and armour, designating their protective role; *Severus of *Antioch objected to such courtly depictions.

Jesus' remark that in heaven there will be no *marriage, but all will be 'like the angels in heaven' (Matt. 22:30), is probably the origin of the notion of the monastic life as the 'angelic life'. For *Evagrius Ponticus, however, the likeness to the angels is manifest in the monk's *prayer for all (*On Prayer*, 40). *See also* DEMONS AND DAEMONS. AL

RAC 5 (1962) *s.v.* Engel, 53–322 (Michl and Klausner), with bibliography.

J. G. L. M. Daniélou, *Les Anges et leur mission d'après les Pères de l'Église* (1952).

E. Muehlberger, *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity* (2013).

G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (TCH 32, 2001).

E. Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln. Stellung und Bedeutung der heiligen Engel im Kultus* (1935), ET by R. Walls, *The Angels and the Liturgy* (1964). E. Muehlberger, *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity,* (2013).

***Angers, Formulary of* (*Formulae Andecavenses*)** The earliest surviving *Frankish collection of *formulae, which derives its name from its frequent references to Angers. It survives only in a late 8th-century manuscript, but contains material datable to the 6th, or at the latest the 7th century. It is valuable for its emphasis on routine local legal procedures regarding persons and property, and the role of the written word within them. It also contains references to the persistence of institutions associated with *archives such as the **gesta municipalia*. TWGF; STL

ed. K. Zeumer in *MGH Leg.* V (1886).

ET A. Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf* (2008).

A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c.500–1000* (2009).

Anglon, Battle of (543) Encouraged by the *plague afflicting Persia, *Justinian I ordered an invasion of *Persarmenia. Thirty thousand men advanced in disorder under a divided command. Assaulting a Persian force of 4,000 entrenched at the mountain stronghold of Anglon, the Romans were heavily defeated. MTGH

*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 24–5.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Modern collective name for a set of Old English historical annals treating early British history. The earliest *Chronicle* entries begin with Julius Caesar's visit to *Britain (55 BC), and continue with sparse references to Roman and Christian history until the arrival of *Germanic tribes in England in the mid-5th century, when the entries become more substantial and regular. The *Chronicle* originated in the kingdom of Wessex in the 9th century as part of a vernacular translation programme initiated by King Alfred and his immediate successors; the *Chronicle* is the earliest continuous vernacular national history in Western Europe. It is not a single uniform text: the 9th-century Wessex prototype dispersed throughout England, and evolved in response to local influences as the text was copied and updated with continuations. As a result, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has a complex manuscript history, falling into several main groups: ms. A (the oldest manuscript, the 'Parker Chronicle'); mss. B and C (Abingdon); ms. D (Worcester); ms. E (the 'Peterborough Chronicle'); ms. F (the 'Canterbury Bilingual Epitome'); mss. G and H. *Chronicle* entries are generally brief, dated notices (e.g. '595: Here *Pope *Gregory sent *Augustine to Britain'), but sometimes expanded into longer entries. Later years sometimes incorporate longer narratives (e.g. of Viking incursions) and Old English *poetry (e.g. *The Battle of Brunanburh*). APS

D. N. Dumville, Simon Keynes, Janet Bately, et al., eds., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* (1983–).

ed with ET: M. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (rev. edn., 1996).

J. Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships* (1991).

Anglo-Saxon (Old English) language and literature The *Anglo-Saxons spoke a Germanic language known to modern scholars as Old English: this was part of a Germanic dialect (or language) continuum which stretched across northern Europe from Schleswig-Holstein through *Frisia and the Netherlands to *Britain. (Traditional linguistic scholarship which places languages in distinct branches would see Old English as part of the West Germanic branch, close to the languages of what is now northern Germany, and particularly close to early Frisian.) Old English is traditionally held to be the form of the English language used until about the 12th century, when some of the inflectional endings began to disappear, and the language

begins to be identified as Middle English. In reality, of course, there may be minimal distinction between what modern scholars identify as late Old English and early Middle English.

The earliest records of Old English are short *inscriptions (usually written in *runes), many of which are difficult to interpret. Moreover, it is usually difficult (or impossible) to ascertain whether the language of such inscriptions represents dialects or idiolects; this in part is what accounts for difficulties in interpretation. More substantial written texts survive from the later 7th century, at which point the range of dialectal variation becomes somewhat clearer, and differences can be perceived between Northumbrian, Anglian/Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish dialects. Anglo-Saxon *law codes were written in the vernacular, in contrast to the *Latin law codes of contemporary continental Germanic societies: laws survive from some 7th- and early 8th-century kings of Kent (*Ethelbert, Hlothere and Eadric, and Wihtræd) and Wessex (*Ine), although these are preserved only in later manuscripts.

Perhaps from the 8th century, choices became more flexible between runic or Roman script for the writing of Old English. In some relatively early contexts (such as the poem on the 8th-century *Ruthwell Cross) there seems to have been a conscious decision to use runes for English and Roman script for *Latin. In contrast, the Franks Casket (the Auzon Casket, now in the British Museum) includes part of a *Latin inscription in runic letters, though it is possible that this was done in error; on S. *Cuthbert's coffin (in Durham), the names of the Evangelists are inscribed in runes.

From the 9th century there is a substantial body of Old English literature, but far less survives from before this time. It is recorded that *Aldhelm composed poetry in the vernacular and that *Bede produced English translations of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and (at least part of) the Gospel of John, but these works no longer survive. One of the earliest-known poems is that attributed to Cædmon, a herdsman at *Whitby who was divinely inspired to compose poems on the events of scripture, according to Bede (*HE* IV, 24), who recorded a Latin version of the *hymn. However, an Old English version of Cædmon's hymn survives in two of the earliest manuscripts of Bede's *HE*. Victorian scholars considered that the Old English poetic versions of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel in a 10th-century illustrated manuscript formerly known as the Cædmon manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11) were the work of Cædmon, but more recent studies have shown that this is not the case.

Similarly, many other poems which were traditionally attributed to this early period are now no longer held to have been composed at such an early date, or their dates of composition are debated. One example is *Widsith*, found in the 10th-century Exeter Book (now Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501): this poem lists kings, heroes, and tribes, many of whom seem to be related to Germanic legends connected with the *Migration Period. The date of the longest Old English poem, **Beowulf*, is likewise the subject of some debate, with suggestions ranging from the late 7th to the early 11th century. It is assumed that most of the written texts which now survive had an oral prehistory, and identifying the relationship between a posited earlier oral composition and the surviving written text is not always easy. The Ruthwell Cross is inscribed with lines of Old English which also form part of *The Dream of the Rood*, and a poem preserved in the 10th-century Vercelli Book (now Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII) illustrates the difficulty with establishing a fixed date for some texts.

In addition to the few surviving Old English texts dating from before the 8th century, there is also a fairly substantial corpus of early Anglo-Saxon Latin literature, influenced by contacts with both Continental and Insular centres. Latin works are usually assumed to be primarily literary compositions, in contrast to the presumed oral origins posited for some Old English texts. The surviving Anglo-Latin corpus encompasses a wide range of genres including poetry, exegesis of the *Bible, *saints' lives, *sermons, histories, *letters, penitential and canonical works, and treatises on subjects such as *grammar, orthography, and poetic *metre. Notable authors include Aldhelm, Bede, and *Boniface; there are a number of anonymous texts such as the *Whitby *Life* of *Gregory the Great (late 7th or early 8th century, perhaps by a female author), or the *Liber Monstrorum* (probably late 7th century, from southern England). Early Anglo-Latin style varies: Bede's historical writing is notable in its clarity of expression, while in contrast the more complex and alliterative style favoured by Aldhelm became popular in some contexts, such as among those connected with the mission of S. Boniface. HFF

M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899* (1996).
P. Pulsiano and E. M. Treharne, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (2008).
M. Godden and M. Lapidge, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (^{2}2013).

Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Saxon England In the 3rd and 4th centuries the threat of attack by *pirates on the east coast of *Britain was sufficiently serious to make necessary a string of fortifications along what was officially termed the *Saxon Shore under the command of a general entitled the *Comes Litoris Saxonici (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*occ.*] XXVIII). However, the first detailed description of the peoples who would later be

known as the Anglo-Saxons appears in *Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae*. Gildas relates that Saxons were invited to Britain (probably in the mid-5th cent.) to protect the inhabitants from the attacks of the *Picts; this story was taken up and amplified by *Bede (*HE* I, 15), who records that three 'tribes' (the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) invaded from the Continent in AD 449 and settled across eastern Britain, gradually (and violently) spreading further west.

The actualities of Germanic migration to Britain from the early 5th century onwards are more complex than what is recorded in these written accounts. They are also difficult to pin down, especially because of the lack of contemporary historical sources. The appearance of a distinctive 'Germanic' material culture in parts of eastern Britain from the early 5th century may be interpreted as evidence of migrants, as may the adoption of different cultural artefacts, norms, or styles, or both of these. The existence of a Germanic language in England, as opposed to a Celtic or Latinate language deriving from earlier British or Romano-British inhabitants, may also be interpreted as evidence for the cultural dominance of Germanic peoples. It is clear, however, that there was some continuity with the British or Romano-British past, particularly in the reuse (or continuing use) of earlier sites. It is clear too that change was much slower in western Britain, and that here *trade with the Mediterranean continued for some time, as did aspects of British or Romano-British culture and language.

Little is known about Anglo-Saxon religious belief prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries towards the end of the 6th century. In 597, Christian missionaries sent by *Gregory I the Great and led by S. *Augustine of *Canterbury arrived at the *court of King *Ethelbert of Kent, where they were allowed to use pre-existing churches (e.g. that of S. *Martin in *Canterbury). A number of early bishoprics were established along the geographical lines suggested by former Roman urban settlements or administrative units, as at Rochester. Gregory's original plan had been to establish an archbishopric at *London at the head of the English Church, but this plan was never realized. In the north of England, Christianization was led by S. *Aidan, *Bishop of *Lindisfarne, and other Irish missionaries from *Iona; during the 7th century the Roman missionary *Paulinus re-established a bishopric at *York.

By the year 700, England was divided into a number of kingdoms and sub-kingdoms, apparently based on population groups; Bede lists a number of kings as having *imperium* over all the territory south of the Humber (later identified in the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as 'Brytenwalda' ['*Bretwalda']), although it is not clear what exactly he meant by this. From the 7th century, kings of Kent (and later Wessex) issued law codes in the vernacular, mainly concerned with issues such as feud and breach of the peace, compensation for injuries, trade, and theft. The 7th century also saw the introduction of *charters as a legal instrument for granting land and privileges, although they were primarily used for providing resources for the Church until the 8th or 9th century.

Anglo-Saxon society was predominantly rural, and early settlements were mainly small and dispersed rather than nucleated: urban settlements of any kind are rare until the late 9th century, although from the late 7th century there were proto-urban trading-places known as 'wics' (such as *Hamwic, modern Southampton) which were often under royal or ecclesiastical control. From this period there are also so-called 'productive sites', which may have been sites of seasonal *trade or markets, perhaps connected with assemblies or attached to religious or royal sites in some way.

Anglo-Saxon England seems to have acted almost as a kind of cultural corridor between *Ireland and the Continent, and this is evident in the numerous influences which are clear in Anglo-Saxon literature, art, and material culture. Books like the *Lindisfarne Gospels, or the treasures in the *Sutton Hoo *ship burial, attest to the breadth of cultural contacts between northern Europe and the Mediterranean (and perhaps beyond), while the importing of books and objects is clear both from historical sources and from the artefacts which survive. Evidence for Anglo-Saxons abroad is found in the *letters of missionaries, records of journeys, or the evidence of **graffiti* in cemeteries in *Rome and at the shrine of S. Michael the Archangel at Monte Gargano in Puglia which show the presence of Anglo-Saxons in these holy places, while Bishop *Willibald travelled as far as *Constantinople. Rome, as the centre of the Western Church, was a particularly important destination for Christian Anglo-Saxons, and Bede's understanding of the English as a nation is firmly based on the Roman mission and the Roman Church.

It is from the 7th century that a distinctive Anglo-Saxon culture is really evident, and from the late 7th or early 8th century that a clear consciousness of English identity appears. While Bede firmly established the concept of the English 'gens' in his *HE*, there is evidence for this too in the writings of S. *Boniface (amongst others). It is clear that both Anglo-Saxon and other authors perceived a connection between English-speaking peoples in Britain and their Continental 'kinsmen'; *Paul the Deacon's reference to *Angli Saxones* may have been intended to draw a distinction between the Saxons in Britain and those on the Continent. The 'Anglo-Saxons' as a unified group are attested only from the late 8th century, and as a political entity they appear first in texts connected with the court of Alfred the Great. The end of the Anglo-Saxon period is

traditionally held to be the Norman Conquest (AD 1066), although in reality Anglo-Saxon culture continued at least to the end of the 11th century. HFF

M. Lapidge et al., *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (^{2}2014).
N. Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (1992).
D. Henson, *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxons* (^{2}2010).
R. Fleming, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400–1070* (2011).
H. Hamerow, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (2012).

angon Spear used by the *Franks for thrusting or throwing (*Agathias, II, 5, 3–9). The barbed hooks on the spearhead made this nasty weapon difficult to extract if embedded in the body or shield of a foe. It is archaeologically quite rare, and associated with high-status burials. EM

RGA$_{2}$ *s.v.* ango, I (1973), 331–2 (H. Jankuhn, H. Kuhn).
H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe AD 350–425* (1996), 63–8.

Anicia Juliana (461/3–527/9) Daughter of the *Emperor *Olybrius and *Placidia, she was born in Constantinople. She married *Areobindus Dagalaiphus in *c.*478 and they had a son, Olybrius (consul 491), who married Irene (*Anastasius I's niece). Anicia was a committed *Chalcedonian despite the efforts of the *Miaphysite Anastasius and the *Patriarch Timothy to convert her. She often visited S. *Sabas who stayed in *Constantinople in 511/512, and in 519 she corresponded with Pope *Hormisdas, to end the *Acacian schism. She performed many good works, including building or restoring the churches of S. *Euphemia, and S. *Polyeuctus. The dedicatory *inscriptions for these survive in the **Greek Anthology*, and the latter church has been extensively excavated. The *Vienna *Dioscorides, a 6th-century codex, contains a *donor portrait of her. She held the title *patricia*. FKH

PLRE II, Iuliana 3.
L. Brubaker, 'Memories of Helena: Patterns of Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', in L. James, ed., *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* (1997), 52–75.
L. Brubaker, 'The Vienna Dioskorides and Anicia Juliana', in A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds., *Byzantine Garden Culture* (2002), 189–214.
C. Capizzi, *RSBN* NS 5 (1968), 191–226.
C. Capizzi, 'L'attività edilizia di Anicia Giuliana', in *Collectanea Byzantina* (OCA 204) (1977), 119–24.
Harrison, *Temple for Byzantium.*

Anicii *Family of senatorial *aristocracy that gained importance during the 4th century. Its *domus* possibly stood near the Circus Flaminius (*CIL* VI, 1676; Jordan, *Topographie*, 549; Lanciani, *Ruins*, 456), in the area that later housed the Xenodochium Aniciorum (*Gregory the Great, *ep.* IX, 8). Related to other leading aristocratic families, several Anicii reached the highest offices in the 5th century, such as Anicius Petronius Probus (consul 406), whose consular *diptych depicted the *Emperor *Honorius (*CIL* V, 6836); his great-uncle Bassus (*consul 408), and Bassus' son (consul 431).

The Anicii had close connections with the Western emperors and the popes. They were also influential in the East, where *Olybrius (consul 491) married a niece of the Emperor *Anastasius I. Converted to Christianity early in the 4th century (*Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, 1, 552–60), Anician men and women were renowned intellectuals and *patrons. They included *Demetrias and *Anicia Iuliana. The list of Anician intellectuals also includes *Boethius and *Ennodius, who was a correspondent of *Faustus (consul 490), another member of the family. More dubious are the purported Anician origins of *Gregory the Great and *Benedict of Nursia. The family retained its influence after the *Fall of the Western Empire: Flavius Maximus (consul 523) married an *Ostrogothic princess and was expelled from *Rome by *Belisarius during the siege of 537 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 25, 14–15). However, the family lost visibility at the end of the 6th century. DN

PLRE I, stemma 7, 1133.
A. Cameron, 'Anician Myths', *JRS* 102 (2012), 133–71.
L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Gli Anicii a Roma e in provincia', *MÉFRMoyen-AgeTM* 100 (1988), 69–85.

Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus (*Consul 438) Roman *senator and three times *Praefectus Urbi, Faustus was *Praefectus Praetorio for *Italy in 438, when he promulgated the **Theodosian Code* to the Roman *Senate in his own *house, the Domus Palmata, near the Forum of Trajan (*Gesta promulgationis CTh* I). DN

PLRE II, Faustus 8.
Platner-Ashby, 187, 382, 604–5.

Anicius Faustus (d. after 520) Anicius Probus Faustus junior Niger was a Roman *Senator from *Italy, *consul for 490, and envoy to *Constantinople. He held numerous high offices (including *Praefectus Praetorio) under *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, and led the party at *Rome which supported *Symmachus as *bishop. JJA

PLRE II, Faustus 9.
PCBE II/2, Faustus 4.
C. Schäfer, *Der weströmische Senat als Träger antiker Kontinuität unter den Ostgotenkönigen (490–540 n.chr.)* (1991).

animals in art Late Antiquity inherited a range of animal imagery from Roman art. This included wild

and domesticated animals and *birds, as well as mythical creatures, such as the sea monsters of marine *thiasoi*. *Hunting and animal combats, staged animal hunts in the circus, *Nilotic and *pastoral scenes were favourite subjects for Late Antique *mosaic pavements, such as the Great Palace mosaics in *Constantinople, and also for luxurious *silver tableware, such as the *Sevso Hunting plate.

Beyond its literal meaning, animal imagery was also invested with *allegorical symbolism, especially in Christian ecclesiastical and funerary art. According to context, images of birds and animals could allude to the created terrestrial world with all its turmoil or to *Paradise as an idyllic and peaceful *garden. *Deer drinking water from a fountain evoke the soul's yearning for salvation, while an eagle attacking a snake, more than a generic image of the eternal battle between good and evil, was interpreted by Christian thinkers as symbolizing Christ's defeat over the Devil. The lamb was particularly popular as a symbol of Christ; lambs also represented the faithful, as for instance in images of the *Good Shepherd or in the *apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe at *Ravenna. The association of the dove with the Holy Spirit ensured its continued usage in Christian domestic and ecclesiastical contexts. The peacock, formerly the sacred bird of Juno, in Christian use became a symbol of eternal life, as ancient scientists thought its flesh incorruptible; it is often found on Christian *sarcophagi. Representations of animals and animal combat scenes, especially on personal and household effects, could also be invested with an apotropaic function, apparent for example in the popularity of the mythical griffin—a powerful guardian—on domestic oil *lamps, whether Christian or *pagan. MGP

E. D. Maguire and H. Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (2007), 58–67.

Henry Maguire, 'Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art', *DOP* 41 (1987), 363–73.

animal style in Germanic art A style of ornamentation, predominantly found on precious *metalwork in Scandinavia (as well as in *Anglo-Saxon England and Central Europe). Motifs include both animals and human figures. The Germanic animal style is considered the first distinct development of a Germanic art style, and is clearly rooted in, but at the same time emancipated from, Late Roman stylistic templates.

Making allowance for regional and chronological variations, B. Salin's division (1904) into Style I (*c.*450–575) and Style II (*c.*550–700) is still accepted and used. Under influences from East Roman, Continental, and Insular art styles, animal style evolved into the more diverse and localized Viking Age ornaments from the 8th century onwards.

Characteristics for Germanic animal style are the sharp contours and the segregation and non-anatomical rearrangement of parts of the body (often leading to the intertwining of individual figures). The occurrence of animal style on high-status metalwork, the great uniformity of style, and the encryption of elements indicate that the style itself was a means of aristocratic communication. Although a comprehensive iconological decoding of its elements has not yet been fully successful, the majority of researchers assume a sacral or mythical component in the motifs. AR

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Tierornamentik, Germanische, vol. 30 (2005) 586–97 (Ament, Wilson).

K. H. Nielsen, 'Animal Style: A Symbol of Might and Myth', *ActArch* 69 (1998), 1–52.

B. Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik. Typologische Studie über germanische Metallgegenstände aus dem IV. bis IX. Jahrhundert, nebst einer Studie über irische Ornamentik* (tr. from Swedish version of J. Mestorf, 1904).

Anisa (Annesoi) Estate belonging to *Basil of *Caesarea, named once by him in a *letter (*ep.* 3, 2). There is no need to identify it with his family's estates in the Iris (Yeşil Irmak) Valley or with the family shrine of the *Forty Martyrs. OPN

G. L. Huxley, 'Saint Basil the Great and Anisa', *AnBoll* 107 (1989), 30–2.

'Anjar An *Umayyad city in the Beqaa Valley. Its orthogonal ground plan, walls, and 40 towers imitate the layout of a Roman fort. It was founded in *c.*709–10 by either al-*Walid I or his son al-'Abbas and contained two *palaces, *baths, a *mosque, and many shops. However, already in *c.*715 building work was suspended, and by the end of the Umayyad period, 'Anjar was deserted. KMK

H. Chehab, 'On the Identification of ʿAnjar (ʿAyn al-Jarr) as an Umayyad Foundation', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 42–8.

R. Hillenbrand, 'ʿAnjar and Early Islamic Urbanism', in G. Brogiolo, ed., *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (1999), 59–98.

Ankara (Lat. Ancyra, Gk. Ankyra, later Angora) The largest *city of north *Anatolia, capital of the Roman *province of Galatia, the Theodosian province of *Galatia Prima, and the *Dioecesis of *Pontus. Ankara flourished in Late Antiquity thanks to its position on the main highway (the *Pilgrims' Road) from *Constantinople to the East. After being briefly captured by the Empire of *Palmyra *c.*270 (*Zosimus, I, 50), the city was ringed with a massive wall-circuit. A church *council (whose *Canons* survive) was held in 314 under the auspices of Bishop *Marcellus, followed by *Arian councils in 358 and 375. *Julian passed through in 362 and the city became an occasional

imperial summer residence under *Arcadius. *Libanius' correspondence offers rich evidence for the civic and administrative notables of mid-4th-century Ankara; the 5th century is known primarily from the works of the monks *Palladius and *Nilus, especially the latter's voluminous *Letters*. The huge gymnasium, built under Caracalla, remained in use throughout the period, and several luxurious 4th- and 5th-century *houses, including one with a private *bathhouse, have been excavated in and around the city. The city boasted two *martyrs supposedly of the Great *Persecution, S. Clement (*BHG* 352–4) and S. Plato (*BHG* 1549–52); the former was buried at a site called Cryptus, perhaps on the south-west slope of the citadel, where an 8th-century domed basilica may have superseded an earlier church on the same site. Ankara was captured and sacked in 622 during the *Persian invasion of Asia Minor; the late 7th-century settlement was reduced to a hilltop fortification on the citadel. PJT

TIB 4 (1984) *s.n.* Ankyra, 126–30.

C. Foss, 'Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara', *DOP* 31 (1977), 29–87, repr. in Foss, *History and Archaeology*, study VI.

Canons of Council of Ancyra (314): ed. (with FT and study) Hefele and Leclercq, I/2, 298–326.

Annales Cambriae *See* WELSH ANNALS.

Annales Mettenses Priores Detailed annalistic account of the period 687–830, down to 805/6 the work of a single author somewhat haphazardly combining sources such as the Carolingian revision of *Fredegar and other annals with independent material. It opens with fulsome praise of *Pippin II and his victories, including *Tertry, and depicts the *Merovingian kings as ruling under his governance. The subsequent rise of the Carolingians is presented as divinely ordained, and culminating in the reign of Charlemagne. OPN; STL

ed. B. von Simson in MGH SS rer. Germ. 10 (1905).

ET (up to AD 727, with introd.) Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF* 330–70.

Y. Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in Y. Hen and M. Innes, eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (2000), 175–90.

Annales Ravennatenses *See CONSULARIA MARSIBURGENSIA.*

Annals of Ulster *See* ULSTER, ANNALS OF.

anniversaries, imperial The *dies imperii* (*accession date of the *emperor or *natalis imperii*) was marked at five-yearly intervals with particular zest in the 4th and 5th centuries. On these anniversaries, vows (*vota*) of good rulership, which the new emperor had made at his accession, were customarily renewed. These occasions were marked by major celebrations, including public games, theatrical performances, and *processions. Also customary was the distribution of a *donative of five **solidi* per soldier—financed by the 'voluntary' payment of **aurum coronarium* and *aurum oblaticium*. (A succession of donatives formed part of the *Arras hoard.) The nature of the celebrations is thought to have changed under Christian influence, though little is known. In addition, by the early 6th century, both the *vota* and the donatives had declined in prominence and then came to an end. *See also* FESTIVALS AND CALENDARS, SECULAR AND POLITICAL. AGS

P. Bastien, *Monnaie et donativa au Bas-Empire* (1988).

R.W. Burgess, 'Quinquennial Vota and the Imperial Consulship in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, 337–511', *Numismatic Chronicle* 148 (1988), 77–96.

M. Hebblewhite, *The Emperor and the Army in the Later Roman Empire, AD 235–395* (2017), 81–7.

annona Term denoting both the tax payable in kind (sometimes converted to cash payments) and the distribution of food to public officials and civilians (for payments to soldiers, *see ANNONA MILITARIS*).

The *annona* was a yearly assessed land tax payable throughout the Roman Empire. Payment of this tax was the responsibility of the user of the land. The majority of the payments were made in *grain, although other products—metals, hemp, *timber, etc.—were also at times stipulated. The *annona* was over time increasingly converted into cash payments. Transport of these items was requisitioned as a liturgy (compulsory public *service) from publicly organized shipowners (**naviculariі*).

In *Rome, *Constantinople, and *Alexandria, the Praefectus Annonae was responsible for the oversight of the *annona* and its distribution to public officials and to those civilians who by position or inheritance claimed a right to receive it. In other *cities, this responsibility was given to the *Curator, who was subordinate to the *Praefectus Praetorio. These officials ensured that the food was intact and unspoiled at entry into the ports. They controlled the distribution of grain to bakers, as well as the quality of the *bread, which was often given away at no cost. Other foods that were distributed or sold at reduced cost were *olive oil, *meat, and *wine.

The *annona* was distributed as late as 554 in Rome; it ceased in Constantinople in 618. AAB

Sirks, *Food for Rome.*

annona militaris Soldiers and other imperial officials were provided with rations (**annonae*). These were sometimes provided in kind, but by the 5th century were normally commuted to payment as cash, replacing

the earlier *stipendium*. Because they were based on locally converted ration scales their cash value varied. Thus in 445, a single *annona* in *Numidia and *Mauretania was valued as four **solidi* per year, but by 534 it was worth five *solidi*. In *Egypt, however, in the reign of *Justinian I an *annona* was still worth four *solidi*. *Cavalry also received fodder allowances (*capitus*), each worth about as much as an *annona*. Ranks above private soldier received increased ration and fodder allowances. Thus *biarchi* and *circitores* received two *annonae* (though only one *capitus* if in a cavalry regiment), regimental actuaries received six *annonae* and six *capitus*. A *Dux received 50 *annonae* and 50 *capitus*, the equivalent of being paid 400 *solidi* annually. HE

Jones, *LRE* 458–61, 626–30, 671–4.

Anomoeans (Gk. 'not like') The Christian theologian *Arius reportedly taught in his *Thalia* that the substance of God the Son was unlike (*anomoios*) and foreign to the substance of God the Father. Yet, even his early supporters, like *Asterius the Sophist and *Eusebius of *Caesarea, preferred to emphasize that God the Son, while being a product of God the Father's will, was also 'like' (*homoios*) the Father. Beginning in the 350s, Christians were increasingly opposed to using the language of essence (*ousia*) in general. In addition, Aetius and *Eunomius contended that God the Son was of a different essence (*heterousion*) from that of God the Father. Both these developments increasingly provoked supporters of Nicene doctrine to portray their opponents as 'Anomeans'. The 'Eunomians' countered that they did not hold that God the Son was altogether unlike the Father, but unlike only in His Essence. KA

Kopecek, *History of Neo-Arianism*.

R. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (OECS, 2001).

R. Vaggione, *Eunomius: The Extant Works* (1987).

Anonymi Cosmographia (*c.*700) Otherwise known as the *Ravenna Cosmography*, a list of places from *India to *Ireland in twelve sections, compiled by an anonymous cleric in *Ravenna. Generally it is less useful than other itineraries but for *Britain it contains several hundred unique names though the corrupt text makes identification difficult. RDS

ed. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, vol. 2: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica* (1942, repr. 1990).

L. Dillemann, *La Cosmographie du Ravennate* (Collection Latomus, 1997), with review by J. D. North, *Speculum*, 74 (1999), 408–9.

L. Dillemann, 'Observations on Chapter V.31, Britannia, in the Ravenna Cosmography', *Archaeologia*, 106 (1979), 61–73.

K. Fitzpatrick-Matthews, *Britannia in the Ravenna Cosmography: A Reassessment* (2013).

Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis* An economic and military treatise generally credited to an anonymous author writing between AD 337 and 378, possibly under *Constantius II (337–61), or during the joint reigns of *Valentinian I (364–75) and *Valens (364–78). The latter alternative has gained most support because the circumstances and policies described by the Anonymous fit those of their reign, so that it seems that the treatise was addressed to Valens in about 367/9. Both *emperors reduced *taxation (esp. Valens) and fortified the *frontiers in the way the treatise prescribes. The Anonymous advocates increasing the number of taxpayers while simultaneously lowering public expenditure. The countryside was also to be revived by lowering taxes paid by farmers. Costs to the exchequer were to be reduced by various means. Fraud (particularly *debasement of the *coinage) committed by *mint workers would be curbed, as would corruption by *governors. Soldiers would retire early and a new class of lower-paid young recruit 'reservists' would be created. The frontiers would be fortified and the introduction of a variety of novel military machines, *artillery, and other equipment would increase the efficiency of the *armies while in turn diminishing their manpower needs. Some historians have deemed the author a mad inventor or a satirist mocking his contemporaries: some of his technical inventions were not new (e.g. the *thoracomachus* and *plumbatae*) or were clearly impractical (e.g. the various scythed chariots), and the possible advantages of the new inventions (e.g. the *ballistae* and *liburna*) have also been questioned. Such negative views of the Anonymous have been challenged by other scholars who claim that the inventions were very practical. IAPS

ed. R. I. Ireland (1984).

ed. (with ET and introd.) E. A. Thompson and B. Flower, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor: Being a New Text of the Treatise* De Rebus Bellicis (1952).

ed. (with SpT and comm.) Á. Sánchez-Ostiz, *Anónimo sobre asuntos militares* (2004).

Hassall and Ireland: *De Rebus Bellicis*.

J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, 'Realism and Phantasy: The Anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis* and its Afterlife', in Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Change*, study IV.

Lenski, *Valens*.

Anonymous *Peri Strategeias* *See* SYRIANUS MAGISTER.

Anonymus Cuspinianus *See CONSULARIA VINDOBONENSIA PRIORA ET POSTERIORA.*

Anonymus post Dionem (sometimes Continuator Dionis) Title given to a number of anonymous fragments from *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus'

*Excerpta *De Sententiis*. They follow extracts from Cassius Dio contained in a 10th/11th-century Vatican palimpsest (Vaticanus Graecus 73) and cover the period from the *Emperor *Valerian to *Constantine I. Authorship has always been contested, with cases advanced for *John of Antioch, *Eustathius of *Epiphania, and especially *Peter the Patrician, who on stylistic grounds is currently most favoured. BC

Müller, *FHG* IV, 192–9.

C. de Boor, 'Römische Kaisergeschichte in byzantinischer Fassung I. Der Anonymus post Dionem', *BZ* 1 (1892), 13–33.

S. Mazzarino, 'L'Anonymus post Dionem e la "topica" delle guerre romano-persiane 242/4 d.C.–283/(4?) d.C.', in his *Antico, tardoantico ed èra costantiniana*, 2 vols. (1974–80) vol. 2, 69–103.

Bleckmann, *Reichskrise des III. Jahrhunderts*.

***Anonymus Valesianus* I and II** Names given respectively to the **Origo Constantini Imperatoris* and **Chronicon Theoderici* first published by Henricus Valesius (1603–76) from the 9th-century Berlin codex Phillipps 1885. OPN

Ansar The name given in Muslim tradition to the Medinan supporters of *Muhammad after he moved to *Medina in 622. They came from the previously pagan Arab tribes of the town, Aws and Khazraj, while the *Jewish tribes rejected Muhammad. The word is usually explained as the plural form of the Arabic for 'helper', but the singular form is not used to mean a member of the Ansar: an individual is an Ansari. In Islamic societies, to be recognized as an Ansari, a descendant of the original Ansar, was a token of honour.

The Ansar fought for Muhammad alongside his supporters from *Mecca, the *Muhajirun, but his closest companions came from the latter and there was some tension and rivalry between the two groups. In the arguments about who should lead the Muslims after Muhammad, some proposed that there should be one leader from the Ansar and one from *Quraysh, the tribe of the Muhajirun. They were overruled, and the *caliphs all came from Quraysh. There is some evidence that the Ansar mostly supported *'Ali against *Mu'awiya in the first *Arab civil war (**fitna*) between 656 and 661. GRH

M. Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (1995).

EQ s.v. 'Emigrants and Helpers' (al-Faruque).

Ansbert (d. 692/3) *Bishop of *Rouen (684–90), former *referendary to *Chlothar III, and later Abbot of *S. Wandrille. He addressed an extant *acrostic poem to *Audoenus, whom he succeeded as bishop. He was deposed and imprisoned by *Pippin II. His *Life* was composed in the early 9th century. PJF

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. XXXIV.

Ymnus de sancto Ansberto episcopo, ed. W. Levison, MGH SS rer. Meroving. V (1910), 641–3.

Life (*BHL* 520), ed. W. Levison, in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 5 (1910), 613–41.

Antaeopolis *City in the Lower *Thebaid, *Egypt, corresponding to modern Qaw el-Kebir, and in Late Antiquity capital of the Antaeopolis *Nome, competing with *Aphrodito on the opposite bank of the *Nile, which decayed from city to *village status. The pagarchs of Antaeopolis and the landowners of Aphrodito had a long, violent conflict over tax-collection rights, reported in the extensive *papyrus dossier mainly preserved through the *archive of *Dioscorus, notary of Aphrodito (*c.*506–85). The dossier also includes a copy of Antaeopolis' city budget dated to the mid-6th century (*Sammelbuch*, 20, 14494). RM

J. Gascou, 'La Table budgétaire d'Antaeopolis (P. Freer 08.45 c–d)', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 1: *IVe–VIIe siècle: réalités byzantines* (1989), 279–313.

J.-L. Fournet, ed., *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte: histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine* (2008).

Antalas (*c.*500–post-548) *Moorish king of the Frexes in southern *Byzacena (*c.*530–48). Having fought against the *Vandals in the 520s and 530s, he was initially allied with the Romans after the *Byzantine invasion of Africa, but was alienated by *Solomon *c.*536, which led to open warfare until his defeat in 548. AHM

PLRE III, Antalas.

P. von Rummel, 'The Frexes', in F. Curta, ed., *Neglected Barbarians* (2010), 571–604.

Antenor (*fl. c.*700) *Optimate under *Childebert III (697),**patricius* in *Provence. He led a rebellion in Provence against *Pippin II, perhaps in 711. HJH

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. XL.

P. Geary, 'Die Provenz zur Zeit Karl Martells', in Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell*, 381–92.

Antes Tribes settled north of the Danube and the Black Sea, related to the *Slavs, with whom they shared the same language and customs, but with whom they sometimes clashed. Together with their kindred Slavs and Venedi (these last appear in Tacitus and Pliny), they were subjugated by the *Goths of *Ermanaric in the 4th century (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 119 and 247). The Antes raided across the Danube into Roman territory (Jordanes, *Romana*, 388), but were defeated by *Germanus in 550 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 14; VII, 40, 5–7; VIII, 4, 9). Some Antes became Roman allies and **foederati*. ABA

P. Heather, *Empires and Barbarians* (2010).

B. S. Szmoniewski, 'The Antes: Eastern "Brothers" of the Sclavenes?', in Curta, *Neglected Barbarians.*

Anthemius *Consul 405. As eastern *Praefectus Praetorio, 405–14, he 'controlled everything' (*Socrates VII, 1, 1). He escorted the prophet Samuel's relics into *Constantinople in 406, and in 413 rebuilt the city walls. A *quartier* of Constantinople and an Asiatic suburb bore his name or that of his grandson, the *Emperor *Anthemius. OPN

PLRE II, Anthemius 1.

Janin, *CPByz* 309, 483.

Anthemius (d. 472) Western *emperor 467–72. Native of *Constantinople and grandson of the influential *Praefectus Praetorio *Anthemius (*consul 405), he pursued a successful military career under the emperors *Marcian and *Leo I, becoming *consul in 455, and marrying Marcian's daughter *Euphemia. In 467 he became Western emperor with Leo's backing and the acquiescence of the powerful Western general *Ricimer, who married Anthemius' daughter Alypia. Anthemius contributed forces to Leo's *Vandal expedition (468), the failure of which seriously weakened his position. A campaign against the *Goths in *Gaul also failed (471), his Eastern origins made him unpopular, and deteriorating relations with Ricimer resulted in civil war (472), culminating in Anthemius' defeat and death in *Rome. *Sidonius Apollinaris delivered a *panegyric in his honour in 468 (*Carm.* 2). Three of his laws survive (*NovAnth*). ADL

PLRE II, Anthemius 3.

NovAnth: ed. P. Meyer and Th. Mommsen (1905).

ET Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 570–2.

P. MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords* (2002), 234–55.

Anthemius (5th cent.) Archbishop of *Cyprus, Metropolitan of *Salamis-Constantia. Having resisted attempts by the *Patriarch *Peter the Fuller to restore *Antioch's authority over the Church in *Cyprus, he discovered the burial site of S. *Barnabas, the companion of S. Paul, and a copy of S. Matthew's Gospel which he gave to the *emperor. *Zeno confirmed autocephaly and special privileges to the Cypriot Church in 488 and built a church to house S. Barnabas's *relics. RKL

ed. P. van Deun, *Sancti Barnabae Laudatio Auctore Alexandro Monacho*, in *Hagiographica Cypria* (CCSG 26, 1993), 15–122.

Anthemius of Tralles (*c.*475–before 7 May 558) Prominent mathematician, engineer, and *architect. His father was a physician of *Tralles, his brothers included a **grammaticus*, a lawyer, and *doctors. Anthemius wrote a treatise *On Wondrous Machines*, of which a fragment, concerned with the *optics of burning mirrors, survives. The mathematician Eutocius addressed to him his commentary on the *Conica* of Apollonius of *Perge. Anthemius and *Isidore of Miletus were the *architects who designed the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom for *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 1, 23–78). He also advised on flood defences for *Dara (*Aed.* II, 3, 7–14). In *Constantinople, he employed ancient seismological theory to simulate an *earthquake intended to alarm the *rhetorician Zeno, his annoying upstairs neighbour (*Agathias V, 6–9). ER

PLRE IIIA, Anthemius 2.

RE 1/2 (1894) *s.n.* Anthemius, 2368–9 (Hultsch).

ed. J. L. Heiberg (with LT), *Mathematici Graeci Minores* (1927), 77–92, repr. in

G. L. Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles: A Study of Later Greek Geometry* (GRBS monographs 1, 1959) with ET and comm.

Anthimus Author of a treatise about healthy diet addressed to the Frankish King *Theuderic I (511–33), and an ambassador with senatorial rank, perhaps representing the *Ostrogoths. Apparently a native Greek, he is perhaps to be identified with the *doctor who was exiled from *Constantinople by the *Emperor *Zeno for supporting the Ostrogoth *Theoderic in 478. RVD

PLRE II, Anthimus 2 (doctor) and Anthimus 3 (author).

ed. (with ET) M. Grant, *Anthimus, De Observatione Ciborum: On the Observance of Foods* (1996).

Anthologia Latina Term used by modern editors who compile anthologies of poems that circulate under this name. An important source for the anthologies is the Codex Salmasianus (Paris, BN 10318). Named after the scholar Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise, 1588–1653), this late 8th-century manuscript contains a collection of poems put together in *Africa *c.* AD 534. While the poems in the Salmasianus are assorted, many are organized into subsets within the volume by form, subject, or authorship. Appearing in the collection is the widely appreciated **Pervigilium Veneris*. Other notable poems are Vespa's *Iudicium Coci et Pistoris*, Reposianus' *De Concubitu Martis et Veneris*, *Symphosius' *riddles, and *Luxorius' *epigrams. The Salmasianus is also rich in poems derived from *Vergil. They include *centos, poems (*themata* and a *locus Vergilianus*) that recast passages in the *Aeneid*, and a *letter from Dido to Aeneas, which also shows the influence of Ovid's *Heroides* 7.

A second manuscript that contributes a good number of poems to the *Anthologia* is the Codex Vossianus Q. 86. Like the Salmasianus, it is an assorted collection: along with pieces attributed to Petronius, there are short poems on, among other things, the months of the year, historical subjects, love and *friendship, and ethical topics.

Christian poetry is represented in the *Anthologia Latina*. Significant is the **Carmen contra paganos*, an anonymous *invective in 122 hexameter lines against a *pagan *Praefectus Urbi that dates from the late 4th century. The Christian *Lactantius, meanwhile, has been identified as the author of a group of secular sympotic poems, the *Symposium of the Twelve Sages*. The cycle reads as a playful demonstration of learning and is the kind of curiosity that is characteristic of the *Anthologia*. SMcG

CPL 1517.
HLL 5, sections 550, 1 (Vespa), and 547 (Reposianus).
ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Anthologia Latina* (1982).
ed. A. Riese, 2 vols. in 4 (1894–1926).
ed. N. M. Kay (with ET and comm.), *Epigrams from the Anthologia Latina* (2006).
ed. A. Friedrich (with GT, study, and comm.), *Das Symposium der XII Sapientes* (2002).
V. Tandoi, 'Antologia Latina', in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1 (1984), 198–205.
ed. L. Zurli, *A.L.: Rivista di studi di Anthologia Latina* (2010–).
A. J. Baumgartner, *Untersuchungen zur Anthologie des Codex Salmasianus* (1981).

Antinoopolis (Antinoe, mod. Ansena, Sheikh 'Ibada, *Egypt) Founded as a *city by the *Emperor Hadrian to commemorate the death of his companion Antinous. In Late Antiquity, it was the capital of the *Thebaid, and from the 4th century the seat of a *bishop. It is archaeologically well documented with ongoing excavations, and famous for its Graeco-Roman *temples, colonnaded *streets, triumphal arch, theatre and *hippodrome, large *bath, mummy portraits and burial shrouds, *textiles and shoes, churches and neighbouring *monasteries, and *Greek and *Coptic *papyri.

A building complex in the northern necropolis of the city has been identified as the *martyrium of S. *Colluthus, consisting of a small church with a martyr shrine and an adjacent healing sanctuary. Over 200 *papyri, mainly in Coptic, with oracle questions addressed to S. Colluthus, have been found, this oracle being consulted not only on medical matters, but on questions of life in general well into the 7th century. GS

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Antinoopolis, cols. 144b–148a (R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin, S. Donadoni, P. Grossman).
R. Pintaudi, ed., *Antinoupolis* (2008).
P.Ant = ed. C. H. Roberts, J. W. B. Barns, and H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, 3 vols. (1950, 1960, 1967).

Antioch, See of Ss. Peter and Paul both taught at *Antioch, and the *letters written by *Bishop Ignatius on his journey to probable *martyrdom in *Rome in the early 2nd century provide considerable information. In the early 4th century the theologian *Lucian taught both *Arius and *Eusebius of *Nicomedia. The deposition of *Eustathius in 330 resulted in a long schism between Nicene orthodox and Semi-Arian bishops and those committed to the doctrines of the *Council of Nicaea. This was known as the Melitian Schism after Melitius, Bishop of Antioch from 360, who presided at the 381 Council of *Constantinople, and lasted until 414.

By the 5th century, the see of Antioch emerged as one of the five major *patriarchates of the Church in the Roman Empire. While the theologians of *Alexandria used *allegorical methods of interpreting the *Bible, those of Antioch preferred a literalist historical method. Antiochene Christology, in opposition to Arianism and Apollinarianism, stressed the complete divinity of the Logos and the complete human nature of Jesus, by whose life of perfect obedience to God the Word human nature was restored and salvation made available to all. Leading Antiochene theologians included *Diodore of *Tarsus (d. *c.*390), *Theodore of *Mopsuestia (*c.*350–428), *Nestorius (Patriarch of *Constantinople, 428–31).

*Theodoret of *Cyrrhus (*c.*393–*c.*466), born and educated in Antioch, was often summoned there from Cyrrhus, north-east of Antioch, to advise John, Bishop of Antioch, on the defence of Nestorius. Theodoret was the leading theologian in John's party of eastern bishops which unsuccessfully supported Nestorius against the party led by *Cyril of Alexandria at the *Council of *Ephesus in 431. This council was received by the *Emperor *Theodosius II and the wider Church as the third Ecumenical Council. Theodoret's Christology stressed the impassibility of God the Word. This led him to develop a two-subject Christology, the Word on the one hand and the human being Jesus on the other, who was the subject experiencing growth, hunger, pain, temptation, fear, and death. As the apparent author of the 433 formula of union which allowed John of Antioch and Cyril to be reconciled, Theodoret supported Nestorius as orthodox until obliged to anathematize him at the 451 Council of *Chalcedon.

After Chalcedon, the dwindling number of bishops supporting Nestorius left for the *Persian Empire and the *Church of the East. The Churches in *Syria and *Egypt defended the *Miaphysite terminology of Cyril of Alexandria against Chalcedon. By the 6th century the *Syrian Orthodox Church and the Coptic Church of Egypt were in schism from the Chalcedonian Orthodox. Thereafter there were separate Chalcedonian and Syrian Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch. PBC

D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Christian Antioch: A Study of Early Christian Thought in the East* (1982).

Antioch Chalice and Treasure One of four dealer's assemblages that made up the single *Kaper Koraon

Treasure. The most famous component is the so-called Antioch Chalice (now in New York): it is probably a 6th-century *lamp. MH

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium.*

Antioch of Pisidia A Seleucid settlement, refounded by Augustus as a Roman *colonia*, Antioch was promoted under the *Tetrarchy to be metropolis of the new *province of *Pisidia. The *city saw extensive building activity in the early 4th century: the theatre was renovated and a new central forum laid out. A large *basilica (the 'Church of S. Paul'), probably the seat of the *metropolitan *bishop, was constructed *c.*375; parts of the original nave *mosaic survive. PJT

S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and its Monuments* (1998).

E. Gazda and D. Ng, eds., *Building a New Rome: The Imperial Colony of Pisidian Antioch* (Kelsey Museum Publications, vol. 5, 2011).

Antioch on the Orontes (mod. Antakya, Turkey) Metropolis of *Syria Prima (Syria Coele), seat of the *Comes Orientis, the principal civil administrator of the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, frequently in the 3rd and 4th centuries an imperial residence, a leading literary centre, and the home of a distinctive school of Christian theology, and home of such eminent *rhetoricians as *Libanius and *John Chrysostom.

Antioch was founded in 300 BC by Seleucus I Nikator (306–281). The ancient city is situated more than 20 km (12 miles) from the sea, on the left bank of the Orontes River, at the meeting point of many roads and on the slope of Mount Silpius (512 m, 1,680 feet). Its port was *Seleucia Pieria. Antioch was also connected, from its beginnings, to the *oracle- santuary of Apollo at *Daphne, located on a high plateau 8 km (5 miles) south of the city and famous for its springs Pallas et Castalia. In the Roman period elaborate buildings were erected. Much of the site lies under an accumulation of alluvium and under the modern city of Antakya, though the Roman *bridge survived until 1972. Large numbers of *mosaics were excavated from the *villas at *Daphne in 1932–9 by a consortium of American institutions.

History of the city

During the Third Century *Crisis Persian armies twice captured Antioch, in 256 and 260, and the city was subsequently briefly occupied by troops loyal to the Empire of *Palmyra. With the accession of *Diocletian in 284 and the inauguration of the *Tetrarchy, Antioch was frequently one of the series of imperial residences which linked the *frontiers from *York, *Trier, and *Milan in the west, through the *Balkans to *Nicomedia, and a new imperial *palace was constructed. It was to Antioch that the *Caesar *Galerius returned after his victory over the Persians in 298.

Under the Tetrarchy the size of the province of Syria was reduced with the creation of the province of *Euphratensis, but Antioch became the residence of the *Comes Orientis and from the time of *Constantine I of the *Magister Militum per Orientem commanding troops defending the eastern *frontier. Emperors often lived at Antioch until *Arcadius settled permanently at Constantinople at the end of the 4th century. The Caesar *Gallus, half-brother of *Julian, resided between 351 and 354 and Julian prepared his campaign against the Persians in 362–3 at Antioch. *Valens (365–78) also made it his residence. 'The lord of the world resides there,' a geographical textbook reports; 'it is abounding in all good things' (**Expositio Totius Mundi*, 23).

The *Antioch Statue Riots caused a merely temporary withdrawal of imperial favour, but the fixing of the imperial residence at Constantinople at the end of the 4th century was fatal to Antioch, as senior members of the imperial family were seldom present. In 438, the *Empress *Eudoxia, wife of *Theodosius II (408–50), passing through Antioch, decided to enlarge the wall of the town towards the south in the direction of Daphne. It is true that it retained the function of capital of the *dioecesis* until the *Arab conquest, but by the end of the 5th century the province of Syria Coele had been further subdivided with the creation of the new province of *Syria Secunda Salutaris governed from *Apamea.

The 5th century was a period of relative peace and prosperity for Roman Syria, but the 6th century brought natural and human catastrophes, principally with the *earthquakes of 526 and 528, the *plague of 542, and the sacking of Antioch by Persian armies under *Khosrow I in 540. Following this series of disasters, *Justinian I (527–65) rebuilt the city and modified the course of its defensive walls, leaving the island (Kainè Polis) outside. He also gave the city a new name of Theopolis (city of God) to try to protect it from danger. Antioch was occupied between 614 and 629 by the Persians ruled by *Khosrow II, and was in decline when it fell into the hands of the *Arabs in 638. it remained under Arab Muslim rule until the Byzantine reconquest in 969 by the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas.

Intellectual and religious life

Antioch was the metropolis of a large area where *Syriac was the language of the people; at festival time, when the country people came to the city, John Chrysostom would have translators rendering his sermons into Syriac for those who did not understand *Greek. However, from Hellenistic times onwards, Antioch itself was an

important centre of Greek civilization. At the end of Antiquity, it was famous for its *school of rhetoric whose most famous professor was the 4th-century orator Libanius. During the Olympic festival of 356, Libanius delivered an oration called the *Antiochikos* (*Oration* 11) in which he gave an idealized description of his city. The grandeur of the place was symbolized by its colonnaded *streets, by its public monuments, by the imperial palace on the island in the Orontes, and by the luxuriant suburb of Daphne with its grand *villas and its oracular sanctuary of Apollo. Libanius, however, as a pagan, never speaks of such Christian monuments as the octagonal cathedral built by Constantine. Nor did he mention the Jewish community important since the Hellenistic period, who lived in the south of the city around the Great *Synagogue named after the Maccabees.

It was at Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians (Acts 11:26). According to tradition, S. Peter was the first *Bishop of Antioch and S. Paul preached there. Antioch rapidly became one of the most important Christian centres in the Roman world. S. Ignatius, bishop in the early 2nd century, was taken to the city of *Rome to be martyred and left a stream of *letters to the various churches he passed through on the way. S. Babylas was martyred in 250 during the persecution under *Decius, and *Eusebius records others martyred at Antioch during the Great Persecution (*HE* VIII, 12, 2–5; *MartPal* 2: Romanus). After the victory of the Emperor *Licinius, brother-in-law of Constantine, in 313, *Theotecnus, *Curator of Antioch and one of the principal promoters of the final phase of the Great Persecution, was himself tortured to death.

Once Constantine had eliminated Licinius in 324, Eustathius the bishop began the construction of the octaganal cathedral known as the Golden Octagon which was consecrated on the feast of the *Epiphany (6 January) 341 in the presence of the Emperor *Constantius II (337–61), and at the opening of the Dedication Council called to resolve the *Arian controversy. In 354, on the initiative of the Caesar *Gallus, the bones of S. Babylas were transferred to a new *martyrium built near the sanctuary of Apollo in Daphne, a move which apparently silenced the oracle. In 362, Julian, keen to revive the pagan cults in the city and finding little support from the populace, had the *relics of the martyr removed, but an accidental fire forestalled his attempts. Julian blamed the Christians and decided to seek revenge by closing the Great Church of the city. A new cruciform martyrium for S. Babylas was built on the right bank of the Orontes by Bishop Meletius in 380 and finished by his successor Flavianus in 387. The reception of Julian's attempts to restore *paganism at Antioch suggests that the city was already highly Christianized in the mid-4th century, in contrast to *Apamea and *Gaza, though John Chrysostom at the end of the 4th century still found it necessary to preach against *Jews, Judaeo-Christians, and pagans.

From the Council of Nicaea in 325 onwards, the polemics concerning the nature of the Trinity initiated by the Arian controversy caused division among Christians. In the end in 379 Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, organized a council whose formulation won acceptance at the First Council of *Constantinople in 381. Antioch was also heavily involved in the Nestorian controversy culminating in the Council of *Ephesus in 431, and in the *Miaphysite movement addressed at the Second Council of Ephesus in 448 and at the Council of *Chalcedon in 451. Between 512 and 518, the *Patriarch of Antioch was the Miaphysite monk *Severus of Antioch, known by his numerous sermons, which survive largely in Syriac.

The religious life of the city in the 5th century is marked by the personality of S. *Symeon Stylites the Older, a *holy man who lived more than fourteen years on top of a column in Telanissos (*Qalat Sem'an) between Antioch and *Aleppo (Beroea). When he died in 458, his body was brought to Antioch with a great *procession. He became the protector of Antioch and quickly the champion of the Miaphysite party. After his death, a famous cruciform building with an octagon at its centre was erected around his column. The last great holy man of Antioch was S. *Symeon the Stylites the Younger in the 6th century. Champion of the Orthodox party, his monastery was partly built on, partly carved out of the top of a mountain (Mons Mirabilis) between Antioch and the sea near Seleucia Pieria and the mouth of the Orontes River. The Arab invasion reduced the intellectual life of the Church at Antioch: theological discussion came to be centred principally in Constantinople and, along with secular science, in the Syriac-speaking Christian monasteries of the Near Eastern hinterland, such as *Qenneshre.

GPo

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 231–51.

F. Alpi, *La Route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient (512–518)*, 2 vols. (2009).

G. Downey, 'The Palace of Diocletian at Antioch', *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 3 (1953), 106–16.

G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucos to the Arab Conquest* (1961).

G. Downey, *Antioch in the Age of Theodosius the Great* (1962).

A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* (BEFAR 194, 1955).

J. Lassus, 'L'Église cruciforme: Antioche-Kaoussié 12 F', in Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, 5–44.

J. W. H. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch City and the Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (1972).

A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (TTH 34, 2000).

P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.C.* (1955).
G. Poccardi, 'L'Île d'Antioche à la fin de l'Antiquité: histoire et problème de topographie urbaine', in L. Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism*, IV (JRA Suppl. 42, 2000), 155–72.
C. Saliou, 'À propos de la *ταυριανη πυλη*: remarques sur la localisation présumée de la Grande Église d'Antioche de Syrie', *Syria* 77 (2000), 217–26.
C. Saliou, 'L'Île d'Antioche au temps de Julien', *AntTard* 17 (2009), 235–50.
E. Soler, *Le Sacré et le salut à Antioche au IVe siècle apr. J.-C.: pratiques festives et comportements religieux dans le processus de Christianisation de la cité* (2006).
L. Trieber, 'Die Angebliche Synagogue des Makkabäischen Martyrer in Antiochia am Orontes', *ZAC* 9 (2006), 464–95.
L. M. Whitby, 'Procopius and Antioch', in French and Lightfoot, *Eastern Frontier*, vol. 2, 537–53.

Antioch on the Orontes, buildings and mosaics

Despite excavations (Elderkin et al.), a geophysical survey 2004/8 (Pamir), and a regional survey that included its northern suburbs (Casana), Antioch remains famed more for the *mosaics that were discovered than for its buildings. The latter have been difficult to excavate, and despoiled, or destroyed in successive *earthquakes. Aside from remnants of the water supply system and the *city walls, today few surface structures survive. A Roman *bridge was sacrificed to road widening in 1972. The identity and location of some of the structures depicted and labelled in the topographical border of the Yakto mosaic (5th cent.) is still debated.

Written sources are conflicting and unreliable. *Libanius' *Oration* 11, the *Antiochikos*, is a *panegyric description of the city, and further information may be gleaned from his orations and *letters and from the *sermons and other writing of his pupil John Chrysostom. The 6th-century chronicler *John Malalas knew Antioch well, as did the church historian *Evagrius. Procopius' *Buildings* praises the achievements of *Justinian I. The Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum project (Saliou) is significantly revising our understanding of the gates, bridges, and public buildings of the city. This includes some 30 churches and *martyria that existed in the Late Roman period (Mayer and Allen).

During Late Antiquity the city had a minimum of five gates set into three different phases of the city walls, some leading to bridges across the Orontes. A colonnaded *street extended from the *Daphne Gate in the south-west to the gate that led to the north-eastern suburbs, lined with food stalls and workshops, some of wooden construction. Antioch's **fora* were rimmed with *basilicas and other public buildings named, like the Basilica of Rufinus, after the members of the civic *aristocracy who had donated them (Schoolman). Sources also mention a law court, *prison, council chamber (*bouleuterion*), and imperial *palace complex. The latter, situated on the Orontes Island (the New Quarter), was near five excavated *baths, a hippodrome, and a stadium. The baths range from small to medium and underwent varying phases of construction and repair. Consistent with the city's abundant water supply, a sixth was excavated towards the northern end of the walled city (Schoolman), and another, of the 5th–6th century, was located in its northern suburbs (Casana). A 2010 rescue dig on a hotel site near the Hellenistic agora (Pamir) unearthed a public building of the 6th century, another bath complex of the late 5th–early 6th century, part of a *villa of the 5th century, and a large floor with geometric mosaic panels. Recent street repairs have uncovered an intact portion of a vaulted Roman sewer system.

Of four churches of this period known by name, the Palaia, the Great Church, the Church of S. Babylas, and the Church of S. Ignatius, only the Church of S. Babylas has been excavated (Mayer and Allen). S. Ignatius replaced an earlier Tychaion (Temple of the city's *Fortuna). *Temples to a large range of gods are referred to by *Libanius and *John Malalas, but none has been excavated.

A number of large Roman-style *villas of the 2nd–6th century, with elaborate mosaic pavements, courtyards, and nymphaea have been excavated (Kondoleon). The less wealthy inhabited two-storey houses, whose ground floor housed livestock, or lived above their workshops.

The outline of a theatre on the lower southern slopes of the walled city can still be seen. Structures from the 4th century for public *entertainments included an Olympic stadium and an arena for wild animal hunts (Gk. *kynegion*, Lat. **venatio*). Inns, taverns, an imperial mint, a nymphaeum, several *xenones*, and a poorhouse (*ptocheion*) are mentioned in sources or depicted in the Yakto mosaic. Two known *synagogues (one in Antioch, one in Daphne) represent only a fraction of those that served the local Jewish community. Details of *mosques that appeared after 638 are uncertain.

The approximately 300 mosaics which have been located in the villas, churches, baths, and a tomb are mostly of high quality and continuous in style and theme with Hellenistic tradition. Three-dimensional geometric patterns predominate as both carpets and borders. Church floors include occasional dedicatory *inscriptions or votive *prayers. Water imagery, including *erotes* riding dolphins, is abundant (Neuenfeldt). Along with *dining and drinking scenes, there are images from Greek mythology and *personifications of virtues (e.g. Megalopsychia, in the centre of the Yakto mosaic) and concepts such as Past, Present, and

Future in the 3rd-century House of Aion; Foundation, Earth, and Life in the 5th-century House of Ge at Daphne. *Hunting scenes appear only later, in the 5th–6th century. Occasional Persian influence can be detected in beribboned *birds, *lions, and rams' heads posed on spread wings (Kondoleon). WEM

B. Cabouret et al., eds., *Antioch de Syrie: histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (2004).
S. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (1988).
J. Casana, 'The Archaeological Landscape of Late Roman Antioch', in I. Sandwell and J. Huskinson, eds., *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch* (2004), 102–25.
G. W. Elderkin et al., eds., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 1: *The Excavations of 1932*; 2: *The Excavations, 1933–1936*; 3: *The Excavations, 1937–1939* (1934/41).
A.-J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (1959).
C. Kondoleon, ed., *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* (exhibition catalogue, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., 2000).
D. M. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 vols. (1947).
W. Mayer and P. Allen, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300–638 CE)* (Late Antique History and Religion 5, 2012).
L. P. Neuenfeldt, *Eros and Erotes in the Late Antique Mosaics of Antioch* (diss. Florida State University, 2009).
H. Pamir, 'Preliminary Results of the Recent Archaeological Researches in Antioch on the Orontes and its Vicinity', in Saliou (2012), 259–70.
C. Saliou, ed., *Les Sources de l'histoire du paysage urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte* (2012).
E. Schoolman, *Civic Transformation of the Mediterranean City: Antioch and Ravenna, 300–800 CE* (diss. UCLA, 2010).

Antioch on the Orontes, mint of From Hellenistic times to the mid-3rd century AD *Antioch produced important provincial coinages in *silver and base metal, and from the reign of Gordian III it issued imperial coinage regularly. It was the principal mint in the Near East from the 3rd to the 7th century. The *mint mark of Antioch was normally ANT or AN until the 6th century, when the city was renamed Theoupolis and began marking coins accordingly. KETB

W. Hahn, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire* (2000).
K. Butcher, *Coinage in Roman Syria: Northern Syria, 64 BC–AD 253* (2004).
W. E. Metcalf, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (2012).

Antioch Statue Riots In 387 a steep rise in *taxation caused protest in *Antioch. Although initial objections came from the leaders of the *city, the situation degenerated rapidly into a popular revolt and imperial *portraits and images of *Theodosius I and his family were destroyed. The *emperor resolved to punish the city for *lèse-majesté* but an embassy led by, among others, the *Patriarch Flavian convinced him to change his mind. The principal sources for these events are five speeches by *Libanius and 21 *sermons *On the Statues* by *John Chrysostom. GPo

R. Browning, 'The Riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch: The Role of Theatrical Claques in the Later Empire', *JRS* 42 (1952), 13–20.

Antiochus Chuzon Jurist and *consul in 431, and an important administrator in 5th-century *Constantinople. He came from an *Antioch family; his father (*PLRE* II, Antiochus 6) had been *Quaestor Sacri Palatii and was *Praefectus Praetorio *Illyrici in 427.

Antiochus Chuzon was Quaestor Sacri Palatii already in 429 under *Theodosius II, and played a significant role in the first **Theodosian Code* commission under his father (*CTh* I, 1, 5 of 26 March 429). He corresponded with *Theodoret and *Nestorius and as Praefectus Praetorio Orientis in 430–1 famously increased *taxation on wealthy landowners (*NovTh* 26). In 435 he played a critical role leading the second *Theodosian Code* commission (*CTh* I, 1, 6), through to the final publication of the *Theodosian Code* in 438 (*NovTh* 1), thus setting a model for the work of *Tribonian on *Justinian's Code. Based on stylistic analysis of constitutions, T. Honoré sees Antiochus Chuzon as a master of technical legal language.

His grandson, Antiochus Chuzon II (*PLRE* II, Antiochus 10), was Praefectus Praetorio Orientis in 448, also corresponded with Theodoret, and attended the *Council of Chalcedon. RMF

PLRE II, Antiochus (Chuzon I) 7.
J. Harries, 'The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II', *JRS* 78 (1988), 148–72.
T. Honoré, 'Some Questors of the Reign of Theodosius II', in J. D. Harries and I. N. Wood, eds., *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (1993), 68–95.
J. F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (2001).

Antiochus Strategos (Strategios) A monk of the lavra of S. *Saba in the *Judaean Wilderness who composed an account of the *Persian sack of *Jerusalem in May 614, very soon after the events recorded. Three appendices were subsequently tacked onto the work (chapters 22–4), probably *c.*630, incorporating a *letter of Zachariah, the exiled *Patriarch of Jerusalem, dubious figures for the numbers killed in the sack, and an account of events leading up to *Heraclius' visit to Jerusalem in 630.

The work was originally written in *Greek, but survives only in *Georgian and *Arabic translations. The author introduces the siege by lamenting the interfactional strife of the early 7th century and the role of

*Phocas' general Bonosus. He stresses the brutality of the Persians in their capture of the city and the collaboration of the *Jews. He includes extracts from two *sermons of the patriarch Zachariah as well as a first-hand account of the journey of those deported as captives to Persia. Although the work is short on certain details about the siege and appears incorrect in placing its start in April, rather than May, 614, it is generally regarded as an important contemporary source. GBG

GEORGIAN
ed. (with LT) G. Garitte, *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614* (CSCO 202–3, Scr. iber. 11–12 (1960).
Partial ET by F. C. Conybeare, *EHR* 25 (1910), 502–17.

ARABIC
ed. (with LT) G. Garitte, *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614. Recensiones Arabicae* (CSCO 340–1 and 347–8, Scr. arab. 26–9, 1973–4).

STUDIES
Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse*, vol. 2, 131–49.
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 163–7.

antiphon Term with two applications to the Christian *liturgy. Antiphonal singing is *chant alternating either between two choirs, or between a *cantor and a choir or congregation. An antiphon is a prose text which precedes and concludes a *psalm or canticle or a text chanted during the *Eucharist.

Alternating choirs reflected *Jewish traditions of singing *psalms. The earliest-known Christian instance, however, involved chanting non-biblical texts, either of doctrinal or doxological content, at vigils in 4th-century *Antioch (*Theodoret, *HE* II, 24). Such antiphonal singing may also be called responsorial singing.

Antiphonal singing in this sense is distinct from the singing of antiphons before and after each psalm. In the *Latin liturgy, the pattern of singing antiphons before and after each psalm was established for the monastic offices in the 6th century (cf. *RegBen* 9–17).

An obscure passage in the **Liber Pontificalis* (45, 1) suggests that Celestine I (422–32) introduced the introit antiphon at the *Eucharist at *Rome. It was an established part of the Mass in 6th-century *Gaul, but for Rome the first detailed description is in **Ordines Romani* 1, which prescribes an antiphon sung before and after a psalm by the *schola cantorum as the pope approaches the *altar. The form is probably derived from practice in Roman monastic offices. Later, and outside Rome, the psalm disappeared from the introit, leaving only the antiphon. JJD

New Grove Music s.v. 'antiphon' (M. Huglo and J. Halmo) and *s.v.* introit (J. W. McKinnon).
DACL 7 *s.v.* introit, cols. 1212–20 (Leclerq).

Antonina (*c.*484–after 565) Wife of *Belisarius. Daughter and granddaughter of charioteers; her mother was employed in the theatre. Antonina had a son, *Photius. After the death of her first husband, a *merchant of *Antioch, she married Belisarius. She accompanied him on the *Byzantine invasions of Africa (533) and *Italy (536/7), where she collaborated with *Theodora in deposing Pope *Silverius (537). Later she joined her husband when he commanded the Roman forces against *Persia, though only after she and Theodora had engineered *John the Cappadocian's downfall (541). She accompanied Belisarius when he returned to Italy but observed the *Ostrogothic *siege of *Rome in 546 from *Ostia. In 548, she returned to Constantinople to seek reinforcements for Italy, but, finding Theodora dead, asked *Justinian I to recall Belisarius.

*Procopius knew her well and vilifies her as a murderous adulterer. He claims she was besotted with Belisarius' godson Theodosius, but that Theodora intervened to reconcile her with her husband, whose judgement was often warped by her influence. After Belisarius died (565), she lived with Justinian's sister Vigilantia. PNB

PLRE III, Antonina 1.
Averil Cameron, *Procopius* (1985), 67–83.
J. A. Evans, *The Empress Theodora*, *Partner of Justinian* (2002), ch. 5.
E. A. Fisher, 'Theodora and Antonina in the Historia Arcana', *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 253–79.

Antonine Itinerary Anonymous compilation of various land and (more briefly) sea routes, naming about 2,740 places and 225 *roads, and surviving in about 50 manuscripts, the earliest being of the 7th century.

The itineraries, all within Roman territory, were probably collected together *c.* AD 300. They state the end points of a journey and the mileage between them, before enumerating the intermediate points, mostly about a day's journey apart. They are grouped roughly by regions, starting from *Mauretania Tingitana and moving eastwards to *Alexandria, before covering *Italy (including *Sicily, *Corsica, and *Sardinia) and the road across the *Balkans elsewhere called the *Via Militaris, followed by the road across *Anatolia elsewhere called the *Pilgrims' Road as far as *Antioch on the Orontes. *Syria and *Egypt then follow, and, after a brief detour into *Thrace, several routes in Anatolia east of Ancyra (*Ankara), in Syria, and in *Palestine. There are then more routes in the Balkans and Italy before the *Itinerary* heads over the Alps to list routes in *Gaul, *Germania, *Spain, and *Britain. Finally there is a list of sea routes and islands, mostly in the Mediterranean, with a special emphasis on *Arles, but venturing as far north as the Orkneys.

The areas most neglected are western Anatolia and the Levant; that covered in most detail is Spain. Occasionally a shortcut (*compendium*) is suggested, but not all the routes are the shortest possible. Some may represent actual journeys, but despite the traditional title the collection has no visible connection with the Antonine emperors. OPN

ed. O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, vol. 1 (1929, repr. 1990).

ed. (with GT, comm., and maps), B. Löhberg, *Das Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti. Ein Strassenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches*, 2 vols. (2006).

R.T. Talbert, 'Audience and the Roman Empire in the *Antonine Itinerary*', in R. Haensch and J. Heinrichs, eds., *Herrschen und Verwalten. Der Alltag der römischen Administration in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (2007), 256–70.

***antoniniani* and radiates** In AD 215 Caracalla introduced a new *silver coin, weighing about one and a half times as much as the traditional **denarius*. Its ancient name is unknown. T. Mommsen dubbed it the *antoninianus* and argued that it was a double *denarius*; recent scholarship has preferred the term radiate (on account of the fact that the *emperor always wears a radiate crown on these coins). The radiate became the main denomination of the 3rd-century *coinage, and underwent serious *debasement. KETB

T. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, vol. 3 (1873), 70–2, 143–4.

BM Roman Coins, V: xvii–xviii.

R. Bland, 'The Development of Gold and Silver Denominations, AD 193–253', in C. E. King and D. Wigg, eds., *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World: The Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 25–27.3.1993* (1996), 63–100.

Antoninus of Piacenza *See* PIACENZA PILGRIM.

Antony, Monastery of S. *Antony the Great, called the Father of Monasticism, spent his final years at a hermitage in the Eastern Desert of *Egypt, near the Red Sea. After his death in *c.* AD 356, his followers established an ascetic community at the site, which in time grew into one of the largest and most important *monasteries in Egypt. While its best surviving historical monument is the Church of S. Antony, with figural paintings from AD 1232/3, fragmentary remnants of earlier murals, discovered during a conservation project in the 1990s, indicate that it was a remodelled Late Antique church. These paintings, from *c.* AD 600, are on the underside of an archway leading into what is now a small side chapel. This space may originally have been a monastic cell, possibly that of Antony himself. ESB

E. S. Bolman, *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea* (2002).

Antony the Great, S. (*c.*251–356) Egyptian hermit; one of the pioneers of Christian monasticism. Antony's life was celebrated in one of the most influential texts of Late Antiquity, the *Vita Antonii*, written in *Greek *c.*358 by *Athanasius, *Patriarch of *Alexandria. While the *VAntonii* has a historical core, Athanasius' theological commitments influence the portraiture. Antony is cast as an illiterate Christian peasant who, after hearing the story of Jesus and the rich young man (Matt. 19), gives away all his belongings. He then apprentices himself to a local *holy man and adopts a stern *asceticism: *fasting, all-night *prayer vigils, celibacy. In a scene much celebrated in medieval art, Antony is enclosed in a tomb and endures ferocious temptation by *demons. He then withdraws to the desert, first to an abandoned fortress, later to the 'Inner Mountain', perhaps Mount Qulzum near the Red Sea, where today stands the Monastery of S. *Antony. In the episodic narrative, Antony is portrayed as a healer and visionary, a charmer of crocodiles and foreteller of the future, and notably as the eloquent 'father' of Egyptian monasticism, giving long speeches to followers who, inspired by his example, made 'the desert a *city' (*VAntonii* 14). Athanasius' political and theological agenda are clearest in scenes where the illiterate Antony refutes learned *pagan *philosophers and where, as the God-taught spokesman for orthodoxy, he denounces schismatic *Meletians and heretical *Arians. The *VAntonii* was soon translated into *Latin, once anonymously and once by *Evagrius (*BHL* 609), and into other languages of Late Antiquity, and became the template for medieval hagiography. *Augustine says in his *Confessions* (VIII, 6, 14–15) that hearing Antony's story catalysed his own dramatic conversion in *Milan in 386.

Stories about and sayings of Antony appear in many early monastic texts. Best known are those preserved in the **Apophthegmata Patrum* which portray him as a venerable *abba* consulted by younger monks and as one struggling with temptations and the tedium of desert living. Recent scholarship has focused on seven **Letters* attributed to Antony, preserved best in an ancient *Georgian translation. S. Rubenson has argued for their authenticity, and his defence has gained increasing acceptance. The Antony of the *Letters* is not the illiterate of the *VAntonii*; instead the author uses *Origenist terminology and extols *gnosis* and asceticism as vehicles for the recovery of one's primordial God-given nature. JWH

Letters (*CPG* 2330): ed. G. Garitte (with LT), *Lettres de Saint Antoine: version géorgienne et fragments coptes*, 2 vols. in 1 (CSCO 148–9; Scr. iber. 5–6; 1955).

ET: S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (1995).

Versions of *VAntonii* (*CPG* 2102):

Greek (*BHG* 140):

ed. G. J. M. Bartelink (annotated with FT), *Athanase d'Alexandre: Vie d'Antoine* (SC 400, 1994).
ET R. C. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (CWS, 1980).
Latin, anonymous translation (*HLL* 5, section 599, 2).
ed. (with IT) G. J. M. Bartelink (*Vite dei Santi* 1, ^{4}1987).
Latin, *Evagrius (*BHL* 609; *HLL* 5, section 599, 3).
PL 73, cols. 125–70, reprinting the edn. of B. Montfaucon, and PG 26, cols. 833–976, reprinting the edn. of H. Rosweyde.
Syriac (*BHO* 68): ed. (with FT and study) R. Draguet (CSCO 415, Scr. syr. 183, 1994).
Sahidic Coptic: ed. G. Garitte (CSCO 117, Scr. copt. 13, 1949).
The death of L. Leloir has suspended editorial work on the Ethiopic.
D. Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism* (1998).
D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk* (2006).
Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 57–107.
C. Stewart, 'Antony of the Desert', in P. Esler, ed., *The Early Christian World* (2000), vol. 2, 1088–101.

Anullinus C. Annius Anullinus, as *Proconsul Africae (303–5) during the Great *Persecution, figures in the *martyr passions of Ss. *Crispina, *Felix, and *Gallonius. *Optatus calls him an 'impious judge' (*Against the Donatists*, 3, 8). He may be the Anullinus appointed *Praefectus Urbi by *Maxentius the day before his defeat by *Constantine I in 312. DMG

PLRE I, Anullinus 3.
NEDC 116–17, 169.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 128–31, 136–7.

Anullinus As *Proconsul Africae (312–13) he received *letters from *Constantine I regarding the restoration of church property after the Great *Persecution (*Eusebius, *HE* X, 5, 15–17) and clerical privileges (*HE* X, 7). In April 313 he forwarded to Constantine charges against *Bishop Caecilian of *Carthage, bringing the *Donatist dispute to imperial attention (*Augustine, *ep.* 88, 2). DMG

PLRE I, Anullinus 2.
NEDC 116–17, 169–70.

anwa' Plural of *naw'* (Ar.), an *astrological/*astronomical term. In pre-Islamic Arabia, *naw'* typically signified a star or asterism, such as the Pleiades, that was associated with rain invocation or periods of rainfall. In Islamic times this usage gradually fell away, probably because it ascribed the power of rainfall to stars rather than God. Muslim scholars instead employed the term to describe the phenomenon of an asterism setting in the West as its opposite was rising in the East at dawn (Lane, *ArabLex* I, 2861–3). The *anwa'* were equated with the 28 lunar stations (*manazil al-qamar*) of the lunar *Zodiac, believed to be borrowed from *India. Each *naw'* lasted thirteen days, except for one of fourteen days to complete the solar year. ARH

Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitab al-Anwa' fi Mawasim al-'Arab* (1988).
D. M. Varisco, 'The Origin of the Anwa' Tradition', *StudIsl* 74 (1992), 5–28.

Anzitene Armenian satrapy east of the Euphrates and south of the Arsanias River (Murat Su, now Keban Baraj). The territory was annexed by the Roman Empire as part of the treaty of 298. The region remained in Roman control until the *Arab conquest. *Justinian I's unlocated foundation of Artaleson was perhaps located there (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 3, 13–14). JCr

apaitetes In *Egypt, a local tax-collector, attested from the 2nd to the 7th century. A liturgical appointee under Trajan, the *apaitetes* was responsible for assessing taxes in *cash and kind, especially to supply the *army, though the actual collecting was done by his *boethos* (**adiutor*). In later times, he was responsible both for non-autopract areas under the *pagarch and for *villages and any **oikos* privileged with *autopragia and, after the *Arab Conquest, for the newly reinstituted poll-tax (*diagraphon*). JGK

B. Palme, *Das Amt des ἀπαιτητής in Ägypten* (MPER NS 20, 1989), with the review of J. G. Keenan, *BiblOr* 51 (1994), 354–7.

Apamea *City on a plateau east of the Orontes in northern *Syria, and, by the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum*, metropolis of *Syria Secunda (cf. *John Malalas, XIV, 24). Founded in 301/299 BC and provided with a fortified citadel (the Qalaat al-Mudiq), the city prospered in the Roman period, acting as a market for an extensive network of *villages in the surrounding countryside. Its *territorium* adjoined that of *Antioch and included much of the fertile Orontes Valley, though increased consumption of catfish in the 7th century may indicate less effective water management in the valley at that time.

Apamea had a reputation for literature and *philosophy. It was the home town of the early 3rd-century *hunting poet Oppian of Apamea and of the *Middle Platonist *Numenius. Amelius, pupil of *Plotinus, retired there, leaving his massive collection of notes on Plotinus' lectures to his adopted son Hostilianus Hesychius (*VPlot* 3). *Iamblichus taught at Apamea around the time of the Great *Persecution; *Libanius spoke of 'the choir of philosophers at Apamea whose chorus-leader was like the gods' (*Oration* 52, 21). Among the contemporaries of Iamblichus was *Sopater, who found the philosophic life not incompatible with service as a *city councillor. Sopater's son, a

correspondent of *Libanius, followed his father's example; his nephew, also Iamblichus, was a correspondent of *Symmachus. A building possibly associated with these philosophers has been excavated under the later cathedral; it contained several fine *mosaics, including one depicting Socrates and the Seven Sages, and another showing Odysseus reunited with Penelope.

The city walls, 7 km (4.5 miles) long, encompassing the plateau, were rebuilt in the 3rd century and were presumably defensible in 540. The city's axial main *streets are aligned exactly north–south and east–west; the broad colonnaded *cardo*, constructed after the *earthquake of AD 115–16, continued to have its colonnades repainted into the 6th century. There were earthquakes in 526 and 528. Repairs under *Justinian I narrowed the street, improved the drainage, and introduced steps which made it impassable to wheeled traffic; *marble paving of the colonnades covered over their mosaics. Near the crossing with the *decumanus* was a public lavatory seating over 80, rebuilt in the 6th century; *coinage finds extend from *Justinian I to *Heraclius, with three coins of the later 7th century. Several grand houses have been excavated, including the 4th-century Triclinos House of about 80 rooms, redecorated with mosaics of Amazons in the 5th century. It was burned in the mid-6th century and rebuilt with *opus sectile over the mosaics in one room; another became its main reception room and was, according to a mosaic *inscription, restored in 539. The house was later subdivided into small rooms containing cisterns, brick ovens, and storage jars, and an amorphous industrial agglomeration was established next door apparently in the 7th century.

Apamea was famed for its *oracle of Zeus Belos, whose *temple was adjacent to the city's **forum*. This was destroyed in 386 on the orders of Marcellus, *Bishop of Apamea (*Theodoret, *HE* V, 22); he was later burned alive while destroying a temple at Aulon south of Apamea (*Sozomen, VII, 15, 13–14). In the rebellions in *Isauria in the later 5th century Bishop Conon led troops loyal to the *Emperor *Zeno, and subsequently troops opposed to the Emperor *Anastasius I. The church's most treasured possession was a fragment a cubit long of the Relic of the True *Cross. Monks from the area around Apamea included the spiritual writer *John of Apamea. The *Piacenza Pilgrim passed through in 570 and found Apamea 'a most splendid city, in which is all the nobility of the Syrians' (46).

Three large churches have been excavated, including the Atrium Church which replaced a smaller building of the 5th century. At the other end of the *decumanus* from the enormous theatre was the cathedral, bearing an inscription of 529 set up by Bishop Paul, who, like much of the population of Syria Secunda (e.g. *Evagrius, *HE* III, 34), was a zealous opponent of *Miaphysite Christology, and who attended the Second *Council of *Constantinople in 536. Around the cathedral were many associated buildings, and opposite it the Pilaster House rebuilt perhaps in the early 6th century, which in the 7th century underwent haphazard conversion of its rooms into a mixture of dwellings and stables.

Though situated at a distance from the *frontier, Apamea was not immune from such Persian *armies as managed to cross the Euphrates. In 252, part of the invading army of *Shapur I swung south after reaching *Hierapolis (Mabbog) and captured Apamea while the rest sacked *Antioch (*ŠKZ* 13). Similarly in 540, *Khosrow I, having sacked Antioch and bathed in the sea at *Seleucia Pieria, captured Apamea, took much treasure after negotiation with the bishop, and held chariot races in the *circus, at which he insisted that the Blues (*Justinian I's favoured *faction) should lose (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 11, 14–38). *Evagrius, as a schoolboy, and his parents were there and witnessed the protection miraculously provided by the Relic of the Cross, an incident commemorated in an image at the cathedral (*HE* IV, 26). In 573, the Persians under *Adarmahan carried off large numbers of captives and the city's long-accumulated wealth and then burned it down (*John of Ephesus, *HE* VI, 6; *Gregory of Tours, *HF* IV, 40; *Theophylact Simocatta, III, 10, 9). Evagrius records the burning of the cathedral. The House of the Deer, with 6th-century mosaics, was burned, probably in 573, abandoned, and then reoccupied in the 7th/8th century with subdivided rooms. The House of the Trilobe Columns, grandly rebuilt with opus sectile floors in the 6th century, was burned; in the 7th century its courtyard was subdivided into individual rooms. Apamea was captured during the *Persian invasion of the early 7th century (perhaps in 611). It was taken early in the *Arab invasion, probably in 636. The Arab geographer al-Yaqubi (writing in 891) describes Apamea as a ruin. KETB; OPN

TIB 15 (2015) Syria, 844–61.

J. Balty, ed., *Apamée de Syrie: bilan de recherches archéologiques 1965–1968* (1969).

J. Balty and J. Ch. Balty, eds., *Apamée de Syrie: bilan de recherches archéologiques 1969–1971* (1972).

J. Balty, 'L'Oracle d'Apamée', *L'Antiquité Classique* 50 (1981), 5–14.

J. Ch. Balty, 'Apamée de Syrie, archéologie et histoire, I: des origines à la Tétrarchie', in *ANRW* II.8 (1977), 103–34.

J. Ch. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (1981).

J. Ch. Balty, 'Apamea in Syria in the Second and Third Centuries AD', *JRS* 78 (1988), 91–104.

C. Foss, 'Syria in Transition, AD 550–750: An Archaeological Approach', *DOP* 51 (1997), 189–269.

Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites*, 54–63.

Aphaca Rural *temple of Aphrodite, high in Mount Lebanon, birthplace of Adonis. Its rituals, fondly recalled by *Zosimus (I, 58), so disgusted *Constantine I by their lewdness that after a personal visit, he ordered soldiers to destroy it (*Eusebius, *VCon.* III, 55). OPN

Millar, *RNE* 217, 276–7.

B. Soyez, *Byblos et la Fête des Adonies* (EPRO 60, 1977).

Aphrahat (*fl.* 336–45) Persian churchman and ascetic referred to as 'the Persian Sage' and called Jacob in the 5th- and 6th-century manuscripts that preserve his works. The name Aphrahat is first recorded in the *Lexicon* of Bar Bahlul (*fl.* mid-10th cent.). Aphrahat was a Son of the *Covenant, and was evidently a spiritual leader among this urban ascetic community, speaking out against such practices as the cohabitation of male and female members of the order. His high standing within the Persian Church is suggested by the fact that he addressed an admonitory *letter to the *bishops and clergy of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon. He witnessed *Shapur II's (309–79) repeated *persecutions of the Persian Christian community.

Aphrahat wrote a series of 23 *Demonstrations* over an eight-year period, the first 22 of which are arranged alphabetically. These *Demonstrations*, which Aphrahat also refers to as *sermons and letters, cover a broad variety of topics and are written in rich artistic *Syriac prose. The first ten *Demonstrations*, dated to 337, treat ascetical and ethical themes (Faith, Love, Fasting, *Prayer, Wars, the Children of the Covenant, Penitents, Resurrection of the Dead, Humility, and Pastors). *Demonstrations* 11–22, dated to 344, largely speak against Judaism and Jewish practices, though aimed at Christians attracted to Judaism rather than as a polemic against the powerful Persian Jewish community (Circumcision, Passover, Sabbath, An Exhortation to the Bishops and Faithful of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the Distinction between Foods, the People and the Peoples, Christ the Son of God, Virginity and Continence, Against the Gathering of the Jews, Support of the Needy, On Persecutions, Death and the Last Days). The final *Demonstration*, dated to 345, takes the theme of the Grape Cluster from Isaiah 65:8–9 and presents an elaborate account of the preservation of the *Jews for the sake of Christ and the ultimate election of the Gentile Church as the bridegroom in place of the Jews.

Aphrahat's only clear literary source is the Syriac version of the *Bible, with Gospel citations from the **Diatessaron*, though influence from the **Odes of Solomon* and the **Didascalia Apostolorum* can be argued. Though Aphrahat's abundant biblical citations have text-critical value, they principally expose his exegetical method and homiletic objectives. Aphrahat's theology is in line with other pre-philosophical Christian authors of the first three centuries, as can be seen from his subordinationist Christology, which is more redolent of Justin Martyr and the Clementine *Recognitions* than post-Nicene orthodoxy. His asceticism reflects a yearning for the angelic ideal of sexless, ever-watchful *praise of God. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Aphrahat, entry 39 (Brock).

ed (with LT) J. Parisot in PatSyr I/1–2 (1894, 1897).

ET A. Lehto, ed., *The Demonstrations of Aphrahat, the Persian Sage* (GECS 27, 2010).

GT (annotated) P. Bruns (FontChri 5/1–2, 1991).

FT (annotated with introduction) M.-J. Pierre (SC 349 and 359, 1988–9).

P. Bruns, *Das Christusbild Aphrahats des Persischen Weisen* (1990).

S. H. Griffith, 'Monks, "Singles", and the "Sons of the Covenant"', in E. Carr, ed., *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft* (1993), 141–60.

R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* (^{2}2005).

C. Shepardson, 'Paschal Politics: Deploying the Temple's Destruction against Fourth-Century Judaizers', *VigChrist* 62 (2008), 233–60.

T. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage: Aphrahat's Text of the Fourth Gospel*, 2 vols. (diss. Amsterdam, 1975).

Aphrodisias *City and metropolitan bishopric in the *province of *Caria, from the 7th century renamed Stauropolis-Caria (mod. Geyre), located in the upper valley of the Morsynus River (mod. Dandalas, southwest Turkey). An important city known for its cult of Aphrodite, late *paganism, philosophical *school, and *sculpture production, its investigation has made significant contributions to studies of urban life, art history, and prosopography. Excavations by New York University under K. T. Erim in 1961–90 uncovered the monumental city centre (theatre, Bouleuterion/Odeon, sanctuary of Aphrodite, Stadium, Sebasteion [*temple of *imperial cult], *baths, two agoras, a tetrapylon, civic *basilica, and churches). Fieldwork since 1991 (under R. R. R. Smith) has combined more limited, strategic excavation with an increased focus on documentation, conservation, reconstruction (*anastylosis*), and publication. Geophysical survey (1995–8) revealed a planned street grid, and the Aphrodisias Regional Survey project (2005–9) explored the city's rural context.

In the mid-3rd century AD Aphrodisias was included in the new province of Caria (and *Phrygia), and by the mid-4th century had become the provincial capital. Aphrodisias may have experienced stagnation and decline, for during the 4th and first half of the 5th century *governors and imperial officials, rather than local *patrons, undertook major building projects. These included new city walls constructed in the mid-4th century, and the conversion of part of the Stadium (1st century AD) into an arena for beast hunts

(*venationes*). Imperial officials and governors were honoured with *statues and *inscriptions by the *city council and these reveal much about the public display of statuary. *Marble-working remained an important local trade: a sculpture workshop active until the late 4th/early 5th century was found beside the Bouleuterion/Odeon.

Inscriptions and written sources reveal a diverse population of pagans, *Jews, and Christians during the 4th–5th centuries. Aphrodisias had a reputation as a place of learning from the 2nd century AD onwards, and in the late 5th century, Asclepiodotus of *Alexandria, a *Neoplatonist *philosopher and teacher, took up residence and married the daughter of a prominent pagan landowner, also named Asclepiodotus (*Damascius, *VIsidori*, frs. 202, 204, 220, 222, 233, *Epit.* 126, 131; *Zacharias of *Mytilene, *VSevAnt* 17–19; *PLRE* II, Asclepiodotus 3 and 2). R. R. R. Smith has identified a peristyle *house adorned with 5th-century shield *portraits of *philosophers and their students as a philosophical *school, perhaps that of Asclepiodotus of Alexandria. Some pagans were drawn to Judaism: two *inscriptions (3rd cent.) list Jewish *synagogue members and Gentiles termed 'God-fearers' (*theosebeis*), some of whom were *city councillors. Pagan *aristocrats supported the rebellion of *Illus (*c.*481–8) against the *Emperor *Zeno (*VSevAnt* 4off.), and inscriptions allude to clashes between retainers of powerful pagan and Christian magnates. Inscriptions on stadium seats indicate the rising importance of circus *factions (Blues and Greens) in public life of the late 5th and early 6th centuries.

Private paganism persisted at Aphrodisias into the early 6th century, but the Christianization of society and public space proceeded apace. In *c.*AD 500 the *Temple of Aphrodite and its *temenos* were transformed into a metropolitan church complex. The new cathedral (the 'temple-church') was one of the largest in western Asia Minor and was perhaps dedicated to the Archangels. An adjacent *triconch complex has been identified as a bishop's residence (the 'Bishop's Palace'). Four extramural churches, some perhaps *martyria, have been located in the cemeteries. Aphrodisias became a centre of *Miaphysite Christology in the late 5th century, following the foundation of a Miaphysite *monastery in the vicinity by native brothers Paralius and Athanasius (*VSevAnt* 44). Euthymius the *bishop was exiled for his Miaphysite beliefs in 518, and Bishop Paul (558–76) and Bishop Deuterius (576–7, 582) served as Miaphysite alternatives to the Chalcedonian incumbent.

*Justinian I in 529 refers to civic endowments at Aphrodisias (*NovJust* 160), and C. Roueché interprets an increase in formal secular and honorific inscriptions from the mid-5th to mid-6th centuries as evidence of renewed prosperity and a late vitality in civic politics and private *euergetism. A new official appears in inscriptions, the *Pater tis Poleos* (*Pater Civitatis) who supervised public works; others record private individuals and two bishops who restored buildings. Such inscriptions disappear after the mid-6th century, which C. Roueché associates with the final disappearance of old curial government, and its replacement with more informal forms of governance by the civic elite.

Excavations reveal large-scale abandonment and urban collapse during the 7th century, but causes for this remain uncertain. During the 7th to 9th centuries occupation retreated to the old acropolis and theatre, now fortified, and the episcopal complex, which remained in use. Although it remained the metropolitan see of Stauropolis-Caria, this shrunken settlement ceased to be a provincial capital, and by the 8th century it belonged to the maritime *Cibyrrhaeotic *Theme.

EAI

R. Cormack, 'The Temple as the Cathedral', in C. Roueché and K. T. Erim, eds., *Aphrodisias Papers [1]: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture* (JRA Suppl. Ser., 1, 1990), 75–88.

L. Hébert, 'Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Aphrodisias', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 85–113.

C. Ratté, 'New Research on the Urban Development of Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity', in Parrish, *Urbanism of Roman Asia Minor*, 117–47.

C. Ratté and P. D. De Staebler, 'Survey Evidence for Late Antique Settlement in the Region around Aphrodisias', in Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor*, 123–36.

C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions* (electronic edn., ^{2}2004, accessed summer 2012) http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004.

J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, electronic on-line corpus (2007) (accessed summer 2012) http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007.

R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80 (1990), 127–55.

R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300–600', *JRS* 89 (1999), 155–89.

K. Welch, 'The Stadium at Aphrodisias', *AJA* 102/3 (1998), 547–69.

F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c.370–529*, vol. 2 (1995), 52–71.

Aphrodito (Aphrodite) A city in Middle *Egypt on the west bank of the *Nile, source of many *Greek and *Coptic *papyri (especially from the 6th-century archive of *Dioscorus—a prominent local lawyer, *poet, and teacher—and his family) which illustrate the social, economic, legal, political, and religious history of the town and its region.

Covering about 1,650 ha (4,077 acres) and with a population of perhaps *c.*7,500 at its floruit, Aphrodito was first attested in the 4th century AD and survived to the late 8th century. In the 6th century, it enjoyed the right of **autopragia* collecting its own taxes. In 524, under *Justin I, its urban lands (*astika*) were surveyed in a cadaster preserved on papyrus that recorded, in addition to lay holdings, six churches, three *eukteria* (oratories), a hospice, and nine *monasteries. Also preserved is a tax register from 525/6 listing eleven churches and three monasteries, as well as lay taxpayers on *village property (*kometika*). Aphrodito yielded on average 6,000 **artabas* of wheat and *c.*550 **solidi* in money tax per year in the mid-6th century.

In a report (*didaskalia*) from before 547 (P.Cair. Masp. III, 67283), Aphrodito's *headman (Protocometes) as well as clergy, landowners, notaries, tax-collectors, and *guild heads complained to the *Empress *Theodora about wrongs done by the *pagarch. Socially complex, the *city over its history employed practitioners of almost a hundred different trades, crafts, and professions (including lawyers, physicians, and teachers). Twenty-five civil-service officials are attested, as are some forty military-related positions and ten church offices. Aphrodito was the locus of families of well-off small landowners who increased their holdings and wealth through lending and leasing. There was also at least one large *estate, owned by a former prefect called Julian, which produced possibly over half of the city's total tax revenue.

Aphrodito's people had *notaries draw up documents for them in both *Greek and *Coptic: the latter, mostly *arbitrations, embody a very early use of the Egyptian vernacular for legal instruments. Also preserved in Greek are the fragmentary *report of court proceedings at a murder trial (the outcome of which unfortunately is lost). *Dioscorus, the lawyer and notary (*c.*525–85), whose father Apollos had served as village headman and founded a monastery, composed numerous Greek poems that functioned as *petitions in verse, asking favours of the officials whom he *praised. His works reflect the poetic influence of *Nonnus of *Panopolis and of the intellectual blend of classical and Christian strands in Late Antique culture. He also compiled a short Greek–Coptic glossary.

Aphrodito continued to exist and to be surveyed by and pay taxes to the Muslim government after the *Arab conquest of Egypt. Papyri preserve an 8th-century correspondence between Basilios, the Christian headman, and *Qurra b. Sharik, the Muslim governor.

LSBM

J. -L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle: la bibliothothèque, et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodite*, 2 vols. (Mémoires du Caire 115, 1999).

J.-L. Fournet, ed., *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte: histoire et culture dans l'Egypte byzantine: actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 8–10 décembre 2005* (EAHA, 2008).

L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and his World* (TCH 16, 1988).

G. R. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (2008).

G. R. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodito* (ASP 50, 2011).

C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô, 525–526* (ACHCByz monographies 16, 2004).

Aphthonius *Greek teacher of *rhetoric active in the later 4th century. He appears to be the recipient of one of *Libanius' *letters (*ep.* 1065) and may well have been his pupil. He is best known as the author of a set of preliminary rhetorical exercises (**Progymnasmata*). Though it was just one of many such handbooks in circulation in Late Antiquity, Aphthonius' version came to be the authoritative source for the *Progymnasmata* in Byzantium, where it served as an introduction to *Hermogenes' treatises on *declamation, and then in the West from the Renaissance on. Although Aphthonius' explanations tend to be concise, the great advantage of his method was its inclusion of examples of each exercise; these came to have a great influence in themselves. RW

PLRE I, Aphthonius.

ed. (annotated with FT) M. Patillon, *Corpus Rhetoricum* I (2008), 112–62.

ET G. A. Kennedy in *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (2003).

Aphu (4th–5th cent.) Monk and *Bishop of *Oxyrhynchus in *Egypt. His *Life* reports that he first lived as a hermit with a herd of buffalo, and later as bishop resided in town only on Saturdays and Sundays, living the rest of the time in a *monastery. According to his *Life*, Aphu disputed with the *Patriarch *Theophilus of *Alexandria over the anthropomorphism of God, the belief that God possesses a bodily form like human beings. Aphu's *Life* may show his historical involvement in the dispute or he may be a figure representing the views of contemporary monks. TV

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Aphu, cols. 154a–155a (T. Orlandi).

BHO 77: ed. (with IT) F. Rossi, *Trascrizione di tre manoscritti copto de Museo Egizio di Torino* (1885), 5–22 and 83–8.

Apion family and estates Important landowners in and around *Oxyrhynchus in Middle *Egypt, known from papyrological evidence as major landowners from the early to mid-5th century onwards, when they emerge as members of the *city council of Oxyrhynchus entrusted with the curatorship of

*imperial estates in its vicinity. Over the course of the following 150 years, the family prospered both economically and politically, so that by the reign of *Justinian I its members had acquired senatorial status and held high office in *Constantinople, where the family is recorded to have held urban and rural property, as well as in *Alexandria and possibly as far away as *Sicily. In the second half of the 6th century, the family's political activities appear to have become more local and focused on Egypt, but the family and its estates continued to be important in the affairs of the Oxyrhynchite *nome until the *Persian invasion of Egypt in the 7th century, when the main branch of the family disappears from the historical record.

The *papyri from Oxyrhynchus contain many documents from the family's local estate archive, making possible the reconstruction of much of the internal administration and economic organization of the Apion estates. The estates employed considerable numbers of tied agricultural workers (the **coloni adscripticii* of the legal sources) engaged in both *farming and viticulture. T. Hickey regards viticulture as the main estate activity; P. Sarris regards viticulture as more marginal and thinks the estates were more commercialized, extensive, and centrally managed, though Hickey disagrees. PS

PLRE II, 1325 and *PLRE* IIIB, 1544 have family trees.
CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Apion, Family of cols. 155a–156a (W. H. C. Frend).
M. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (2001); in a series called Munera, which I cannot locate.
P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (2006).
T. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (2012).

apocalypses, Jewish An extensive array of texts survives which share, to varying degrees, common topoi, narrative techniques, and eschatology which modern scholars label 'apocalyptic' (from Gk. *apokalypsis*: 'revelation/disclosure'). The texts are usually narrated in the voice of an ancient prophet who reveals 'secret knowledge' about an impending, righteous 'end of time', addressed to a community who thought of itself as being the 'last generation'.

Establishing a precise corpus of Jewish apocalypses is difficult: only one apocalypse, the Book of Daniel, is part of the Hebrew *Bible, the others exist in scattered and fragmentary manuscripts now relegated to the fringes of theological canons. Since many texts are not expressly titled 'apocalypse', and most exist in imperfect manuscript traditions, scholars delineate the corpus by identifying texts that possess the broad parameters of an 'apocalyptic genre' (Collins, 2–23); Charlesworth (1987, 53–4) describes apocalypses as narratives written in mythological language, having eschatological tone and expressing disenchantment with the present.

The genre's origins are obscure. The first text entitled 'Apocalypse' is the 'Apocalypse of John', the Book of Revelation in the Christian Bible, and 2nd-century AD Christians applied the term to an array of writings; but Jewish writings of the apocalyptic genre began earlier, probably in the 2nd century BC after the cessation of prophecy. Interests amongst Jewish monotheists about a righteous future mixed with Babylonian, Ugaritic, Persian, and Greek theological ideas, giving shape to Jewish apocalyptic literature, not as one cohesive tradition or single community, rather as a corpus created by different groups and movements who marshalled creative and esoteric world-views to respond to changing realities in the Near East between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD.

The First Book of Enoch (specifically its segment 'Book of Watchers') is considered the oldest Jewish Apocalypse; Jubilees and the Book of Daniel also date to the late 2nd century BC. Other early texts include the Dead Sea Scrolls of the Qumran Essene Sect, Enoch, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Psalms of Solomon, Baruch, the Testament of Abraham, and the Testament of Job are of the Roman period. There was a proliferation of apocalyptic texts in the early 7th century at the time of the *Persian invasion of the Roman Near East, the counter-attack of *Heraclius which drove them back, and the *Arab invasions; these texts include the Book of *Zerubbabel. PAW

Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*.
J. H. Charlesworth, *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (1987).
J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (1998).
P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (1997).
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 307–21.

apocalyptic and eschatology Not the least of the differences between the religious traditions of Late Antiquity were their contrasting expectations of the future. Those of *pagans were rooted in traditional *mythology, in *oracles, and in the hope that the Golden Age would return (e.g. *Vergil, *Eclogue*, 4), those of *Jews grew out of prophecy, and those of Christians out of a conviction that the God who had made the world out of nothing would at some point bring it to an end. Details from each tradition might be melded in order to suggest a broader range of support for specific sets of expectations (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst.* VII, 18 and 25). *Islam presented a drastic expectation of the Last Day and the coming Judgement. OPN

apocalyptic and eschatology, Christian Christianity began with eschatological hopes which allegorizing and spiritualizing did not dilute. The assumption of early Christians like Justin Martyr and Irenaeus that they were living in the End Times was met with the millenarian *chronography developed by *Hippolytus and Julius Africanus, which set the End of the World some 300 years in the future, and *Origen's *allegorical interpretation of the *Bible, which found in eschatological passages reference to past events and spiritual growth. The popularity of apocalyptic prophecy in marginal rural communities could enrich prophetic traditions; a text like the late 3rd-century *Apocalypse of *Elijah*, for instance, absorbed not only *Jewish and Christian, but also native Egyptian ideas. Book VII of *Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*, however, is an example of a literate eschatological narrative drawing on *pagan poetic and philosophical, Persian and Egyptian as well as Christian sources.

After *emperors adopted Christianity, the late 4th and early 5th centuries saw renewed expectation of an imminent End, perhaps because the *Barbarian Migrations showed up weakness in the Church's new ally. This resurgence is evident in the prose of *Apollinarius of *Laodicaea and *Sulpicius Severus, the poetry of *Prudentius and *Paulinus of Nola, and new apocalyptic compositions such as the *Coptic *Apocalypse of *Shenoute*. In the face of such expectation, *Augustine, drawing on the *Regulae* of *Tyconius, interpreted many apocalyptic passages in reference to the present condition of Christians, while maintaining an expectation of some eschatological future, which he declined to define rigidly.

The end of Julius Africanus' sixth millennial day (AD 500/501) fell within the reign of *Anastasius I (491–518), and this saw a renewal in apocalyptic preoccupations, as in the *Oracle of Ba'albek. For most of the 6th century there was a lull in immediate eschatological expectation, although it has been suggested that much imperial activity in the reign of *Justinian I (527–65) was intended to hasten the coming of Christ. This period also saw the publication of four new commentaries on the Revelation of S. John the Divine, after its acceptance in the East as part of the biblical canon in the 5th century. These are scholarly commentaries, written by Oecumenius (*c.*600) and Andrew of *Caesaraea (563–637) in *Greek, and of *Primasius of *Hadrumetum and Apringius in *Latin, and all eschew suggestion of an imminent End. By *c.*600, though, with the *Lombard invasion of *Italy, *Gregory the Great was aware he was living in the Last Times. The *Arab conquests were also understood in eschatological terms, especially articulated in the *Syriac *Apocalypse* of *Ps.-*Methodius*, later translated into Greek and thence into Latin. BMG

P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (1985).
R. Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?', *JnlBiblLit* 95 (1976), 447–58.
B. Daley, 'Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology', in *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (2000), vol. 2, 3–47.
D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (1993).
S. Freund, *Laktanz Divinae Institutiones Buch 7: De Beata Vita: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (2009).
P. Fredriksen, 'Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity', *VigChrist* 45 (1991), 151–83.
P. Magdalino, 'The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda', in R. Beaton and C. Roueché, eds., *The Making of Byzantine History* (1993), 3–34.
G. J. Reinink, 'Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam', in Cameron and Conrad, eds., *BEINE* I: *Literary Source Material* (1992), 149–87.
J. Taubes, *Occidental Eschatology*, tr. D. Ratmoko (2009).

apocalyptic and eschatology, Islamic The Qur'ān speaks of 'the hour' (*al-sa'a*) prior to the resurrection and final judgement. Described as inevitable, the hour is preceded by portents (moon splitting, earth quaking, and trumpet sounding). The exact time is known only to God but is said to be nigh (*hadiths mention 100 years), making *Muhammad herald of the end times. Hadith collections (notably Nu'aym b. Hammad, d. 844, and Muslim b. al-Hajjaj, d. 875) tie end-times events to actual developments in early *Islam, both intra-communal strife (**fitna*) and combat (*malhama*) especially against the Byzantine foe in anticipation of the conquest of *Constantinople, but also against *Jews (speaking stones will expose their hiding-places). Hybridization with Jewish and Christian texts is particularly noticeable in the early Muslim interest in the Prophet Daniel. The end will follow upon reversion to idolatry, moral depravity, natural disasters, vicious warfare, armies swallowed up in the sand, the release of Gog and Magog, and the climactic battle between Jesus and the Antichrist as prelude to the restoration of justice on earth (sometimes accompanied by the appearance of the Mahdi). The goal is to strengthen believers during sociopolitical upheaval, encouraging them to stand firm, in faith and in battle, and assuring them that all proceeds according to divine plan even when circumstances belie the triumph of Islam. For this reason, reports of events leading up to the hour are attributed to Muhammad. Political dimensions of such literature are unclear, serving either to critique *Umayyad rule or to legitimize it in a prophetically established future. PH

D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (2002).
J. P. Filiu, *Apocalypse in Islam* (2011).

apocalyptic and eschatology, Jewish The conception of the 'End of Days' is articulated across Jewish

theology. Early texts identify a future time of God's punishment of the iniquitous with promise of salvation for those who 'seek the Lord' (e.g. Amos 2:4–6, 14); the destruction of the First Temple added new layers of eschatology regarding prophecies of fantastical doom wrought by Gog and Magog and the beginning of a new time with the messianic restoration of Israel (e.g. Ezekiel 38–48). Earliest references to *qez ha-yamim* ('the term of the days') appear in the 2nd century BC (Daniel 12:13), as do the first references to resurrection on the Last Day, that God will judge all people across time (Daniel 12:1–2), and that the 'term of days' is near at hand.

The Book of Daniel heralds the beginning of Jewish apocalyptic traditions which have varied eschatology (Rowland 29–37), but focus particularly upon a transcendent aspect that seeks retribution beyond the bounds of history. Some Jewish groups at this time imagined themselves as 'the last generation' (e.g. the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1QH 3: 34), and so expanded an array of eschatological ideas from earlier theological foundations. Texts elaborate upon messianism as heralding the End of Time, identifying the Messiah as 'saviour', 'redeemer', and 'Son of Man'; they also develop detailed narratives of the steps triggering different stages in history's predetermined march to the End. Time is divided into a present (*olam ha-zeh*) and a time to come (*olam ha-ba*), in which the latter, eschatological period marks God's judgement of all humanity. *Gehenna* (Gk. form of Hebrew 'the Valley of Hinnom', a ravine south of *Jerusalem) is developed as the destination of the damned, contrasted with Paradise (Garden of Eden) for the saved. Notions of a future life, the New Temple, and primacy of Jerusalem as locus for key future events are also articulated, but not across all apocalyptic writings.

Jewish apocalyptic eschatology has various similarities to Talmudic literature in terms of descriptions of Paradise and Hell and of the Seven Heavens, the Messiah, and the fate of the soul. Apocalyptic eschatology of the 'End of Days', its mystical knowledge and angelology, influenced Midrashim, Jewish mysticism, early Christianity, and early *Islam where *hadith discussions of *Muhammad's Night Journey and *Umayyad-era politics borrowed significantly from Jewish apocalyptic.

PAW

Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*.
J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (1998).
D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (2002).
C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (1982).

apocalyptic and eschatology, Manichaean Two 3rd-century Manichaean sources, *Mani's own *Shābuhragān*, and the *Sermon on the Great War* by Koustaios, supply the plot lines of Manichaean eschatology. The *Coptic homily by Koustaios is widely considered to be dependent in places on the Pahlavi *Shābuhragān*, although its descriptions of the end of the world are less developed than those in Mani's work. For Mani, the narrative of the world's end followed naturally from his account of the world's creation, itself the beginning of a degradative process, with the myth in its entirety presented in his *Shābuhragān* for the edification of the *Sasanian monarch *Shapur I. According to this account, the end times are presaged by the appearance of the deity Jesus the Splendour (the god Xradeshahr in the *Shābuhragān*), who begins the separation of the righteous from the unrighteous in language and imagery borrowed from the Gospel according to S. Matthew (Matt. 25–6). The righteous—portrayed as the active proponents of Mani's teachings—are rewarded with the New Paradise, whilst the unrighteous fall together with archons and *demons into the Great Fire. Anything unredeemed in this purificatory stage will be incarcerated in the eternal prison. Manichaean eschatology represents an imaginative reinterpretation of Jewish, Christian, and Zoroastrian *apocalyptic.

The **Mani Codex* reveals the influence of various Jewish pseudepigraphic apocalypses on Manichaean theology. Precisely how many of these were known to Mani is debatable, although the apostle's familiarity with the apocalyptic ideas in Enochic literature is demonstrable from his *Shābuhragān*, and was in all likelihood acquired during his time with the Jewish-Christian Elchasaite sect in southern *Mesopotamia.

NJBB

ed. (with comm.) M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handscriften M98/99 und M7980–7984* (1992).
ed. H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (1993).
ed. N. A. Pedersen, *Manichaean Homilies: With a Number of Hitherto Unpublished Fragments* (2006).
J. C. Reeves, *Heralds of that Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (1996).
EncIran VI/3 *s.v.* Cosmogony and Cosmology iii. in Manichaeism, 310–15 (Sundermann).
EncIran (2009) *s.v.* Manicheism i. General Survey (Sundermann).
EncIran (2002) *s.v.* Manicheism ii. The Manichaean Pantheon (Sundermann).

apocalyptic and eschatology, pagan Christian sources attest the continuing vigour of diverse traditions of pagan revelation in Late Antiquity; for convenience these traditions may be divided into survivals of

self-described Graeco-Roman traditions, purported revelation from Iranian sources, and those alleging Egyptian origin. This division accords with an important compendium of ancient revelation composed in the reign of Anastasius I (AD 491–518), partly surviving in the **Theosophy of Tübingen*.

The most significant Graeco-Roman tradition coalesced around the figure of the *Sibyl. *Procopius mentions a number of Sibylline oracles in circulation in the 540s, including texts in *Latin, which would, in an earlier age, have been recognized as de facto non-canonical. Procopius also seems to have consulted Greek Sibylline oracles similar to those in the surviving Sibylline verse collections, which took the form in which they now survive between the 4th and 7th centuries. Another tradition, taking shape in prose at the end of the 4th century, was attributed to the Tiburtine Sibyl (*see* ORACLE OF BA'ALBEK). It included a world history divided along the principles of *chronography into a number of ages (varying according to the redaction) followed by a vision of the End of the World. The form proved immensely popular and was adapted into a wide variety of languages.

There were two particularly important Iranianizing traditions. One consisted of the so-called **Chaldean Oracles* (attributed to a 2nd-century *theurgist, probably apocryphal, named Julianus). These offer guidance in theurgic technique through oracles attributed to various pagan gods. The other important tradition was the eschatological prophecy of *Hystaspes, possibly composed in the 2nd century, but best known through *Lactantius' quotations in the *Divine Institutes*.

Perhaps the most significant apocalyptic collection of this period was that attributed to *Hermes Trismegistus. Known now from a *Coptic Christian as well as from Greek tradition, these texts purport to be the record of instruction given directly to a human by the Hellenized form of the Egyptian god Thoth. While possibly containing material rooted in much earlier Egyptian tradition, the extant texts reveal the importance of Platonizing thought in Late Antique culture. DSP

P. F. Beatrice, *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia: An Attempt at Reconstruction* (2001).

D. S. Potter, *Prophets and Emperors: Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius* (1994).

S. Freund, *Laktanz, Divinae Institutiones Buch 7 De Beata Vita, Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (2009).

apocalyptic and eschatology, Zoroastrian Zoroastrian eschatology presents a difficult set of dating problems. Indirect evidence points to a date for the development of the **Avesta* and apocalypses in the late 2nd millennium BC, but more concrete analysis posits the *Sasanian period as the era when they were consolidated in written form, with later modifications in the medieval period.

Zoroastrian eschatological expectations can be roughly divided into three types: (1) a scheme of ages of the world related to world kingdoms and metals (*Zand i Wahman Yasn*, 1, 3); (2) a separate scheme which divides the eras of world history from its creation to the end into four periods of 3,000 years each, followed by an ordeal by molten metal (GrBd 1.14, 27, 28, 32; 1a.1; 4; 5b.15; Bd 30.20; 34; Yasna 44.15); (3) a scheme involving a combat between two stallions (Yasht, 8).

All Zoroastrian eschatology deals simultaneously with individual and collective judgements, and is strongly linked to dualistic concepts of righteousness and evil, Good being *Ohrmazd himself, who is perpetually opposed to Evil, *Ahriman. Although most Zoroastrian eschatological texts are preserved only in copies made after the *Arab conquest (especially the *Zand-i Wahman Yasn* and the **Arda Wiraz Nameh*, and to a lesser extent the *Jāmāsp Nāmag*), the last Sasanian sovereign, *Yazdegerd III (630–51), is sometimes written of in apocalyptic terms. These take the form of poems recited by his best general, Rostam, as in the final section of the medieval epic the *Shahnameh* or *Book of Kings* of Ferdowsi; these verses have, accidentally or not, many parallels in the Oracles of *Hystaspes, as they are quoted by the Latin Christian *Lactantius.

The Zoroastrian ideas of the apocalypse emerged fully formed in the early Islamic period under the influence of Judaism, Christianity, and *Islam, though they are ultimately based on narratives present in the Avestan texts. Apocalyptic legends, which appear in different variations in different texts, focus on the final battle between the cosmic forces of good and evil and the struggle to bring about the *Frashgird*, the 'Renovation' of the earth. Middle Persian texts describe three millennial ages that cumulatively bring about the final battle. At the end of each age a saviour defeats the forces of evil, though eventually the forces of evil return. The first two saviours, Ushedar and Ushedarmah, are born from the seed of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) preserved in Lake Kayansih at the end of the first two millennia. The third millennium arrives with the birth of *Soshans, the final saviour, in the same circumstances, from a virgin who has been impregnated by the preserved seed of Zoroaster. Ahriman's minions ravage the world and after epic battles the armies of Soshans, which include the hero Karasaspa and the immortal Pishyotan, as well as the legendary king Kay Khosrow, defeat the forces of evil. The perfect state is then restored and all souls are purified by molten metal that cleanses and unites all beings. Ahriman and his works are destroyed and ritual cleansing performed by Soshans restores the world to its perfect and eternal state. VD; KR

EncIran XII/2 (2003) *s.v.* Hell i: in Zoroastrianism, 154–6 (P. Gignoux).

EncIran II/2 (1986) *s.v.* apocalyptic i in Zoroatrianism, 154–60 (M. Boyce).
ed. (with FT) P. Gignoux, *Le Livre d'Arda Viraz* (1984).
ed. C. G. Cereti, *The Zand i Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse* (1995).
ed. (with FT and comm.) A. Domenico, *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg: un texte eschatologique zoroastrien* (2013).
C. Cereti, 'Myths, Legends, Eschatologies', in M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina, eds., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (2015), 260–72.
J. J. Collins, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14, 1979).
T. Daryaee, 'A Historical Episode in the Zoroastrian Apocalyptic Tradition: The Romans, the Abbasids and the Khorramdēns', in T. Daryaee and M. Omidsalar, eds., *The Spirit of Wisdom [Menog ī Xrad]: Essays in Memory of Ahmad Tafazzoli* (2004), 64–76.
A. Hultgård, 'Forms and Origins of Iranian Apocalypticism', in D. Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (1979), 387–412.
T. Olsson. 'The Apocalyptic Activity: The Case of Jāmāsp Nāmag', in D. Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (1979), 21–50.

Apollinarius of Laodicaea and Apollinarianism (*c.*310/13–*c.*390) Rhetorician, *bishop, theologian. Apollinarius taught *rhetoric and was a cleric in the church of *Laodicaea on the coast of *Syria. According to *Sozomen (VI, 25), *c.*328/332, Theodotus, Bishop of Laodicea, temporarily excommunicated Apollinarius and his father for listening to the recitation of a *hymn to Dionysus by the pagan sophist Epiphanius, with whom Apollinarius had studied.

Apollinarius became bishop under uncertain circumstances *c.*360. When in June 362 a law of the *Emperor *Julian disqualified Christians from teaching rhetoric from classical texts, Apollinarius and his father, a **grammaticus* of *Beirut, circumvented the decree by composing biblical stories in the genres typical of *Greek literature. *Socrates says that Apollinarius expounded the Gospels in the form of Platonic dialogues (Socrates III, 16); *Sozomen reports that he wrote in heroic verse a history of the Hebrews up to the time of Saul, comedies after the style of Menander, Euripidean tragedies, and Pindaric lyrics, among other works (V, 18). None of this survives. He was also the author of a (lost) refutation of *Porphyry's *Against the Christians*, a work apparently employed by later Christian polemicists.

Until the mid-370s, his contemporaries regarded Apollinarius as a respected supporter of Nicene Trinitarian theology. After this, Apollinarius' Christological views attracted criticism. Apollinarius denied that in the Incarnation the Second Person of the Trinity took a rational human soul in addition to a physical body. To his critics, this Christological model compromised human salvation on the principle that *Gregory of *Nazianzus asserted: 'what has not been assumed has not been healed' (*ep.*101). *Damasus at *Rome first condemned Apollinarius' teaching *c.*377/8 partly in response to Apollinarius' ordination of his disciple Vitalis as *Patriarch of *Antioch, thus initiating schism in the Eastern Church. *Councils in Antioch (379), *Constantinople (381), and Rome (382) reiterated the condemnation of Apollinarian ideas. Apollinarius himself died *c.*390. While various sources continued to condemn Apollinarian teaching into the 5th century, Lietzmann asserts that Apollinarius' schismatic followers were largely reconciled to the mainstream Church by the end of the 4th century. KMcS

CPG 3645–95.
Fragments (*CPG* 3645–73), ed. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (TU I, 1904; repr. 1970).
E. Mühlenberg, *Apollinaris von Laodicea* (1969).
Young and Teal, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon.*

Apollonia (Sozusa) (Africa) Capital of *Libya Superior probably from the later 5th century until the *Arab conquest. A palatial residence of the 6th century (with continued activity into the 7th century) was interpreted by Goodchild as the 'Palace of the *Dux', but may have been an aristocratic residence rather than the *governor's *palace, despite its audience hall and chapel. Another large residence of the same period was built to its east, near the East Church, the earliest of *Cyrene's five churches. An unfinished set of *baths dates to the 4th–7th centuries. Recent excavations have recovered *pottery and coin evidence for continued economic activity at the port into the mid-7th century. GMS

R. G. Goodchild, J. G. Pedley, and D. White, *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene, Excavations by the University of Michigan 1965–1967*, Supplements to Libya Antiqua 4 (1976).
S. Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica* (1975).
J. B. Ward-Perkins, R. G. Goodchild, and J. Reynolds, *Christian Monuments of Cyrenaica* (2003).

Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity The 1st-century AD Pythagorean *philosopher and pagan *holy man was widely regarded as a sage and *miracle worker in Late Antiquity. He was of particular interest in the early 3rd century, when *Philostratus wrote his heavily fictionalized *Life of Apollonius*, describing Apollonius' alleged *travelling for knowledge to *India and *Ethiopia and his confrontations with the *emperors Nero and Domitian. Julia Domna and Caracalla were attracted to his memory (Philostratus, *VApTy* I, 3; VIII, 31, 3; Dio Cassius, 78, 18, 4), while *Aurelian supposedly also venerated him (*HA Aurelian*, 24, 2–9).

During the reign of *Diocletian, the poet *Soterichus wrote a *Life of Apollonius*, and the provincial *governor

and pagan persecutor Sossianus *Hierocles in a polemic addressed to Christians called *Lover of Truth* compared Apollonius to Christ. This attack elicited responses from *Lactantius (*Inst.* V, 3) and Eusebius, whose *Reply to Hierocles* also criticized Philostratus' biography. Whether or not this Eusebius is the church historian *Eusebius of Caesarea is disputed. The critics of Hierocles also condemned Apollonius as a magician whose ephemeral wonders were not comparable with Christ's miracles, which formed part of an overall pattern of divine providence. Numerous other Christian authors concurred (e.g. *Augustine, *ep.* 138, 18, but cf. *Jerome, *ep.* 53, 1, 3–4). Philostratus' biography may have been translated into *Latin by *Nicomachus Flavianus the Elder or by *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep.*VIII, 3). RAF

ed. E. des Places (with introd. and FT by M. Forrat), *Eusèbe: Contre Hiéroclès* (SC 333, 1986).

ed. C. P. Jones (annotated with ET), *Philostratus*, 2 vols. (LCL 16–17, 2005) and *Letters of Apollonius, Ancient Testimonia, Eusebius's Reply to Hierocles* (LCL 458, 2006).

M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History* (ET by P. Pieńkowski, 1986).

Apollonius of Tyre Hero of a *Latin novel, the *Romance of Apollonius, King of Tyre*. The earliest surviving versions of the story, lightly Christianized, are from the 5th or 6th centuries, but they derive from a probably 3rd-century original. Some think the original was in *Greek and the surviving versions are epitomes. Apollonius, a young nobleman of *Tyre, after falling foul of the incestuous King Antiochus, flees from his home. In his travels he marries a princess, daughter of the King of *Cyrene, who, as he thinks, dies in childbirth. Foster parents, with whom he has left his daughter to be brought up, later falsely tell him she too is dead. Much of the second half of the story concerns that daughter, Tarsia, who is saved from murder by *pirates, sold to a brothel, where she is able to preserve her virginity, and ultimately reunited with her father. There follows reunion with the wife he thought dead. The novel shows a special interest in father–daughter relationships, lacking the emphasis on romantic love typical of the Greek novels. MJR

HLL section 727.

ed. G. Schmeling (1988).

G. Schmeling, 'The History of Apollonius King of Tyre', in H. Hofmann, ed., *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context* (1999), 142–52.

***Apophthegmata Patrum* (*Sayings of the Fathers*)** (late 5th cent.) One of the most influential works of Christian monasticism, the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is an anthology of terse anecdotes about and memorable sayings from (mostly) 4th- and 5th-century Egyptian monks.

While its oral roots and its reliability are disputed, the text, originally composed in *Greek, probably comes from late 5th-century *Palestine. It exists in two principal recensions: Alphabetical and Systematic. The Alphabetical collects approximately 1,000 stories and sayings and arranges them under the names of 120 monks; appended to certain manuscripts is the Anonymous Collection, an additional 250–600 sayings preserved without names. In the Systematic Collection, versions of these same stories and sayings are arranged under 21 topical headings such as 'inner peace', 'compunction', 'discernment', 'hospitality','prayer'. The work's popularity is testified by the abundance of ancient translations into *Latin, *Syriac, *Coptic, Ethiopic, and *Armenian.

Most of the leading figures of the *Apophthegmata* (*Macarius the Egyptian, Moses the Black, John the Little, Poemen) were monks of *Scetis in Lower *Egypt (modern Wadi al-Natrun). They lived as hermits through the week, gathering on weekends for the *Eucharist and common meals. Stories routinely portray young monks approaching an *abba* (monastic elder), begging him for a 'word', a prophetic insight into their calling or deepest struggles. JWH

Apophthegmata Patrum (Alphabetical): *PG* 65, cols. 71–440 reprinting J.-B. Cotelier (1647).

ET B. Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (CSS 59, 1984).

Apophthegmata Patrum (Systematic), ed. J.-C. Guy (annotated with FT), *Les Apophtegmes des pères: collection systematique* (SC 387, 474, 498; 1993–2005).

ET J. Wortley, *Book of the Elders: Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Systematic Collection* (CSS 240, 2012).

Verba Seniorum (Latin): *PL* 73: 855–1022 reprinting H. Roseweyde (1615).

ET B. Ward, *The Desert Fathers: Sayings of the Early Christian Monks* (2003).

Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*.

G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (OECS, 1993).

J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (SubsHag 36, 1962).

Harmless, *Desert Christians*.

Apostolic Church Order Late 3rd-century *church order, adapting the *Didache* (5–14), and adding, through several stages of redaction, regulations concerning the appointment and duties of ministers (15–30). Some scholars think it was originally in *Syriac. Most consider it was originally in *Greek and composed in *Egypt in the late 3rd/early 4th century, though Stewart-Sykes argues for a date in the early 3rd century. Versions also survive in *Latin, *Coptic, *Arabic, and Ethiopic. MFC

CPG 1739.

ed. (with study, comm., and ET) A. Stewart-Sykes (2006).

Apostolic Constitutions and Canons A composite work, containing **Didascalia Apostolorum* (in Books 1–6), *Didache* (Book 7), *Apostolic Tradition*, and other material (Book 8). It is attributed to Jesus' Apostles posthumously, but generally agreed to have been written in *Syria between 375 and 380. Its reference to *Christmas is the earliest in the East. The compiler of this *church order probably drew on the *letters of Ignatius of *Antioch. MFC

ed. M. Metzger (annotated with FT), Books I–II (SC 320, 1985); Books III–VI (SC 329, 1986); Books VII–VIII (SC 336, 1987).

ET (annotated): W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions: A Text for Students* (1990).

apotropaic signs Heavily routinized responses to the ever-present threat of attack by malign spirit forces against individuals, households, and communities. They can be classified into two main interdependent groups, namely gestures/actions and images/texts. Examples of the first are the *hand gesture known as a *fica* (fig) and spitting into one's breast or one's own urine; or thrashing a boy or *dog that passed between two friends. Images, less effective but permanent, occur in all media but can be roughly grouped into four types: genital-sexual; deictic destruction of the *evil eye (e.g. *IGLS* 874f., cf. *Testament of Solomon*, 18, 39 McCown); curses against Envy or the envious (*SEG* 19: 409; 38: 1592; 41: 1526); retrojection of envy (*SEG* 40: 1672). RLG

J. Engemann, 'Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristl. u. christl. Spätantike', *JbAC* 18 (1975), 22–48.

K. Dunbabin and M. Dickie, '*Invidia Rumpantur Pectora*', *JbAC* 26 (1983), 7–37.

H. Herter, 'Phallos', *RE* 15 (1938), 1681–748.

H. Herter, *s.v.* 'Genitalien', *RAC* 10 (1978), 1–52.

D. Levi, 'The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback', in Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 3, 220–32.

apparitor Term used for a civil servant of free status who assisted a Roman magistrate. *Apparitores* are found as scribes, messengers, heralds, or lictors in the **officium* of officials such as *governors, *Vicarii, or *Praefecti Praetorio. They received pay for their services and were organized within *decuriae* (corporate institutions). DSl

B. Palme, 'Die *Officia* der Statthalter in der Spätantike', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 85–133.

Apsarus Well-preserved Roman fort at Gonio at the mouth of the River Chorokhi on the Black Sea; perhaps renamed Valentia in 370. Apparently disused in the 4th and 5th centuries, it was restored in the mid-6th century (*Agathias, V, 1–2). The Roman fortifications were rebuilt in Byzantine and Ottoman times. MO

E. Kakhidze, 'Apsaros: A Roman Fortress in Southwestern Georgia', in Pia Guldager Bilde and Jane Hjarl Petersen, eds., *Meetings of Cultures—Between Conflicts and Coexistence* (Black Sea Studies 8, 2008), 302–32.

Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 326, 350–1.

apse (Gk. *hapsis* meaning 'arch' or 'vault') Term applied by architectural historians to a semicircular or polygonal recess often crowned by a semi-dome. In churches an apse may be attached to the sanctuary (*bema) (in which case it may contain a *synthronon), to the pastophoria flanking the sanctuary (the chambers known as the *prothesis and *diakonikon), or to the ends of the aisles on either side of the sanctuary. The term is also used in secular contexts, e.g. for similar prominent recesses in a dining room (to fit a *stiabdion) or audience hall (as in the *Basilica at *Trier). JB

Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 38–41.

Apsimar Name of *Tiberius III (sometimes numbered II) before he became *emperor in 698. It is consistently used by *Theophanes. OPN

Apsines (*c.*190–*c.*250) *Sophist from *Gadara, who taught in *Athens. Two rhetorical treatises are ascribed to him, on the parts of a speech and on 'figured' (i.e. obliquely expressed) speeches. Third-person references to Apsines in these texts, generally regarded as interpolations, are more probably evidence of misattribution; if so, citations of Ps.-Hermogenes *On Invention* under the name of Apsines may be correct. MFH

ed. (annotated with FT) M. Patillon (2001).

M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2006), 53–60.

B. Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale* (2002), 124–6.

Apsyrtus Soldier and writer on military *veterinary medicine. He was probably born in Clazomenae, and served during the reign of *Constantine I against the *Sarmatians along the Danube *frontier in 323 (*Suda s.n.* Apsyrtus, A 4739 Adler), though some date his floruit as early as AD 150. His writings form the foundation of the **Hippiatrica*. MD

PLRE 1, Apsyrtus.

ed. E. Oder and K. Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* (1924–7).

McCabe, *Horse Medicine*.

Apulia et Calabria *Province bounded by the Tiferno River, the Bradano River, and the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is named in the *Verona List (256, 11) under the *Dioecesis Italiciana, and in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XIX, 8, cf. I, 80; II, 19) as being under the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae, so that it formed part of

*Italia Suburbicaria. It was governed, probably from Canusium, by a *Corrector (attested in 305–6). MMA

NEDC 164, 218–19.

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Aqaba, al- *See* AILA.

aqueduct A long-distance conduit for *water supply, normally providing for a *city, in particular its *baths, latrines, and fountains. The channelling of the water required a continuous and steady incline; elevations needed to be circumvented and valleys to be bridged or sometimes crossed with pressure pipes that formed a siphon. *Rome was serviced by up to a dozen aqueducts. *Diocletian's *palace at *Split also required the building of an aqueduct. At *Constantinople, an older supply line was extended and connected to more distant springs in order to provide for a growing population. Seasonal fluctuations of the inflow were compensated by many large *cisterns. The aqueduct of *Caričin Grad/Justiniana Prima was newly built during the reign of *Justinian I. Many aqueducts survived the end of Roman rule, some into the Early Modern era, for example at Rome, Constantinople, and *Miletus. PhN

J. Bardill, R. Bayliss, and J. G. Crow, *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (JRS monograph 11, 2008).

R. Coates-Stephens, 'Gli acquedotti in epoca tardoantica nel suburbio', in P. Pergola, R. Santangeli Valenzani, and R. Volpe, eds., *Suburbium* (2003), 415–36.

O. and C. Nicholson, 'The Aqueduct at Amasya in Pontus', *AnatSt* 43 (1993), 143–6.

Aquila of Sinope In the early 2nd century AD, Aquila of *Sinope, reportedly a convert to Judaism, produced a *Greek version of the Hebrew *Bible which stands closer to the original than existing translations did. His work facilitated bilingual education and interpretation and continued to be used in Jewish circles for many centuries, but only fragments survive in the form of citations, marginalia, and some manuscript fragments. WFS

Aquileia Roman *city, metropolis of the Late Roman *province of *Venetia et Histria, located on the Natissa River at the head of the Adriatic Sea. Founded as a Roman *colonia* in the early 2nd century BC, the city became increasingly important in Late Antiquity as an imperial residence, fortress, and patriarchate until its abandonment during the *Lombard invasion of 568.

Geography

Aquileia thrived largely as a result of its position at a pivotal point between the eastern and western Mediterranean basins, which encouraged its growth as a trading centre, and its natural resources, such as *gold and *amber. Excavations have found part of the *city's **forum*, including the *basilica and the meeting place of the *city council, numerous commercial facilities, several large *bath complexes, a theatre, *circus, and an amphitheatre. In addition, numerous large and elaborately decorated residential complexes have been excavated. The *harbour facilities included large quays and *barns along the banks of the river. The city was famous for *glass, *wine, amber, and metal production during the imperial period, and it was also a regional centre for *sculpture, particularly of *portraits in the veristic style. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus established their military headquarters against the Marcomanni there in 168, making it the principal fortress of *Italy against the northern and eastern barbarian tribes.

Tetrarchy and 4th century

After *Diocletian's administrative reorganization of the Empire, Aquileia became the capital of the province of Venetia et Histria and the site of a naval station. The Emperor *Maximian apparently often resided in the *palace at Aquileia when he was not at *Milan. Aquileia had a mint under the Tetrarchy (*mint mark usually AQ, after 368 *silver AQPS, **solidi* AQOB or COMOB with AQ in field). The mint was replaced by *Ravenna in 402/4 but reopened briefly in 425 during the rebellion of *John to mint gold for Galla *Placidia and *Theodosius II.

The strategic location of Aquileia made it a frequent stopping point for emperors passing between *Sirmium on the Danube *frontier and *Milan during the 4th century. It was at Aquileia that *Constantine II died in April 340 after invading the *Balkan territory of his brother *Constans I, and the *usurper Magnentius resided in the city over the winter of 351–2 after being defeated by *Constantius II at the Battle of *Mursa and before fleeing further west. During *Julian's advance through the *Balkans in 361 to confront his kinsman the Augustus Constantius II, Aquileia, encouraged by two legions loyal to Constantius, unexpectedly declared itself against Julian, and remained opposed even after Constantius had died (*Ammianus, XXI, 10–11). *Gratian and *Valentinian II passed through often, the latter for the last time while fleeing from Milan to *Thessalonica before the forces of the usurper *Magnus Maximus in 387. The following year Magnus used Aquileia as a base while resisting *Theodosius I and was captured there. Theodosius met *Ambrose, *Bishop of Milan, at Aquileia after defeating the usurper *Eugenius at the Battle of the River *Frigidus in 394. From then on, emperors became less mobile, though *Valentinian III was at Aquileia immediately before his acclamation as emperor at *Rome in 425.

Ecclesiastical life

The importance of Aquileia as an imperial residence was matched by its significance in church affairs. The stories of the church's foundation by S. Mark are, naturally, legendary, and there are no trustworthy records of the *martyrs later venerated in the city. In the second decade of the 4th century the *Bishop Theodorus constructed a cathedral complex consisting of two large halls without *apses connected by a vestibule, off which was also constructed a *baptistery. The foundations of these structures have survived below the current 11th-century basilica. The original *mosaic pavements, the largest preserved early Christian floor mosaics, consist of large rectangular zones with various themes separated by strips decorated with garlands. Several decades later, the northern hall was expanded into a larger triple-naved basilica with an atrium. *Jerome, who spent time at Aquileia as a young man (369–72), called the clergy there a 'choir of the blessed'.

In September 381, the Emperor Gratian, urged by *Ambrose of Milan, convoked a church *council of over 30 bishops to consider the orthodoxy of two Balkan bishops following on from the resolutions reached at the First Council of *Constantinople some months earlier; a *report of proceedings survives among the *letters of Ambrose. Shortly thereafter, the southern hall of the basilica was also renovated and expanded, and a new baptistery was constructed; both projects can be seen to reflect the increasing importance of the site for both administrative and liturgical activity during the 4th century, particularly during the episcopacy of Jerome's friend *Chromatius (bp. 388–406/7).

The 5th century and after

During the political and military instability of the 5th century, the territory of Aquileia frequently found itself surrounded by invading foreign armies. The city had been besieged by *Alaric in 402. In 452, *Attila and the *Huns invaded and largely destroyed the city of Aquileia. Many of the city's population left and re-established themselves at *Grado, slightly farther down the Natissa River. Traditional views consider this event the end of Aquileia as a functional city, but more recent studies stress the physical evidence for continuity of life here, albeit greatly reduced in scale and significantly reconfigured. Although the city lost its significance as the provincial capital under the *Ostrogoths, church building in and around the city continued; the focus of Aquileia's civic activity during the late 5th and early 6th centuries shifted from the *forum* and the city centre, which were not rebuilt after the invasion, to the surrounding churches.

Following the *Byzantine invasions, the Byzantine army gained control of the territory around Aquileia in the early 550s, but the church of Aquileia split from the church of Rome after *c.*555 during the *Three Chapters Controversy and assumed the status of an independent patriarchate. In the face of the Lombard invasion of northern Italy, the city of Aquileia was abandoned, and the patriarchate was relocated to Grado, which was under Byzantine control. It was reconciled with the see of Rome in 606, but those who wished to maintain the schism re-established a separate patriarchate at the old site of Aquileia, then under Lombard control, until they too were ultimately reconciled with Rome in 698.

MMA; RRD; OPN

TIR L33 (Tergeste), 24–5.

A. Calderini, *Aquileia romana, ricerche di storia e di epigrafia* (1930).

G. Brusin, *Gli scavi di Aquileia* (1934).

N. Duval, *Aquileia e Milano* (Antichità Altoadriatiche 4, 1973).

Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins* (1992).

M. D. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400 (2000).*

G. Menis, *Il complesso episcopale teodoriano e il suo battistero* (1986).

S. Panciera, *La vita economica di Aquileia* (1957).

C. Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme: Aquilée du IIIe au Vie siècle* (2005).

C. Tiussi, ed., *Constantino e Teodoro: Aquileia nel IV secolo* (2013).

M. Verzár-Bass, *Scavi di Aquileia* (1988–94).

Aquincum (mod. Budapest, Hungary) Danubian *city and fort in *Pannonia *Valeria, originating from a legionary camp and adjacent civilian settlements. It acquired a fort under the *Tetrarchy and fortifications and a Christian double *basilica in the 4th century. The Early Roman *governor's residence remained in use with modifications into the 4th century. There are Late Antique *cemeteries, but the city declined in the 5th century, and came under barbarian control from the 430s onwards. ER

D. Gáspár, *Christianity in Roman Pannonia: An Evaluation of Early Christian Finds and Sites from Hungary* (2002), 14–34.

M. Németh, 'Änderungen des Statthaltersitzes von Aquincum', in G. von Bülow and H. Zabehlicky, eds., *Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad. Spätantike Paläste und Grossvillen im Donau-Balkanraum* (2011), 259–74.

K. Póczy, *Aquincum. Das römische Budapest* (2005).

P. Scherrer, ed., *Domus. Das Haus in den Städten der römischen Donauprovinzen* (2008), 251–70.

Aquitaine Geographical term whose significance has fluctuated over time. For Julius Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*, 1, 1), the Aquitani were the various peoples who lived south of the River Garonne, up to the

Pyrenees. Strabo (IV, 1) specifies that these were Iberian peoples, and not Celtic. Augustus, however, organized the peoples north of the Garonne, up to the Loire, within what was now called Aquitania. By the 4th century, Caesar's Aquitaine was known as *Novempopulana, and the area between the Garonne and the Loire constituted *Aquitania Prima (including the *city territories of Bourges, *Clermont, Rodez, Albi, Limoges, and *Toulouse) and *Aquitania Secunda (including *Bordeaux, Angoulême, Périgueux, Saintes, and *Poitiers). In the early Church, the provincial capitals of Bordeaux, Bourges, and Eauze became the respective sees of the *metropolitan *bishops of the two Aquitanias and Novempopulana.

The region's exceptionally lavish 4th- and 5th-century *villas, including *Montmaurin and *Séviac, are the clearest indications of its prosperity in Late Antiquity. In 418 the *Visigoths were settled in the Garonne Valley, and by the 470s, largely with the support of the Gallo-Roman *aristocracy, they controlled all three parts of Aquitaine. The relative stability this brought enabled both the Church and the Roman *aristocracy (who increasingly controlled the episcopacy) to survive and even to prosper. The *Frankish conquest of the area, which began in 507, did little to disturb this stability, and the fact that Aquitaine, particularly southern Aquitaine, rarely saw a *Merovingian king was no doubt seen as a benefit. The large series of *marble *sarcophagi, some decorated with human figures and others with vine- or ivy-leaf decoration, may largely date from this period. A number of excavations have suggested that the surviving Roman aristocracy continued for some time to inhabit their villas, despite a gradual decline in their sophistication. In the 7th century the southern part of Aquitaine was disturbed by raids of the Vascones (*Basques), from the Pyrenees, to such an extent that by the middle of the century Novempopulana was being referred to as Vasconia (Gascony). By the end of the 7th century there was a *Dux of Aquitaine, who may have styled himself as Princeps. The Franks in the 8th century referred to the Aquitanians as Romani: several decades of bitter fighting against their dukes were needed to bring them back into Francia. EJ

Topographie chrétienne, vols. 6 (1989), 10 (1998), 13 (2004).

M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781* (1979).

E. James, *The Merovingian Archaeology of South-West Gaul* (1977).

C. Balmelle, *Les Demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine: société et culture de l'Antiquité tardive dans le sud-ouest de la Gaule* (2001).

Aquitania Prima et Secunda The three *provinces of *Novempopulana, and Aquitania Prima et Secunda occupying the territory of the former province of Aquitania in the *Dioecesis *Viennensis in south-west *Gaul are all recorded in the *Verona List (256 recto, 7–8). However, the signatory list at the Council of *Arles of 314 refers to only one province of Aquitania, as do an *inscription of the 340s (*ILS* 1255) and a catalogue of provinces in *Ammianus (XV, 11, 13). *Festus (*Breviarium*, 6), writing in 369, lists two Aquitanias and the **Notitia Dignitatum* lists Aquitanica Prima and Secunda, both governed by a *Praeses under the Vicarius of *Septem Provinciae and the *Praefectus Praetorio per Gallias, (*occ.* I, 110–11; III, 24–5; XXII, 32–3). A detachment of *Suebes was settled as **laeti* in the Auvergne in Aquitanica Prima (*occ.* XLII, 44) and the command of the *Dux of the Armorican Shore extended through both provinces (XXXVII, 24–6). *Visigoths under *Wallia were settled in Aquitaine in 418. CD; OPN

NEDC 212–13.

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vols. 6 Bourges (ed. F. Prevot and Xavier Barral i Altet, 1989) and 10 Bordeaux (ed. L. Maurin, 1998).

A. Chastagnol, 'Le Diocèse d'Aquitaine au Bas-Empire', *BullSNAF* (1970), 272–92.

Arab–Byzantine Wars Prolonged period of intermittent warfare between the Arab-Islamic Empire and Byzantium. Originating in the *Arab conquests of the early 7th century and lasting into the 10th century, the wars were largely waged in the region of northern *Syria and southern *Anatolia, along a frontier region in the *Taurus Mountains. On the Muslim side, raids along the Byzantine frontier were inspired by the ideology of *jihad* and were often carried out by the *mutatawwi'a*, volunteers for the *jihad*. The wars were important sources of legitimation for the *Umayyad and later the *Abbasid *caliphs, as well as local warlords and governors, and served as the backdrop for a prolonged period of antagonistic relations between the Arabs and the Byzantines.

The expulsion of the Byzantine forces from Syria by the Muslim conquerors served as the impetus for the Arab–Byzantine wars along an established frontier zone (*al-thughur*) in the Taurus Mountains of southern Anatolia. It was only after the Byzantine force was able to close off the passes of the Taurus to the Muslim invaders that the initial period of conquest under Caliph *Umar I (r. 634–44) was brought to an end. For the remainder of 'Umar's reign, large-scale incursions into Anatolia were halted in favour of smaller raids across the frontier zone. The Caliph *Mu'awiya (r. 661–80), after consolidating authority over Syria, initiated a more aggressive policy against Byzantium, launching several offensive campaigns into Anatolia. Raids were undertaken on an almost yearly basis, and

though they yielded no permanent territorial gains, they enhanced Mu'awiya's prestige and were an important source of wealth for Muslims in the border territories. The two sieges of *Constantinople (674–8 and 717–18) represent the extent of Arab expansion against the Byzantine Empire.

The 8th century saw balance established along the frontier zone as the Byzantines began a modest counteroffensive in the wake of the failure of the second Muslim siege of Constantinople. This period brought a new dynamic to the conflict as the Muslims redirected their efforts toward raiding the Byzantine hinterland while the Byzantines sought to create a wasteland in the frontier regions by abandoning and destroying recaptured strongholds. The resulting situation was not dramatically altered until the 10th century. MCE

W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992).
H. Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (2006).

Arab civil wars The three internecine conflicts of the *Umayyad period over the years 656–61, 680 or 683–92, and 744–50. They are remembered as the first, second, and third **fitna*s (literally, 'trial' or 'temptation'). The wars were fought over differing opinions about who was the legitimate *caliph and the scope of caliphal authority. The conflicts had important religious implications that would leave the Islamic community fractured into three main sects.

The First Arab Civil War, the Great *Fitna*, was sparked by the assassination of the nepotistic caliph *'Uthman (r. 644–56) by a group of Egyptian tribesmen. This killing sparked a power struggle between the partisans of *'Ali, who had been proclaimed caliph on 'Uthman's death, and an opposition group led by *'A'isha b. Abi Bakr (the Prophet's widow and daughter of the first caliph, *Abu Bakr), and two of *Muhammad's *Companions and close associates of Abu Bakr, *Talha b. Ubaydallah, and al-*Zubayr b. al-Awwam. In late 656, 'Ali defeated the opposition forces near *Basra in the Battle of the Camel. A second power struggle ensued as *Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan, governor of *Syria and (like 'Uthman) a member of the *Umayyad family, raised an army to challenge 'Ali's rule. Months of fighting came to an end when 'Ali agreed to open negotiations near *Siffin in 657. These talks proved inconclusive, and were followed by the defection of a group of 'Ali's supporters, known later as the *Kharijites, and the proclamation by supporters of Mu'awiya that he was the true caliph. The Great *Fitna* concluded with the assassination of 'Ali in 661. Following the surrender of 'Ali's son, al-Hasan, Mu'awiya was widely acknowledged as caliph.

The Second Arab Civil War saw the sons and relatives of the protagonists of the first war return to conflict over the caliphate. A Kharijite challenge emerged in southern Iraq and northern Arabia, but it was the opposition, led by *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr (d. 692), that proved the more significant threat. It is a testament to the unpopularity of the Umayyads and to the success of 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr's opposition that, following the death of *Yazid b. Mu'awiya (r. 680–3), he declared himself caliph and was able to garner support from a broad base throughout the provinces, including Syria. Another strand of opposition was led by al-*Husayn b. 'Ali, a grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, whose force was crushed outside *Karbala in Iraq in 680. Al-Husayn's death galvanized those sympathetic to the Prophet's immediate relatives' claims to the caliphate. The Second Civil War was brought to an end after *'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 685 or 692–705) consolidated control over the central provinces, thereby securing the caliphate for his Marwanid line.

The Third Arab Civil War began with a rebellion against the caliph, al-*Walid II, in 744 and lasted until *Marwan II (r. 744–50) began to re-establish control over the central provinces. The civil war would see Syria, the political centre of the empire, destabilized by militarized factions and was followed closely by the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in 750.

MCE; AM

M. Gordon, *The Rise of Islam* (2005).
C. F. Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik* (2005).
G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (2000).

Arab conquest Era of rapid expansion of tribes from the *Arabian Peninsula into Roman and Sasanian territory which led to the formation of the *caliphate. Conquests beyond the peninsula are generally understood to have begun shortly after the death of *Muhammad (632) and to have ended around the year 750, though later expansion did occur. By 750 the new empire conquered by the Arabs stretched from *Spain to western *Central Asia. The military and political success of the conquests yielded substantial economic resources through the seizure of agricultural lands and the domination of vital *trade networks. The conquests also began the much more gradual and prolonged processes of Arabization and Islamization in the conquered territories.

The crucial battles against the Romans in *Syria included Ajnadayn (634) and *Yarmuk (636); victory at the latter opened northern Syria to the Arabians. In Iraq, the *Sasanian armies initially resisted more effectively, defeating the Arabians at the Battle of the Bridge (mid-630s) but were themselves defeated at al-*Qadisiyya (*c.*638) and then at *Nihawand (*c.*642). Conquests in *Egypt and much of the highlands of Iran followed in the 640s, with the last Sasanian King of Kings to rule in Iran being killed in 651. Two aggressive waves of expansion followed, in the 660s

and 670s and from the 690s to the 720s, punctuated by *Arab civil wars. By the 710s the Arabians had reached Spain in the west and Central Asia in the east. The failure of the Arabians' siege of *Constantinople in 717–18 marked a significant turning point in the war with the Roman Empire, securing the latter's survival into the Middle Ages. MCE; AM

F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).
J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis* (2010).
H. Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests* (2007).

Arab conquest, Africa The conquest of North *Africa by the Muslims took place over many years, repeated waves of invasion being interrupted by conflicts internal to the *Umayyad administration and by *Berber resistance. The 6th-century efforts of the Byzantines to establish control over the vast agricultural lands and coasts of Africa had weakened by the 7th century. Problems within the Eastern Empire withdrew resources and attention from the West, leaving *cities and ports empty of garrisons. *Berber tribes, some settled and Christian, some nomadic, dominated the landscape but were by no means unified amongst themselves. The narrative of the conquest is handed down from several sources, all later than the events. The broad outlines are plausible, but many details, such as Sīdī 'Uqba's dramatic ride into the Atlantic Ocean (Abd al-Hakam, *Futūh*), are better understood as literary embellishment than actual fact. The sources stress the importance of alliance with various Berber tribes—more powerful than the Romans—and convey the vastness of the landscape.

In 642–3 (AH 21–2), *Amr b. al-Ās led an initial foray from *Egypt west into *Cyrenaica and *Tripolitania. Meeting little resistance, he returned to Egypt. In the 670s, 'Uqba b. Nāfi' founded a permanent settlement in *Ifriqiya, *Kairouan, whence he pushed westward across the continent along the foothills of the great mountain ranges. He turned south before *Tingi (Tangiers) and then, after reaching the far west coast, turned back into the mountains. Over this journey of thousands of miles 'Uqba conquered most of *Mauretania; he put in place little administration but soldiered onwards. In 683 (AH 63), on his return east, 'Uqba set out to defeat the Berbers south of the Aurès Mountains, but was met by Romans and Berbers led by *Kusayla and the Arabs were slaughtered. The Muslims retreated to *Byzacena, leaving *Carthage to the Romans and Kairouan to the Berbers. In 698 (AH 78), the Arabs marched from Egypt and retook previously conquered cities and even coastal ports like *Carthage, but were repelled by Kahina, a Judaized or Christianized Berber mother and queen. She was later defeated, but Berber resistance was a fierce challenge to Arab rule in the decades and centuries that followed. By 708 the main towns were conquered, a tax-collecting *administration and local rule were in place, and *Islam had reached across the whole of North Africa down to the desert. The earliest account of the conquest is the *Kitāb Futūh Misr wa al-Magrib wa al-Andalus* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (AD 803–71). CJG

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam: ed. (with preface in English) C. C. Torrey (1922); partial FT in A. *Gateau, Conquete de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne* (1942, rev. edn. 1948).
W. E. Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* (2010).
A. D. Tāhā, *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain* (1989).

Arab conquest, Armenia The principal sources for the *Arab conquest of *Armenia are the Armenian *History* attributed to *Sebeos (7th cent. AD), and the Arabic *Book of the Conquests of the Lands* (*Futūh al-Buldān*) by al-*Baladhuri (9th cent. AD). Islamic accounts date the Arab subjugation of Armenia to the campaign of Habib b. Maslama in 643, while Armenian accounts indicate that the Armenians did not acknowledge Arab suzerainty until the voluntary submission of *Theodore Rshtuni to *Mu'awiya in 653. Despite this difference, a general outline of the conquest is discernible. According to the analysis of the sources by H. Manandean, there were three Arab campaigns into Armenia prior to 653. The first Arab incursion into Armenia occurred in 640 when troops from northern *Mesopotamia sacked the Armenian administrative capital of *Dvin. The second was the larger invasion into Transcaucasia from Atrpatakan in 643, which was only partially successful. A third raid against the fortress of Arcap', north-east of Lake Van, took place in 650. The Emperor *Constans II (641–68) was able to restore at least nominal Byzantine control over Armenia in 657/8, but in 661 the Armenian dynasts reiterated their recognition of Arab sovereignty upon the accession of Mu'āwiya as *caliph. SVLa

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* Armīniya, cols. 634–50 (Canard).
J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886* (rev. edn. by M. Canard, 1980).
H. Manandean, 'Les Invasions arabes en Arménie (notes chronologiques)', *Byzantion* 18 (1948), 163–95.
Thomson, Howard-Johnston, and Greenwood, *Sebeos.*

Arab conquest, Cyprus The first *Arab assault on *Cyprus is recorded to have taken place in 649, probably in part by way of retaliation for the Byzantine reoccupation of *Alexandria in 646–7, for which Cyprus is likely to have served as a base for operations. The raid of 649 was repeated in 650, when the capital of the island (Constantia/*Salamis) was taken by *siege and *tribute was exacted. In 654, a further force is recorded to have been sent to the island, possibly resulting in

the establishment of an Arab garrison. Whilst there was an Arab presence on the island from the 650s, however, this fact should not necessarily be taken to imply that Cyprus had come under Arab 'control': at the end of the 7th century, the taxes of the island were split evenly between the imperial authorities in *Constantinople and the *caliphal authorities in *Damascus. The Cypriots at this point were probably essentially self-governing, paying tribute to two masters, each of whose power over the island was in a state of flux (and would remain so until the Byzantine reconquest of the 9th century). PS

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses.*

Arab conquest, Egypt The Arab subjugation of *Egypt took place over a period of some ten years. The Arabic narrative sources give precedence to decisive battles like the capture of *Alexandria in 642, with which the fate of the province was allegedly sealed, but the conquest was rather a drawn-out process with small-scale attacks. Such skirmishes probably began before the arrival of the conquering army of *'Amr b. al-'As (d. 664). There were probably border disputes, in the course of which individual towns and strongholds were taken over, with some Byzantine army leaders and soldiers joining the *Arabs, but then revolting against them.

As the Arab *armies advanced, the *Patriarch of Alexandria, *Cyrus al-Muqawqis, seems to have come to an agreement in 636 that, in exchange for a yearly payment, the Arabs would not attack Egypt. When after three years the *Emperor *Heraclius refused to continue this settlement, the Arabs felt entitled to attack. Other sources indicate that the conquering general, 'Amr b. al-'As, was familiar with Egypt and was therefore convincing when he asked the *Caliph *'Umar (r. 634–44) for leave to invade a country 'rich in resources and weak in defence'. Pursuit of Roman troops fleeing from *Palestine and *Syria might have furnished a further motive.

The Arab troops consisted of some 4,000 soldiers, mostly horsemen, and, according to the sources, they took the same road into the province as other invading forces. From al-'Arish (Rhinocoloura) on the Palestinian–Egyptian border (on the Mediterranean), they travelled in a south-westerly direction along the edge of the desert, past al-Farama (*Pelusium) and Bilbays (al-Qantara), which were taken after battles. At 'Ayn Shams (Heliopolis) Roman forces were severely beaten, but the nearby fortress of *Babylon, located at the head of the *Nile Delta, appeared too strong for the Arab forces. 'Amr b. al-'As asked the Caliph for reinforcements and in the meantime subdued the *Fayyum oasis. The advance on Babylon and the taking of the Fayyum oasis made good tactical sense, as it cut Egypt in two, so isolating the Roman troops and taking control of important political and military strongholds. This strategy is apparent in the account given by the (originally *Coptic) *Chronicle* of *John of *Nikiu. After Babylon had been captured, the territory of Upper and Lower Egypt, as far as the border with the *Nubians, was secured. The Arab forces then advanced on Alexandria, first taking the surrounding *villages and countryside, and then in 642 the *city itself.

The agreement originally made by Cyrus and 'Amr b. al-'As was subsequently applied to the entire province. Accounts in the sources disagree about the nature of the conquest of Egypt, whether it was by force (*'anwatan*) or by treaty (*sulhan*). These disagreements reflect later concerns about the legal status of Egypt; whether it was a conquered land to be distributed amongst the soldiers and so subject to flexibly increasable impositions, or a land whose income should benefit all Muslims through *taxation. All inhabitants of Egypt were granted protection (**dhimma*) and in exchange paid a poll-tax and provided the conquerors with food and clothing, mostly in the earliest period when the active Arab army had no established local sources of supplies.

Fighting, however, continued. Alexandria was soon retaken by the Romans in 645. Its recapture by 'Amr b. al-'As was violent, forcing all the Romans out of the city and destroying the *city gates and walls. To counter future Byzantine attacks from the sea, the Arabs built a fleet with *harbour facilities in *Fustat, Alexandria, and *Clysma, which participated in an attack on *Constantinople as early as the 660s. Other Roman attacks on Arab forces in Egypt are reported, including one in which a Roman army roamed the Delta. A treaty concluded in 652 between the Arabs and the Nubians was supposed to ensure stability on the southern border, although unrest, especially with the Bedouin *Blemmyes from the eastern desert, continued. Arab attacks on *Libya were organized from Egypt throughout the 7th century.

Archaeological records and historical accounts do not suggest that the conquest generally led to mass emigration, the disowning of lands or goods, or large-scale destruction. Egypt suffered several military campaigns immediately before the Arab conquest, most significantly the *Persian invasion and occupation of Egypt (619–29), while the largely *Miaphysite population of Egypt experienced persecution under the Patriarch Cyrus. Egyptians must to some extent have experienced the arrival of the Arabs as one of a series of shifts in political power and thus were not necessarily motivated to fight to maintain Roman rule. The Roman army, whose commanders competed rather than cooperated between themselves, does not seem to have been well organized or motivated. The Arab invading army, although small and ill-equipped, made effective use of materials, such as *artillery and siege machinery,

captured along the way. It was composed of Arab tribes from the *Arabian Peninsula, and Christian Arabs from the Roman and *Persian Empires, as well as soldiers who had defected from the Persian and Roman *armies. PMS

Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt.*

D. R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests, AD 634–656* (1971).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam.*

C. F. Petry and M. W. Daly, eds., *The Cambridge History of Egypt I. Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, 2 vols. (1998).

W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1995).

Arab conquest, Palestine, Syria, and Roman Mesopotamia The main events of the Arab conquests of the Near East, carried out at the expense of the Byzantine and Sasanian *empires, happened during a single decade after the death of the Prophet *Muhammad in 632. While the conquered were exhausted from fifty years of battling each other, the conquerors had speed, surprise, and a way of life well suited to raiding on their side, as well as—according to the medieval historical tradition and many, but not all, modern scholars—a shared identity and an ideology that mobilized them for conquest.

After several years of warfare within the *Arabian Peninsula, both during and after Muhammad's lifetime, a number of different Arab armies launched campaigns into Byzantine and Sasanian territory. The critical victories over the Byzantines were at Ajnadayn (in southern *Palestine, 634) and *Yarmuk (on the modern Syria–Jordan border, 636); *Jerusalem was also conquered in 638, an event to which *Patriarch *Sophronius' *sermons provide contemporary witness. Decisive defeat of a Sasanian force at al-*Qadisiyya, a few months after the Yarmuk in 636, opened up Iraq and made the young King *Yazdegerd III, grandson of *Khosrow II, a fugitive. After this, the Arab armies moved on into Iran (*Nihawand, 642) and *Egypt (*Alexandria, 642).

If the broad outline of events is clear, the effects of the conquests are much less so. New research is continually modifying our picture. We now know that change was not as rapid or destructive as was once imagined, but simple continuity cannot be supported, either: the new regime brought with it some important innovations. Administrative structures were modified rather than abolished, and personnel were retained—in some cases for generations, like the family of heresiographer and polemicist *John of *Damascus—rather than replaced. At the same time, however, documentary evidence—most plentiful for Egypt, but also surviving for late 7th-century Palestine—shows that the new rulers either arrived with, or very swiftly developed, their own administrative language; requisition receipts were already being issued in the early 640s using dates in the *Era of the *Hijra, and many *bilingual *papyri use Arabic terminology, rather than direct translation or transliteration from Byzantine-Greek practice. Economic trends also varied from region to region, or even town to town. New commercial, residential, and religious (both churches and *mosques) building was carried out after the conquests in towns like Jerash (*Gerasa), Fihl (*Pella), and Baysan (*Scythopolis). Indeed, much of the demographic and economic decline visible in the archaeological record either pre-dates the 630s (e.g. *Apamea in Syria) or can be linked to the shift in the centre of economic gravity from the mid-8th century, connected with—or perhaps prompting—the move of the caliphal capital from Damascus to Baghdad (e.g. *Bosra).

Finally, the relative paucity of material evidence for the public expression of Islam from the first half of the 7th century, together with the patchy understanding shown by non-Muslim literary sources before the Armenian history attributed to *Sebeos in the 660s, has suggested to some historians that early Islam remained a faith for the conquest elite, not one widely used as a language of legitimacy for Arab rule. NC

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Arab conquest, Persian Empire and Central Asia

The murder of *Khosrow II (628) inaugurated a four-year succession crisis in the *Sasanian dynasty of the *Persian Empire, crippling a regime weakened by internal strife and incessant war with the Eastern Roman Empire. In 632, the *Caliph *Abu Bakr (632–4) succeeded *Muhammad and *Yazdegerd III became the Persian ruler. Abu Bakr dispatched Arab *armies to conquer the Near East; motivated by their new faith and the promise of booty, the Arab light cavalry defeated the Persian Empire within two decades.

The Arab conquest of *Central Asia took longer. *Transoxiana was not subdued until the mid-8th century and Turkic groups north of the *Jaxartes remained outside Muslim influence for much longer. The conquest resulted in a strong Arab-Muslim influence in Persia and Central Asia and an evolving Iranian and Turkic influence on Muslim culture, especially under the later *'Abbasids.

The conquest began in 632 with the capture of Persian territory on the Arabian Peninsula (al-*Bahrayn), followed by raids into the Tigris–Euphrates delta. In 633, *Khalid b. al-Walid led Arab forces into the Sawad (southern *Mesopotamia), defeating the Sasanians and their Arab allies (*Lakhimids, *Taghlibs, and others) and capturing the former Lakhimid stronghold of al-*Hira. By early 634, the Sawad was pacified, Persian defences along the southern frontier were destroyed, and Khalid had arranged for *tribute from the conquered *cities. A Persian counter-offensive, coupled with the death of Abu Bakr, resulted in the Sasanian reconquest of the Sawad later in 634.

Under Caliph *'Umar I (634–44), al-Muthanna led the reconquest of the Sawad. Although initially defeated by the Persians at the Battle of the Bridge in 634, the Arabs subsequently crushed the Sasanians, capturing their frontier posts and opening the Sawad again to Muslim raids (635–6). These victories against the Persians led many of their former Arab allies to defect to the Muslims. By 636, the Muslim garrison city (**ribat*) of *Basra was established. The defeat of the Roman Emperor *Heraclius at the Battle of the *Yarmuk in *Syria (636) released more Arab troops for the conquest of Persia, led by Sa'd ibn Abu Waqqas. In 636 or 637, the Muslims defeated the Persians at the decisive Battle of *Qadisiyya, reoccupied Hira, captured Seleucia-*Ctesiphon (al-*Mada'in), seizing the Persian treasury and causing Shah *Yazdegerd III to flee.

From al-Mada'in, Muslim forces moved north to capture *Takrit and east in pursuit of Yazdegerd. A second garrison city was established at *Kufa in 637; Mesopotamia was now lost by the Persians, along with its administrative structure, tax revenues, and military resources; Basra and *Kufa became the main bases for the Arab forces to conquer the remnants of the Persian Empire to the east and north. Between 638 and 642, under *Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, governor of Basra, the conquest of *Khuzestan and Mesopotamia was completed. Another decisive Muslim victory at the Battle of *Nihawand in 642 sealed the fate of the rump Sasanian Empire, as Yazdegerd fled further eastward to *Isfahan and Istakhr (*Staxr). By 644, *Hamadan, *Rayy, Qazvin, *Ardabil, Dinavar, *Isfahan, and the province of *Fars had all fallen to the Muslims.

Under the Caliph *'Uthman (644–56), 'Abdallah b. 'Amir, governor of Basra, re-established Arab authority in northern and eastern Iran; tribute was reimposed, new Muslim garrisons were built, and by 650, Azerbaijan and Fars had been pacified. The Persian army was in disarray and resistance to the Arabs dependent on regional *marzbans. Yazdegerd fled to Kerman, then on to *Merv, *Balkh, and *Tirmidh, then back to Merv, where he was killed in 651 at the behest of the local marzban and the *Hephthalite ruler *Nezak Tarkhan. The Arab conquest of Sistan (*Sagastan) and *Khorasan proceeded in 650/1; the Hephthalites were subdued and tribute was imposed on *Nishapur, Zarang, *Herat, Merv, Balkh, and Badghis (652). However, after Ibn 'Amir withdrew (653), tribute was withheld and Arab garrisons were expelled from these areas. The Persian administrative structure continued after the demise of the Sasanian regime, but despite the incentive of exemption from the **jizya* poll-tax, *conversion to *Islam in Iran was a lengthy process.

With the death of *'Uthman and the First *Arab Civil War between *'Ali (656–61) and *Mu'awiya I (661–80), the Muslims lost control of eastern Iran, but after Mu'awiya's victory and the establishment of *Umayyad power, they reconquered Sistan and Khorasan, advancing as far as Kabul, recapturing Balkh (663), and garrisoning 50,000 Arab colonists in Merv (671). Crossing the *Oxus first in 673, the Muslims initially subdued *Bukhara in 674, *Samarkand and Tirmidh in 676, and *Khwarezm in 681, each time imposing tribute and withdrawing. Not until 681 did an Arab governor winter in *Sogdiana. The Muslims again lost territory in Sistan and Khorasan due to the Second Arab Civil War (680–92), combined with *Kharijite and *Shi'a revolts in Mesopotamia (Iraq). Eastward expansion resumed under al-*Hajjaj, governor of Iraq (694–714).

During this time, the Emperor of *China claimed nominal lordship over *Transoxiana, having officially

annexed the area in 658 after defeating the Western *Türks. Aided by Sogdian disunity and lack of Chinese military opposition, the Muslim conquest of Transoxiana (Khwarezm, *Sogdiana, *Chach, and *Farghana) began in 705 under *Qutayba b. Muslim, governor of Khorasan. After subduing *Tukharistan (705), Qutayba made annual campaigns into Transoxiana. He finally captured Bukhara (709), imposed tribute, established an Arab garrison, and installed a puppet ruler, Tugshada. In 712, Qutayba captured Samarkand; its ruler *Ghurak withdrew, adopting a policy of non-resistance to the Arab armies until the later *Türgesh-led revolt against the Arabs. After *Nezak Tarkhan rebelled in Tukharistan, Qutayba defeated and killed him (710); he also repelled two *Türk invasions in 707 and 712, the latter probably led by *Köl Tegin. Stories of Arab forces reaching *Kashgar under Qutayba in 715 are probably apocryphal; he was killed that year after rebelling against the new Caliph *Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik (715–17). Sogdian discontent with Arab rule increased under Jarrah, governor of Khorasan (715–17), resulting in open revolt; in 722, the Arabs massacred Sogdians in *Khojand and executed *Dewashtich, ruler of *Panjikent. From 721 on, *Suluk, *Khaghan of the resurgent Türgesh (r. 715–38), led the Sogdians in resistance to the Arabs, his attacks bolstered by revolts amongst the Arab garrisons and Hephthalites in 734. Despite Türgesh victories in 724 and 731 (allied with Ghurak), the Arabs decisively defeated Suluk in 737. The subsequent collapse of Turkic power in Central Asia, coupled with the death of *Ghurak (737/8) and murder of Tugshada (741), enabled the Arabs to reconquer Transoxiana by 741. Beginning in 748, Merv was an important base for the *'Abbasid revolution under *Abu Muslim, and the Chinese expanded military operations into former Türgesh territory north of the *Jaxartes. However, the Arab victory over the Chinese at the Battle of *Talas (751) ensured Muslim dominance under the new 'Abbasid regime in Central Asia. The ongoing presence of non-Muslim Turkic groups on the northern steppe attracted many *ghazis to both Khorasan and Transoxiana to continue the process of Islamization in Central Asia. A record of this expansion and the terms of surrender or conquest is given by al-*Baladhuri (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 269–332, 387–493 and II, 3–206). MLD

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Iran v; History; vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Mā Warā' al-Nahr (W. Barthold, C. E. Bosworth).
EncIran II/2 *s.v.* Arab ii. Arab conquest of Iran, 203–10 (M. Morony).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 180–96.
C. E. Bosworth and O. G. Bolshakov in *HCCA* IV(1), 23–40.
H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923).
B. A. Litvinsky, A. H. Jalilov, and A. I. Kolesnikov in *HCCA* III, 449–72.
M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (1984).
P. Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire* (2008).
A. A.-H. Zarrinkūb, 'The Arab Conquest of Iran and its Aftermath', in *CambHistIran* IV, 1–56.

Arab conquest, Spain Conquest, in 711, of the majority of the Iberian Peninsula by a North African *army. Medieval accounts of this conquest were subject to later reworking to such a degree that it is impossible to reconstruct events beyond a bare outline: in 711, a force from North *Africa overthrew the *Visigothic King *Roderic, and shortly thereafter a succession of governors sent from *Damascus began using Arabic lead seals (with, alas, minimal information beyond terms related to division of loot) and minting *gold coins bearing the *shahada* ('There is no God but God, and *Muhammad is the Prophet of God') in both *Arabic and *Latin. Further coinage evidence suggests continuity of Visigothic authority in the far north of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Arabic tradition, whose earliest surviving examples are the works of Ibn Habib (d. 852) and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 870), tends to stress that this was a *Berber enterprise in which few Arabs were involved; most accounts say the invaders were led by a Berber named *Tariq b. Ziyad. The degree to which these Berbers were either Romanized and/or Islamized remains largely a matter of conjecture. Tariq's patron *Musa b. Nusayr, the *Umayyads governor of the Maghrib, plays a more minor role; another key figure is 'Count Julian', said to have ferried the invaders the short distance across the Strait of Gibraltar (a name derived, we are told, from *Jabal al-Tariq*, 'mountain of Tariq'). The earlier Latin Spanish **Chronicle of 754* names the same major players (except the probably fictional Julian) and is also well informed about Umayyad history. NC

ANCIENT SOURCES
Crónica Mozarabe de 754, ed. and tr. J. E. Lopez Pereira (1980); ET K. B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (1999), 91–128.
Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh Misr*, ed. C. C. Torrey (1922); partial ET J. H. Jones, *History of the Conquest of Spain* (1858).
Ibn Habib, *Kitab al-ta'rikh*, ed. J. Aguadé (1991).
Ibn al-Qūtīya, *Tarikh iftitah al-Andalus*, ed. and SpT J. Ribera, *Historia de la conquista de España* (1926); ET D. James, *Early Islamic Spain* (2009).

STUDIES
N. Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia* (2011).
R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (1989).
T. Ibrahim, 'Nuevos documentos sobre la conquista Omeya de Hispania: los precintos de plomo', *711: Arqueología e historia entre dos mundos* 1 (2011).

E. Manzano, *Conquistadores, emires y califas: los omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (2006).
L. Molina, 'Un relato de la conquista de al-Andalus', *al-Qantara* 19 (1998), 39–65.
L. Molina, 'Los itinerarios de la conquista: el relato de ʿArīb', *al-Qantara* 20 (1999), 27–45.

Arabia (Roman province) Provincia Arabia was created out of the kingdom of *Nabataea in 106 by Trajan. It included several cities of the Decapolis, and its borders extended from the *province of *Syria down to the Red Sea coast and into northern Saudi Arabia. *Bosra (Bostra) became the provincial capital, and the base for the Legio III Cyrenaica. In *c.*295, the province was reconfigured in two parts: Arabia in the north with the addition of parts of southern *Syria and with a boundary along the Wadi al-Hasa, and the larger *Palaestina in the south, with southern Transjordan and the *Negev. It is possible that between *c.*314 and 324 a short-lived province of Arabia Nova was carved out of the Negev part of *Palaestina. Arabia was part of the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, under the *Comes Orientis. As a result of the change, the garrison of Arabia was reduced to either one legion (III Cyrenaica) at Bosra or perhaps two (the IV Martia at al-*Lejjun, if that site was not in Palaestina), while two legions were allotted to the southern province: the IV Ferrata at *Udruh and the X Fretensis at *Aila.

From the moment of its annexation, Arabia was governed by a pro-praetorian legate and from the mid-3rd century by an equestrian *Praeses. The *Dux Arabiae commanded its garrison, so that civil and military administrations were separate. In *c.*392 the two offices were reunited, only to be subdivided again after 535. Between 614 and 628, following the *Persian invasion, the *Sasanians controlled the province, and following the *Arab conquest and the Muslim victory at the Battle of the *Yarmuk in 636, it became part of the heartlands of the *Umayyad *caliphate. PWMF

NEDC 213–15.

G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983).
B. MacDonald, R. Adams, and P. Bienkowski, eds., *The Archaeology of Jordan* (2001).
J. Sipilä, *The Reorganisation of Provincial Territories in Light of the Imperial Decision-Making Process: Later Roman Arabia and Tres Palaestinae as Case Studies* (2009).

Arabia, southern Arabia Felix (mod. Yemen and part of *Oman) was a predominantly mountainous region receiving ample rains in the late summer monsoon (Ar. *kharif*). The region supported intensive agriculture and was a source of *incense and myrrh, luxuries in high demand in the Ancient Mediterranean basin and *Mesopotamia. Southern Arabian *harbours were stages on the sea routes linking *India, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean. Control over the maritime and caravan-borne incense trade sustained wealthy and powerful kingdoms with sophisticated state structures from the 8th century BC until the 6th century AD.

Ancient southern Arabia (8th cent. BC–*c.*1st cent. AD) was divided between four kingdoms: the *Sabaeans (associated with Queen of Sheba mythology; capital: *Marib); the Minaeans (capital: *Ma'in); Qataban (capital: Timna); and *Hadramawt (vast area of eastern Yemen and the Dhofar Province of Oman). Each developed cultures bearing the influence of intensive contact with Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean; all four had distinct languages and left substantial *inscriptions. The wealth from southern Arabia's incense trade nurtured legendary images of the region amongst outsiders: the biblical Queen of Sheba mythology is a famous example, though Solomon pre-dated the rise of south Arabian kingdoms by three centuries, and thus it is unlikely the relations in 1 Kings 10 refer to an actual Sabaean queen (Lassner). Legends of southern Arabia were equally prominent in Hellenistic imaginations: texts refer to 'Happy/Lucky Arabia' (Gk. *Arabia Eudaimon*, Lat. *Arabia Felix*), a byword for the fabulous land where they imagined incense originated. *Arabia Eudaimon* was initially more an idea than a precise geographic term, given the limited direct contact between Greeks and southern Arabia. In 25–24 BC, the Romans invaded southern Arabia in an attempt to control the trade which had become a major burden on their treasury: the invasion was unsuccessful, but resulted in more accurate geographical knowledge, and *Arabia Felix* settled as the name for specifically southern Arabia (Retsö).

Southern Arabian power structures changed in the 1st century BC with the rise of the *Himyar kingdom (capital: *Zafâr). *Inscriptions note wars and changing alliances, resulting in Himyar's hegemony from the 3rd century AD onwards, as it gradually subsumed the previous four kingdoms into its control. Some of Himyar's kings converted to *Judaism; the kingdom flourished into Late Antiquity, though demand for incense was initially curtailed with the Roman adoption of Christianity.

South Arabia remained an important trading region: Roman and Persian interests clashed over influence, prompting regional wars and violence between Jewish and Christian communities. In 525 an *Aksumite Ethiopian invasion supported by the Eastern Roman Empire toppled Himyar, though a Persian-led invasion *c.*570 expelled the Ethiopians and inaugurated a period of *Sasanian control until the rise of *Islam.

Details of southern Arabia's *conversion to Islam are imprecise, but much of its population must have converted during or immediately after *Muhammad's

lifetime (Mad'aj). Southern Arabia (Ar. *al-Yaman*: 'the south') contributed substantial contingents for the 7th-century *Arab invasions of the Roman and Persian empires. Development of the *Umayyad *caliphate in *Syria from 661 and the *Abbasids in southern Mesopotamia from 750 rendered Yemen relatively peripheral in the Arab world, though still populous and continuously involved in maritime trading networks between India and the Near East. PAW

G. Bowersock, *The Throne of Adulis* (2013).
A. Korotayev, *Ancient Yemen* (1995).
A. Korotayev, *Pre-Islamic Yemen* (1996).
J. Lassner, *Demonising the Queen of Sheba* (1993).
M. Mad'aj, *The Yemen in Early Islam* (1988).
J. Retsö, 'When did Yemen become *Arabia Felix*?', *PSAS* 33 (2003), 229–35.
S. J. Simpson, *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen* (2002).

Arabian Peninsula Greeks coined the term '*Arabia' to connote the 'land of the Arabs'. It first appears in Herodotus (III, 107–13), but he did not describe it as a peninsula, delineating instead a single land mass from the *Nile to the Euphrates. After Alexander's naval explorations, the coastline was better demarcated, and the peninsula they named Arabia has featured in European cartography ever since, though its northern borders remained fluid in Hellenistic times. The Syrian Desert up to the Euphrates was usually considered the boundary, though Greek writers sometimes referred to Lebanon, northern *Syria, and northern *Mesopotamia as Arabia (Macdonald, 10–17).

Herodotus and subsequent Greek and Latin writers had little direct contact with Arabia; their accounts are often fanciful, depicting Arabia from a distance. The notion of Arabia as a geographical and cultural unity thus has a long history in European thought, but it does not reflect the peninsula's historical realities. Before *Islam, there are no indigenous references to the 'Arabian Peninsula', nor does it seem that its inhabitants all conceived of themselves as 'Arabian' (Macdonald, 1).

Hellenistic generalizations about the Arabian Peninsula are currently being revised. Archaeology reveals distinctive pre-Islamic cultures and languages across the peninsula's varied geographic regions; the agriculturally rich southern Arabian mountain ranges, the Persian Gulf littoral, and north-west oases developed independently. Persian Gulf communities in Bahrain and *Oman began maritime *trade with Mesopotamia in the 4th millennium BC, though central Arabians only established regular contact with the Fertile Crescent in the early 1st millennium BC (Ghabban, 71,74). Since at least the 9th century BC, more comprehensive intra-Arabian interaction appears as regions were integrated into trading networks that transported *incense from *Yemen to both Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean basin. At this time, prosperous south Arabian kingdoms emerged and towns developed in north-west Arabia too, particularly Dedan and Tayma. During the Hellenistic period, the kingdom of Gerrha thrived in the Persian Gulf. The pre-Islamic communities competed, sometimes violently, over trading opportunities, and whilst Graeco-Roman observers from afar considered them all as 'Arabs', internal notions of unity are unattested.

Massive imports of Arabian incense to the Roman Empire became a burden on state funds; a Roman attempt lead by Gallus to annex the incense-producing lands in 26–24 BC was a disastrous failure. Trajan annexed the *Nabataean kingdom in AD 106, and for several centuries Rome maintained territorial control over the northern parts of the incense *trade route. Parthians and then *Sasanians established control over the Gulf coast; during Sasanian times the *Church of the East became well established in eastern Arabia and Arab *tribes began to occupy the region, displacing earlier Aramaic-speaking peoples (Potts, 225–6, 241–7). Declining incense trade from the 6th century AD disrupted the established kingdoms (Heck, 554); at the same time, the Eastern Roman Empire and the Sasanians competed by proxy in Arabia, each aligning with different groups such as the *Ghassanids and *Lakhimids. In the 6th century, the Romans sponsored the spread of Christianity into central Arabia (Shahid, *BASIC* I, 2), while the Sasanians occupied parts of south *Arabia.

The nadir of Roman and Persian involvement in the *Arabian Peninsula following their war of 602–28 coincided with the collapse of the southern Arabian *Himyar kingdom, and at this juncture *Islam emerged. Starting in the *Hijaz, *Muhammad successfully converted many Arabians to Islam, and by 634 (two years after Muhammad's death), almost all of the Arabian Peninsula (i.e. modern Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, and Yemen) had converted. Between 635 and 650, Muslim armies drawn from all parts of Arabia invaded the Near East and established the Islamic Empire.

Islam was born in Arabia, but the *caliphate's capital only remained there until 656, when the centre of Islamic power and culture relocated to the Fertile Crescent. Arabia still housed the holy *pilgrimage centres of *Mecca and *Medina, and up to the mid-9th century, caliphs in *Damascus and then Baghdad expended enormous efforts to link their cities with Islam's shrines by networks of roads and waterworks. Official attention to Arabian infrastructure dwindled in the early 9th century; *Bedouin tribes then began raiding and initiated a vicious cycle of violence, dwindling pilgrim numbers, and further insecurity (al-Rashid and Webb, 116–43). By the 10th century, very few Iraqi and Syrian

Muslims ventured into Arabia, and a new period of division and state-building began. PAW

A. I. al-Ghabban et al., eds., *Roads of Arabia* (2010).
G. W. Heck, '"Arabia without Spices": An Alternative Hypothesis', *JAOS* 123 (2003), 547–76.
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).
M. C. A. Macdonald, 'Arabians, Arabias and the Greeks: Contact and Perceptions', in his *Language and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia* (2009), V, 1–33.
D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity* (1990).
Shahid, *BAFIC*.
Shahid, *BASIC*.
S. al-Rashid and P. Webb, *Medieval Roads to Mecca* (2014).

Arabian Peninsula, Aksumite involvement in The initial phases of Aksumite civilization probably saw a reduction in links with southern *Arabia, but these may have been renewed by the beginning of the 3rd century. The titles of Aksumite kings cited in their 4th-century *inscriptions—unless they were intentional archaisms—indicate claims to rule territory east of the Red Sea. Such rule, albeit resisted and short-lived, was established or re-established by King *Kaleb *c.*520 when, apparently with Roman connivance and perhaps support, Aksumite forces invaded the *Himyarite kingdom in southern Arabia, ostensibly to avenge the persecuted Christian population. An Aksumite representative was appointed to rule Himyar on Kaleb's behalf, but the arrangement lasted less than four decades. After the rise of *Islam, Arabia maintained *trade contacts with the Christian kingdom of the Ethiopian highlands, albeit the latter's capital was no longer at *Aksum. DWP

Gajda, *Royaume de Himyar à l'époque monothéiste*.
C. Robin, 'La Première Intervention abyssine en Arabie méridionale', in Taddese Beyene, ed., *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies* (1989), vol. 2, 147–62.
Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 123–58.
Shahid, *Martyrs of Najran*.
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 203–6.

Arabian Peninsula, Persian involvement in Contact between the *Arabian Peninsula and the states of *Mesopotamia and Iran goes back to the 3rd millennium BC. *Sasanian influence in the peninsula grew from these ancient roots.

The first *Sasanian King of Kings *Ardashir I captured Bahrain and Oman from the Parthians and installed his son *Shapur as governor. *Shapur II campaigned against Arabian incursions in Mesopotamia and on the shores of the Gulf. His victories and his gruesome punishment of Arabian leaders are commemorated in Arabic literature of the Muslim era, where Shapur II is named *Dhu al-Aktaf* ('Master of the Shoulders'), from the way he roped together his prisoners.

Between the 5th and 6th centuries, the Sasanians extended influence into central Arabia through their *Lakhimid (*Nasrid) clients based in al-*Hira. The moves encroached into Roman territory, resulting in several wars directly with the Romans and proxy wars between the Lakhimids and the Roman Arabian client allies, the *Ghassanids (*Jafnids). Local Arabian groups also resisted Lakhimid hegemony and the Lakhimids suffered a notable defeat at the Battle of *Dhu Qar in the early 7th century.

The Sasanians successfully extended their influence into southern Arabia in the late 6th century. Their alliance with the south Arabian Jewish *Himyar kingdom was challenged by the East Roman Empire after the Himyarites killed many Christians in *Najran. The Roman forces encouraged the King of *Aksum in *Ethiopia to invade southern Arabia. Initial Ethiopian success was reversed by a Sasanian counter-invasion which expelled the Ethiopians and annexed the Yemen. Arabic sources report that Sasanian rule ended *c.*628 with the conversion of the Persian governor Badhan to *Islam, though details of the collapse of Persian control and Yemen's conversion remain unclear. PAW

C. E. Bosworth, 'Iran and the Arabs before Islam', in *CambHistIran* III/1, 593–612.
Bowersock, *Throne of Adulis*.
Fisher, *Between Empires*.
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001).
Shahid, *BAFIC*.
Shahid, *BASIC*.

Arabian Peninsula, pre-Islamic religion in Common assumptions that pre-Islamic *Arabia was a pagan **Jahiliyya* (Age of Ignorance) misrepresent the complexity of its religion and culture during the centuries before *Muhammad. Classical Arabic sources mention centres of idol worship, soothsayers, and spirit-inspired *poets, but they do not universally portray pre-Islamic Arabians as idolatrous. Modern scholarship explores the region's Christian, Judaic, and other monotheistic (**hanif*) communities.

Pre-Islamic Arabia was divided into regions with varied religious affiliations, and frequent contact with the East Roman and *Persian empires also introduced religious ideas. *Miaphysite Christians, especially the powerful *Ghassanids, extended Christian influence into Arabia; Christian communities of the *Church of the East spread in the Gulf and there were Christian communities in southern *Arabia (Yemen) and *Najran which clashed with Judaic groups. *Sozomen describes some '*Saracens' near *Gaza adhering to an Abrahamic

faith which he conceives of as a degraded form of *Judaism (*HE* VI, 38, 10–14).

Sources of the Muslim period also claim that the Arabs were originally Abrahamic descendants of Ishmael who practised a non-Judaic monotheism which they gradually corrupted before Muhammad restored their 'original' monotheism through *Islam. Authors such as *Ibn Ishaq recount Abraham's construction of the *Ka'ba at *Mecca, claiming that idols were only introduced later. Modern scholars who doubt Mecca's Abrahamic origins observe parallels between Mecca and *Nabataean litholatry (stone worship) in *Jordan during the first centuries AD. The *Qur'ān asserts that Abraham founded Mecca (22, 26–7); it also refers by name to the pre-Islamic divinities al-Lat, al-Uzza, and Manat by name (53, 19–20) and to idolatrous practices in Mecca's sanctum (8, 35). PAW

K. Athamina, 'Abraham in Islamic Perspective', *Der Islam* 81 (2004), 184–205.
G. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry* (1999).
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).
Shahid, *BASIC*.

Arabian Peninsula, Roman involvement in Rome's conquest of *Syria in the 1st century BC brought Roman borders to the northern edge of the *Arabian Peninsula. The lucrative *trade in *incense fuelled interest in southern Arabia, as did overseas imports, notably from *India and *Ethiopia, which used south Arabian ports. After Aelius Gallus failed to subjugate south Arabia in 26-4 BC (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 4, 22–4), Romans never attempted occupying it, though in 106 Trajan formed the *province of Arabia (with capital at *Bosra) out of the trading kingdom of Nabataea in north-west Arabia.

Roman presence in al-*Hijaz continued to the early 3rd century (Nehmé et al.), but the Third Century *Crisis and the rise of the *Sasanian dynasty in the *Persian Empire prompted new strategy. *Diocletian reorganized the provinces; the area between Bosra and Philadelphia (mod. *Amman) became the province of *Arabia, and the strip of land from *Petra to the Gulf of Aqaba (*Aila) became part of *Palaestina III Salutaris, leaving inner Arabia beyond direct Roman control. Between the 4th and 7th centuries, the Roman Empire formed alliances with groups in inner Arabia to control the *frontier and to check Persian involvement in the Arabian Peninsula. Arabian client group leaders acquired substantial authority as *phylarchs. The relative peace of the 5th century was broken by a series of wars between *c.*520 and 580 in which the Eastern Roman Empire and their Arabian clients, the *Ghassanids, fought the Persians and their eastern Arabian clients, the *Lakhimids (Fisher, Shahid, Genequand, and Robin).

The Eastern Roman Empire also sought to protect the Gulf of Aqaba by combating Red Sea *pirates, and by seeking influence in south Arabia, encouraging *Himyar to war against the Persians, and proposing similar alliances with the Christian Ethiopians of *Aksum (who conquered Yemen). This strategy was unsuccessful (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 20, 9–13). The Persians occupied Yemen before the dawn of *Islam. The decisive East Roman victory over the Sasanians in 628 was nullified by the *Arab conquests, which overran the Roman garrisons of Syria in 634–7, defeating the Ghassanids and ending Roman influence in Arabia. PAW

G. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983).
Bowersock, *Throne of Adulis*.
Fisher, *Between Empires*.
D. Genequand and Christian Robin, eds., *Les Jafnides: des rois arabes au service de Byzance* (2015).
L. Nehmé et al., 'Hegra of Arabia Felix', in A. I. al-Ghabban et al., eds., *Roads of Arabia* (2010), 286–307.
Shahid, *BAFOC*, *BAFIC*, *BASIC*.

Arabic A Semitic language of the Central Semitic languages (North Arabian group). In Roman imperial times Ancient North Arabian was in use mainly in the northern and central part of the Arabian Peninsula, and is attested in the dialects Safaitic, Hismaic, Thamudic, Taymanitic, and Dananitic. Since Late Antique times, these dialects have been replaced by Arabic, which itself encompasses Old Arabic, Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic, and various vernacular dialects.

Until the 6th century, the limited evidence of Arabic (usually called Old Arabic) that has survived independently from later redactions is written in other alphabets, as there was no separate script for the rare occasions on which the language was recorded in writing. From 6th-century *Syria there are a few *inscriptions written in what is recognizably the Arabic script—albeit without the dots used to distinguish various letters in its developed form. While some Arabic *poetry and prose texts date to the 6th and 7th centuries, they provide a less accurate testimony than the epigraphic evidence as the literary texts were most certainly standardized by Arab redactors from the mid-8th century onwards. These grammarians, the most important of them living in *Basra and *Kufa, established authoritative grammatical norms for Classical Arabic mainly based on three sources: examples from pre-Islamic literature (occasionally spurious), information gathered from *Bedouin tribesmen, who were considered the preservers of the 'correct' Arabic language, and features from the *Qur'ān. Some Muslim theologians proposed that God created the Arabic language (which is also the tongue spoken in Paradise), and it was perceived as closely linked with *Islam and

the Qur'ān, even though it is also the language of Arab Christians and *Jews.

Vernaculars existed alongside Classical Arabic. However, the classical form rapidly spread with the Islamic conquests. In *Egypt, an early 8th-century decree issued by the *Umayyad *Caliph *'Abd al-Malik ordered the replacement of *Coptic and *Greek with Arabic in the *administration. Within the next two centuries, the knowledge of Coptic notably also declined in the fields of literature and religion as well as as a spoken language (especially outside the large cities). In contrast, Persian remained an important language both in speaking and writing in the conquered Sasanian realms. However, approximately 150 years after the Islamic conquest, *Persian now was written in a modified version of the Arabic alphabet. Arabic quickly gained the prestige of a learned tongue, regardless of *whether its speakers learned it as a native tongue or later in life. Already under the Umayyads, but more so in 'Abbasid, times, a good command of Arabic (also by non-Arabs) offered a possible career path as a secretary or scribe (*katib*) and therefore the chance for social advancement. Many of the most important scholars of this era, particularly grammarians, were originally from Persia. KMK

F. Corriente, 'From Old Arabic to Classical Arabic through the Pre-Islamic Koine', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 21 (1976), 62–96.

R. Hoyland, 'Epigraphy and the Linguistic Background to the Qur'an', in G. S. Reynolds, ed., *The Qur'an in its Historical Context* (2008).

M. Macdonald, 'Ancient North Arabian', in R. Woodard, ed., *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (2004), 488–533.

M. Macdonald, 'Reflections on the Linguistic Map of pre-Islamic Arabia', in M. Macdonald, ed., *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia*(2009), vol. 3, 28–79.

Arabs The term 'Arab' was applied to a range of peoples in Antiquity. The *Nabataeans are called Arabs (Diodorus Siculus, XIX), while *araps* appear in Hellenistic Egyptian *papyri. Strabo's account of Gallus' mission to south *Arabia (*Arabia Felix*) includes a fanciful ethnography of Arabs (XVI, 4, 25). Strabo also notes Arab *phylarchs in the desert (XVI, 1, 28) and refers to *Mesopotamian Arabs as tent-dwelling, brigandage-loving *skenitae* (XVI, 1, 26–7; cf. BEDOUIN). Arabs might come from any of the regions labelled *Arabia, including Arabia Felix (Yemen), Arabia Deserta (the Syrian/Saudi desert), and Arabia Petraea (the Nabataean kingdom, from 106 the Roman Provincia *Arabia).

As this suggests, categorizations by outsider sources dominate, and pre-Islamic insider sources for Arabs are rare, mostly made up of a small corpus of *inscriptions. It is noteworthy, though, that among this group Ancient North Arabian and Nabataean inscriptions never mention the words Arab or Arabia. Nevertheless, inscriptions from the oases of Tayma' and Dadan shed light on royal leadership, names, and religious practices. Safaitic texts from the desert offer insights into the lives of *nomads. At Hatra the word Arab (*ʿrb*) does occasionally appear in inscriptions, apparently referring to a place in which live people denoted as *ʿrby*. The word *ʿrb* also appears on the inscription of *Imru' al-Qays. It is not entirely clear whether the *ʿrby* were nomadic, settled, or semi-nomadic.

*Inscriptions from south *Arabia (Saba' and *Himyar) provide a portrait of a complex stratified society based around communes (sedentary tribes), a monarchy, agriculture, sanctuaries such as the temple at *Marib, and urban settlements. The kingdom of Himyar eventually conquered Saba' and the *Sabaeans, and then Arabia Deserta, bringing many of the tribes of the *Arabian Peninsula under south Arabian control; these tribes appear in Himyarite royal inscriptions as vassals and allies (e.g. Ma'sal 1 = Ry 509). Elites from tribes such as Kinda (*see* HUJRIDS; QARYAT AL-FAW) played an important part in extending Himyarite rule to the north over tribal groups such as Maʿadd.

Around the fringes of the Fertile Crescent, the division between settled Arabs (such as the inhabitants of the Provincia Arabia) and the Skenitae became sharper when the term *Saracen emerged to describe Arab nomads (*Ammianus, XXII, 15, 1), paralleled in *Syriac by the label **Tayyaye*. The debate continues over the reasons for this change and the origins of the names (*see TAYYI'*) but both became a literary shorthand for Arabs of the desert. *Sarakenoi/Tayyaye* assume increasing prominence in the sources between the 4th and 7th centuries. Competition between the Roman and *Persian empires highlighted the strategic potential of Arab *phylarchs, while the progressive intertwining of religious commitments and political affiliation in Late Antiquity created stark choices for the peoples of the Roman–Persian *frontier area. Henceforth sources say little about Arabs in *cities and towns, focusing instead on Arabs as outsiders with the potential to ally with—or rebel against—either Rome or Persia. Arabs appear anonymously out of the desert to raid Roman installations (e.g. *AE* 1948), or appear in higher-profile events, such as the revolt of Queen *Mavia—a story of rebellion, alliance, and religious and political affiliation (Socrates, *HE* V, 1). Such ancient media noise has stimulated debate over whether major fortification networks such as the Limes Arabicus and the *Strata Diocletiana may have been intended in part to deter or monitor Arab raids. Persia, too, sought to influence Arabs along its fringes; the *Paikuli inscription of King *Narseh (293–302) acknowledges Arab allies, while the Arab-Islamic tradition asserts that

*Shapur II campaigned vigorously against Arab tribes, earning the king a reputation for ripping out the shoulders of Arab rebels (*Tabari, V, 54–55). The 'moat of the Arabs' in south-west *Mesopotamia, attributed to Shapur, reflects Persian concern for the desert periphery.

References to skill at raiding, and a penchant for brigandage and slaving, abound in sources dealing with the role of Arabs in the conflict between Rome and Persia (e.g. **Synodicon Orientale*, 526–7; *Evagrius, *HE* III, 36). *Saints' lives, frequently linked with wider political concerns, sometimes describe the conversion of Arabs along the desert fringes of both empires (e.g. *Cyril of *Scythopolis, *VEuthym* 10; *Life of Mar *Aḥūdemmeḥ* = PO III, 23–4). Christian texts provide the fullest details about the Saracen 'way of life', but the line between stereotype and reality is often blurred by emphasis on such picturesque details as semi-nudity, superfluous sexuality, and half-cooked food (*Jerome, *Life of S. Malchus*, 4–5). Other texts (*Sozomen, *HE* VI, 38) offer more nuanced views, but their veracity cannot be easily corroborated and even the judicious eyewitness may succumb to the sensational (Ammianus, XIV, 4, 4: 'incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus').

The growing dependence of Arab elites on the great powers in Late Antiquity is reflected by labels such as 'the Persian Saracens' (*John Malalas, XVIII, 32, 445) or 'the Persian *Tayyaye*' (*Joshua the Stylite, 57). By contrast, names of tribes are usually absent, except (for example) in the comments about 6th-century efforts to suborn the 'Maadenoi' and 'Chindenoi', in which can be recognized respectively Maʿadd and Kinda (*Nonnosus = Photius, 3; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 20, 9–12; *see* QAYS). The cultural and political influence and financial strength of Rome and Persia probably stimulated social stratification and other changes in tribal social make-up, including the settlement of tribal leaders around places which made for ease in contacting imperial agents (e.g. al-*Hira or Jabiya), although literary sources are largely silent on these matters.

Sources for the Arabs from the 6th-century focus on the affairs of the Roman-allied phylarchs of the *Jafnids (al-*Harith b. Jabalah) and the Persian-allied *Nasrids (al-*Mundhir III). The *Hujrids, drawn from Kinda (al-*Harith (the Kindite)) were also objects of Roman and Persian diplomatic pressure. Sources for the Jafnids, such as *John of Ephesus, were particularly interested in their function as supporters of the *Miaphysites in Provincia Arabia. In general, 6th-century sources are, like their 5th-century predecessors, refracted through a narrow lense preoccupied with political affiliation, raiding and warfare, and religious choice, and contribute little to our understanding of where Jafnid and Nasrid leaders lived or about sociopolitical structures. Details of the presumed Nasrid 'court' at al-*Hira, including patronage of pre-Islamic *poetry, *palaces, and the supposed Nasrid-sponsored development of a script for the *Arabic language, are drawn almost entirely from the Arab-Islamic tradition of *historiography. Archaeological excavations in *Syria have not located Jabiya, the presumed principal residence of the Jafnids, and only minimal work has been done at al-Hira.

A number of *Greek inscriptions are linked with the Jafnids, mostly from Christian contexts, illustrating the close links between the ruling lineage and their powerful imperial patron. Three Arabic (language and script) inscriptions from the 6th century are known; all are from Syria, and two are from Christian *martyria, illustrating the importance of Christianity for Arabs living in and alongside the Roman Empire. The third, from *Jabal Says, refers to the Jafnid leader al-Harith b. Jabalah.

The situation in the Arabian Peninsula is primarily illuminated by Himyarite royal inscriptions, but is otherwise opaque. For much of the 5th century Himyar controlled vast areas of Arabia Deserta through tribal agents, such as the *Hujrids, and faced Roman and Persian attempts to influence the peripheries of the peninsula. At the beginning of the 6th century, Himyar fell under the control of *Aksum, turning Himyar against Persia: in 521, the Axumite-nominated Himyarite King Maʿdikarib Yaʿfur campaigned against the Nasrid al-*Mundhir III (Maʾsal 2 = Ry 510). Shortly afterwards, a rebellion led by *Yusuf Ash'ar (Joseph, Dhu Nuwas) challenged Aksumite-sponsored rule and triggered a famous massacre of Christians at *Najrān, sending shockwaves throughout the Near East. During this period, the Persians asserted control over Maʿadd through the Nasrids before a Himyarite resurgence under Abraha (Murayghān 1 = Ry 506). Eventually, a Persian invasion toppled the dynasty of Abraha; by then both *Jafnids (581/2: John of Ephesus, II, 3, 40–3/173–8 Payne Smith) and Nasrids (*c.*602/3: **Chronicle of Khuzestan*, 19–20) had been ovethrown; Arab forces defeated a Persian army at the Battle of *Dhu Qar not long afterwards. Arab militia played a role in the *Persian–Roman war which ended with the victory of *Heraclius in 628 (e.g. **Chronicon Paschale ad ann* 628), and the Arab-Islamic tradition places Jafnid (*Ghassanid) troops on the Roman side at the Battle of the *Yarmuk in 636.

The Arabs played a notable role in Late Antique interstate politics, but away from the political and hagiographical arena pre-Islamic sources are silent about many important questions. These include the relationship between settled and nomadic Arabs, the way that cities such as Yathrib (*Medina) and *Mecca managed local populations, and detailed issues of religion, tribal structures, methods of *warfare, and basic

issues such as the distribution of populations and social conventions. The dominance of outsider sources (often hostile; Ammianus, XIV, 4, 1–7) means that such questions are usually made the basis of hypotheses which then have recourse to the Arab-Islamic tradition or use other means, such as comparative anthropology. Pre-Islamic oral poetry (*qasida, *Muʿallaqat) offers some solutions, suggesting a society based on hospitality, courage, and loyalty, but questions over transmission and production ensure that its historical utility remains debated. Our knowledge of Arabia on the eve of Islam, and of important tribes such as *Quraysh and Taghlib, remains a work in progress. GF

G. Fisher, ed., *Arabs and Empires Before Islam* (2015).
R. G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).
M. C. A. Macdonald, *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia* (2009).
J. Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (2003).
P. Webb, *Imagining the Arabs* (2016).

Arabs, Christianity among No surviving ancient account specifically describes the *conversion of *Arabs to Christianity. Distinction must be made between Roman citizens in the *province of *Arabia (called 'Arabs' in the sources) and others (often termed *Saracens, Ishmaelites, or Hagarenes), ranging from allied people to small tribal groups, both sedentary and (semi-)nomadic.

In the Roman province of Arabia with its capital *Bosra, *bishops are attested from the early 3rd century onwards. Twenty bishops were present at the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451.

The origins of Christianity among the Saracens, the Arabs of the desert, are obscure. For different regions similar hagiographic accounts exist which emphasize the influence of *holy men. The earliest evidence derives from *Jerome's novelistic *Life* of S. *Hilarion which recounts the conversion of semi-nomadic people near *Elusa in the *Negev. Several early Christian historians report on the conversion of the tribe of the Arab Queen *Mavia, who in the 370s made an alliance with the Roman Empire and secured the consecration as *bishop for her people of the ascetic Moses. The Mavia who built a shrine to S. Thomas at Hanaser (*Syria) in 425/7 may be a kinswoman.

In the Patriarchate of *Jerusalem, the conversion of Saracens emigrating from the *Persian Empire stands out: according to *Cyril of *Scythopolis, who recorded the events much later, the Saracens were both converted and also decided to settle down near the *Monastery of S. *Euthymius. A bishop of this group was present at the *Council of *Ephesus (431). The ferocity of Saracens which can only be 'tamed' through Christian conversion is a recurring theme in the *Report on the Slaughter of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu*, attributed to Ammonius and in the *Narrations* of Ps.-*Nilus.

In the patriarchate of *Antioch, some Arab conversions happened in the orbit of S. *Symeon Stylites the Older. The *Lives* of Symeon show that conversion of nomadic tribes had become a common feature of *saints' lives. Some members of the *Kinda and *Lakhimid tribes in this area were also Christians and founded churches and *monasteries. From the early 6th century onwards, the *Ghassanids controlled much of the sparsely populated Levantine hinterland. Among them especially *Harith b. Jabala (Arethas) stands out for his adherence to *Miaphysite Christianity. His son, *Mundhir b. al-Harith, showed reverence to the shrine of S. *Sergius in *Rusafa. The persistent loyalty to Miaphysitism of the Ghassanid chieftains led eventually to the disintegration of the Ghassanid federation.

In the Persian Empire from the second half of the 5th century onwards, the *Church of the East adhered to a strictly Antiochene Christology (labelled *Nestorian). The Church of the East included members of various tribes in the capital of the Lakhimid confederation at al-*Hira (called the Ibad) from perhaps as early as the 4th century. However, there were also anti-Chalcedonian *Miaphysites in Persian *Mesopotamia, among whom S. *Symeon of Bet Arsham stands out for his missionary activities.

Symeon of Bet Arsham was also responsible for seeking intervention in aid of the Christians in southern *Arabia by the Roman emperor and the ruler of *Aksum. In the 5th century the kings of *Himyar in *Zafar in south Arabia were in conflict with the predominantly Christian city of *Najran. In general, south Arabian Christianity was much influenced by *Ethiopia. A few decades later, Abraha in southern Arabia established himself as an independent ruler, built a church in *San'a, and launched an attack northwards against the *Hijaz. These events are remembered in Muslim tradition as the 'Year of the Elephant'. Christianity was known about in the pre-Islamic Hijaz—specifically in *Medina and *Mecca—but the evidence is sparse and influenced by later traditions.

Christian tribes also existed in *Bahrain from the 6th century onwards. The Church of the East had a *diocese in Qatar (*Syriac Bet Qatraye), an area of the *Arabian Peninsula where there had long been Persian involvement; the Christian presence continued for two centuries after the Muslim conquest. In previously Roman territory, occupied during the *Arab conquests, Christian communities were subjected to regulation, although *Melkite and *Maronite Churches continued to exist, alongside the *Syrian Orthodox (Miaphysite) Church and, in former *Sasanian territory, the Church of the East. Christian theologians continued to write under Muslim rule, among them *John of Damascus,

whose treatise *On the Orthodox Faith* opens with an exposition of the Unity and Trinity of God, a matter not without interest to Muslim thinkers. KMK

Caner et al., *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai.*
ed. (annotated with FT) M. Detoraki, ed., *Le Martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons (BHG 166)* (2007).
J. Beaucamp et al., ed., *Juifs et Chrétiens en Arabie aux V^e et VI^e siècles: regards croisés sur les sources* (2010).
I. Shahîd, *BAFOC*; I. Shahîd, *BAFIC*; I. Shahîd, *BASIC.*
G. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983).
Fisher, *Between Empires*.
K. Klein, 'How to Get Rid of Venus? Some Remarks on Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* and the Conversion of Elusa in the Negev', in Papaconstantinou et al., *Conversion in Late Antiquity* (2015).
T. Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam. Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit: eine Hinführung* (2007).
H. Lammens, 'Les Chrétiens à la Mecque', *BIFAO* 14 (1918), 191–230.
F. Nau, *Les Arabes chrétiens de Mésopotamie et de Syrie du VIII^e au VIII^e siècle* (1933).
R. J. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (1995).
I. Toral-Niehoff, 'The Ibâd in al-Hira: An Arab Christian Community in Late Antique Iraq', in A. Neuwirth et al., ed., *The Qur'an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu* (2010), 323–47.
I. Toral-Niehoff, *Al- Hīra. Eine arabische Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext* (2014).

Aratius Roman general. Born in Persian *Armenia, he defected with his brother *Narses to the Romans in 530. As *Dux *Palestinae in 533/6 he received a *panegyric from *Choricius (*Oration* 3). In 538–40 he campaigned in *Italy against *Ostrogoths, in 549 with the *Lombards against the *Gepids, and in 551–2 in the *Balkans, where he was killed. OPN; FKH

PLRE III, Aratius.
Greatrex, *RPW* 147, 189, 192.

Arator (*c.*490–after 544) Born in *Liguria, from a *senatorial family, and educated in *Milan and *Ravenna, Arator rose to the positions of *Comes Domesticorum and Comes Privatarum at the *Ostrogothic *court. Subsequently turning to a religious career, he became a *subdeacon in *Rome under Pope *Vigilius, and there wrote his two-book biblical *epic on Acts, the *Historia Apostolorum*, which received a public reading over four days at the Church of S. Peter ad Vincula (544). Book I of the poem largely treats the figure of S. Peter; S. Paul predominates in Book II. Both books end with *praise of Rome, under the protection of S. Peter and enjoying the concord of the apostles. Arator follows but surpasses *Sedulius in introducing exegesis into the biblical narrative, regularly alternating passages of narrative and interpretation. He deploys all the resources of Christian exegesis, often on small details of the biblical text. MJR

PLRE II, Arator.
PCBE II/2, Arator.
HLL, section 794.
CPL, 1504:
ed. A. P. McKinlay (CSEL 72, 1951).
ed. A. P. Orbán (CCSL 130, 130A, 2006).
ET R. J. Schrader, J. L. Roberts III, and J. F. Makowski, *Arator's On the Acts of the Apostles (De Actibus Apostolorum)* (1987).
P.-A. Deproost, *L'Apôtre Pierre dans une épopée du VIe siècle* (1990).
Green, *Latin Epics*, 251–350.

Arbela (mod. Erbil, Iraq) *City in northern *Mesopotamia, inhabited since the Assyrian era. Having been the capital of the Parthian client kingdom of *Adiabene, it became the principal city of the *Sasanian *province of Adiabene. Two early *bishops, Yohannan and Abraham, were martyred in 343 and 345 under *Shapur II. The bishop became the *metropolitan of Adiabene for the *Church of the East during the 4th century, but this status passed to *Mosul in *c.*823/6. Scholars are divided about the authenticity of the **Chronicle of Arbela*, particularly its early chapters. CJ

Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 1, 39–97.
EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Irbil, 80 (M. Streck).
P. Peeters. 'Passionnaire d'Adiabène', *AnBoll* 43 (1925), 261–304.

arbitration Settlement of disputes by arbitration empowered an adjudicator, agreed by both parties, to 'end' a civil case. The 'award', from which there could be no appeal, was accepted as binding by both. Some surviving arbitration agreements relate to such small items as blankets or cushions, a symptom of the concern of the age with the written record—and with *textiles. Other forms of 'alternative dispute resolution' (ADR), which were non-binding, were negotiation between the parties or mediation by a third party. Arbitration involved a neutral outsider, ranging in status from the local Roman *governor to the *village *headman or even a trusted slave, and thus also differed from the extra-legal decisions of *family councils, headed by the **paterfamilias* or head of the household, whose power to discipline those in his legal power, though much reduced, was still acknowledged.

Informal arbitration could be preferred to litigation as being less expensive and quicker but the process was also recognized by Roman *law (see **Digest*, 4, 8). When a formal arbitration agreement, or *compromissum*,

was made (which explained the responsibilities of the adjudicator(s) and the disputants and clarified procedural points in advance), the agreement and the award by an arbitrator *ex compromisso* were enforceable by state authority. Some Late Antique lawyers assimilated the adjudication of the Christian episcopal and Jewish *courts in civil cases to arbitration *ex compromisso* (see *CTh* II, 1, 10; I, 27, 2; *NovVal* 35, 1 pr.), empowering the state to act as enforcer. However, the culture of the *episcopalis audientia* in the *bishop's court continued to be based on the principles of consent, which had underpinned the authority of bishops as arbitrators (and also as mediators) in the era before *Constantine I. JDH

T. Gagos and P. Van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute: Towards a Legal Anthropology of Late Roman Egypt* (1994).
Harries, *Law and Empire*, 172–84.
l. Harries, 'Creating Legal Space: The Settlement of Disputes in the Roman Empire', in C. Heyser, ed., *Rabbinic Law in its Roman and Near Eastern Context* (2003), 62–81.

Arbogast (*fl.* 470s) *Comes at *Trier, probably as an autonomous warlord. Applauded by *Bishop *Auspicius of Toul (*Ep. Aust.* 23) for his administrative accomplishments and Christian virtues, he solicited a biblical commentary from *Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* IV.17) RVD

PLRE II, Arbogastes.
PCBE IV/ 1, Arbogastes.

Arbogast *Magister Militum (388–94) of *Frankish origin and a *pagan (*VAmbro*sii 30). In 380, *Gratian sent him as subordinate of *Bauto to assist *Theodosius I (*Zosimus, IV, 33, 1–2). Eight years later, Arbogast fought beside Theodosius against the usurper *Magnus Maximus, capturing Magnus (*Orosius,VII, 35) and killing his son Victor (*Prosper, *Chron. s.a.* 388). By this time Arbogast was an experienced commander and exploited his popularity among his soldiers to succeed Bauto as Magister Militum. From this position he came to dominate the *Emperor *Valentinian II, who frequently complained of Arbogast's arrogance (Zosimus, IV, 53, 1–3). When in 392 Valentinian died in unclear circumstances, Arbogast was accused of orchestrating his death (*Socrates, *HE* V, 25). Unable to assume the imperial title due to his Frankish origin, Arbogast proclaimed *Eugenius emperor (Prosper, *s.a.* 392). Two years later, in 394, the *usurpers were defeated by Theodosius at the Battle of the River *Frigidus and Arbogast committed *suicide to avoid being captured (*Rufinus, *HE* XI, 33). His grandson, also Arbogast, was praised in a letter of *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep.* IV, 17) for his erudition and his Christian faith. DN

PLRE I, Arbogastes.
PCBE II/1, Arbogast.
B. Croke, 'Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II', *Historia* 25 (1976), 235–44.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 238–47.
O'Flynn, *Generalissimos*, 1–13.

Arcadia (400–44) Younger sister of *Theodosius II and *Pulcheria. With the latter she embraced virginity, visited *holy men, and owned property in *Constantinople. KGH

PLRE II, Arcadia 1.

Arcadia *Province in *Egypt founded toward the end of the 4th century, named after the *Emperor *Arcadius. It encompassed the *Arsinoite Nome and the Heptanomia ('Seven Nome Region'); its capital was *Oxyrhynchus. Subject to a civil governor (*Praeses) for much of its existence, it had come under the authority of a military *Dux by 636 (P.Prag. I, 64). JGK

Barrington Atlas, 75.
CAH XIV (2000), 613–15.
J. G. Keenan, 'The Provincial Administration of Egyptian Arcadia', *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 2 (1977), 193–202.

Arcadius, Flavius (*c.*377–408) Eastern Roman *emperor (395–408). The elder son of *Theodosius I and Aelia Flaccilla, Arcadius was born in *Spain and educated in *Constantinople under the pagan *Themistius and the Christian Arsenius. He became *Augustus in 383 and was appointed regent in Constantinople in 394, when Theodosius marched to *Italy to suppress *Eugenius. After Theodosius' death (395), Arcadius shared imperial power with his brother *Honorius, but his reluctance to accept *Stilicho's claims to be guardian over the East intensified the tensions between both *courts, leading to episodes of open confrontation such as *Gildo's revolt (397). Described as a feeble personality (*Philostorgius, XI, 6; *Zosimus, V, 12, 1), Arcadius was dominated by several civilian ministers in quick succession: *Rufinus fell in a plot orchestrated by the *eunuch *Eutropius (395), who arranged Arcadius' wedding with *Eudoxia (395) and dominated until 399, when *Gainas succeeded and had Eutropius executed; Gainas, however, fell a year later in a plot orchestrated by Eudoxia, who held control until her death in 404, being succeeded by the prefect *Anthemius (*consul 405). This pattern of intrigue and court politics is depicted in Synesius' *De Regno* and *De Providentia*. Till recently it was explained in terms of tension between anti-barbarian and traditionalist senatorial parties; more recent research has emphasized personal ambitions and enmities. Despite its political instability, Arcadius' rule survived internal insurgencies, such as *Tribigild's revolt (399), and

different barbarian threats such as *Alaric's incursions in *Greece and the *Balkans (395–404), the *Hun offensive in *Cappadocia, *Syria, and *Thrace (397–8), and the frequent raids of the *Isaurians in *Anatolia. A committed Christian emperor, Arcadius legislated against *paganism (*CTh* XVI, 10, 13–14) and *heresy (*CTh* XVI, 5, 30–4), and ordered the closure and demolition (*CTh* XVI, 10, 16) of pagan *temples. His reign also set precedents in the association of Christian piety with images of imperial power, an example of which is the column depicting Arcadius' victory over Gainas (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 250–2). A backlash to imperial promotion of Nicene Christianity was the clash between Eudoxia and the *Patriarch of Constantinople, *John Chrysostom, exiled to the East in 404. Arcadius and Eudoxia had one son, *Theodosius II, who succeeded Arcadius as emperor, and three daughters, *Pulcheria, a consecrated *virgin, and *Arcadia and *Marina, who followed Pulcheria's example and never married (*Sozomen, IX, 1). DN

PLRE I, Arcadius 5.

Cameron, *Barbarians*, 133–336.

P. Heather, 'The Anti-Scythian Tirade of Synesius' *De Regno*', *Phoenix* 42/2 (1988), 152–72.

Holum, *Empresses*, 48–78.

B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts* (1993), 55–64.

Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians.*

G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel: Untersuchungen zur oströmischen Geschichte um das Jahr 400 n. Chr.* (1984).

McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 43–50.

Arcadius Charisius, Aurelius The **Digest* preserves excerpts from three works (*De Testibus*, *De Muneribus Civilis*, and *De Officio Praefecti Praetorio*) of this Late Roman jurist and *Magister Libellorum (*Dig.* I, 11, 1). Although the works are traditionally dated to the reign of *Constantine I, scholars have more recently preferred a dating under the *Tetrarchy, which seems to be confirmed by stylistic analysis of *rescripts. RMF

PLRE I, Charisius 2.

HLL 5, 508.1.

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs.*

Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers.*

T. Honoré, 'Arcadius, also Charisius: Career and Ideology', *Index* 22 (1994), 163–79.

Arca Vinaria Public treasury originally created by the *Emperor *Aurelian to hold the proceeds from the sale of publicly subsidized *wine, levied in kind by the government. The profits were gestated by the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. A law of 365 instructed that this money should help fund the restoration of public buildings and aqueducts (*CTh* XIV, 6, 3). *Symmachus argued this fund was essential for repairing buildings at *Rome (*ep.* 10.33.). It was still in use in the 6th century. AAB

Jones, *LRE* 442, 691, 704–5, 709.

H. W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, A.D. 271–855* (2011).

arch Roman *architects were the first to make extensive use of arches, and arches continued to be essential elements in Late Antique architecture, in *aqueducts, doorways, free-standing arcades, and the clerestory (windowed) walls of churches, e.g. of the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople. Blind arches were incoporated into defensive walls, as at *Amida, so that *artillery damage would not necessarily cause the entire height of a wall to collapse. There were arched Late Roman *bridges surviving, at least in part, into the 20th century at *Antioch on the Orontes, at *Amida (*inscription of *Anastasius I), at the Karamağara Bridge from the 5th/6th century near Elazığ in *Anatolia, and at the *Sangarius Bridge from the 6th century.

The arch also became a decorative motif, and blind arcades (a series of arches superimposed onto a wall) were used to adorn building exteriors and interiors, as on the ground level of the Orthodox *Baptistery in *Ravenna. Horseshoe arches were invented in the late 3rd or 4th century and became popular in *Umayyad and early Islamic architecture.

The crossroads at the meeting point of the main colonnaded *streets, the *cardo* and *decmanus*, of Roman cities was often crowned with a tetrapylon, a quadruple arch resting on four piers, such as those at *Palmyra and *Gerasa. The Arch of *Galerius, which in large part survives, spanned the *Via Egnatia at *Thessalonica and was a tetrapylon. The Milion at the Augustaeum in *Constantinople was also apparently covered by a tetrapylon.

Triumphal arches in honour of *emperors continued to be erected throughout the 4th century. Those built under the *Tetrarchy include the Arch of Galerius and the Arcus Novus on the Via Lata at *Rome, incorporating as *spolia an *altar of the 1st century AD. The Arch of *Constantine was erected by the *Senate of Rome in 315 to honour his victory in civil war against *Maxentius, won 'by inspiration of a divinity and the magnitude of his mind' (*CIL* VI, 1139; Dessau, *ILS* 694); it too contains spolia but is also remarkable for the *frontality of the poses in which Constantine himself is depicted. The Heidentor at *Carnuntum on the Danube *frontier was set up to honour *Constantius II, and further arches were erected at Rome to honour *Gratian, *Valentinian II, and *Theodosius I, near the Pons Aelius (*CIL* VI, 1184), and in 405 for Theodosius I, *Arcadius, and *Honorius to commemorate the victory of *Stilicho at *Pollentia (*CIL* VI, 1196).

The Golden Gate at Constantinople, later incorporated into the city walls under *Theodosius II, was originally a triumphal arch on the ceremonial route taken by imperial *processions making an **adventus* to Constantinople, and was erected by Theodosius I to celebrate his victory over *Magnus Maximus. Further along the same route, the Arch of Theodosius, made of *Proconnesian *marble and carved to look like lopped branches, adorned the Forum of Theodosius. Thereafter columns, such as the Column of Arcadius and that supporting the equestrian statue of *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed*. I, 2, 1–12), came to be the preferred monumental reflection of imperial glory at Constantinople.

SVL; OPN

Adam, *Construction romaine* (Roman background).
Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (in general).
H. P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (1978).
J. Bardill, 'The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I', *AJA* 103/4 (1999), 671–96.

Archaeopolis (medieval Tsikhe-Goji, mod. Nokalakevi) Capital of *Lazica, connected with the rich Lazian hinterland and with the coast via navigable rivers. Archaeopolis occupied a steep hill with a valley down to the river, to which ran a hidden tunnel. Its impressive defensive system included three thick parallel walls. A fortress commanding the junction of the River Tekhuri and a strategic route to the north played a pivotal part in the 6th-century conflict between the Romans and the *Persian Empire, but the Persians failed to take Archaeopolis in the war of AD 540–62 (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 29, 18; *Gothic*, VIII, 14). Most surviving buildings belong to the 4th–6th centuries AD, and include two *palaces, two *bathhouses, and several churches. A complex of structures and burials dating from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine periods has yielded jewellery, glass, and weaponry. MO

V. Japaridze, *Egrisis akh. ts. 1–7 ss. materialuri kulturis dzeglebi* (The Material Culture of Egrisi in the 1st–7th Centuries AD) (2006), 96–103.
http://www.nokalakevi.org.

archery During the 1st to 4th centuries AD, Roman archery was dominated by Eastern practices, both from contacts with the *Persian Empire and through recruitment of Levantine archers into Roman auxiliary forces (*alae* and *cohortes sagittariorum*, and irregular formations). Composite bows of wood, horn, and sinew were employed by all Roman troops, as evidenced by the widespread survival on military sites of bone or antler laths from bow ears and grips. Levantine arrowhead forms were prominent.

Archery equipment evolved during the 4th to 6th centuries, influenced by *Hun and *Avar contacts. Steppe *nomads in Central Asia contemporaneously affected Mesopotamian-Iranian practices, as demonstrated by Persian depictions. Wars against nomads and between the empires so necessitated the use of armoured horse-archers that they were the dominant troops in Roman forces described by *Procopius and *Maurice. In Germanic Europe, from the 3rd century AD, wooden longbows are well represented among Scandinavian votive offerings of weapons, and later Roman sources comment on the effectiveness of *Gothic archery. JCNC

Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.
J. C. N. Coulston, 'Roman Archery Equipment', in M. C. Bishop, ed., *The Production and Distribution of Roman Military Equipment: Proceedings of the Second Roman Military Equipment Seminar* (1985), 220–366.

architects In the Late Roman East there was a distinction between the *mechanikos*, an educated man learned in *mathematics and *optics who could apply his skills to planning buildings, the *architekton*, who might have some theoretical knowledge but was in practice a master builder, and the *ergon euretes*, the skilled craftsman. The services of experts in planning and statics such as *Anthemius of *Tralles and *Isidore of *Miletus, the mathematicians who designed the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople and *Justinian's rebuilding work at *Dara, were needed only for a few exceptional and innovative buildings. Elsewhere, building work was often organized and overseen by clergy, as is clear from the *Life* of S. *Nicholas of Sion. The original work at Dara done under *Anastasius I was supervised by Thomas, *Bishop of *Amida. PhN; OPN

Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 14–15.
S. Cuomo, *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (2007), 134–45.
F. W. Deichmann, 'Waren Eustathios und Zenobios die Architekten der Grabeskirche?', *BZ* 82 (1989), 221–4.
G. Downey, 'Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods', *Byzantion* 18 (1946), 99–118.
N. Schibille, 'The Profession of the Architect in Late Antique Byzantium', *Byzantion* 79 (2009), 360–79.

archives, civic Although direct references to civic archives are limited, their existence can be inferred in various ways. The monthly distribution of *grain and other foodstuffs to specified inhabitants of *Rome and *Constantinople presupposes maintenance of records, while documentation for analogous schemes in *cities in *Egypt in the 3rd century has survived (together with many other civic records on *papyrus).

*Eusebius records advice to those who want to know about a Montanist's enormities that they should search the public archives of Asia (*HE* V, 18, 9). He himself

found the *Letter of *Abgar in the city archives at *Edessa (*HE* I, 13), which the (fictional) *Passion of Ss. *Sharbel, Babaï, and Barsamya* locates near the city's principal pagan altar.

The *Praefectus Urbi at Rome had staff responsible for maintaining records (**commentariensis*, **ab actis*), and the archives of the *Praefectus at Constantinople were destroyed during various different riots (**Chronicon Paschale*, 622 [AD 532], *Theophanes, AM 6101). *John Malalas probably drew on *Antioch's civic archive for notices in his chronicle, while *Justinian I required the *Defensor Civitatis in every city to designate a building for storage of records arising from their work, with an overseer (*NovJust* XV, 5, 2 of AD 535). In the western *successor states, urban **gesta municipalia* developed to maintain records of legal transactions. ADL

Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 81–95, mostly concerned with earlier periods, contains valuable matter.

W. Adler, 'Christians and the Public Archive', in E. F. Mason, *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (2012), 917–37.

archives, imperial and royal The increasing size of imperial bureaucracy generated increasing quantities of records (reflected in the images and secretarial staff in the **Notitia Dignitatum*), the storage of some of which is indicated by a range of evidence.

Compilation of the **Theodosian Code* involved trawling official archives of laws in *Constantinople and the *provinces. *Ausonius describes the bonfires of tax records in every *city when *Gratian ordered an amnesty (*Gratiarum Actio*, 16), while *Anastasius I's abolition of the *chrysargyron tax in 498 entailed destroying both relevant records and duplicates from the capital and from provincial *cities (*Evagrius, *HE* III, 39). Judicial records of the *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis were kept in rooms, identified archaeologically, beneath the *hippodrome (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3.19), and there is evidence for an archive of treaties in Constantinople by the 6th century (*Gregory the Great, *ep.* IX, 229). The significant extant quantities of carefully collated and annotated *papyrus records from Late Roman *Egypt for such matters as landownership and *taxation imply the continued existence of repositories in this and other provinces.

The *Sasanian kings also maintained archives (*John Malalas, XVIII, 44; *Agathias, *Hist.* IV, 30, 3), while adoption of the archival habit by rulers of the early *successor states in the West is presupposed by their maintenance of at least elements of the imperial fiscal system. ADL

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 99–100, 117–20.

C. M. Kelly, 'Roman Bureaucracy: Going through the Files', in Bowman and Woolf, *Literacy and Power*, 161–76.

Ardabīl City in north-east Iranian *Azerbaijan. Its early history and founding are obscure, but it served as seat of a *Sasanian *marzban in the late Sasanian period. Ardabīl continued as an administrative centre into 'Abbāsid times and later as a Sufi holy city. In 112 AH/AD 730, it was the site of the disastrous defeat of Jarrāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Hakamī, the *Umayyad governor of *Armenia, who was killed along with most of his army by Barsbeg, the son of the *Khazar *khagan. Ardabīl surrendered and Khazar raiding continued, reaching *Mosul and Diyar Bakr (*Amida). PBG; MPC

EncIran (1986) *s.v.* Ardabil, i. History of Ardabīl (C. E. Bosworth).

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* Ardabīl, 625–6 (R. N. Frye).

Ahmad Ibn A'tham al-Kûfî, *Al-Futûh*, ed. Suhail Zakkâr, 3 vols. (1992), vol. 3, 217–29.

D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton Oriental Series 16, 1954), 60–71.

M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriia Khazar* (²2002), 225–8.

P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: An Historico-philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 25, 1980), vol. 1, 156–60.

Ardabur *Magister Militum in 421 when the Persian War broke out. He ravaged *Arzanene and besieged *Nisibis, and after the war became Magister Militum Praesentalis. In 424, he was sent to *Italy to overthrow the usurper *John, but was captured; his son, the general *Aspar, rescued him. He was *consul for 427. FKH

PLRE II, Ardabur 3.

Ardabur Consul 447. Son of the powerful general *Aspar (so grandson of *Ardabur, consul in 427) and therefore *Alan by descent, he was *Magister Militum per *Orientem from 453 until 465/6, when he was dismissed for treasonable correspondence with the *Persian Empire. *Leo I murdered him and his father in 471. He is shown as a youth, labelled as *praetor, on the *silver bowl known as the Missorium of Aspar. ADL

PLRE II, Ardabur 1.

Alan Cameron, 'City Personifications and Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 105 (2015), 250–87 at 275–80.

Ardashir I First King of Kings of the *Sasanian Dynasty, r. AD 224–39/40. Established the *Persian Empire in AD 224 after defeating the Arsacid King of Kings Artabanus IV on 28 April 224 on the plain of Hormzdagan, between *Isfahan and Nihawand.

Ardashir's lineage is unclear, but he may have been a petty noble sent to *Darabgerd in the eastern province of *Fars to be fostered. His father or priestly supporter, Pabag, rose up against the Arsacids in the second decade of the 3rd century. Papag struck coins in his own name, as did Ardashir I's brother Shapur, whom

Ardashir succeeded and possibly overthrew. Ardashir's coins provide primary source evidence that he introduced new concepts of Iranian *kingship. In his coin legends he identifies himself as a Mazda worshipper (*Zoroastrian) and the ruler of the Iranians, claims which contrast with Arsacid titulature. Ardashir I called his new empire *Eranshahr (Empire of Iranians), which fashioned older ideas of Iranian identity into a new political concept.

The Romans eventually recognized that Ardashir was a much more formidable opponent than the Arsacids. While we do not know the exact extent of his empire, it is clear that he began the Sasanians' push into eastern Iran and *Central Asia, which his son continued. After initial setbacks he eliminated Hatra, sparking the late 3rd-century wars with the Romans. He invaded *Armenia, though it remained a bone of contention with Rome for the whole duration of the Empire. Ardashir pacified the *Arab nomadic tribes along the Persian Gulf and brought the region under firm Sasanian control.

In the last year of his reign Ardashir I established a co-regency with his son *Shapur I, which facilitated a smooth transition in the dynastic line and set the stage for Shapur I's own momentous reign. Ardashir is also important for the art associated with his reign and for the new royal image he created, especially his unique *crown. He commissioned several rock reliefs in the province of Pars (New Persian Fars) and one in northern Iran. In them we can see the progressive refinement of Sasanian sculptural style and political imagery.

TD; MPC

EncIran II/4 (1986) *s.n.* Ardašīr I i. History, 371–6 (J. Wiesehöfer).

T. Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia* (2013).

E. Winter and B. Dignas, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity* (2007).

Ardashir II Sasanian king (r. AD 379–83), brother of *Shapur II. His *coinage and his *rock relief at *Taq-e Bostan near Kermanshah suggest he probably played a prominent role in defending the *Persian Empire from the invasion of the Roman Emperor *Julian in 363. He seized power on his brother's death, but lost the backing of the aristocracy and was replaced by Shapur II's son *Shapur III. JWi

PLRE I, Artaxerxes II.

EncIran II/4 *s.n.* Ardašīr II, 380–1 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

K. Mosig-Walburg, 'Königtum und Adel in der Regierungszeit Ardashirs II, Shapurs III, und Wahrams IV', in H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer eds., *Commutatio et contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East. In Memory of Zeev Rubin* (S-K 3, 2010), 133–58.

Ardashir III Persian King (r. 628–9), a boy when he succeeded his father *Qobad II in the chaos following the invasion of the *Persian Empire by the Roman *Emperor *Heraclius (*Sebeos, 40, 129–30). Affairs of state were controlled by an official named Mihr Adur Goshnasb (*Tabari, V, 1061). Ardashir was killed at the instigation of the rebel general, *Shahrwaraz, who usurped power but was soon replaced by Queen *Boran, wife and sister of Qobad II (r. 628). TD

PLRE III, Ardashir III.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 35.

Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 178–81.

Arday Wiraz Namag (*The Book of Wiraz the Just*) A *Zoroastrian Middle Persian text describing how, in a time of trouble for the Zoroastrian community gathered at the *fire temple of Adur Farnbag, the righteous man Wiraz was dispatched to the next world to verify the detailed Zoroastrian understanding of its rewards and punishments and the efficacy of its rituals. He was given a drug and was out of his body for seven days and nights while his sister-wives prayed and recited the *Avesta over him. The details of his visionary journey were then reported to a council of priests, in particular the hideous punishment of the sinful and the joys of the just.

The text is undated but its final redaction is commonly attributed to the 9th/10th centuries AD. The contents, particularly the sins and punishments which are described, reflect an older, possibly *Sasanian legal context. This popular text was translated into New Persian, Pazand, and Gujarati. It is not unique in Zoroastrian literature; similar visionary journeys are described in **Denkard* 7 and in the 3rd-century *inscriptions of the high priest *Kerdir. AZ

EncIran II/4 (1986) *s.n. Ardā Wirāz-nāmag*, 356–7 (Ph. Gignoux).

ed. F. Vahman (with ET, transliteration, and comm.), *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: The Iranian 'Divina Commedia'* (1986).

Aredius (venerated as S. Yrieix) (d. 591) An intimate of *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* X, 29), he became a *priest in his native Limousin after spells at *Theudebert I's *court and in *Nicetius of *Trier's entourage. On inheriting the family *estates he left their management to his mother Pelagia, and became abbot of the *monastery he founded at Attanum (S. Yrieix-de-la-Perche). Their joint *will is a valuable guide to *Merovingian estate structures and church ornament, interpolations notwithstanding. STL

PLRE IIIA, Aredius (St. Yrieix).

PCBE IV/1, Aredius.

Works: Pardessus vol. 1, 136–41.

Life (*BHL* 664–8), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 3 (1896), 576–612.

Aregund (Arnegund) (*c.*520–*c*580?) One of the wives of *Chlothar I and mother of *Chilperic I,

known primarily from the high-status female grave excavated under the Church of S. Denis near *Paris in 1959, and identified as hers from a ring bearing the name *Arnegundis*. She was buried in a *purple *silk mantle, with a fine array of *gold, garnet, and *silver *jewellery and dress accessories. A new study of her dental remains suggests that she died in her early 60s, though her suggested dates remain somewhat conjectural. PPé; STL

PLRE IIIA, Arnegundis.

M. Fleury and A. France-Lanord, *Les Trésors mérovingiens de la basilique de Saint-Denis* (1998).

P. Périn et al., *Antiquités nationales* 37 (2005), 181–206.

Areobindus *Senator at *Constantinople and *Magister Militum in *Africa 545–6. Dispatched to *Africa following the crisis of *Sergius' command. *Procopius (*Vandalic*, II, 26, 31–3) states he was assassinated by the rebel *Guntharis in 546 following a prolonged plot. AHM

PLRE III, Areobindus 2.

Areobindus Dagalaiphus, Areobindus, Fl. Great-grandson of *Aspar and grandson of *Ariobindus, he married the noble *Anicia Juliana. *Magister Militum per Orientem, he served against Persia from 503. Several *ivory *diptychs commemorate his consulship of 506. In 512, he prudently avoided an attempt by rioters to make him *emperor. FKH

PLRE II, Areobindus 1, 143–4.

Greatrex, *RPW* 97–100.

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 58–60.

Meier, *Anastasios*.

Areopolis (mod. er-Rabba/h; also Rabba, Rabbathmoba, Rabbatmoab) One of two major centres (the other being Charachmoba) in the region of Moab, the Kerak plateau of west central Jordan. At the start of the Roman *province of *Arabia it accommodated an unidentified cavalry unit and was a site for the *governor's *conventus*. In the early 3rd century Areopolis was the site of a *mint, and was (still) garrisoned *c.*400, according to the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 37, 17). Areopolis was one of several *cities which resisted official interference with their pagan *temples in the late 4th century (*Sozomen, VII, 15). It was transferred from the province of Arabia to *Palaestina III sometime between 425 and 450, and a *bishop is recorded in the mid-5th century. The city is mentioned in Roman sources up to the late 6th century; an *inscription records the restoration in 597/8 of a building damaged in an *earthquake. Areopolis was an important point of resistance to the *Arab conquest until it fell in the mid-630s, but it disappeared from *Arabic sources until the Crusades of the mid-12th century. PWMF

Parker et al., *Roman Frontier in Central Jordan*, vol. 1 (2006), 16–20.

A. Negev, 'The Nabataean Necropolis of Mampsis (Kurnub)', *IEJ* 21 (1971), 110–29.

Arethas (Ar. al-Harith) *Arab leader in *Najran (Yemen) and Christian *martyr. When *Yūsuf Ash'ar (Dhu Nuwas), the Judaizing ruler of *Himyar, attacked Najran, Arethas surrendered, but refused to deny Christ and was beheaded. In 524/5 *Justin I supported *Kaleb, King of *Aksum, in sending a punitive expedition (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 20, 1), which installed the son of Arethas and built churches. The *Qur'ān (85: 4–8) apparently makes a sympathetic reference, and 7th-century and Metaphrastic *passions survive in *Greek (*BHG* 166–7) as well as accounts in *Arabic and Ethiopic (*BHO* 99–106). OPN

ed. (annotated with FT and appendices) M. Detoraki, J. Beaucamp, and A. Binggeli, *Le Martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (BHG 166) (TM monographs 27, 2007).

ed. (with IT) A. Bausi and A. Gori, *Tradizioni orientali del 'Martirio di Areta': la prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica* (2006).

Shahid, *Martyrs of Najran*.

argentarii One of eighteen departments of the Sacrae *Largitiones, comprising thirty-eight members, of whom thirty-three were silversmiths, two **epistulares*, and two **centenarii*, all under a **ducenarius* and overseen by the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, as itemized in a law of 384, reiterated in *Justinian's Code (*CJust* XII, 23, 7, 18; cf. *CTh* VI, 30, 7). AGS

Jones, *LRE* 428, 583–4.

argentarius (Lat. *banker/silversmith) Small-scale bankers in Roman sources, *argentarii* disappear from the sources *c.*260–330, when they resurface as both silversmiths and bankers. *Julianus Argentarius financed the building of the Church of S. Vitale in *Ravenna. RRD

J. Andreau, *Banking and Business in the Roman World*, tr. J. Lloyd (1999).

S. J. B. Barnish, 'The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius …', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 5–38.

argenteus *Silver coin denomination issued by the Roman Empire from 294 to *c.*310. The *argenteus* appears to have replaced the **denarius* as the standard silver unit of account in *Diocletian's 294 *coinage reform but continued *debasement led to its fairly rapid abandonment. It is unclear if *argenteus* was the official denomination name. RRD

D. Vagi, *Coinage and the History of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (2000).

Argonne ware *Pottery type produced in the Argonne forest, west of the River Meuse midway between *Reims and *Metz, which in Late Antiquity abounded with dispersed industrial workshops over an area of some 200 square km (*c.*77 square miles). These included *metal- and *glassworking sites, but ceramic manufacture, abundant from the 4th to the 6th century, was of particular importance. Types evolved from regional varieties to widely diffused *terra *sigillata* productions made in small, medium-sized, and industrial-scale workshops. Pottery from sites such as Lavoye, Avocourt, and Les Allieux, known for their distinctive roller-stamped decoration, was distributed in quantity to markets throughout northern *Gaul. Although the mid-5th century saw a decline in the scale of its production and distribution, certain workshops, notably Châtel-Chéhéry with its Christian decorative repertoire, continued to supply a more restricted region, essentially the Meuse Valley. RBr

G. Chenet, *La Céramique gallo-romaine d'Argonne du IV^e siècle et la terre sigillée décorée à la molette* (1941).

R. Brulet, 'Recherches sur les ateliers de céramique gallo-romains en Argonne: 1. Prospection-Inventaire dans le massif de Hesse et le site de production des Allieux 1' and M. Feller, 'Recherches sur les ateliers de céramique gallo-romains en Argonne: 2. Le site de production d'Avocourt 3 (Prix-des-Blanches), Zone fouillée', *Archaeologia Mosellana* 3 (1998), 229–368; 5 (2003), 301–451.

M. Gazenbeek, S. Van der Leeuw, et al., 'L'Argonne dans l'Antiquité; étude d'une région productrice de céramique et de verre', *Gallia* 60 (2003), 269–317.

Argos and the Argolid Argos, principal *city of the Argolid district in the Late Roman *province of *Achaea, commands the plain at the head of the Gulf of Argos on the east coast of the Peloponnese. Agriculturally rich, a mountainous perimeter encloses the region.

Argos was sacked by the *Goths in 267 and definitively destroyed by the *Visigoths in 395. Nevertheless, the city recovered sufficiently for its earliest attested *bishop to participate in the 'Robber' Council of *Ephesus in 449. By the time the city was recovering from the arrival of the *Slavs, the see was renamed Damalas and its *bishop considered the Protothronos of the metropolitan of Corinth.

Significant ecclesiastical and secular remains have been found at Argos and in the other Argolid cities of *Epidaurus, Methana, Troizen, and Hermione. These suggest that the region may have had its own school of mosaicists. The mid-6th-century 'Villa of the Falconer' demonstrates the comfortable way of life of wealthier Argive citizens, as well as unique examples in its *mosaics of pictorial narrative art not associated with any known text.

Excavations of farmsteads at Pyrgouthi and Halieis reveal the nature of rural Argive settlements of the 6th to 7th centuries. The **Chronicle of Monemvasia* records that the citizens of Argos fled from Slavs to the island of Orovi (Orobe) in 587/8 (ll. 93–4 Dujčev). Slavic *pottery has been identified in Argos itself. More than 40 early 7th-century burials with extensive grave-goods have been found in a cave at Andritsa. In the 6th and 7th centuries a secure sea lane connecting *Constantinople with *Italy and *Sicily ran along the coast of the Argolid, indicated by the contemporaneous settlements and administrative posts on such inhospitable islands as Dokos and Orovi. PA

A. Oikonomou-Laniado, *Argos Paléochrétienne* (2003).

J. Hjohlman and A. Penttinen, *Pyrgouthi: A Rural Site in the Berbati Valley from the Early Iron Age to Late Antiquity* (2005).

C. Abadie-Reynal, 'Argos from the Fourth to Eighth Centuries', in Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*, 210–15.

argyroprates *See* ARGENTARIUS.

Ariadne *Aelia; *empress. Elder daughter of *Leo I and *Verina, she married *Zeno of *Isauria in 466/7 and they had one son, *Leo II. The marriage was crucial in marking Leo's change of policy from reliance on the *Alan general *Aspar to an alliance with the Isaurians. After Leo I's death in 474, the young Leo II became *emperor, but his early death left Zeno sole emperor. Ariadne was implicated in the various plots against her husband, including the revolt of *Basiliscus, not least because her mother Verina was involved. Following the death of Zeno in April 491, Ariadne, attired in the imperial cloak, received the *acclamations of the crowds in the *Hippodrome. Senior figures at *court and the *Patriarch Euphemius allowed *Urbicius, the *Praepositus Sacri *Cubiculi, to leave the choice of emperor to Ariadne, and she chose the **silentiarius* *Anastasius. That she married him a month later gave rise to speculation about their relationship during Zeno's lifetime (*Zacharias of *Mytilene, *HE* VII, 1). Many *portraits of her survive in *ivory and *marble suggesting her dominance as the empress at the imperial court for over four decades. She died in 515. FKH

PLRE II, Ariadne (140–1).

E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.

Haarer, *Anastasius*.

Meier, *Anastasios*.

ODB s.n. Ariadne.

Arian Historiographer (*c.*363) Anonymous continuation of *Eusebius' *Chronici canones* covering the years 325–50 which *Theophanes, *Jerome, and *Philostorgius all used as a source for their later works.

Originally composed in *Greek in *Syria, the work seems concerned solely with the East and has a distinct focus on the *Persian–Roman wars. In fact, the chronicle covers political events and natural disasters much more than religious issues. Traditionally labelled Arian due to the inclusion of Arian *bishops and the close identification with Philostorgius, the author may not have been a strong partisan of either Christological position. For instance, the author presents *Constantine I as 'merciful' while *Constantius II has no such positive label throughout the text. The work is focused on *Antioch and is one of the best records of the period. RJM

CPG 2085: ed. J. Bidez and F. Winkelmann (*GCS* 21, 1972), 202–41.

ET (with comm.) R. W. Burgess, 'The *Continatio Antiochiensis Eusebii*: A Chronicle of Antioch and the Roman Near East during the Reigns of Constantine and Constantius II, AD 325–350', in his *Studies in Eusebian and post-Eusebian Chronography* (1999), 113–306.

P. Battifol, 'Un historiographe anonyme arien du IV siècle', *RQ* 9 (1895), 57–97.

H. C. Brennecke, 'Philostorg und der anonyme homöische Historiker', in D. Meyer, ed., *Philostorge et l'historiographie de l'Antiquité tardive. Philostorg im Kontext der spätantiken Geschichtsschreibung* (2011), 105–17.

Arians and Homoeans in the West In 357, *bishops meeting at *Sirmium debated the theology of the relationship between God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son. The Western bishops who attended included Germinius of Sirmium, Valens of *Mursa, and Ursacius of Singidunum (mod. *Belgrade). Their manifesto described the Father as 'greater' than the Son 'in honour, dignity, glory, and majesty', and it explicitly excluded use of the term 'essence' (Lat. *substantia*, Gk. *ousia*) and its compounds (such as *homoousios* and *homoiousios*) as unbiblical (*Hilary of *Poitiers, *De Synodis*, 11). Opponents such as Phoebadius, Bishop of Agen, immediately condemned the statement as 'Arian' for subordinating the Son to the Father in the manner of *Arius who had been condemned for *heresy at the Council of *Nicaea in 325. But the *Emperor *Constantius II detected an opportunity for theological unanimity. A council that met at Sirmium in 359, this time attended by the emperor, issued a *creed that again rejected the use of *ousia* and instead confessed that 'the Son is similar (*homoios*) to the Father in all respects' (extant in *Greek translation in *Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 8, *Socrates II, 37). Constantius then compelled assent from Western bishops meeting at *Ariminum (mod. Rimini) and Eastern bishops meeting at *Seleucia ad Calycadnum (mod. Silifke). In 360 the creed of a council at *Constantinople authorized the colourless assertion that 'the Son is similar to the Father, as the Holy Scriptures assert and teach' (Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 30). Bishops such as Hilary of Poitiers may have condemned Constantius as an impious tyrant, but '*Homoean' theology had prevailed. 'The entire world groaned and was astonished that it had become Arian' (*Jerome, *Dialogus contra Luciferianos*, 19).

The emperors *Valentinian I and his brother *Valens were natives of *Pannonia, a stronghold of Homoean bishops. In the western provinces Valentinian hoped to remain impartial in ecclesiastical affairs. In contrast, throughout the eastern provinces Valens promoted Homoean bishops and sent dissenters into *exile. After Valens's death in battle against the *Goths in 378, churchmen linked his ignoble demise to his heterodox theology. The Emperor *Gratian soon recalled the exiled bishops, and in 381 the Emperor *Theodosius I convened an Ecumenical *Council at *Constantinople that reaffirmed the Homoousian doctrines first endorsed at the Council of Nicaea. In an *edict the emperors themselves insisted upon the use of *ousia* to describe 'the undivided essence of the incorrupt Trinity', and they banned 'the poison of the Arian sacrilege' (*CTh* XVI, 5, 6). In the Roman world the rise and fall of Homoean theology had been fully contingent on imperial support or opposition.

Already before its official condemnation 'Arianism' had become more of a polemical tag than a precise theological description. Nicene churchmen were quick to denigrate any theology that seemed to subordinate the Son to the Father as 'Arian' or 'Semi-Arian', including Homoean doctrines that had little genealogical connection to Arius' original teachings. In contrast, Homoean Christians insisted that their doctrines were 'Catholic' and 'Orthodox'. A council at *Aquileia in 381 featured a confrontation between *Ambrose, Bishop of *Milan, who required condemnation of a letter of Arius as a test of orthodoxy, and the Homoean bishop Palladius of *Ratiaria, who responded only with biblical citations. In 428 *Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, participated in a public debate with the Homoean bishop Maximinus. Subsequently Maximinus scribbled an indignant critique of Ambrose in the margins of a manuscript containing the Acts of the council at Aquileia.

The *Barbarian Migrations reinforced the Homoean communities in the Empire. The churchmen attending the council at Constantinople in 360 included *Ulfilas, already consecrated as a bishop for the Christians living among the Goths in the *Balkans. A creed attributed to Ulfilas described the Son as 'subordinate and obedient in all respects to his God and Father' (*Scolies*, 250). Although his creed was not precisely Homoean, his version of Arian Christianity dominated among the Goths who crossed into the Empire, as well as among the *Burgundians, the *Suebes, and the *Vandals. Allegiance to the creeds of the Homoean councils seemed to

define barbarian Arianism. In the later 5th century the *Vandal King *Huneric in *Africa issued a *law that supported the doctrines promulgated by the councils at Ariminum and Seleucia (*Victor of Vita, *Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae*, 3, 5). When the Visigothic King Reccared in *Spain orchestrated conversion to Nicene Christianity at the Council of *Toledo in 589, the Arian bishops expressed their assent by repudiating the Council of Ariminum.

In the barbarian kingdoms that replaced the Western Roman Empire Arian Christianity might serve as an important marker of self-presentation and the representation of others. In Spain the Arian Visigoths referred to Nicene Christians as 'Romans' but identified themselves as 'Catholics' (*Gregory of *Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, 24, 78–9). Kings followed the lead of Roman emperors by encouraging toleration or repression. In *Italy the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic promoted harmony between Romans and Goths: 'although he belonged to the Arian sect, he did not assault the Catholic religion' (*Chronicon Theoderici*, 60). Other kings used confessional boundaries to assert their domination. In the early 470s the Visigothic King *Euric blocked the consecration of new Nicene bishops in *Gaul (*Sidonius, *ep.* 7, 6). In North Africa the Vandal King *Geiseric issued a law that only Arians could hold offices at the *court (Victor of Vita, *Historia*, 1.43).

Barbarian Arianism largely disappeared with the transition of the Burgundians to Nicene Christianity already before their assimilation by the *Franks, and the defeat of the Vandals and Ostrogoths during the *Byzantine invasions of Africa and Italy. In Spain the Visigoths converted in 589, and the *Lombards in Italy abandoned Arianism during the 7th century. The smoothness of the transitions suggests that the practical and ritual borderlines between barbarian Arian Christianity and Nicene Christianity had already been blurred. RVD

M. R. Barnes and D. H. Williams, eds., *Arianism after Arius: Essays on the Development of the Fourth Century Trinitarian Conflicts* (1993).

G. M. Berndt and R. Steinacher, eds., *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed* (2014).

R. Flower, *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective* (2013).

R. Gryson, *Scolies ariennes sur le Concile d'Aquilée* (SC 267, 1980).

Hanson, *Doctrine of God*.

U. Heil, *Avitus von Vienne und die homöische Kirche der Burgunder* (PTS 66 (2011).

M. Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident 335–430* (Patristica Sorbonensia 8, 1967).

K. Schäferdiek, *Die Kirche in den Reichen der Westgoten und Suewen bis zur Errichtung der westgotischen katholischen Staatskirche* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 39, 1967).

arimannus Word of Germanic origin equating to 'man in arms' and reflecting the military character of *Lombard settlement in *Italy in the 6th century. The term appears to be cognate with *exercitalis*, a free Lombard soldier, but subsequently the term *arimannus* comes to denote those who were often (small) free landholders. It is therefore frequently used in Lombard *laws interchangeably with Langobardus to signify one who receives royal legislation. Nonetheless, the *arimannus* was obliged to perform certain military services; e.g *Ratchis (I, 4) decrees that an *arimannus* should possess shield and lance when riding with the 'judge'. He was also required to maintain *bridges and *roads, and participate in public courts. During the 8th and 9th centuries the uniform class of Lombard smallholders and soldiers tended to disappear; many had become tenants or were forced into dependency. CTH

C. Azzara and S. Gasparri, *Le leggi dei Longobardi: storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico* (2005).

Ariminum (mod. Rimini) *City in the *province of Picenum, where the Via Flaminia met the Adriatic Sea. The Council of Ariminum convened in 359 under *Constantius II to negotiate a position between Nicene and *Homoean Christians (*Sozomen, VI, 17, 1). *Aetius defeated Boniface, *Comes *Africae, at Ariminum in 432. The city's capture by Byzantine soldiers precipitated the end of the Gothic *siege of *Rome in 538 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VI, 10–12; VII, 27). An important *inscription here marks the death of the **patricius* Liberius at the end of *Justinian I's Gothic War (*CIL* XI, 382). The city became part of the Byzantine Pentapolis (*Gregory the Great, *ep.* I, 56; IX, 160). MSB

C. Negrelli, 'Rimini tra V ed VIII secolo: topografia e cultura materiale', in A. Augenti, ed., *Le città italiane tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo* (2006), 219–71.

Ariobindus, Flavius A *Goth, served as a *Comes Foederatum in the Persian War of 422, was *Consul in 434 with *Aspar, and *Magister Militum 434–49, participating in the unsuccessful expeditions against the *Vandals and *Attila. He owned land near *Cyrrhus and received letters from *Theodoret. He was **patricius* 447–9, and grandfather of Fl. *Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus. FKH

PLRE II, Ariobindus 2, 145–6.

Aristaenetus Traditionally identified as author of a collection of 50 *letters on erotic themes, the first of which bears his name. The others are purportedly written by a range of fictional characters and by well-known writers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, such as Lucian, Alciphron, and *Philostratus. The letters often

relate anecdotes and are close in theme to *Menander and to Lucian's dialogues, interweaving quotations from classical poetry, prose, and from the *Greek novels to create a richly intertextual work. The mention of New Rome gives a *terminus post quem*; the style and some details depicted suggest a date in the 5th or 6th century. RW

ed. O. Mazal, Aristaenetus, *Epistulae* (1971).

ed. (with IT and comm.) A. T. Drago Aristaenetus, *Lettere d'amore* (2007).

ET P. Bing and R. Höschele, Aristaenetus, *Erotic Letters* (2014).

Aristakes (d. 327 or 333) *Catholicus of *Armenia (320/5–327/33). Son and successor of S.*Gregory I the Illuminator, who is credited with the *conversion of Armenia to Christianity. Aristakes continued the work of his father to root Christianity more firmly throughout Armenia and the Caucasus. His name is on the list of *bishops who attended the Council of *Nicaea in 325, and as such Aristakes is one of the very few figures of 4th-century Armenia whose existence is confirmed in non-Armenian sources. According to the *History* of *Movses Khorenats'i (II, 91), Aristakes took over the duties of *catholicus from his father upon his return from Nicaea, and Gregory did not appear in public thereafter; Aristakes was murdered by a hostile pagan nobleman in the district of Sophene in south-west Armenia. The **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (III, 1) records only that Aristakes and Gregory shared the office and that, after their deaths, it passed to Aristakes' elder brother Vrtanes. The date of Aristakes' death is uncertain but is likely to have been either 327 or 333. TLA

Thomson, *BCAL*, 102–3, supplement, 181.

Aristides Quintilianus (*fl.* late 3rd or early 4th cent.) Author of *On Music* (*Peri mousikes*), an eclectic and synthetic treatise on harmonic theory. Dedicated to Eusebius and Florentius (of uncertain identity) and divided into three books (roughly corresponding to theory, practice, and metaphysics), *On Music* represents Aristides' conscious attempt to account for *music 'as a complete whole in a single study' (I.2). Book I clearly reflects the Aristoxenian tradition, but book III's emphasis on ratios, both musical and metaphysical, is thoroughly in the tradition of *Pythagoras. Parts of its first book were paraphrased in *Latin by Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis*, IX, 937–95), and the work was well known to later Byzantine theorists. AJH

PLRE I, Quintillianus 3.

ed. R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Aristidis Quintiliani De Musica Libri Tres* (1963).

ET T. Mathiesen (with comm.), *Aristides Quintilianus On Music in Three Books* (1983).

A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, vol. 2: *Harmonic and Acoustic Theory* (1989), 392–535.

Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 521–82.

aristocracy The ancient world did not believe in equality. Every locality and walk of life had its hierarchies, whose existence was generally considered if not natural at least inevitable. Even a Christian who emphasized the common ancestry of all mankind in Adam and Eve and thought all were equal in the sight of God (*Lactantius, *Inst.* VI, 10, 4; V, 14, 15) did not consider that it mattered that some were rich and others were not, provided that the rich took proper care of the poor (*Inst.* V, 15, 4; cf. V, 5, 8 and VI, 12). Under the gods or God, the *emperor naturally occupied the highest place in the Empire, and his superior position was acknowledged appropriately by *praise. Slaves occupied the lowest, but in between there were numerous *social distinctions. That between Roman citizens and non-citizens disappeared in 211 when the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla gave all free men living in the Roman Empire the standing of Roman citizens—so making *Aurelius the commonest of all Late Roman *nomina*. In its place emerged a distinction between **honestiores* and *humiliores*.

Individual *cities had their local notables, who were obliged to serve as *city councillors if they were seised of a certain amount of land. Within a city council, some members were reckoned *principales*. The most important of such civic aristocracies was the Roman *Senate, whose members were described by *Symmachus as 'the better part of the human race'. The *noblesse de robe* serving in the imperial *administration became more numerous and more influential from the time of the *Tetrarchy onwards. Theirs was a career open to talent, in particular rhetorical talent, as the rise of *Ausonius spectacularly illustrates: 'praesedi imperio,' he modestly remarks, 'I was in charge of the Empire' (*ep.* 22, *Protrepticus ad Nepotem*, 86). Even once such members of the imperial aristocracy had retired from active employment, they retained honour and privilege as **honorati*. OPN

Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*.

aristocracy, civic In the later Roman Empire the civic aristocracy consisted of the members of the councils that governed each local territory (Lat. *civitas*, plur. *civitates*), and by extension their immediate *families. This aristocracy gathered in the 'city', which was often small, that served as the main hub for each local territory. Membership of the *city council and the performance of associated civic duties (liturgies) was compulsory for those who held a certain amount of property, unless they were exempt as *philosophers or **honorati*.

The property qualification was not necessarily large, as is apparent from the father of *Augustine of Hippo, a *curialis* (city councillor) of *Thagaste.

Scholars now consider that the civic aristocracy did not decline in the 4th century but maintained a robust existence. At *Aphrodisias, for example, *inscriptions and archaeology illustrate continuing vitality, while the aristocracy at *Kourion in *Cyprus largely survived the *earthquake of 365 to see their city rebuilt.

Change did occur, however. By the late 4th century, *bishops had become prominent local figures and required the skills and education, for instance in *rhetoric, to represent their communities. As a corollary senior clergy, for instance *Basil of Caesarea, *Synesius, and Augustine, tended to be drawn from the civic aristocracy. Conversely, it is now doubted whether episcopal appointments in post-Roman *Gaul, in particular, were dominated by the higher aristocracy.

AGS

Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*.
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001).
Roueché, *ALA*.
M. Whittow, 'Ruling the Late Roman and Byzantine City: A Continuous History', *P&P* 129 (1990), 3–29.

aristocracy, imperial Recipients of imperial recognition were known collectively as **honorati*. Recognition was conferred principally for imperial service (*see* MILITIA; **MILITIA*; **DIGNITAS*) but also for senior civic service (*see* CITY COUNCILS AND COUNCILLORS). Titular honours for services not actually rendered were also conferred as acts of *patronage (*see* e.g. CONSULARIS).

Two major developments transformed the imperial *administration between the early 3rd and early 4th centuries, both under way before *Diocletian. One was the increase in the number of administrative positions, which made Late Roman government different in scale from that of the earlier Empire. Another was the shift in bureaucratic recruitment from soldiers, freedmen, and slaves, towards free provincial civilians—especially members of the *civic aristocracies. There was an increasing demand for men with higher education, which, as the case of *Augustine of Hippo exemplifies, some *city councillors struggled to afford for their sons. Those who had personally received an imperial honour were typically exempted from civic duties, but they remained (or became) members of their local civic aristocracy, and most exemptions could not be inherited.

Service in the civil administration by those with provincial origins remained important into the 6th century, even in the principal offices of state, as the career of *John Lydus illustrates. After the Empire lost territory in the 7th century, a new kind of mandarinate emerged at *Constantinople.

AGS

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*.
J. Nelis-Clément, *Les Beneficiarii: militaires et administrateurs au service de l'empire (Ier s.a.C.–VIe s.p.C)* (2000).
A. Skinner, 'Political Mobility in the Later Roman Empire', *P&P* 218 (2013), 17–53.

aristocracy, senatorial, Rome Members of the *Senate of *Rome and their *families, the so-called 'Romans of Rome', often shared common lineage and culture, and thus formed a distinct element in the Later Roman Empire. The word 'aristocrat' was itself seldom used; the terms *optimus*, *senator*, and *nobilis* were favoured when referring to *senators in Rome and in the *provinces (Mathisen, 9), though in the mid-5th century, the rank of senator was limited to those who held the *title of *vir illustris*. In the late Republic the term *nobilis* had generally indicated a *family which numbered a *consul in its lineage; in Late Antiquity it came to denote individuals of senatorial origin (Arnheim, 8). This shift had occurred by the 4th century, when such writers as *Ammianus used *nobiles* to refer to those in the Curia (Senate House) addressed by *Constantius II during his visit to Rome in 357 (XVI, 10, 13).

Roman senators enjoyed privileges in the courts and certain tax exemptions. Senatorial families often boasted of an ancient ancestry: Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus (*PLRE* II, Faustus 8), in whose *house the Senate met on *Christmas Day 438 to acclaim the **Theodosian Code*, bore a name famous in the Roman Republic. The vast inheritance such men passed on to their children is exemplified by the wealth of S. *Melania the Younger (d. 439). The case of Melania also illustrates that this wealth mostly took the form of extensive landholdings. Many of their estates were in *Italy or *Sicily, where senators could spend their **otium* in *hunting or in literary avocations. They also held properties in *Spain, southern *Gaul, and North *Africa. The capital of a senator would be put to the test when he or his son held office as **quaestor* and *praetor at Rome. The expense and effort involved in hosting the public games required of holders of these civic offices are clear from the *letters of *Symmachus. Many were also appointed to offices by the *emperor, particularly posts that granted the rank of *vir illustris*, in particular that of *Praefectus Urbi, at Rome. The highest of honours was the *consulate.

Under the *Tetrarchy, the senatorial order was an essentially homogeneous group, with the exception of successive Praefecti Urbi (Arnheim, 9–10). *Constantine I granted senatorial rank, together with the title *vir clarissimus*, to imperial office-holders. This change, combined with Constantine's changes to the residence requirements, altered somewhat the overall make-up of the senatorial aristocracy (Salzman, 32–3),

though there still remained a core of Roman senatorial families in the city of Rome itself. Constantine broadened the ambit of this senatorial nobility by frequently appointing its members to imperial posts. Although the formal power of the 'Romans of Rome' may have declined in the Later Empire, the tentacular connections of senators still proved potent; they had access to positions in the imperial *administration for themselves and for those whom they commended in *letters; they were consulted; they were *patrons of *cities. Insecure or weaker emperors, such as *Valentinian II, *Magnus Maximus, and initially *Theodosius I, all encouraged these Roman senators and relied on them particularly to govern Italy (Errington, 141). They were particularly significant as mediators between the city of Rome and the emperors, who for much of the 3rd and 4th centuries visited Rome only on ceremonial occasions; in the later 5th century there were senators who actually became emperor in what was left of the western half of the Empire (Humphries, 27–9). The Roman Senate survived long after the deposition in 476 of *Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor to reign separately in the West. Senators continued to convene under *Odoacer and welcomed *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, when he made a state visit to Rome in the year 500 (*Chronicon Theoderici*, 65–7).

Half a dozen interrelated families dominated the Senate of Rome (Wickham, 159). Due in part to his extensive writings, the most widely known Late Roman senator is Q. Aurelius Symmachus 'the orator', whose *relationes* and letters cover the period between 364 and 402. The *Symmachi thought themselves a venerable Roman family, as did the *Anicii, Neratii, *Decii, and *Rufii Festi. Members of senatorial families also came to occupy the See of *Rome, notably *Gregory the Great (r. 590–604), described by *Gregory of *Tours as having the grandest senatorial origins (*HF* X, 1). The Senate is last mentioned in 603. Thereafter, the *Lombard invasion appears to have dissolved the traditional aristocracy, though Pope *Honorius I (625–38), who converted the Senate House into the church of the *martyr S. Hadrian, was remembered as the son of the consul Petronius (**Liber Pontificalis*, 72), and therefore as part of the senatorial aristocracy. SEB

S. J. B. Barnish, 'Transformation and Survival in the Western Senatorial Aristocracy', *PBSR* 56 (1988), 120–55.
A. Chastagnol, 'La Carrière sénatoriale du Bas-Empire (depuis Dioclétien)', *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* 1 (1982), 167–94.
M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (1972).
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies.*
T. D. Barnes, 'Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy', *JRS* 85 (1995), 135–47.
M. R. Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (2002).
Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy.*
M. Humphries, 'Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity', *ActaIRNorv* 17 (NS 3) (2003), 27–46.
R. W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (1993).
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 153–258.

aristocracy, barbarian, Germanic Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix* (1784) idealized Germanic barbarians as the source of European freedom (*la source de la liberté de l'Europe*). Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, historical research asserted two separate theories about the way barbarians ordered their affairs: either they were egalitarian societies of free men ruling through the *Thing*-assembly, or they were ruled into the Middle Ages by a line of nobility determined by birth (*Geburtsadel*). The sparse sources were amplified by theories, for instance that there existed a specifically Germanic form of retinue, the *Gefolgschaftswesen*, with its roots in the **comitatus* described by Tacitus.

In fact, barbarian societies had an upper class defined by economic criteria. In *Barbaricum,* the lands inhabited by Germanic peoples beyond the Roman *frontiers, the richer graves of the first three centuries AD have imported Roman luxury goods, *silver, *arms, and armour; this is true of the princely graves of Lübsow (mod. Poland) and the *Hassleben-Leuna group burials (mod. central Germany). The kings of the *Alamanni distributed brooches as badges of rank amongst their followers that were clear copies of the *insignia in the Roman imperial *army.

After the *Barbarian Migrations the nobility of the Germanic kingdoms of the post-Roman West were labelled *proceres*, *priores*, *maiores*, or *seniores* and were bound to the king by *gift-giving (*largitio*). *Geiseric in *Africa and *Theoderic in *Italy were from time to time sufficiently worried about nobles encroaching upon royal power to have them killed. Ruling positions in many former provinces and in the hierarchy of the Church were often held by men of Roman descent, such as *Sidonius Apollinaris.

Sources are sparse for the *aristocracy of steppe barbarians, such as the *Huns, *Avars, and *Bulgars. *Priscus names five *logades* among *Attila's Huns, calling them 'royal Scyths' (in the tradition of Greek ethnography which since Herodotus had referred to all mounted warriors from the East as Scyths). There were Germans and Romans as well as *Huns among the *logades*; *Jordanes (38, 199–201) describes mighty Gothic leaders hanging on Attila's every word as if they were *satellites*. *Menander Protector calls the great men of the Avars *archontes*; *Theophylact uses the terms *dunatotatoi* (Gk. 'most powerful': I, 6, 3) and *logades* (VI, 11, 6), but it is unclear whether these are tribal leaders or personal agents of the *Khagan. RSt

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (2007).
W. Schlesinger, 'Herrschaft und Gefolgschaft in der germanisch-deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte', *HZ* 176 (1953), 225–75.
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.
Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*.

aristocracy, barbarian, steppe Steppe *nomads needed centralized autocratic leadership to survive, let alone to conquer others, and were often led by charismatic clans claiming the 'mandate of heaven' to rule, like the Ashina clan of the *Türks. Dynastic foundation myths typically involved heroes struggling with their *comitatus* against unjust overlords. After triumphing, their warband was rewarded with wealth and honour; along with members of the royal house, they formed the steppe-nomad aristocracy.

In Turkic states, the *Khagan (Qaghan)—a Rouran (Juan-juan, *Avar) term—was the supreme ruler; his consort was styled the Khatun (Qatun), a *Sogdian term. His immediate subordinate, usually a near relative, was the Yabgu, an ancient title of Kushan or *Tokharian origin used by the Yuezhi, Kushans, and *Hephthalites before the Türks adopted it. The **Khagan* usually ruled the more prestigious eastern half of a steppe polity, while the Yabgu ruled the western half. When eastern and western halves became independent from each other, the Yabgu became an independent Khagan, sometimes styled the Yabgu Khagan. Another high rank below Khagan was the Shad (of Middle Iranian origin, cf. *ikhshid* used by Sogdian rulers), a title often borne by the Khagan's younger brother or son. The designations of Turxanthus, whom the East Roman ambassador Valentinus met in 576 (*Menander Protector, fr. 19, 1) and Tugshada, the ruler of *Bukhara (r. 710–41; Narshakhi, 8–10), probably both represent the title Türk-shad.

Two aristocratic titles possibly borrowed from the Rouran and used for other subordinate positions were Tegin, initially a prince and later a military commander, and Tarkhan (possibly equivalent to Chanyu, the Xiongnu ruler), originally a lower royal title and later a high administrative official. However, titles were not always reflective of true power; *Köl Tegin was almost as powerful as his brother Bilga Khagan. Other lower-ranked and more numerous members of the Turkic aristocracy were the Tudun (an administrative title) and the Beg (a chief or minor lord, probably of Iranian origin). MLD

BT II, ταρκάνος, τουδοῦνος, χαγάνος.

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* Beg or Bey (L. Bazin and H. Bowen); vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ikhshīd (C. E. Bosworth), Khān (J. A. Boyle), Khāḳān (J. A. Boyle), Khātūn (J. A. Boyle), vol. 10 (2000) Tarkhān (P. B. Golden), Tigin (C. E. Bosworth), vol. 11 (2002) Yabghu (C. E. Bosworth).
EncIran IV/1 (1989) *s.v.* Beg, 80 (P. Jackson); XIV/3 *s.v.* Jabguya, 314–17 (N. Sims-Williams, E. de la Vaissière, C. E. Bosworth); XVI/2 *s.v.* Kātūn, 129–30 (C. E. Bosworth).
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A. Bombaci, 'On the Ancient Turkish Title "Šaδ"', in *Gururajamanjarika: studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, vol. 1 (1974), 167–93.
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aristocracy, Persian Royal *inscriptions of the early period of *Sasanian rule distinguish between four specific 'groups' of aristocrats: the (MP) *shahrdarān* (regional dynasts and princes entrusted with rule over important parts of the Empire), the *waspuhragān* (probably members of the Sasanian dynasty, but without direct descent from the current king), the *wuzurgān* (heads of the most important aristocratic families, as well as other members of the high aristocracy), and the *azadān* (lesser nobility who formed the primary source of the Persian *cavalry). Female members of the royal family were granted a particular degree of esteem and attention, as seen in Iranian sources as early as the 3rd century.

Because of their high social, political, and economic standing, leading members of the aristocracy also played advisory and corroborative roles in the process of proclaiming the king. Like the Arsacids before them, the Sasanians maintained a royal council, which was composed of the heads of old Parthian and newly prominent south-western Iranian (that is to say, Persian) clans. The council's main purpose was to confirm the rules for *succession to the throne in the case of multiple claimants, although it occasionally played a part in usurpations. In some cases such as *Narseh's usurpation, this was simply ceremonial, to recognize a *fait accompli*, although in moments of crisis, or in the

cases of weak kings, the aristocracy could make and unmake kings, as with the fall of *Khosrow II.

The ranks of the aristocracy were visually and ritually manifest through dress and the proximity to the king at audiences and banquets. Among the most prominent marks of dignity were the tiaras, on which certain colours and symbols of a heraldic kind could point to particular ranks or distinctions. *Belts studded with precious *stones and *earrings played a similar part. The aristocracy could occupy high central or provincial administrative positions, but this was not always the case even if they understood it to be their right. The aristocracy saw high offices as their right, although strong and ambitious kings often appointed outsiders and new men to positions of power.

Thus, we may distinguish between a 'nuclear' court of permanent members and an 'extended' court of people only temporarily present. It seems that in early Sasanian times, the 'nuclear' court mainly consisted of members of the royal family and household. The great aristocratic landholders and magnates were only part of the 'extended' court, since their main sphere of activity was the management of their *estates and the control of the peasants and *tenant farmers dependent on them.

*Shapur I's **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*) provides the most detailed primary attestation of individual grandees and aristocrats, although it is not always clear if the positions they enjoyed came from lineage or royal favour. Lists of this kind have come down to us in other *inscriptions too, including the *Paikuli inscription of Narseh, and Shapur I's *rock reliefs feature the aristocracy prominently, many identified with their heraldic symbols (*nišān*). Shapur's inscription includes the contemporary members of the four aristocratic status groups as far as they are members of the ('extended') court society, both by their names and, if they held offices, by their functions at court or in the Empire. In early Sasanian times, social ranking certainly manifested itself at court, but, as far as the nobility was concerned, it was not only the king, the court's head, who set the rules of that ranking: descent could be just as important as royal favour. Both royal inscriptions and *Manichaean texts suggest that not all members of the royal household were permanent members of the royal court. Even the king's adult sons and close relations were only temporarily in the king's personal vicinity if they were honoured with a high administrative post or if special occasions such as major *festivities, campaigns, or royal progresses demanded their presence.

The structure and composition of the early Sasanian hierarchy owed much to that of the Arsacids. The Sasanians continued the same basic aristocratic structure while at the same time enhancing the rank of the Persian, that is, south-west Iranian, aristocracy. Loyal Parthian clans maintained their lands and privileges but were now joined by a new cadre of Persian clans. At a later period, other 'clans' rose to the rank of magnates. The formula with which the groups of nobility are presented in the Paikuli inscription is quite likely to attest to this newly combined Persian and Parthian aristocracy: 'The landholders and the princes, the grandees and the nobles and the Persians and the Parthians.'

Until the end of the 5th century AD, the unruly heads of the great noble houses admitted only a nominal allegiance to the central power but were virtually independent from the king in their hereditary territorial domains. Royal power and influence depended to a large degree on effective control of the provincial *governors (who were mostly members of the royal clan), as well as on the active support of the majority of the higher nobles. This changed only in the late Sasanian period, when the wearing of belts, *rings, clasps, and other marks of prestige required royal approval: royally bestowed ranks now carried more significance than name and descent. This strengthening of royal power had become possible after the great crisis of state and empire that began in the mid-5th century. The late Sasanian court also probably underwent a change. Whereas Shapur I's 'nuclear' court consisted of members of the king's personal household (family members and domestic staff), *Khosrow I's 'nuclear' court consisted both of royal relatives and of members of a kind of service nobility, whom the king had hand-picked and promoted, and who were loyal to him alone rather than to the clans from which they originated. Most of the Middle *Persian literary works and all Muslim attestations of the Sasanian court reflect this late structure.

Under Khosrow I's immediate successors, the temporarily cowed high aristocracy reasserted itself. It has been suggested that the kings lost control of the 'cavaliers' (*aswarān*), who again became retainers of the great and virtually independent landed nobility. The king's supreme military commanders appear to have been drawn from this group of powerful territorial lords, leading to a spate of attempted usurpations, such as that of *Bahram VI Chobin. The renewed political influence of the great landlords led not only to the development of independent fighting forces, but also to independent *taxation levied from their own domains. In contrast to such powerful and ambitious nobles, who, as in early Sasanian times, only visited the court temporarily, members of the king's 'nuclear' court risked losing their political influence under a weak ruler and becoming 'courtiers' in the strict sense of the word.

Both Khosrow I and *Khosrow II introduced reforms aimed at reducing the power and wealth of the nobility and building up a new cadre of landed knights loyal to the king. Khosrow II's centralization of financial administration and tax reforms bred resentment among the

landed and military aristocracy, which along with his (to their mind) tyrannical exaction of land taxes and bloody wars with Rome played a not insignificant part in the king's overthrow. After Khosrow II's death, the throne became the instrument of different factions of the aristocracy. In the course of the *Arab conquest many of these aristocratic houses made a separate peace with the Muslim invaders, ensuring their families' continued survival into the early centuries of *Islam. JWi

Canepa, *Two Eyes.*

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*

J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'State and Society in Late Antique Iran', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart, eds., *The Sasanian Era* (Idea of Iran 3, 2008), 118–31.

J. D. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (2010).

Z. Rubin, 'The Sasanid Monarchy', in *CAH* XIV (2006), 638–61.

J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD* (new edn. 2001), 151–221.

Aristomachus Notable of *Nikiu in Upper *Egypt, son of a certain Theodosius. The sole source for biographical information is the *Chronicle* of *John, Bishop of Nikiu of *c.*690 (95.3–20). Reportedly an arrogant character who attracted charges of maladministration, Aristomachus held a successful military command in Egypt under *Tiberius, defeating *Nubians and *Moors. Under *Maurice (that is, after 582) he served as *Praefectus Urbi Constantinopolitanae and *Curator of the Domus Divina of the *Empress *Constantina. Accused (falsely) of treason, he died in *exile in 'the island of *Gaul'. JGK

PLRE III, Aristomachus 2.

Arius and the Arian Controversy Arius (d. 336) was a Christian *priest of *Alexandria with distinctive ideas about the nature of God. This topic caused controversy in the 4th century, and gave rise to divisions which continued to separate Christians till long after the *Barbarian Migrations. Discussion was carried on at a high intellectual level, but Arius also wrote popular songs to publicize his convictions (*Philostorgius II, fr. 2), and theology was a topic of public debate: *Gregory of *Nazianzus was to complain that when he asked if his *bath was ready the attendant would reply that the Father is greater than the Son (PG 46, 557B = GNO X/2).

Arius: life and theology

Arius' theology and his confrontation with his *bishop, Alexander of Alexandria (d. 328), may be understood best in light of tensions within the theological perspective of another Alexandrian, *Origen, which by the beginning of the 4th century seemed inadequate. Origen (d. *c.*254) had taught that the Son was eternally generated from the Father, but had also spoken of the Father as transcending the Son. He also speculated that the eternal almightiness of God necessitated that there should always be a creation over which God, through his Word, is eternally almighty. In the 3rd century, such doctrines of the coexistence of God and the world were attacked, most notably by *Methodius of Olympus, as an intrusion of Hellenic thought onto the biblical vision of God as absolutely sovereign and prior to the existence of Creation.

At the beginning of the 4th century, belief in the coexistence of God and His world was universally precluded by an emphasis, common among Christian thinkers, on Creation's coming to be out of nothing, by the sovereign will of God. In Arius' perspective, denying the coexistence of God and the world meant a strict emphasis on the oneness of God and His absolute priority to anything which is derived from Him as an effect of his sovereign will. Arius therefore held that the Son is the first and exemplary creature of God's will who came into existence from nothing; thus, Arius is reported to have coined the slogan, 'there was once when the Son was not'.

However, for Arius the Son is not like the other creatures. Rather, he is Creator of all other creatures and serves as the unparalleled exemplar of creation's relation to the one God. As a creature, the Son cannot fully know the one God nor even his own essence but he can lead other creatures in worship of the ineffable one God. Earlier scholarship tried to ascribe Arius' doctrine to a preference for philosophizing over faith. Such views are often exaggerated, but Arius was certainly rigorous in drawing out the logical consequences of his fundamental beliefs about the oneness of God and the absolute priority of this one God over everything that is caused, including the Son. Thus, God was not always 'Father', and the Son, as a creature, is by nature alterable, though the Son was granted a participation in divinity as a prevenient grace in anticipation of his future merits.

It is likely that Arius developed these doctrines in reaction to his bishop Alexander's emphasis on another Origenian theme, the eternal coexistence of Father and Son. The debate between Arius and Alexander led to Arius' excommunication by an Egyptian synod in the early 320s. Both sides immediately embarked on campaigns to win support for their respective positions outside *Egypt, with the result that in 325 the *Council of *Nicaea was convened to deal with the issue. The Nicene council sided with Alexander but recast the doctrine of the eternal coexistence of Father and Son in language that Alexander had not himself used, declaring the Son to be of the same being or

'substance' ('*homoousios*') as the Father. The doctrine of Arius was anathematized, and he was sent into *exile. In 328, he was recalled from exile but the *Emperor Constantine I's efforts to have him readmitted to communion in the Egyptian Church were rebuffed by *Athanasius, by then bishop in Alexandria. A council at *Tyre in 335 deposed Athanasius and reinstated Arius, but Arius died in 336 before he could return to Alexandria.

Fourth-century developments

Both Arius and Alexander held distinctive positions that were not fully replicated by any notable participant in the subsequent debates, though the epithet 'Arian' was often employed by controversialists to stigmatize doctrines which were not those of Arius himself. However, the debate between Arius and Alexander did serve to highlight two basic options for understanding the relation between the Father and the Son. Either the Son exists coeternally with the Father and his existence is integral to the perfection of the Father, as Alexander held, or, following Arius' doctrine, the Son is brought into being as a product of the will of the one God whose perfection is associated with His absolute priority to everything caused by His will, including the Son. Those who followed the first trajectory were challenged by their opponents to explain how the biblical conception of a God who is related to all things through His sovereign will can be applied to the relation between the Father and the Son and, further, how the unity of being between Father and Son can accommodate the distinct existences of the two. The latter issue was exacerbated by reaction to *Marcellus of Ancyra, whose refutation of one of Arius' early supporters, *Asterius the Sophist, included a strict denial of any ontological distinction between Father and Son and ascribed any such distinction to the unfolding of divine action in relation to creation. Conversely, those who followed the second 'Arian' trajectory had to find a way to characterize the unity of Father and Son if this was not a unity of being. As the controversy progressed, both trajectories had to extend their preoccupation with the relation between Father and Son to an explicit consideration of the Holy Spirit.

The 340s give some indications of the unfolding of this problematic. The bishops of the Council of *Antioch of 341 denied that they were followers of Arius and insisted on the distinct existences of Father, Son, and Spirit, while characterizing the unity of the three as one of concord. The opposite trajectory was represented by the Council of *Serdica of 343 which, citing John 10:30, spoke of Father and Son as 'one *hypostasis*' and declared 'blasphemous' the explanation that this unity is merely one of concord. At the same time, Athanasius, who was present at the Council of Serdica, explained in his *Orations against the Arians* that the unity of being includes a unity of willing, such that the Father begets the Son willingly though the Father does not exist at any point prior to or apart from that willing.

The 350s witnessed an increasing momentum directed against Nicene doctrine and its language of '*homoousios*', from the warning against the doctrine of an 'extension' of the divine *ousia* in *Sirmium in 351 to the prohibition of *ousia* language in the Councils of Sirmium of 357 and 359, and the doctrine of Aetius and *Eunomius that the Son is of a substance different from that of the Father. In opposition to this momentum, Athanasius of Alexandria led a movement to retrieve the Nicene formulation as the only safeguard against all equivocations with respect to the eternal coexistence and unity of being between Father and Son. Also in the late 350s, the rise of a doctrine that the Son was fully divine but not the Spirit led to a clarification of the Spirit's divinity on the part of pro-Nicenes. A further consolidation of the pro-Nicene position was achieved in the Council of Alexandria of 362 which affirmed the equal validity of expressing the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit, as one *hypostasis* or three *hypostases*. Implicit in this judgement was the affirmation of ontological distinction as well as unity of being between the three, an affirmation that was further solidified by *Basil of Caesarea's application of the language of a single *ousia* to affirm ontological unity and three *hypostases* to affirm ontological distinction, neither dividing the substance nor confounding the persons.

These consolidations and clarifications set the stage for the Council of *Constantinople in 381, which reaffirmed the Nicene *Creed, and extended it with a confession of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Complemented by an imperial *edict prohibiting the assembly of 'Arians' and 'Eunomians', the Council of Constantinople marks the beginning of the universal ascendancy of the doctrine of Trinitarian unity of divine being, and is thus generally taken to mark the end point of historical accounts of the 'Arian controversy'. However, the *Visigoths, settled within the Empire from 378, and other Germanic barbarians who invaded *Gaul on New Year's Eve 406, had been converted by Christians who held a *Homoean Christology, characterized by its opponents as 'Arian'. Division between Germanic Homoean Christians and Homoousian ('Catholic') indigenous Christians persisted in *Africa, *Gaul, *Italy, and *Spain into the 5th and 6th centuries. KA

Arius (*CPG* 2025–42).

Thalia (*CPG* 2028): ed. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien et son école* (1936), 246–74.

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M. L. West, 'The Metre of Arius' *Thalia*', *JTS* 33 NS (1982), 98–105.
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R. Lorenz, *Arius judaizans. Untersuchungen zur dogmengeschischtlichen Einordnung des Arius* (1980).
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R. P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (OECS, 2001).
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R. D. Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (^{2}2002).

Arles (dép. Bouches-du-Rhône, France, *civitas Arelatensium*) A *city in southern *Gaul, on the banks of the Rhône, about 40 km (25 miles) from the sea. Founded in the 6th century BC, the city became a Roman colony in 46 BC, and the capital of a very extensive territory, and was gradually equipped with an impressive array of public buildings, many of which survive in elevation or are known from excavation. It reached its apogee in the 2nd and early 3rd century, due to the importance of its port. Its first *bishop was attested as early as 254 (*Cyprian, *ep.* 68).

After a period of decline in the later 3rd century, Arles again became important in the early 4th century. *Maximian lived there from 307 to 310. *Constantine I established a mint in the city in 313 (mint marks ARL/AR) using personnel from *Ostia. From 318, the mint mark changed to CON/CONST, except briefly (340–53) following the death of *Constantine II, when it reverted to ARL. The last known issue of the mint was by the *usurper *John (r. 424–5).

In 314 Constantine I organized a church *council at *Arles to try and resolve the *Donatist controversy. He resided there in the summer of 316 and his son, *Constantine II, was born there, probably in February 317 (**Epitome de Caesaribus*, 41, 4; *Zosimus, II, 22, 2). The erection of a vast *bath complex as well as a wider remodelling of the forum zone are attributable to this period; the erection of an *obelisk within the *circus may also have been on Constantine's initiative. In 353, a council was organized by the *Emperor *Constantius II in Arles to impose *Homoean 'Arian' theology. Arles came by now to be regarded as the second city of Gaul after *Trier (**Expositio Totius Mundi*, 58), and was celebrated by *Ausonius (*Ordo*, 73–80) as 'the little Rome of Gaul'.

In around 400, the Gallic praetorian prefecture was transferred from Trier to Arles; this probably occasioned the erection of an *aula palatina*, which is still well preserved. From 408 to 411, Arles was the residence of the usurper *Constantine III. The annual meetings of the *Dioecesis of *Septem Provinciae were established there from 418. The city was besieged on several occasions by the *Visigoths. In 455, *Avitus was proclaimed emperor at Arles, and the city served as the residence of the Emperor *Majorian from 459 to 461.

In 476, Arles was surrendered to the Visigoths, but it remained an important city; their King *Euric died there in 484. In 507–8, it was delivered from the *Franks and *Burgundians, who were besieging it, by the *Ostrogoths, who re-established their Gallic prefecture there. Arles remained part of the Ostrogothic kingdom until 536, when it was conceded with the rest of *Provence to the Franks, who held games there (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 33, 5).

From the start of the 5th century, Bishop Patroclus (411/13–26), supported by Pope Zosimus, sought to impose the primacy of his bishopric, and although Bishop *Hilary (430–49) was deprived of metropolitan rights by Pope *Leo I in 445, after his death they were restored through the creation of the province of southern *Viennensis. The most important Bishop of Arles was *Caesarius (502–42), who was appointed papal vicar by Pope *Symmachus in 513 and organized a series of church *councils. He founded a *monastery for women for which he wrote a rule. It was probably during his episcopate that a substantial new cathedral was built, which is currently being excavated. His successor, *Aurelian (545/6–51), also founded two monasteries, of which nothing remains. The city houses the remains of an important early Christian necropolis (the Alyscamps) and has one of the largest collections of marble *sarcophagi of the 4th century.

MHei; STL; RRD

M. Heijmans, *Arles durant l'Antiquité tardive* (2004).
S. T. Loseby, 'Arles in Late Antiquity', in Christie and Loseby, *Towns in Transition*, 45–70.
W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (1994).
Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins*.

Arles, Council of (August 314) Church *council summoned to *Arles by *Constantine I after the *Donatists appealed against their condemnation at the *Lateran Council of 313. The 33 Western *bishops present (including three from *Britain) again denounced the Donatists and passed 22 disciplinary *canons (conciliar *letter in *Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, Appendix 4). Arles was the first large council

summoned by an *emperor, and the bishops were permitted to use the *Cursus Publicus (Constantine to Chrestus of Syracuse, *Eusebius, *HE* X, 5, 21–4). Constantine may have attended himself and compared the council's judgement to that of God (in Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, Appendix 5), setting an important precedent for the Council of *Nicaea of 325. DMG

HLL 5, section 581.3.

Canons: ed. (annotated with FT) Hefele and Leclerq, *Histoire des conciles*, I/I, 275–98.

Arles, Councils of, other *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, GALLIC.

Armagh Monastic foundation in *Ireland, reputedly founded by S. *Patrick. The Irish annals retrospectively conjecture that it was established in 444. Extant written sources concerning the *monastery first emerge in the 7th century. They indicate that Armagh was a high-status foundation, and the head of a greater federation of churches. The *Liber Angeli* (*c.*640–50) is the earliest to claim national dominion for Armagh (papal recognition of such was not established until the 12th century). Two 7th-century Patrician Lives, by the clerics Tírechán and Muirchú, provide important descriptions of the site and its connection with the Patrician cult. The Book of Armagh was produced at the monastery in 807, and contains the most important documents relating to the Patrician cult and Armagh. ED

L. Bieler, ed., *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (1979; repr. 2000).

R. Sharpe, 'St Patrick and the See of Armagh', *CMCS* 4 (1982), 33–59.

Armatus (d. 477/8) *Magister Militum per *Thracias (469/474), who brutally crushed a rebellion. In 475, he supported *Basiliscus against *Zeno and became *Magister Militum Praesentalis, and *consul in 476. He then betrayed Basiliscus in return for Zeno's promise to make him Magister Militum Praesentalis for life and appoint his son *Caesar. Zeno reneged on the deal and Armatus was murdered. FKH

PLRE II, Armatus.

E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.

Armenia The geographical term Armenia denotes the high plateau in central and eastern *Anatolia that is located roughly between 38 and 48 degrees east longitude and 37 and 41 degrees north latitude. Among the diversity of ethnicities residing on the Armenian plateau in Antiquity, the Armenian-speakers came to prominence during the Achaemenid period. The first historical mention of Armenia, as 'Armina', occurs in an *inscription of Darius, the Achaemenid Shah of Persia, at Bisutun in 519 BC. Armenia was ruled by the Orontid dynasty until 188 BC, then by the Artashesid (Artaxiad) dynasty, and then, from the 1st century onwards, by the *Arshakuni (Arsacid) dynasty. Roman and Persian competition for influence over Armenia and its territory was muted until the overthrow of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty in the *Persian Empire by the *Sasanians in the early 3rd century AD.

Until the end of the Arshakuni (Arsacid) dynasty in 428

The end of Arshakuni rule in the *Persian Empire led to hostilities between Rome and Sasanian Iran and once again placed Armenia between competing empires. The Armenian Arshakuni dynasty supported Roman efforts against the Sasanians, but the aggression of the Persian King *Shapur I altered the situation. Armenia was conceded to the Persians in 252/3, and the *Emperor *Valerian was captured by Shapur in 260. Shapur incorporated Armenia within the Sasanian Empire and installed his own son *Hormizd I Ardashir on the Armenian throne. Hormizd I Ardashir briefly succeeded his father as Shahanshah of Persia in 272, and was replaced in Armenia by his brother *Narseh (himself subsequently King of Kings 293–305).

The reign of the Roman *Emperor Aurelian (270–5) saw a reassertion of Roman power in the East and, in 278/9, Armenia was divided between Roman and Persian spheres of influence. An Arshakuni was placed on the throne in Roman Armenia, while Narseh continued to rule in Persian Armenia until his accession to the Sasanian throne in 293. In 296/7 the Persians invaded Armenia and were defeated by the *Caesar *Galerius in, according to Armenian tradition, the plain of Pasen (mod. Pasinler). The resulting peace treaty (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 14) secured Roman influence in Armenia and the return of the Arshakuni dynasty to the Armenian throne through the installation of *Trdat (Tiridates) the Great as king. This Trdat (variously Trdat III or Trdat IV) later accepted Christianity and became the first Christian King of Armenia.

After Trdat, the 4th century proved to be a trying time for the monarchy. The Christian Arshakuni were dependent upon the Roman Empire for their power and followed the 'Arianizing' theology of their Roman supporters, a fact that elicited the ire of many Armenian church leaders and set the monarchy and the patriarchate against each other. *Shapur II of Persia launched three devastating invasions of Armenia in 338, 346, and 350. The Emperor *Julian's invasion of Persian *Mesopotamia in 363 ended in his death and a diplomatic disaster, as his successor, *Jovian, abandoned

Armenia to the Persians in 364, a concession denounced by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XXV, 7, 13). *Valens managed to restore the Arshakuni King *Pap to the throne in 367, but with the latter's death in 374 the Arshakuni family entered a period of decline. Roman influence in Armenia likewise deteriorated after the death of Valens in 378.

After the Partition of Armenia

The great powers divided Armenia between them in 387. At the Partition of *Armenia by the Treaty of Ekeleats' between *Theodosius I and *Shapur III in 387, the Persians secured approximately four-fifths of Armenian territory. The Arshakuni King of the Roman part of Armenia, Arshak III, died in 390 and was not replaced. The Arshakuni continued to rule in *Persarmenia until 428 when the Armenian dynasts (*nakharars*/**naxarars*) requested the removal of the monarchy and the Sasanians appointed a marzpan (MP *marzban, a military governor) to administer the country. In that same year, the Sasanians also removed from the patriarchal throne the last descendant of S. *Gregory the Illuminator, the *Catholicus *Sahak I; he died ten years later. Despite the political uncertainty, the waning years of the Arshakuni dynasty in Persarmenia witnessed the invention of the *Armenian alphabet by Mesrop *Mashtots' and the birth of the Armenian literary tradition.

Towards the middle of the 5th century, the Shahanshah *Yazdegerd II, a devout *Zoroastrian who saw Christianity as a political threat, initiated a policy of encouraging Armenian Christians to adopt Zoroastrianism. Under penalty of death, he forced the Armenian *naxarars* to convert, thereby instigating a rebellion led by the *Sparapet *Vardan *Mamikonean. A Persian invasion eventually defeated the rebel forces, killing Vardan and capturing many of his supporters at the Battle of *Avarayr in 451. Tensions were not relieved, however, and Vardan's nephew, Vahan Mamikonean, continued resistance to the Zoroastrianization of Armenia. His guerrilla efforts paid off and in 484, after the Shahanshah *Peroz had been killed in battle by the *Hepthalites, Christianity was granted legitimacy in Armenia by Shah *Balash under the terms of the Treaty of Nvarsak.

In 591 the Emperor *Maurice secured the friendship of the Persians by assisting the young *Khosrow II Aparwez to secure the Sasanian throne. Armenia was repartitioned with considerable territorial gains for the East Roman Empire and Maurice, with Persian compliance, enacted a policy of depopulation in Armenia, expanding on attempts made earlier in the 6th century to resettle Armenians in other areas, because the great powers thought that in their homeland the internal politics of the Armenian naxarars served to exacerbate international tension.

The ecclesiastical policies of the emperors also alienated the Armenian church hierarchy. The Armenian church *councils of *Dvin of 505/6 and 555 had strongly condemned *Nestorius and Dyophysite Christology, which separated the Godhead and the Manhood in Christ. The Armenian *bishops were not directly concerned with the Council of *Chalcedon of 451, but their beliefs about the Nature of Christ were clearly different from those adhered to at *Constantinople once the Emperor Justin I (518–27) had rescinded the **Henoticon* of *Zeno in favour of the doctrines promulgated at Chalcedon. Maurice's attempt to suppress *Miaphysite belief and achieve uniformity on the issue by forcing a union of the Churches failed, and his establishment of an anti-patriarchate at Bagaran embittered matters further. The Council of Dvin of 607 formally condemned the Council of Chalcedon, and, the following year, the Georgian Church in *Iberia removed itself from Armenian jurisdiction and declared unity with the Church of *Constantinople.

The Persian and Arab invasions

The assassination of Maurice provided *Khosrow II with a pretext for a full-scale Persian invasion and he conquered Armenia and captured *Jerusalem in 614. In the 620s, the Emperor *Heraclius launched a successful counteroffensive, restoring the partition of 591 and retaking Jerusalem in 629. By the end of his reign, however, both the Eastern Roman Empire and Sasanian Persia were financially and militarily exhausted. They were unprepared for the new threat to their power that emerged with the *Arab conquest. After a series of campaigns in Armenia, Islamic troops received the submission of the *Magister Militum per Armeniam, the Armenian prince *Theodore Rshtuni, and carried him off to *Damascus, putting in his place Hamazasp Mamikonean, who was recognized as ruler of Armenia by the Emperor *Constans II. In 661, however, the new *Caliph *Mu'awiya demanded *tribute and the *naxarar*s felt obliged to concede to his requirements. However under the *'Umayyad dynasty the nobility was able to maintain considerable freedom of action, despite the presence of Arab governors, and it was not until the 9th century that serious resistance was found desirable. SVLa

EncIran II/4 *s.v.* Armenia and Iran ii. The pre-Islamic period. 5. *The Sasanian Period I: Armenia between Rome and Iran*; 6. *The Sasanian Period II: Persarmenia* (M. L. Chaumont).

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* Armīniya (M. Canard).

R. Hovanissian, ed., *History of the Armenian People: From Ancient to Modern Times* (1997), vol. 1, 19–116.

N. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (1999).
N. Garsoïan, *Interregnum: Introduction to a Study on the Formation of Armenian Identity* (2012).
C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963).

Armenia, churches of *See* ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ARMENIAN.

Armenia, conversion of Although the modern Armenian Apostolic Church traces the origins of the conversion of *Armenia to the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, S. *Gregory the Illuminator is credited with the conversion of the Armenian Arsacid King *Trdat and the majority of the population in the early 4th century. The received account of the conversion is preserved in the *History* by an otherwise unknown *Agat'angelos. The Armenian Church today accepts the year 301 as the date of the conversion, while scholars generally tend to hold that the process of conversion of royal domains followed the consecration of Gregory as *bishop in 314. *Eusebius of *Caesarea (*HE* VI, 46) records that *Dionysius, Bishop of *Alexandria (*c.*250), sent a letter to Meruzanes, Bishop of Armenia, indicating that a sizeable enough Christian population existed in the region already by the mid-3rd century to warrant a bishopric. The 5th-century **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* reveals the efforts of *Syriac missionaries in the southern parts of Armenia. Evangelizing missions were also carried out by Gregory's successors as well as by the inventor of the Armenian alphabet Mashtots' and his disciples in the 4th and early 5th centuries. SVLa

R. Darling Young 'The Conversion of Armenia as a Literary Work', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 115–35.
R. W. Thomson, 'Mission, Conversion, and Christianization: The Armenian Example', *HarvUkrSt* 12/13 (1988–9), 28–45, repr. in his *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity* (1994).
M. van Esbroeck, 'Le Roi Sanatrouk et l'apôtre Thaddée', *REArm* NS 9 (1972), 241–83.
M. van Esbroeck, 'The Rise of Saint Bartholomew's Cult in Armenia from the Seventh to the Thirteenth Centuries', in T. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone, eds., *Medieval Armenian Culture* (1983), 161–78.

Armenia, partitions of Various treaties divided Armenian territory at different times between the empires of Rome and Persia. In the early 4th century *Armenia is usually considered to have consisted of three parts: the kingdom of the Arsacids in the north with its capital shifting from Artashat to *Dvin; the autonomous *satrapies of the south, which had passed into Roman hands in AD 298 as a result of *Galerius' Persian victory; and the province of Armenia Minor (*Armenia Prima) west of the Euphrates River, with its metropolis at *Sebasteia, which had long been part of the Roman Empire.

In the 380s the *Sasanian King *Shapur III opened negotiations with the Roman *Emperor *Theodosius I for settlement of matters in dispute, particularly the Armenian question. The resulting treaty of 387 divided Greater Armenia unequally into two vassal states. The border ran through Karin (mod. Erzurum, renamed *Theodosiopolis under *Theodosius II), to the *city of *Amida (Diyarbakir) in the south, so that about one-fifth of Armenia Major fell to the East Roman Empire and the remaining part was allotted to the *Persian Empire. The partition of Armenia marked the last stage of the *Arshakuni (Arsacid) period in Armenia. The **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (*Epic Histories*) (VI, 1) concludes: 'And the kingdom of Armenia was diminished, divided, and scattered. And it declined from its greatness at that time and thereafter.' On the Roman side, no king replaced *Arshak III, who died *c.*390, and many of the **naxarar*s who had accompanied him moved back to the Persian side.

The last Arshakuni king was removed by the Persians in 428 at the request of the *naxarar*s and direct rule by a *marzban was instituted, but this became increasingly unpopular, until in the mid-5th century Persian attempts to impose *Zoroastrianism on Christian Armenian *naxarar*s met with vigorous resistance. This culminated in the Battle of *Avarayr in 451, when the *Sparapet *Vardan *Mamikonean and his companions were killed fighting a Persian army. The complexities of relations within the Armenian aristocracy combined with a lasting determination not to permit any further imposition of Zoroastrianism characterized the years which followed.

The East Roman emperors constantly sought to extend their influence, and the gradual weakening of Sasanian rule favoured them. Eventually a new border, established by a treaty between *Maurice and *Khosrow II in 591, extended from *Tblisi in the north to *Dara in the south, passing by Dvin, Maku, and Urmia. Rome now held a quarter of Armenia, which formed a valuable hinterland for *Cappadocia and *Pontus and at the same time provided a base for the control of *Lazica to the north. The partition did not put an end to intrigues on either side; Armenia, with its flourishing Church, its great fairs which drew *merchants from Europe and Asia, its warlike people and ambitious nobles, provided ample opportunity for the clash of interests and the resources of diplomacy. VN

Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian.*
G. B. Greatrex, 'The Background and Aftermath of the Partition of Armenia in A.D. 387', *AncHistBull* 14/1–2 (2000), 35–48.
R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia, a Historical Atlas* (2001).

Armeniac Theme Element of the *theme system, originating in the troops of the *Magister Militum per *Armeniam, the Armeniac Theme stretched across eastern *Anatolia, from *Cappodocia to the *Black Sea. First unambiguously attested in 667, its capital was *Euchaïta. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 723–43.

Armenian Geography *See* ANANIAS OF SHIRAK.

Armenian Jerusalem Lectionary *See* *BIBLE LECTIONARY OF JERUSALEM*, ARMENIAN.

Armenian literature, language, and alphabet Armenian literature encompasses many genres. It began to be written after the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrop *Mashtots in the 5th century, and comprised both original material and *translations from *Syriac and *Greek.

Armenian language and invention of the alphabet

The Armenian language occupies an independent branch among the Indo-European family of languages and shares close affinities to Phrygian and *Greek. Both prior to and after the invention of the alphabet, an extensive oral narrative tradition was transmitted in Armenian. There is no evidence for the existence of a corpus of writing in Armenian in a non-native alphabet, although it is possible that Greek and Aramaic were used to write Armenian. The Armenian alphabet was invented by Mesrop *Mashtots in *c.*406 for the specific purpose of facilitating the spread of Christianity in Armenia. The story of the invention has been preserved in the *Life of Mashtots* composed by Mesrop's student, *Koriwn, in *c.*440. In addition to inventing the Armenian alphabet, Mashtots is also traditionally credited with the invention of the Georgian and Caucasian *Albanian alphabets.

Armenian literature

Following the invention of the Armenian alphabet and the translation of the *Bible into Armenian, Armenia participated in the general Christian cultural efflorescence of Late Antiquity.

Along with the books of the Bible, the early translations from Greek and *Syriac into Armenian also comprised *liturgical books, *canons, *sermons, and commentaries on the church fathers, as well as apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. The Armenian community in *Jerusalem is credited with the *translation of the Hagiopolite *Armenian *Bible Lectionary* as well as of the *Orations* of *Gregory of *Nazianzus. *Eusebius' *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History* (translated from the Syriac version) were also rendered at this time. Towards the end of the 5th century, a more literal translating style took hold in Armenia that has been labelled 'Hellenizing'. The corpus of translations accomplished in this style included works of *grammar, *rhetoric, logic, *philosophy; literary works such as the **Alexander Romance* (Greek) of Pseudo-Callisthenes; and patristic texts. The last texts translated in this manner date to the early 8th century.

In addition to the translation of Greek and Syriac texts, a native literary tradition also began in the 5th century. The earliest piece of Armenian literature to have survived is Koriwn's *Life of Mashtots*. The early Armenian literary tradition is marked by a strong attraction to the writing of history. Over the course of the 5th and early 6th centuries, Armenian authors created a series of texts that traced the course of Armenian history from the *conversion to Christianity in the 4th century through the struggle to preserve the Christian faith in the mid-5th century. The *History*, attributed to the enigmatic author *Agat'angelos, relates the life of S. *Gregory the Illuminator and his conversion of *Trdat, King of Armenia. The *History*'s textual history is quite complex and undoubtedly based upon prior hagiographical accounts, but the text as we now possess it emerged around 460. The **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (*Epic Histories)* attributed to P'awstos represents our chief source for the structure of Armenian society in the 4th century and sheds light on the struggles between the Church and the Crown when the monarchy adopted the 'Arianizing' tendencies of such contemporary Roman *emperors as *Constantius II and *Valens. Finally, the histories of *Elishe Vardapet and *Lazar P'arpets'i provide two accounts of the events surrounding the war of 450–1 against the *Persian Empire, in which the Armenian general *Vardan Mamikonean died resisting the efforts of *Yazdegerd II to impose *Zoroastrianism on the Armenian populace and nobility (**naxarar*s). Elishe's *History*, in particular, helped reinterpret Armenian military defeat into spiritual victory that ultimately resulted in *Sasanian acquiescence to Armenian Christian steadfastness.

The composition of historical works continued through the subsequent centuries. The *History* attributed to *Sebeos provides an account of events in Armenia from 590 to 661 and is an important source on the spread of *Islam in the region; while *Lewond, a historian of the 8th century, depicts life during the period of the *Arab domination of Armenia. To the 8th century should probably also be ascribed the *History* of *Movses Khorenats'i. Khorenats'i's work, which stretches from the Creation until 428, is the first to place Armenian history within such a broad chronological context.

Historical texts were not the only type of literature produced in the period between the 5th and 8th

centuries. The principal tenets of the Armenian theological tradition were also established at this time. The *Teaching* attributed to S. *Gregory the Illuminator (5th cent.) presents a lengthy catechetical discourse on the Christian faith; while the *Against the Sects* by *Eznik of Kolb, likewise dated to the 5th century, combats many of the prevailing philosophical and religious beliefs of the time from a Christian perspective. Subsequent Armenian theologians composed polemics addressing issues surrounding *iconoclasm, the nature of the Incarnation, and the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh. The *Catholicus Yovhannes Odznets'i (in office 718–29) produced the first compilation of *canon law as well as the first collection of ecclesiastical correspondence relevant to the rejection of the *Council of *Chalcedon and to the schism between the Armenian and Georgian Churches. In addition, numerous homilies, liturgical hymns, and biblical and liturgical commentaries were composed. Within the field of science, *Ananias of Shirak (*c.*600–70) executed studies of geographical, calendrical, and mathematical interest. SVLa

R. W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (1995) and 'Supplement to a Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD: Publications 1993–2005', *Le Muséon* 120 (2007), 163–223.
J. Clackson, *The Linguistic Relationship between Greek and Armenian* (1994).
V. Inglisian, 'Die armenische Literatur', in G. Deeters et al., eds., *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, Bd. 7 (1963), 156–72.
J.-P. Mahé, 'Entre Moïse et Mohamet: réflexions sur l'historiographie arménienne', *REArm* 23 (1992), 121–53.
A. Terian, 'The Hellenizing School: Its Time, Place, and Scope of Activities Reconsidered', in N. Garsoian, T. Mathews, and R. W. Thomson, eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (1982), 175–86.
R. W. Thomson, 'Armenian Literary Culture through the Eleventh Century', in R. G. Hovanissian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1 (1977), 199–239.
R. W. Thomson, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 451, 1994).

Armenia Prima and Armenia Secunda The *Verona List *province of Armenia Minor, later Armenia Prima in the *Dioecesis *Pontica, included the *cities of *Sebasteia, *Satala, Nicopolis, and Colonia. Armenia Secunda, first attested in 386, was the eastern half of the former province of *Cappadocia, incorporating *Melitene, Ariaratheia, and Comana. Both provinces were governed by a *Praeses. PJT

S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (1993), vol. 2, 161–3.

Armenia Quarta Roman *province created by *Justinian I on 18 March 536 (*NovJust* XXXI, 1, 3; cf. *Procopius, *Aed.* III, 1, 17–3, 8). It comprised the territories of several previously semi-independent Armenian satrapies located between the Tigris and the Taurus, namely Sophene on the Upper Euphrates (distinct from the earlier and larger Armenian region of the same name), Belabitene (the modern Palu Plain), Asthianene, Anzitene (roughly the modern Elazığ Plain) and Ingilene, and in the south-east Sophanene, divided from Persian *Arzanene by the River Nymphius (mod. Batman Su).

From the Partition of *Armenia in 387 until the time of *Zeno, these areas had been ruled by five hereditary satraps, but four of them had supported the *usurpers *Leontius and *Illus and from then onwards (with the exception of Belabitene) appointments were made by the *emperor, though those appointed (Procopius is keen to emphasize) never had Roman troops under their command.

In 502 the satrap of Sophanene surrendered the important border fortress-*city of *Martyropolis and two years' worth of local taxes to the Persian King *Qobad I. Justinian's administrative reorganization included elaborate fortification of the sector. Defences were rebuilt at Martyropolis, where a *Dux was stationed and further west at *Citharizon in Asthianene, where another Dux was stationed (cf. Procopius, *Persian*, II, 24, 13), both being subordinate to the *Magister Militum per Armeniam at *Theodosiopolis, a post created in 528 (*CJust* I, 29, 5). The area had particular strategic importance between 573 and 591, when the Romans were deprived of *Dara.

These satrapies are not the same as the five *Transtigritanae Regiones ceded to the Persians by *Jovian in 363, which were located further south and east. OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 139–43.
Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 45–59.

armies, barbarian The existence of the Roman Empire and its *frontier had an impact on the development of its neighbours, influencing military organization, technology, provision of equipment, and operational sophistication. Barbarian armies may be studied through Roman written sources and representations. However, archaeology provides a growing amount of information from funerary and *votive contexts about equipment, and also, through the analysis of conflict landscapes, about battles and *sieges.

The size of barbarian armies tended to be very much exaggerated by Roman observers, and thus by modern scholars. This is understandable, given the potential which raiding or migrating tribal peoples, who could mobilize for war a comparatively large proportion of their menfolk, had for disrupting Romans, who were protected by professional armies of a finite size (even when, as in the 4th and 5th centuries, Roman armies

were themselves augmented by barbarian recruits). Estimating numbers was especially difficult in the case of mounted *nomads originating in *Central Asia.

*Barbarian migration and settlement within the Empire by northern Germanic peoples increased during the 3rd to 5th centuries. The threat represented by the Empire's North *African and *Arab neighbours was, until the 7th century, more a matter of periodic raiding. Quite different forces and organizations were represented by the sedentary *Persian Empire, and by the periodic advent of steppe nomads from Central Asia (*Sarmatians, *Huns, *Avars, etc.). New waves of peoples who began to arrive in the 6th century (*Lombards, *Slavs, etc.) had been heavily acculturated by Asiatic nomads.

In northern Europe in the 3rd century there was an increase in the importance of indigenous longbow *archery, partly as a reaction to facing armoured Roman troops over a protracted period. Sarmatian armoured lancers also had some influence on Roman and northern barbarian *warfare, but the domination of central Europe in the 5th century by the Huns introduced new modes of horsemanship and archery. *Gothic and *Vandal armies fielded increasing proportions of armoured *cavalry, partly under Hunnic influence, partly through their suborning of Roman urban resources after they had overrun *Italy, *Spain, and North Africa. Thus the armies of *Justinian I faced forces of infantry archers and cavalry, but with a less dominant *infantry component than that in the armies the *Franks fielded. The Franks had comparatively small numbers of horsemen and archers, with the majority of warriors fighting as tribal warbands. Thus they were very vulnerable to Roman bowmen and armoured cavalry.

The Persians waged war from a base of long-settled agricultural lands with highly developed *irrigation, and thus enjoyed developed and stable organization. Large numbers of infantry could be mobilized for sieges and other engineering works; of all Rome's opponents, the Persians posed the most dangerous threat to *cities. Repeated contact with Asiatic nomads ensured that the Persian *aristocracy were skilled horse-archers. As archery dominated Persian *warfare, craftsmen supplied metal *arms and armour to protect both men and horses. Thus the tactically dominant component of Persian *armies was armoured, mounted bowmen, supported by infantry archers and steppe-nomad allies. Access to *India also allowed the Persian kings to field war *elephants against the Romans. JCNC

H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (1996), 15–88.
G. Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West* (2003).
Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*, 328–408.
J. C. N. Coulston, 'Greece and Rome (and their Enemies) at War', *JRA* 25 (2012), 729–47, at 743–7.

armies, Islamic The structure and organization of early Islamic armies varied substantially through the period from the life of *Muhammad to the end of the *'Abbasid Revolution. While not a professional standing army at the beginning of the *Arab conquests, a heritage of tribal raiding in the *Arabian Peninsula had hardened the Arabian majority that made up the armies into a capable fighting force. They were primarily paid through the spoils of war, and units were organized along tribal lines. The establishment of the stipendiary register of the army (**diwan*) brought about a system for payment through *taxation; individual registers for garrisoned troops were maintained in cities throughout the Islamic world, and so armies came to be organized by the city or region from which they hailed (e.g. 'the army of *Kufa'). Nonetheless, because tribes often settled in areas close to their own kin, tribal organization remained deeply significant. The presence of individuals in battle had important consequences for the prestige and stipends granted to their descendants, and so we find numerous lists of the tribes and individuals present at famous battles in the Arabic sources, including lists of those who were martyred.

The commanders at the outset of the conquests were *Companions of the Prophet who would have had no formal training in generalship. The *caliph would delegate command to a certain Companion, and at times would specify a supreme commander. The Arabic narratives of the conquests also emphasize a close advisory relationship between the caliph in the capital and his commanders in the field. *Letters discussing an army's battle plan and movements were reportedly exchanged regularly between the two, despite great distances. This regular correspondence regarding tactics should be viewed with great scepticism as an attempt by the sources to suggest strong central organization of the conquests.

Sources on this era disappointingly lack detailed discussions of tactics. They often mention who was in command of the vanguard and main force of the army, and give details of the presence of commanders and sub-commanders at battles, but generally provide little further information. When arrayed for battle, the Muslim army is often described as having a very classical shape, with a left wing, a right wing, a centre, a vanguard, and a rearguard; as Kennedy suggests, however, this may be no more than a back-projection by the sources of later practice. This fivefold division into *khams* is probably where the term *shurtat al-khamis* comes from; while eventually becoming a police and bodyguard force in the Umayyad period, the **shurta* seems originally to have constituted the most loyal and elite troops in the Muslim army, often fighting in the vanguard of battle.

The narrative histories provide unrealistic and inconsistent numbers for those present in battle. Overall, they

tend to suggest fairly small numbers for Muslim armies, who are forced to overcome seemingly overwhelming odds in the form of their numerically superior enemies. They also emphasize major, decisive battles and their outcomes rather than what may be postulated as a more realistic model of warfare in the period, where smaller skirmishes between forces also played an important role. These largely go unmentioned, however, in favour of long descriptions of major events such as the Battle of *Yarmuk or the Battle of al-*Qadisiyya.

Referring to the conquests as 'Arab' or 'Islamic' presents some problems, as not all who contributed were from Arabia or Muslim. Some Christian Arab tribes chose to participate without converting to *Islam, the most famed case perhaps being that of the *Taghlib. Elsewhere, instances of non-Arabs participating in the ongoing conquests are clear. These included the famed Persian heavy cavalry (*asawira*), many of whom chose to serve with the Muslims in exchange for high stipends and exclusion from customary *taxation.

While the caliphal armies of the Umayyad period relied heavily on the service of tribes indigenous to what had been Roman *Syria, as well as later settlers there, the success of the *'Abbasid Revolution relied on a significant proportion of non-Arab soldiers, particularly from the frontier region of *Khorasan. RJL

F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).
W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992).
H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).
D. Nicolle, 'Arms of the Umayyad Era', in Y. Lev, ed., *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean: 7th–15th Centuries* (1997), 9–100.
W. al-Qadi, 'Non-Muslims in the Muslim Army in Early Islam', in S. Khasawnih, ed., *Orientalism: Dialogue of Cultures* (2004), 109–59.

armies, Roman The geopolitical circumstances of the Roman Empire during Late Antiquity meant that the army became even more important than it was in earlier periods. The size of the army grew, as did its consumption of resources, so that its costs probably accounted for at least half of the Empire's *taxation. Institutional developments encouraged the emergence of regional armies, as also did the increasing divergence of the eastern and western halves of the Empire. Although Roman military forces experienced a number of significant defeats and setbacks, and control of the West was lost during the 5th century, there were also significant successes at various points, which contradict any assumption that the Empire suffered from irreversible military weakness.

Sources

Knowledge of the Late Roman army derives from a combination of literary sources, *military treatises, legal, administrative, and documentary texts, and material evidence. Of the many relevant literary sources, the most important are the so-called classicizing historians who focused on war and politics, pre-eminent among whom were *Ammianus Marcellinus for the 4th century and *Procopius of *Caesarea for the 6th; the former had himself been a military officer, while the latter had served as a civilian aide to a leading general. Also worthy of mention is the *Syriac *Chronicle* attributed to *Joshua the Stylite, which provides invaluable insight into military–civilian interaction during *Persian–Roman wars in the early 6th century. The military treatise of *Vegetius sheds light on the army of the 4th century, while the **Strategicon* attributed to the *Emperor *Maurice reveals how much had changed by the late 6th century.

The Late Roman *law codes, the **Theodosian Code* and *Justinian's *Code*, and related legal texts, include much of relevance to the organizational infrastructure of the army, while the administrative document known as the **Notitia Dignitatum* preserves a snapshot, albeit blurry in places, of the distribution of military units across the Empire in the late 4th and early 5th century. *Inscriptions give details of military careers, and official and personal *letters of officers based in *Egypt survive on *papyri. Archaeological evidence sheds light on *arms and armour, *frontiers, *fortifications, defensive *walls, *city gates and walls, and the layout of military camps, among other relevant subjects.

Institutional developments

The fundamental institutional development in the Roman army during Late Antiquity was the emergence of *field armies as a distinctive feature of military organization. The practice of creating temporary expeditionary forces gradually evolved into more permanent arrangements over the course of the 3rd century, culminating in *Constantine I's creation of a substantial permanent field army under his direct command. Because the units in this force accompanied the *emperor, they were known as **comitatenses*, to distinguish them from those units based in the frontier *provinces, referred to as **ripenses* or, later, **limitanei*. The subsequent multiplication of emperors during the 4th century led to a multiplication of field armies so that they effectively became regional forces.

By the end of the 4th century there were five field armies in the eastern half of the empire, while a more centralized structure developed in the West. The latter gradually eroded and disappeared over the course of the 5th century, while the former survived to undergo further developments in the 6th. *Justinian I added a further field army in *Armenia, and re-established field armies in *Africa and *Italy following the *reconquest of

these regions. The impact of the *Arab conquests of the 7th century required further major reorganization, out of which emerged the system of so-called *themes, although debate continues about the detailed chronology of this development.

Particularly from the late 4th century onwards, the *comitatenses* and *limitanei* were supplemented by another category of troop known as **foederati*, literally 'allies', which enjoyed a greater degree of independence in command. This was the status assumed by *Gothic settlers in the early 380s after *Theodosius I was forced to reach a settlement with them. It is a term also used with reference to Arab *tribes along the eastern frontier, such as the *Jafnids, who cooperated with the Romans against the *Persian Empire.

Command structures

Just as the separation of field armies and frontier forces was one of the distinctive features of the Late Roman army, so the earlier part of the period also witnessed the separation of civil and military authority. This was reflected above all in Constantine's creation of the senior commands of Magister Peditum (Master of the Infantry) and Magister Equitum (Master of the Cavalry), which evolved into the generic office of *Magister Militum, and usually involved command of a field army. Troops in frontier provinces were usually commanded by a *Dux, although occasionally by a *Comes Rei Militaris, who might also command a field army detachment. There was no formal hierarchy for promotion to these high positions, but those who held the post of **protector domesticus*—junior staff officers who attended a Magister—seem to have been viewed as potential candidates. Below the senior posts, individual units were commanded by individuals holding the rank of **tribunus* or **praefectus*.

The second half of the 6th century saw a partial shift back to military commanders also exercising civilian authority, albeit in the specific context of the reconquered regions of Africa and Italy where continuing internal unrest in the former and the advent of the *Lombards in the latter necessitated a more militarized form of government in the hands of individuals bearing the title *exarch.

Funding

Funding of the Late Roman army was also distinctive, at least in the earlier part of Late Antiquity. Because of problems with inflation in the mid-3rd century, emperors had increasingly levied taxes in kind and paid soldiers in kind—an arrangement formalized by *Diocletian as the **annona militaris*. Oversight of the system was one of the main responsibilities of the redefined office of *Praefectus Praetorio, who had to try to solve the logistical challenges of moving large quantities of *grain and other foodstuffs from the most productive parts of the Empire, in the south (Egypt, Africa), to the eastern and northern provinces where troops were concentrated. It was no doubt the difficulties of this challenge which, from the late 4th century onwards, encouraged a gradual shift to commuting taxes assessed in kind into payments in cash (**adaeratio*).

The provinces adjacent to the lower Danube *frontier presented a particular problem in the 5th and 6th centuries since their vulnerability to invasion made it difficult to maintain agricultural productivity at a sufficient level to supply local troops. Justinian's solution was the creation of the *Quaestura Exercitus—effectively a separate praetorian prefecture—whereby productive coastal regions in *Anatolia, the Aegean, and the eastern Mediterranean shipped military supplies to the provinces of *Scythia and *Moesia. In the 6th century deputy *Praefecti Praetorio were sometimes appointed to oversee the logistics of specific campaigns, such as the campaign against Persian invaders in 503 and the expedition against the *Vandals in Africa in 533.

Another important element of soldiers' income was the *donatives in *gold and *silver distributed at the *accession of emperors and at quinquennial *anniversaries of accessions. These payments were funded out of the **collatio lustralis* or **chrysargyron*, taxes paid in precious metals or coin by the senatorial and curial elites and by urban tradesmen, with their collection overseen by the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.

The loss of *Egypt and other agriculturally productive parts of the Eastern Empire to the *Arabs in the early 7th century reduced the Empire's tax base dramatically, one consequence of which was that the developing system of *themes involved troops farming their own land to support themselves—a significant change from the arrangements which had prevailed throughout Late Antiquity and earlier centuries.

'Barbarization'

The Late Roman army relied heavily on *recruiting within the Empire, but also drew significantly on non-imperial sources, whether from defeated enemy groups resettled in Roman territory or from those from outside the Empire who offered their services. This trend was noticeable from the 4th century onwards, especially because some of these individuals rose to positions of high command in the army. A survey of the names of Magistri Militum during the 4th century and beyond reveals many non-Roman-sounding names, with those of Germanic origin being especially prominent. This phenomenon has sometimes prompted the claim that the Late Roman army was

'barbarized', with the implication that this resulted in a weakening of the army's effectiveness. However, the number of non-Romans serving in the army, whether as rank and file or in positions of authority, was probably fewer than often assumed. Furthermore, these recruits were valued for their military prowess and skills which complemented traditional Roman areas of expertise, continuing a long tradition of Roman assimilation.

ADL

Jones, *LRE*, 607–86.
H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (1996).
Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*.
[L.] M. Whitby, 'Emperors and Armies, AD 235–395', in Swain and Edwards, *Approaching Late Antiquity*, 156–86.
A. D. Lee, *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007).

armies and military administration, Persian The Persian army was made up of regular troops, seasonal recruits, and mercenaries, though its core consisted of the *cavalry. Until the reforms of *Khosrow (Husraw) I (531–79) the army of the *Persian Empire under the *Sasanian dynasty had a single commander-in-chief (*Ērān spāhbed*). To confront the Romans in the West, *Huns in the East, and *Alans in the North, Khosrow I divided command between four generals (*spāhbed*): that of the east (*xwarāsan*), south (*nēmrōz*), west (*xwarbarān*), and north (*abaxtar*), although kings often led individual campaigns themselves.

In *frontier areas a warden of the marches (*marzban) combined military with civil functions. Other high ranks included **hazārbad* (chief of the thousand), *argbed* (fortress commander), and the honorific *Shahrwarāz (boar of the empire) borne first as a title by a generalissimo then as a proper name, also *asped ī pārsīg* (Persian chief of the cavalry), *aspbed ī pāhlaw* (Parthian chief of the cavalry), *šahr aspbed* (*aspbed* of the empire), and '*hazāruft* of the empire' (*šahr hazāruft*). The example of the Armenian Smbat Bagratuni, Marzban of *Gorgān (Hyrcania), designated as general in charge of an important eastern campaign by *Khosrow II, shows that high-ranking officers were not always Persians.

Theoretically the army was organized along decimal lines. Units of 1,000 men (*gund*), under a *hazārbad*, formed divisions of 10,000. Heavy cavalry units, called in Roman sources *cataphracti* and **clibinarii*, were drawn from the lesser *aristocracy (*bandagān*) and outfitted themselves with *arms and armour. Functioning primarily as lancers, they were used as shock troops against infantry. The light cavalry consisted of mounted *archers. Infantry (*paygān*), drawn from the peasantry, carried spears or bows and large, wicker shields in phalanx formation. They scaled walls and guarded camps and baggage trains. Deployed in battle in the Caucasus, at *Dara, and at *Edessa, the *elephant corps was important for its shock value. The Romans viewed elephants as monsters and abhorred their noise and smell, both of which terrified their cavalry horses. The army also included scouts (Gk. *kataskopoi*) as well as units of engineers (sappers) who built *bridges, undermined fortifications, and even deployed 'chemical weaponry' in the form of noxious smoke against counter-sappers, as witnessed in the archaeological evidence of the Roman defeat at *Dura Europus. Auxiliary forces, often mounted, frequently fought alongside regular Sasanian units. These came from a wide range of subject or treaty-bound groups (*Chionites, Gelani, *Albanians, Dolomites, Sagastani, *Hephthalites, *Arabs, Tamuraye, *Tayyâyê, Qadishaye, *Armenians, *Sabir Huns).

The size of the standing army is difficult to determine. The army's elite corps of 10,000 cavalry, known as Immortals (Gk. *athanatoi*) in Roman sources, constituted the core of the army, but anecdotal evidence of troop strength from individual engagements varies widely. As campaigning typically began in the spring, it is unclear whether the army always remained together in winter quarters when not fighting. The Gorgān *Wall appears to have been built with a series of fortresses for what might have been a semi-permanent force at least to patrol the frontier. Some 30,000 soldiers are said to have invaded Roman *Armenia, and in 530 a force of 50,000 men was assembled to attack Dara. A force of 15,000 cavalry is attested in Commagene. *Hormizd (Ohrmazd) IV is said to have sent 70,000 troops to fight the Türks. As auxiliaries the Sabir Huns contributed 3,000 men at *Satala in 530 and 12,000 during campaigns in the Caucasus.

Booty was the main form of compensation until Khosrow I's reforms introduced salaries for the military. At the end of the Empire, to replenish and reform the army, Khosrow II created a class of landed knights (*azadān*) sustained by grants of land, which formed a new standing army. Several *spāhbads* staged rebellions in the late Empire, most notably *Bahram VI Chobin and Shahrwaraz.

DTP; KR

H. Börm, *Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike* (Oriens et Occidens 16, 2007).
J. W. Drijvers, 'Ammianus Marcellinus' Image of Sasanian Society', in J. Wiesehöfer and P. Huyse, eds., *Ērān ud Anērān* (Oriens et Occidens 13, 2006), 45–69.
R. Gyselen, *The Four Generals of the Sasanian Empire: Some Sigillographic Evidence* (2001).
G. B. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (1998).
J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'The Late Sasanian Army', in T. Bernheimer and A. Silverstein, eds., *Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives* (2012), 87–127.

Armorica *See* BRITTANY AND BRETONS.

arms and armour, barbarian Sources for the study of barbarian arms and armour in Late Antiquity are mainly burials containing weapons, or sacrificial sites with large quantities of weapons and other military equipment. The use of light arms mostly by infantry changed during the 5th century. Possibly under the influence of *nomads and the restructured Roman *field army, more cavalry troops appear in the archaeological record while the size of the armed group at the same time diminishes. The arms and armour used were typically simple but effective: bows and arrows, shafted weapons (spears, javelins, and battleaxes), and wooden round shields with metal components (boss, handle). The only items regularly imported were Roman long swords (*spathae*), which evidently could not be matched by local blacksmiths or the available quality of ore.

The arms and armour of barbarian warriors can generally be considered much lighter than contemporaneous Roman military equipment (*see* ARMS AND ARMOUR, ROMAN). Until the 5th century, Germanic armour only occasionally made use of helmets, mail coats, or other heavy body protection. Catapults, flaming arrows, and *artillery were originally not used by barbarian warriors.

Barbarian arms and armour made less use of metal components than Roman weaponry. This should not be regarded as a sign of low quality: wooden elements were well selected and expertly processed, and if necessary imported from other regions.

Arms and armour had particular importance for expressing social status in barbarian societies. Some arms, e.g. scabbarded swords, were often carried in daily life; the quality of the material and of the craftsmanship displayed the owner's social rank. AR

C. von Carnap-Bornheim, ed., *Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten* (1994).

J. Nicolay, *Armed Batavians: Use and Significance of Weaponry and Horse Gear from Non-Military Contexts in the Rhine Delta (50 BC to AD 450)* (2007).

arms and armour, Persian Literary and iconographic evidence shows Sasanian heavy *cavalrymen (MP *aswarān*) variously equipped with a lance, long sword, dagger, mace, axe, and lasso. Those armoured from head to toe are described by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 10, 8; cf. *Eutropius, VI, 9) as cataphracts called **clibanarii*. The armour corresponded to that of the steppe horsemen the *armies of the *Persian Empire faced regularly.

Protection for a warrior began at the head with a helmet (single piece; ribbed; bandhelms; concentric, crossed, and radial spangenhelms; lamellar), often with an aventail (mail or scale) or a coif. The equestrian figure at *Taq-e Bostan wears a full-face covering of chain mail, with openings for the eyes, attached to a helmet. Scale armour greaves and long-sleeved tunics reaching to the mid-thigh protected the cavalryman's body. Fingercaps of bronze, *silver, and *gold were worn by *archers, and shields were sometimes carried as well. Protection for the body of the horse consisted of both metal and non-metal (*leather, felt, cloth) coverings. The full-body caparisons seen at *Firuzabad, embossed with repeated symbols (*nišān*), contrast with the lamellar armour covering the chest, shoulders, and breast of the *horse at Taq-e Bostan. DTP

S. N. Ahmad, 'A New Sasanian Helmet in the Musee d'Art Classique de Mougins', *Historia i Świat* (Siedlce, Poland) 4 (2015), 135–56.

H. Börm, *Prokop und die Perser* (Oriens et Occidens 16, 2007).

J. W. Drijvers, 'Ammianus Marcellinus' Image of Sasanian Society', in J. Wiesehöfer and P. Huyse, eds., *Ērān ud Anērān* (Oriens et Occidens 13, 2006), 45–69.

G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (1998).

K. Masia, 'The Evolution of Swords and Daggers in the Sasanian Empire', *IrAnt* 35 (2000), 185–289.

M. Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and Clibanarii* (1993).

P. Skupniewicz, ' Sasanian Horse Armor', *Historia i Świat* (Siedlce, Poland) 3 (2014), 35–59.

A. Tafazzoli, 'A List of Terms for Weapons and Armour in Western Middle Iranian', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993/4), 187–98.

H. von Gall, *Das Reiterkampfbild in der iranischen und iranisch beeinflußten Kunst parthischer und sasanidischer Zeit* (1990).

arms and armour, Roman and post-Roman Study of Late Roman military equipment has accelerated in the last 30 years, despite lacking the rich visual evidence and closely datable archaeological deposits of earlier periods. Late Roman literature is of great assistance if deployed cautiously, particularly the writings of *Vegetius, *Procopius, and *Maurice, and other technical treatises, such as *artillery manuals and the **Notitia Dignitatum*.

The emerging picture is of an *army well supplied with armour. In an environment dominated by Asiatic nomad, *Gothic, and Persian *archery, Roman *infantry were perhaps even more heavily armoured than in earlier periods. Ringmail, scale, lamellar, and plate *cuirasses are all represented in the artefactual record and the development of new forms of helmets ('ridge', segmental) is now much better understood. Shields were predominantly of the dished oval form used in the 3rd century AD. *Sculpture, paintings, artefacts, and the **Notitia* provide detail for the evolution of painted shield blazons. As with helmets, these included Christian *insignia alongside the more traditional motifs. Cavalry increasingly followed the Persian and Asiatic models of armoured horse-archers.

Terminology for weapons provided by Vegetius (*De Re Militari*, I, 20; II, 15–18; III, 14), and numerous

finds of actual weapons, demonstrate both continuity and the introduction of Germanic, Persian, *Hun, and *Avar elements. This did not represent 'barbarization'; as in earlier periods, it proves that Roman equipment design was adaptive and acquisitive.

The technology of Roman *artillery also continued to develop, providing a significant technological edge over all external opponents. Traditionally, the Roman army had supplied itself with arms and armour, especially through production in legionary **fabricae*. Expansion of the Late Roman army under the *Tetrarchy, and the increasingly 'mobile' nature of the best troops based in *cities, less associated with military frontier installations and operating as a *field army, led to the creation of centralized, often urban *fabricae*. The first such production hubs were created by *Diocletian, linked to *taxation in kind, and staffed by a hereditary profession of *fabricenses* who left a body of *inscriptions. *Fabricae* were subsequently augmented and are listed with their products in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 9, 18–39; *occ.* 11, 16–39). Thereafter, production is dealt with in the *law codes.

Development of northern European armour into the Early Middle Ages continued to draw on Roman equipment design, especially for Vendel helmets. However, round, central-boss Germanic shields dominated the European tradition into the 11th century. Naturally each new advent of Asiatic nomads into Iran or Europe, the Magyars succeeding the *Avars in the west, *Chionite and *Hephthalite Huns followed by Turks in the south, introduced new forms of archery equipment, armour, and horse-*harness, while spreading metallic weaponry, especially sword designs, back and forth across Eurasia. Byzantine armies continued to absorb these influences while evolving 'Roman' style into the Middle Ages. JCNC

Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 199–232.
C. Miks, *Ein spätrömischer Depotfund aus Koblenz am Rhein. Studien zu Kammhelmen der späten Kaiserzeit* (2014).
T. G. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (1988).
G. Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900* (2003), 162–76.

army, Late Roman, physical evidence concerning The wealth of sculptural iconography illustrating the 1st- to 3rd-century Roman *army declined sharply in the later 3rd century. However, under the *Tetrarchy there was a revival in monumental *marble *sculpture incorporating military themes. Triumphal arch reliefs are known from *Rome (fragments of the Arch of *Diocletian), *Thessalonica, and *Nicaea. The Arch of *Constantine in Rome also provides military images, especially on its running frieze. Marble fragments and antiquarian sketches of the fallen Columns of *Theodosius and of *Arcadius in *Constantinople allow some appreciation of how soldiers were represented. There are very few 4th-century figural military gravestones.

Other media are available for military studies. Imperial *portraiture in purple *porphyry sometimes includes well-observed martial *dress, equipment, and headgear. Old and New Testament scenes appear on marble *sarcophagi and in wall paintings in the *catacombs, with military figures represented in contemporary dress and equipment. Floor and wall *mosaics in *villas and churches (*Piazza Armerina; S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; S. Vitale, *Ravenna) also depict actual or biblical soldiers, as do smaller artefacts, such as *glass and *silver wares, *coinage, *icons, and *ivory and *wood *sculptures. There are also illuminated *manuscripts dating from the 5th century onwards which illustrate both traditional literature (the *Vatican Vergil, the *Ambrosian *Iliad*) and more technical treatises (the **Notitia Dignitatum*, the *Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis*, *Maurice, *Strategicon*). The *Notitia Dignitatum* also provides considerable evidence for the *insignia of Late Roman army units. Overall, more polychromic physical evidence survives for Late Roman military matters than is available from earlier periods, and much of it depicts scenes from the imperial *court. JCNC

Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 1–22, 199–232.

Arnobius Junior (*fl.* 430–50) Author of mid-5th-century *Italy. Arnobius is probably a pseudonym: his real identity is unknown (the epithet 'Junior' distinguishes him from *Arnobius of *Sicca). He wrote a commentary on the Psalms, a dialogue on Christological issues, and, internal evidence suggests, the anonymous **Praedestinatus*. Other works have been attributed to him more speculatively. DRL

PCBE II/1, Arnobius.
HLL, section 744.
CPL 239–42:
ed. K.-D. Daur (CCSL 25, 1990; 25A, 1992).
ed. F. Gori (CCSL 25B, 2001).
K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household* (2007).
G. Morin, 'Étude d'ensemble sur Arnobe le Jeune', *RevBén* 28 (1911), 154–90.

Arnobius of Sicca (*fl. c.*303) Teacher of *Latin *rhetoric at *Sicca in Africa under *Diocletian (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 79). He taught *Lactantius. Having opposed Christianity, Arnobius was converted in *dreams and allayed his *bishop's suspicions by a written recantation (Jerome, *Chron.* 231g Helm). His seven books *Against the Pagans* (written after 303) survive in two manuscripts and are remarkable for being by a new Christian, convinced but as yet uninstructed. They describe pagan practice in detail and exemplify

pagan–Christian tensions in a provincial *city in the era of the Great *Persecution. OPN

PLRE I, Arnobius.
HLL 5, section 569.
CPL 93: ed. C. Marchesi (CorpParav 62, ^{2}1953).
ed. A. Reifferscheid (CSEL 4, 1875).
ed. (annotated with FT) H. Le Bonniec (1982–).
ET (annotated) G. E. MacCracken (ACW 7 and 8, 1949).
CHECL 259–61 (Nicholson).
J. A. North, 'Arnobius on Sacrifice', in J. Drinkwater and B. Salway, eds., *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected* (*BICS* supplement 91, 2007), 25–36.
M. Masterson, 'Authoritative Obscenity in Iamblichus and Arnobius', *JECS* 22/3 (2014), 373–98.

Arnulfings The descendants of *Arnulf of *Metz, akin to the Pippinids and Carolingians. Arnulf and *Pippin I, nobles from Frankish families in *Austrasia, allied with *Chlothar II of *Neustria against Queen *Brunhild when, after the death of her grandson *Theuderic II in 613, she installed his son *Sigibert II in Austrasia and *Burgundy. After Chlothar had gained control of all three Frankish kingdoms, Arnulf and Pippin were rewarded with the positions of *Bishop of Metz and *Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia respectively. They served as advisers to the young *Dagobert I, who was granted the kingship of Austrasia by his father Chlothar. Arnulf's son, Ansegisel, married Pippin's daughter, Begga, and their grandson, *Charles Martel, gave his name to the Carolingian dynasty. Properly speaking, Arnulfings were descendants of Arnulf, Pippinids descendants of Pippin, and Carolingians descendants of Charles Martel, but as many of the most prominent family members could trace their ancestry to both Arnulf and Pippin, these terms have tended to be used interchangeably by historians.

The family provided numerous Mayors of the Palace to Merovingian kings in the late 7th and first half of the 8th century, including Ansegisel and Begga's son *Pippin II, *Grimoald I and II, Charles Martel, and Charles's sons Carloman and *Pippin III. The latter took the kingship for himself in 751, becoming the first Carolingian king, and was the grandfather of Charlemagne. The family were also keen supporters of the monastic movement instigated by S. *Columbanus, and both Pippin I's daughter and granddaughter, S. *Gertrude and Wulfetrude, served as abbesses of the *monastery the family founded at *Nivelles. Their power bases lay in the area of Worms, the lands between the Meuse and Moselle rivers, and the eastern half of what is now Belgium. EMB

RGA$_2$ *s.v.* Arnulfinger, I (1973), 433–4 (H. H. Anton).
P. Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe* (1993).
R. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1987).
R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (2008).

Arnulf of Metz (d. *c.*640) *Bishop of *Metz, *c.*614/15–629/30 **Domesticus* at the *Austrasian court, who joined *Pippin I and other aristocrats in welcoming *Chlothar II, king in *Neustria, after the deaths of his ruler *Theudebert II in 612, and *Theuderic II in 613. He became *bishop soon afterwards, and was entrusted by Chlothar with the upbringing of his son *Dagobert I, who allowed him to fulfil his desire to retire into monastic life at *Remiremont. Later traditions highlighted a marriage between Arnulf's son and Pippin's daughter as the inception of the Carolingian dynasty (initially the *Arnulfings or the Pippinids). RVD

PLRE IIIA *s.v.* 'Arnulfus', 122–3.
PCBE 4, I (2013) *s.v.* 'Arnulfus', 211–13.
Life (*BHL* 689–92), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Merov. 2 (1888).

aroura Unit of land measurement in *Egypt. It corresponded to 100 cubits, or *c.*2,756 square metres (a little over two-thirds of an acre). The family of S. *Antony owned 300 *arourae*, 'fertile and beautiful' (*VAnton* 2). RM

R. S. Bagnall, 'Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary', in R. S. Bagnall, *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009), 179–96.

Arras hoard A collection of *jewellery and coins, including rare commemorative *Tetrarchic and Constantinian multiples, probably hoarded by a Roman general, *c.*315, and unearthed at Beaurains, France, in 1922. HAHC

P. Bastien and C. Metzger, *Le Trésor de Beaurains (dit d'Arras)* (Mémoires de la Commission Départmentale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais; vol. 17, 1977).
Alan Cameron, 'An Unknown General', *CP* 83/2 (1988), 149–50.
R. Abdy, 'In the Pay of the Emperor: Coins from the Beaurains (Arras) Treasure' and R. S. O. Tomlin, 'The Owners of the Beaurains (Arras) Treasure', in Hartley et al., *Constantine*, 52–64.

Arrianus *See* SATRIUS ARRIANUS.

Arsaces Armenian nobleman who conspired with *Khosrow I and was therefore paraded through *Constantinople on a *camel. A further plot against *Justinian I in 548–9 failed, and he and his fellow conspirator *Artabanes were imprisoned in the *palace (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 32). OPN

PLRE III, Arsaces.

Arsacids *See* ARSHAKUNI DYNASTY.

Arsacius Imperial *lion tamer under *Licinius, who confessed Christianity and left his job. He later practised *asceticism in a tower at *Nicomedia, and exorcized *demons. His prophecy of the Nicomedia *earthquake of 358, in which he died, went unheeded. (*Sozomen, IV, 16, 6–13). OPN

PLRE I, Arsacius 1.

Arseni Sapareli (10th–11th cent.) *Catholicus of *Georgia and historian. His only surviving work, *On the Severance of Georgians and Armenians*, written after 1004, is an important source for the study of Caucasian ecclesiastical history of the 6th and 7th centuries. His work offers the Georgian perspective on the ecclesiastical schism between Georgians and Armenians. Arseni's treatise has contributed substantially to the re-evaluation in recent scholarship of the religious transformations and formation of national Churches in the Late Antique Caucasus. NA

Z. Aleksidze and J-P. Mahé, 'Arsen Sapareli, Sur la séparation des Georgiens et des Arméniens', *REArm* 32 (2010), 59–132.

Arsenius A *Samaritan from *Palestine. He persuaded *Justin I to repair the walls of *Scythopolis. He lived as a Christian in *Constantinople and spoke up at court for the Samaritans at the time of the *Samaritan Revolt of 529 but then lost *Justinian I's favour. S. *Sabas baptized him (*Cyril of *Scythopolis, *VSab* 70–1). In 537, while in *Alexandria repressing *Miaphysites, he was executed for murder and his property confiscated. *Procopius despised him (*Anecd.* 27). OPN

PLRE II, Arsenius 3.

Patrich, *Sabas*, 314–16.

Arshakid dynasty, Georgian The branch of the Parthian dynasty that ruled in *Iberia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Arshakid rule began in *Georgia *c.* AD 180, when the *Armenians invaded Iberia, overthrew King Amazasp II, and installed Rev I 'the Just' (189–216) who, according to the Georgian chronicles, sympathized with local Christian communities. The Iberian Arshakid line ended with the death of Aspagur I (265–84) and the reign of *Mirian III of the Chosroid dynasty, the first Christian king of *Iberia (early 4th cent.). NA

C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 1–25.

Arshak II the Great, King of Armenia (Aršak, Arsaces) King of *Armenia Magna *c.*350–67/8. Evidence for Arshak II's reign comes from *Ammianus Marcellinus and from the Armenian **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, and the *History of Armenia* of *Movses Khorenats'i, though the chronology poses problems. Arshak was caught between the persistent power struggles of the Roman and *Persian Empires. His friendship with *Constantius II was secured by *oaths, a *marriage, and diplomatic *gifts, and *Julian made Arshak's cooperation integral to his plan to invade Persia in 363, but, to Ammianus' shame (XXV, 7, 12), the dissolution of this alliance was a condition of *Jovian's treaty with *Shapur II. Ammianus says the Persians murdered him (XXVII, 12, 3); Armenian traditions and *Procopius (*Persian*, I, 5) claim he committed *suicide. Armenian souces also record that throughout his reign Arshak struggled with the power of the **naxarar*s and that his personal life, and his espousal of the *Homoean Christology favoured by Constantius II, set him at odds with the Armenian Church and its *catholicus, his kinsman *Nerses the Great. LA

PLRE I 109 Arsaces III [*sic*].

HAndzB vol. 1, 1 292–3 Arshak 7.

N. Garsoian, 'Politique ou … l'Arménie au quatrième siècle', *REArm* NS 4 (1967), 297–320.

Arshakuni dynasty (Aršakuni, Armenian Arsacid dynasty) The rise of the Armenian Arshakuni dynasty in the 1st century AD resulted from the desire of Rome and its enemy the Parthian Arsacid Empire to control the lands of the Armenians which lay along the *frontiers between them. The Compromise of Rhandeia in AD 65 ended at least temporarily the state of warfare between the empires by granting the throne to the Parthian candidate Trdat I on condition that he journey to Rome to receive the regalia from the Emperor Nero. The Arshakuni dynasty remained in Armenia Magna until the Armenian nobles in AD 428 demanded its end from the Persian King of Kings who at that time controlled the greater portion of *Armenia. The dynasty was responsible for two events of lasting significance for Armenian history and identity: the *conversion of Armenia to Christianity *c.* AD 314 and the creation of a unique *Armenian alphabet. The dynasty's renown outlasted its power; for instance, the 7th-century Roman *Emperor *Heraclius was said to claim descent from the dynasty. LA

N. Garsoïan, 'The Aršakuni Dynasty [A.D. 12–[180?]–428]', in R. Hovannisian, *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1: *The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century* (1997), 63–94.

C. Toumanoff, 'The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary', *REArm* 6 (1969), 233–81.

Arsinoe and Arsinoite nome Capital *city and administrative district, respectively, named after the

queen and sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 282–246 BC). Under him, the region was intensively developed, through dyke works and drainage, to extend its arable area. A lakelike depression (whence its modern name al-Fayyum, from the *Coptic), its water was supplied by an offshoot of the *Nile, the Bahr Yusuf ('Joseph's Canal'), that entered the region through the gap at al-Lahun.

The *villages on its outer rim have been a source (through both purchase and scholarly excavation) of *Greek and demotic Egyptian *papyri; these same marginal villages were abandoned in the 3rd–6th centuries. Greek papyri from later centuries (6th–8th) come mostly from the ancient mounds (Kiman Faris), on the north-west outskirts of today's Madinat al-Fayyum. These papyri came in large volume into the antiquities market in the 1880s (as a result of the First and Second 'Fayyum Finds'). The region is also an important source of Coptic and *Arabic papyri, and some of the former exemplify a regional dialect of the language (Fayyumic).

In the mid-3rd century the doctrines of a *bishop called Nepos, who opposed *allegorical interpretation of eschatological prophecy, were popular in the Arsinoite *nome (*EusebIus, *HE* VII, 24). The area was also the source of famous Coptic *Manichaean texts from *Medinet Madi (ancient Narmouthis). The earliest use of the word *monachos* (Gk. for 'monk') is in a papyrus from *Karanis, and S. *Antony the Great visited the monks of the Fayyum (*VAnton* 15). Noteworthy *monasteries included those at *Naqlun (in the south-east) and *Kalamoun (in the distant south). JGK

Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*, 127–54 (map on 128).

J. G. Keenan, 'Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyum', *BASP* 40 (2003), 119–39.

Årslev Inhumation burial of the 4th century on the island of Funen, Denmark, interpreted as the tomb of an *aristocratic woman who had come from south-eastern Europe. *Jewellery was found, including a rock crystal ball *amulet with a *Greek palindromic *inscription. AR

B. Storgaard, 'Årslev-fundet', *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (1990), 23–58.

artaba Unit of variable size used in *Egypt to measure dry goods such as wheat and other seeds. The standard *artaba* corresponded to about 38 litres (1.34 cubic feet). RM

R. S. Bagnall, 'Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary', *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009), 179–96.

Artabanes (*fl.* 538–54) *Armenian noble who fought against the Romans, latterly alongside *Khosrow I, but then defected. *Justinian I sent him to *Africa (545) to command Armenian troops. He pretended to join the rebel *Guntharis, then assassinated him, and was appointed *Magister Militum per Africam (546). Returning to *Constantinople, he held several military posts, before dismissal for plotting with *Arsaces against *Justinian I in 548–9 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 32). Forgiven, he then served against the *Ostrogoths. MTGH

PLRE III, Artabanes 2.

Artagers (Lat. Artogerassa, now Geçvan (Tunçkaya), eastern Turkey) Spectacular fortress overlooking the Aras Çay, held against *Shapur II of Persia for over a year in 369–70 by the queen of Arshak III (*Ammianus, XXVII, 12; **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, IV, 55). The present remains are largely medieval. OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 1, 413–16.

art and archaeology, Celtic The archaeology of the Celtic-speaking peoples in Late Antiquity has been most extensively studied in *Ireland, where study has been facilitated by the existence of easily recognizable enclosed settlements (ring forts), covering a wide social range from farms to royal centres. Other high-status settlement types include crannogs (artificial islands) and *hillforts. Religion and burial are evidenced by cemeteries of unaccompanied inhumation burials and monastic sites ranging from small hermitages to large population centres. A series of *inscriptions, mostly tombstones, in a distinctively Irish script (*ogam) is known from the 5th century onward. Imported *pottery and *glass attest 5th- to 7th-century contacts with continental Europe, and perhaps even the eastern Mediterranean.

By contrast, the archaeology of the Britons is extremely elusive. Although many settlement and burial sites have gradually been discovered, recognizing evidence of this period remains extremely difficult. Probably because of this, much importance has been placed on the presence of imported pottery and glass from both the eastern Mediterranean and continental West, and a series of *Latin inscribed stones, probably tombstones, similar in most respects to those of other Late Antique Christian populations. These show a Christian society open to outside contacts, exemplified by the coastal sites at *Tintagel in Cornwall and *Bantham in Devon.

Even the basic paradigm for studying the archaeology of the 5th- and 6th-century Britons is highly controversial. To some scholars, the Britons of this period belong to the world of Late Antiquity, but to others they are to be understood in terms of a 'reversion' to pre-Roman Iron Age ways of life, or are more closely analogous to the practices of the early *Anglo-Saxons or contemporary Ireland.

Excavated hillforts of this period seem to be high-status secular settlements, as at *South Cadbury,

Cadbury Congresbury, Chun, and Dinas Emrys. These are often associated with elite residence, including perhaps *feasting, and crafts activity including *metalwork. There is also increasingly evidence for continuing occupation at Roman settlements, most famously at *Wroxeter, where the centre of the Roman *city was rebuilt with *timber buildings, of apparently Classical design, in the 5th century. Lower-status rural sites have been especially hard to identify, but several 4th-century farms, as at Trethurgy in Cornwall, show evidence of continuing occupation into the 5th and 6th centuries. This pattern of *landscape continuity is supported, for most of western *Britain, by pollen analysis, although this suggests discontinuity in the north.

The archaeology of the *Picts, in north-east Scotland, has become much better understood in the last three decades (cf. TARBAT) but their material culture remains hard to interpret. This is exemplified by ongoing debates over the meaning of Pictish symbol stones, boulders (perhaps tombstones) carved with, often abstract, designs. Recent work has elucidated the archaeology of their neighbours, the *Scotti of Dalriada, through major excavations and surveys at *Iona, Dunadd, and other monastic and secular centres. The physical evidence for those of lower social standing is poorly understood by archaeologists. KD

K. R. Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (2001).
N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (²1996).

art and architecture, Aksumite Aksumite achievements in these areas, both artistic and technological, comprise a core of indigenous background and a variety of readily assimilated external influences. Massive stone architecture had been present in the northern Horn of Africa for several centuries before the Aksumite kingdom arose. Some of its features, such as square-sectioned monolithic pillars and buildings of *basilican plan, continued long afterwards, but major changes took place during and immediately after the final centuries BC, some of which were due to local innovation rather than to external contacts. Many buildings were constructed of stone-filled timber frameworks of beams strengthened with horizontal ties and frames for doors and windows. The stelae marking royal graves (*see* DEAD, DISPOSAL OF) bear representations of such buildings up to thirteen storeys high, but in all probability few if any actual structures attained more than three storeys. Stone walling, paving, etc. ranged from neatly dressed blocks assembled dry, or linked by means of metal clamps, to random fieldstone bedded in mud mortar; lime was used only for creating vaults or arches of baked *brick, or for wall plaster. There is no evidence that this plaster was painted.

Stone carving was mainly architectural rather than figurative. Statues do not survive, but the base of one giant example has been recovered, and a 4th-century *inscription mentions metal statues that may have been set on monumental thrones. Complex metalwork is attested, and *ivory was carved with considerable expertise. Alongside this sophisticated technology, chipped stone tools continued in use for many purposes, including wood- and ivory-carving and potting. *Coinage, *pottery, and production of such vellum manuscripts as the *Garima Gospels should also be noted in this category. DWP

Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97.*
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 121–37.
Phillipson, *Using Stone Tools.*

art and architecture, Armenian The lands of historic *Armenia preserve evidence for a rich and distinctive artistic tradition dating from the Late Antique and early medieval eras. The earliest period of church construction, dating from the 4th to 6th centuries, is characterized by *basilicas of one to three aisles with barrel vaulting, set either on free-standing or attached piers. Walls and vaults were constructed of lightweight volcanic tuff, cut and squared into facing slabs and sandwiching a core of rubble and mortar. The late 6th and 7th centuries witnessed the emergence of centralized churches with *domes in the regions of Armenia and *Georgia. Scholars have made comparisons between these monuments and those of *Constantinople, *Cappadocia, *Cilicia, *Syria, *Mesopotamia, and the *Holy Land. At the same time, the churches attest to the development of a local style of architecture. The variety and number of monuments produced during this period is striking. In addition to domed basilicas (such as *Mren and *Odzun), *triconch basilicas, and aisleless halls, the corpus includes domed churches of four, six, and eight conches. Squinches generally provide the support for *domes but pendentives were also used. Conical cupolas often surmount the dome. Multiple portals, porticoes, exterior *apses, and elevated platforms all suggest the aesthetic and possibly ritual importance of the exterior perimeter of the church. Foundation *inscriptions, preserved on many monuments, demonstrate the importance of the Armenian nobility as *patrons, and offer valuable information about relations among local notables (**naxarar*s) and neighbouring Persian, Roman, and *'Umayyad powers. The archaeological and literary record suggests a decline in building in the 8th and 9th centuries. The later 9th to 11th centuries, however, witnessed an architectural revival in which the 7th-century architectural and decorative repertoire was consciously appropriated.

Relief *sculpture on building *façades and architectural supports shows the development of a rich vocabulary of architectonic forms and the carving of *foliage. Figural imagery is typically of sacred characters but also

includes princely portraiture, as at Mren, and images of builders, as at *Zvart'nots'. Free-standing stone stelae are known from at least the 6th century. Carved with registers of scenes, they are often situated in close proximity to a church building and are sometimes mounted on stepped platforms, as at Odzun.

There are traces of wall paintings on some church interiors, although in no case is a complete programme preserved intact. The earliest known Armenian manuscript painting is found in four folios of the later 6th or 7th century, sewn into the *Edjmiatsin (Etchmiadzin) Gospels. Fragments of *mosaic have been found at several sites in Armenia (*Garni, *Dvin, Zvart'nots'). *Mosaic pavements with *Armenian inscriptions, dating from the 6th and 7th centuries, have also been found in *Jerusalem and its vicinity, offering important testimony to the presence of Armenians in the *Holy Land in Late Antiquity. CM

Strzygowski, *Baukunst der Armenier.*
P. Donabédian, *L'Âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne* (2008).
S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (1979).
J.-M. Thierry and P. Donabédian, *Armenian Art*, tr. Célestine Dars (1989; French original, 1987).

art and architecture, Egyptian The principal *cities of Late Antique *Egypt possessed elements of Roman urban topography and amenities. They were laid out on a grid with colonnaded *streets, tetrapylons, gymnasiums, *baths, *theatres, and *hippodromes (e.g. *Antinoopolis, founded *c.* AD 130). We do not know, however, the extent to which a Roman 'axial armature' was imposed upon earlier pharaonic and Ptolemaic foundations, which were typically dominated by *temples and their approaches. A network of Late Roman *forts connected strategic positions along the *Nile, desert roads, and the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts (cf. **Notitia Dignitatum* [*or.*] 28, 31). Like other eastern Mediterranean cultures with a long history of monumental building, the Egyptians commonly adapted and reused or dismantled earlier structures for building material (*spolia).

Two forts in Upper and Lower *Egypt adapted under the *Tetrarchy illustrate the relationship of Late Antique buildings to earlier and later architecture and topography. The first, the *imperial cult chapel of the fort of *c.* AD 300 encloses the (largely pharaonic) *Luxor Temple. It is remarkable for the survival of its high-quality, if fragmentary, programme of imperial wall painting; later, from *c.*600, this temple-complex-with-fort was also the location of four churches. The second, the Roman fort at *Babylon (Cairo), was besieged by Arab armies in 641 and gave rise to Egypt's *Umayyad capital, al-*Fustat ('tent' or 'camp'), outside its walls. It later enclosed the medieval Christian and Jewish quarter known today as Old Cairo.

The *triconch churches of the so-called *White and *Red Monasteries near Sohag (5th cent.) are remarkable for having niche heads and other *sculpture carved specifically for them that are still *in situ*. However, these and many other new building projects also depended on reused building sculpture, e.g. the transept *basilica at Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein) of the mid-5th century, and Great Church at *Abu Mina. Some near-contemporary sculpture depicting Classical themes was reused in Late Antiquity, but it was often buried (e.g. in building foundations) or in some other way it was not visible, e.g. at the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at *Saqqara.

Vivid, 5th–6th-century wall paintings have survived in the Red Monastery church, and at churches and monasteries such as *Bawit, Sakkara, Bersha, and *Wadi Sarga. Evidence for *mosaics is limited, but includes the floor mosaics found in and around *Alexandria and at *Antinoopolis (5th–6th cent.), and loose tesserae discovered in excavations. These suggest the presence of *apse mosaics which are no longer extant in churches at Saqqara and Abu Mina.

The best evidence of domestic architecture is in areas which ceased to be irrigated in the 4th century, e.g. on the edges of the *Fayyum and in the *Oases. Early excavators made an effort to record such housing, e.g. at the 7th–8th-century houses of the town of *Jeme installed in and around the New Kingdom mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Wall paintings in domestic contexts depict scenes from Classical *myth, e.g. at *Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) and Trimithis (Amheida) in the Dakhla Oasis (3rd–4th cent.), as well as Christian themes, at a so-called *villa near Wadi Sarga (*c.*6th cent.) and in Alexandria (6th cent.). Soft furnishings and textiles, such as *curtains, hangings, and mattress and cushion covers, survive largely due to reuse as shrouds or packing material in *burials. Originally they gave colour and texture to a largely mud-brick domestic architecture.

Mortuary architecture is documented at, for example, Bagawat, Antinoopolis, and Sohag. In general, the number of monumental superstructures appears to decline in favour of simple pit burials often marked by limestone or, south of Armant, sandstone grave stelae.

Although monastic *libraries are largely responsible for the survival of illustrated Christian manuscripts, numerous illustrated *papyri have also been discovered in excavations. Sketches for various artistic work, including sculpture and *textiles survive on papyrus. Evidence for commissioning work also survives in papyrus documents. Examples include documents concerned with gilding a ceiling (P.Köln I, 52, AD 263), painting an imperial image (P.Oxy. LV, 3791, AD 317–18), identifying building sculpture for reuse (P.Bagnall 43, 4th cent.), and manuscript illumination (*Koptisches Sammelbuch* II, 845, 5–6th cent.). ERO.

Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*.
Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*.
McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt*.
P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Hb Orientalistik 62, 2002).
B. Tkaczow, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria (an archaeological map)* (Travaux polonaises 32, 1993).
P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (1998).
G. Husson, *Oikia: le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (1983).
M. von Falcke et al., *Ägypten. Schätze aus dem Wüstensand: Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil: Katalog zur Ausstellung* (1997).
L. Török, *After the Pharaohs: Treasures of Coptic Art from Egyptian Collections; Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*, exhibition catalogue, *18 March–18 May 2005* (2005).
G. Gabra and M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Treasures of Coptic art in the Coptic Museum and Churches of Old Cairo* (2006).
C. Hope and H. Whitehouse, 'A painted residence at Ismant el-Kharab (Kellis) in the Dakhleh Oasis', *JRA* 19 (2006), 312–28.
H. Froschauer, *Zeichnungen und Malereien aus den Papyrussammlungen in Berlin und Wien* (2008).
L. Török, *Transformations of Hellenism* (2005).

art and architecture, Georgian Situated at a cultural crossroads, *Georgia assimilated artistic styles from Persian, Greek, and Roman cultures. Georgian craftsmen were able to adopt innovations in styles and technique and produce works according to their own vision and traditions. Artisans were anonymous for the most part, though the name of Aurelius Acholis, the chief *architect of 4th-century *Mtskheta, has survived.

A variety of *silver and *bronze vessels were richly decorated with chasing and *repoussé* techniques, and the establishment of a local iconography is attested by recurring compositions on silver cups. Goldsmiths produced *jewellery of remarkable splendour and intricacy. Local gem and *glass cutters produced portraits with expressive realism; *inscriptions in Greek, Armazian, or Persian scripts were engraved on silver vessels and intaglios. Fragments of monumental *sculpture as well as metal, stone, and clay statuettes have been found at the acropolis of Mtskheta and elsewhere.

Strabo (XI, 3, 1) records that *Iberian *cities were well built with stone or thick mud-bricks on stone foundations, had stone-hewn architectural details, and were roofed with *tiles. Surviving fragments of pagan religious buildings show a range of influences from Persia and Rome, but *palaces, *baths, and pools prevail. The majority of the architectural complexes are in Iberia (Dedoplis Gora, Mtskheta, Sevsamora, Nastakisi, *Dzalisi). The town of Uplistsikhe in central Iberia had rock-cut chambers and ceilings in imitation of Roman-style coffers; the existence of a theatre has been suggested.

Many forts can still be seen in western Georgia (e.g. *Apsarus, *Archaeopolis, *Petra-Tsikhisdziri) indicating unrest in the 1st to 3rd centuries AD in *Lazica. The Colchian wooden house 'darbazi' with a distinctive domed roof was described by Vitruvius. Fragments of wall paintings and painted wall plaster suggest that the palace in Mtskheta was decorated with murals. Floor *mosaics depicting *Dionysiac and marine scenes adorned a palace with a private *bathhouse at Dzalisi and a bath in the *villa in Shukhuti (west Georgia), as well as some public and private buildings in *Pityus.

In the early 4th century Georgia adopted Christianity; Georgian chronicles describe the gold, silver, and bronze statues of the local pre-Christian gods, Armaz, Zaden, Gac, and Gaim, which stood on the citadel of Mtskheta and were destroyed by the *prayer of S. *Nino. From early Christian times churches and stelae were decorated with stone carving, but three-dimensional sculptures were forbidden. Ecclesiastical architecture flourished. In the 4th to 6th centuries AD *basilica-type churches prevailed, some of which had *marble architectural details and mosaic floors. In the 4th to 5th centuries, mosaics, stone reliefs, precious metal, glass, and *pottery vessels were decorated with Christian symbolic imagery indicating the triumph of Christianity. Monumental figurative imagery began to appear in the 6th century. The earliest surviving wall mosaic is in the *apse of the church at Tsromi (626–34) and depicts Christ with *angels. Stelae in the form of *crosses (e.g. at Khandisi, Kataula, Satskhenisi), the altar screen from Tsebelda, and churches (e.g. at Mtskheta, Martvili, Ateni) were decorated with monumental stone reliefs scenes from the Old and New Testaments as well as representations of donors and saints. Churches were decorated with wall paintings of aniconic as well as figurative Christian compositions (e.g. at Udabno Monastery in David-Gareja). The early *icons seem to have been made in encaustic technique; the *Icon of the Saviour Acheiropoietos of Anchiskhati has been attributed to the 6th century.

MO

M. Lordkipanidze, *Udzvelesi sabechdavi-bechdebi iberiidan da kolkhetidan* (*Ancient Signet-Rings from Iberia and Colchis*) (1981).
K. Machabeli, *Pozdneantichnaya torevtika Gruzii* (*The Late-Antique Toreutics from Georgia*) (1976).
K. Matchabeli, *Stèles géorgiennes en pierre* (1997).
M. J. Odisheli, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Mosaike in Georgien* (1995).

art and architecture, Islamic The buildings and artefacts dating back to the time of *Muhammad and his *Companions are almost entirely lost to us. It is in

the era of the *Umayyad Dynasty (661–750) that we first begin to encounter buildings, early fragments of the *Qur'ān executed in Hijazi or Kufic script, and other, rarer survivals of paintings and sculptures from the private palaces of the Umayyad *caliphs. As is to be expected, none of these elements evolved in a vacuum and the buildings, paintings, and sculpture show strong influences from the contexts in which they were produced. This means that in the Umayyad *palaces the stone sculpture of *Mshatta and the paintings of *Qusayr 'Amra show a strong debt to the Graeco-Roman world, whilst in *mosques the *mosaics of the interior of the *Dome of the Rock and the courtyard of the Great Mosque in *Damascus also show their debt to Byzantine artisans. Likewise, the *stucco sculpture of the palace of *Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi and its attendant paintings all demonstrate a mixing of Graeco-Roman and Sasanian motifs.

In the past there has been speculation that these cultural influences were seized upon due to a lack of native material culture in the *Arabian Peninsula. In fact, the Arabians had lived on the fringes of the Graeco-Roman/Byzantine and Persian worlds for centuries and had already assimilated their traditions into Arabian society through *trade and other contact. This is not to say that the art and material culture of *Islam did not quickly develop distinctive forms and traditions. The first is the primacy of *writing and the written word in the material culture of early Islam. The Kufic script, which is the earliest Islamic monumental script, appears to have been first used in the 8th century and it is from this period that we begin to find beautifully written Qur'āns in flowing, stylized calligraphy. The earliest manuscripts do not mark the vowels of the words and later a series of diacritical marks was introduced to aid clarity in interpreting the holy text. This elevation of calligraphy to a prized art also translated into monumental inscriptions as a form of decorative art. This is first found at the Dome of the Rock, where mosaics of Qur'ānic verses condemning the Christian belief that Jesus Christ is the Son of God are found decorating both the interior and the exterior of the *octagon.

It is this primacy of the written word, allied to the injunction against the representation of living creatures in a religious context, that possibly accounts for the other innovative element of early Islamic art, its use of *mathematics, particularly of geometric ornament to cover large expanses of space. The use of geometric decoration did not distract the viewer from the beauty and complexity of the Kufic inscriptions, but at the same time the beauty and seeming simplicity of the endlessly interlocking geometric shapes was intended as a statement of the genius and infallibility of God, who had created beauty in the numbers and patterns that surround us daily in nature. EL

K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (1989).
R. Ettinghausen, O. Grabar, and M. Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650–1250* (2003).
A. George, *The Rise of Arabic Calligraphy* (2010).
O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (1987).
O. Grabar, 'The Aesthetics of Islamic Art', in A. Ertug, ed., *In Pursuit of Excellence* (1993), 19–36.
R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (1999).

art and architecture, Persian

Overview

The arts of the *Persian Empire under the *Sasanian dynasty transformed the visual cultures of ancient Western and *Central Asia and deeply imprinted the visual cultures of the wider Late Antique and early medieval world, including those of the Late Roman Empire, Tang *China, Gupta *India, and *Islam. In Late Antiquity, the influence of Sasanian visual culture is evident in cultures as far apart as *Spain, Japan, south India, and Tibet.

Despite its centrality, Sasanian art has not received a sustained level of attention commensurate with its importance. This is partially due to the difficulty of its primary source material and the relatively poor level of preservation of the Sasanian artistic material itself. Compounding this, like other aspects of Iranian studies, the study of Sasanian art and archaeology slowed after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, which greatly curtailed archaeological activity in Iran and reduced funding sources. But even before 1979, the volume of studies of Sasanian art was very small when compared to the larger fields of ancient Near Eastern art and archaeology. Earlier scholarship on Sasanian art and architecture within the field of Near Eastern studies has often relegated it to an appendage to the long succession of ancient Mesopotamian empires or as a precursor to Islamic art. There is no standard, up-to-date handbook on Sasanian art in English. Exhibition catalogues provide the most accessible collections of illustrations of Sasanian art objects. The edited volumes and syntheses cited here are among the most reliable overviews of Sasanian art currently available. Nevertheless, in the early 21st century the field of Sasanian studies in general has begun to experience something of a renaissance. The volume and quality of scholarship on Sasanian Iran greatly increased with contributions that have had important implications for the fields of Late Roman and Islamic art and archaeology.

While certain parallels may be drawn between the art and architecture or institutions of Sasanian Iran and those of ancient Mesopotamian or Achaemenid Persian traditions (such as the prominence of *hunting in royal iconography or the genre of rock-cut art), these did not

arise from a simple process of unbroken cultural continuity. Instead, the Sasanian period introduced many innovations. In many ways Sasanian urbanism owes much to Seleucid traditions and it is clear that Sasanian art and architecture drew a great deal from Parthian art (e.g. domed and vaulted architecture, iconographies of triumph such as equestrian battles, *stucco carving), although exact lines of development are difficult to trace due to the dearth of surviving late Parthian art. Even when evidence of continuities with the ancient Mesopotamian traditions are apparent or attempts are made to claim a deep connection with the Achaemenid past, more often than not such continuities arose from a reinterpretation or even from outright reinvention of past traditions. The juxtaposition of Sasanian and Achaemenid monuments at *Naqsh-e Rostam provides one of the most vivid illustrations of the relationship between the ritual and visual cultures which created them. The art and architecture of Sasanian Iran thus were not archaic, ossified 'oriental traditions', but rather, vital, flexible, contemporary responses to the Late Antique world.

Most surviving art from the Sasanian Empire is royal and aristocratic rather than religious, though in the realm of architecture *fire temples outnumber surviving *palaces. The Sasanian royal image, with elaborate *crowns, *nimbus, and image of the king portrayed either mounted in battle or hunting or enthroned frontally in abstracted transcendental glory is the central focus of most official art. The royal image represents a great innovation, beginning with that of *Ardashir I, who deliberately sought to distance himself from the Parthians. While Sasanian *Zoroastrianism did not utilize cult images or develop an intricate system of iconographies in the same way as Christianity or *Manichaeism, Sasanian art did introduce several innovations. For the first time the Great God *Ohrmazd was portrayed fully anthropomorphized in *rock reliefs and, drawing from Parthian as well as Kushan traditions, Sasanian art also developed distinctive iconographies for the divinities *Anahid, *Mihr, and *Wahram.

Media

In addition to their significance for Sasanian art, rock reliefs are among the most important primary sources for Sasanian history and culture. From Ardashir I to *Shapur III, most Sasanian kings commissioned *rock reliefs, primarily in their home province of Pars (mod. *Fars). The primary themes are triumph, divine investiture, the sovereign receiving the obeisance of his *court, or some combination thereof. Hunting also appears as a theme. Coins are one of the few indigenous, primary sources available in many periods of history and this is certainly the case for the Sasanians; in particular, coin portraits have been essential to identifying the kings in Sasanian rock reliefs. *Seals present a substantial body of official, religious, and private imagery beyond the more restricted or stereotyped world of coins and rock reliefs, but like them form one of the few indigenous, primary sources available for this period.

Sasanian *textile ornament was enormously influential across Late Antique Eurasia. Much of what we know about Sasanian textiles has been gleaned from putting the fragmentary evidence into dialogue with representations in other media, as well as with material from beyond the Sasanian borders. Sasanian, or Sasanian-inspired, *silks appear as far apart as papal tombs and the Shoso-in Treasury in Nara, Japan.

Sasanian *silver vessels, including plates, ewers, and cups with *repoussé* sculpture, appear from the Caucasus through *Central Asia and even in East Asia. Created from centralized court workshops they functioned as royal gifts for notables within the Empire and in the Sasanian practice of *diplomacy. Like textiles, Sasanian silver had a significant impact on Mediterranean, Central Asian, and Chinese metalwork, as well as on that of the early Islamic world. The 'diplomatic plates', which depict Sasanian kings hunting or holding court, are central documents for the study of Sasanian royal visual culture.

Little Sasanian painting survives, but that which is extant indicates that it was an important medium. *Sogdian painting is the largest surviving body of Pre-Islamic Iranian painting and reflects many Sasanian courtly themes. For this reason, an understanding of Sogdian art is important for placing Sasanian painting within a larger Late Antique context. While we have no evidence for illustrated manuscripts coming from the court, *Manichaean and Christian material attests to thriving traditions of the book arts in the Empire and in the wider Iranian world.

Architecture

Sasanian architecture was very influential in the development of the architecture of the Islamic world and of the medieval West. The Sasanians created a palace architecture that pushed the limits of domed and vaulted brick and rough stone architecture. *Stucco decoration is the most widespread medium of Sasanian architectural decoration. It portrayed both figural decoration and repeated ornamental motifs. Both textual and archaeological evidence attests in addition to the importance of Roman-style *mosaic and *opus sectile work as well. Islamic *stucco carving directly developed from the Sasanian tradition, and Sasanian ornament influenced Late Roman architectural ornament (e.g. S. *Polyeuctus and the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom, both in *Constantinople).

The most important evidence of Sasanian palace architecture comes from the two palaces at Ardaxshir-

Xwarrah (mod. *Firuzabad), from the *Taq-e Kesra in *Ctesiphon, from Kangavar, and from the sanctuary of Adur Gushnasp at *Takht-e Solayman, which contained an audience hall of especial importance. In addition, the fortress at Tell Abu Sh'af, the Koshk-e Ardashir at Bozpar, the pillared hall at Tepe C at Bandiyan, *Damghan, *Kish I and II, and the aristocratic urban mansions of the al-Mara'id section of al-*Mada'in all incorporated elements that evoked these royal palaces, most notably barrel-vaulted **ayvāns* and great halls, or interior courts with two or more *ayvāns*. The dating and interpretation of many important structures are still being debated. Many structures that were previously interpreted as temples have since been understood to be palaces and vice versa. Under the Sasanians the first evidence of a widespread and regularized Zoroastrian fire-temple architecture emerges. The development and functional organization of Sasanian sacred architecture is only now becoming clearer.

Urban and natural contexts

Sasanian architecture and rock art cannot be understood divorced from their urban and natural contexts. The Sasanians dramatically reshaped Iran and *Mesopotamia with an intensive campaign of *city foundation. Early Sasanian urban design exhibits a great deal of variety and creative experimentation, especially in the dynasty's homeland in Fars, which was the incubator for later Sasanian cities. Sasanian cities resembled Arsacid and Seleucid urbanism more than they did the diffuse urbanization of Achaemenid royal residences and satrapal estates.

The dynasty's most innovative city was undoubtedly Ardashir (Ardaxshir) I's great circular foundation of Ardaxshir-Xwarrah in Fars. Ardashir I's first imperial city presents a self-conscious departure from earlier traditions of Iranian city design and was intended to be unique, commensurate with its status. As a perfect circle, Ardaxshir-Xwarrah contrasted with irregularly shaped walled sprawls like Hatra. It inspired his foundation of Weh-Ardaxshir, laid out across the Tigris from *Ctesiphon (*see* KOKHE). Moreover, it stands apart from most other Sasanian cities that adhered to a simpler (and cheaper) rectangular, gridded approach to city foundation.

Sasanian cities were intimately tied to *farming and to industrial production, which they organized, nurtured, and protected. Like Seleucid and Arsacid cities, the Sasanian Empire's urban expansion coincided with agricultural expansion. This was especially the case in the Empire's two main regions of agricultural production, Mesopotamia and, later, the river systems of *Khorasan. Moreover, Sasanian cities stood at the centre of 'memorial zones', whose associated features, from rock reliefs, to pavilions, to *bridges, to hydraulic works or agricultural installations, all projected the king's presence throughout the surrounding landscape. In the mountainous Iranian Plateau, rock reliefs played an especially important role in constructing regional topographies of power; they stamped a royal and religious character upon the landscape. In addition, the Sasanians' military architecture and infrastructure projects are among the most impressive testaments to the power of the Empire, including their 'great *walls' in the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, the *qanats of central and eastern Iran, and the massive hydrological projects in Mesopotamia.

Global interaction and impact

The art of Sasanian Kings of Kings inspired a wide variety of courts and religions in the Mediterranean world and in Central and South Asia. It was used as raw material to create a new independent image of power in the West, and in Central and South Asia it was selectively appropriated and integrated so as to communicate power in idioms that these civilizations understood. For its part, Sasanian visual culture was deliberately eclectic and open to new influences. Again, while this did not arise from direct continuities, its effect was similar to that of the Achaemenids. The Sasanians created a *court art to show their power and the reach of the long arm of the Shah, so they incorporated and subsumed the traditions of many tributary civilizations, from Rome to India.

In the early Sasanian sculptural style of the end of the reign of Ardashir I and that of *Shapur I, we see the influence of Roman sculpture integrated with a close study of Achaemenid sculptural traditions. At the end of the Empire, the architectural elements and reliefs associated with *Khosrow I (*Taq-e Bostan, the Bisotun capitals) integrate Indian sculptural styles and Roman architectural and iconographic motifs with traditions developing in Iranian Western and Central Asia. We can trace the development of a new official art from rather rudimentary provincial roots in the rock reliefs of the first King of Kings, Ardashir I. Contrasting with his early reliefs at Ardashir-Xwarrah, which are crude, his last relief at Naqsh-e Rostam shows a new, refined sculptural style, which formed the basis for the next two generations of Sasanian kings. Shapur I was responsible for many innovations, especially the integration of a great deal of Roman influence, such as mosaic work, masonry, gem cutting, and ornamental material, which he obtained by deporting craftsmen from Roman *Syria and settling them in Persian Mesopotamia. MPC

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art and architecture, Roman and post-Roman

Late Antique art and architecture developed as a distinct phase in the visual traditions of the Roman Empire, reflecting significant shifts in culture and politics. Important changes in government began with the *Emperor *Diocletian and the *Tetrarchy in the late 3rd century. Diocletian emphasized symbols of heightened imperial power and so broke away from the earlier tradition of individuality in imperial *portraiture. In religious architecture, the spread of Christianity was apparent in the building of shrines marking locations in the *Holy Land central to Christian history or commemorating the burial places of apostles and *martyrs or other *holy men. The *light-filled interiors of Late Antique churches enshrined these inaccessible burials and shrouded *relics. Indeed, reflective materials such as *mosaics, metalwork, or polished *marble were much used during Late Antiquity, when amply lit interiors were common around the Mediterranean Basin. Captivated by the complex patterns of reflected *light, Christian *architects produced church complexes with brightly ornamented walls and shimmering liturgical furnishings. Late Antique rulers governed an increasingly Christianized population, the art and architecture of the Later Roman Empire reflected the continuing inventiveness of their people.

Architecture and urbanism

*Cities underwent major phases of redevelopment under the Tetrarchs, who established a series of new imperial cities around the turn of the 4th century. As a part of their system of collegial rule, the Tetrarchs established individual bases at imperial residences located close to the *frontiers, to make it easier for them to counter potential enemies. A typical Tetrarchic capital benefited from fortified walls with the main gate connected directly with the main colonnaded *street leading toward the palace and other nearby monuments. Tetrarchs developed these principles in the cities of *Antioch, *Milan, *Nicomedia, *Sirmium, *Thessalonica, and *Trier. In each, the *palace communicated directly with such ceremonial stages as a *circus for chariot racing or the *façade of a spacious audience hall. Trier became the principal imperial residence north of the Alps with the construction of a spacious secular *basilica located adjacent to the palace. *Antioch was redesigned as a capital when a renovated hippodrome was constructed together with a monumental four-sided *archway (*tetraplyon*) and at least one set of *baths close to the palace. The Emperor *Galerius established a capital at *Thessalonica by constructing a hippodrome, a palace, a rotunda, and a massive arch featuring sculptural reliefs of the emperor's victories, all alongside the existing city. Diocletian, after stepping down as emperor, built a retirement residence at *Split which combined palatial elements with such urban features as *fortifications, a *forum, and a central axial route linked

to a main gate through the perimeter walls. Palaces thus forged direct links to urban sites where emperors sought public *acclamation as they moved around the Empire, and especially the frontiers, in the 4th century.

With the inauguration of *Constantinople in 330, *Constantine I introduced a new urban plan in which the main colonnaded avenue, the Mese, ran from the city walls through a series of fora surrounded by porticoes. A *porphyry column topped by a statue of the emperor occupied the centre of the circular Forum of Constantine, and led on eastwards to the Augusteum, the colonnaded square at the core of the reconstructed city, with direct access to the Great *Palace, the *Circus (hippodrome), and the Senate House, and, after 360, the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom. The westward end of this route came to be punctuated by additional arches and monumental columns, and new fora equipped with imperial monuments of the late 4th-century emperors *Theodosius I and *Arcadius going out towards the Hebdomon. Under *Theodosius II the Golden Gate became a grand ritual entrance to Constantinople through the newly built walls. Emperors' portraits thus dominated the many squares distributed along the Mese.

Under *Justinian I, between 532 and 537 the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom was completely rebuilt, drawing upon the theoretical knowledge of mathematically expert engineers to elevate a vast *dome measuring over 31 m (*c.*100 feet) in diameter upon four enormous arches. Justinian's church received considerable natural light from the many windows on each of its four sides, casting shifting patterns into the dramatically illuminated space and enlivening an interior coated in precious marbles which included rare green *marble and purple *porphyry columns. Additional materials ornamenting the Church of the Holy Wisdom presented abstractly the extent of Justinian's territorial power by bringing together remarkable marbles originating from *quarries spanning the entire Empire—it was praised for doing so by *Paul the Silentiary. Apart from its innovative engineering, the Holy Wisdom continued a tradition in which the illumination from inlaid coloured marbles produced a sense of immersion in light, an impression that was also engineered in such secular contexts as the house with *opus sectile close to the Porta Maritima at *Ostia in *Italy.

Some marbles on the interiors of late antique buildings originated from older buildings. One important form of display employed repurposed architectural fragments known as *spolia. Materials destined for public buildings belonged to each city's architectural patrimony and thus legal codes prevented their export. Legitimate spolia, however, remained on public view under local control. Fragments of earlier buildings or monuments, such as the earlier imperial sculptural reliefs repurposed for the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome, therefore operated like *imitation and allusion in a text, referring the viewer back to a city's former glories. Similar use was made of classical monuments in the rebuilding of *Athens after the Herulian raid of 268. Displaying spolia in the colonnades of early Christian basilicas, such as the 5th-century church of S. *Sabina in Rome, continued the practices of reuse that originated in the civic and imperial buildings of the late Empire.

An important development in the 4th century was the adaptation of the basilica, a building type previously employed for many civic purposes, in particular for law courts, as an appropriate form of design for a church. The basilica's long central hall, usually separated from the flanking aisles by colonnades, encouraged the viewer or worshipper to focus on the *altar in the *apse generally at the east end of the building. Early Christians prayed towards the east, so congregations at the Eucharist at the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe near *Ravenna in Italy could contemplate the *cross depicted in the mosaic of the semi-dome over the altar.

Commemoration of the saints in church interiors also affected the ritual layout of Christian architecture, where hidden *relics or inaccessible tombs remained critical to *liturgy and *pilgrimage despite the fact that they were physically withdrawn. The monumental basilica of Old St Peter's attracted pilgrims to Rome from the 4th century onwards, but those who visited the Apostle had no direct contact with his remains. Some 4th-century basilicas constructed close to the Christian cemeteries outside Rome maintained a slight physical separation from the nearby burials of the *martyrs; the churches of S. *Agnese and S. *Lorenzo fuori le mura were placed close to the tombs but not directly on top of them. At *Theveste (mod. Tebessa, Algeria), the 5th-century basilica was supplemented by a *triconch annexe outside the church to house the *relics of S. *Crispina.

Tombs were often round or *octagonal, so monuments honouring the holy dead, the *martyria which held their *relics, were frequently designed on a central plan. The city of *Hierapolis in *Phrygia built an impressive octagonal martyrium to honour the remains of S. Philip the Apostle, creating an important pilgrimage site. The Anastasis rotunda in *Jerusalem marked the Holy Sepulchre; a basilica for congregational worship adjoined it. Centrally planned shrines and the rectangular formats of basilicas were both suitable for distinct ritual purpose.

An additional architectural innovation of Late Antiquity was the **coenobium*, a communal *monastery (as opposed to a *lavra or a hermitage), with living spaces arranged around a courtyard. Unfortunately

only fragmentary ruins from such religious communities survive from the period before the 7th century.

Painting

Wall paintings were designed specifically with their architectural contexts in mind. Both painting and *mosaic work flourished as a form of wall decoration during Late Antiquity. Mosaics were considerably more expensive to make but were valued for the way that they illuminated an interior. Those decorating the apses or the lateral walls of churches brightened these interiors significantly, so that a visitor to the Church of the Holy Wisdom might think that its interior 'is not lit from outside by the Sun but that the radiance grows from within the building itself' (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 1, 30). The scene of the Transfiguration of Christ in the church of the *Monastery on Mount *Sinai is set against the *gold background of the apse mosaic so that light appears to emanate from the figure of Christ at the composition's centre. Mosaics in the sanctuary of S. Vitale in Ravenna envelop it in various scenes that are dominated by the central figure of Christ in the apse, who is shown extending a crown to the church's patron saint; various reverse *perspectives serve to project the images, all associated typologically with the offering of the Eucharist, into the space over the altar. Many apse mosaics of churches in Late Antique Rome were paired with poetic *inscriptions which comment on their significance. These include the mosaic at Ss. *Cosmas and Damian where the gold tesserae on Christ's garments 'radiate light with metallic shimmer', as the accompanying text states.

Mosaic scenes also appeared in luxurious residences. Images of *hunting and depictions of exotic *animals populate the mosaic pavements of the Great Palace of *Constantinople. Horse races at a circus and additional hunting scenes appear in mosaic pavements at the Sicilian villa of *Piazza Armerina, and mosaics for the floors of the grand houses of *Daphne-by-*Antioch and *Apamea continued to be made into the 6th century.

The codex, a manuscript taking the form of a *book, replaced the scroll as the commonest way of presenting a text during Late Antiquity. Many literary and biblical texts were reproduced with lavish illustrations and rich bindings. Some images clearly augmented the pleasure of reading, as in the important manuscripts with Old Testament scenes preserved in the *Vienna Genesis and the *Quedlinburg *Itala*. The *Rossano Gospels, written in the 6th century with silver ink on dyed vellum, are one of a number of *purple codices, quite possibly designed for veneration and liturgical display more than for continuous reading. Christian monks sustained such practices in the post-Roman period; the *Lindisfarne Gospels were written in the early 8th century precisely to accompany the relics of S. *Cuthbert. Literary texts were also beautifully written and illustrated. They include the *Vatican Vergil produced around 400 and the *Roman Vergil and the *Ambrosian Iliad, both of the late 5th century.

Pictorial narratives appeared on the walls of monumental architecture, sometimes reflecting the illuminations of fine manuscripts. Mosaics on the nave walls of S. *Maria Maggiore in Rome set forth stories from the Old Testament that plausibly reflect biblical illustrations. An earlier tradition of painted *synagogues, represented by the rare survival of a 3rd-century example from *Dura Europus in *Syria, diverged from the techniques of book illustration, since the subjects of these paintings were arranged in a symbolic rather than a *narrative order.

*Icons typically represented Christ, the *Theotokos, and the saints for individual devotion. They developed as panel paintings but could be produced in any medium. A 6th-century icon of Christ in encaustic now at the Monastery on Mount Sinai reveals how portraiture influenced devotional art. Other early icons survive in Kiev, Rome, Sinai, and Thessalonica; they show that compelling holy images flourished during the century and a half following the reign of Justinian I. Despite their popularity, icons met with substantial resistance which intensified significantly after the Emperor *Leo III removed the image of Christ from the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace at Constantinople in 726. The act ushered in the Byzantine imperial policy of *Iconoclasm in which pictures were criticized vehemently for their inability to render at once both the divine and human natures of Christ. Iconoclasts affirmed the symbolism of the *Cross but admitted no figural representation, and prohibited the use of religious images. The Second Council of Nicaea temporarily eased restrictions in 787, and Iconoclasm came to a definitive end in 842. Islamic distaste for figural imagery in religious art emerged around the same time but clearly for different reasons. Despite the Muslim objections to representing the human form, there were connections between early Byzantine decorative traditions and those of early Islam, which can be witnessed in the vine *foliage and jewelled vases depicted in the non-figural mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

Sculpture and decorative arts

*Bronze *portrait statues of emperors dominated many public places in Late Roman cities. Imperial statues presented virtues that are documented in official inscriptions and *panegyrics such as the oft-repeated phrase praising rulers as 'always victorious' (e.g. *CIL* VI, 1141). Portraits honoured emperors and other officials in forums, law courts, and colonnades along city *streets; their bronze was sometimes plated with silver

or gold. In the late 3rd century Diocletian developed a new visual language for the representation of power when he established the Tetrarchy as a response to the Third Century *Crisis. The Tetrarchic system of collegial rulership by four co-emperors suggested a dynastic pattern of succession, since each junior ruler was in line for promotion to senior emperor. Images of all four Tetrarchs stressed the *concordia* among the unified group of emperors, as displayed in the porphyry statue group of Tetrarchs now in Venice. Constantine I introduced a different look, which was sustained by his sons, no less powerful (as can be seen in the colossal head from the Basilica Nova at Rome) but more fluid and classical. All through this period art was a part of court *ceremony and also represented it, as in the reliefs of Theodosius I on the base supporting the *obelisk in the hippodrome of Constantinople.

Even in the more intimate context of an *ivory *diptych, imperial images emphasized victory, as can be seen in two images of the young Emperor Honorius wearing military attire in the consular diptych of Probus from 406. In this ivory, the ruler's portraits emphasize triumph by means of the *personification of *Victory shown crowning Honorius. The power of emperors was often revealed in the colossal scale of their portraits, as in the oversize bronze statue of an unidentified Late Roman emperor now in *Barletta, Italy.

Private *patronage was also an element in the development of Late Roman sculpture. Classical styles of representation continued to be employed in the 4th century, as in the *Nicomachorum–Symmachorum ivory diptych made for members of the Roman senatorial *aristocracy around 400. Cities such as *Aphrodisias continued the civic tradition of erecting *portrait statues of local notables. There were private collections of classical statuary in *Constantinople, exemplified by the imperial official *Lausus who exhibited ancient Greek masterpieces in his palace and the adjoining portico in the 5th century, including the statue of Zeus by Phidias from *Olympia. The grand Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople provided ample space to exhibit at least 80 sculptures; the display was inaugurated by Constantine and remained until the 6th century. Late Antique aristocrats also sponsored important Christian sculptural reliefs, including the important carved *sarcophagus of *Junius Bassus which shows Christ in the centre presenting a scroll symbolizing the law to Ss. Peter and Paul. Important silver objects featuring images were produced for individuals, such as the Casket of Projecta from the *Esquiline Treasure. The *silver plates of the *Cyprus Treasure, made in the early 7th century, feature brilliantly rendered scenes recounting the story of King David and exhibiting the continuity in aristocratic and imperial patronage of fine crafts.

Such developments as the new urban designs for imperial commemoration, the architectural markers honouring holy individuals, the amply lit churches ornamented with reflective materials, and the pictorial narratives reflecting traditions of textual illustrations represent key advances in the art and architecture of Late Antiquity. With the rise of Constantinople as the chief urban centre of the Mediterranean after the 6th century, these post-Roman achievements also contributed to the Byzantine traditions of art and architecture that developed subsequently in the eastern Mediterranean.

GK

Barber, *Figure and Likeness.*
J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (^{2}1979).
Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph.*
D. Kinney, '*Spolia. Damnatio* and *Renovatio Memoriae*', *MAAR* 42 (1997), 117–48.
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Artanuji (mod. Ardanuç, Turkey) Fortress in *Tao-Klarjeti, in south-west *Georgia. According to the **Life of Georgia*, Artanuji was built by King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali in the late 5th century. In the early 9th century, Artanuji became the royal residence of the Georgian *Bagrationis. NA

W. Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i, and Savset'i* (1992).
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 2, 12.

Artavasdus Armenian **strategos* of the *Armeniakon *Theme. He joined *Leo III against *Theodosius III, was named *Curopalates and *Comes of the *Opsikion by Leo, and married Leo's daughter Anna. Artavasdus resisted the *accession of *Constantine V (741/2), captured *Constantinople, may have restored the veneration of *icons, and ruled until Constantine took the city on 2 November 743, blinded him, paraded him through the Hippodrome, and sent him to the *Chora *monastery. RCW

PBE, Artabasdos 1.
PmbZ, 632.
I. Rochow, 'Bemerkungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos augrund bisher nicht beachteter Quellen', *Klio* 68 (1986), 191–7.
P. Speck, *Artabasdos. Der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Poikila Byzantina II, 1981).

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 156–60.
Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: Sources*, 122, 169.

Artemidorus Eastern aristocrat, sent by *Zeno as an envoy to *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth in 479. *Cassiodorus records that Artemidorus subsequently settled in *Italy (*Variae*, I.42ff.). He organized public games, and was appointed *Praefectus Urbi Romae (509–10) to restore public order. FKH

PLRE II, Artemidorus 3.
Moorhead, *Theoderic*, 154.

Artemius Roman general with a significant posthumous reputation as a *martyr and *miracle-working saint, Artemius was *Dux Aegypti under *Constantius II in 360, when his soldiers damaged the *Serapeum at *Alexandria. He enforced Constantius' anti-*Nicene policies, undertook a violent search for *Athanasius, and supported *George of Cappadocia. He was executed in the reign of *Julian, following criminal charges by the Alexandrians (*Ammianus XXII, 11, 2–3). He was no longer Dux of *Egypt when he died; Woods suggests that he had meanwhile been Magister Equitum per Orientem.

His execution made Artemius a Christian martyr (feast day 20 October). A later text, the *Artemii Passio*, drew on earlier material, especially the 5th-century *Church History* of *Philostorgius, who presumably admired Artemius as an 'Arian' victim of Julian. According to the *Passio*, Julian executed Artemius in *Antioch, for religious reasons and for alleged complicity in the death of *Gallus; he is said to have been crushed between two rocks and then beheaded. The *Passio* also records that Artemius brought the *relics of Ss. Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to *Constantinople in 357.

A collection of 45 *Miracles of S. Artemius*, dating from after 658, survives separately. Artemius was particularly effective at healing ailments affecting the genitalia, especially hernias, often in *dreams accorded patients sleeping in the north aisle of the church where his relics were venerated, that of S. John Prodromos in Oxeia, overlooking the Golden Horn in Constantinople. SFT

PLRE I, Artemius 2.
BHG 170–4.
Artemii Passio (*BHG* 170–171c; *CPG* 8082):
ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5: *Opera homiletica et hagiographica* (PTS 29, 1988), 185–245.
Selections ed. in Bidez and Winkelmann, *Philostorgius*, Anhang I–II.
ET M. Vermes (annotated), in Lieu and Montserrat, 210–62.
Miracles (BHG 173–173c):
ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca sacra*, repr. with ET by V. Crisafulli, in V. Crisafulli, J. Nesbitt, and J. Haldon, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium* (MMED 13, 1997).
R. W. Burgess, 'The *Passio S. Artemii*, Philostorgius, and the Dates of the Invention and Translations of the Relics of Sts. Andrew and Luke', *AnBoll* 121 (2003), 5–36.
S. N. C. Lieu, 'From Villain to Saint and Martyr: The Life and Afterlife of Flavius Artemius, *Dux Aegypti*', *BMGS* 20 (1996), 56–76.
D. Woods, 'The Final Commission of Artemius the Former *Dux Aegypti*', *BMGS* 23 (1999), 2–24.

Artemius Alternative name for the Emperor *Anastasius II, used by the chronicler *Theophanes.

Arthur, King Legendary hero. In the 9th century a *miles* (soldier/warrior) named Arthur features in the **History of the Britons*, and a warrior who 'was not Arthur' appears in the (possibly 9th-century) **Gododdin*. The 10th-century **Welsh Annals* refer in 516 to Arthur's victory at the Battle of Badon, and in 537 to his death at the Battle of Camlann. Later medieval legend places a hero named Arthur in the 5th or 6th century, during the period of Germanic migration to Britain. Though a siege of Mons Badonicus is mentioned by *Gildas (26, 1), there is no contemporary evidence for Arthur (or his Round Table). HFF

PLRE II, *!Arthur!*
G. Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur* (2013).

artillery Torsion weapons powered by twisted bundles of sinew first appeared in the 4th century BC for use in both *siege warfare and open battle. The Romans continued to employ them into the 7th century AD. Artillery may be studied through surviving historical accounts, technical manuals, *art, and a growing corpus of artefacts. Terminology denoting such engines evolved over the ancient period. Evidence of renewed literary interest in them in Late Antiquity includes the *Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis* (mid-4th cent.).

Artillery was integral to Roman warfare. The most common form consisted of rectilinear frames, each housing a pair of vertical sinew bundles, which powered wooden arms in the manner of a large crossbow. The string was drawn back on a tiller using a sliding mechanism, and locked with a trigger. Use of sinew developed from composite bow technology. The smallest weapons were hand-held, the larger ones mounted on stands. The scale of machine, its proportions, and the size of projectile were tailored to mobility and the intended task. Hand-held or parapet-rested small bolt-shooters (*manuballistae*) were used throughout the Roman period, and there is direct evidence of larger bolt-shooters mounted on two-wheeled carts (*carroballistae*) from the early 2nd to the late 6th centuries (*Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 4, 21–2; *Maurice,

Strategicon, 12, 86). Even larger, stone-shooting *ballistae* were employed to besiege and defend cities (*De Re Militari*, 4, 29).

Metal plates which braced a large wooden frame from a stone-throwing machine of 3rd-century AD date have been recovered at Hatra (Iraq). However, for smaller weapons woodwork in the torsion frames was reduced and replaced by *iron components, allowing greater efficiency of transport and assembly, facility of construction, and increased robustness. Iron components from such weapons have been recovered from 4th–5th-century installations on the Danube *frontier.

During the 1st to 3rd centuries artillery was integrated into legionary organization and, according to Vegetius (*De Re Militari*, 2, 25), one bolt-shooter was assigned to each century (60), one *onager* to each cohort (10). The *onager* was a single, vertical-armed, stone-thrower, powered by a horizontal sinew bundle, similar to some medieval catapults. Its name (from the wild ass, Lat. *onager*) was a slang term derived from the kick it made when the arm came to rest after release (*De Re Militari*, 4, 22; *Ammianus XXIII, 4, 4; XXXI, 15, 12). The 3rd-century legionary line was supported by *arcuballistae* (crossbows), *manuballistae*, and *carroballistae*, but in the 4th century the specialist soldiers were formed into separate units of *ballistarii* (Ammianus XVI, 2, 5; **Notitia Dignitatum or*. VII.43, *occ.* 7.97). It is now less clear where equipment and technological expertise resided. That Roman artillery continued to be effective is demonstrated by the accurate shooting reported during the *Gothic siege of *Rome in AD 537–8 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 21–2).

Other forms of artillery appeared in the later 6th century, notably single-armed trebuchet weapons powered by man-haulage or counterweight. These may have been inspired by Chinese technology, brought west by the *Avars, and used to besiege *Constantinople. They appear in later manuscript illuminations, as do other forms of projectile weapon, such as the flaming petrochemical siphon known as *Greek Fire. JCNC

Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 206–8.
T. Rihll, *The Catapult* (2007).

Arvandus Twice *Praefectus Praetorio of *Gaul, for five years in all, *c.*464–8. Accused before the Roman *Senate in 469 of extortion and treason by the Gallic provincial council, where, against the advice of *Sidonius (*ep.* I, 7), he admitted authorship of *letters to *Euric advocating partition of Roman Gaul between the *Goths and *Burgundians, and was convicted. *Cassiodorus (*Chron.* 1287) reports that he had connived at imperial power, and that his death sentence was commuted to *exile. JDH

PLRE II, Arvandus.
J. D. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome* (1994), 159–66.
J. D. Harries, 'Sidonius Apollinaris, Rome and the Barbarians: A Climate of Treason?', in Drinkwater and Elton, *Fifth Century Gaul*, 298–308.

Arycanda Small *city, later a bishopric, in north *Lycia (near mod. Arif). Late Roman inscriptions include a petition of 312 from the province of Lycia and *Pamphylia to *Maximinus Daza, also known from copies at *Tyre (*Eusebius, *HE* IX, 7, 3–14) and Colbasa of *Pisidia, urging him to act against the Christians (*ILCV* 1). PJT

TIB Lykien und Pamphylien, 457–9.
P. Knoblauch and C. Witschel, 'Arykanda in Lykien. Eine topographische Aufnahme', *ArchAnz* 2 (1993), 229–62.
S. Mitchell, 'Maximinus and the Christians in AD 312: A New Latin Inscription', *JRS* 78 (1988), 105–24.

Arzanene District in south *Armenia, east of the Nymphius River (Batman Su) and bordered to the south by the Tigris and its tributary the Bohtan Su. It was held by Rome after the treaty of 298, but ceded with the other *Transtigritanae Regiones in 363. Arzanene was one of the key Persian *frontier territories vital for communications between Persian *Mesopotamia to the south and *Persarmenia to the north. The principal *city was *Arzen. It has been claimed by T. B. Mitford that a fortress at Gayda, south of Hizan, in the eastern part of Arzanene/Moxoene, was Roman in date, but although Roman coins are reported, the structure is more likely to be medieval. JCr

Whitby, *Maurice.*
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 298–9 and vol. 4, 368–9.
T. B. Mitford, 'A Late Roman Fortress South of Lake Van', in Freeman and Kennedy, eds., *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, 565–73.

Arzen (mod. Erzen) The principal *city of *Arzanene, possibly the site of Tigranocerta. Recorded in the 19th century with walls and an orthagonal *street plan, the irregular enclosure measuring 1.4 by 1.35 km (0.8 miles) across has never been investigated. JCr

T. Sinclair, 'The Site of Tigranocerta I', *REArm.* 25 (1995), 183–253.

Asamus Danubian fort and town in *Moesia Inferior (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, VIII, 1; *Not. Dig.* [*or.*] 37). It resisted *Attila's *Huns (*Priscus fr. 9) and had a Roman garrison until the time of *Maurice (*Theophylact Simocatta, VIII, 3; VIII, 6). It is identified with fortified sites near Cherkvitsa or Muselievo (Pleven district, Bulgaria). ER

T. Kovacheva, 'Nicopolis and its Hinterland', in R. T. Ivanov, ed., *Roman and Early Byzantine Settlements in Bulgaria* (2008), 14–16, 21–3.
M. Wendel, *Karasura III* (2005), 31.

asceticism and mysticism Asceticism (from Gk. *askēsis*, 'training'; cf. *enkrateia*, 'restraint') is the practice of physical, intellectual, or spiritual disciplines for the inculcation of philosophical or religious ideals. Various schools of Greek philosophy recommended dietary practices (e.g. Pythagorean vegetarianism or Epicurean moderation) and other means to manage physical appetites, as well as mental conditioning to correct distorted perception (Stoics). Ascetic heroes such as the 1st-century AD Pythagorean hero *Apollonius of *Tyana were models for philosophical devotees. The Hellenized Jew Philo saw *enkrateia* as inclusive of all the senses, and the transcendence of distorting sensuality as necessary for contemplation. Management of sexual drive was often a part of the ascetic programme, though total sexual renunciation was not typical in pagan or Jewish circles.

Mysticism (from Gk. *mystikos*, 'hidden') describes experience of a higher or immaterial realm of existence, achieved by cultic rituals (e.g. Mithraic mysteries) and/or ascetic practices (e.g. Orphism and Pythagoreanism). It could be described as ecstatic (e.g. Dionysian frenzies) or as more intellectual and enstatic (e.g. *Plotinus' *Neoplatonist mysticism). Theistic mysticism typically suggests the continuing identity of the human subject in the mystical encounter or union with the divine. Monistic mysticism might speak of the disappearance of the subject in total absorption by the other. CAS

A. H. Armstrong, *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (1986).
P. Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, tr. M. Chase (French original, 1981; 1995).
DictSpir 1 (1932) *s.v.* 'ascèse, II-Développement Historique', cols. 938–60 (M. Olphe-Galliard).
V. Wimbush, R. Valantasis, et al., eds., *Asceticism* (1995).

asceticism and mysticism, Christian

Asceticism

Christianity inherited practices of *fasting, *almsgiving, and daily devotion from Judaism, and the idealized community described in the Acts of the Apostles shared material possessions and communal prayer (Acts 2 and 4). Many of its central figures were celibate (John the Baptist, Jesus, S. Paul), and sexual renunciation emerged early as a sign of commitment (1 Cor. 7). Among the sayings of Jesus was *praise for those 'who make themselves eunuchs because of the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. 19:12). Later NT writings accent celibacy (Rev. 14:4–5) and discourage remarriage for widowed leaders (1 Tim. 3:2 and 12; Tit. 1:6). By the mid-2nd century, Justin Martyr refers to both men and women in their sixties who were *virgins (*1 Apol.* 15).

By the 3rd and 4th centuries, these ascetic currents were formalized in identifiable groups. There is evidence for public promises of virginity by young girls in *Africa, and later in *Italy. In the 4th century one finds numerous references to ascetics living in the *cities and towns of the Christian East. In *Mesopotamia the Sons and Daughters of the *Covenant (Syr. *bnay/bnāt qyāmā*) appear in the *Syriac writings of *Aphrahat (*Dem.* 6) and *Ephrem, and in the later legislation of *Rabbula of *Edessa (d. 436). These forms of asceticism were typically practised in the family home, though there are mentions of ascetic communities. With the burgeoning of ecclesiastical institutions in the late 4th century considerable attention was given to the regulation of asceticism, and especially to the interaction between ascetic men and women, as demonstrated by the numerous condemnations of ascetic cohabitation (*syneisaktism*). Such regulation included making ascetic commitment formal and irrevocable, and preferring communal forms of asceticism to the less structured domestic forms typical of the earlier period. In the same era, monasticism appears as a form of asceticism defined, at least rhetorically, by separation from city and town. The later dominance of the monastic paradigm obscured the earlier forms, making their recovery difficult for modern historians.

Mysticism

The Gospels portray Jesus in intense *prayer (e.g. John 17, Matt. 26:36–46), and several stories feature numinous experiences (e.g. the temptation in the desert, Matt. 4:1–11; the Transfiguration, Matt. 17:1–9; the post-resurrection appearances). At Pentecost the disciples claimed an outpouring of the Holy Spirit that gave them new powers of language and healing (Acts 2), and Paul's concept of the Spirit praying within and for the Christian believer (Rom. 8) would be influential for later theologies of prayer. His discussion of spiritual gifts (*charismata*) such as prophecy and speaking in tongues, which he himself had experienced (1 Cor. 12–14), also proved influential, though such claims later became suspect because of their association with heterodox prophetic groups (e.g. Montanists). S. Paul describes his own mystical prayer as an ecstatic transport to a heavenly, ineffable realm of existence (2 Cor. 12).

The key figure for the development of mysticism in the Greek Christian world was *Origen (184/5–253/4), especially in his mystical interpretation of the Song of Songs. His treatise *On Prayer*, like Book 7 of

Clement of *Alexandria's *Stromateis*, demonstrates a debt to Hellenistic philosophy, both Platonic and Stoic. Origen's philosophical master, Ammonius Saccas (*fl.* early 3rd cent.), also taught *Plotinus (*c.*204/5–70), who would become the leading non-Christian *Neoplatonic mystic. The influence of both Origen and Plotinus is evident in the work of *Gregory of *Nyssa (d. *c.*395), whose *Life of Moses* compares Christian spiritual progress to Moses' ascent of Sinai in 'luminous darkness'. *Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399), deeply indebted to Origen, emphasized prayer without images or other mental conceptions. Evagrius' writings were extensively translated (and best preserved) in Syriac, and his thought was transmitted to the Latin West primarily through *John Cassian (d. *c.*435). The *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite (*fl. c.*500) further developed Gregory's emphasis on the 'apophatic' encounter with the divine in darkness and silence, a way of knowing God that was experienced more as unknowing.

Another strand of mysticism, typified by the **Macarian Homilies*, places a strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit, employing fire, light, and tears as descriptors of prayer, and referring to being 'caught up' and 'intoxicated' by desire for God. The *Homilies* have affinities with the 4th-century Syriac *Liber Graduum (*Book of Steps*), suggesting cross-fertilization of Syriac and *Greek traditions. Extracts from these writings were linked to ecclesiastical condemnation of *Messalianism, though the *Homilies* themselves became mainstays of Byzantine devotion. *Diadochus of Photice (*c.*400–before 486) created a synthesis of Evagrian and Macarian teaching (as did Cassian in the West). The Syriac translations of the writings of (Ps.-)Macarius, Evagrius, and (Ps.-)Dionysius shaped the great mystic of the Syriac tradition, *Isaac of Nineveh (d. *c.*700). The Greek translation of Isaac was in turn very popular in Byzantine Christianity.

In the West, the Latin Neoplatonism of *Marius Victorinus (d. before 386) helped *Augustine resolve his intellectual objections to Christianity while giving him a means to describe his own mystical experiences such as the famous vision at *Ostia (*Confessions* IX, 23–5). Augustine's teaching on the possibility of mystical ascent of the mind, followed by its return to ordinary existence, underlay the spirituality of *Gregory the Great (*c.*540–604), whose homilies and other writings, along with those of Augustine, created the theological world of the western Middle Ages. CAS

RAC 5 (1962) *s.v.* Enkrateia 343–66 (H. Chadwick).
S. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (CSS 101, 1987).
D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (1995).
S. Elm, *Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (1994).
C. Kannengiesser, 'The Spiritual Message of the Great Fathers', in B. McGinn and J. Meyendorff, eds., *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (1989), 61–88.
B. McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, vol. 1: *The Foundations of Mysticism* (1991) and vol. 2: *The Growth of Mysticism* (1994).
M. Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (2004).
A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* (1958).
V. Wimbush and R. Valantasis, eds., *Asceticism* (1995).

asceticism and mysticism, Islamic Asceticism is often equated with the Islamic concept of *zuhd*, which implies renunciation or detachment from the world. Following the example of the abstemious and relatively simple life of *Muhammad, *zuhd* is often expressed as an eschewing of material possessions and comfort similar to asceticism in certain Christian monastic contexts. In the Islamic case, however, celibacy and a renunciation of family life are not mainstream practices. Rather, the cultivation of the soul at the expense of individual desires or the self (*nafs*) is the primary goal of Muslim ascetic practice.

Asceticism and mysticism are most prevalent in the Sufi manifestation of Islamic practice, which appears to have emerged as a distinct tradition in 9th-century Iraq. Sufism is usually translated as 'mysticism', a term which does not entirely capture the range of ascetic practices observable across a variety of Sufi communities. Most Sufis model their observance on traditions about the life of Muhammad or of *'Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law and the first leader or imam venerated by *Shi'is, who was also the fourth *caliph. Among the early caliphs *'Umar b. al-Khatttab (r. 634–44) was also particularly remembered for his abstemiousness. The third caliph, *'Uthman, earned a reputation for corruption in part because of the perception that he broke with the ascetic lifestyle. Later caliphs, who governed over a massive empire, were often said to have been much less ascetically inclined, although famous exceptions include the so-called 'anti-caliph' and *Companion, *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr (r. 683–92), and the *Umayyad *'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (r. 717–20). Other famous renunciants from the first centuries of *Islam include al-'Ala b. Ziyad (d. 712–13) and al-*Hasan al-Basri (d. 728). NK

C. Melchert, 'Origins and Early Sufism', in L. Ridgeon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism* (2014), 3–23.
T. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity* (2009).

asceticism and mysticism, Manichaean Manichaeans understood that the cosmic battle between Light and Darkness was waged simultaneously within themselves, and that they needed to release the divine Light which was within them as Soul from the gross

demands of their bodies as Matter. The Manichaean Elect worked ceaselessly to impede Matter's progress by adhering to a series of ascetic and ethical commandments, including celibacy, *fasting, vegetarianism, and a life of non-violence. The Manichaean Hearers were required to supply alms—principally food—to the Elect in order to make fulfilment of these commandments possible. Hearers were also required to abide by a similar range of ordinances to the Elect, although the Manichaean Church made allowances for their Hearers' engagement with wider society in the service of the religion (cf. *Kephalaia* 91. 228.5–234.23). *Augustine in his popular work *On the Manners of the Manichees* drew on his own experience of being a Manichaean Hearer to suggest that Manichaean asceticism was not always as strictly practised as it was supposed to be. NJBB

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* Manicheism i. General Survey (Sundermann).
I. Gardner (tr.), *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (1995).
J. D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual* (2000).
N. Sims-Williams, 'The Manichaean Commandments: A Survey of the Sources', in A. D. H. Bivar, ed., *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (1985), 573–82.

Asclepiodotus **Patricius* of *Provence *c.*600. The recipient of two *letters from *Gregory the Great (*ep.* IX 226 of 599; XI 43 of 601), and probably identifiable with the *Burgundian *Referendarius and *vir illustris* who delivered King *Guntram's instructions to the *Council of Valence in 585. His identification with the referendary Asclipiodus who signed off on the *Decretio* of *Childebert II in 596 is also possible, but he is less likely to be the Burgundian *ex duce* Asclepius who fell upon *Chilperic's men at the River Orge in 582 (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* VI, 19). Efforts have been made to connect the name with a supposed new redaction of **Lex Salica* under Guntram. ACM

PLRE III, Asclepiodotus 3, 4, Asclepius 5.
PCBE IV/1, Asclipiodetus.
Wood, *Kingdoms*, 107–8.

Asclepius of Tralles (6th cent. AD) *Philosopher. He studied with *Ammonius in *Alexandria, and wrote extant commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic*. The latter was the basis of *John Philoponus' work on the same text. EW

PLRE III, Asclepius.
ed. (with comm.): L. Tarán, *Asclepius of Tralles, Commentary to Nicomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 59, 1969), 1–89.
ed. M. Hayduck, *Asclepii in Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria* (CAG VI, 2; 1988).

a secretis The corps of secretaries which served the *Consistorium in the later 5th and 6th centuries. Staff were recruited from among **memoriales* or **agentes in rebus*. AGS

PLRE II, 1267–8 (fasti); *PLRE* III, 1492 (fasti); *CJust* XII, 33, 5.
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 96–7.

Ashburnham Pentateuch (Tours Pentateuch) A late 6th-/early 7th-century manuscript of the Pentateuch in *Latin (now incomplete, lacking Deuteronomy). It originally contained some 68 full-page miniatures, many in registers. It may have been made in *Syria, *Italy, *Africa, or *Spain. It has a *Tours provenance and inspired frescos in S. Julian's Church there. The 4th Earl of Ashburnham bought it in 1847 and it is now in Paris (BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2334). MPB

Weitzmann, *Illumination.*
D. Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (2004).

Ashi (d. 427) Babylonian *rabbi and head of the *Sura academy for over 50 years (*c.*376–427). Together with a later Suran sage, Rabina (d. 500), Ashi was considered by medieval Jewish chroniclers to have played a major role in the redaction of the Babylonian *Talmud. This conclusion was based on a Talmudic reference (BT Bava Bathra 157b) to Ashi's two cycles of teaching at the academy, which were interpreted to suggest two reviews of the extant rabbinic material of his day, or even the preparation of two editions of the Talmud text. Recent scholarship, however, has tended to assign a much later date for the final redaction (*c.*7th–8th centuries), while the particular role played by Ashi and Ravina in the process, designated by the Talmud as 'the end of teaching', remains ambiguous. Ashi does allude to important gatherings at the academy that convened twice annually, possibly a reference to the two Kallah months when pre-assigned portions of Talmud were taught to a large public audience. This too was often interpreted as somehow connected to the editorial process, but no conclusive proof exists. Ashi's wealth, coupled with his extended tenure, contributed to his public role, alongside the Babylonian *Exilarch, as communal leader and representative, and he is mentioned at least once as appearing at the *court of the *Sasanian King *Yazdegerd I (*c.*399–420). A favourable relationship with the government may also explain Ashi's permission to sell *iron (used for *arms and armour) to the Persians 'who protect us'. IMG

Neusner, *Babylonia*, vol. 4.

ashraf Arabian notables and tribal leaders whose role as intermediaries between Arabian tribal forces and provincial officials was significant in the *Umayyad period (661–750). The *ashraf* were often responsible for dispute resolution and maintaining order in the provinces. MCE

P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (1980).
M. Gordon, *The Rise of Islam* (2005).

Ashtishat Once an Armenian pagan religious centre in the former Armenian district of Taron, due west of Lake Van, and famed for its temples of Astghik (Aphrodite), *Anahid (Golden Mother), and Vahagn (Heracles), Ashtishat became a hub of Christian missionary activity in Lesser *Armenia, directed from *Edessa, before Armenia's conversion at the hands of S. *Gregory the Illuminator in the early 4th century. Its significance in the early history of Armenian Christianity has been obscured through omission of references to the Apostle Thaddaeus, and addition of visions attributed to S. Gregory, in the 'received tradition' of the *History* by the pseudonymous *Agat'angelos. This 'received tradition' aimed at magnifying the role of Gregory the Illuminator and validating the new centre for the faith at *Valarshapat (modern *Edjmiatsin), the seat of the Arsacid kings of Armenia. Nonetheless, Ashtishat continued to be the home of the 'mother church' where S. Gregory, on his return from *Caesarea of *Cappadocia as *Bishop of Armenia, had enshrined the relics of Ss. John the Baptist and *Athenogenes. AT

Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*, 189–228.
Garsoïan, *Pʿawstos Buzand*, 419, 449–50, 545.
Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, 417–25.

Asia The *province of Asia in Late Antiquity comprised the western part of the much larger proconsular province of Asia of the early Empire, including the great and populous *cities of *Pergamum, *Smyrna, *Ephesus, *Magnesia ad Meandrum, and *Tralles. It was governed by a *proconsul until the end of antiquity. The administrative centre of the province was at Ephesus, where major *inscriptions, including many in *Latin, have been identified, and proconsuls were honoured with *togate statues and honorific verse texts. *Eunapius describes Asia as the most illustrious of all the provinces and states that it was not subject to the jurisdiction of the *Praefectus Praetorio as were the other provinces of *Dioecesis Asiana (*Lives of the Philosophers*, VII, 5, 479). The province was an important cultural centre of Late Antiquity. Pergamum and Ephesus were the homes of important sophists and *philosophers. The stadiums and theatres of Ephesus and Magnesia attest the huge popularity of games and chariot races. Ephesus was a centre for commercial activity, although its earlier prosperity was threatened by the silting of its *harbour. It was also the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province and the site of important church *councils in 431 and 449. The first of these condemned *Nestorius and asserted that *Mary was *Theotokos: it was held in the Marian church at Ephesus, one of the largest Christian structures outside the imperial capitals. A century later *Justinian I built the huge *basilica of S. John the Evangelist on a hill outside the city, reaffirming the status of Asia, and particularly Ephesus, as a cradle of Christianity. Nevertheless at the same period *John, *Miaphysite *Bishop of Ephesus, reports that he converted 70,000–80,000 *pagans in the Asian countryside near Tralles, destroyed their shrines, and replaced them with new *monasteries. SM

Barrington Atlas, 56.
NEDC 215.
C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (1979).
C. Foss, 'Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, and Related Statues', in *Okeanos* Fs Ševčenko (HarvUkrSt 7, 1983), 196–219.

Asia Minor *See* ANATOLIA.

Asiana Dioecesis first attested by the *Verona List of 314, covering the Aegean and comprising western *Anatolia, including *Pamphylia, *Phrygia Salutaris, *Phrygia Pacatiana, *Asia, *Lydia, *Caria, *Insulae, *Pisidia, and *Hellespontus. Its *Vicarius was based at Synnada. The position was merged with the governorship of Phrygia Pacatiana (Prima) by *Justinian I in 535/6. SM

Barrington Atlas, maps 56–7, 61.
Jones, *LRE*, index *s.v.* Asiana.
D. Feissel, 'Vicaires et proconsuls d'Asie du IV^{e} au VI^{e} siècle', *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 91–104.

Asma bt. Abi Bakr (d. 695) Early convert to *Islam, daughter of the first *caliph, *Abu Bakr (r. 632–4), half-sister to *Muhammad's wife *'A'isha, wife of the *Companion al-*Zubayr b. al-Awwam (d. 657), and mother of the *Caliph *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr (r. 683–92). Asma is known for aiding Muhammad and her father in their flight (*hijra) from *Mecca. NK

EI THREE s.v. 'Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr' (Afsaruddin).

Asorestan (Asoristan; Aramaic, *Bēṯh Aramāyē) *Sasanian province located in the southern part of *Mesopotamia, in the region of ancient Babylonia (not Assyria). Much of its population was Christian.

EncIran II/8 *s.v.* Āsōristān, 785–6 (Widengren).
Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 3, 189, 148–9.

Aspar Fl. Ardaburius Aspar (*c.*400–71) was a senior Roman general for nearly 50 years (425–71), mostly as *Magister Militum Praesentalis. Of *Alan origin, he

was the son of the distinguished general *Ardabur (*consul 427) and father of the younger *Ardabur (consul 447), the *Caesar *Patricius (consul 459), and Hermineric (consul 465), in addition to two daughters. He participated in the campaign which defeated the *usurper *John in *Italy in 424, then fought in *Africa against the *Vandals in 431 and afterwards, leading to a consulship in 434, then against the *Huns in the *Balkans in 441 and beyond. By the late 440s he was out of favour with *Theodosius II but was still sufficiently powerful to be instrumental in the elevation to the throne of the *emperors *Marcian in 450 and *Leo I in 457. Through the 460s he sought to dominate Leo and secure his influence by marrying his son Patricius to the emperor's daughter *Leontia. The union was unpopular, not least because of fear of Aspar's *Homoean ('Arian') beliefs, and Leo progressively limited Aspar's action and influence. In June 471 Leo had Aspar killed inside the imperial *palace. A *quartier* of *Constantinople was named after him, he built a *cistern near the Walls of *Constantine, and he is depicted, along with his son Ardabur and other consuls related to them, on a *silver bowl known as the Missorium of Aspar. BC

PLRE II, Aspar.

B. Croke, 'Dynasty and Ethnicity: Emperor Leo I and the Eclipse of Aspar', *Chiron* 35 (2005), 147–203.

Janin, *CPByz* 204–5, 316.

Alan Cameron, 'City Personifications and Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 105 (2015), 250–87 at 275–80.

Asparukh (Asparuch, Isperikh/Esperikh) Ruler of the *Bulgars 679–701, listed as Isperikh in the Slavo-Turko-Bulgar *Imennik* or *Name-list of Khans*. Asparukh was the third son of *Kubrat ruler of the Bulgars (d. 642/65?). With the break-up of Magna Bulgaria, he fled from the *Khazars, crossed the Dnieper and Dniester rivers and arrived at the Danube *c.*679 (**Armenian Geography*, 48, 93), expelling the *Avars from the region. After a brief sojourn there at 'Onglos' (Old Slavonic Qg"l, meaning 'corner', location disputed), he crossed into *Moesia, subjugating the local Slavic tribes. He drove off a Byzantine attempt to dislodge him and was recognized as ruler of the area in a treaty with *Constantinople in 681 (*Theophanes AM 6171, *Nicephorus, 35–6). This marked the founding of the First Bulgarian Empire. PBG

PBE, Asparuch 1.

PmbZ 654.

V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (1981), 150–4, 173–82.

S. A. Romashov, 'Bolgarskie plemena Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v V–VII vv.', *Archivum Eurasiae. Medii Aevi* 8 (1992–4), 207–52.

assemblies, provincial *See CONVENTUS*, PROVINCIAL.

assessor Judicial adviser to a provincial *governor, usually an early career lawyer. One reason *Lactantius accused *Galerius of misrule was precisely that he appointed judges without assessors (*Mort.* 22, 5). Their duties were to give advice on the law; *Constantine I expressly forbade them to sign documents on behalf of their governor (*CJust* I, 51, 2). *Augustine praised his close friend Alypius for his integrity as an assessor (*Confessions*, VI, 10, 16). *Justinian I systematized the office, and regulated the number of appointees and their salaries (e.g. *CJust* I, 27, 2, 22 etc.). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 500–3.

Asterius of Amaseia *Bishop (*c.*390–410) of *Amaseia (mod. Amasya) on the River Iris (mod. Yeşilirmak) in northern *Anatolia. His sixteen *sermons provide considerable information about daily life in the *city. He should be distinguished from *Asterius the Sophist whose *panegyrics sometimes survive with the bishop's sermons in manuscripts. Asterius the bishop was a lawyer by training and his sermons preserve a rhetorical flair. Sermon 4 (of 6 January 400), *Against the Feast of the Kalends*, provides insight into Christian attitudes to traditional *festivals. The sermons also vigorously promoted the cult of the *martyrs to inspire moral imitation among Asterius' listeners. His sermon 11 *On the Martyrdom of S. Euphemia* contains an *ecphrasis of an *icon which hung on S. Euphemia's tomb. The Second *Council of *Nicaea in 787 used this sermon to support the veneration of images. Fragments of four further sermons are preserved by *Photius (271). RJM

CPG 3260 (1): ed. (annotated) C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea: Homilies I–XIV* (1970).

CPG 3260 (2): ed. (annotated) C. Datema, 'Les Homélies XV et XVI d'Asterius d'Amasee', *Sacris Erudiri* 23 (1978–9), 63–93.

CPG 3261: further fragments ed. in PG 104, 204–24.

ET (annotated) of sermons 9 (Phocas), 11 (Euphemia), 12 (Stephen): B. Dehandschutter in Allen et al., *'Let us die that we may live'*, 167–93.

L. Driver, 'The Cult of Martyrs in Asterius of Amaseia's Vision of the Christian City', *Church History* 74 (2005), 236–54.

P. Miller, '"The Little Blue Flower is Red": Relics and the Poetizing of the Body', *JECS* 8 (2000), 213–36.

Asterius the Sophist Contemporary supporter of *Arius, a layman from *Cappadocia and a sophist, a teacher of *philosophy and *rhetoric. Despite having apostasized during the Great *Persecution, he rose into prominence during the Arian controversy and attended the *Council of *Antioch of 341, whose 'Second Creed' became a popular alternative to the Creed

agreed at the Council of *Nicaea in 325. Asterius agreed with Arius' teaching that the Son was created by the will of the Unbegotten God and was not eternal. But whereas Arius maintained that the Son was 'unlike' the Father's substance, Asterius described the Son as 'the exact Image of the essence and will and glory and power of the Father'. And while Arius denied that the title of 'Father' pertained to the essence of the one God, Asterius acknowledged that the Unbegotten God is 'Father' since he was eternally possessed of generative capacity. Asterius' doctrine provoked a thorough response from *Marcellus of Ancyra. KA

CPG 2815–19:

ed. M. Vinzent (with GT, comm., and introd.), *Asterius von Kappadokien: Die Theologischen Fragmente* (VigChrist suppl. 20, 1993).

ed. M. Richard, *Asterii Commentariorum in Psalmos …* (SymbOsl suppl 16, 1956).

G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (1936), 341–54.

W. Kinzig, *In Search of Asterius: Studies on the Authorship of the Psalms* (1990).

M. F. Wiles and R. C. Gregg, 'Asterius: A New Chapter in the History of Arianism?', in R. C. Gregg, ed., *Arianism: Historical and Theological Reassessments* (1985), 111–51.

Astigi (mod. Écija, Spain) Roman *city and capital of one of the four *conventus* of the Roman *province of *Baetica. An ancient site under the town square has been recently bulldozed. Astigi was an important exporter of *olive oil; many of the *amphorae dumped on Monte Testaccio in Rome come from Astigi. A *sarcophagus of Hilduarens, a Gothic woman (d. 504), survives. Fulgentius, brother of *Leander and *Isidore of *Seville, was *Bishop of Astigi *c.*600–19. GDB

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 2 (2003) *s.n.* Astigi(s) col. 192 (P. Barceló).

astodan The Middle *Persian term *astōdān* 'ossuary' denotes a solid vessel or rock-cut niche, used by *Zoroastrians to contain the excarnated bones of a corpse after exposing it at a **daxmag* (*dakhma*). Many examples of rock-cut niches are found around *Naqsh-e Rostam and *Siraf. Examples of vessels are known from *Sogdiana, some portraying figural imagery. AZ

EncIran II/8 (1987) *s.v.* astōdān, 851–3 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

F. Grenet, *Les Pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sédentaire* (1984).

D. Huff, 'Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices', in *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context* (2004), 593–630.

***Astrampsychi, Sortes* (*Lots of Astrampsychus*)** *Greek divinatory manual for *divination from the 1st/2nd century attributed to Zoroaster's legendary second successor (Diogenes Laertius 1, pr., 2). Its 92 questions and corresponding responses advise users on problems of daily life. Variants in *papyrus and manuscript copies suggest that it remained a living text throughout Late Antiquity. WEK

ed. R. Stewart (2001).

ET R. Stewart and K. Morrell in W. Hansen, ed., *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature* (1998), 285–324.

F. Naether, *Die Sortes Astrampsychi. Problemlösungsstrategien durch Orakel im römischen Ägypten* (2010).

astrolabe A portable instrument for solving a range of astronomical problems by observation of the *Sun or a star and manipulation of the instrument. A common application is telling the time. The underlying principle is a technique (stereographic projection) for representing the celestial sphere on a plane. The oldest extant treatment of the *mathematics is *Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium*. However, the sky disc of a related instrument, the anaphoric clock, was also based on stereographic projection and these were mentioned by *Vitruvius (IX, 8, 8–15). According to *Synesius of *Cyrene (*De Dono*), Hipparchus had also treated the representation of the sphere in a plane. Synesius claimed to have improved an 'instrument' (perhaps but not certainly an astrolabe), using what he had learned from his teacher (*Hypatia). A treatise on the astrolabe was probably written by Hypatia's father, *Theon of *Alexandria. This does not survive, but a list of its contents is preserved in *Arabic by the 9th-century historian al-*Ya'qubi (tr. Klamroth), who, however, attributes it to Ptolemy. This summary corresponds well to a *Greek astrolabe treatise by *John Philoponus (6th cent.) and even better to a *Syriac treatise by *Severus Sebokht (7th cent.), so it is surmised that both depend on al-Ya'qubi's source. The oldest extant astrolabes are Islamic and of the 9th/10th century, but a portion of the sky disc of an anaphoric clock, from the 1st/2nd century, is preserved in the Salzburg Museum. JCE

F. N. Nau, 'Le Traité sur l'astrolabe plan de Sévère Sabokht', *JA* 13 (1899), 56–101, 238–303.

H. Hase, ed., Jean Philopon: *Traité de l'astrolabe*, with ET and comm. by A. P. Segonds (1981).

Synesius, *De Dono*: ed. (with FT) J. Lamoureux and N. Aujoulat, *Synesios de Cyrene: Opuscula* vol. 3 (2008), 173–84.

M. Klamroth, 'Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī, IV', *ZDMG* 42 (1888), 1–44.

O. Neugebauer, 'The Early History of the Astrolabe', *Isis* 40 (1949), 240–56.

astrology As astrology dwindled in the Roman Empire, it flourished in the *Persian Empire,

transmitted there not only from lands to the west but also from northern *India. From *Sasanian Iran, astrology entered *Islam and Arabic culture, returning to the Eastern Roman Empire only towards the end of Late Antiquity. Emblematic of this process is the trajectory of the astrological poem of Dorotheus of Sidon, composed in the 1st century, translated into *Pahlavi in the 3rd, and thence into *Arabic in the late 8th century, the only form in which it is extant in full (ed. D. Pingree 1976). Typically, nothing survives from the Pahlavi. Astrology's Iranian hub has to be reconstructed from the pattern of the spokes.

In the Roman Empire astrology continued to attract unfavourable attention from the state and, as time went on, the Church. Attempts from both quarters to suppress and eradicate it were cumulatively successful. Astrology's most notable Christian opponent was *Augustine, who argued that the art entrapped its practitioners in a damnable language compact with *demons (*De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 21, 32–II, 24, 37). Astrology's dangers in the political sphere are well illustrated by the episode of the catarchic horoscope for the coronation of the usurper *Leontius in 484 (Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, no. L484).

Technically, astrology grew somewhat in complexity over the period. Otherwise, as a conservative art, it changed little. Two interesting novelties were the adoption of the lunar nodes as eighth and ninth planets, exotically named *Caput* and *Cauda Draconis*, and under the Sasanians the development of astrological history based on cycles of Saturn–Jupiter conjunctions.

Some *Greek and one *Latin handbook of astrology survive from the earlier half of the period: in Latin, the *Mathesis* of *Firmicus Maternus; in Greek, notably Hephaestion of Thebes' *Apotelesmatica* and Paul of Alexandria's *Eisagogica* (with a commentary thereon). A mass of material has been made available in the multi-volume *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, including much of the compiler Rhetorius. RLB

Extant horoscopes dating from the period have been collected in the following works:

ed. (with ET and comm.) A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus: P. Oxy. 4133–4300a* (1999).

ed. O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (MAPS 48, 1959).

D. Pingree, 'Historical Horoscopes', *JAOS* 82 (1962), 487–502.

D. Pingree, 'Political Horoscopes from the Reign of Zeno', *DOP* 30 (1976), 135–50.

OTHER ANCIENT TEXTS

ed. (with ET) R. P. H. Green, *Augustine: De Doctrina Christiana* (OECT, 1995).

ed. (with ET) D. Pingree, *Dorotheus of Sidon: Carmen Astrologicum* (1976).

Catal. cod. astrol = *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* (12 vols. in 20 parts by various editors, 1898–1953).

STUDIES

T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (1994).

R. Beck, *A Brief History of Ancient Astrology* (2007).

A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899; repr. 1963).

W. and H. G. Gundel, *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und Ihre Geschichte* (1966).

A. Pérez Jiménez, 'Cien años de investigación sobre la astrología antigua', *MHNH* 1 (2001), 133–204.

D. Pingree, 'Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran', *Isis* 54 (1963), 229–46.

D. Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia', *DOP* 43 (1989), 227–39.

E. Raffaelli, *L'oroscopo del mondo: il tema di nascita del mondo e del primo uomo secondo l'astrologia zoroastriana* (2001).

astrology, Persian The oldest *Zoroastrian (*Avestan) sources were unaware of astral *divination and astrology, although the stars (in particular *Tishtar, corresponding to the star Sirius) and the two luminaries (*Sun and Moon) were worshipped as minor divinities. The documentation for the Parthian period is insufficient, while Pahlavi books present a mixture of astrological doctrines of Western and Eastern origins.

Persian astrologers practised individual horoscopy, developing 'catarchic' and 'interrogative' astrology and the Persian Kings of Kings were known for keeping astrologers at their court. Persian astrology developed from an amalgamation of Babylonian, Hellenistic, and Indian traditions. The influence of the heavenly bodies was adapted to *Zoroastrian dualism with the attribution to the stars of all the positive influxes, and to the planets, demonized, of all the bad influxes impending on human life. In this reorganization the planets assumed the negative role previously played by the falling stars (as enemies of the fixed stars) in Avestan cosmology.

A number of Greek and Indian astronomical and astrological methods were mixed and adapted by Persian astrologers. For example, the concept of the heavenly spheres and the Middle Persian word for 'sphere' (*spihr*) were of *Greek origin, whereas the horoscope of Gayōmard, the first human, in the *Greater *Bundahishn* (6F) follows that of the Indian prescription for the horoscope of a *mahāpuruṣa*, a 'great man'.

Although incorporating much from earlier traditions, Sasanian astrology produced two important innovations: 'continuous astrology' and the doctrine of the planetary conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter. Continuous astrology was a special branch of astral divination in which historical horoscopes were cast using a number of planetary chronological periods and subperiods. In this framework the conjunctions of Jupiter

and Saturn (occurring about every twenty years) assumed a remarkable importance in Persian astrology, where this doctrine, very popular until the European Renaissance, was probably elaborated for the first time. The matter is explained better in Islamic astrological manuals, where these conjunctions were distinguished in four periods: 'Little Conjunctions' (every 20 years), 'Middle Conjunctions' (after *c.*240 or 260 years), and 'Great Conjunctions' (after *c.*960–980 years); a whole cycle of four Great Conjunctions (less than 4,000 years) corresponded to a 'Mighty Conjunction', more or less close to one of the twelve millennia of Zoroastrian *cosmology. Although Zoroastrians, *Manichaeans, *Zurvanites, and *Mazdakites had different opinions about certain aspects of astrology, interest in the discipline was deep and widespread. ACDP

EncIran II/8 *s.v.* astrology and astronomy in Iran, i. history of astronomy in Iran, iii. astrology in Islamic times 858–62; 868–71 (D. Pingree).

W. B. Henning, 'An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn', *JRAS* ¾ (1942), 229–48.

D. N. MacKenzie, 'Zoroastrian Astrology in the *Bundahišn*', *BSOAS* 27 (1964), 511–29.

A. Panaino, *Tessere il cielo: considerazioni sulle Tavole astronomiche, gli oroscopi e la dottrina dei legamenti tra Induismo, Manicheismo e Mandeismo* (1998).

A. Panaino, 'Sasanian Astronomy and Astrology in the Contribution of David Pingree', in Gh. Gnoli, D. E. Pingree, and A. Panaino, eds., *Kayd: Studies in History of Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology in Memory of David Pingree* (SOR 102, 2009), 71–99.

A. Panaino, 'Cosmologies and Astrology', in M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina, eds., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (2015), 235–58.

D. E. Pingree, 'Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran', *Isis* 54/2 (No. 176) (1963), 229–46.

D. E. Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia', *DOP* 43 (1989), 227–39.

E. Raffaelli, *L'oroscopo del mondo: il tema di nascita del mondo e del primo uomo secondo l'astrologia zoroastriana* (2001).

astronomy, planetary The goal of Greek planetary astronomy was accurate prediction (or retrodiction) of planetary, solar, and lunar phenomena from geometrical theory. In Late Antiquity two texts were key. In the *Almagest*, *Ptolemy showed how to derive parameters for each planet (eccentricity of the deferent, radius of the epicycle, etc.) from observations and provided a set of finished planetary tables. In his later *Handy Tables*, Ptolemy expanded and slightly improved these tables and stripped them of the theoretical justification, providing a work more useful for routine computing. Calculating a planet position from Ptolemy's theory requires the solution of geometrical figures by means of trigonometry. The advantage of tables is that the compiler has already done most of the computation, including all the trigonometry. The user just needs to take numbers from various tables and add them up.

In Ptolemy's theory, the *Sun moves uniformly on a circle that is off-centre from the earth. Each planet moves around an epicycle (responsible for retrograde motion) while the centre of the epicycle moves around a deferent circle (responsible for the motion around the *Zodiac). Moreover, the motion of the epicycle's centre is non-uniform, though its angular motion appears to be uniform from a point (the equant point) that is distinct from the Earth and from the centre of the deferent. Competing methods lasted surprisingly long: the *Oxyrhynchus papyri show Greek adaptations of Babylonian (non-geometrical) planetary theory being used alongside Ptolemy's planetary theory into the 4th century AD.

Commentaries by *Pappus (on the *Almagest*) and *Theon of *Alexandria (*Almagest* and *Handy Tables*) provide insight into the teaching and transmission of Ptolemy's planetary astronomy. In Late Antiquity it was occasionally questioned whether the details of the theories correspond to things really existing in nature (*Proclus, *Hypotyposis*, VII, 50–7). A theory of circumsolar motion for Venus and Mercury was mentioned by Theon of Smyrna (*fl. c.* AD 100) in his *Expositio* (III, 33) and later by *Martianus Capella, among others, but had no effect on practical computation. JCE

ed. (with ET and comm.) A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 4133–4300a)* (MAPS 233, 1999).

Theon of Smyrna, *Exposition des connaissances mathématiques utiles pour la lecture de Platon*, ed. (with FT) J. Dupius (1892).

ET (annotated) G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (1984).

Ptolemy, *Handy Tables*, ed. (with FT) N. Halma, *Commentaire de Théon d'Alexandrie sur le livre III de l'Almageste de Ptolémée; Tables manuelles des mouvemens des astres*, 3 vols. (1822–5).

Πτολεμαίου Πρόχειροι κανόνες, ed. (with comm.) A. Tihon and R. Mercier, vol. 1 (2 parts) (2011).

J. Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (1998).

O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 3 vols. (1975).

O. Pedersen, *A Survey of the Almagest*, ed. A. Jones (²2012).

Aswan *See* SYENE.

***asylum* (Gk. *ásylon*)** A sanctuary or sacred place from which objects and people could not be removed and also the associated institution that provided supplicants with protection from their pursuers. Transgressing the protection afforded by asylum was regarded as sacrilege and often an offence against secular *law, which attempted in varying degrees to regulate the sites and

prerogatives of asylum. Its origins are archaic, lying broadly in the Near East and the Mediterranean basin.

The Christian form of asylum became associated with churches by the mid-4th century, and by the end of that century the Roman state began the process of regulating the privilege. In general, asylum was offered to fugitives, especially slaves avoiding punishment by their masters, ordinary malefactors fleeing their pursuers, and, on occasion, elite persons seeking refuge for political offences. In practice asylum was sometimes ignored by authorities and others who regarded it as an unwelcome obstruction. The Church's role as intercessor was usually directed to eliminating the application of afflictive penalties to the fugitive, as demanded by pursuers or the law, though some clerics sought further benefits for their supplicants.

The character and limits of the institution are illustrated in some detail in the *Historia Francorum* of *Gregory of *Tours of the late 6th century (V, 3, 14; VII, 21–2, 29; VIII, 30; IX, 12, 38). ACM

P. Timbal Duclaux de Martin, *Le Droit d'asile* (1939).
Anne Ducloux, *Ad ecclesiam confugere: naissance d'asile dans les églises (IVe–milieu du Ve s.)* (1994).

Atat Khorkhoṛuni (Atat Xorxoṙuni) *Armenian nobleman and **patricius* [*patrik*] whose bid for Armenian freedom in 595 was forgiven by *Maurice, who posted Atat to the army in *Thrace. In 601 Atat rebelled again, and was besieged by Roman troops at *Nakchivan, till relieved by Persian troops. When Maurice fell in 602, Atat proposed to transfer his allegiance back to the Romans, so *Khosrow II killed him. LA

PLRE III, Atat.
HAndzB, vol. 1, 253, Atat 3.
*Sebeos 16, 87–8; 30, 104–5.

Athala (Attala) (d. *c.*615–25/6) Second Abbot of *Bobbio. A *Burgundian, Athala began monastic life at *Lérins before joining S. *Columbanus at *Luxeuil and then at Bobbio. After Columbanus' death, Athala survived difficulties over his ascetic regime and remained abbot until his death. *Jonas of Bobbio wrote his *Life* (*BHL* 742). CTH

M. Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages* (2008).

Athalaric (516–34) *Ostrogothic King of *Italy (526–34), son of *Eutharic and *Amalasuintha, and grandson and successor of *Theoderic. A minor for his entire reign, his mother served as regent until his untimely death. JJA

PLRE II, Athalaricus.
Wolfram, *Goths*.

Athalarich, John *See* JOHN ATHALARICH.

Athanagild *Visigothic king (551–67), who rebelled against his predecessor, Agila (549–55), and invited *Justinian I to intervene on his side in 551/2, leading inadvertently to the establishment of a Byzantine province in southern *Spain (*Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, 47, *Chron*. 399a). JWo

PLRE IIIA, Athanagildus 1.
J. Wood, 'Defending Byzantine Spain: Frontiers and Diplomacy', *EME* 18 (2010), 292–319.

Athanaric Judge of the *Gothic *Tervingi, and the third known generation of a ruling dynasty. His father had been a hostage for *Constantine I's treaty with his grandfather in 332. He sent forces to support the *usurper *Procopius in 365, provoking *Valens to campaign against him (367–9). The resulting peace renewed Gothic independence. Subsidies ceased, but the Goths were no longer liable for military support, and Athanaric was free to persecute Gothic Christians such as S. *Sabas the Goth and the *Audians. His rule was later undermined by failures against the *Huns (*see* FRITIGERN). With a reduced following, he retreated into Transylvania in 376, before a second coup caused him to flee to *Constantinople in January 381, where he died. PHe

PLRE I, Athanaricus.

Athanasian Creed *Latin doctrinal statement (also known as the *Quicunque Vult*) composed in the 5th/6th century. Its Trinitarianism reflects an Augustinian perspective (Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity) and its Christology shows influence from the *Councils of *Ephesus (431) and *Chalcedon (451). Similarity to *Vincent of Lérins's *Excerpta* (d. *c.*445) and use by *Caesarius of *Arles (d. 542; *Sermon* 3) betray a likely provenance in southern *Gaul. The attribution to *Athanasius of *Alexandria (d. 373) is unsound. BKS

CPL 167, cf. 1747:
ed. (with ET and extensive study) J. N. D. Kelly, *The Athanasian Creed* (1964).

Athanasius *Praefectus Praetorio in *Italy (539–42) and *Africa (545–8). He negotiated with *Theodahad in Italy. In Africa, he was implicated in *Guntharis' rebellion (545/6), but remained in office after the revolt collapsed. AHM

PLRE III, Athanasius 1.

Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria (*c.*295/9–373, patriarch from 328). Athanasius was the principal secretary of Alexander, the *Bishop of Alexandria, at the *Council of *Nicaea in 325. That council was convened to deal with the controversy that had erupted in the Egyptian Church between Bishop Alexander and a

popular dockland priest, *Arius. Arius and Alexander differed most centrally on the eternity of God the Son, with Alexander teaching the eternal coexistence of Father and Son, and Arius contending that the Son was the first and greatest creature who came to be from non-existence. The Council of Nicaea affirmed Alexander's position by declaring that the Son is of the same substance (*homoousios*) as the Father and it anathematized Arius' teaching. In 328, Alexander died and Athanasius was consecrated bishop in his stead. It was probably sometime between his appointment as bishop and his first *exile in 335 that Athanasius wrote his classic *Against the Greeks: On the Incarnation*. Although this treatise does not explicitly refer to Arius and his teaching and purports to be a defence of Christianity against Greeks and *Jews, it is designed to imply that the Arian denial of the full divinity of the Son makes them kin to the Greeks who worship creatures and to the Jews who refuse to ascribe divinity to a crucified man. Positively, the treatise argues that the human limitations and sufferings of Jesus are not indications of an inferior divinity but of the true majesty of God, understood as a compassionate love toward humanity (*philanthropia*), which is equally shared by the Father and the Son.

Athanasius' appointment as Bishop of Alexandria was immediately unpopular both with the supporters of Arius and with the Meletians, those who had sided with *Meletius of *Lycopolis in his dispute with Peter Patriarch of Alexandria (d. 311) over the readmittance of Christians who lapsed during the Great *Persecution (303–13), and over Melitius' consecration of bishops beyond his jurisdiction. He also came into conflict with the *Emperor *Constantine I for resisting the emperor's request that he readmit Arius to communion. Opposition to Athanasius soon crystallized around a number of accusations, including the charges that he was consecrated bishop below the canonical age of 30 and by means of bribery, and that he arranged the murder of a bishop by the name of Arsenius and the breaking of the chalice of a Meletian *priest, Isychras. Despite defending himself in person before the Emperor Constantine and producing the allegedly dead Arsenius, who had been hiding in *Tyre, the charges against Athanasius were put before a council in Tyre in 335. This council validated the charge that one of Athanasius' priests had broken the chalice of the Meletian Isychras, and it deposed Athanasius, while declaring Arius to be orthodox.

When Constantine I died in 337, his son the Western emperor *Constantine II allowed all exiled bishops to return to their sees. But only two years later, a council in *Antioch reasserted the deposition of Athanasius at Tyre. In 339, Athanasius began his second *exile, which he spent predominantly in *Rome, with Julius the bishop. There, Athanasius composed the most significant anti-Arian work of the 340s, his *Orations against the Arians*, wherein he refuted the scriptural exegesis used to substantiate the teachings of Arius and *Asterius the Sophist. At the same time, the *Orations* give indications of Athanasius' theological distance from his fellow exile and fellow defender of Nicaea, *Marcellus of Ancyra. Whereas Marcellus strongly opposed ascribing any real distinction of being between Father and Son and was thus accused by his opponents of 'Sabellianism', Athanasius complemented his own insistence that the Son is 'from the Father's being' with an acknowledgement that Father and Son are 'two' (*Contra Arianos*, 3, 4).

In 345, improved relations between the emperors *Constantius II in the East and his brother *Constans I in the West led to an invitation extended by the former to Athanasius to plead his case in person. As a result, Athanasius was allowed to return once again to Alexandria. But with the death of Constans in 350, relations between Athanasius and Constantius again began to decline and in 356 Athanasius barely avoided seizure at the hands of the imperial military by going into hiding. Coinciding with the ascendancy of Constantius, the 350s saw a trend toward explicit opposition to the *homoousios* doctrine of Nicaea espoused by Athanasius, as well as the formulation, by Aetius and *Eunomius, of the diametrically opposed teaching that the Son was of a 'different substance' (*heterousion*) from the Father. Athanasius led the opposing charge with his treatise *On the Nicene Council*, which reasserted the normative status of Nicaea and defended the terminology of *homoousios* as preserving the 'ecclesiastical sense' of scripture. In the late 350s, Athanasius also engaged the emerging debate about the divinity of the Holy Spirit, declaring the Spirit also to be '*homoousion*' (*Letter to Serapion*, 1, 27).

When Constantius II died in 361, he was succeeded by his kinsman, the Emperor *Julian, a former Christian. In 362, Julian allowed Athanasius, along with other bishops exiled by Constantius II, to return to his see. Athanasius made good use of his homecoming by presiding over a council in Alexandria that played a crucial role in consolidating supporters of Nicene doctrine. The council was convened to mediate between two rival pro-Nicene groups in Antioch who were at odds over theological terminology, one group expressing the unity of Father, Son, and Spirit as 'one *hypostasis*' while the other acknowledged this unity of being but nevertheless articulated the real distinction between Father, Son, and Spirit as 'three *hypostases*'. The Alexandrian council accepted both formulations as long as the unity was not conceived modalistically, in the manner of Sabellius, and the distinction was not understood as indicating different substances, as Arius believed.

Only eight months after his return, Athanasius was again banished from *Egypt by Julian and his remaining years were spent in and out of Egypt, depending on the ecclesial dispositions of the current emperor. Julian's successor *Jovian (363–4) allowed him to return; Jovian's successor *Valens (364–78) banished him but then reversed this decision when his own political stability became threatened by a rebellion. From 366 until his death in 373, Athanasius remained in Alexandria. He wrote several important letters dealing with Christological issues in the 370s, which were to be cited authoritatively at the Councils of *Ephesus (431) and *Chalcedon (451). Athanasius died on 2 May 373. *See also* ANTONY THE GREAT, S. KA

CPG, 2090–309: *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 1: *Die dogmatischen Schriften*, ed. M. Tetz, K. Metzler, K. Savvidis et al. 4 fascicles (1996, 1998, 2000, 2010); *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2 ed. H.-G. Opitz, 7 fascicles (1934–41); ed. H. C. Brennecke et al., 8th fascicle (2006); *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 3, ed. H. C. Brennecke et al., 6 fascicles, of which 3–4 are published.

Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione: ed. (with ET) R. W. Thomson (OECT, 1971).

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Tome to the Antiochenes, PG 26, 796–809.

ET (select works and letters) A. Robinson (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 4; 1892).

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ET R. C. Gregg, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (CWS, 1980).

CHECL 275–80 (Louth).

K. Anatolios, *Retrieving Nicaea: The Development and Meaning of Trinitarian Doctrine* (2011).

K. Anatolios, *Athanasius* (Early Church Fathers, 2004) with annotated ET of *Orations against the Arians* (selection), *De Decretis*, *Letter to Serapion*, and *ep.* 40.

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D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (OECS, 1995).

J. D. Ernest, *The Bible in Athanasius of Alexandria* (2004).

C. Kannengiesser, *Athanase d'Alexandrie, évêque et écrivain: une lecture des traités Contre les Ariens* (Théologie historique 70, 1983).

A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypt au ive siècle (328–373)* (1996).

M. Tetz, *Athanasiana. Zu Leben und Lehre des Athanasius* (1995).

R. D. Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (rev. edn., 2001).

Athaulf Brother-in-law of *Alaric the *Visigoth and King of the Visigoths 410–15. Athaulf is sometimes portrayed as the leader of a body of *Goths, *Huns, and *Alans settled separately in *Pannonia by the *Emperor *Gratian in 380. More likely, he was one of several subleaders left in place by *Theodosius I's Thracian settlement of 382, from among whom Alaric emerged in the 390s to re-establish a Gothic monarchy. After Alaric's death in 411, Athaulf broadly continued his policy to secure the Goths' future beneath an imperial umbrella by marrying Galla *Placidia, sister of the Emperor *Honorius, and naming their child Theodosius at a time when the emperor had no obvious heir of his own. But Athaulf's ambition misjudged the real balance of power, to the extent that by 415 Flavius Constantius (the future *Constantius III) had reduced the Goths to such dire economic straits that Athaulf lost Gothic support and was assassinated. The eventual settlement of 416/18 was much closer to the less ambitious demands which Alaric had outlined between 408 and 410. PHe

PLRE I, Athaulfus.

J. F. Matthews, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (AD 407–425)', *JRS* 60 (1970), 79–97.

Heather, *Goths and Romans*, ch. 6.

Athenais *See* EUDOCIA, AELIA.

Athenodorus *Isaurian *senator of *Constantinople, exiled after *Anastasius I's *accession. With *Longinus of Cardala he led a revolt in Isauria, was defeated at *Cotiaeum in 492 by *John Gibbus and *John Scytha, captured in 497, and beheaded. OPN

PLRE II, Athenodorus 2.

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 23–6.

Athenogenes of Pedachthoe, S. Christian *martyr, who *Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto*, 29, 73) says sang the evening *hymn *Phos Hilaron on his way to martyrdom. An 'epic' *martyr passion (*BHG* 197) survives in several manuscripts. One of them (Jerusalem Sabaiticus, 242) contains also a rambling hagiography (*BHG* 197 b) which names Athenogenes as *Bishop of Pedachthoe (about 64 km, 40 miles, south of *Neocaesarea). In addition to *miracles and dragon-slaying, the latter *Passion* records an interrogation of the martyr by the *governor Agricolaus (the same name as the governor in the epic *Passion* of the *Forty Martyrs) remarkable for its lack of polarized rhetorical rancour. It places the martyrdom in the Great *Persecution on 17 July 303 or 304 at *Sebasteia. An epilogue describes the genesis of the present text. OPN

BHG 197b and 197: ed. (with introd. and FT) P. Maraval (SubsHag 75, 1990).

A. Laniado, 'Hilarios Pyrrhachas et la *Passion de Saint Athénogène de Pédachthoé* (BHG 197b)', *REB* 53 (1995), 279–84.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 147–8.

Athens, Academy of The Platonic teaching traditions based in Late Antique *Athens must be distinguished from the Academy founded by Plato, which perished in the 1st century BC. Platonic teaching persisted in Athens throughout the Roman period, but it was re-institutionalized only at the end of the 4th century by *Plutarch the Athenian. Plutarch's school was a private institution based in his home and its teaching was influenced by *Iamblichean traditions. It also placed heavy emphasis upon texts like the *Chaldean Oracles and Orphic Hymns. Plutarch was succeeded by an unbroken line of successors (*Diadochi) who continued his scholastic legacy until the *Emperor *Justinian I ordered the cessation of philosophical teaching in Athens in 529. Upon the closure of the school, its teachers remained in Athens until a second Justinianic law compelled them to seek refuge in the *Persian Empire in 531. EW

Watts, *City and School*, 79–142.
E. Watts, 'Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching in A.D. 529', *JRS* 94 (2004), 168–82.
J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (1976).

Athens, philosophy at *Athens began the Late Antique period as one of the most respected centres of philosophical study in the Roman Empire, a position it maintained into the 6th century. At the same time, Late Antiquity saw dramatic changes to the institutional and doctrinal nature of Athenian philosophical teaching as well as a significant reduction in the variety of philosophical traditions actively taught in the *city.

Third-century developments

In the Antonine period, Athens had four imperially endowed *chairs set aside for teachers of Platonic, Stoic, Aristotelian, and Epicurean philosophy. It is unclear how long these chairs remained in existence, but it seems unlikely that they endured beyond the sack by the *Heruli which devastated the *city and its environs in 267. Platonists dominated philosophical teaching in post-Herulian Athens, but the Platonism taught by Athenian teachers like *Longinus was quite conventional and, by the early 260s, students like *Porphyry had begun leaving Athens to study under more innovative teachers elsewhere. Athens proved slow to adapt and much philosophical teaching remained in the hands of men like Nicagoras, scion of a well-established family and torch-bearer of the mysteries at *Eleusis, whose members had long taught in Athens.

The Athenian Iamblichean tradition

A significant shift in the direction of Athenian philosophy occurred when a nephew of the Syrian philosopher *Iamblichus brought his uncle's system of thought to the city in the mid-4th century. Iamblichean *Neoplatonism blended the interpretation of Platonic and Aristotelian texts with pagan religious works like the *Chaldean Oracles and the rituals associated with *theurgy. The philosophy took hold with an Athenian named Nestorius, who supposedly used theurgic rituals to prevent an *earthquake in the 370s (*Zosimus, IV, 18) and to cure a woman of depression (*Proclus, *Commentary on the Republic*, II, 324, 12–325, 10). His son, *Plutarch of Athens, integrated the Iamblichean system into Athenian Platonic teaching more comprehensively and opened a school based in his home.

The Neoplatonic Academy

The *school that Plutarch established in the later 4th century proved appealing both to Athenians and to students travelling from abroad. The instruction it offered appears to have begun with the study of *grammar; Plutarch's successor *Syrianus composed a commentary on a grammatical work. It extended to the most advanced philosophical training. The philosophical curriculum proper was based upon a hierarchy of philosophical virtues first laid out by *Plotinus and later elaborated upon by Iamblichus. It began with mathematical training, moved through Aristotelian philosophy, and then walked the students through a progression of Platonic dialogues. Advanced students under Plutarch and Proclus read Chaldean and Orphic texts. The Athenian *Neoplatonic school encouraged students to develop deeply personal relationships with their teacher and fostered a powerful identification with the Platonic tradition more generally. Members of the school commemorated Plato, Socrates, and other intellectual ancestors. Proclus even shared a tomb with his teacher Syrianus. While it created a generally cohesive community, this tendency also encouraged a degree of insularity that permitted Athenian Neoplatonists to pursue lines of philosophical interpretation and engage in religious practices that put them at risk in an increasingly Christian Empire.

Christianity and Athenian philosophy

Unlike their colleagues in *Alexandria, Athenian teachers showed no inclination to dialogue or compromise in the face of Christianity. The Christian population of Athens was small for most of Late Antiquity and, because of the nature of Athenian Neoplatonic teaching, few Christian students attended the city's philosophical schools. Even as Christians began to assert control of the city of Athens in the 5th century, Athenian philosophers like Proclus continued to go into *temples and perform traditional religious rites. This Athenian tendency grew more pronounced when *Isidore and *Damascius arrived in the city in

489. Damascius in particular saw any compromise with Christian authorities as unphilosophical, an idea illustrated by his *Life of Isidore* and explained by his disciple *Simplicius in his commentary on the *Enchiridion*. This tendency ultimately led to the demise of their school and the apparent suspension of philosophical teaching in Athens with the closure of the *Academy in 529.

EW

Watts, *City and School*.

P. Athanassiadi, *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (1999).

É. Évrard, 'Le Maître de Plutarque d'Athènes et les origines du Néoplatonisme Athénien', *AntClass* 29 (1960), 108–33.

G. Fowden, 'Nicagoras and the Lateran Obelisk', *JHS* 107 (1987), 51–7.

A. Frantz, 'Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens', *PAPS* 119 (1975), 29–38.

M. Vinzent, 'Oxbridge in der ausgehenden Spätantike. Oder Ein Vergleich der Schulen von Athen und Alexandrien', *ZAC* 4 (2000), 49–82.

Athens and Attica Athens was a *city in the *province of *Achaea, 8 km (5 miles) inland from its port at Piraeus, watered by the rivers Kephissos and Illissos and surrounded by the mountains Aigaleon, Parnes, Pentelikon, and Hymettus. *Hierocles lists it as 'metropolis of Attica' (645, 11), a region which has an extensive coastline on the south-east of mainland *Greece, bounded to the north by *Boeotia.

Centre of learning

The historical reputation of Athens as a centre of learning equalled only by *Alexandria gave it a unique importance in Late Antiquity. When the eminent man of letters *Longinus gathered learned men to celebrate Plato's birthday, his guests came from as far away as *Syria or *Arabia (*Porphyry in *Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, X, 3, 1); Longinus was later an adviser to *Zenobia, ruler of *Palmyra (*Zosimus, I, 56). *Libanius of *Antioch may have found the place too small for his large ambitions (*Oration* I, 11), but teaching at Athens was able to launch the rhetorician *Himerius into spheres of significant influence, and *Basil of *Caesarea and *Gregory of *Nazianzus were both students at Athens during the future *Emperor *Julian's brief academic sojourn there in 355. Philosophy at *Athens enjoyed a revival in the late 4th century which was sustained until the *Academy was closed in 529 under *Justinian I. Its leading lights, such *philosophers as *Plutarch, *Syrianus, *Proclus, and *Damascius, made no compromises with Christianity.

Christianity

It is perhaps on account of this that Christianity was slow to make an impression in civic life. S. Paul had preached at Athens and *Dionysius the Areopagite, his first convert (Acts 17:34), was believed already by Dionysius of *Corinth to have been the first *Bishop of Athens (*Eusebius, *HE* III, 4, 11). Publius, Bishop of Athens in the 2nd century, died a *martyr (Eusebius, *HE* IV, 23). The Bishop of Athens was the only bishop from Achaea to attend the *Council of *Nicaea. A three-aisled *basilica on an islet in the River Ilissos, similar in style to the larger Lechaion basilica in the Corinthia, is dated to the 5th century by *lamps and the style of its *mosaics; on its north side it incorporated an earlier building with burials in its crypt.

In time monumental ancient buildings were converted for Christian use. The statue of Athena was removed from the Parthenon in the mid-5th century and the philosopher Proclus had a *dream that the goddess would henceforth be living in his house (*Marinus, *VProcli* 30); the temple was turned into a church probably in the late 5th century (**Theosophy of Tübingen*, 53). *Proclus also prayed at the sanctuary of Aesculapius on the south slope of the Acropolis (*VProcli* 29); a three-aisled basilica dedicated to Ss. *Cosmas and Damian using *spolia from the *temple was built there possibly in the late 5th century. A further basilica was built in the eastern parodos of the Theatre of Dionysus, and the Temple of Hephaestus (Hephaisteion, Thission) was converted into a church, so preserving its ancient exterior.

Civic history

The city was sacked by the *Heruli in 267. The principal civic buildings were not seriously harmed and archaeology suggests that the damage was less grave than is represented in the written sources. *Dexippus, Athenian citizen and historian, was honoured with a public statue in the aftermath of the Heruli invasion. It is difficult to explain the so-called post-Herulian wall, constructed largely of spolia, which enclosed a small area of the city to the north of the Acropolis within the older city circuit wall. Luxurious houses were constructed in the areas between the walls.

*Constantine I gave Athens a large annual gift of *grain, characteristically cultivating a constituency relatively ignored by the imperial government under the *Tetrarchy. The city elected him to high civic office and honoured him with a statue (Julian, *Oration*, I, 8CD). He funded the visit of Nicagoras, torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries, to the Valley of the Kings in *Egypt, and *Praxagoras of Athens wrote a panegyrical biography of him. He also oversaw the repair of many of the major civic buildings. The 2nd-century Library, part of a larger complex built by the Emperor Hadrian as a cultural centre, probably housed public records concerning the administration of the whole province of Achaea.

Athens was taken by *Alaric in 395, though according to Zosimus (V, 6, 1–3) 'he went off leaving the city and the whole of Attica unharmed'. *Synesius visited the city around this time and wrote a letter to his brother comparing it disparagingly with *Alexandria, the other prime centre for the study of Greek philosophy, with which he had closer connections (*ep.* 136, cf. 54). In the 5th century a palace was built over the demolished remains of the Odeon of Agrippa. The *Empress *Eudocia's association with Athens is exemplified by an honorific *epigram which may associate her with the foundation of an extensive structure known, on account of its monumental sculpture, as the Palace or Gymnasium of the Giants. Coin *hoards together with a destruction layer are connected with a *Slav raid of 582, yet in 662/3 the city was able to support the *army and retinue of *Constans II when they overwintered there.

Attica

Archaeological surveys in the countryside around Athens indicate an increase in population, cultivation, and pastoral activity in Attica in the 5th and 6th centuries; this has been associated with a revival in the cult of Zeus Ombrios on Mount Hymettus. Caves housing pagan cults, particularly those of Pan, became active religious centres again, sometimes having been abandoned for centuries. These rustic pagan places contrast with the Christian basilicas found at the main settlements in Attica (*Brauron, Glyphada, Anabyssos, Koubaras, and Kalamos), none of which survived after the early Christian period. In Late Antiquity *silver *mining at Laurion and Thorikos was carried on for the first time since the Classical era. PA

J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971).

Ch. Bouras 'Byzantine Athens, 330–1453', in Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*, 168–73.

ATHENS

T. L. Shear, Jr., 'Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town', *Hesperia* (1981), 356–77.

A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora* XXIV: *Late Antiquity, 267–700* (1988).

G. [L.] Fowden, 'The Athenian Agora and the Progress of Christianity', *JRA* 3 (1990), 494–501.

F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions', *JRS* 59 (1969), 12–29.

P. Castrén, ed., *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267–529* (1994).

U. Gehn, 'Athens', in *LSA*, 190–9.

A. Choremi-Spetsieri, 'The Library of Hadrian at Athens: Recent Finds', *Ostraka* 4 (1995), 137–47.

C. Mango, 'The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church', *DeltChristArchEtair* 18 (1995), 201–3.

E. Sironen, 'An Honorary Epigram for Empress Eudocia in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 371–4.

ATTICA

G. [L.] Fowden, 'City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica', *JHS* 108 (1988), 48–59.

'Atika bt. Yazid Daughter of the *Umayyad *Caliph *Yazid b. Mu'awiya (r. 680–3), wife of the Umayyad Caliph *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685 or 692–705), and mother of the Caliph *Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 720–4); the latter was sometimes known as Ibn 'Atika. The principal source is al-*Baldahuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*. NK

Attaleia (mod. Antalya on the south coast of Turkey) *City and bishopric of *Pamphylia, later main naval base of the *Cibyrrhaeotic *Theme. *Constans II was defeated by the *Arab navy off Attaleia. A *Justinianic *basilica was later made into a mosque. KMK

TIB 8*: Lykien und Pamphylien*.

H. Brandt and F. Kolb, *Lycia et Pamphylia. Eine römische Provinz im Südwesten Kleinasiens* (2005).

Attalus (d. after 417) *Augustus 409–10 and 414–15. Priscus Attalus came from *Asia, and held several high-ranking imperial offices in *Italy. Late in 409, he embraced *Homoean ('Arian') theology and was named Augustus by *Alaric the *Visigoth and the *Senate. Alaric deposed him in 410, but in 414 the Visigoths again named him Augustus. He was captured by the *Emperor *Honorius in 415, mutilated, and exiled to the Lipari Islands. RWM

PLRE II, Attalus 2.

J. C. Raña Trabado, 'Priscus Attalus y la Hispania del s. V', *Actas del Primero Congresso Peninsular de Historia Antigua III* (1988), 277–85.

Attila (r. 434–53) King of the *Huns, son of Mundiuch (or Mundzuc). After the death of their uncle Rua, Attila and his elder brother Bleda succeeded in joint *kingship. For some fifteen years of his reign our main source is *Priscus, chiefly interested in Attila's relations with the East, supplemented, especially for his last years, by *Jordanes.

In 435, Attila and Bleda negotiated the peace of *Margus with the Empire, and then apparently busied themselves subduing *Scythian tribes, especially the Sorosgi. In 441, however, Attila crossed the Danube and laid waste to many Roman *cities and fortresses, breaching treaties on the pretext that the royal Hun tombs had been robbed, but also taking advantage of Roman weakness after the removal of units from the Balkan *frontier to serve against the *Vandals and Persians. After a truce of one year, Attila devastated *Dacia and Thrace, defeating imperial *armies and reaching the outskirts of *Constantinople (443).

Internal dissensions among the Huns must have followed, ending in Attila's murder of Bleda *c.*445.

In spite of Roman efforts to strengthen the Danube *frontier, in 447 a second invasion, supported by *Gepids and *Goths, ravaged most of the *Balkan provinces as far as Thermopylae, culminating in a pitched battle near the Utus River where, though Attila was victorious, he endured severe losses. Attila was further distracted by trouble from the Acatziri, a powerful people to the east, and warfare against Romans was replaced by *diplomacy. In 449, *Theodosius II sent Attila an embassy headed by *Maximinus, accompanied by Vigilas, an *interpreter, and the historian *Priscus of Panium. Priscus gives a vivid first-hand report of Attila's court, describing in particular a failed attempt to bribe Attila's lieutenant Edeco to murder his master.

In 450 the Eastern **patricius* *Anatolius, who had negotiated previous treaties with Attila in 443 and 448, persuaded him to swear an *oath to maintain peace and to evacuate conquered territory. For reasons unknown—the Balkans were exhausted—Attila turned to the West, presented himself as an ally of *Valentinian III, claimed Valentinian's sister *Honoria as wife, and demanded half the Empire as dowry (Priscus, frs. 15 and 16). He then launched a campaign against the *Visigoths of *Toulouse and sacked *Metz, but was heavily defeated in the Battle of the *Catalaunian Plains in 451 by *Aëtius and *Theoderic the Visigoth (who died). In the following year Attila crossed the Alps into northern *Italy and captured some cities, but retreated without sacking *Rome, according to tradition at the intercession of the *Bishop *Leo I, but maybe due to logistical problems and after an attack on his bases by the new Eastern emperor *Marcian. Just before the next campaigning season he died of a nosebleed at night. His sons *Dengizich and Ernach could not hold his empire together.

Attila's reputation as the Scourge of God played on the imagination of later generations. In particular, later Germanic epic *poetry attributed to Attila the destruction of the *Burgundian kingdom of Worms in 437, actually carried out by Hunnic *auxilia* allied to Aëtius.

AA

PLRE II, Attila.
C. M. Kelly, *Attila the Hun: Barbarian Terror and the Fall of the Roman Empire* (2008).
E. A. Thompson, *The Huns*, rev. P. J. Heather (^{2}1996).
Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*.
G. Wirth, *Attila. Das Hunnenreich und Europa* (1999).
M. Maas, *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila* (2015).

Audians Followers of the 4th-century Syrian or Mesopotamian Christan ascetic Audius, who criticized clerical luxury, rejected the *Council of *Nicaea's decrees on the date of *Easter, believed that God has a bodily form, and refused to share *prayer with other Christians. The *emperor banished the Audians to *Scythia. They spread Christianity among the *Goths across the Danube *frontier and founded *monasteries, but *persecution obliged them to retire to *Cyprus and *Oriens. By 376/7, when *Epiphanius wrote his *Panarion* (70), which is, alongside a pejorative notice by *Theodoret (*HE* IV, 10), the fullest account, the Audians survived only in *Syria and *Mesopotamia. They were mentioned by *Ephrem, confronted *Rabbula, *Bishop of *Edessa, and were listed with other schismatic groups in a law of AD 428 (*CTh* XVI, 5, 65).

CG; OPN

RAC I (1950) *s.v.* Audianer, cols. 910–15 (Puech).

Audoenus (S. Ouen) *Bishop of Rouen (641–84/6), also known as Dado. He was *Referendarius to *Dagobert I, and, as bishop, a leading figure in the *Neustro-*Burgundian kingdom, renowned as a holy man and peacemaker. A supporter of monasticism on the model of S. *Columbanus, he was involved in the founding of several *monasteries, including Rebais and *S. Wandrille, and wrote the *Life* of his friend Bishop *Eligius of Noyon. PJF

PLRE IIIA (1992) *s.v.* 'Audoenus *qui et* Dado', 151–2.
PCBE 4, I (2013) *s.v.* 'Dado 2', 543.
Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CXLI.
Vita Audoini (*BHL* 750), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. V (1910), 553–7.
ET Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF* 152–65.

Audoin Elected *Lombard King in 547 in succession to *Walthari (*Paul the Deacon, *HL*, I, 22). The **Origo Gentis Langobardorum* (4–5) records that Audoin led the Lombards into *Pannonia. Audoin probably in fact completed a southward expansion of Lombard territorial control to the Save River (Savia) when in 546 the *Emperor *Justinian I granted the Lombards the *cities of *Noricum and *Pannonian strongholds and towns, and much money as part of a treaty against the *Gepids (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 33, 10). Audoin continued confrontations with the Gepids (*Gothic*, VIII, 25, 14–15), and in 552 also sent 5,500 men to *Italy to assist imperial offensives against the *Ostrogoths (*Gothic*, VIII, 26, 12)—only for them to be sent home due to their excessively aggressive tendencies. NJC

N. Christie, *The Lombards* (1995), 32–7.
N. Christie, 'Pannonia: Foundations of Langobardic Power and Identity', in G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, eds., *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2009), 6–29.

Audomar, S. (d. *c.*670) Audomar entered the *Monastery of *Luxeuil *c.*615, and, as the first *Bishop of Thérouanne from the late 630s, worked among the

semi-pagan Morini. He founded the Monastery of Sithiu, later named after his follower, S. Bertin, and was buried nearby in what became Saint-Omer (the French form of his name). EJ

Life (*BHL* 763), ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SS rer Meroving. III, 753–64.

Duchesne, *Fastes*, vol. 3, 133–4.

Ewig, *SFG* 2, 507–37.

C. Mériaux, 'Thérouanne et son diocèse jusqu'à la fin de l'époque carolingienne: les étapes de la christianisation d'après les sources écrites', *BEC* 158 (2000), 377–406.

Augusta *See* EMPRESS.

Augusta Euphratensis province *See* EUPHRATENSIS.

augustales Select group, ranking below the principal officers, of 30 senior members of the staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio, attested in the 6th century, particularly by *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, XI, 30) and *John Lydus (*Mag*. III, 9–10). The top fifteen were also called *deputati*, a term already attested in the same context in 365 (*CTh* VIII, 7, 8). AGS

Jones, *LRE* 587–8.

Augusta Libanensis province *See* PHOENICE, PHOENICE LIBANI, AND AUGUSTA LIBANENSIS.

Augustalis *See* PRAEFECTUS AUGUSTALIS.

Augustal Prefect *See* PRAEFECTUS AUGUSTALIS.

Augustamnica Prima and Secunda In 341 the *province of *Aegyptus (that is, *Egypt apart from *Thebais) was again divided into halves, with the new province Augustamnica at first roughly replicating the earlier *Aegyptus Herculia. In the late 4th century Augustamnica lost territory to the newly created province of *Arcadia. When Augustamnica itself was later subdivided, Augustamnica Prima was based in the coastal region of the Lower Delta, with its capital at *Pelusium and the *city of Rhinocolura in its far eastern coastal stretch; Augustamnica Secunda occupied the eastern part of the Upper Delta, including the Roman fortress at *Babylon. JGK

Barrington Atlas, 75.

NEDC 212.

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 53–4.

Jones, *Cities*, 336, 343–4.

augustaticum Customary payment made on an imperial *accession, by the Late Roman period given only to the *army. The payment was traditionally in coined *gold and *silver measured by weight, although allowances were made, especially in the 4th and 5th centuries, for the relative values of gold and silver. By the *accession of *Tiberius II (578), however, the sum was nine gold **solidi* only (*John of Ephesus, *HE* III, 3, 11). In 641 a payment made by *Heraclonas of three *solidi* may be the last recorded payment of an *augustaticum* (*Cedrenus, p. 753 Bekker), reflecting the financially weakened state of the Empire. RRD

Hendy, *Studies*, 481.

Augustine, Rule of S. Dossier of three texts attributed to *Augustine of *Hippo: *Rule* (*Praeceptum*, *c.*397), addressed to male monks; *Regulations for a Monastery* (*Ordo monasterii*), now thought to be by one of Augustine's circle rather than Augustine himself; and *Letter* 211 (*c.*424), which includes a *Reprimand* (*Obiurgatio* = §1–4) and *Rule for Nuns* (*Regularis Informatio* = §5–16). Verheijen has overturned the older view that the feminine version (*Letter* 211) was the original and demonstrated that the masculine version (*Praeceptum*) comes from Augustine himself and dates from his early years as *bishop. Augustine's monastic ideal is the Jerusalem apostolic community described in Acts of the Apostles chapter 4. In the Middle Ages, Augustine's *Rule* became the constitution for Augustinian canons and the Dominican Order. JWH

CPL 1838–9a.

ed. (with study) L. Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin*, 2 vols. (Études augustiniennes, 1967).

ed. (with ET and study) G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (1987).

Augustine of Canterbury, S. (d. 604/9) A monk, probably at S. Andrew on the Coelian Hill in *Rome, sent as leader of *Gregory the Great's mission to the English. He arrived in 597 and was received by *Ethelbert, King of Kent, and his wife Bertha (a Christian Frankish princess). Ethelbert gave the missionaries S. Martin's Church at *Canterbury; they rebuilt another Roman church as the cathedral (Christ Church), and founded a *monastery (Ss. Peter and Paul) just east of the *city. *Bede reproduces *letters from Augustine to Gregory seeking advice on various topics (*HE* I, 24–32), and records a confrontation between Augustine and British bishops (*HE* II, 2). In 604 Augustine consecrated two Roman missionaries as bishops (Mellitus in *London; Justus in Rochester), but Gregory's plan for archiepiscopal sees in London and *York never materialized. Augustine was buried at Ss. Peter and Paul's, later known as S. Augustine's. HFF

R. Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 5–17.

R. Gameson, ed., *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England* (1999).

Augustine of Hippo, S. (Aurelius Augustinus) (354–430) *Bishop of *Hippo, *Africa (395–430). Augustine's many books, *letters, and *sermons became a major influence on Western Christian theology. They also illuminate social and intellectual life, and imperial and church *administration, in Africa and *Italy. Augustine's life has been used to show how rhetorical skill and *patronage could take someone from a modest provincial background to an imperial capital; how people left the service of *city and Empire for an ascetic life; and how bishops needed rhetorical and administrative skill, contacts, and understanding of law and politics.

Biography

Augustine's *Confessions* (397), begun soon after the author became a bishop, includes some account of his early life as he imperfectly remembers it. He was born at *Thagaste, a small inland town in *Numidia, to Monnica, a devout Christian, and Patricius, who had enough land to serve on the local *city council. At school in *Madauros Augustine excelled in *Latin *grammar and struggled with *Greek. *Confessions* shows the lasting influence of the Latin classical curriculum: Terence, Sallust, Cicero, and *Vergil. A richer neighbour, Romanianus, helped to fund Augustine's higher education in *rhetoric at *Carthage, capital of *Africa Proconsularis, where he found a partner and they had a son, Adeodatus. Cicero's *Hortensius* (now lost) inspired him with love of wisdom, and he began to study the *Bible. But he found its style inferior, and so became a *Manichaean 'Hearer' because he thought their teaching was profound. He taught literature and rhetoric, then moved to *Rome, where in 384 the *Praefectus Urbi *Symmachus sent him as public professor of rhetoric to *Milan, where the *Emperor Valentinian II was establishing his residence. There Augustine's understanding of God was transformed by *Neoplatonist *philosophy and by the preaching of *Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. Augustine had hoped for a post in the imperial civil administration, and separated from his partner to arrange a suitable *marriage, but he came to think that the duties of marriage and career were not compatible with Christian commitment. Aged 32, he resigned his post. He was baptized at *Easter 387, and decided to go back to Africa for a life of *prayer and study as *servus Dei* with learned and ascetic friends in his family home. He was delayed a year at *Ostia, as political conditions had made it hard to find a *ship, and during this time his mother died, but in 388 he returned to Africa.

Confessions offers no further narrative, but the *Retractationes* ('Revisions' of 426/7) gives an annotated chronological list of the 252 books Augustine had written since his preparation for baptism. He did not have time to list his *letters (some 300), of which he kept copies, or his *sermons (some 400), which were transcribed from *shorthand copies made as he preached and sometimes revised, so new discoveries are still possible and dating is often uncertain. *Possidius, a fellow bishop, described in his *Life of Augustine* the household community at Thagaste, Augustine's ordination (against his will) first as *priest and then as bishop of the coastal town of Hippo Regius, and his activity in his *diocese and in the debates of the North African churches. Hippo was under siege by the Vandals when Augustine died in 430.

Classics, rhetoric, philosophy, and scripture

In *Confessions* Augustine denounced his classical *education for instilling false values, the 'pride of the schools', and because it aimed at worldly success, not moral formation. As professor of rhetoric at Milan he gave *panegyrics in *praise of political figures which he and his audience knew to be untrue. But in *Christian Teaching* (*De Doctrina Christiana*, begun *c.*395) he argued that rhetoric can convey truth, that Christian scripture can teach rhetorical techniques, and that Christians can find value in pagan writings, especially in Platonist philosophy. The 'Platonic books' Augustine read at Milan were probably excerpts, translated into Latin from the Greek, from *Plotinus and *Porphyry. He thought then that the liberal arts train the soul for ascent to God, but he came to believe that Christian scripture was more ancient, consistent, profound, and accessible than any other tradition of wisdom. He contrasted Christian preaching, free to all, with the obscure debates of philosophers and their students. Augustine's sermons typically start from the *Bible readings his audience had just heard, and explain for people of all educational levels what the text says and what it teaches about theology and behaviour. He could not read the Old Testament in the original, but regarded the Greek Septuagint version as authoritative. Augustine's Greek was good enough to help him interpret Latin translations of the Old and New Testaments, but probably not good enough for easy reading of Greek theology and philosophy.

The work of a bishop

Augustine spoke with feeling about the 'bishop's burden' of administration, arbitration (*episcopalis audientia*) in the *bishop's court, and, most important of all, responsibility for preaching God's word. His rhetorical skill prompted many requests for preaching and writing, and he engaged in long controversies which sometimes involved local and imperial politics. Manichaeans held that there is an evil power opposed to God, and that much of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, is inauthentic, misleading, and morally

objectionable. Augustine, no longer a Manichaean, held that Evil is not a separate power but a falling away from Good, and that Jewish law, history, and prophecy foretell Christ. Conflicts with *Donatists sometimes led to violence. The Donatists held that Church and clergy must be free from sin, so theirs was the true Church, because their clergy had not betrayed the faith in the Great *Persecution a century earlier. Augustine held that no one is free from sin and that the Church contains both good and bad. Pelagians, according to Augustine, were overconfident in human freedom and the human capacity to do right, and did not recognize the constant need for God's grace: *Pelagius argued that God has not created us incapable of following his commands.

Augustine's largest work *City of God* (*Civ. Dei*, 413–26) brings together his reflections on human life and on the Bible. It began as a response to claims by *pagans that *Alaric and the *Visigoths had been able to sack Rome in 410 because Christians had denied the civic gods of Rome the worship that was their due. Augustine used Rome's standard authors, and Varro on Roman cult, to show that Rome's gods did not deserve worship. Platonists, he said, came closest to Christianity, but still allowed worship of many gods, and had too much pride in reason. The City of God, whose history can be traced as a thread from the Creation to the present through the narrative of the Bible, is the community of humans and *angels who love God even to the exclusion of self. Its opposite is the Earthly City, the community of humans and rebel angels who love themselves even to the exclusion of God (*Civ. Dei*, XIV, 28). We shall not know who belongs where until the end of time. Everyone inherits from Adam the tendency to follow their own way, not God's. This pride in oneself caused the Fall away from God; sexual desire is not its cause but its consequence, and shows how the body does not respond to reason. The Roman Empire is an example of the earthly City which wants its own way, but the two Cities are not equivalent to Church and State. Some churchgoers are citizens of the earthly City, some opponents of Christianity are future citizens of the City of God, and Christians who hold state office must fulfil their responsibilities. Augustine thought that state power is necessary, because without agreement on who gives and who takes orders, the human urge towards domination causes conflict at all levels of society, from household to city to nation. The authorized power may need force to protect its people against criminals and aggressors, and its agents are morally justified in following orders to hurt or kill provided that their motive is to maintain peace. Augustine did not invent Just War theory, but reaffirmed the Roman view that aggressive war is unjust, war in defence of country or allies is just.

Augustine valued marriage as the closest human bond, which provides commitment, children, and a symbol of Christ's relationship with the Church. But he thought that the best way of life is a celibate single-sex community without personal property, as in his clergy house at Hippo. This reduces domination and possessiveness, and strengthens love of neighbour. His advice for such communities became the Rule still followed by the Order of S. Augustine. EGC

PLRE II, Augustinus 2.

Augustine is omitted from *PCBE* 1.

Both Augustine's own oeuvre and the bibliography of works about him is immense.

ed. A. D. Fitzgerald OSA, *Augustine Through The Ages: An Encyclopedia* (1999).

ed. C. Mayer, *Augustinus-Lexikon* (1986–, in progress). Handbook with entries in German, English, and French.

ed. K. Pollmann and W. Otten, *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine* (2013).

Further resources are to be found on these websites:
http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/augustine/.
www.augustinus.de/ (from the Zentrum für Augustinus-Forschung in Würzburg, containing comprehensive lists of editions and translations)

Augustine's Works (*CPL* 250–386):

Augustine through the Ages provides comprehensive lists of critical editions, and translations in the major series, of books, letters, and sermons.

Searchable electronic texts are available in:

Corpus Augustinianum Gissense, ed. C. Mayer (1995 and updates), with bibliography.

CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts (CLCLT).

Migne's Patrologia Latina 32–47 reprinted the texts established by Jean Mabillon and the Benedictine Congregation of St.-Maur in 1679–1700 and therefore lacks the subsequent discoveries of letters and sermons. It is available at http://www.augustinus.it.

Modern editions of many texts are available in the series CSEL, CCSL, and (with FT) in the Bibliothèque Augustinienne (1936–).

Other editions include:

ed. (with comm.) J. A. Gibb and H. J. Montgomery, *The Confessions of Augustine* (1908, ^{2}1927).

ed. (with comprehensive comm.) J. J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: Confessions*, 3 vols. (1992).

Critical edition: ed. M. Skutella et al., *Confessiones* (^{5}1981).

ed. A. Kalb and B. Dombart, *De Civitate Dei libri XXII* (^{5}1981).

TRANSLATIONS

New annotated English translations are in progress in the series *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (New City Press, New York). Works available include:

City of God, 2 vols., tr. W. Babcock, notes by B. Ramsey (2012); *Confessions* (tr. M. Boulding, rev. edn. 2012);

Expositions of the Psalms, tr. M. Boulding, 6 vols. (2000); *Letters*, tr. R. J. Teske, 4 vols. (2001–5, including the Divjak letters); *Revisions*, tr. R. J. Teske (2010); *Sermons*, tr. E. Hill, 11 vols. (1990–); *The Trinity*, tr. E. Hill (1991).
The translations in the NPNF series (Series 1, vols. 1–8, 1886–8) are based on the Oxford *Library of the Fathers* edited by J. Keble, J. H. Newman, and E. B. Pusey. They are available through http://www.ccel.org.
Among the many other translations of Augustine's works are:
ET H. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: The Confessions* (1991).
ET R. W. Dyson, *The City of God Against the Pagans* (1998).
A small selection of letters, ed. (with ET) J. H. Baxter, *St. Augustine: Select Letters* (LCL 239, 1930).

READERS' GUIDES

G. Clark, *Augustine: The Confessions* (new edn., 2005).
R. H. Barrow, *An Introduction to St. Augustine's City of God* (1950).
Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (1999).

STUDIES

G. Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo: Life and Controversies* (1986; rev. 2002) covers theological debates.
Brown, *Augustine* is a classic biography; the revised edition of 2000 has an important epilogue on newly discovered letters and sermons.
J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei: A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (new edn., 1991).
C. Harrison, *Augustine: Christian Truth and Fractured Humanity* (2000) considers Augustine's theology in its Late Antique social context.
S. Lancel, *St Augustine* (1999, ET 2002) covers theology and African archaeology.
S. G. MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (1998).
O. Perler, *Les Voyages de saint Augustin* (Études augustiniennes, 1969) charts Augustine's movements.
J. M. Rist, *Augustine: Ancient Thought Baptized* (1994) considers philosophy.
B. Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (1996).
F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop: The Life and Work of a Father of the Church*, tr. B. Battersahe and G. R. Lamb (1961) catalogues Augustine's fulfilment of his official responsibilities.

Augustus (as title) (Gk. *sebastos, augoustos*) Under the *Tetrarchy, the *title Augustus was reserved for the two senior emperors; the two junior emperors were entitled *Caesar. *Constantine I after 324 and *Constantius II after 350 ruled as sole Augustus, but after the division of the Empire both emperors were Augustus with equal authority, and presumptive heirs were also declared Augustus. From the 4th century, Augustus was associated with 'eternity' (*semper Augustus, Augustus perpetuus*). In the East, the title was ultimately supplanted by Basileus, introduced officially by *Heraclius in 629. JND

Kienast, *Kaisertabelle*, 24–6.
Rösch, *Onoma Basileias*, 34–5.

Auja el Hafir *See* NESSANA.

Aunemundus *Bishop of *Lyons (*c.*653–*c.*660), murdered in obscure circumstances, and regarded as a *martyr in Lyons. Known as Dalfinus in *Anglo-Saxon sources, who blame *Balthild for his death, he was a *patron of the young Northumbrian S. *Wilfrid (*VWilfridi* 4, 6; *Bede, *HE* III 25, V 19). PJF

Acta Aunemundi (BHL 506b), ed. P. Perrier, *AASS*, Sept. VII (1760), 744–6.
ET Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF* 179–92.
A. Coville, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Lyon du V^me^ siècle au IX^me^ siècle* (1928).

Auranitis (biblical Hauran) Mountainous zone in southern *Syria, now known as the Jebel Arab or Jebel Druze. The main *city was Canatha (mod. Qanawat), but under Roman rule several *villages gained civic status: Dionysias (Suweyda); Philippopolis (Shahba); and Maximianopolis (Shaqqa). Other important sites include Hayyat, Hit, Slim, Atil, and Sia. The northern part of Auranitis is rich in *inscriptions, showing that the *villages had common funds for public works and that land could be held communally. They reveal a variety of titles for village officials, which some scholars have seen as evidence that these villages had an independent, city-like system of governance, with elected officials and colleges of magistrates. Others have questioned this model, arguing that the inscriptions refer to traditional village offices such as headman, or to overseers appointed to manage specific projects. KETB

H. C. Butler, F. A. Norris, and E. R. Stoever, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909. Division I* (1930), 17–26.
J.-M. Dentzer, *Hauran*, 5 vols. (1985–2010).
G. M. Harper, 'Village Administration in the Roman Province of Syria', *YaleClassSt* 1 (1928), 105–68.
J. Grainger, 'Village Government in Roman Syria and Arabia', *Levant* 27 (1995), 179–95.

Aurelia Charite (*fl.* 300–50) Wife of a landowner at Hermopolis in Upper *Egypt and daughter of Amazonius and Demetria. She and her husband Aurelius Adelphius, a member of the city *council who held various offices, were Christians. Their son Aurelius Asclepiades was also a city magistrate. Charite was a wealthy landowner, with considerable holdings in both the *city of Hermopolis and the surrounding countryside.

The family is known through a substantial dossier of *papyrus documents, which speak to the management of Charite's property and record activities such as paying taxes and granting *leases.

Charite's dossier is significant in that she was not only *literate, but actually drafted business records herself. Perhaps because she was a *widow, she appears to have been active in managing her affairs; her signature is one of very few signatures of women extant from Antiquity. JSM

P. Charite: K. A. Worp, *Das Aurelia Charite Archiv* (Studia Amstel. 12, 1980).

Jennifer A. Sheridan, 'Not at a Loss for Words: The Economic Power of Literate Women in Late Antique Egypt', *TAPA* 128 (1998), 189–203.

Aurelian *Augustus 270–5. Lucius Domitius Aurelianus was one of the great soldier *emperors and a crucial if controversial figure in the 3rd-century Roman recovery. Born in the *Balkans like many 3rd-century emperors, his life is little known due to the fictitous character of the **Historia Augusta*. Aurelian rose to prominence under *Gallienus, yet reportedly joined the plot to kill him. He then served under *Claudius II Gothicus and was proclaimed emperor by the *army shortly after Claudius' death, Claudius' brother *Quintillus having been swiftly eliminated.

As Augustus, Aurelian continued the work of Gallienus and Claudius to rebuild the Empire. After defeating an invasion of *Italy, Aurelian began the first fortification of *Rome in the imperial era: the Aurelianic Wall. In 272 he went east and defeated *Zenobia, Queen of *Palmyra, then returned west to crush the *Gallic Empire of *Tetricus in 274. Both Zenobia and Tetricus were paraded in Aurelian's magnificent triumph, and he took the title Restitutor Orbis, 'Restorer of the World'. More pragmatically, he strengthened the Danube *frontier by abandoning Trajan's *province of *Dacia across the river.

Aurelian was more than a simple soldier. He attempted to reform the debased *silver *coinage, albeit with limited success, and limited the number of mints issuing local civic copper *coinage. He initiated a public cult of the Unconquered *Sun, to whom he dedicated a massive *temple in Rome, served by a college of *Pontifices Dei Solis. In 272, having been appealed to for help by the Eastern Church, he expelled the heretical *Bishop Paul of *Samosata from the see of *Antioch (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 30, 19), although Eusebius (*HE* VII, 30, 20–1) and *Lactantius (*Mort.* 6) assert that only Aurelian's death averted renewed anti-Christian *persecution.

Effective but ruthless and autocratic, Aurelian faced a number of *usurpers, of whom *Domitianus II was the most prominent. Finally, in 275, Aurelian was murdered by his officers at Caenofrurium en route to the *Bosporus. His reign, in the *Historia Augusta*'s words, had been 'necessary rather than good' (*Aurelian*, 37, 1). DMG

PLRE I, Aurelianus 6.

Potter, *Empire at Bay*.

A. Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century* (1999).

W. Weiser, 'Die Münzreform des Aurelians', *ZPE* (1983), 279–95.

J. F. White, *Restorer of the World: The Roman Emperor Aurelian* (2005).

aureliani Modern term applied to a new type of radiate coin introduced by *Aurelian in AD 274, intended as a replacement for the old **antoninianus* or radiate. The coins are commonly marked XXI in *Latin or *KA in Greek, thought to refer to the 5-per cent *silver content of the coins: '20 make 1'. KETB

S. Estiot, 'The Later Third Century', in W. E. Metcalf, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (2012), 538–60.

Aurelian of Arles (522/3–51) *Bishop of *Arles (545/6–51), son of *Sacerdos, Bishop of *Lyons, appointed bishop by *Childebert I. Aurelian received two *letters from Pope *Vigilius in August 546, who granted him the **pallium* (*Ep. Arel.* 43–4). The concerns he expressed in 549 about the *Three Chapters controversy and papal views upon it are known only from Vigilius' reply (*Ep. Arel.* 45). He composed rules for male and female *monasteries which he founded with royal *patronage in Arles, but his identification as the Bishop Aurelian who wrote an advisory letter to *Theudebert I is uncertain (*Ep. Aust.* 10). He was buried at Lyons, where his epitaph, known from a copy of 1308, incorporated his biographical details (*CIL* XIII, 2397). WEK; STL

PCBE IV/1, Aurelianus 5.

WORKS (*CPL* 1844–7):

Regula ad Monachos, ed. (with comm.) A. Schmidt, *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), 237–56; 18 (1976), 17–54.

Regula ad Virgines, ed. H. Mayo, 'Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns' (Harvard Ph.D. thesis, 1974).

P. Bernard, 'Les Diptyques du monastère des Saints-Apôtres d'Arles au VIIe siècle', *RHEF* 89 (2003), 5–21.

R. Collins, 'Theodebert I, "Rex Magnus Francorum"', in P. Wormald, ed., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (1983), 7–33.

A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment. Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens* (2005).

M. Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Soziale, prosopographische und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte (Francia Beiheft* 5, 1976).

Aurelianus, Caelius Important medical writer of the Methodist school, probably 5th century. He came from *Sicca Veneria in *Africa, so may, like Cassius *Felix, a fellow medic, probably from *Cirta, have been a subject of the *Vandals. He rendered into *Latin various *Greek works of Soranus. AHM

PLRE II, Aurelianus 10.

ed. V. Rose, *Medicinales responsiones*, in his *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina* 2 (1870), 161–240.

ed. with ET I. E. Drabkin, *On Acute Diseases and On Chronic Diseases* (1950).

ed. G. Bendz with GT by I. Pape, *Celerum Passionum Libri II, Tardarum Passionum Libri V*, 2 vols. (CML 6, 1, 1990).

ed. with ET M. F. and I. E. Drabkin, *Gynaecia: Fragments of a Latin Version of Soranus' Gynaecia from a 13th Century Manuscript* (1951).

D. R. Langslow, *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire* (2000), 56–60.

aurelius *See* FLAVIUS AND AURELIUS.

Aurelius (d. *c.*430) Catholic *Bishop of *Carthage and Primate of *Africa from *c.*391. Aurelius presided over numerous *councils, worked with *Augustine to thwart the *Donatists (e.g. *Concilia Africae*, *Regularum Ecclesiae Carthaginensis Excerpta*, 93) and *Pelagians (e.g. Augustine, *epp.* 175–7), and instituted stricter discipline. A few *letters survive (*CPL* 393–6). ETH

PCBE I, Aurelius 1.

Aureolus *Usurper 268. A *Dacian cavalry officer protecting northern *Italy for *Gallienus against *Postumus when he revolted, disgusted, says *Victor (33, 17), by Gallienus' idleness. Gallienus besieged him in *Milan. After Gallienus' murder, Aureolus was killed by *Claudius Gothicus' guards. OPN

PLRE I, Aureolus.

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 256, 263–4.

CAH XII (2005), 47–9.

aureus* and *festaureus Standard Roman *gold denomination and later issues. Although a high-purity coin, the *aureus*'s weight fell gradually from *c.*8 g (0.3 ounces) (up to AD 64) to 5.5 g by 312 when *Constantine I's **solidus* replaced it. Occasional later gold coins (5 to 5.4 g) are often termed *festaurei*. RRD

D. Vagi, *Coinage and the History of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (2000).

aurum coronarium A tax payable in *gold (traditionally in the form of a golden wreath) on imperial *accessions, and every five years thereafter on the imperial *anniversaries, and on special occasions. In 362, *Julian made it voluntary for *cities (*CTh* XII, 13, 1) but the practice continued. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 430.

RAC I, 1010–20.

Ausonius (*c.*310–93 or after) Decimus Magnus Ausonius, born in *Bordeaux, the son of a doctor, taught *grammar and *rhetoric in his native *city before being summoned to the imperial *court in *Trier by *Valentinian I to tutor the *emperor's son *Gratian (*c.*367). He held the offices of *Comes and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii under Valentinian and, when his pupil Gratian was elevated to the imperial throne, received the post of *Praefectus Praetorio of *Gaul, subsequently augmented by *Italy and *Africa, and ultimately the *consulship (379). For a few years he wielded substantial influence and *patronage, promoting *friends and relations to important offices, but the consulship marked the last stage of his political power, and he subsequently returned to Bordeaux. He continued to write. His last poem dates to 393.

Ausonius' extensive poetic corpus defies neat categorization. One group of poems is personal in nature. It includes the *Ephemeris*, poems in various *metres on Ausonius' daily round on his *estate, incorporating a substantial Christian *prayer, the *Parentalia*, commemorating various deceased members of his *family, and the *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, on teachers of grammar and rhetoric from Bordeaux or the surrounding region. Ausonius' *Epistles* bear witness to the ready familiarity and common literary tastes he enjoyed with his correspondents, a unanimity that breaks down in the final letters to *Paulinus of Nola, whose *conversion to Christian *asceticism alienated him from his former mentor. Many of Ausonius' poems show the influence of his years as a teacher of grammar and rhetoric. He versified calendrical material (*Eclogues* 1–16) and lists of Roman *emperors (*Caesares*), and composed a set of *epitaphs on Trojan War heroes, adapted from *Greek originals. Ausonius' poetic invention is particularly stimulated by self-imposed constraints of form and content. His *Technopaegnion* contains a set of poems, every line of which ends with a monosyllable (in one case the monosyllable also begins the succeeding line); his *Griphus Ternarii Numeri* rings the changes on the significance of the *number three; and his *Cento Nuptialis*, composed in response to a challenge from Valentinian, puts *Vergilian language to unexpected use in a form of epithalamium (with some sexual explicitness in one section). Ausonius' penchant for lists is a further expression of his liking for a constrained compositional field. The *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* enumerates major *cities of the Roman world, with *Rome at the head and a 41-line conclusion devoted to Bordeaux, and enumerative compositional schemes figure throughout his work. The erotic finds expression in an incompletely preserved set of poems

for an attractive *Suevian slave girl (*Bissula*) and in a very different register in the *Cupido Cruciatus*, allegedly based on a painting Ausonius saw at Trier, though with pronounced Vergilian inspiration, in which heroines who have died for love torture Cupid in the underworld before all is revealed as a *dream of the god. Ausonius' descriptive skills and his taste for enumeration are in evidence in his longest and most immediately attractive work, the *Mosella*. After an introductory section in which the poet travels to the Moselle Valley, the poem opens into a series of scenes depicting the river and its vine-clad, *villa-topped banks. He describes not only human activity on or by the river—vintaging, mock battles, fishing—but also its watery inhabitants, the *fish, in a virtuoso catalogue. The poem ends with *praise of the river and of conditions in the region of the Moselle and the Rhine, often seen as an implicit endorsement of Valentinian's activities on the *frontier. Ausonius' corpus also includes some prose: prefaces and letters, primarily dedicatory, including one to Quintus Aurelius *Symmachus (*ep.* 12), whose acquaintance he had made when they were both at Valentinian's court in Trier. His most extensive prose work is his *Gratiarum Actio*, a *panegyric addressed to the Emperor Gratian, expressing thanks for the speaker's consulship. MJR

PLRE I, Ausonius 7.
HLL 5, section 554.
ed. R. P. H. Green (with extensive comm. and ET, 1991; OCT, 1999).
ed. S. Prete (1978).
ed. A. Pastorino (with comm. and IT, 1971).
ed. R. Peiper (1886).
ed. K. Schenkl (MGH Auct. Ant. 5/2, 1883).
ed. (with ET) H. G. Evelyn White (LCL, ^{2}2002).
ed. N. M. Kay (with ET and comm.) *Ausonius: Epigrams* (2001).
M. K. Hopkins, 'Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire: The Evidence of Ausonius', *CQ* 11 (1961), 239–49.
O. Nicholson, 'Self-Portrait as a Landscape: Ausonius and his Herediolum', in Harrison, Humfress, and Sandwell, *Being Christian*, 235–52.
M. J. Roberts, 'The Mosella of Ausonius', *TAPA* 114 (1984), 343–53.
H. Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (1993).

Auspicius *Bishop of Toul (*fl.* 470/1–7), commended to *Arbogast, *Comes at *Trier, as a learned theologian by *Sidonius (*ep.* IV, 17). His only extant work is a *letter in accentual iambic dimeter of *c.*477 praising Arbogast's political and Christian virtues (*Ep. Aust.* 23). RVD

PCBE IV.1, Auspicius 3.

Austrasia One of three main kingdoms of the *Franks, along with *Neustria and *Burgundy, which developed from the recurrent divisions of the *Merovingian realm among the sons of a deceased king. Austrasia, the 'eastern kingdom', is first mentioned as such by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* V, 14), although Gregory generally identified contemporary kingdoms by their rulers and capitals, and the term only becomes common in 7th-century sources such as *Fredegar.

The core of Austrasian terriory was located between *Reims and the Rhineland, in an area corresponding roughly to the Late Antique Roman provinces of *Germania Prima and Secunda, *Belgica Prima, and eastern Belgica Secunda, though the Austrasian kingdom generally also included territory in the Auvergne, *Aquitaine, and *Provence. Its main royal centre was *Metz, which had superseded *Reims by the late 6th century.

In the 7th century Austrasia was for a time ruled by the son and heir of the king based in Neustria; upon the latter's death, the former moved to Neustria and set his own son upon the Austrasian throne. This practice began in 623 with *Chlothar II and his son *Dagobert I. During this period, the Austrasians also received a separate law code, the **Lex Ribuaria*; the 'Ripuarian' Franks were initially those Franks who lived in the Rhineland, but the term now legally encompassed all Austrasians. Austrasia was the base of the *Arnulfings and Pippinids, who served as prominent bishops and Mayors of the Palace in the later 7th- and 8th-century kingdom, and gave rise to the Carolingian dynasty. EMB

RGA$_{2}$ *s.v.* Austrasia/Austria, I (1973), 512–13 (H. H. Anton).
F. Cardot, *L'Espace et le pouvoir: étude sur l'Austrasie mérovingienne* (1987).

Authari *Lombard King (584–90). Authari gained the Lombard throne (taking the *praenomen* *Flavius) in 584 following the so-called ten-year 'Ducal Interregnum' after the death of King Clef, his father (*Paul the Deacon, *HL* III, 16; **Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, 6; *Fredegar, IV, 45). As well as conflict with the Byzantines (including successful efforts against *Droctulf and the *Exarch *Smaragdus), Authari's kingdom faced multiple *Frankish incursions in the 580s, which were largely financed by the Byzantines (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* VI, 42; VIII, 18; IX, 25; X, 3). Authari vainly sought peace and a *marriage alliance from the Franks (Paul the Deacon, *HL* III, 28; Gregory of Tours, *HF* IX, 29), but did gain notable victories in 585 and 588. He died in *Pavia in 590 as a new Byzantine-Frankish offensive began (Paul the Deacon, *HL* III, 35). Called '*nefandissimus*' by *Gregory the Great for refusing to allow Lombards to be baptized as Catholics (*ep.* I, 17), Authari nonetheless married a

Catholic *Bavarian Frankish princess, *Theudelinda (Paul the Deacon, *HL* III, 30). NJC

PLRE IIIA, Authari 2.

N. Christie, *The Lombards* (1995), 85–9, 185.

Richards, *Consul of God*, 11–13, 181.

P. S. Barnwell, *Kings, Courtiers & Imperium: The Barbarian West, 565–725* (1997), 97.

autopragia The right, attested in *Egypt on *papyri, to collect taxes and pay them directly to the provincial treasury, bypassing the regional *pagarch. It was bestowed in Egypt upon select **oikoi* and *villages, most famously, in the papyrological record, on *Aphrodito (*kome Aphrodites*) in the Antaiopolite *nome. This privilege was granted under the Emperor *Leo I (P.Cair.Masp. I, 67019); the villagers struggled to retain it in the mid-6th century. JGK

Jones, *LRE* 358, 407–8, 780.

C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô, 525–526* (Travaux Byzance 16, 2004).

Autun (*Augustodunum, civitas Aeduorum*, dép. Saône-et-Loire, France) *City in the *province of *Lugdunensis Prima, one of the most important of Roman *Gaul, with a massive 1st-century wall-circuit encompassing 200 ha (*c.*494 acres), parts of which survive, including two of its monumental gates, alongside remnants of its orthogonal street plan, and a wealth of chance finds and *inscriptions. The city sided against the Gallic *Emperor *Victorinus and was sacked in 269/70 after a lengthy siege of seven months, but was rebuilt under *Constantius I and his son *Constantine I. Recent excavations may have uncovered its school, the Maeniana, the restoration of which was announced in 298 by *Eumenius, newly appointed professor of *rhetoric, with a budget of 600,000 sesterces (*PanLat* IX (IV), 11–17). A dozen years later a panegyrist from the Autun schools waxed lyrical about the loyalty to *Rome of *Flavia Aeduorum* (*PanLat* V(VIII), 1–3) and expressed gratitude for a substantial tax remission (V (VIII), 11–13).

By the end of the 4th century Autun was the site of **fabricae* and a **gynaeceum* (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*occ.*] IX, 33–4 and XI, 59). The city came under *Burgundian control in the later 5th century, then was taken by *Franks after a siege during their absorption of the Burgundian kingdom in the early 530s. During these decades it was deprived of some of its vast city-territory by the elevation to *civitas* status of *Chalon-sur-Saône and *Mâcon, but remained a significant centre, occasionally visited by *Merovingian rulers.

*Ammianus describes the city walls in 356 as spacious but weakened by age and decay (XVI, 2, 1), and at an uncertain date, perhaps *c.*400, a far smaller and more manageable *castrum* was established within their south-western corner, within which lay the cathedral complex. *Inscriptions suggest a Christian presence at Autun by the late 2nd century; its first known *bishop was *Reticius, under *Constantine I (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 82). The anonymous author of the Christian poem the **Laudes Domini* was probably from Autun. *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 15) records the erection by the priest and future bishop Euphronius in the mid-5th century of a church in honour of the *martyr S. Symphorian, whose mythopoeic *Passio* may date from the same era (*BHL* 7967; *AASS* Augusti IV, 496–7); it later became a significant abbey. This church lay in the vicinity of a vast Christian cemetery east of the city, visited by Gregory (*Glory of the Confessors*, 72–5), which contained the burials of various bishops, and the Church of S. Pierre l'Estrier, shown by excavation to have developed from an early 4th-century mausoleum into a funerary *basilica.

Autun's most prominent Merovingian bishops, *Syagrius and *Leodegar (S. Leger), were also vigorous builders. The former established a *monastery for women, a **xenodochium*, and a Church of S. *Martin in the city and its suburbs with the support of his patron Queen *Brunhild, who sought the **pallium* for Syagrius, and, after his death, acquired privileges for these foundations in 602 from Pope *Gregory the Great (*epp.* XIII, 5, 9–11). Bishop Leodegar (*c.*662–*c.*678) sought to hold Autun against his opponents, and traces of the works he is said by his hagiographer to have carried out on the city's defences, cathedral complex, and 'anything worn with age' (*Passio Leudegarii*, I, 1) have recently been revealed by excavation. In 725, Autun was sacked by an *Arab army, which carried much booty back to *Spain. RDR; OPN; STL

CAGaule 71/1–2 (1993).

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 4 (1986), 37–45; 16/1 (2014), 47–52.

S. Balcon-Berry and W. Berry, 'Le Groupe épiscopal d'Autun au haut Moyen Âge', in M. Gaillard, ed., *L'Empreinte chrétienne en Gaule du IVe au IXe siècle* (2014), 173–200.

M. Kasprzyk, *Les Cités des Eduens et de Chalon durant l'antiquité tardive (v. 260–530 env.)* (2005).

Y. Labaune et al., 'Une *scola* monumentale découverte boulevard Frédéric-Latouche à Augustodunum/Autun', *Gallia* 70 (2013), 197–256.

B. K. Young, 'Autun and the Civitas Aeduorum: Maintaining a Regional Identity in Late Antiquity', in T. S. Burns and J. W. Eadie, eds., *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity* (2001), 25–46.

Auvergne *See* CLERMONT.

Auxentius of Durostorum (*c.*400) *Homoean *bishop of the *Goths who was the foster-son of *Ulfila, the apostle to the Goths. Auxentius composed

a *letter in *praise of his adoptive father which ends with the *creed of Ulfila. He was active in *Milan in opposition to *Ambrose, and the letter was preserved in the marginalia of the latter's *De Fide*. RJM

CPL 691:

ed. R. Gryson (CCSL 87, 1982).

ed. (with FT) R. Gryson (SC 267, 1980).

P. Heather and J. Matthews, 'The Life and Work of Ulfila', in their *The Goths in the Fourth Century* (TTH 11, 1991), 124–44.

Auxentius of Milan (bp. 355–74) A Cappadocian who was made *Bishop of *Milan by *Constantius II even though he knew no *Latin at the time. Accused by *Athanasius and *Hilary of harbouring *Arian sentiments, Auxentius endured attacks and condemnations and seems to have retained popularity with his congregation. Upon his death the *city was divided until *Ambrose was made bishop. RJM

PCBE II, Auxentius 1.

T. D. Barnes, 'Valentinian, Auxentius and Ambrose', *Historia*, 51 (2002), 227–37.

D. Williams, 'The Anti-Arian Campaigns of Hilary of Poitiers and the *Liber Contra Auxentium*', *Church History* 61 (1992), 7–22.

auxilia Originally the term for infantry *cohortes* and cavalry *alae*, recruited into the Roman *army predominantly from non-citizen provincials, providing skills (mounted troops, light infantry, archers) in support of the legions. These regiments continued to exist with retained titulature in the frontier forces recorded in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. During the *Tetrarchy, however, and especially under *Constantine I, new infantry regiments were instituted, styled *auxilia*. These formed part of the *emperor's *Comitatus as *auxilia palatina*. The *Notitia* lists 43 such units in the East and 64 in the West (*Not. Dig. or.* 5, 49–66; 6, 49–69; 7, 36–7; 9, 24–9; *occ.* 5, 158–222). *Auxilia* were often paired following the pattern of 3rd-century legionary *vexillationes*, and had titles reflecting their origins, *insignia, and *arms. Thus the *Bracchiati* and *Cornuti*, and the *Celtae* and *Petulantes*, were often fielded together (*Ammianus XV, 5, 30; XVI, 12, 43, XX, 4, 1; XXXI, 10, 4; cf. *ILS* 2796–804). JCNC

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 131–73, 239–43, 358–81.

Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 53–6.

Avarayr, Battle of (Awarayr) In AD 450 a revolt began in *Persarmenia against Persian hegemony, perhaps first among the common people inflamed by the Christian clergy who opposed Persia's imposition of *Zoroastrianism, and then among many but not all the Armenian **naxarars* (feudal families, *nakharars*), led by the *Mamikoneans under *Vardan, the **sparapet* (hereditary grand marshal) of *Armenia. The Persian **marzban* (governor), the Armenian *Vasak Siwni, and several other feudal families sided with the Persians. On 2 June 451, the Armenians fought the Persians at Avarayr in Artaz (near modern Maku), but were overwhelmed and many were killed. Nonetheless, the Persian King *Yazdegerd II recalled his troops because of their losses and because the Armenians continued with guerrilla action. The principal sources for the revolt are the *History* of *Lazar P'arpets'i and *Elishe Vardapet's *History of Vardan.* LA

Avars (6th–9th cent.) A confederacy of Central Eurasian nomads, first mentioned by *Priscus (fr. 40 Blockley). The origin of their westward migration is often linked to the downfall in 555 of the Rouran Empire in modern Mongolia, although this assumption is contested. The main source for early Avar history is *Menander Protector's *History*.

The Avars reached the north Caucasian steppes under pressure from the western Turks, and their first contact with the Eastern Roman Empire took place under *Justinian I through the agency of the *Alan King Sarosius (558). After making an alliance with the emperor, they crushed *Utrigurs Zali, *Sabirs, and *Antes and probably annexed the *Kutrigurs. The first known Avar ruler was *Bayan, entitled *khagan (*c.*561–82/5), who launched attacks on the *Franks in 562 and 566, defeating their king *Sigibert I. After concluding an alliance with the *Lombard King *Alboin, Bayan took part in the destruction of the *Gepid kingdom on the Danube. Then when the Lombards left for Italy in 568, the Avars settled in the *Pannonian plain. Following an agreement with the Emperor *Tiberius II, 60,000 Avar horsemen were brought across the Danube. They attacked the *Slavs who were plundering *Greece and laid waste their *villages. However, not long after, Bayan broke the treaty and began to attack the Roman *frontier, taking advantage of the Roman war with the *Persian Empire. In 582 *Sirmium fell to the Avars after a three-year siege and peace was achieved only after heavy *tribute payments.

Bayan was succeeded by one of his sons, whose name remains unknown (*c.*583–602/10). His rule roughly coincides with the period covered by *Theophylact Simocatta's *History*, our main source for the period. At that time, the Avars and their Slavic subjects carried out numerous attacks on the Empire, including westward raids as far as north *Italy, and warfare was constant. Despite several campaigns under the Emperor *Maurice's efforts the *Balkan provinces were gradually penetrated by *Slavs and lost to the Empire. This process persisted until the unsuccessful siege of *Constantinople by Avar and Persian forces in 626. After their sound defeat under *Heraclius, the Avars were unable to exert

the same pressure on the Empire and their overlords were faced with revolt and civil war. *Samo's uprising and rule over the Wends (*c.*623/4), the creation of Great *Bulgaria by *Kubrat (*c.*630/5), and the probable arrival of *Croats and *Serbs in the Balkans under Heraclius were to have profound consequences for the Avar khaganate.

Later, evidence becomes scarce because for more than a century the sources are poor. In 782, the Avars reappeared on the south-eastern *Frankish border, but Charlemagne defeated them in a series of campaigns, bringing war to Avar territory and destroying their main encampment—the so-called 'Avar ring'—in 796. An ensuing Avar revolt against the Franks (799–803) was unsuccessful and their last remnants were wiped out by the Bulgar Khan Krum (*c.*803/4).

Nothing is known for sure of the language(s) spoken by the Avars. They led a pastoral life and their military tactics resembled those of steppe horsemen; indeed, they were responsible for the introduction of the iron *stirrup into Europe. AA

W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa, 567–822 n.Chr.* (²2002).

S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Ein Versuch zur Sammlung und chronologischen Anordnung der griechischen Quellen der Awarengeschichte nebst einer Auswahl von andersprachigen Quellen* (1972).

S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Avarica. Über die Awarengeschichte und ihre Quellen* (1986).

S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, 'The Avars', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 206–28.

Cs. Bálint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe. Steppenvölker zwischen Volga und Donau vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert* (1989), 145–92.

J. Szentpéteri, ed., *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, i–ii (2002).

F. Curta, ed., *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans* (2008).

Avar Treasure Also known as the Albanian or Vrap Treasure, this group of some 40 objects was found in a *copper kettle near Vrap, Albania, in 1901. The *belt fittings that make up the largest part of the hoard date to the 7th/8th centuries. Other elements include handled bowls, *gold goblets, a *silver pitcher and bucket, the latter probably Byzantine and earlier in date. The significant quantity of gold, some 5 kg (*c.*11 lb), has contributed to the theory that a *khagan assembled the Treasure. Because the hoard includes a number of unfinished elements, some scholars have considered it the property of an artist. Other than two goblets in the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore) and the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, the Treasure belongs to the Metropolitan Museum (New York). MH

J. Werner, *Der Schatzfund von Vrap in Albanien. Beiträge zur Archäologie der Awarenzeit im mittleren Donauraum* (Denkschr. Wien 184, 1986).

M. Holcomb, '"Ugly but … important": The Albanian Hoard and the Making of the Archaeological Treasure in the Early Twentieth Century', *EME* 16/1 (2008), 3–22.

Avdat *See* OBODA.

Avesta Collection of *Zoroastrian texts regarded by Zoroastrians as their sacred scriptures. Orally composed in the old Iranian Avestan language, closely related to Achaemenid Old Persian, in the late 2nd and early to mid-1st millennia BC, the texts were orally transmitted until the 7th century AD, when they (apparently) began to be written down in a phonetic script invented for that purpose, as they were recited at the time. The oral tradition was probably lost by the 13th and 14th centuries, when the earliest extant manuscripts were written (most are much later). Some manuscripts contain only the Avestan texts (*sade* 'plain'), others are accompanied by a **Zand* (commentary). Some also contain Sanskrit and/or Gujarati translations of the *Zand*.

The largest collections of extant manuscripts are now in western *India (at the K. R. Cama Institute in Mumbai, the Meherji Rana library in Navsari, and others). There are further collections at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the British Library in London, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The Iranian collections are also gradually being made known.

The extant texts are in older and later forms of the language, referred to as Old(er) and Young(er) Avestan. The *Old Avesta* contains the five *Gāthā*s ('songs'), oral compositions in the Indo-Iranian tradition, closely related to the Old Indic *Veda*s, and the 'Yasna in seven sections'. After the work of Martin Haug, in the 1860s, the *Gāthā*s came to be regarded in the Western scholarly tradition as the only texts 'written' by the prophet Zarathustra.

The Young Avestan texts comprise the *Yasna*, a text recited at the morning ritual and containing the *Old Avesta* as its central part; the **Vendidad* (*Videvdad*), instructions for the purification of pollution caused by disease and *death; the *yasht*s, hymns to individual deities, e.g. Mithra (*Mihr), *Tishtriya, Verethraghna (*Wahrām); various shorter texts, among them short hymns to the *Sun, Moon, etc.; numerous texts assembled in the *Khorda Avesta* 'little Avesta'; the *Hādōkht nask*, which describes the fate of the soul after death; and two instructional texts (now incomplete)—the *Hērbedestān*, which contains rules about priestly studies, and the *Nīrangestān*, which is about ritual practices. The *Zand*s of these two, as well as that of the *Vendidad*, contain valuable commentaries explaining practices current in *Sasanian times.

The *Gāthā*s are composed in five different metres. Much of the *Young Avesta* is also metrical; the most

common metre is one of eight syllables. Most of the Young Avestan texts were (and many still are) recited at rituals, among them the *Yasna*, recited during the *yasna* ritual, originally a morning/recreation ritual, and the *Vendidad sade*, recited during the *vendidad sade* ritual, a purification ritual lasting from midnight until after sunrise; it contains an entire modified *Yasna* and the texts of the *Vendidad* interspersed within the *Old Avesta*. It is an extended *yasna* ritual in which parts of the *Yasna* text are replaced by texts referred to as the *Vispered*, with the chapters of the *Vendidad* inserted among the Old Avestan texts. The *yasht*s were recited at *festivals celebrating individual deities.

A translation of all the principal Avestan texts was first published in Europe in 1770 by A. H. Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805), based on the interpretation of the texts current among the Zoroastrians (Parsis) of Bombay (mod. Mumbai). This gave impetus to further work on the Avestan language and its texts, and, by the end of the 19th century, several editions and translations, regarded as more or less definitive, had been published. These translations were still strongly dependent on the *Zand*, but during the 20th century it became clear that the *Zand* was often unreliable, and work on the texts became increasingly based on the study of Iranian linguistics and comparison with the *Veda*s. There is no complete edition of all the known Avestan texts, nor of the *Zand*, and the only comprehensive translations (in French and German) are to a large extent out of date. There are numerous up-to-date editions with translations of individual texts. POS

EncIran III/1 (1987) *s.v.* Avesta i. *Survey of the history and contents of the book*, 35–44 (J. Kellens).
EncIran V/8 (1992) *s.v.* Codices Hafnienses, 886–93 (J. P. Asmussen).
EncIran II/1 (1985) *s.v.* Anquetil-Duperron, 100–1 (J. Duchesne-Guillemin).
EncIran VII/1 (2003) *s.v.* Haug, Martin, 61–3 (Hintze).
ed. I. Gershevitch (with ET), *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (1959; repr. 1967).
ed. A. Hintze (with ET), *Zamyād-Yašt: Introduction, Avestan Text, Translation, Glossary* (Iranische Texte 7, 1994).
ed. A. Hintze (with GT), *Zamyād-Yašt: Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 15, 1994).
A. Hintze, *A Zoroastrian Liturgy: The Worship in Seven Chapters* (Yasna 35–41) (Iranica 12, 2007).
A. Hintze, 'Avestan Literature', in R. E. Emmerick, M. Macuch, and E. Yarshater, eds., *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran: Companion Volume I to A History of Persian Literature* (History of Persian literature 17, 2009), 1–71.
ed. H. Humbach et al. (with ET and comm.), *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts* (1991).
W. W. Malandra, *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion: Readings from the Avesta and Achaemenid Inscriptions* (Minnesota Publications in the Humanities 2, 1983).
8th Yasht: ed. (with ET) A. Panaino, *Tištrya* 1: *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius* and *Tištrya* 2: *The Iranian Myth of the Star Sirius* (SOR 68, 1 and 2; 1990–5).
P. O. Skjærvø, *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism* (2011).

Avienius (*fl.* mid-4th cent.) Postumius Rufius Festus Avienius was a poet, *Proconsul successively of *Achaea and *Africa, and one of the *Rufii Festi, a *family of the senatorial *aristocracy. ('Avienius' is a *signum*.) He is probably identical with the Avien(i)us who paraphrased *Vergil in iambics (*Servius, *Aeneid*, 10, 272; cf. 388), but not the historian *Festus or the fabulist *Avienus. His *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* is a geographical poem adapted from a *Greek original by Dionysius Periegetes. The *Ora Maritima*, in iambic trimeters, is a survey of Atlantic and Mediterranean ports, probably based on a lost Greek *periplus*; only the first book (*Brittany to *Marseilles) survives. His longest work is an expanded translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, said by *Jerome, *c.*387, to have been produced 'recently' (*Commentary on Titus*, 1, 12). Manuscripts of the *Descriptio* and *Phaenomena* are extant. The *Ora Maritima* is known only from the *editio princeps* (1488), which also contains a 31-line poem (*AnthLat* 876 Riese) requesting pomegranates from a certain Flavianus. An *inscription set up at *Rome by the poet's son adds a short poem addressed to the goddess Nortia (*CIL* VI, 537 = *ILS* 2944). GH

PLRE I, Festus 12 signo Avienius.
HLL, section 557.
ed. A. Holder (1887).
Ora Maritima, ed. A. Schulten (^{2}1955; repr. with ET by J. P. Murphy, 1977).
Descriptio, ed. P. van de Woestijne (1961).
Aratea, ed. J. Soubiran (annotated with FT, Budé, 1981).
Alan Cameron, 'Avienus or Avienius?', *ZPE* 108 (1995), 252–62.
É. Wolff, 'Aviénus et la poésie didactique', in C. Cusset, ed., *Musa Docta: recherches sur la poésie scientifique dans l'Antiquité* (2006), 363–76.

Avienus Author of a collection of 42 Aesopian fables in elegiac couplets, probably completed in the early 5th century; the spelling Avienus is to be preferred to Avianus. His dedicatee, Theodosius, is surely *Macrobius. Given that connection, it is plausible that the fabulist is the Avienus who appears as an interlocutor in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. Biographical details are altogether uncertain, and Avienus is not likely to be the son of the poet Rufius Festus *Avienius.

His fables have as their models Babrius and Phaedrus, but also contain tags from other writers, sometimes awkwardly fitted to their contexts. The indication is of high literary ambitions, although high literary achievement did not follow. Avienus may be the writer

who translated stories from *Vergil and 'all of Livy' (*totum Livium*) into iambics (Servius, *Aeneid*, 10, 272 and 10, 338), but this may be Postumius Rufius Festus Avienius. SMcG

PLRE II Avienus 1.
HLL section 622 *s.v.* Avianus.
ed. A. Guaglianone (1958).
ed. (with FT) F. Gaide (1980).
Alan Cameron, 'Macrobius, Avienus, and Avianus', *CQ* 17/2 (1967), 385–99.
N. Holzberg, *Die antike Fabel. Eine Einführung* (²2001).

Avitus Western *emperor 455–6. Gallo-Roman aristocrat from the *Auvergne, proclaimed emperor at *Toulouse and *Arles in June–July 455 by the *Visigothic King *Theoderic II. Born *c.*395, he held both civil and military posts, serving under *Aëtius and later as *Petronius Maximus' *Magister Militum Praesentalis. Broadly supported by Gallo-Romans and barbarians, he appointed many Gallic aristocrats to the imperial *administration and granted the *Goths and *Burgundians substantial territory for fighting the *Suebes in *Spain. Avitus was not recognized by the Eastern Emperor *Marcian, nor could he gain full control of *Italy despite recognition by the *Senate and an optimistic consular *panegyric by his son-in-law *Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmen* 7, January 456). Urban *disorder soon led to military rebellion. Avitus was defeated at the Battle of Placentia on 17 October 456 by *Ricimer, deposed, and made *Bishop of Placentia. He died in early 457, perhaps at the instigation of the Emperor *Majorian. SAHK

PLRE II, Avitus 5.
CAH XIV (2000), 20–3.
R. W. Mathisen, 'Avitus, Italy and the East in AD 455–6', *Byzantion* 51(1981), 232–47.

Avitus, Bishop of Vienne (d. *c.*518) Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus was a Gaulish aristocrat and *littérateur*, *Bishop of *Vienne from 494/6, succeeding his father Hesychius. He was a younger relative (perhaps nephew) of *Sidonius Apollinaris. As bishop he was a close associate of the *Burgundian King *Gundobad, despite the king's *Homoean ('*Arian') religious loyalty, and of his son and successor *Sigismund. He died soon after presiding over the Council of Epao (517).

His principal poetic work is a five-book hexameter composition *On Events of Sacred History* (*De Spiritalis Historiae Gestis* = *SHG*). The first three books narrate the Creation, Fall, and God's judgement on Adam and Eve. Book 4 covers the Flood and Book 5 the events of the Exodus. The narrative is supplemented with typological interpretations. The poetic treatment shows familiarity with classical models as well as *Prudentius and other Christian poets. The work is Augustinian in its emphasis on sin and grace, and makes direct use of *Augustine's *On Genesis to the Letter* (*De Genesi ad Litteram*). It enjoyed considerable medieval and later popularity; in addition to *Latin authors, there are apparent echoes in the Old English *Genesis B* and in Milton. Also extant is an exhortatory poem on chastity addressed to Avitus' sister, the nun Fuscina; it is sometimes wrongly regarded as a sixth book of *SHG*. No other verse has survived, but the preface to *SHG* refers to a 'multitude of *epigrams' lost in a recent upheaval (probably the siege of Vienne in 500).

Modern editors have established a corpus of 96 *letters, including eight by others to Avitus. Prominent among the addressees are Gundobad and Sigismund; there are also several letters written in the latter's name to the Eastern *Emperor *Anastasius I. Episcopal correspondents include Avitus' brother Apollinaris (Bishop of Valence), and Viventiolus (Bishop of *Lyons). Of special interest is *ep.* 46, congratulating the *Frankish King *Clovis on his *conversion and *baptism. Other letters illustrate the normal round of Late Antique epistolary networking, seen also in Sidonius, *Ruricius, and *Ennodius. A sizeable group consists of short *festal letters to other bishops and laymen; several feature playful exchanges about food, looking back to Roman comedy and satire. The *Latin is ornate and vague, often to the point of obscurity. Numbered among the letters are a two-book tract *Against Eutyches and Nestorius* (*ep.* 2–3) commissioned by Gundobad, and extracts from a work *Against the Arians* (*ep.* 1), mostly preserved by the Carolingian compiler Florus of Lyons.

The preface to *SHG* mentions a collection of *sermons compiled by Avitus himself; it was known to *Gregory of Tours (*HF* II, 34). Two full-scale sermons (6–7) survive complete. Portions of some 30 others are preserved by Florus and in remnants of a 6th-century *papyrus codex (Paris, BN. 8913–14), which also contained at least some letters. GH

PLRE II, Avitus 4.
PCBE IV/1, Avitus 2.
HLL section 794.
CPL 990–6.
ed. R. Peiper (MGH Auct. Ant. 6. 2, 1883).
ed. N. Hecquet-Noti (*De Spir. Hist. Gest.*, annotated with FT, SC 444, 1999).
ed. N. Hecquet-Noti (*De Cons. Cast. Laude*, annotated with FT, SC 546, 2011).
ET (annotated) G. W. Shea, *The Poems of Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus* (1997).
ET (with introduction) D. [R.] Shanzer and I. [N.] Wood, *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose* (TTH 38, 2002).
A. Arweiler, *Die Imitation antiker und spät-antiker Literatur in der Dichtung 'De Spiritalis Historiae Gestis' des Alcimus Avitus* (1999).

M. Burckhardt, *Die Briefsammlung des Bischofs Avitus von Vienne* (1938).
H. Goelzer, *Le Latin de Saint Avit* (1909).
U. Heil, *Avitus von Vienne und die homöische Kirche der Burgunder* (2011).
D. [J.] Nodes, *Doctrine and Exegesis in Biblical Latin Poetry* (1993).
M. Roberts, 'Rhetoric and Poetic Imitation in Avitus' Account of the Crossing of the Red Sea', *Traditio* 39 (1983), 29–80.

Avitus of Clermont (571–at least early 590s) Career cleric at *Clermont, where he was mentor and friend of *Gregory of *Tours, who mentions various ecclesiastical building projects he undertook in the Auvergne. In 576 he condoned the destruction of the *synagogue in Clermont and presided over a mass *baptism of Jews (Gregory of Tours, *HF* V, 11; *Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen,* V, 5a–b). RVD

PCBE IV/1, Avitus 5.

Awgen, Mar (Gk. Eugenius) Legendary monk, said to have introduced Egyptian monasticism into Mesopotamia in the 4th century. His story is known from a *Syriac *Life*, from the **Liber Castitatis* (*Book of Chastity*), from the **Chronicle of Seert* (Arabic), and from a summary by *Dadishoʿ Qaṭrāyā (7th cent.), the earliest reference to him. He is said to have come from Clysma in *Egypt and, having spent time at the *monastery of *Pachomius, to have arrived at *Nisibis with a band of 70 (only 10 in some sources) disciples, and to have built a monastery on Mount *Izla. The legend attributes *miracles to Awgen which gained him favour with the governor of Nisibis and with *Shapur II, consequently allowing him and his disciples to build churches and monasteries.

A monastery named after him, perched high on the Mount Izla escarpment *c.*18 km (*c.*11 miles) north-east of Nisibis, was refounded *c.*700 and has undergone several reconstructions. Twenty cells were probably built in 643/64 and rebuilding of the church is dated by an *inscription to 1271. Monastic use resumed in 2011. ACMc; OPN

GEDSH s.v. Awgen, Mar, 48 (Mathews).
EncIran IX/1 (1998), 64, *s.n.* Eugenius (Mar Awgen) (Sims-Williams).
BHO 120–2, ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, III, 376–480.
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 60.
J.-M. Fiey, 'Aonès, Awun, et Awgin (Eugène) aux origines du monachisme mésopotamien', *AnBoll* 80 (1962), 52–81.
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 346–8 (monastery).
Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*, 3–5, 135.

Axum *See* AKSUM AND ETHIOPIA.

***Ayādgār ī Zarērān* (*The Memorial of Zarēr*)** A short epic romance written in *Pahlavi. It is a late *Sasanian work based on an older Parthian version. One version of it is found in Ferdowsī's (Firdausi's) *Shāhnāmah*. The setting is the reign of Wištāsp, of the legendary Kayanid dynasty, upon his conversion to Mazdaism. Challenged by the evil Arjāsp lord of the Hyōns (*Huns) to renounce his faith, he refuses, which precipitates a war between Iranians and the barbarians. Zarēr, Wištāsp's brother, dies heroically in battle. In the end the Iranians celebrate their victory with the capture and mutilation of Arjāsp. WWM

EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.v.* Ayādgār ī Zarērān, 128–9 (M. Boyce).
ed. (with GT, NP T and comm.) D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Die Geschichte Zarēr's* (Studia Indoeuropaea Upsaliensia 4, 1981).

Ayaş Modern name of ancient Elaeusa Sebaste, a *city and bishopric of Rough *Cilicia, located between *Tarsus and *Seleuceia. The name Elaeusa originally referred to the small offshore island where the Roman client king Archelaus of Cappadocia resided in the 1st century BC. The subsequent Roman city of Sebaste grew up on the mainland, and the isthmus was filled in by progressive sanding along the line of a Roman *aqueduct which led to the island. The site includes a theatre, an *agora, an extramural *temple, and extensive necropolises. After apparent recession in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the city, although overshadowed by its eastern neighbours *Corycus (Corcys) and Corasion, served as an entrepôt for exporting to *Constantinople the region's most important crop, *olive oil. A single-aisled 5th-century church, with a *mosaic depicting the *Earthly Paradise prophesied by Isaiah 11:6–7, was built over the abandoned extramural temple. A three-aisled *basilica church was erected on the agora in the late 5th century. Another large circular building of Late Antiquity seems to have been destroyed by fire in the 530s, and was replaced with workshops. SM

TIB 5/1 (1990) *s.v.* Sebaste, 400–1.
E. Equini Schneider, *Elaiussa Sebaste I: campagne di scavo 1995–1997* (1999), and *Elaiussa Sebaste II: un porto fra Oriente e Occidente* 1–2 (2003).
M. Gough, 'A Temple and Church at Ayaş (Cilicia)', *AnatSt* 4 (1954), 49–64.
M. Gough, 'The Emperor Zeno and Some Cilician Churches', *AnatSt* 22 (1972), 199–212.
J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien* (MAMA III, 1931).

***ayvan* (MP *āywan*)** A barrel-vaulted monumental entranceway in Iranian architecture. While porticoed entranceways are common in Seleucid and early Parthian architecture, the New Persian word *ayvan* serves

as a modern technical term for the barrel-vaulted entranceways favoured in late Parthian and *Sasanian architecture. The single or triple *ayvan* became a standard feature of Sasanian sacred and palatial architecture, appearing in mud- or baked-brick as well as in rough-stone/gypsum masonry. Courts with *ayvans* opening on all four sides appear through the Parthian and Sasanian eras and were later integrated into *mosque architecture.

Ayvans are prominent at sites such as the palace of *Ardashir at *Firuzabad, the sanctuary of Adur Gushnasp at *Takht-e Solayman, the great Ayvan-e Kisra at *Ctesiphon, and even cut into the rock face at *Taq-e Bostan. In place names and medieval texts, the term can refer to an audience hall or a palace in its entirety.

MPC

EncIran III/2 *s.v. ayvān*, 153–5 (Grabar).

Azd Refers either to a group formed by the migration of two branches of the same tribe into different regions of Arabia, or—more popularly—the amalgam in Islamic times of two separate tribes with the same name. Azd are enumerated in the later genealogical tradition among *al-'arab al-'ariba* (the pure Arabs) descended from the biblical figure Joktan whose offspring took up residence in southern *Arabia. The Azd Sarat were the branch hailing from the region of 'Asir (in the south of modern Saudi Arabia), and the Azd 'Uman were from what is now modern *Oman. In early Islamic times, the Azd Sarat branch became very influential in the politics of *Basra. The migration of the Azd 'Uman to Basra in southern Iraq in the 680s may mark the moment when the two groups joined together. The Azd Sarat also established a substantial presence in the important eastern Iranian region of *Khorasan. One of their number, Yazid b. al-Muhallab, grew in power and influence there until 704, when the 'Viceroy of the East' al-*Hajjaj b. Yusuf (r. *c.*694–714), worried by this new rising power, sought to remove and imprison him. Despite the blow to their prestige, the Azd would play a role in helping to elevate the *Abbasids to power in 750 AD. RHos

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Azd', 811–13 (Strenzoik).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Al-Kalbi, *Jamharat al-Nasab*, ed. M. F. al-'Azm (1983).

STUDY

H. Rasheed, *Tribal Alliance Formations and Power Structures in the Jahilliya and Early Islamic Periods: Quraysh and Thaqif (530–750 CE)*, (Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 2010).

B

Babai the Great (*c.*551–628) East Syriac abbot and theologian. He was a student at the School of *Nisibis, then a monk at the Great Monastery on Mount *Izla under *Abraham of Kashkar. After founding his own *monastery near Nisibis he returned in 604 to the Great Monastery and became its third abbot. Babai, a leader 'fierce in speech and rather harsh in command' (*Thomas of *Marga), expelled the monk Jacob for complicity in a scandal, and many other monks left with him. During the years *c.*610–28 when the Shah of Persia *Khosrow II refused to allow the consecration of a *Catholicus for the *Church of the East, Babai shared in the administration of the Church. He undertook a visitation of monasteries at the behest of the metropolitans of Nisibis, *Adiabene, and Karka d-Bet Slok (*Kirkuk), to root out *Messalians and sympathizers with *Henana. Having returned to his cell after the election of Catholicus Isho'yahb II, he died the same year.

Babai's great work of theology was the *Book of the Union*, an exposition in seven books of the traditional Christology of the Church of the East, 'union' in the title referring to the single *parsopa* (*Syriac for *Greek *prosopon*) uniting the two *qnome* of Christ. Babai wrote the lives of several saints, but the only one to survive complete is the *Life of Giwargis* (Georgius: *BHO* 323), a *martyr (d. 615) and convert from *Zoroastrianism whose own opposition to Henana and the Christology of one *qnoma* (Syriac for Greek *hypostasis*) is prominently described. Babai also composed a long commentary on the *Kephalaia Gnostica* of *Evagrius of Pontus. Other surviving works are several monastic and liturgical texts. JFC

GEDSH s.v. Babai the Great, 49–50 (Brock).
EncIran III/3 (1988) *s.n.* Babay the Great, p. 308 (A. Vööbus).

EDITIONS

A. Vaschalde (ed. with LT), *Liber de unione* (CSCO 79–80. Scr. syr. 34–35, 1915).
ed. (with GT), W. Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus* (Abh. [Gött.], NF 13/2 (1912).
Life of Giwargis (*BHO* 323), ed. P. Bedjan, *Mar Jab-Alaha* (1895); GT O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, 221–77.

STUDIES

G. Chediath, *The Christology of Mar Babai, the Great* (1982).
T. Engelmann, *Annahme Christi und Gottesschau. Die Theologie Babais des Grossen* (2013).

Bab al-Abwab *See* DERBENT

Baba Rabba (3rd/4th cent.) Son of a *Samaritan high priest, reformer, founder and restorer of *synagogues and schools, and military leader, known exclusively from Samaritan sources. His eminent status is expressed in his name/title, 'the Great Gate'. The most extensive description of his life is contained in the 14th-century Samaritan chronicle *Kitāb al-Tarīkh*. He is said to have appointed seven wealthy and learned men as leaders of the community. Despite legendary traits in his biography, no persuasive reasons to doubt his historicity have been put forward. RP

EncJud (²2007), vol. 3, 16, *s.v.* Baba Rabbah (A. Loewenstamm).
P. Stenhouse, *The Kitāb al-Tarīkh of Abū l-Fath Translated into English with Notes* (1985).
J. M. Cohen, *A Samaritan Chronicle: A Source-Critical Analysis of the Life and Times of the Great Samaritan Reformer, Baba Rabbah* (1981).

Babylon Located strategically on the eastern bank of the *Nile in *Egypt at the entrance to the Delta, Babylon had been an important town from the pharaonic period. Trajan (r. 98–117) built a citadel (Ar. Qasr al-Shama') there with direct water access and dug a canal bearing his name through the town, from the Nile to *Clysma on the Red Sea. The town subsequently expanded towards *Heliopolis (Ar. 'Ayn Shams) in the north. From the 4th century, a *bishop of Babylon is known and several churches were located inside the fortress.

During the *Arab conquest, the citadel became a refuge for Roman soldiers (*John of *Nikiu, CXI, 16).

Unable to take the stronghold, *'Amr b. al-'As turned to subduing its surrounding territory, including the *Fayyum and Heliopolis. Only with reinforcements sent by the *caliph was he able to capture the city in 642, and then only by attacking the Roman garrison unexpectedly from the rear. The capture was a major coup for the Arabs, allowing them to cut the Delta off from the rest of Egypt. The fortress became the administrative centre of the new capital: the name Babylon continued to be used into the 8th century alongside the name al-*Fustat, as *Arabic, *Coptic, and *Greek *papyri show. PMS

Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*.
ed. (with GT) C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott–Reinhardt I* (Veröffentlichungen, Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung 3/3, 1906).
H. I. Bell et al., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue with Texts*, 6 vols. (1893–1974), vol. 4, *The Aphrodito Papyri*.
P. Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt: The Archeology of Old Cairo and the Origins of the City* (ARCEgypt Conservation Series 4, 2010).

Babylonia *See* MESOPOTAMIA, PERSIAN.

Babylonia, Jews in *See* PERSIAN EMPIRE, JEWS IN.

Bacaudae (Bagaudae) The term 'Bacaudae', perhaps a Celtic word meaning 'fighters', referred generically to people who operated on the fringes of society in *Gaul and *Spain during the late 3rd to mid-5th centuries. It could be applied to any group the imperial government saw as a potential threat, including *brigands, runaway slaves, restive peasants, army deserters, independent local *aristocrats, and perhaps even revolting Christians. So-called Bacaudae first appear in the 280s supporting the Gallic *usurpers Aelianus and *Amandus and were savagely repressed by the Emperor *Maximian (Aurelius *Victor, 39, 17; *Eutropius, IX, 20; *Orosius, VII, 25, 2). No Bacaudae are mentioned during the 4th century but they resurface in the Alps *c.*407 (*Zosimus, VI, 2, 5–6). In the 430s they challenged the Roman generalissimo *Aëtius (*VGermani* 19, 24), and *Salvian of *Marseilles claimed that disaffected Romans fled not only to barbarians but also to the Bacaudae (*De gubernatione*, V, 5). In the 440s and 450s, Roman generals fought Bacaudae in Spain (*Hydatius, 125–42), after which they again vanish from history. Modern Marxist scholars have seen them as peasants rebelling against elite oppression. RWM

B. Czuth, *Die Quellen der Geschichte der Bagauden* (1965).
C. E. Minor, '"Bagaudae" or "Bacaudae"', *Traditio* 31 (1975), 318–22.
C. E. Minor, 'Bacaudae: A Reconsideration', *Traditio* 51 (1996), 297–307.
J. F. Drinkwater, 'The Bacaudae of Fifth-Century Gaul', in Drinkwater and Elton, *Fifth-Century Gaul*, 208–17.
D. Lambert, 'Salvian and the Bacaudae', in S. Diefenbach and G. M. Müller, eds., *Gallien in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (2013), 255–76.

Bacchius Geron (perhaps 4th cent.) Author of a catechestic *Introduction to the Art of Music* (*Eisagoge technes mousikes*), offering an eclectic but predominantly Aristoxenian set of doctrines. AJH

PLRE I, Baccheius.
ed. K. von Jan in *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, 283–316.
O. Steinmayer, 'Bacchius Geron's "Introduction to the Art of Music"', *JnlMusicTh* 29 (1985), 271–98.
Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 583–5.

Bactria Region between the *Oxus River and Hindu Kush, mentioned by Strabo (XI, 1–4) and *Ptolemy (VI, 11), with its capital at *Balkh, often considered part of *Tukharistan in Muslim sources. Previously under Achaemenid, Seleucid, Graeco-Bactrian, and Kushan rule, Bactria was incorporated into the *Persian Empire by the *Sasanians in 225 and ruled by the Kushan-shahs until *c.* AD 350, when *Huns (*Chionites, *Kidarites, *Hephthalites) began arriving. Before the *Arab conquest, *Bactrian was an important written language and *Buddhism a popular religion; Bactria also had strong *Zoroastrian connections. MLD

Markwart, *Catalogue*, 10, 34–8.
EncIran III/4 (1988) *s.n.* Bactria 339–44 (P. Leriche, F. Grenet).
A. D. H. Bivar in *CambHistIran* III, 209–17.
W. Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, tr. S. Soucek (1984), 6–34.

Bactrian language and literature Eastern Middle Iranian language formerly spoken in *Bactria, preserved in coins, seals, and *inscriptions from northern Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan (1st–3rd cent.) and manuscript fragments from *Turfan and Loulan, Xinjiang (?8th–9th cents.). Bactrian is written in a modified *Greek alphabet, reflecting the Graeco-Bactrian culture stemming from Alexander's conquests; a cursive script was used for some documents.

Although Bactrian was already the indigenous spoken language of Bactria before the Kushans, under them it replaced Greek as the official written language, as Kushan coin legends show. After Bactria was absorbed into the *Persian Empire of the *Sasanians in 225, the Kushanshahs and then the *Hephthalites also used Bactrian script, as *Xuanzang describes (I, 38). A *Manichaean text and possibly a Buddhist text are extant in Bactrian, and the Turfan documents suggest the existence of Bactrian communities outside

*Tukharistan. An inscription from *Surkh Kotal and the manuscript fragments from Xinjiang provide invaluable information on Bactrian grammar, lexicon, and phonology. MLD

EncIran III/ 4 (1988) *s.v.* Bactrian Language, 344–9 (N. Sims-Williams).

I. Gershevitch in *CambHistIran* III, 1250–8.

N. Sims-Williams in *CompLingIran*, 230–5.

N. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan* (rev. edn. 2012).

Bad Pyrmont The site of a mineral spring in Lower Saxony, Germany, where in 1863 more than 400 brooches, one enamelled and two wooden ladles, and some Roman *coinage were found. This assemblage indicates repeated votive activities by local individuals in connection with a spring cult from the 1st century AD to *c.*400. AR

W.-R. Teegen, *Studien zum kaiserzeitlichen Quellopferfund von Bad Pyrmont* (1999).

Badr Site of the first important victory of *Muhammad over the *Meccans, when a small Muslim force defeated a much larger Meccan one and took booty and captives. An early *papyrus calls into question the standard traditional date of Ramadan AH 2 (March 624). GRH

EI THREE s.v. 'Badr' (Athamina).

P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).

Baetica *Province in modern southern *Spain, formed when Hispania Ulterior was divided into Baetica and *Lusitania (14 BC) and continued by the *Tetrarchy (*Verona List, 89), as part of the *Dioecesis *Hispaniae. It was governed by a *Praeses from the late 3rd century, but a *Consularis in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. The principal *city was *Cordoba. Baetica fell out of Roman control in the early 5th century. JWo

Barrington Atlas, 26–7.

TIR J–30 (2002).

M. L. Cortijo Cerezo, *La administración territorial de la Bética romana* (1993).

J. F. Rodríguez Neila, *Sociedad y administración local en la Bética romana* (1981).

Bagaudae *See* BACAUDAE.

Bagavan (Diyadin; Uç Kilise; Tashteker) Major pagan *temple in *Armenia, north of Lake Van, on a tributary of the Euphrates. Bagavan was a centre for the New Year festival and for the worship of Ormizd, with a perpetual flame maintained there (*Movses Khorenats'i, II, 55, 66, 77; III, 66). It was also where *Trdat, his court, and army awaited *Gregory the Illuminator before their *baptism in the Euphrates (*Agat'angelos, 819–36). Later a large church and *monastery were erected on the site. MTGH

Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*, 160, 484.

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 1, 399.

Bagrationis Noble and subsequently royal dynasty of *Georgia, probably related to the *Bagratunis of *Armenia. The family received the title of *Erismtavari in the late 6th century and in 888 that of kings of all Georgia. NA

C. Toumanoff, 'Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Cent.', *Le Muséon* 74 (1961), 5–41, 233–316.

Bagratuni clan A noble (**naxarar*, *nakharar*) house in *Armenia and *Iberia (as *Bagrationi), and subsequently in the 9th to 11th centuries, a royal house.

During the rule of the Arsacid (*Arshakuni) dynasty in Armenia (1st century to AD 428) the Bagratuni clan held the hereditary offices of *aspet* (cavalry commander) and *t'agadir* or *t'agakap* (coronant) and were second in importance after the *Mamikoneans, whom they eclipsed in the 8th century. The damage caused by Varaztirots' Bagratuni siding with the *Sasanians in the Armenian religious revolt of 450–1 was finally repaired after the *martyrdom of Smbat the *Sparapet in the Battle of Bagrewand in 775. Ashot I the Great (d. 890) received a crown from the *caliph, and from *Constantinople in 884.

The Iberian branch of the house ruled as kings over *Georgia, and eventually over the whole Caucasus including Armenia, between the 9th and the 12th centuries. The rulers of *Tao-Klarjeti were also Bagratids.

The family possessions were initially in Bagrewand and Sper, which had silver *mines. They were important as *patrons; Smbat Bagratuni commissioned the *History of the Armenians* by *Movses Khorenats'i. TMvL

N. G. Garsoïan, 'Bagratuni, House', in *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')* (1989), 362–3.

R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (2001), 94; maps 63, 74–5.

Bahram I (NP; MP Warahrān, Wahrām; Gk. Baranes) Fourth *Sasanian King (r. 273–6) and son of *Shapur I. He is listed as the King of Gelan (Gilan) and eleventh in rank on the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*), which means that Shapur probably had not considered him a possible successor (or even as a successor to the Crown Prince *Hormizd I). Bahram's accession to the throne should therefore be ascribed to quarrels among the claimants to the throne, which was possibly the motivation for *Narseh's later **damnatio memoriae* of his brother. A devoted Mazdean, Bahram ended his father's tolerance of *Manichaeism. Under the influence of the *Zoroastrian priest *Kerdir, he

incarcerated the prophet *Mani, who died in prison in 274. JWi

EncIran III/5 (1988) *s.n.* Bahram I, 514–22 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* 'Mani' (W. Sunderman).

PLRE I, Vararanes I.

U. Weber, 'Wahrām I., König der Könige von Ērān und Anērān (273–276 n.Chr.)', in O. Tabibzadeh and T. Daryaee, eds., *Festschrift für Erich Kettenhofen* (Iranistik 5, 1–2, 2006/7), 171–221.

Bahram II Persian King (r. 276–93), and son of *Bahram I. He was the first *Sasanian King to strike the image of his family on the *coinage. He also commissioned several *rock reliefs that uniquely feature individualized portrayals of his family and high courtiers. His brother *Hormizd revolted against him in *Sistan in 283 (*PanLat* XI (III), 17, 2) at the same time as the sack of *Ctesiphon by the Roman *Emperor *Carus, and a *Zoroastrian sectarian revolt arose in *Khuzestan (**Chronicle of Arbela*, 8, 66). After concluding a peace treaty with *Diocletian, Bahram was able to pacify local disturbances.

His son *Bahram III succeeded him, but was overthrown in four months by aristocratic supporters of his great-uncle *Narseh, including the powerful Zoroastrian priest *Kerdir. TD

EncIran III/5 (1988) *s.n.* Bahrām II (A. Sh. Shahbazi) and *s.n.* Bahrām III, 514–22 (O. Klíma).

PLRE I, Vararanes II.

P. Kawerau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, 2 vols. (CSCO 467, 468; CSCO Scr. syr., 199, 200, 1985).

Bahram (Wahram) III *Sasanian King of Kings briefly in AD 293, and son of *Bahram II. His career is known through the *Paikuli *inscription of his great-uncle and successor, *Narseh, who portrays him as a usurper, and consistently calls Bahram Sagān-šah 'King of the Sakas' (i.e. *Sagastan). KR

EncIran III/5 (1988) *s.n.* Bahrām III, 514–22 (A. Sh. Shabazi).

PLRE I, Vararanes III.

H. Humbach and P. O. Skjærvø, *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 3 vols. (1978–83).

U. Weber, 'Wahram III', *IrAnt* 45 (2010).

Bahram IV Persian King (r. 388–99) and son of *Shapur III. As a result of his negotiations with *Theodosius I, *Armenia was divided between Rome and the *Persian Empire, its eastern half coming under direct *Sasanian control. Bahram IV succeeded in checking an invasion of the *Huns. He is credited with building the city of Kermanshah (*Tabari, V, 847). He fell victim to a *court conspiracy instigated by the nobility who finally brought about his death. He is portrayed in an intaglio in the British Museum. TD

EncIran III/5 (1988) *s.v.* Bahrām IV, 514–22 (O. Klíma).

PLRE I, Vararanes IV.

Bahram V Gur (r. 421–39) The greatest of the *Sasanian kings in the 5th century, he had a Jewish mother and was brought up at the *Arab court in al-*Hira. He made a peace treaty with the Romans in which they agreed to make a monetary contribution for the defence of the *Caucasus Passes; he also defeated the *Hephthalites in the east. He is celebrated in Iranian art and later Persian literature as a great hunter and is immortalized in the poem *Haft Paykar*. TD; MPC

EncIran III/5 (1988) *s.v.* Bahrām V Gōr, 514–22 (O. Kíma).

PLRE II, Vararanes V Gororanes.

Bahram VI Chobin (MP Wahram VI Chubin) Persian general who seized the *Sasanian throne from *Hormizd (Ohrmazd) IV. *Khosrow (Husraw) II (r. 590–628) defeated him with the help of the Roman Emperor *Maurice (*Evagrius, *HE* VI, 15–20; *Theophylact Simocatta, IV, 8–V, 11; *Theophanes, AM 6080–1). As a general under Hormizd IV, Bahram, who was from the Parthian Mehran family, had led indecisive campaigns against the Romans, but successfully crushed the *Hephthalites' advances in the east. Although his attempt to maintain power as a king was unsuccessful, he was immortalized in several romances originating from eastern Iran, which have partially survived in poetic form in the *Shahnama* of Ferdowsi (Firdausi). AZ

PLRE III, Bahram 2.

EncIran III/5 (1988) *s.n.* Bahrām VI Čōbīn 514–22 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

T. Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (²2013).

P. Pourshariati, 'The Parthians and the Production of Canonical Shāhnāmas', in H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer, eds., *Commutatio et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East: In Memory of Zeev Rubin* (2010), 347–92.

al-Bahrayn A geographic term of obscure origin originally referring to a cluster of oases in the north-east of the Arabian Peninsula that at some point in the Islamic era came to denote the western littoral of the Persian Gulf extending from *Basra to Oman (*Mazun).

In the 3rd century AD the inhabitants of the region (predominantly Arabian tribespeople) came under *Sasanian rule delegated through a series of proxies that included the *Lakhimids. Some of the inhabitants of Sasanian al-Bahrayn probably adhered to the *Church of the East; a bishopric of Masmahig appears in reports dated between 410 and 676. Economically

some of the populace are noted for diving for *pearls while others acted as traders and farmers.

With the support of local tribes the region and its islands came under Muslim control in the 630s. MJRo

D. T. Potts, 'Reflections on the History and Archaeology of Bahrain', *JAOS* 105/4 (1985), 675–710.

D. Kennet, 'The Decline of Eastern Arabia in the Sasanian Period', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 18/1 (2007), 86–122.

Baiuvari and Bavaria The name of the Baiuvari(i) first appears in *Latin sources in the 6th century. *Jordanes referred to the neighbours of the *Suebes as Baibaros (*Getica*, 280–1) in 551 (possibly based on *Cassiodorus). *Venantius Fortunatus, in a poem about a *pilgrimage to Augsburg in 565, mentioned a *Baiovarius* (*VMartini* IV, 644), and called the area around the River Lech Baiuaria (Praefatio, 4). The meaning of the name Baiuvarii is debated, but most likely refers to 'men of Bohemia'. *Pottery found in the area of modern-day Bavaria and the Czech Republic, the so-called *Friedenhain-Prestóvice assemblage, can no longer be linked to a migration of the first Bavarians, as used to be assumed. Rather, the population consisted of many different groupings, Germanic-speaking as well as non-Germanic-speaking: migrants from *Raetia, provincials speaking both *Latin and *Germanic languages, Naristi, *Sciri, *Heruli, Danubian Suebi, and *Alamans as well as *Thuringians and *Lombards. In the 8th century, the sources also mention *Slavic Bavarians.

After *Odoacer had evacuated the province of *Noricum Ripense in 488, the *gens* likely developed there and in neighbouring *Raetia Secunda. It succeeded in filling the political vacuum, initially under the influence of the *Ostrogoths led by *Theoderic, and then, after 536, *the Franks. Both encouraged the formation of the Bavarian *gens* in accordance with the Late Roman model of political organization. An interest on the part of the Eastern Roman Empire in a stable polity in the area can also be assumed. In the mid-6th century, the *Merovingians sent *Garivald as *Dux into the area, who established his power base either at Regensburg or Augsburg. Elements of the late 8th-century *Lex Baiovariorum* (ed. E. Freiherr de Schwind, MGH LL nat. Germ. 5/2, 1926) perhaps date back to these late 6th-century Frankish efforts to establish political order in the area. MDi

H. Fehr and I. Heitmeier, eds., *Die Anfänge Bayerns. Von Raetien und Noricum zur frühmittelalterlichen 'Baiovaria'* (2012).

H. Wolfram et al., *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, 2 vols. (1985).

H. Wolfram, *Grenzen und Räume Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung* (1995), 281–90.

H. Fehr, 'Am Anfang war das Volk? Die Entstehung der bajuwarischen Identität als Problem der archäologischen und interdisziplinären Frühmittelalterforschung', in W. Pohl and M. Mehofer, eds., *Archaeology of Identity/ Archäologie der Identität* (2010), 211–31.

C. I. Hammer, *From Ducatus to Regnum: Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and Early Carolingians* (2007).

J. Fries-Knoblach, H. Steuer, and J. Hines, eds., *The Baiuvarii and Thuringi: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2014).

bakers *See* BREAD.

Bakr b. Wa'il A tribe considered by the classical genealogists to be members of the *al-'arab al-musta'riba* (the Arabized Ones) in the line of Rabi'a from the descendants of 'Adnan. Residing in the *Najd region of the *Arabian Peninsula, Bakr b. Wa'il were leading members in the *Kinda tribal confederation around the turn of the 6th century AD according to *Joshua the Stylite. It is also around this time that the Bakr engaged in the long and somewhat ruinous Basus War with the *Taghlib tribe, which appears in the *ayyam al-'arab* (traditions about the battles of the pre-Islamic Arabs). After the abandonment of the *Lakhimid dynasty by the *Persian Empire in 602, Bakr b. Wa'il became major players in the expansion of Arab tribal power into Iraq and were among the vanguard of Arab pressure prior to *Khalid b. al-Walid's invasion in 633. After the fall of the Sasanians, Bakr b. Wa'il moved into the regions surrounding the newly established garrison towns of *Basra and *Kufa and by the early 8th century they were as far afield as the eastern Iranian region of *Khorasan. However, their greatest influence would be felt in Iraq, where elements of the tribe were important in *Kufa and *Mosul. RHos

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Bakr b. Wā'il', 962–4 (Caskel).

Fred M. Donner, 'The Bakr B. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam', *Studia Islamica* 51 (1980), 5–38.

H. Rasheed, *Tribal Alliance Formations and Power Structures in the Jahilliya and Early Islamic Periods: Quraysh and Thaqif (530–750 CE)*, Ph.D. thesis (Chicago, 2010).

Al-Kalbi, *Jamharat al-Nasab*, ed. M.F. al-'Azm (1983).

Bakur Name of several *Georgian royal persons, including Bakur II (534–47) and Bakur III (d. 580), kings of *Iberia. The Bakourios who corresponded with *Libanius (*ep.* 1060) may be the Bacurius the Iberian mentioned by *Ammianus (XXXI, 12, 16) as commanding troops at *Adrianople in 378, and/or the Bakourios who *Zosimus says died fighting at the *Frigidus in 394 (IV, 57–8), and also the grandfather of *Peter the Iberian. NA

PLRE I, Bacurius.

Horn and Phenix, *Rufus*, 7–17.

C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 29–32.

al-Baladhuri (d. *c.*892) Important historian of early *Islam. Very little is known of al-Baladhuri's life. He lived in Baghdad for much of it, and was a key figure at the *'Abbasid court during the turbulent Samarran period, notably under the *Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61). His teachers included *Ibn Sa'd and al-*Mada'ini, and he draws upon the latter's expertise a great deal in his surviving works.

The best known of these is the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* ('Conquests of the Regions'), a history of the 7th- and 8th-century Islamic conquests. It is organized partly chronologically (it begins with the Prophet *Muhammad's conquests and the *Ridda Wars), and thereafter by region; it also includes detail on various matters of administration and politics.

Al-Baladhuri's *magnum opus*, never completed, was the *Ansab al-ashraf* ('Genealogies of the Notables'), a history told through biographies of the Islamic community's most prominent figures, arranged by *tribe and clan. It begins with the *Quraysh, who are subdivided into Muhammad (vol. 1 of the edition of M. F. ʿAḥm and S. N. Mardini), the *'Alids (vol. 2), the *'Abbasids (vol. 3), and the *Umayyads (vols. 4–7), before moving onto other Qurashi clans (vols. 9–10), and then the other tribes of the Mudar/*Yaman and *Qays confederations. Due to its complex publication history—for a long time only certain sections were edited—it has been an underused source for early Islamic history. NC

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* al-Balādhurī, 971–2 (Becker, Rosenthal).

Ansab al-Ashraf: ed. M. F. ʿAḥm and S. N. Mardini (25 vols., 1996–).

ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, W. Madelung, 'Isām 'Uqla, I. 'Abbās (5 vols., 1979–96).

ed. S. D. Goitein and M. Schloessinger (incomplete, 3 vols., 1936–71).

partial IT O. Pinto and G. Levi Della Vida, *Il Califfo Muʿâwiya I secondo il 'Kitâb Ansâb al-Aŝrâf'* (1938).

Futūḥ al-Buldān: ed. M. J. de Goeje as *Liber Expugnationis Regionum* (1866).

ET P. K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, 2 vols. (1916–24).

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A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, tr. L. I. Conrad (1983; Arabic original, 1960).

S. C. Judd, 'Narrative and Character Development: al-Tabarī and al-Balādhurī on Late Umayyad History', in S. Günther, ed., *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam* (2005), 207–26.

C. F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (2003).

Balai (*fl.* early 5th cent.) *Chorepiscopus in the Beroea (*Aleppo) region. Author of five *madrashe* in honour of Bishop Acacius of Beroea (d. *c.*432) and another on the dedication of a church in *Chalcis (nr. *Qinnasrin); also the most likely author of a remarkable epic poem on the Old Testament patriarch Joseph. Attribution of liturgical prayers and poems to Balai is doubtful. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Balai, 53 (Brock).

ed. J. J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni Balaei Aliorumque Opera Selecta* (1865), 251–336.

ed. P. Bedjan, *Histoire complète de Joseph: poème en douze livres* (new edn., 1891).

K. McVey, 'Sogitha on the Church of Edessa', *ARAM* 5 (1993), 329–70 (ET).

R. R. Phenix, *The Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin: Rhetoric and Interpretation in Fifth-Century Syriac Literature* (STAC 50, 2008).

Bala'izah Site of a *monastery dedicated to Apa Apollo located some 15 km (10 miles) south of *Lycopolis (Assyut) on the west bank of the *Nile. The monastery was associated with the town of Sbeht (Gk. Apollopolis Parva, mod. Kum Esfaht), located further to the south. Excavated at the beginning of the 20th century by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, Bala'izah yielded architectural and material remains, and a large number of textual sources in the form of *papyri, stelae, **graffiti*, and manuscripts in *Greek, *Coptic, and *Arabic. The 4th- and 5th-century manuscripts found at the site were most likely brought to Dayr al-Bala'izah at the founding of the monastery. Most of the documents excavated at the monastery, and those discovered elsewhere that mention the monastery, date from the late 7th/early 8th century, which must have been a period of some prosperity. The site seems to have been deserted in the early 9th century. The monastery at Bala'izah had connections with neighbouring monasteries, which appear in the written material. Its lands and the monks themselves were taxed by the Arab authorities. The fiscal burden weighed heavily, and the monastery sometimes had to borrow money to pay its dues. Manual labour in the form of dyke maintenance and naval services, as well as payments and extra levies in kind, were also exacted. PMS

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dayr al-Bala'yzah,cols. 786b–787b (M. Martin, R.-G. Coquin).

Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit.*

P.Bal.= ed. P. E. Kahle, *Bala'izah, Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (1954).

P. M. Sijpesteijn, 'Coptic and Arabic Papyri from Deir al-Balā'izah', in P. Schubert, ed., *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie: Genève, 16–21 aogi 2010* (2012), 707–14.

balance-making Assayers, jewellers, and *merchants commonly turned to the traditional equal-arm

balance for weighing coins and precious materials. Small pans made of *copper alloy were hung from opposite ends of a slender tapering beam, which was supported by a central fulcrum or suspension chain (as described in *CTh* XII, 7, 1); some balances included a vertical pointer and graduated scale. The discovery of well-preserved examples in commercial settings suggests that such instruments were often stored with graduated weights in boxed sets. Heavier commodities were weighed using larger portable steelyards (*staterae*), which had unequal arms and multiple fulcra. *See also* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. MLR

C. Entwistle, 'Byzantine Weights', *EHB* vol. 2, 611–14.

Balash (MP Walaxš) *Sasanian King (r. 484–8) and brother of *Peroz I. He was able to conclude peace with the *Hephthalites after they had killed Peroz, although it was in return for a heavy *tribute. In line with his wish to distance Persian Christians from the Roman Empire, the *Church of the East under his reign officially adopted a *Nestorian theology. Balash was overthrown by *Qobad I, the son of Peroz, who gained the throne with Hephthalite support. JWi

EncIran III/6 (1988) *s.n.* Balāš, 574–80 (M. L. Chaumont, K. Schippmann).

PLRE II, Valas.

N. Schindel, 'Walkash', in Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3/1 (2004), 420.

Balboura (mod. Çölkayiği, Turkey) One of four *cities of the Cibyrratis in mountainous north-west *Lycia, in the *province Lycia-Pamphylia (later of Lycia). Relatively free of military conflict in Late Antiquity, its population was decreased markedly by the Justinianic *Plague of 541–3. The *Bishop of Balboura, whose cathedral is preserved on the acropolis, was subject to the Metropolitan of Lycia at *Myra. In the late 3rd or early 4th century the upper city was enclosed in a fortification wall though no pressing threat has been identified. In the late 5th or 6th century a second enceinte enclosed early Christian monumental buildings, including two *basilicas, in the lower city. Three further basilicas have been identified, though their standards of architecture do not match churches on the coast. A population increase in the 7th and 8th centuries may reflect movements inland from insecure coastal regions. PA

J. J. Coulton, *The Balboura Survey and Settlement in Highland Southwest Anatolia* (2012).

Balearic Islands Mediterranean islands, part of the *province of Hispania Citerior later of *Tarraconensis, then of *Carthaginensis, until after 369. They are first cited as a distinct province in the *Laterculus* of *Polemius Silvius (*c.*395), and were governed by a *Praeses of equestrian rank (**Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.*) I, 105; III, 13; XXI, 15). The *Notitia* also lists a government *dye-works (*occ.* XI, 71). The islands were raided by *Vandals from 411 onwards, particularly in 425 (*Hydatius AD 425), and came under Vandal rule sometime after 455 (perhaps 460). *Belisarius restored them to imperial control in 533/4 and they submitted on terms to an *Arab fleet in 707–8, albeit remaining semi-autonomous for another two centuries.

Minorca had a brief literary prominence. Consentius, a literary lay landowner, enjoyed reading *Lactantius, and corresponded with *Augustine (*epp.* 119, 11* and 12*) in 410 and twice more in 419–21. His *letters recount efforts by Fronto, a monk, to combat *Priscillianism amongst the clergy of Tarraconensis, and the suppression of the Spanish *usurper *Maximus by Asterius. He also mentions *miracles to be described by *Severus the *Bishop of Minorca, who wrote a *letter describing the conversion of many *Jews on the island to Christianity in 418, amidst religious fervour occasioned by the arrival of *Orosius and *relics of the protomartyr S. Stephen. The Balearics became an entrepôt between *Gaul, *Spain, and *Africa in the 5th century, continuing into the mid-6th century. GDB

EI2, vol. 7 (1993) *s.n.* Mayurka (J. Bosch-Viljá).

M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* (2004).

Balkans A term first used in Western literature, to denote the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire in their early 19th-century extent, namely the great peninsula of south-eastern Europe bounded on the north by the rivers Danube, Sava, and Drina. This area more or less coincides with the European lands of the Eastern Roman Empire after AD 395.

Administration

By the 3rd century AD, the Balkans were divided into the Roman *provinces of *Achaea, *Epirus, *Macedonia, *Thracia, *Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, and parts of *Dalmatia and *Pannonia. In the 270s, the transdanubian province of *Dacia north of the Danube was abandoned and its population was settled south of the Danube, where a new province (or two provinces) also called Dacia was created on territories previously belonging to Thracia, Moesia Inferior and Moesia Superior. Under the *Tetrarchy, many of these provinces were subdivided and then grouped into **dioeceses*, so that the former Thracia and Moesia Inferior became part of the Dioecesis *Thraciae, while Moesia Superior, (the new) Dacia, Macedonia, Epirus, and Achaia were united in the Dioecesis *Moesiae, and by the same token Dalmatia and Pannonia became part of the *Dioecesis *Pannoniae. *Diocletian, who like many 3rd-century *emperors himself came from the Balkans,

in 299 gave primary responsibility for these three entities to his Caesar *Galerius, and *Thessalonica and *Serdica were transformed into imperial residences.

With the institution of territorial Praetorian Praefectures under *Constantine I, the Dioecesis Thraciae became subject to the *Praefectus Praetorio *Orientis, and the Dioecesis Moesiae was divided into the Dioeceses *Macedoniae and *Daciae which, together with the Dioecesis *Pannoniae, were subject to the Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum, based at *Sirmium. *Theodosius I removed the Dioecesis Pannoniae from the Prefecture of Illyricum and united it with *Italia Annonaria. Then, after the division of the Empire in 395 between the sons of *Theodosius I, the remainder of the Prefecture of Illyricum (namely the Dioeceses Macedoniae and Daciae) and also the Dioecesis Thraciae were assigned to the East. Exceptionally, the Pannonian *cities of Sirmium and Bassiana remained under Eastern administration, forming the small East Roman province of Pannonia. Sirmium was the seat of the *Praefectus Praetorio Illyrici until the 440s, when threats from the *Huns dictated that he should move to Thessalonica. *Priscus describes vividly the scenes of devastation he observed on his journey northwards to meet *Attila the *Hun in 449.

The Late Roman provincial divisions were kept nominally unchanged until the late 7th century, but, in practice, warfare imposed a different reality. *Justinian I founded *Justiniana Prima in 535 intending to make it the new capital of the Praetorian Praefectura Illyrici, but eventually it became merely the ecclesiastical capital of the Dioecesis Daciae. In 536 he joined *Scythia Minor and Moesia Inferior with the provinces of *Insulae, *Caria, and *Cyprus under the command of the *Quaestura Exercitus so as to have more secure provinces provide for the threatened Balkans. With the 7th-century invasions by *Avars and *Slavs, the Late Roman provincial system was rendered irrelevant and was gradually replaced by the military commands of the *Themes. The first known Themes of the Balkans were those of *Thrace and *Hellas, probably established in the late 7th century.

The structure of ecclesiastical administration essentially followed that of civil government, though with some significant differences. Pope Siricius (384–99) extended his influence by appointing the *Bishop of Thessalonica as his vicar for Illyricum, and the Council of *Chalcedon (451) confirmed the ecclesiastical subjection of Illyricum to Rome, despite its assignment to Eastern civil administration. The Dioecesis Thraciae came under the *Patriarch of *Constantinople. In 535, the Bishop of Justiniana Prima became primate and papal vicar for the Dioecesis Daciae. In the 730s, the Emperor *Leo III subjected Illyricum to the patriarchal jurisdiction of Constantinople.

Warfare

Sacks of *Histria and Olbia by *Goths in AD 238 opened a period of warfare which culminated in large-scale invasions in 249–51 and 268–70. In 250 and 251, the Goths sacked *Philippopolis and defeated a Roman army under the Emperor *Decius near Abritus, killing the emperor and his son. After a large-scale Gothic expedition in 267, *Gallienus or *Claudius Gothicus defeated the Goths near *Niš (Naissus) (269) and *Aurelian proceeded to defeat them again north of the Danube (271). Aurelian then decided to abandon the former province of Dacia north of the Danube and to build a new *frontier along the Danube (*see* FRONTIER, ROMAN MILITARY, DANUBE). Despite small-scale raiding, security was in general maintained until 375.

An increased flow of Gothic immigration across the Danube in the mid-370s and concomitant tensions with the Romans in Moesia Inferior culminated in the Gothic uprising of 376 and the Battle of *Adrianople (378). Theodosius I accepted the settlement of the Goths in the Danube provinces as **foederati* (382), but outbreaks of violence punctuated the period until 408. In 395, the *Visigothic warlord *Alaric revolted and campaigned through the south and west Balkans.

The Huns conquered Pannonia in the 430s and soon started incursions into East Roman territories, subjecting to their federation other tribal groups including the Goths. In the 440s Attila's hordes reached Constantinople and *Greece. After his death in 453, *Gepids took over Pannonia from the Huns, and Gothic warlords commanded the Roman army on the Danube. For almost twenty years no serious threat disturbed the Balkan provinces, but the murder of *Aspar in 471 incited a chaotic conflict among the two Gothic warlords of Thracia and Pannonia (*Theoderic Strabo and *Theoderic the Amal), and the Emperor *Zeno. In 488, the Pannonian and Thracian Goths united under Theoderic the Amal (the *Ostrogothic King Theoderic the Great) and left the Balkans to invade *Italy so that the Gothic polity within the Eastern Empire was dissolved.

The emperors *Anastasius I and Justinian I achieved a closer control over the Danube provinces and the *foederati* troops. The former's reign was relatively peaceful, except for two serious *Bulgar raids (499, 502) which incited the building of the Anastasian (Long) *Walls to defend Constantinople. Under Justinian I, Turkic and Slavic tribes, *Bulgars and Sclavenes, formed new federations north of the Danube and launched serious invasions, some of which reached Constantinople and *Greece (539, 540, 549, 558, and 562). In 568, the Avars subjected the *Gepids in Pannonia and in 582 they captured Sirmium. In the 580s, they raided Illyricum, besieging Thessalonica and

conquering most of the Peloponnese. They also invaded Thrace, reaching the outskirts of Constantinople. The Romans took no serious action against them until the end of the *Persian–Roman War in 591. The Emperor *Maurice then sent armies under the generals *Priscus and *Peter who defeated the Avars, *Antae, and Sclavenes on the Lower Danube and in the region of Sirmium in 595/6 and 599/600.

Roman defence in the Balkans, however, collapsed under *Phocas and *Heraclius, thus opening the way for the formation of petty Avar and Sclavene polities (Sclaviniae) in Macedonia and Greece. Thessalonica was besieged in 615/16, 617/18, and 677 and Constantinople in 625. In the 630s, inner conflicts destabilized the Avar khaganate and led to the separation of the Bulgar party which created a khaganate north of the *Crimea. Defeated by its *Khazar neighbours, a Bulgar group under *Asparukh moved towards the Danube Delta and in 680/1 it conquered Scythia Minor. *Constantine IV recognized their polity, theoretically regarding them as *foederati* on imperial soil. *Justinian II formed an alliance with Asparukh's successor *Tervel whom he proclaimed *Caesar (*c.*705). After hostilities under *Philippicus Bardanes (711–13), Tervel and *Theodosius III concluded a peace treaty agreeing on territorial boundaries and regulating *trade relations (716). Roman–Bulgar relations remained good until the mid-8th century.

Settlements and material culture

The density, history, and cultural background of urbanization varied considerably across the Balkans. Greece, Macedonia, and the coasts had numerous *cities since pre-Roman times (e.g. *Corinth, Demetrias, Thessalonica, *Philippi, *Butrint, *Heraclea of Thrace, Byzantium, Apollonia, *Mesembria, *Odessos, *Tomis, *Histria). Urbanism in the Thracian and Moesian hinterlands developed mostly during the 2nd century AD (e.g. Adrianople, *Serdica, *Nicopolis ad Istrum, *Marcianopolis, *Naissus, *Ulpiana, *Scupi), while in the Danubian provinces urbanization followed the foundation of military bases by the Romans in the first two centuries AD (e.g. *Durostorum, Novae, Oescus, Ratiaria, *Viminacium, *Singidunum). Under the Tetrarchy and Constantine I, the old legionary camps merged with their adjacent civilian settlements, forming cities (e.g. Durostorum, Novae, Viminacium). A combination of civilian and military functions is probable in the design of new cities founded under the Tetrarchy or Constantine in the Danubian provinces (Abrit-Zaldapa, Slava Rusa/Ibida, Abritus, Augustae, and Bononia), south Thrace (Diocletianopolis and Maximianopolis), and Macedonia (Diocletianopolis and Caesarea). A large number of military storehouses (*horrea*) found in several military and civilian sites, especially near the Danube, attest to the importance of the military **annona* system in the urban economy of the 4th century.

Peace and the vicinity of the new imperial capital of Constantinople brought considerable prosperity and favoured the development of a wealthy elite during the 4th and early 5th centuries. Numerous sumptuous *houses and ornate tombs are found at the city-sites (e.g. in Thessalonica, *Stobi, *Philippi, Butrint, Beroe-*Stara Zagora, *Philippopolis, *Marcianopolis) and large sumptuous *villas in the countryside (e.g. Montana, Madara, and Akra Sophia near Corinth). Amongst them were imperial or senatorial urban and country palaces (in Thessalonica, Serdica, Sirmium, *Gamzigrad-Romulianum, *Split, Mediana near Naissus, Kostinbrod, and the Palace of the Giants in *Athens). Many of these houses declined or were abandoned by AD 450. Grand residential building in the late 5th and 6th centuries is more common in the south Balkans and on the coasts (e.g. *Argos, Histria, Thessalonica) and is almost exclusively urban. Monumental public buildings from Roman and Hellenistic times (**fora*, *baths, show-buildings, etc.) were maintained until the late 4th century, after which the Classical monumentality of the cities declined. Ecclesiastical construction, very rare before the 380s (the earliest known churches were found at Philippi, Serdica, and Stobi), monopolized monumental building in the 5th and 6th centuries. Some churches took over *pagan *temples, *synagogues, and disused secular public buildings, sometimes after a delay in which they were unused (e.g. in Athens, *Argos, Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, *Dodona, *Mesembria, Stobi).

Warfare in the 5th and 6th centuries dictated a new emphasis on *fortification, especially in the northern Balkans. The few new cities founded in the 5th and 6th centuries (e.g. Zikideva/Veliko Turnovo, *Caričin Grad, Konjuh, Kastoria, Monemvasia) demonstrate a preference for naturally strong sites, sophisticated fortifications, and a lack of monumentality other than church building. The efforts of Anastasius and Justinian I to restore urban life in the Danubian provinces focused mostly on rebuilding walls and churches. New types of *pottery and *dress accessories (*belt-buckles and *fibulae) found in these areas are often associated with barbarian groups and *foederati*.

Country villas disappeared by AD 400 in the north Balkans and by 500 in the south. During the same period, scattered unfortified settlements and farmsteads prevailed in the countryside of the south Balkans (especially in the Peloponnese), while compact fortified townships of 1–5 ha (2.5–12.5 acres) were predominant in the north (e.g. Shumen, Sadovets, Pernik, Skopje-Vodno, Jelica-Gradina, Karasura, *Nicopolis ad Istrum II, etc.).

In the late 6th to 8th centuries, signs of demographic decline and crisis in material culture appear throughout

the region. Many cities and rural settlements declined or were completely abandoned (e.g. Viminacium, Ratiaria, Oescus, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Hissar/Diocletianopolis, *Amphipolis, Demetrias, *Nicopolis of Epirus, etc.). Conditions in the surviving urban centres under Roman rule, like Thessalonica, Mesembria, *Dyrrachium, Serdica, and *Athens, were so poor that the period is archaeologically almost invisible. These centuries are represented in the archaeological record by flimsy buildings and cemeteries scattered through the ruins of the ancient cities. Typical ceramic finds are confined to local slow-wheel pottery, whilst fine-ware trade ceases completely. The circulation of *coinage also falls considerably, and in many areas it probably stops for long periods of time. Garment items, such as fibulae or buckles, become a relatively common find, variously associated with the Avars, the Slavs, the Byzantines, or the local population. A very few ecclesiastical monuments are known from the period (e.g. the Church of the Holy Wisdom of Thessalonica, the Church of the Holy Wisdom of Serdica, and 'S. Nicon's' *basilica in *Sparta).

The residences of Bulgar warlords occupied plain sites at the north-east foothills of the Haemus (*Pliska, Preslav, Khan Krum). They were fortified with earthen ramparts and initially included mostly wooden structures. From the late 8th century onwards, stone construction prevailed and the settlements took a more monumental urban character.

Linguistic and ethnic change

In the 4th century AD, the ancient linguistic landscape was still recognizable in the Balkans. Vernacular *Greek dialects were spoken in Greece, south Epirus and south Macedonia, and along the Adriatic, Aegean, and Pontic coasts. Most of the population in the east and central Balkans spoke Thracian, while Illyrian prevailed in north Epirus and south *Dalmatia, coexisting with Thracian in north-west Macedonia and Dardania. It is disputed whether a distinct Macedonian tongue existed in south Macedonia. Koine Greek was the *lingua franca* of commerce, *administration, and culture in the Dioeceses Macedoniae and Thraciae. Celtic dialects were spoken in Pannonia and Dalmatia, though much of the population was Latinized by the end of the Principate. Getic and Dacian prevailed in the Wallachian and Danubian Plains. Roman military presence produced a solid *Latin-speaking stratum in Moesia and Dacia, which gathered south of the Danube after 272. Latin was the language of administration, the *army, and the Church in the Dioecesis of *Dacia. It was also widely used beside Greek in the provinces of the Lower Danube and in Macedonia Salutaris.

With the migrations and invasions of the late 4th and 5th centuries, speakers of *Germanic, *Turkic, and occasionally Slavic dialects arrived in the Balkans. With the Slavic migrations of the 6th and 7th centuries, Slavic dialects gradually replaced the ancient vernacular languages in most areas from the Danube to the Peloponnese. Greek remained strong in the south, on the coasts, and in the main cities, while Illyrian dialects survived in the west (Albanian). Thracian, Getic, and Dacian gradually disappeared. After the dissolution of the Dacian *dioecesis* and the disappearance of Latin in the administration, Latin was reduced to vernacular use only. Its speakers migrated to upland areas throughout the Balkans (esp. in Macedonia, Epirus, and *Thessalia) and to the north of the Danube (Aromunian, Vlach, and Romanian dialects). Turkic languages were spoken by the warrior *aristocracy of the Hunnic, Avar, and Bulgar khaganates, coexisting with the Indo-European tongues of their subjects. Given that the coexistence of different ethnic/linguistic groups was close, multilingualism was frequent and mutual influences among the languages are manifest.

Greek was prominent as the language of Roman administration and Christian worship, and for long it was the only written tongue. The translation of the *Bible by *Ulfilas gave Gothic a written form and established it as the liturgical language of the *Homoean ('*Arian') Gothic Church. In the Bulgar khaganate, *inscriptions were written in Greek using Greek characters or in the Bulgar language using Greek or runic characters. With the mission of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in the 9th century, Slavic obtained its own script (the Glagolitic alphabet) and it was adopted as the language of state and Church in Bulgaria. The Bulgar language disappeared.

Religion

By the late 3rd century, Christian presence was strong along the coasts, the military zones of the frontiers, and the great *roads (*Via Egnatia and the *Via Militaris). *Martyrs of the Great *Persecution were venerated throughout the region. Under *Constantius II and *Valens, Homoean theology found strong advocates in the west Balkans, but after 381 it was sustained only by the Gothic Christians of Ulfilas, who thus became the largest dissident Church of the region. There were *Novatianists living in Scythia Minor, and other congregations with unusual views persisted, for instance those in Dacia Mediterranea which continued to follow the teachings of Bonosus of Naissus from the late 4th to the 6th century. The policies inspired by Zeno and Anastasius I's opposition to the Christological definitions of the Council of *Chalcedon were supported by the Bishop of Thessalonica, but opposed by most churches in Illyricum and by a renowned pro-Chalcedonian monastic brotherhood living in Scythia Minor, the Scythian Monks. The

Comes Foederatorum *Vitalian, also a Scythian, revolted unsuccessfully against Anastasius in 513–15 on the pretext of defending Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. The remains of hundreds of churches attest to the advancement of Christianization in both cities and the countryside by the 6th century.

Pagan religion remained strong at least until the late 4th century and it had the support of local notables such as Menander and Aristophanes of Corinth (*Libanius, *Oratio*, 14) of Athenian *philosophers and of grandees from further afield, such as Vettius Agorius *Praetextatus, *Proconsul of Achaea in AD 361/2. Pagan religious practices persisted at the level of folk religion after the official ban on *sacrifice. Pagan cults revived with the arrival of the Slavs, though Slavic religious beliefs and practices are not fully known. Numerous place names in the northern Balkans contain the names of Slavic gods like Perun and Veles (e.g. Mount Pirin, *Perushtitsa, Veles). The Bulgar aristocracy worshipped the supreme Turkic god Tengri/Tangra. Bulgar temples and religious artefacts have been found in Pliska, Preslav, Madara, and other settlements. Madara was probably an important shrine for the Bulgar khaganate.

The principal narrative sources for Balkan history are: *Dexippus; *Ammianus Marcellinus; *Priscus; *Olympiodorus; *Malchus; *Jordanes *Getica*; *Zosimus; *Procopius; *Theophylact Simocatta; the *Miracles of Saint *Demetrius*; *Theophanes; **Chronicle of Monemvasia*.

The principal ancient geographical sources are: *Tabula Peutingeriana*; **Antonine Itinerary*; the *Bordeaux Pilgrim; *Anonymi Cosmographia*; *Hierocles, *Synecdemus*; **Notitiae Episcopatuum.* ER

TIR K–34 (1976); *TIR* K 35/2: *Philippopolis* (2012); *TIR* L34 (1968); *TIR* L35 (1969).

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Balkh (Gk. Bactra) Capital of *Bactria under the Achaemenids, later an important city for the Graeco-Bactrians, Kushans, and *Hephthalites. Located on an important east–west trade route, Balkh was an important *Zoroastrian centre (Markwart, *Catalogue*, 10). The 7th-century *Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 43–8) mentions 3,000 monks and 100 Buddhist monasteries there, chief of which was Navbahar, from whose administrators the Barmakids were descended. A Christian presence in Balkh is also evident from the *Xi'an Stele.

Initially raided by the *Arabs in 653, Balkh was only subdued by *Qutayba b. Muslim in 715. Resistance to the Arabs resulted in the destruction of most of the city, including Navbahar (al-*Baladhuri *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 167, 170). Rebuilt under the *Umayyads, Balkh became the capital of *Khurasan in 736. After much resistance to *Abu Muslim, it was captured by the *'Abbasids in 748. Arab and Persian geographers who describe Balkh include al-*Ya'qubi (100–5), Ibn al-Faqih (383); al-*Muqaddasi (265–7), the *Hudud al-Alam* (108). MLD

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* Balkh (R. N. Frye).
EncIran III/6 (1988) *s.n.* Balk i Geography (X. de Planhol); ii. History from the Arab Conquest to the Mongols (C. E. Bosworth), 587–96.
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 76–9.
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 420–32.

ballistics *See* ARTILLERY.

Balthild (*c.*630–80) Frankish queen and regent (657–64/5), claimed by her hagiographer to have been a slave from overseas (*VBalthildis* 2), but more likely of noble *Anglo-Saxon origin. She was connected with the **familia* of *Erchinoald, *Mayor of the *Neustrian Palace, who gave her in *marriage to *Clovis II, to whom she bore *Chlothar III, *Childeric II, and *Theuderic III. On her husband's death, she ruled the Neustria-*Burgundian kingdom in the name of Chlothar III with the backing of the Mayor *Ebroin, *Bishop Chrodobert of Paris, and Bishop *Audoenus of *Rouen. Her second son *Childeric II became King of *Austrasia in 662.

She was deeply involved in the appointment of bishops and the *patronage of monasticism, founding communities at *Corbie and *Chelles, and instituting monastic life at several 'senior basilicas', including *S. Denis, and S. *Germanus at Paris, S. *Medard at Soissons, and S. *Martin at *Tours, which were granted immunity from episcopal control in exchange for *prayers for the king, his family and the kingdom. More hostile sources link her with the deaths of nine bishops (*VWilfridi* 6). Soon after Chlothar's majority, she was ousted by opponents who accused her of being a second Jezebel, and retired to *Chelles, where she died in 680. She was celebrated as a saint, renowned for her charity and for buying the freedom of slaves. Her *relics, including an embroidered tunic, survive at Chelles. Her connection with a *gold seal-matrix bearing the name Baldehildis, found in Norfolk in 1998, is much more hypothetical. RLJ; STL

LexMA, 'Balthild', I.1391–2 (E. Ewig).
Life (*BHL* 905), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2 (1888), 475–508.
ET Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF* 118–32.
ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 268–78.
Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF* 97–118.
J. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', in J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (1986), 1–48.
Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 197–202.

Balti *Jordanes attributes to *Ablabius the view that the Balti had ruled the *Visigoths from Antiquity. However this does not even accord with his own understanding—Jordanes, after all, believed that all ancient *Goths were ruled by the *Amali. Nor does it reflect reality. The *Visigoths as such only came into existence after 395 when *Alaric I united several independent groups to create a new power base, and there is no evidence that he was related to any previous Gothic rulers. Like the Amali, the Balti emerged on Roman soil as Alaric and his immediate heirs created an independent Gothic kingdom, and they were quickly replaced with non-dynastic successors when the generations of their kindred proved less effective as leaders. PHe

Wolfram, *Goths*.
P. J. Heather, *Goths and Romans 332–489* (1991), ch. 1.

Bamburgh (England) A *villa *regia* on the Northumberland coast south of *Lindisfarne, besieged by *Penda of Mercia, burial place of King *Oswald's arms and hands (*Bede, *HE* III, 16; III, 12). Mid 20th-century excavations within the medieval castle have been extended beyond the walls by the Bamburgh Research Project since 1996. SCT

Bamiyan (Fanyang) City located in a high valley in the Hindu Kush mountains, 230 km (*c.*143 miles) south of *Balkh. Due to its location on the major route between *India and *China, Bamiyan was an

important *Buddhist centre in pre-Islamic *Central Asia. The traveller *Xuanzang (I, 49–53) describes many Buddhist monasteries and thousands of monks in the area, two massive statues of the Buddha carved into the cliffside (6th–7th cent.), and an enormous reclining Buddha. The local Buddhist dynasty, initially subject to the Western Turks, was only gradually Islamicized, a process not completed until the Ghaznavid era (10th–12th cent.). Accounts are given by Arab and Persian authors, including al-*Yaqubi (103), the *Fihrist* (828), and the *Hudud-al-Alam* (109). MLD

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* Bāmiyān, 1009–10 (W. Barthold, F. R. Allchin).
EncIran III/6 (1988), 657–61 *s.n.* Bāmīān i The Bāmīān Basin (X. de Planhol); ii History and Monuments (Z. Tarzi).
L. Morgan, *The Buddhas of Bamiyan* (2012).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 418–19.

Banbhore Ancient and medieval port (1st cent. BC–12th cent. AD) in the Indus delta, identical to Gk. Barbarikon/Barbariké and Late Antique Dib/Dab/al-Daybul. The ruins of a *mosque bear an *inscription dating from 727 AD. DTP

F. A. Khan, *Banbhore: A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavation at Banbhore* (1976).
H. Wilhelmy, 'Verschollene Städte im Indusdelta', *Geographische Zeitschrift* 56 (1968), 256–94.

banking and bankers In the Late Roman Empire banking was fundamentally a private enterprise. It was contractually based and individually tailored; large (and small) sums of *money were borrowed and lent in a variety of complex ways. Maritime loans were a specialized niche, owing to the extreme risk of such undertakings. Bankers did not lend to the government, but did have a role in public contracts when this served official interests. Banking was thus both necessary and common, and although regulated by a fairly large number of *laws, it was not in any way centralized.

The primary functions of bankers were to exchange money, to hold stores of money on behalf of others, to act as agents for the purchase of property or land, and to act as agents in the sale of *estates or property. Given that *gold was both coin and commodity, bankers also functioned at times something like pawnbrokers. Bankers were organized into *collegia and provided the public services of verifying the worth of *coinage and selling *gold coinage to private citizens (*Symmachus, *Relatio*, 29).

A slave could act as a banker, either with his own money or that of his master (**Digest*, II, 14, 4, 3). Several bankers could lend collectively to one single debtor (*Digest*, II, 14, 9). Women were not permitted to be bankers (*Digest*, II, 13, 12). Lending was not restricted to bankers, and all lenders were not subject to the same regulations: those who were bankers by trade were permitted to charge a maximum interest of 8% (*NovJust* 136, 4). Bankers were required to keep extensive records about the accounts and *debts held and were obliged to produce these records in the case of a lawsuit (*Digest*, II, 13, 6, 1). Inasmuch as they were privately operating entrepreneurs, they were liable to the extent of their own personal property (*Digest*, XVI, 3, 7, 2).

Bankers operated simultaneously in multiple *cities, as attested in a number of legal sources (*Alexandria was a particularly notable urban money market), and lent to people of all classes, including the nobility. Social status was important, and many spent large amounts of money to gain positions within the Empire. They were permitted to hold any public position except in the *army.

A number of lead *seals from the 6th to 8th centuries testify to the existence of bankers (*argyroprates*) and refer to them by name. Some of these seals list multiple names, which may indicate partnership; at least one other indicates that a man was both a banker and a *deacon simultaneously.

The terms **argentarius* and *nummularius* were used nearly synonymously (*CJust* XI, 18, 1), with *argyroprates* as the *Greek equivalent; *trapeza* and **trapezites* typically referred to money-changers only, although the distinction was not clearly maintained. AAB

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P. A. Brunt (1974).
Hendy, *Studies*.

bannum Broadly defined, this was the right of a *Merovingian king to order, constrain, or punish. It was under their right of *bannum* that *kings issued the call to arms and outlawed those who failed to comply. EM

LexMA 'Bannum' I.1414–15 (R. Scheyhing).
*RGA*2 *s.v.* Bann, II (1976), 34–40 (J. Müller-Volbehr).

Baños de Valdearados Roman *villa, perhaps of the early 5th century, partly pillaged in 2012. It boasted a Dionysus *mosaic in a dynamic expressive style in two registers, a *thiasos* above and a triumph with chariot below, with border panels depicting hounds *hunting and male busts with spears. RJW

G. López Monteagudo, 'The Triumph of Dionysus in Spain', *Assaph* 4 (1999), 35–60.

Bantham A coastal site 20 km (12.5 miles) south-east of Plymouth, England, particularly notable for 5th–7th-century finds including *c.*740 sherds of *amphorae imported from the Mediterranean; interpreted as a major port or 'beachmarket' and venue for feasting. SCT

S. Reed, P. Bidwell, and J. Allan, 'Excavation at Bantham, South Devon, and Post-Roman Trade in South-West England', *MedArch* 55 (2011), 82–138.

baptism Washing with water and marking with the sign of the *cross has been the primary rite of Christian initiation since the earliest years of the Church. Additional rituals, such as *exorcism before baptism and marking with *chrism afterwards, may have supplemented it, but baptism remained central. By it the Christian is cleansed of sin (1 Corinthians 6: 11), united with Christ in his Death and Resurrection (Romans 6: 4), and incorporated into the Body of Christ which is the Church (1 Corinthians 12: 13). Early Christians thought and wrote a great deal with the intention of understanding and explaining this mystery. Only the baptized were admitted to Holy Communion; the unbaptized (catechumens) left the church after the *Liturgy of the Word and before the Liturgy of the Sacrament.

Occasions for baptism

The usual occasion for baptisms as early as the 2nd century was the *Easter Vigil, though baptism was sometimes administered also at *Epiphany (in the East initially a *festival which celebrated the revelation of Christ's divinity at his baptism). It could also be administered at any time to someone who was about to die and by any one (except, say the **Apostolic Constitutions* and others, a woman). Those who were thus baptized on their deathbeds were called *clinici* (Gk. *kline*, a bed); sometimes they recovered.

*Cyril, *Bishop of *Jerusalem in the mid-4th century, refers to baptism as 'the spine-chilling rites of initiation'. 'Take a wicked stupid sinner; immediately he will be calm, prudent and innocent, with one washing all the filth will be removed.... It's free, it's easy, it's quick.... Don't worry, we don't charge for the water' (*Lactantius, *Inst.* III, 26, 9–10). The ceremonies seem indeed to have been managed in such a way as to induce shock and awe; making the commitment of baptism, rather than any initial illumination or '*conversion', the part of becoming a Christian in Late Antiquity which is most often associated in the sources with profound emotion.

Although candidates for baptism were given very elaborate instruction in the Christian faith they do not seem to have been significantly briefed or rehearsed in the details of the ceremony. In the dark chill of a spring night they turned west and renounced Satan and were then plunged completely naked (women were not even allowed to wear their wedding rings) into cold water, before emerging to be wrapped in a fresh white robe, to recite the *creed out loud in public, and to witness for the first time the mysteries of the *Eucharist.

From the 4th century onwards, *baptisteries were often magnificent detached buildings; that at *Nisibis in *Mesopotamia is probably the oldest to survive. The endowment recorded in the **Liber Pontificalis* as having been given by *Constantine I specifically for the maintenance of the baptistery at the Lateran, the cathedral of *Rome, is truly colossal.

Preparation for baptism

Considerable care was taken in preparing candidates for baptism. The observance of Lent, a period of preparation for Easter lasting 40 days, is first recorded in documents from the *Council of Nicaea in 325, and in the 4th century it became usual for those who wished to be baptized to give their names in at the beginning of Lent, as *Augustine did at *Milan early in 387 (*Confessions*, IX, 6, 14). Instruction was geared to particular candidates; in his *On Catechizing the Uneducated* Augustine advises special care be taken with those who had been converted in *dreams, as their notions might be fuelled by a volatile mixture of error and authority (*De Catechizandis Rudibus*, 10).

Much of the instruction was intended to impart a Christian understanding of the whole of Nature and of the History of the World. The earliest surviving example of instruction concerned with the *hexaemeron (the six days of Creation) is the *Ad Autolycum* of Theophilus, Bishop of *Antioch in the late 2nd century. Learned bishops such as *Basil of *Caesarea and *Ambrose took great pains to integrate the Christian understanding of Creation out of nothing with the best available Graeco-Roman science. Candidates were taught to pray; Tertullian, *Cyprian, and *Origen all wrote treatises summarizing their teaching on the use of the Lord's Prayer (*Traditio Orationis*). There was ritual preparation; at Jerusalem candidates were exorcized every day during the Lent leading up to their baptism (*Egeria, 46). And they learned the Creed (*Traditio Symboli*). Augustine tells the story of *Marius Victorinus, a distinguished *philosopher who became a Christian and was offered the option of reciting the creed discreetly in private, but insisted on saying it loud in church and received a tremendous cheer from the congregation (*Conff.* VIII, 2, 5).

In many places instruction continued after Easter. At *Jerusalem during the week after Easter the bishop explained everything which had happened at baptism; 'the applause is so loud it can be heard outside the church' (Egeria, 47, 2). *Cyril of Jerusalem gave an entire course of lectures *On the Mysteries* to the newly baptized in the weeks between Easter and Whitsun (Pentecost).

Penance and postponement of baptism

Baptism marked a radical break and a serious commitment, not least because though it was possible for serious sin committed after baptism to be forgiven, this could only occur after the performance of sustained and public *penance. Baptism was indeed administered to babies; Cyprian tells a story about a baby being given Holy Communion in the years following the *persecution under *Decius (*On the Lapsed*, 25). But public obligations, particularly those imposed on men in civic, military, or *court life, might require them to commit such serious sin as pagan *sacrifice or killing, whether in battle or as a judge—never mind fornication. When he was a boy, Augustine fell seriously ill and his mother considered whether he might be baptized, but held him back because 'the guilt contracted by sin after baptism would be greater and more perilous' (*Conff.* I, 11, 17).

*Constantine I, like many others, postponed baptism till his last illness. *Theodosius I was baptized when he was ill, recovered, and ordered the massacre of several thousand citizens in the *circus at *Thessalonica, so was humiliatingly repelled from Holy Communion by Ambrose at *Milan. *John Chrysostom asked those who put off their baptism whether they would prefer to undergo the rite in a packed and happy church or on their deathbed surrounded by their sorrowing family and friends. In time, not least because of the implosion of the system of public penance, the practice of infant baptism became normal.

Rebaptism of heretics

The significance of baptism, combined with the fact that baptism may be undertaken only once, give rise to a serious cause of disagreement; should the Church recognize baptisms administered by heretics. A strong tradition in the Church in *Africa, going back to the early 3rd century, considered that persons baptized by those outside the communion of the Church would need to be rebaptized. The problem became acute in the aftermath of the persecution under *Decius, when in many places rigorists shunned anyone who had been willing to cooperate with the authorities in any way. Cyprian, Bishop of *Carthage, after holding a council of African bishops in 256, resolved that rebaptism was required for those who had been baptized outside the Church, and wrote to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, to say so (*ep.* 72), rejecting the practice of other bishops, which was to recognize baptisms provided they were made with the sign of the *Cross and in the name of the Trinity.

Half a century later, the *Donatists again adopted a rigorist attitude and insisted on rebaptism of those who came to them from the Catholic Church. Augustine took the matter up and taught that the validity of baptism depended not on the worthiness of the minister, but on Christ, the true, perfect, and sinless minister of all baptisms. OPN; MFC

H. M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan* (SCA 17, 1974).

E. J. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the RCIA* (²1994).

T. M. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: West and East Syria* (1992).

T. M. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, and Egypt* (1992).

ET (annotated) A. Stewart-Sykes, *Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen on The Lord's Prayer* (2004).

DACL 2.2 (1910) *s.vv.* Catéchèse—Catéchisme—Catéchumène (H. Leclercq): 2530–79.

DACL 2.2 (1910) *s.v.* Catéchumènat, 2579–621 (P. De Puniet).

P. F. Bradshaw and M. E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity* (2011), 89–119, 69–74.

P. F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (2002), 144–70.

M. Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries* (1979).

E. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (2009).

J. D. C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West: A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation* (1965).

J. W. Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (1995).

M. E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (2007).

C. G. Mac Gaw, *Le Problème du baptême dans le schisme donatiste* (2008).

baptistery A room or building where individuals were initiated as Christians by being immersed in water in a font in the rite of *baptism. The earliest extant baptistery, at *Dura Europos in *Syria, was constructed inside a *house which was converted in the 240s into a building for Christian use, with wall paintings and the rectangular font placed along the short focal wall. Other early baptisteries were built as rectangular or square rooms either attached to churches or constructed independently, with large central basins as fonts for adult baptism.

After 312, the *Emperor *Constantine I endowed a centrally planned *octagonal baptistery at the Lateran Basilica in *Rome with a central font, later remodelled by Pope Sixtus III *c.*432–40 (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 13–14; 46, 7), who added an ambulatory. This layout spread to northern *Italy including *Milan, where an

octagonal baptistery was built at the Cathedral of Santa Thecla, as well as to *Ravenna, where the *domes of the Orthodox (Neonian) and Arian Baptisteries are decorated with *mosaics depicting Christ's baptism. An *epigram in elegiac couplets attributed to *Ambrose formerly inscribed on the baptistery at *Milan indicates that the octagonal shape is peculiarly appropriate to a hall where true salvation comes to the people, where Christ rising destroys the bonds of death and those who confess their crimes are washed free from the stain of their wrongdoing (*ILCV* 1841).

The octagonal plan also spread to the East; however different regions adapted the plan in different ways. Along the Aegean coast, baptisteries were built in the shape of an octagon inscribed within a square with a series of niches, as in the 4th-century baptistery at the Basilica of S. *Mary at *Ephesus. Similar baptisteries were built at Mar Yaqub at *Nisibis in 359 (*SEG* 54, 1575), at the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople (early 5th century), and at *Qalat Seman in Syria (*c.*480–90). The Lateran plan was popular in *Gaul, where 5th-century baptisteries at *Marseilles and Aix-en-Provence were laid out as octagons with domed central rooms surrounded by colonnaded ambulatories.

Baptisteries throughout the Empire continued to be built as rectangular, square, cruciform, and triconch buildings. In the 6th century, detached baptisteries ceased to be built, and fonts were placed within subsidiary rooms of individual churches. This change seems to be related to the increasing popularity of infant baptism, which was performed by the local *priest instead of the *bishop. SVL; OPN

O. Brandt, *Battisteri oltre la pianta: gli alzati di nove battisteri paleocristiani in Italia* (Studi di antichità cristiana 64, 2012).
M. Falla Castelfranchi, *ΒΑΠΤΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ*: *intorno ai più noti battisteri dell'oriente* (1980).
J. Guyon, *Le Premiers Baptistères des Gaules (IVe–VIIIe siècles)* (2000).
R. M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism* (2011).
A. Khatchatrian, *Les Baptistères paléochrétiens: plans, notices et bibliographie* (1962).
G. Pelliccioni, *Le nuove scoperte sulle origini del battistero Lateranense*, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, ser. III, Memorie*, vol. 12, 1 (1973).
S. Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien* (JbAC Ergänzunsband 27, 1998).
A. J. Wharton, 'Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna', *ArtBull* 69 (1987), 358–75.

Barbad (*fl.* late 6th–early 7th cent.) Semi-legendary minstrel-poet of the *Sasanian Shah *Khosrow II (r. 591–628). AJH

EncIran III/7 *s.v.* barbad-mistrel, 757–8 (A. Tafażżolī).
V. Sarkhosh Curtis, 'Minstrels in Ancient Iran', in Sarkhosh Curtis et al., *Art and Archaeology of Ancient Persia*, 182–7.

Barbarian Conspiracy An incident in Britain during the years 367–8 known mainly from *Ammianus Marcellinus' account (XXVIII, 3), which may exaggerate events. In 367 there was an apparently coordinated attack on *Britain by Attacotti and *Scotti from *Ireland, *Picti from Scotland, and *Saxones from Holland. Settlements were sacked, the general Nectaridus, probably *Comes of the *Saxon Shore, was killed, and Fullofaudes, probably *Dux Britanniarum, was captured and most likely killed. The *Emperor *Valentinian I dispatched *Theodosius Comes to restore order. Theodosius crossed from Boulogne (Gesoriacum) to Richborough (Rutupiae) with four *field army units, and, with Dulcitius, the newly appointed Dux, in 368 pacified the island. ACR

R. S. O. Tomlin, 'The Date of the "Barbarian Conspiracy"', *Britannia* 5 (1974), 303–9.

barbarian identity Up to *c.*1960, 'barbarian identity' was a largely unproblematic concept. In accord with nationalist understandings of human group identity, Late Antique barbarian groups were regarded as possessing fixed cultural and political identities which strongly demarcated them from both Romans and each other. The apparently neat assigning of emerging archaeological remains to various 'cultures' was thought to be a material reflection of the same clear boundaries.

In the two scholarly generations which have followed, this consensus has been overturned by major theoretical contributions from anthropologists and sociologists, and by archaeological demonstration that there is not necessarily a relationship between 'identity' and material culture. It is now well established that—contrary to nationalist assumptions—identity can actually be varied and fluid, with individuals sometimes changing group allegiance because of perceptions of advantage.

An overall picture of changeable group identities fits well with the broader evidence from Late Antiquity, where the vast majority of the groups establishing successor states in the territory of the former Western Empire—*Visigoths, *Ostrogoths, *Vandals, *Alans, and even the *Merovingian *Franks of Clovis—were demonstrably formed through new alliances created on Roman soil.

This much now commands wide agreement, but dispute continues over exactly how much fluidity should be envisaged. One strand of scholarship argues that any individual could essentially choose any group identity he wanted. However in many Late Antique contexts identity actually involved a valuable claim to status: being an 'Ostrogoth' in *Italy in 493, for instance, entitled you to a share in *Theoderic the

Ostrogoth's post-conquest land distribution. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find substantial evidence from at least the larger Germanic-dominated groups that their membership was gradated and access to the top status in the groups controlled, so that the majority of members were classified as 'slaves' or as 'freed' rather than as 'free'.

More recent contributions to the anthropological literature have also moved away from initial revisionist characterizations of group identity as always ephemeral and insubstantial, a position often inspired by the Marxist dogma that anything other than class-based human organization has to be 'false consciousness'. There has been a growing recognition that, while they are always evolving, group identities are nonetheless often a major determinant of individual behaviour.

PHe

F. Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (1969, repr. 1998).

A. Gillet, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (SEM 4, 2002), 69–84.

P. J. Heather, 'Ethnicity, Group Identity, and Social Status in the Migration Period', in I. Garipzanov, P. Geary, and R. Urbańczyk, eds., *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Cursor Mundi 5, 2008), 17–50.

W. Pohl, ed., *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity* (1997).

Barbarian Invasions *See* BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS.

barbarian migrations Term generally denoting a series of migratory phenomena, in particular:

1. A *Gothic-dominated cluster of movements into the Eastern Roman Empire in the 370s, together with a second series of intrusions into the Western Empire in the period 405–8.
2. A series of movements in central and southern Europe involving more Goths, *Heruli, *Rugi, and *Lombards associated with the collapse of the *Hun Empire of *Attila after *c.* AD 450.
3. The expansions of *Anglo-Saxons into *Britain, and of *Franks into northern *Gaul in the 5th and early 6th centuries.

They are central to all understandings of Late Antiquity because, at their close, the monolithic west Roman state had been replaced by *successor states, many of whose boundaries had actually been defined by the military power of various immigrant groups.

The German collective term for these phenomena—*Völkerwanderungen*: 'movements of peoples'—captures traditional understandings of the groups involved. In this context, 'people' carries the force of a homogeneous grouping of humanity, politically united and culturally closed to outsiders: a self-sustaining unit mixed in age and gender which moved in one body on each of the occasions where our sources refer to barbarian migration. Whatever the length (in time or space) of the movement, it has been traditionally supposed that the migrating group was broadly the same at each end of the process.

The motivation generally supposed to underlie such movements was based on a few references to overpopulation—*Jordanes famously refers to Scandinavia as the 'womb of nations' (*Getica*, 4: 25)—combined with a few documented cases where the arrival of migrants spurred an existing population to depart. This generated a migration model which envisioned periodic population spurts prompting bursts of movement with massive knock-on effects; this had become, by the mid-20th century, a central feature of most understandings of European prehistory. As the quantity of excavated data accumulated after *c.*1850, it quickly became apparent that ancient European remains often fell into distinct distribution patterns delimited in both geographical and chronological range. In the nationalistic climate of the times, it was irresistible to suppose that these regional and chronological groupings represented the remains of ancient 'Peoples', allowing scholars to use the rise and fall of these 'Cultures' to reconstruct a quasi-narrative about an ancient past for which there were no historical sources (so-called 'Culture History'). However, if each 'People' had its own 'Culture', then any major change in a prevailing pattern of material remains could only logically be explained by the replacement of a region's existing population by a new group of immigrants. Culture History thus had an inherent tendency to explain material cultural change in terms of mass population replacement: large-scale immigration accompanied by what might now be called ethnic cleansing (the 'Invasion Hypothesis'). Up to *c.*1960 scholars were thus confidently portraying the entire development of prehistoric Europe as one major invasion after another. In fact, a circular argument was in play. The documented barbarian migrations of Late Antiquity helped sustain a vision of European history where mass population movement was the major driver of observable change. This in turn made it seem entirely natural that such phenomena should have carried on into the Late Roman period.

In the last 50 years, however, this traditional consensus has broken down in the face of two major challenges. First, post-war anthropologists and social scientists demonstrated both that an individual's group identity could not necessarily be read from externally measurable cultural features (language, *dress, etc.), and that, contrary to previous assumptions, individuals did not always have one group identity into which they were born and then remained.

Group-belonging is about perception, located fundamentally in the mind not in external epiphenomena, and individuals might have several group identities between which they oscillated during their lifetimes. In archaeology, this directly undermined the basic assumption behind the Culture History paradigm: that the ancient European past had been full of unchanging 'Peoples', whose rise and fall could be equated simply with patterns of similarity in material culture. In history, it underlined the importance of a considerable body of previously neglected evidence showing that barbarian groups in the Roman period were often reconstituted, taking in new members, sometimes on a very large scale.

At the same time, 'New Archaeology' was rejecting monolithic reliance on the explanatory power of the Invasion Hypothesis. In part, this was inspired by the same work which had vitiated the basic assumption behind Culture History, since severing the link between 'Cultures' and 'Peoples' also undercut the need to explain material cultural change in terms of mass population replacement. More positively, the new work carefully demonstrated the transformative power over material culture of completely different factors, such as continued environmental adaptation, the adoption of new technologies, or the broader social and economic transformations which occur within an existing population. Post-processual archaeology has convincingly added ideological change to the list. For many archaeologists, adducing migration to explain material cultural change became associated with a more primitive stage in the development of their discipline, something to be positively avoided if at all possible.

These two lines of intellectual development have rightly undermined former certainties about barbarian migration in the Late Roman period. If group identities are malleable, then it might be argued that only a few individuals need in fact have migrated for an old group name to appear in a new place. If successful, a small group of movers could then generate what the influential 'ethnogenesis' model of the Vienna school would term a 'core of tradition' (*see also* BARBARIAN IDENTITY). Such a core would provide an overall group identity for any new recruits they subsequently attracted. At its most extreme, this line of thought has suggested that behind what used to be viewed as the mass migrations of peoples, there was never anything more substantial than the activities of predatory warbands: overwhelmingly male groups of at most 1,000 or 2,000 individuals.

To date, no new overall consensus has emerged, but intense discussion has generated two points of more general agreement. First, no scholar now thinks that the barbarian migrations of the Late Roman period were undertaken by unchanging 'Peoples'. Wherever there is more detailed historical evidence, the migration process can be seen to have worked major transformations upon the groups involved. The *Visigoths who settled in *Aquitaine in 418, for instance, incorporated contingents from at least three previously separate barbarian groupings: the *Tervingi and *Greuthungi who crossed the Danube in 376, and followers of *Radagausius who invaded *Italy in 405/6. The group called the *Vandals, led across the Mediterranean from *Spain to North *Africa in 429 by *Geiseric, was a new confederation, similarly created on the march, out of Hasding Vandals, Siling Vandals, and several groups of *Alans (the latter originally the majority) who had crossed the Rhine *frontier at the end of 406. Migration onto Roman territory likewise involved serious political restructuring for the *Ostrogoths under *Theoderic, the Angles and Saxons, the Salian *Franks, and the *Lombards.

Second, a few isolated voices aside, there is broad scholarly agreement that at least some of the moves involved large military forces. Most historians accept that the small warband paradigm cannot account for the Gothic crossing of the Danube *frontier in 376, Radagausius' invasion of Italy in 405, and the Rhine crossing of 405/6, since all these instances involved barbarian *armies in the few tens of thousands. The same is also true, after the collapse of Attila's empire, of at least the Ostrogothic move to Italy. In each case, it is either plausibly documented in good contemporary sources and/or evident from the scale of Roman counterattack that the migrating groups were able to survive. At the same time, much smaller units of migration are documented in the case of other groups of Alans not involved in the Rhine crossing, and of *Taifali, and it is generally accepted that both Anglo-Saxon expansion into south-eastern Britain and Frankish expansion into northern Gaul was accomplished by uncoordinated flows of much smaller groupings. Alongside occasional major moves, therefore, we need simultaneously to envisage a flotsam and jetsam of much smaller-scale barbarian movements.

There is much less agreement, however, on whether the migration groups (larger and smaller) typically involved women and children as well as warriors. Non-combatants are not often mentioned by Roman sources, but these were not interested in providing a detailed catalogue of barbarian migrants, being chiefly concerned with the military and political threat they posed. In fact, women and children are mentioned regularly if briefly. It has been claimed that this can be attributed to a commonplace way of representing migration in Roman literature, in which Roman writers imagined whole 'peoples' on the move even when women and children were not present. This explanation is pure hypothesis in most cases, and highly unconvincing in others. *Ammianus and *Procopius, for instance, both mention barbarian women and children in only a few specific cases of large-scale migration, and were

otherwise capable of describing explicitly all-male warrior groups on the move on Roman soil. Moreover, the limited economic surpluses generated by non-Roman economies could support professional warrior groups of only hundreds not thousands, so that raising the much larger forces involved in some of the expeditions would have involved mobilizing a broader militarily capable class (mentioned in many sources), many of whom are likely to have had families.

The motivations behind barbarian migrations—large or small—continue to be a matter of scholarly controversy. The best documented of the large migrations—that of the Goths of 376—had primarily a negative, political motivation, namely the desire to escape the unwelcome effects of Hun expansion. Determined recent attempts to undermine this view are unconvincing because they rely on later and less detailed sources to 'correct' the unanimous view found in more detailed and contemporary materials. Whether or not the second phase of Hunnic expansion into Central Europe likewise generated the second pulse of major barbarian intrusion into Roman territory in 405–8 remains controversial. Even in the case of the Goths in 376, however, a positive interest in potential economic gain is also discernible. The Goths were not obliged to move south into Roman territory, as *Athanaric's retreat north into upland Transylvania shows. Furthermore Ammianus does indicate that, once the Goths had decided to move because of attacks by the Huns, Roman wealth then became a factor in deciding the direction in which the Goths chose to migrate. This positively predatory element in migrant motivation was only to become stronger as the strategic balance swung away from the Empire, being much more marked in Theoderic's descent on Italy in 489. Nonetheless in the case of Theoderic also a negative political element remained, since the Goths had to move somewhere to solve the political impasse between Theoderic and the *Emperor *Zeno. This complex and evolving mix of political and economic motives echoes the conclusions of comparative migration studies, since most modern population flows are prompted by a similar mixture of negative and positive motivations.

Many questions remain, therefore, and they are not likely to be resolved in the near future, both because the sources provide inadequate information, and because the overuse of simple migration models in the past means that a significant strand of scholarship remains highly suspicious of any argument which uses migration to explain anything of importance. That said, there is at least now a consensus that four major moments of migration involved really large military forces, namely the movements of the Goths from 376, the invasion of Italy by Radagausius, the crossing of the Rhine in 406 and Theoderic's invasion of Italy. Also there is every reason to suppose (as the sources report) that many women and children will have been caught up in these movements besides. Migration must therefore still be taken seriously as a phenomenon which genuinely occurred on a large scale at least periodically in Late Antiquity, even if it was not undertaken by ancient 'Peoples'. As a result, the question of whether barbarian migration was cause or effect in the dismantling of the central west Roman state remains firmly open.

It can however be convincingly argued that a direct line of cause and effect runs from the arrival and survival on Roman soil (after intense bouts of significant warfare) of in particular the large migrant blocks of 376–80 and 405–8 to the deposition of *Romulus Augustulus in 476 and what might be termed in the narrow sense the *fall of the Western Empire. This is because the chief effect of these two large migrations was to remove from imperial control large sections of the west Roman *taxation base, and hence to undercut the state's capacity to maintain its *armies. Other views are tenable, but, either way, the phenomenon of barbarian migration cannot be reduced to the marginal activities of a few small-scale warbands.

See also under individual 'peoples'. PHe

W. Pohl, *Die Völkerwanderung. Eroberung und Integration* (2002).

W. A. Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (2006).

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (2008).

W. Pohl and G. Heydemann, *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West* (2013).

D. W. Anthony, 'Migration in Archeology: The Baby and the Bathwater', *American Anthropologist* 92/4 (1990), 895–914.

M. Kulikowski, 'Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain', *Britannia* 31 (2000), 325–45.

barbarians, Roman attitudes to Roman and Greek understanding of those outside the Empire was formed by their understanding of themselves; barbarians were a mirror image for all that was superior about Mediterranean civilization. Barbarians were irrational, their behaviour was dictated by immediate bodily desires, and their societies were based purely on might. The Roman elite was educated to see itself as rational, using the mind to control the body, and its society as fundamentally just. Moreover, the City of *Rome was geographically at the centre of the inhabited world which stretched out towards Ocean, and the Roman Empire had triumphed because divine power sustained it as the one human society capable of bringing individuals to the telelogical potential which was central to the divine plan for mankind.

This had important political connotations. Since divine support ought to guarantee success, propaganda

and sometimes policy was dictated by an underlying need to show *emperors triumphant over barbarians, as any emperor who failed to defeat barbarians was clearly not divinely chosen. Thus, although there were strongly pragmatic elements to Roman *frontier management, not least supporting client kings who were ready to keep the peace, these could be subjugated to propaganda needs (*Valentinian I caused huge trouble on the Rhine by unilaterally cutting the foreign aid budget), and Romans felt no compunction about employing sustained violence either against individual barbarians (assassinating, kidnapping, or executing barbarian kings was a standard policy reflex) or larger population clusters.

The rise of Christianity initially prompted no more change than the re-identification of the divinity as the Christian God, but there was a problem. Graeco-Roman ideologies saw rationality as the end product of a series of cultural features, many of which (such as advanced education and participation in government of the *city) were available only to a small elite. In Christian belief, however, everyone has a soul. By the end of the 4th century, therefore, one element of the original ideology—the importance of written (hence rational and just) *law—was being given unique emphasis in comparisons of civilized and barbarian society, since, within law, everyone—greater and lesser—has an assigned place.

Further change naturally followed as Roman populations came to terms from AD *c.*380 with barbarian groups that could not be defeated. The most radical response came from *Augustine whose *City of God* denied that any human society could be so in tune with God's plans that it merited unique divine support. For the most part, however, especially as barbarians converted to Christianity, the old ideology was re-employed to justify new realities, this being possible because, in its terms, both 'Roman' and 'barbarian' were cultural, not ethnic categories. Thus *Sidonius justified the Emperor *Avitus' reliance on *Visigothic support by portraying their king as culturally Roman in terms of his educated, rational self-control, while *Theoderic the *Amal later employed it comprehensively to claim that his regime represented the continuation of rational Roman order. Rather than rejecting it outright, most of the new successor states thus chose instead to present themselves in modified Roman terms as members of a divinely supported rational order, which had expanded to include themselves. As a direct result, producing a body of written law remained synonymous for centuries with staking a claim for membership of the civilized association of Christian nations. PHe

Y. A. Dauge, *Le Barbare: recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation* (Coll. Latomus 176, 1981).

T. Wiedemann, 'Between Men and Beasts: Barbarians in Ammianus Marcllinus', in I. Moxon et al., *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing* (1986), 189–201.

P. J. Heather, 'The Historical Culture of Ostrogothic Italy', in *Teoderico il grande e i Goti d'Italia* (Atti del XIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), 317–53.

barbarians in art Late Roman depiction of barbarians drew on earlier Roman models, such as the Column of Trajan in *Rome. The borrowing is sometimes direct; the figures of bearded barbarians which surmount the *Arch of *Constantine in *Rome were *spolia. Barbarians appear most frequently in images expressing imperial *victory and the universal dominion of the Roman Empire. They are often recognizable by their attributes—the Phrygian cap for Persians and long *hair for Germanic barbarians. No Roman representation survives of steppe barbarians such as the *Huns, notorious for their ugliness (*Ammianus, XXXI, 2, 2).

The Arch of *Galerius at *Thessalonica shows the *Caesar Galerius on horseback trampling Persian infantry in a pose similar to the leader trampling hairy barbarians on the Ludovisi *Sarcophagus of 250/60. Below this scene on the Arch, the Caesar receives the submission of Persian prisoners. Such themes recur. On the base of the *Obelisk of *Theodosius I in the *Circus at *Constantinople, barbarians kneel bearing gifts; some wear Phrygian caps, some do not. A similar scene of submission was shown on the Column of *Arcadius, known now from the Freshfield Album at Trinity College, Cambridge.

From the 4th century barbarian soldiers appear also in depictions of the imperial bodyguard, for instance on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius and on the edge of the *Missorium of Theodosius I. Individual barbarians are represented in other Roman media: *Stilicho on his *ivory consular *diptych, and a *Vandal landowner of the late 5th/early 6th century wearing Germanic *dress and enjoying a day's *hunting or falconry on a *mosaic from Bordj-Djedid near *Carthage.

The barbarians represented most frequently in Christian art are the Magi, and their iconography often resembles that of Persian tribute-bearers in imperial art. On the side of the *ambo from the Rotunda of S. George in Thessalonica, now in Istanbul, they wear Phrygian caps though they do not kneel. On the mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo in *Ravenna, where they are labelled Balthasar, Melchior, and Gaspar, they wear red Phrygian caps and bend forward reverently.

OPN; GMB

I. M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians through Roman Eyes* (2000).

barbaricarii Skilled metalworkers responsible for the decoration of parade *armour with precious *stones and *gold inlay. They were supervised by the

*Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, with ateliers (in the West) at *Arles, *Reims, and *Trier (*Not. Dig.* 9.74–7 [*occ*]), and (in the East) at *Antioch and *Constantinople. Not to be confused with the *Scrinium Barbarorum under the *Magister Officiorum, responsible for handling foreign *embassies at *court. CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 483–6.

barbarous coinage *See* COUNTERFEIT COINAGE.

Barbarus Scaligeri *See CHRONOGRAPHIA SCALIGERIANA.*

barbat A short-necked, pear-shaped lute, a predecessor of the oud, with four strings tuned in fourths; said by Ferdowsi (Firdausi) to have come to the *Persian Empire from *India during the reign of *Bahram V Gur and closely associated with Persian minstrelsy from before the *Arab conquest and with the semi-legendary figure of *Barbad. AJH

EncIran III/7 (1988) *s.v.* barbat, 758–9 (J. During).

H. G. Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (repr. 1977), 91ff.

Barbegal Site 7 km (4 miles) north-east of *Arles, possessing remains of the largest known Roman water *mills. They lie on a ridge of the Alpilles with a slope of 17 degrees (30%) within an enclosure 90 m × 40 m (295 × 131 feet). An *aqueduct fed parallel rows of eight waterwheels, probably overshot, 2.1 m (7 feet) in diameter and 0.7 m (2 feet) wide that drove flour mills capable of grinding about 4.5 tonnes of flour per day, enough for a population of 12,000. The mill was built in the early 2nd century AD and functioned for about a century. MD

P. Leaveau, 'Les Moulins de Barbegal. 1986–2006', in J.-P. Brun and J.-L. Fiches, eds., *Force hydraulique et machines à eau dans l'Antiquité romaine* (2007).

Barberini Diptych Leaf of an *ivory *diptych from mid-6th-century *Constantinople now in the Louvre Museum at Paris. Other diptychs have its five-part design, but the Barberini leaf is unique for its robust depth of relief and virtuosic undercutting. Christ, above, gives his blessing; an officer, left, offers a symbol of *victory; the vanquished, below, heap up *tribute; and the Earth herself rises to support the *emperor's *horse. He is probably *Justinian I (emperor 527–65). JEH

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 36–7, no. 48, pl. 12.

A. Cutler, 'Barberiniana: Notes on the Making, Content, and Provenance of Louvre OA. 9063', in *Tesserae. Festschrift für Josef Engemann* (JbAC Ergänzungsband 18, 1991), 329–39.

Barcelona (Spain) Roman Barcino on the Mediterranean coast of *Tarraconensis was founded by Augustus *c.*15 BC. It stands on a small promontory of 10 ha (*c.*25 acres), the medieval Mons Taber. Its distinguished *bishops included the late 4th-century *Pacianus.

Barcelona was a *Visigothic royal seat under *Athaulf (415), after its capture by *Gundobad in 507 it was a base for Gesalicus, and it saw the *accession of *Theudis (531). In 781 it was conquered by al-Hurr ath-Thaqafi and in 801 the Carolingians made it the capital of the County of Barcelona.

The city plan is rectangular, with rounded corners. The Hippodamian urban grid is surrounded with defensive walls which in Late Antiquity were doubled by an outer wall with 78 towers. This imposing structure survives complete and to its full height; it reused building material and sculpture from disused buildings and *cemeteries surrounding the *city.

From the 5th century onwards the *forum began to lose its integrity, beginning in the north-east corner where the cathedral complex was installed, where the present medieval cathedral now stands. It comprised the Cathedral Church of the Holy *Cross, the *baptistery, and the episcopal palace. Fresh study of the archaeological remains in recent years has given rise to a new functional interpretation which not all investigators agree with. GR

J. Beltrán, ed., *De Barcino a Barcinona (siglos I–VII): los restos arqueológicos de la plaza del Rey de Barcelona* (2001).

J. M. Gurt and C. Godoy, 'Barcino, de sede imperial a *urbs* regia en época visigoda', in G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt, eds., *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)* (2000), 425–66.

Bardaisan (AD 154–222) Theologian and *philosopher at the *court of King Abgar of *Edessa. Bardaisan composed works on diverse subjects (*cosmology, eschatology, ethnography, *astronomy, and refutations of *heresies), but only fragments survive. A dialogue on free will and Fate, known as the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, in which he is the main interlocutor, has survived. Bardaisan's learning was admired by Julius Africanus, *Eusebius, *Jerome, and even *Epiphanius, but his doctrines came to be regarded as heretical and were refuted at length by *Ephrem. Nevertheless, Bardaisan's innovative defence of human freedom against astral determinism, his refutation of the doctrines of *Marcionites, and the idea of setting **madrashe* (teaching-poems) to *music had a lasting impact in both the *Greek and *Syriac worlds. Bardaisan also influenced the formation of the doctrinal system of the *Manichaeans. UP

GEDSH s.v. Bardaisan, 56–7 (Brock).

ed. (with LT) F. Nau, *Bardesanes, Liber Legum Regionum*, PatSyr 1/2 (1907).

ed. (with ET) H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries* (1965, repr. with new introd. by J. W. Drijvers, 2007).

I. Ramelli, *Bardaisan of Edessa: A Reassessment of the Evidence* (2012).
E. Beck, 'Bardaisan und seine Schule bei Ephräm', *Le Muséon* 91 (1978), 271–333.
A. Camplani, *Annuaire, École pratique des hautes études* 112 (2003–4), 29–50.
U. Possekel, 'Bardaisan's Influence on Late Antique Christianity', in I. Ramelli et al., eds., *Bardaisan of Edessa on Fate, Free Will, and Human Nature* (forthcoming).
U. Possekel, 'Bardaisan and Origen on Fate and the Power of the Stars', *JECS* 20 (2012), 515–41.

Bardanes *See* PHILIPPICUS BARDANES (*PBE*, PHILIPPIKOS 1).

Bar 'Ebroyo (Grigoriyos Abū al-Faraj, known as Barhebraeus) (1225/6–86) *Maphrian of the *Syriac Orthdox Church (1264–86) and prolific author. In many of his writings he was strongly influenced by recent *Arabic authors, but he also frequently referred to earlier *Syriac works, so that his works constitute an important record for the reconstruction of works from Late Antiquity. The principal Syriac source for his historical works is *Michael the Elder (Michael the Syrian), but he also had access to other sources. The first part (on *canon law) of his *Book of Directions* (*Nomocanon*) is an important source of earlier canons that are now otherwise lost. His theological and philosophical works also contain much material taken from Syriac versions of the works of the Fathers and pagan authors. HT

GEDSH s.v. Bar ʿEbroyo, Grigorios, 54–6 (Takahashi).
EI THREE s.v. Barhebraeus (H. Takahashi).
EncIran VIII/1 (1997) *s.n.* Ebn al-Ebrī, Abu'l-Faraj 13–16 (H. G. B. Teule).
Chronicon Ecclesiasticum: ed. (with LT) J. B. Abbeloos and Th. J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, 2 parts in 3 vols. (1872–77).
ET D. David Wilmshurst (forthcoming).
Chronicon Syriacum: ed. P. Bedjan, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum* (1890).
Facsmile of ms. text (with ET and introd.): E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 2 vols. (1932).
FT P. Talon, *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, 3 vols. (2013).

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H. Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography* (2005).
Actes du Colloque 'Barhebraeus et la renaissance syriaque' = M. Tardieu, ed., *Parole de l'Orient* 33 (2008), 17–198 (Symposium Syriacum 9).

Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya (6/7th cent.) Probably identifiable with *Barhadbeshabba of Halwan. He came from *Beth `Arbaye and taught at the School of *Nisibis during the directorship of *Henana. His *History of the Holy Fathers Persecuted for the Sake of Truth* covers the *Church of the East up to the death of *Abraham, third head of the Nisibis School (d. AD 569). Among those discussed are the Cappadocians *Gregory Thaumaturgus and *Basil of Caesarea, the Antiochenes *Diodore of *Tarsus, *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, and *John Chrysostom, and also *Nestorius, and the heads of the Nisibis School, *Narsai and Abraham. These figures are also prominent in the *Cause* attributed to *Barhadbeshabba of Halwan and the two works have verbal parallels. The **Chronicle of Seert* (*PO* 2, 2, 191–2) identifies the two Barhadbeshabbas. Fragments of a commentary on S. Mark's Gospel survive, a commentary on the Psalms is lost. ILER

GEDSH s.v. Barhadbshabba `Arbaya, 57–8 (Becker and Childers).*History*, ed. F. Nau (ed. with FT), Part 2: PO 9/5 (1913), Part 1: PO 23/2 (1932).
ed. A. Scher (with FT), *Cause de la fondation des écoles*, PO 23, 489–631; PO 4, 316–404 [FT].
ET of part of *HE*; (with intro)
A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008).
A. Becker, *Fear of God* (2006).
I. Ramelli, 'Linee introduttive a Barhadbeshabba di Halwan, *Causa della fondazione delle scuole*', *Ilu* 9 (2004), 127–81; 'Barhadbeshabba di Halwan, *Causa della fondazione delle scuole*: traduzione e note essenziali',*Ilu* 10 (2005), 127–70
I. Ramelli, review, Becker, *Fear of God, Hugoye* 10/2 (2007), §§1–18.

Barhadbeshabba of Halwan (6th/7th cent.) Possibly to be identified, with *Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya. He was at the *Nisibis School under *Henana and wrote the *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, which at least one manuscript (London, BL Or. 6714) ascribes to Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya. It is a theological world history conceived of as a school for *angels and humanity, from its creation through the history of Israel, Greek *philosophy, and Christ's teaching, up till the Schools of Antioch, Edessa, and Nisibis, the latter extending up to the directorship of Henana (d. *c.*610).

Barhadbeshabba became *Bishop of Halwan and signed the canons of the *Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon summoned by the *Catholicus Gregory (AD 605). ILER

ed. (with FT) A. Scher, *La Cause de la fondation des écoles*, PO IV/4 (1907), 315–97.
ET of *Cause*: (with intro) A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008).
Becker, *Fear of God*, 98–154.
Th. Hainthaler, 'Die verschiedenen Schulen', in M. Tamcke, ed., *Syriaca II* (2004), 175–92
I. Ramelli, 'Linee introduttive a Barhadbeshabba di Halwan, *Causa della fondazione delle scuole*', *Ilu* 9 (2004), 127–81; 'Barhadbeshabba di Halwan, *Causa della fondazione delle scuole*: traduzione e note essenziali',*Ilu* 10 (2005), 127–70.

A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subsidia 26, 1965), 280–2, 294–6.

Bar Hebraeus *See* BAR 'EBROYO.

Barid A communications system used in the Islamic period. Translated as 'postal system', the word may also refer to couriers or way stations along a route. NK

EI THREE s.v. 'Barīd' (El Silverstein).

Bar ʿIdta (d. 611/12 or 621/2) Monastic founder in the *Church of the East. He was an early disciple of *Abraham of Kashkar and was part of the diaspora from his *monastery. Bar ʿIdta's own *monastery, said to have had 400 monks, was probably near *Marga north-east of *Mosul. Among his disciples was the later monastic founder Rabban *Hormizd. A metrical *Life* in *Syriac survives (*BHO* 137). JFC

GEDSH s.v. Bar ʿEdta, Rabban, 56 (Van Rompay).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 74.
Life (*BHO* 137), ed. (with ET) E. A.Wallis Budge, *History of Rabban Hormizd and Rabban Bar ʿIdta* (1902), vol. 1, 113–202 (text), vol. 2/1, 161–304 (ET).

Barjik (*fl.* 722–30) Son of the *Khazar *Khagan and commander of the Khazar army. In 722/3 Jarrah, *Arab governor of *Armenia, defeated Barjik just north of Bab al-Abwab (*Derbend) and advanced into Khazar territory, capturing Balanjar and reaching Samandar before withdrawing. The Khazars invaded Azerbaijan in 726/7 under Barjik but were defeated by the Muslims (*Theophanes, AM 6220). In 730, Barjik and an enormous Khazar army invaded Arab territory, defeating the Arabs and killing Jarrah and many others near *Ardabil before advancing as far south as *Mosul. Jarrah's replacement, al-Harashi, subsequently engaged Barjik's army at Baylaqan. According to differing accounts, Barjik was either killed by al-Harashi or fled, only to be killed by Sa'id's successor, *Maslama in 731. However, the Armenian historian *Levond (107) provides an alternative account, with the Khazars led by the commander T'armats'. Barjik may have been the brother of Chichek (*Irene), who married *Constantine V. MLD

D. S. Powers, *Tabari* XXIV: *The Empire in Transition* (1989), 182–3.
K. Y. Blankinship, *Tabari* XXV: *The End of Expansion* (1989), 69–70, 95–6.
Balami, vol. 4, 271–83.
D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954), 62–74.
P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies* vol. 1 (1980), 156–60, 205–6, 213–14.

Barking *Monastery on the River Roding, Essex, England, 2.5 km (1.5 miles) north of the Thames, founded *c.* AD 670 by Eorcenwald, *Bishop of *London, for his sister Æthelburg. Perhaps originally a double house (*Bede, *HE* IV, 6–10), it was refounded as a Benedictine nunnery by Edgar *c.*970, though archaeology suggests continuous occupation from the 7th century onwards. SCT

K. MacGowan, 'Barking Abbey', *Current Archaeology* 149 (1996), 172–7.
G. Hull, 'Barkingwic? Saxon and medieval features adjacent to Barking Abbey', Essex Archaeology and History 33 (2002), 157–90.

Barlaam and Joasaph A Christianizing account in prose of the life of the Indian prince Ioasaph, a cipher for Gautama, founder of *Buddhism. The story recounts how Barlaam, a Christian *holy man, converted Joasaph to Christianity and caused him to renounce the world and take up the life of a hermit in the face of opposition from his father King Abenner. *Barlaam and Joasaph* draws on earlier tales of the Buddha's life, such as the Pali *játaka*s that were probably transmitted to the West by *Manichaeans who had earlier rendered the tale into Middle Persian as *Bela-whar o Būdāsaf*. *Barlaam and Joasaph* became a popular romance in medieval Byzantium and bespeaks the Christian imagination regarding Christianity's relations with the East and Buddhism. In *Greek, *Latin, *Armenian, Slavic, Ethiopic, and other translations, the work circulated widely throughout Christendom. Exact date and authorship of the popular Greek recension remain in dispute: certain mss. are attributed to John the Monk, whom some associate with *John of Damascus (*c.*675–*c.*749) and others John of the Great Laura or Mar *Saba *Monastery (9th cent.). It is even more likely that Euthymius of Athos (*c.*955/960–1028) made the translation using the *Balavariani*, the first *Georgian version of the story. RLi

ed. (with ET) G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *St. John Damascene: Barlaam and Ioasaph* (LCL 34, 1914, rev. edn. 1967).
F. C. Conybeare, 'The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend in the Ancient Georgian and Armenian Literatures', *Folk-Lore* 7 (1896), 101–42.
P. Devos, 'Les Origines du "Barlaam et Joasaph" grec: à propos de la thèse nouvelle de M. Nucubidze', *AnBoll* 75 (1957), 83–104.
F. J. Dölger, *Der griechische Barlaam-Roman, ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos* (1953).
W. B. Henning, 'Persian Poetical Manuscripts from the Time of Rūdakī', in W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater, eds., *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (1962), 89–98.
A. Kazhdan, 'Where, When and by Whom was the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph not Written', in G. Wirth, W. Will, and J. Heinrichs, eds., *Zu Alexander der Grosse. Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86* (1988), vol. 2, 1187–209.

D. M. Lang, *The Balavariani (Barlaam and Josaphat): A Tale from the Christian East Translated from the Old Georgian* (1966).
P. Peeters, 'La Première Traduction latine de "Barlaam et Joasaph" et son original grec', *AnBoll* 49 (1931), 276–312.

Barletta colossus Colossal cuirassed *bronze statue of a Late Roman *emperor, almost certainly from *Constantinople, now in Barletta (Apulia). The legs and arms are 15th-century restorations. Most scholars consider it a portrait of either *Marcian (450–7) or *Leo I (457–74). UG

R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserportäts* (1933), 219–26, pl. 116–20.
Last Statues of Antiquity 441 (Y. Marano) = ⟨http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=441⟩.

Barnabas, Monastery of S. Cross-in-square *basilica of *c.*900, 2 km (1.25 miles) west of *Salamis in *Cyprus, incorporating the east end of a late 5th-century basilica, probably that built by the *Emperor *Zeno following the discovery of S. Barnabas's *relics by the Archbishop *Anthemius. The tomb, perhaps in the surviving south *apse, is described in the 6th-century *Laudatio* as embellished with *silver ornaments and *marble columns. RKL

ed. P. van Deun, *Sancti Barnabae Laudatio auctore Alexandro monacho*, in *Hagiographica Cypria* (CCSG 26, 1993), 15–122.

barns and grain-stores (Lat. *horreum*, *horrion*; Old English *bæren* = *barn*; Late Latin *promptuarium*) Barns served various agricultural functions but were mainly used to store cereal *grain, hay, flax, and other agricultural produce. Ancient grain-drying technology severely limited the length of time for which grain could be stored. *Ausonius kept two years' produce in store (*Herediolum*, 27). *Palladius (I, 19) gives detailed advice on grain storage.

Often storehouses and granaries were integrated into *villa architecture, either in towers or on the ground floor, as at Ramat Hanadiv in *Palestine. Alternatively, granaries could be free-standing, with a longitudinal orientation, allowing access to bins from either side of a corridor. Floors raised on pylons or platforms kept grain dry and limited animal intrusion.

Four basic granary types may be identified: the simple, rectangular plan built of wood or stone, the double granaries used by the *army, the multiple granary with several storage magazines, and mixed types where the absence of elevated floors may indicate housing for different foodstuffs, such as *wine, *olive oil, *vegetables, or *meat. Underground grain silos were common in places where the rock could be easily cut and worked, such as the *Negev in Palestine and in *Cappadocia. Capacities varied greatly. Most household examples could store only a few tonnes of grain, or enough to sustain life from one season to the next; an area of 10 square metres (just over 100 square feet) could accommodate approximately 4,000 litres or 3,200 kg (3.2 tons) of grain.

Roman forts had large grain magazines, with notable examples (some more than 30 m (100 feet) long) known at Corbridge and Brough-on-Humber, among others. *Justinian I built vast granaries on *Tenedos (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 1, 7–16) to accommodate the Egyptian *annona* and many cities had large, public *horrea*, *Edessa and *Amida among them. The building at *Dara formerly deemed a granary is now considered a *cistern. MD

G. R. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (1971).
J. S. Domínguez, *Horrea militaria: el aprovisionamiento de grano al ejército en el occidente del Imperio Romano* (2011).

Barontus (*fl.* 678/9) A recent noble convert to the ascetic life in the *Monastery of S. Peter at Longoretus (later S. Cyran-en-Brenne) near *Bourges, whose terrifying visionary tour of Heaven and Hell was recorded by one of his fellow monks on 25 March 678/9. YH

Visio Baronti Monachi Longoretensis, ed. W. Levison, in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 5 (1910), 368–94.
ET J. Hillgarth, *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750* (1986), 195–204.
M.-P. Ciccarese, 'La *Visio Baronti* nella tradizione letteraria della visions dell'aldilà', *Romanobarbarica* 6 (1981–2), 25–52.
C. Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine tardive* (1994), 139–86.
Y. Hen, 'The Structure and Aims of the *Visio Baronti*', *JTS* 47 NS (1996), 477–97.
I. Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (2000), 158–67.

Barsanuphius and John (*fl. c.*530–50) *Holy men and spiritual fathers of a monastic community in the region of *Gaza. Barsanuphius, an Egyptian monk known as 'the Great Old Man', settled in the monastery of Thabatha, the birthplace of *Hilarion, and lived as a recluse. At some point, he left his cell in favour of his disciple John, who became his partner in the spiritual leadership of the *monastery, and was known as 'the Other Old Man' or 'the Prophet'. As a result of their extreme seclusion they maintained contact with members of the monastery and the outside world only through the mediation of Seridus, the abbot of the *coenobium around which hermitages were scattered. They conducted their spiritual direction by means of a wide correspondence with monks, churchmen, and laymen, among them some of the highest-ranking religious and political leaders in the province. Their main sources of inspiration were the Bible, *Evagrius

Ponticus, *Basil of *Caesarea, Abba *Isaiah, and the **Apophthegmata Patrum*. The correspondence (about 850 questions and answers) reflects a psychological and personal tone, providing a rare opportunity to observe spiritual direction—usually oral and private—in action, and in its immediate social context. It covers various topics pertaining to the daily existence of the monk in his semi-coenobitic monastery, including worldly matters such as vandalism and leprosy alongside questions on the monastic way of life and theology. BBA

ed. (with FT and comm.) F. Neyt, P. de Angelis-Noah, and L. Regnault, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance* (SC 426–7, 450–1, 468, 1997–2002).
ed. (with ET) of letters 1–124: D.J. Chitty (PO 31/3, 1966).
ET J. Chryssavgis, *Barsanuphius and John: Letters*, 2 vols. (FC 113–14, (2006–7).
B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 78, 2006).
Hevelone-Harper, *Disciples of the Desert*.

Barsauma (d. 458) *Syriac Orthodox *priest and abbot. He attended the *Councils of *Ephesus (449) and *Chalcedon (451), supporting *Eutyches and *Dioscorus, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, against Flavian, Patriarch of *Constantinople. In the *Syriac Orthodox tradition, he is venerated as a saint. A 6th-century *Life*, a *monastery named after him, and depictions of Barsauma in manuscripts and on church walls indicate his popularity. SW

GEDSH s.v. Barsawmo, p. 59 (Van Rompay).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 79, 49–50.

ANCIENT SOURCES

ACO II, I, I, 47–8, 78.131, 109, 884.113, 1066, 1067.133 (Ephesus II); I, 851, IV 66, 77–81, 95, CD 11 (Chalcedon).
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E. Honigmann, *Le Couvent de Barsauma et le patriarcat Jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie* (CSCO 146, Subs. 7 (1976), 6–23).
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A. Palmer, 'A Tale of Two Synods: The Archimandrite Barsumas at Ephesus in 449 and at Chalcedon in 451', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 66 (2014), 37–61.
A. Palmer, 'The West-Syrian Monastic Founder Barsawmo: A Historical Review of the Scholarly Literature', in P. Bruns and H. O. Luthe, eds., *Orientalia Christiana: FS H. Kaufhold zum 70. Geburtstag* (2013), 399–413.

Barsauma of Nisibis (d. before 496) *Bishop in the *Church of the East. He was a fellow student of *Narsai at the School of *Edessa, before becoming Bishop of *Nisibis possibly as early as 435. The School of Nisibis was the joint creation of Barsauma and Narsai when the latter came from Edessa *c.*471. Barsauma convened a synod of bishops at *Beth Lapat (*Gondeshapur in *Khuzestan) in 484. Its canons (which were later nullified and are not completely preserved) were aimed to restrict the power of the *Catholicus Babowai. They also allowed clergy and monks to be dispensed from vows of celibacy and to marry. Barsauma himself married Mamai, a former ascetic (*bath qyama*). Some other reports about Barsauma in later sources, for example that he was responsible for the 'Nestorianization' of the Persian Church, that he compelled clergy to marry, and that he persecuted his ecclesiastical enemies, do not survive critical scrutiny (Gero). Of Barsauma's writing, six *letters are preserved, and some liturgical compositions.

He is not to be confused with another, slightly earlier *Barsauma, a monk and *Syrian Orthodox saint who was a strenuous opponent of the *Council of *Chalcedon. JFC

GEDSH s.v. Barsawma of Nisibis, 58–9 (Becker).
S. Gero, *Barsauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century* (CSCO 426/Subs. 63, 1981).

barsom (Avestan *barsman*) A ritual implement in *Zoroastrian sacrifice. Barsoms were originally composed of twigs taken from the *haoma* or pomegranate and represented the vegetal realm. In contemporary Zoroastrianism they are replaced by brass or *silver wires. The god Mihr blesses *Ardashir II and *Shapur II with a *barsom* in the rock relief at *Taq-e Bostan. POS; MPC

EncIran III/8 (1988) *s.v.* barsom, 825–7 (M. F. Kanga).

Basil, Rule of S. Term taken from the *Latin document of that name, but referring essentially to the *Asketikon* of S. *Basil of *Caesarea, a book of catecheses on living the Christian *ascetic life in community, i.e. *coenobitic (common-life) *monasticism.

Influenced by the ascetic community of his older sister S. *Macrina, Basil's thinking on the coenobitic life matured in the period 363–5, which he spent in *Pontus touring the ascetic communities, encouraging them to leave aside freelance enthusiasm and commit themselves to a comprehensive, disciplined obedience to the divine commands in community. The ascetics' questions and his answers were sometimes taken down in *shorthand, edited, and published as the *Small Asketikon* (*c.*366).

Basil continued instructing ascetics throughout his short life, so that by his death (378), the *Asketikon* had expanded considerably. The much longer later edition,

the *Great Asketikon* (containing 376 questions and answers), survived in *Greek. The *Small Asketikon* (containing 203 questions and answers) did not survive in Greek, but was translated into *Syriac in the 370s by *Eusebius, *Bishop of *Samosata, and into *Latin, in 397, by *Rufinus of *Aquileia, and survives in these Latin and Syriac versions. This latter is known as the *Rule of S. Basil*. It was a source of and highly commended in the *Rule of S. *Benedict*. AMS; OPN

ET (with study) A. M. Silvas, *The Asketikon of Basil the Great* (OECS, 2005).

CPG 2875 (Great Asketikon): PG 31, 901–1305, reprinting Garnier-Maran (1721–30).

CPG 2876 (*Small Asketikon;* cf. *CPL* 198d).

ed. K. Zelzer (CSEL 86, 1986).

text (with ET and study) A. M. Silvas, *The Rule of St. Basil in Latin and English*.

ed. (with ET and study) A. M. Silvas *Questions of the Brothers: Syriac Text and English Translation* (2014).

J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de s. Basile* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 32, 1953).

basilica Term used by scholars to denote an oblong hall with an *apse in one of its walls, divided longitudinally on the inside by two or four colonnades supporting a clerestory. Ancient use of the term was broader than this; the foundation *inscription of the Church of S. Vitale in *Ravenna calls this *octagonal building a basilica (*CIL* XI/1, 288 = *ILCV* 1795).

From the Roman Republican period onwards basilicas were judgement halls; some had the judge's tribunal (with the principal entrance opposite it) in the short side (e.g. Vitruvius V, 1, 6–10), some in the long side (e.g. at Pompeii). The imperial audience hall built at *Trier by *Constantine I had high *windows and the rectangular plan of a basilica with the apse and throne set in a short side, but only a single aisle and no colonnade. The tribunal and apse of the Basilica Nova at *Rome was originally intended by *Maxentius to be in one of the short walls with the main entrance opposite it, but Constantine I moved them to the long sides. Basilicas were often adjacent to *city **fora*, and might serve as covered markets or drill halls; the term is even used of the domed hall which formed the cold room of the baths at the *villa of *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep*. II, 2, 8).

The longitudinal basilica layout was early adopted as the most common plan for Christian churches. The earliest description of a Christian basilica is the rhetorical *ecphrasis delivered as a *sermon by *Eusebius of *Caesarea at the consecration of the church at *Tyre (*HE* X, 4) after the Great *Persecution ended in the East in 313.The earliest physical evidence is from the Lateran Basilica at *Rome. The 5th-century church at *Thessalonica now called the Acheiropoietos gives a suggestive impression of a Late Antique Christian basilica.

A standard early Christian basilica was an oblong hall entered through its short side from a courtyard (often embellished with fountains, *lamps, and colonnades) through *doors in the western *façade. One might then pass through a *narthex before entering the nave which would be divided into three or even five aisles by colonnades, supporting a clerestory. At the east end, separated from the nave by a barrier (that at Tyre was a wooden trellis), was an *apse, a semicircular protuberance lined with seats for the clergy (a *synthronon) surrounding the *bishop's throne, from which he preached. The *altar for the celebration of the *Eucharist stood in the middle of the apse. Later, in the East, there might be three apses, the lateral ones housing the *prothesis and *diaconicon. Architectural elements and *furniture were mass-produced, as the *shipwreck at Marzamemi indicates.

But local variations occurred. In *Africa double basilicas were sometimes built alongside each other. In *Greece apse exteriors were more often semicircular than polygonal. Special geographical considerations might cause the *orientation of basilicas to be reversed (as at the Vatican in Rome and the Holy Sepulchre in *Jerusalem), although from early times Christians offering *prayer in public had faced East.

There were also simple single-aisled churches, churches with cruciform, round, and octagonal plans, and churches broader than they were long (such as the monastic churches of the *Tur 'Abdin). From the 6th century onwards, the domed 'cross-in-square' plan, characteristic of medieval Byzantium, supplanted the basilica in *Constantinople, the *Balkans, Greece, and *Anatolia. OPN; EL

Krautheimer, *ECBArchitecture*.

Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 7, 35–107.

Mathews, *Early Churches*.

J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica', *PBSR* 9 NS (1954), 69–90.

A. Minoprio, 'A Restoration of the *Basilica* of Constantine, Rome', *PBSR* 12 (*1932*), 1–25.

Basiliscus Made *Caesar in 476 by *Zeno to secure the support of his father *Armatus, he was deposed in 478, and ordained, first as *reader at *Blachernae, then as *Bishop of *Cyzicus.

PLRE II, Basiliscus 1.

Basiliscus *Usurper 475–6. As *Magister Militum per *Thracias (*c.*464–*c.*467/8), Basiliscus enjoyed successes against *Goths and *Huns, and was *consul in 465. He commanded *Leo I's unsuccessful expedition against the *Vandals in 468; his sister, Leo's *Empress *Verina, saved him from subsequent accusations of

accepting bribes. In 471–2 he helped Leo against *Aspar and *Theoderic Strabo, and in 474 was Caput Senatus. With *Illus, he plotted against *Zeno, Verina proclaimed him *emperor, and he ruled from January 475 to summer 476, appointing his son, Marcus, *Caesar. A *Miaphysite, he published an *edict overturning the *Council of *Chalcedon, but met fierce resistance in *Constantinople, so hastily issued a counter-encyclical. On Zeno's restoration to power, Basiliscus and his family were persuaded to surrender, on the promise that they would not be executed; they were instead starved to death in Limnae of *Cappadocia.

FKH

PLRE II, Basiliscus 2.
E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.
B. Croke, 'Basiliscus the Boy Emperor', *GRBS* 24 (1983), 81–91.
Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 169–74.

Basilius of Aphrodito *Pagarch of *Aphroditō (Ishqūh) in Upper *Egypt in the early 8th century, and a member of the indigenous Egyptian elite who held similar administrative positions before the *Arab conquest. A large number of *Arabic, *Coptic, and *Greek (the majority) documents relating to the administration of Aphrodito, dating from 698–722, were discovered there in 1901, mostly *letters from the *Umayyad *governor *Qurra b. Sharīk (in office 709–14) to Basilius concerning administrative matters. While these letters urge the pagarch to fulfil his payment obligations and other duties with threats against non-compliance or neglect, the governor seems equally concerned that both local (Egyptian) administrators and the pagarch treat the population fairly and correctly. To make sure of this, local administrators frequently had to document their actions in *Fustat, where Aphrodito also had a permanent representative. Taxes were assigned to Aphrodito by the governor himself, who also communicated directly with Basilius, a reflection of the Arab-Muslim administrative hierarchy in which Christian Egyptians continued to play a part, albeit a hierarchy subservient to acculturated Egyptian and Arab administrators. Of particular concern to the governor were tax fugitives and the consequent increased burden on the remaining taxpayers caused by the reduction in numbers on the tax rolls, another example of the increasingly rigorous and precise nature of Islamic financial *administration. Building materials and food were also demanded for Fustat and *Alexandria, as well as for *Jerusalem and *Damascus, as were the services of artisans and workmen. To aid Basilius in his administrative tasks, the central authorities sent Arab and Greek scribes, messengers, and guards to work in his chancery. PMS

CoptEnc 2, s.v. Basilios, archive of, 358B–359A (P. M. Fraser).
ed. (with GT and comm.) C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott–Reinhardt I* (Veröffentlichungen, Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung 3, 1906).
ed. (with ET and comm.) H. I. Bell et al., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue with Texts*, 6 vols. (1893–1974), vol. 4: *The Aphrodito Papyri*.

Basil of Caesarea (AD *c.*330–378) Also called Basil the Great. *Bishop of *Caesarea of *Cappadocia 370–8, one of the three 'Cappadocian fathers' and the first Christian to be venerated as a saint without being a *martyr.

Early life

Basil's early life was dominated by three formative influences: family, *education, and *ascetic pursuits. He was born into a wealthy family of Pontus in *Anatolia, the second child and first son of Christian parents whose own Christian heritage went back to the 3rd century. Their piety, according to Basil's friend *Gregory of *Nazianzus, was especially marked by care for the *poor, hospitality to strangers, austere living, and dedication of their goods to God. Basil's mother, Emmelia, was from *Cappadocia, and his maternal great-grandfather died in the *persecutions under *Decius. His father, Basil the Elder, was a *rhetorician and advocate in *Neocaesarea, metropolis of *Pontus Polemoniacus. His paternal grandmother, Macrina the Elder, had been taught by disciples of *Gregory Thaumaturgus (the Wonderworker), the great apostle of Cappadocia and Pontus who had been a pupil of *Origen and became Bishop of Neocaesarea around AD 240. Basil increasingly identified his family with the theological tradition of Gregory the Wonderworker. Basil's eight siblings included his younger brothers, *Gregory of *Nyssa and Peter II of *Sebaste, both of whom became bishops; and *Macrina the Younger, who spearheaded the family's zeal for the ascetic life. There were other ascetic heroes too: the second-born son, Naucratius, and a younger sister, Theosebia. From his family Basil inherited aristocratic standing; Hellenic rhetorical culture; a moderate *Origenism, probably mediated through *Gregory the Wonderworker; a devotion to the cult of the martyrs; and the witness of Christian domestic piety in which women were often the leaders.

After his father died *c.*344, Basil continued his education first in Caesarea, then in *Constantinople, where he studied briefly under *Libanius, and finally in *Athens, where he studied for almost six years under *Himerius and *Proaeresius, among others. During this period he established a lifelong friendship with his Cappadocian colleague Gregory of Nazianzus. Basil's education in Athens, alongside the religious instruction

of his youth, would have had a moral as well as intellectual aim. His training in *philosophy and *rhetoric equipped him later to write his *Address to Young Men*, advising Christians on how to cull the most from the traditional educational curriculum.

Basil left Athens for his homeland in 356 and taught rhetoric briefly in Caesarea. Yet he had come under the influence of the ascetic pioneer *Eustathius of *Sebasteia, whose inspiration in part led Basil to take a year-long tour of the ascetic communities of the eastern provinces—*Syria, *Palestine, *Mespotamia, and *Egypt. Upon his return from these travels he withdrew to a secluded family *estate, possibly at *Anisa, possibly located across the river from where his mother and sister Macrina had already established an ascetic household. There he studied the *Bible more intensively, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus joined him for a time in his ascetic routine and study of biblical and spiritual texts. Together they compiled the *Philocalia*, a selection of lengthy passages from the writings of Origen. Basil also attracted others, mostly disciples of *Eustathius; and he visited nearby communities of Eustathian inspiration and responded to questions posed by the brothers. Eustathius himself, who had been elected Bishop of *Sebasteia *c.*358, was a frequent visitor.

Ecclesiastical career

Basil moved into more public ministry around 360 and was thereafter involved in both theological controversies and ecclesiastical politics. He was ordained a *reader around 360 by Bishop Dianius of Caesarea in Cappadocia and ordained a *priest by Dianius' successor Eusebius in 362. In 360, he left his rural retreat to attend a synod in Constantinople, only to find that those with whom he had allied himself theologically, Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebasteia, were deposed by the victorious *Homoeans. Basil then withdrew from the city and returned to his ascetic retreat. He became despondent at the state of the contemporary Church. In seeking answers, his life and thinking matured in three interrelated areas: asceticism, theological engagement, and ecclesiastical leadership.

Basil's ideas about ascetic life developed over time. He spent 363–5 touring ascetics in Pontus, persuading them to forsake freelance enthusiasm and accept the disciplined, obedient, and communal life. Basil's ascetic thought finds its fullest expression in his *Asceticon*, better known as the *Long Rules* and the *Short *Rules*. The corpus was composed in stages, first during his years in Pontus, and then in Caesarea, where Basil served as priest from 365 and as bishop upon the death of Eusebius in 370. Despite their common title, the *Rules of S. *Basil* were actually responses to the questions of the faithful. They were not strictly 'monastic' since Basil believed the principles of ascetic life were applicable to all baptized Christians. The *Rules* exalted *coenobitic or communal asceticism over the anchoritic life and emphasized moderation in the practice of ascetic disciplines. Basil presented asceticism as a life of obedience to the commands of Christ expressed in scripture and service to God through liturgical and private *prayer, charity, and manual labour.

As both priest and bishop in Caesarea Basil inevitably became involved in the theological controversies of his day. He made his first foray into Trinitarian theology with the *Contra Eunomium*. Countering the verbose rationalism of *Eunomius, Basil expounded the incomprehensibility of the divine substance to the human intellect, the limitations of language, and the imperative of great humility in approaching the divine mystery. He insisted on a simple attachment to the decisions of the *Council of *Nicaea, though he argued for the divinity of the Spirit as well, both in *Contra Eunomium* and in his later *De Spiritu Sancto*. In concert with the other Cappadocian fathers he emphasized the individuality of the Persons as well as the divine Unity of the Trinity, an understanding of this doctrine that was eventually incorporated into the wording of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed adopted in 381. Basil allied himself above all with the moderate Nicenes in the circle of Meletius, the exiled Bishop of *Antioch, whom he faithfully supported. At the same time, by 374 he had fully broken with his former friend and mentor, Eustathius of Sebasteia, because of the latter's shift towards *Arianism.

Basil was increasingly involved in ecclesiastical and political affairs on the world stage, from nearby Neocaesarea to *Armenia, Antioch, *Alexandria, and *Rome. Each of these *cities represented groups of supporters or antagonists, adherents or opponents to aspects of his own theology. His letters illumine much about the state of the Church in this phase of the Arian conflict. They also reveal Basil's own attempted negotiations with bishops, his personal loyalties, and his strained relationships with relatives and friends.

While negotiating theological conflicts he was also occupied with philanthropic endeavours. His response to the great *famine that struck Cappadocia in 369 reveals both his pastoral and administrative gifts. In a series of *sermons concerned with social justice, he trenchantly challenged the luxurious way of life of prosperous Christians, advocating self-divestment in succour of the *poor as a gospel imperative. He sold some of his own inheritance and procured funds from the rich to help weather the crisis. On the outskirts of Caesarea he founded the Basileias, a complex of *monastery, *hospital, workshops, and *hostels for the poor and the aged. Basil also made monastic life a social as well as a spiritual force. His social service programme

became a model for Byzantine philanthropy in subsequent centuries. His care for the poor and sick in his own day drew the admiration and financial support of the Arian *Emperor *Valens, who visited Caesarea in 372. The emperor apparently respected the bishop's organizational abilities and entrusted him with the task of settling church affairs in Armenia.

Basil's sermons, always elegant and often humorous, show him to have been a dedicated pastor, a social critic, and a serious biblical exegete. They combined a moderate allegorical and typological exegesis with frequent reference to the city and Church of his day and consistently connected spiritual ideals with social and economic realities. His **Hexaemeron*, homilies on the six days of creation, were among his greatest achievements. In these late sermons he aimed to present a complete *cosmology, interpreting the text of the *Bible in the light of contemporary philosophy and science as well as the classical tradition. At the same time he addressed both the individual Christian and the community, summarizing many themes of his earlier writings. His *Hexaemeron* also influenced *Ambrose's work of the same name.

Basil took pains over the *liturgy, articulating for the first time the full range of canonical hours. He revised and amplified an Antiochian anaphora into what became known as the **Liturgy of S. Basil*. In the liturgical iconography of the Eastern Church, his image belongs in the *apse, opposite S. *John Chrysostom. Together with Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, he is honoured by Eastern Orthodox Christians as one of the three hierarchs of the faith. Basil died in September 378, while the promotion of his feast day on 1 January was the project of his brother Gregory of Nyssa. AMS; ALS

Works (*CPG* 2835–907): PG 30–2, reprinting Maran-Garnier (1721–30).

Ad Adulescentes (PG 31.563–90): ed. (with FT) Fernand Boulenger (1952).

ET N. G. Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (1975).

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Ascetica: *Long Rules*

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Short Rules = *Regulae Brevius Tractatae* (PG 31.1080–1306).

ET W. K. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil* (1925) and M. M. Wagner, *Basil of Caesarea, Ascetical Works* (FC 9, 1950).

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ET M. DelCogliano and A. Radde-Gallwitz, *Against Eunomius* (FC 122, 2011).

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Basques The people known to Classical geographers as Vascones and as Vaccaei in the *Etymologies* of *Isidore of *Seville (IX, 2, 107–8) dwelt in the western Pyrenees. Acculturated and Christianized indifferently at the end of Roman rule in *Spain in the mid-5th century, they remained so throughout the *Visigothic period, despite there being a *bishop at Pamplona. *Leovigild campaigned against the Basques in 581, founding the town of Victoriacum (mod. Olite) to urbanize and pacify the region, but the Basques continued to raid the Upper Ebro region. The *epitaph of Oppila, a Visigothic noble from *Cordoba (Vives, *ICERV* 287), records his death fighting them in 642, and the Visigothic kings *Sisebut and Sisenand both battled them, while *usurpers sought their aid twice in the later 7th century. *Roderic was on campaign against the Basques when the *Arabs invaded Iberia in 711. Such campaigning may have prompted migration northward across the Pyrenees, where they similarly vexed *Frankish authority. From the 8th century, sources refer to *Aquitaine as Vasconia and its inhabitants as Vascones (whence Gascons). At Roncesvalles in 778, the Basques famously ambushed Charlemagne on his retreat from Saragossa, and in the aftermath they formed a new kingdom based at Pamplona in the early 9th century. GDB

R. Collins, *The Basques* (²1990).
S. Castellanos, 'Astures, Cantabri, and Vascones: The Peoples of the Spanish North during the Late and Post-Roman Period', in Curta, *Neglected Barbarians*.

Basra Iraqi garrison town, founded in the early *Arab conquest period, probably during the *caliphate of *'Umar I (r. 634–44). Centre of resistance to 'Ali (r. 656–61), during the First *Arab Civil War, and site of the Battle of the Camel (656). MCE

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'al-Basrā', 1085–7 (Longrigg, Pellat).

Basus, War of (*c.*494–534) War between Arabian *tribes *Bakr b. Wa'il and *Taghlib. As this was allegedly sparked by the wrongful killing of a *camel, Bakr's eventual victory was pyrrhic. Classical Arabic literature converted memories of Basus into legendary epic and popular stories, epitomizing what Muslims perceived as the anarchical, cyclical warring of *Arabia in the time of al *Jahiliyya before *Islam. PAW

S. Nasser, 'Al-Muhalhil in the Historical Akhbār and Folkloric Sīrah', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40 (2009), 241–72.

Bath (Somerset; Roman Aquae Sulis) A small town in western England, with a masonry *temple, dedicated to Sulis Minerva, and *baths complex first built in the AD 70s. Finds include *curse tablets, some of Late Roman date. The temple continued in use into the early 5th century and possibly beyond. Structural alterations included a new floor using stone from the temple pediment; whether this indicates a changing function, perhaps to Christian worship, remains unclear. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records Bath being taken by the *Anglo-Saxons after the Battle of Derham in 577. ACR

B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport, *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* (1985).

baths and bathing The bath was a vital social institution in Late Antiquity, and an important place of public assembly. *Augustine's debate with Fortunatus the *Manichaean was held in a bathhouse; so were the hearings of the *Council of *Carthage of 411. For, *Jews, and later for Muslims, bathing was also a religious obligation.

Baths and bathers were widely represented in literature and the arts, for instance in the *Piazza Armerina *mosaics. Bath accessories were preserved in *silver hoards such as the *Esquiline Treasure. In *Constantinople, large public baths (Lat. *thermae*/Gk. *demosia*) functioned continuously until the city was sacked in 1204, during the Fourth Crusade. In *Rome, *Constantine I was the last *emperor to build large public baths, several of which survived the *sack of 410 by the *Visigoths and were restored in the 5th century (*ILS* 5703); the destruction of the city's *aqueducts during the *Byzantine invasion of 535–54 terminated their use.

In the provinces, there is evidence for both continuity and gradual abandonment into the 7th or 8th century, alongside the conversion of obsolete *thermae* for industry (Carthage), housing (*Anamur; Anemurium), or churches (*Hierapolis of *Phrygia). Meanwhile, smaller baths (*balnea*/*balaneia* or *loutra*) continued to function; their foundation *inscriptions tended to celebrate charity and health rather than pleasure (*IGLS* IV, 1685). Both secular and ecclesiastical endowments invested in commercial baths or *privatae* (*SEG* 35.1582). *Bishops maintained baths associated with *monasteries and church institutions that were sometimes private (e.g. in *diakonia* or *episkopeia*), but which were primarily linked to *hostels (*xenodochia*) that were intended to serve pilgrims and the sick, but were also used by the wider public.

Late Antique baths were supplied by aqueducts, but increasingly also by ground water and wells as at *Androna. Baths were important features of palatine architecture, at Aachen (described by Einhard), in *Helenopolis (Yalova: *Procopius, *Aed*. V, 3), and among the *Umayyad 'desert palaces' particularly *Qusayr 'Amra. The *natatio* or swimming pool was increasingly absent from Late Antique baths, which tended to contract around hot rooms and smaller tubs or hip-baths, perhaps in part because of concerns about mixed-gender public nudity, though more probably moved by a desire to economize on fuel and water.

Whereas baths of the High Empire tended to accumulate statuary slowly, collections in Late Antique baths could be installed over a short period of time, as at the Vedius Gymnasium in *Ephesus. Such *sculpture might be newly produced or gathered from private houses and obsolescent locations elsewhere in the city, including *temples (*CIL* VIII, 20963). Rural thermal sites across the Mediterranean survived well into the Middle Ages, as at Hammat Gader in the Yarmuk Valley, and some were deemed important enough to acquire their own bishop as at Aquae Thibilitanae in *Numidia (already in 305) and Basilika Therma in *Cappadocia Prima (*TIB* 2, 156). JTPi

A. Berger, *Das Bad in der Byzantinischen Zeit* (1982).
F. Romana Stasolla, *Pro Labandis Curis: il balneum tra Tarda Antichità e Medioevo* (2002).
F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (1992).
S. Hoss, *Baths and Bathing: The Culture of Bathing and the Baths and Thermae in Palestine from the Hasmoneans to the Moslem Conquest* (2005).
L. Stirling, 'Patrons, Viewers, and Statues in Late Antique Baths', in S. Birk and B. Poulsen, eds., *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity* (2012).
P. Magdalino, 'Church, Bath and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople', in R. Morris, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium* (1990), 165–90.

Batnae (*Syriac Serug/Sarug; probably mod. Goldere, formerly Kufri, 15 km (10 miles) E of mod. Suruç, Turkey) *City in the district of Sarug and the *province of *Osrhoene, with a large population, a resident garrison, and in the 350s an annual fair, described by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XIV, 3, 3), although not one of the three permitted sites of international trade of the law of 408/9 (*CJust* IV, 63, 4).

Batnae was captured by *Shapur I during his second campaign against the Roman Empire (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 17). The walls were rebuilt and an *inn provided on the road between Batnae and *Edessa in the mid-3rd century. *Julian sacrificed in its delightful pleasant groves twice on consecutive days in 363 (Julian, *epp*. 400A–401B; cf. *Ammianus, XXIII, 2, 7–8). In 384 *Egeria, who mistakenly thought Batnae was mentioned in the Bible, saw the church and several *martyria (19, 1) and met Abraham the *Bishop of Batnae, who had been in *exile under *Valens for his Homoousian theology and corresponded with *Basil of *Caesarea (*ep*. 132). *Jacob (James) of Sarug, who became the Bishop of Batnae in the district of Sarug in 519, was a prolific *Syriac poet-theologian (cf. *Joshua the Stylite, 54); over 700 of his verse homilies survive.

Batnae fell to the Persians during the *Persian–Roman war under *Anastasius I; the walls were rebuilt (Joshua the Stylite, 89). *Khosrow I passed through in 540 en route for *Edessa, one day's journey away (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 12, 31). Batnae was taken again in 543; *Justinian I again rebuilt the city walls (Procopius, *Aed*. II, 7, 18). The inhabitants made terms with the *armies of the *Arab conquest in 640/1 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 274).

Sarug, the Syriac name of Batnae, is clearly associated with the name of modern Suruç. According to *Michael the Elder, Batnae was one of the four ancient towns in the region of medieval Sarug. There are no Late Antique remains in Suruç, now a small town near Urfa (ancient Edessa). However, the village called Göldere (locally Kufri) around 15 km (*c.*10 miles) east of Suruç has substantial remains, which have not been studied. EKK

Hans Petersen, 'A Roman Prefect in Osrhoene', *TAPA* 107 (1977), 265–82.
C. Mango, 'A Late Roman Inn in Eastern Turkey', *OxJnlArch* 5/2 (1986), 223–31.

Baudonivia (*fl. c.*600) Nun at S. *Radegund's *Monastery of the Holy *Cross in *Poitiers, who wrote the second *VRadegundis* at the behest of the community, in complement to that of *Venantius Fortunatus. She is one of the few early medieval female hagiographers. ADi

PCBE IV/1, Baudonivia.
Life of S. Radegund (*BHL* 7049), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2 (1888), 377–95.
ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 85–105.

Bauto Flavius, *Magister Militum (380–5) and *consul (385) of *Frankish origin. A skilled general, *Gratian sent him to assist *Theodosius against the *Goths in 380 (*Zosimus, IV, 33, 2). Although possibly a Christian, Bauto interceded in the conflict of the *Altar of Victory in 384 against *Ambrose (*ep*. 57, 3), who however praised his loyalty to the Empire (*ep*. 24, 4–8). He received a *panegyric from *Augustine (*Conf.* VI, 6). After his death, around 388, *Arbogast succeeded him. His daughter *Eudoxia married the Emperor *Arcadius (*Philostorgius, IX, 6). DN

PLRE I, Bauto.

PCBE II/1, Bauto.
J. M. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire* (1983), 6–7.

Bavaria *See* BAIUVARI AND BAVARIA.

Bawit The *Monastery of Apa Apollo lies about 2 km (*c.*1.25 miles) west of the *village of Bawit and about 80 km (50 miles) north of *Lycopolis in Middle *Egypt. The character of the early excavations renders problematic the interpretation of phases of building.

Painting and sculpture

However, Bawit has probably yielded more Late Antique painting and *sculpture, both in wood and stone, than any other site in Egypt. Excavations carried out since the early 20th century have uncovered extensively decorated churches, small oratories, and at least one reception hall. Two churches were ornamented with sculpted wood and limestone, most of which was painted. Figural and ornamental subjects, also rendered in paint, decorated the walls and columns, indicating a Mediterranean-wide *aesthetic taste for varied effects of *light, pattern, and colour. While many of the smaller structures lacked embellishment, quite a number had interiors that were covered with paintings. Both skilled and self-taught artists worked at the site, producing varying levels of quality and several different painting styles. Their work is usually dated to the 7th and 8th centuries. Most of it was not preserved. The oratories often had *apse-like niches in the eastern walls, many with an upper zone showing *Christ in Majesty above a lower register depicting the Virgin and Child, flanked by *angels or apostles. These paintings functioned as tools in the monks' spiritual endeavours.

Papyri

From the end of the 19th century, *sebbakhin* (farmers who quarried ancient sites for fertilizer) and later archaeologists have found thousands of *papyri and ostraca on the site of Bawit. They were dispersed worldwide among private collections and public museums, but museum archaeology and studies on the peculiarities of the documents have permitted a limited reconstruction of the administrative and economic archives of this monastery. The documents from Bawit are written mainly in *Coptic, but also in *Greek, and date from the mid-6th to the mid-9th century. They include a wide range of texts (orders written by the superior, administrative and private *letters, contracts, tax-receipts, accounts . . .) and offer extensive insight into the organization and hierarchy of the monastery, the economic activities of the monks (*farming, wine-making, crafts, etc.), and their way of life. ESB; AFVD

CoptEnc 2 *s.n.* Bawit, 362b–372b general (R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin), archaeology, art, and sculpture (H. G. Severin), and painting (P. du Bourguet).
J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouit*, ed. D. Bénazeth and M.-H. Rutschowscaya (1999).
ed. (with ET and comm.) S. J. Clackson, *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (2000).
P. Bawit: Clackson nos. 1–91 = ed. S. J. Clackson†, *It is our Father Who Writes: Orders from the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit* (2008).
P. Brux.Bawit: ed. (with FT and comm.) A. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouît conservés aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles* (2007).

bay'a Arabic for bargain or covenant denoting allegiance to the Prophet *Muhammad (d. 632) and to the *caliphs. It was a pledged agreement made 'under God's covenant' (*'ala mithaq Allah*). Certain other pledges are also described as *bay'a*s, notably those to the ruler's nominated successor.

The *bay'a* was contracted by a handclasp. In this, as in other respects, it reflected widespread Late Antique practices, as well as specifically Arabian ones, including the example of Muhammad himself (*Qur'ān 9: 111; 48: 10; 48: 18; 60: 12).

The description in the *Syriac Maronite *Chronicle (*c.*664–727) of the accession of *Mu'awiya as caliph in 660 or 661 probably reflects the way such contracts were made. The Arabic tradition is more laconic about such rituals.

By the 740s at the latest, written documents were used in the nomination of the caliph's successor, and they were already important for some other types of political pact long before then. AM

E. Landau-Tasseron, *The Religious Foundations of Political Allegiance: A Study of* Bay'a *in Pre-modern Islam* (2010).
A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (2009).
A. Marsham, 'The Architecture of Allegiance in Early Islamic Late Antiquity', in A. Beihammer et al., eds., *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean* (2013), 87–112.

Bayan (r. 561/2–582/3) *Avar *Khagan (Qaghan) mentioned first by *Menander Protector when describing how in 561/2 the Avars first asked to settle in East Roman territory, a request to which *Justinian I responded with gifts, stipends, and ongoing discussions. The succession of *Justin II in 565 resulted in discontinuation of Justinian's policy. Bayan directed efforts elsewhere, defeating the *Franks (566) and, with the *Lombards as his allies, the *Gepids (567). By 568 Avar territory had expanded to include the western Carpathian basin and Bayan began efforts to obtain

*Sirmium, the former Gepid capital, located south of the Sava River (*John of *Ephesus, *HE* III, 6, 30).

After an Avar attack on Sirmium in 568 failed, Bayan sent an embassy to Justin, demanding the *city and the annual stipend formerly paid to the *Utrigurs and *Kutrigurs. Justin refused, partly due to a Byzantine alliance with the *Türks, and war ensued in 570. Bayan's defeat of the forces of *Tiberius in 571 or 573/4 (*Theophanes, AM 6066) brought peace, resumption of the Avar stipend, and an uneasy alliance.

In 578, Tiberius sent Bayan against the Lower Danube *Slavs who were threatening East Roman territory. However, after bridging the Sava in 579–80, Bayan demanded the surrender of Sirmium, besieging it until 582, when the city fell. Peace negotiations included the return of Bookolabra, who had slept with Bayan's wife (*PLRE* III, Boocalabras; Menander Protector, fr. 27; *Theophylact Simocatta, I, 8). It is unclear whether Bayan was the Avar ruler who received an *elephant from *Maurice in 582/3 (Theophylact, I, 3; *Theophanes, AM 6075), but the khagan who subsequently captured *Anchialus was probably his son (Theophylact, I, 4–6). Further references are made by Menander Protector (frs. 5, 11; 12, 21; 25, 27 Blockley).

MLD

BT II, Βαϊανός.

PLRE III, Baianus.

T. Olajos, 'La Chronologie de la dynastie avare de Baïan', *REB* 34 (1976), 1561–8.

S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, 'The Avars', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 207–9.

bears Bears threatened livestock and were hunted or captured for sport (**Digest*, IX, 2, 2). Both *Galerius (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 21, 5) and *Valentinian I (*Ammianus, XXIX, 3, 9) kept pet bears. Bears were also trained to perform in the *circus at *Constantinople (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 9) and are playfully depicted strumming the oud in the *Umayyad frescos of *Qusayr 'Amra.

MD

Toynbee, *Animals.*

Bede (*c.*673–735) Monk and *priest of the twin *monastery of *Wearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria, and an extraordinarily influential scholar whose writings include exegesis, computus, history, *hagiography, *sermons, poetry, *letters, and grammatical and orthographical works. Almost all that is known about Bede's own life is recorded in an autobiographical note appended to the end of what is now his most famous work, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. He states that he was born on the lands of the monastery; at the age of 7 he was given into the care of Benedict Biscop and later Ceolfrith to be educated; he was ordained *deacon at 19, and priest at 30; he spent his whole life in the monastery, studying the scriptures, following the monastic way of life, and learning, teaching, and writing. His works show an extraordinary breadth of reading, and illustrate the extent of the *library which Benedict Biscop built up at Wearmouth-Jarrow.

Following his autobiographical account, Bede gives a list of more than 30 of his own works, beginning with exegesis of the *Bible, the branch of study for which he was most famous in his own time. Bede seems to have aimed to provide commentaries especially on those books for which no full patristic exegesis survived, and drew on earlier patristic authorities such as *Ambrose, *Augustine, *Jerome, and *Gregory the Great (whom he held in particular regard as the 'Apostle to the English'), as well as texts like *Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* to explain the exotic flora and fauna mentioned in the scriptures. Some manuscripts of his commentaries contain marginal abbreviations citing these authors, like modern scholarly footnotes. As an exegetical tool, he wrote a work on the sites of the *Holy Land (*De Locis Sanctis*), an adaptation of *Adomnán's text of the same name. Later in life he had access to a *Greek text of the Acts of the Apostles, and wrote the *Retractationes*, which contain a number of revisions to his commentary on Acts, based on his comparison of his *Latin translation with the *Greek. Some of his exegetical works were written for his friend and correspondent *Bishop Acca of *Hexham; the commentary on Habakkuk was dedicated to an unnamed woman. His *sermons seem to have been intended for a more local audience, the brethren in his own monastery.

Bede's didactic texts also seem to have been intended for teaching in his own monastery, although many of them circulated widely in the Middle Ages. He wrote on the rhetorical figures of the Bible (*De Schematibus et Tropis Sacrae Scripturae*), the different types of verse (*De Metrica Ratione*), and collected a glossary with some Greek equivalents and meanings (*De Orthographia*). At a fairly early stage (*c.*703) he composed two scientific works, one about the natural world (*De Natura Rerum*) and another about divisions of time and computus (*De Temporibus*), to which he appended a world *chronicle based on that by *Eusebius of *Caesarea, but revised by comparison with dates in Jerome's Vulgate rather than with those made familiar to his contemporaries by *Isidore of *Seville. To his anger, these revisions led to him being accused of *heresy by an otherwise unknown monk of Hexham in 708. Around fifteen years later he wrote a much more extensive (and more readable) work on the reckoning of time (*De Temporum Ratione*); this shows him as a mature scholar, and clearly demonstrates his mathematical and scientific abilities. Bede discussed topics such as the effect of the Moon on the tides and corrected earlier misunderstandings about

their annual pattern; he was also greatly concerned with the correct calculation of *Easter. His practice of giving dates in this work (and in the *HE*) using the AD era evolved by *Dionysius Exiguus was quickly adopted throughout Europe. The five *letters which he listed as one of his works also address computistical and exegetical topics.

Bede wrote a number of historical and hagiographical works, the best known of which is the *HE*, modelled on the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius (which Bede read in the Latin translation of *Rufinus of *Aquileia), and completed in 731. Although at times Bede's use of sources seems quite modern, this is a work of salvation history focused on the *gens Anglorum* and the function of the English as incomers to the island of *Britain. It is concerned with the spread and establishment of Christianity among the *Anglo-Saxons (although Bede does not use this term), and, as Bede notes in his preface addressed to King Ceolwulf, presents models of good behaviour to emulate and examples of bad behaviour to avoid. Bede paints a positive picture of the English Church and is careful not to criticize the state of the Church or important ecclesiastics, but an important letter which he wrote to Bishop *Egbert (Ecgberht) of *York (and not mentioned in his list of works at the end of the *HE*) is much more critical of the contemporary situation. Bede composed a history of the abbots of Wearmouth-Jarrow (*Histora Abbatum*); he revised a *Passion* of S. Anastasius and wrote a prose *Life* of S. Felix based on the verse *Life* by *Paulinus of Nola. He also composed two *Lives* (one prose, one verse) of S. *Cuthbert of *Lindisfarne, for whom he had a particular admiration; and he put together an influential **Martyrology*. Much of Bede's verse no longer survives but a poem in praise of S. Æthelthryth was included in the *HE*, and a poem about Judgement Day (*De Die Iudicii*) seems to have been written by him.

Bede died on Ascension Day in 735 at Jarrow, though his remains were later translated to Durham Cathedral. According to a pupil, Cuthbert, his final work (undertaken on his deathbed) was a vernacular translation of the Gospel of S. John. HFF

CPL 1343–83: 2318–23: The editions of J. A. Giles, 12 vols. (1843) and that in PL 90–5 have been superseded by new texts, mostly in the series CCSL. There are annotated translations of many works, mostly in the series TTH.

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Bederiana *Balkan birthplace of the Emperor *Justin I (*Procopius *Anecd.* 6, 2).

Bedouin Term derived from *Arabic *badu*, 'non-settled people'. Bedouin spread across the Arabian Desert with the domestication of *camels in the 2nd millennium BC. Arabic literature usually refers to Bedouin as *a'rab*, a word of great antiquity in Semitic languages and not to be confused with *'arab*/'Arab' (much less frequently encountered in pre-Islamic records). *South Arabian *inscriptions of the 8th century BC (Biella, 383) and the Hebrew *Bible (Jeremiah 3: 2; 25: 24; Ezekiel 27: 21; 2 Chronicles 9: 14) marshal '*a'rab*' to describe *nomadic outliers; Assyrian inscriptions from the 9th century BC use the related *arba'a* and *aribi* for nomadic groups in the Syrian Desert. The *Qur'ān similarly cites *a'rab* as nomadic outsiders, that is, those external to Muslim settlement, chiding them for lax religious belief (9: 97–8; 33: 20). But *a'rab* converts strengthened *Arab Conquest armies; those settling in Muslim towns shed the stigmas of being Bedouin and outsiders and became 'Arabs', a word by then primarily associated with settled people.

Bedouin remaining in *Arabia converted to *Islam and were supported by charitable payments during the early *caliphate, though geographically remote from the development of Islamic culture in the Fertile Crescent. By the 9th century, *Abbasid caliphs could no longer assist Bedouin economically; brigandage and raiding flared, climaxing in the 10th century when inner Arabia became virtually inaccessible for Muslim travellers.

PAW

J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic* (2004).
S. Binay, *Die Figur des Beduinen in der arabischen Literatur* (2006).
F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).
S. Leder and B. Streck, eds., *Shifts and Drifts* (2005).
J. Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity* (2003).

beer (Gk. *zythos*, Lat. *fermentum, cervisia*) Beer was widely drunk from Persia to northern Europe. Most beer was made from barley, though many *grains and *fruits were fermented. Throughout the Near East, finds of clay beer pots attest to the drink's popularity into the Islamic era. In the *Balkans, *sabaia*, beer from barley or other grains, was drunk by the poor and the *Emperor Valens was derided as a 'beer drinker' (*sabaiarius*; *Ammianus, XXVI, 8, 2). *Priscus (Blockley, *FCHLRE*, 260) mentioned *kamon* (Lat. *camum*), barley beer drunk by barbarians around the Danube. *Zythos* and *cervisia/camum* are listed in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (ii, 11–12); they were cheap and common (one-half to one-quarter the price of common *wine).

The emulation of Roman customs, Hellenization in the East, and the spread of Christianity with wine as a central element of the *Eucharist led to the decline of beer drinking in some regions, notably *Egypt and lands under *Gothic control. MD

M. M. Homan, 'Beer and its Drinkers: An Ancient Near Eastern Love Story', *NEA* 67 (2004), 84–95.

Beersheba Edict (mid-6th cent.) Fragmentary *Greek *inscription from Beersheba (Israel) containing an edict addressed to the *Dux Palaestinae and a schedule of payments due from *cities and *villages of the provinces of *Palaestina I, II, and III for an unidentified tax (perhaps connected with the military), 'for the servants', and 'for the Vicarius (regimental commander) in charge'. LDS

ed. (annotated with ET) L. Di Segni, 'The Beersheba Tax Edict Reconsidered in the Light of a Newly Discovered Fragment', *SCI* 23 (2004), 134–9, 151–5; study 131–58.
D. Feissel and P.–L. Gatier, 'Syrie, Phénicie, Palestine, Arabie', *REG* 118/2 (2005), 562–3.
Ph. Mayerson, 'The Beersheba Tax Edict', *ZPE* 64 (1986), 141–8.

bees and honey Bees provided both honey and wax. Honey was the most important sweetener and the basis for *mead. It was also used medicinally and as a preservative. Wax was used as a sealant and on *writing tablets. Wax was made into bright, sweet-smelling candles (*see* EXULTET), and was important in *metalwork (especially in casting *bronze).

The hierarchical and ordered society of the hive was understood as a political *allegory (*Vergil, *Georgics*, IV; *Lactantius, *Epitome*, 2). Bees also attracted attention for being apparently sexless (*Augustine, *City of God*, XV, 27) and born from corruption (*Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, XI, 4, 3; XII, 8, 2; cf. Judges 14: 8–9).

Archaeological evidence for beekeeping is sparse because most beehives were manufactured from organic materials. However, scientific analysis can indicate the presence of honey or wax; a well near Roman farm buildings excavated during the building of Heathrow Terminal 5 contained sixteen honeybees, and burnt bees have been recovered from Middle Saxon layers in *London. Anglo-Saxons made *mead from fermented honey. JFG

E. Crane, *The Archaeology of Beekeeping* (1983).
Bochartus, *Hierozoïcon*, Lib. IV, cap 10–12; vol. 2, 502–33.
R. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (1986).

begging A common activity in Late Antiquity wherever there were crowds: *city gates, entrances to *baths, *temples, and churches, places of *pilgrimage, and *palaces. The Late Empire saw little legislation to restrict begging. A *rescript of 382 to the *Praefectus Urbi of Rome ordered that beggars found healthy enough to work be enslaved or reduced to the condition of **coloni* for those who denounced them (*CTh* XIV, 18). It is unlikely that this law was widely applied. *Justinian I similarly conscripted healthy beggars arriving at *Constantinople into imperial building projects in 539. Such legislation, however, permitted those prevented by age or bodily impairment from working to seek their livelihood by begging. Some children were maimed or blinded better to attract *almsgiving.

The classical, pre-Christian attitude to begging was usually negative. Beggars were marginalized legally by being *poor and therefore unable to perform acts of giving and civic munificence associated with social status. It is notable that Cynics adopted begging to learn 'shamelessness' (*anaideia*) and 'ill-repute' (*adoxia*), though it also expressed their religious identity as friends of the divine entitled to share in what belongs to God. Itinerant priests of Cybele also begged. The Christian *Lactantius deliberately broadened the definition of classical *humanitas* to embrace hospitality given not only to those who might return it but also to those whose poverty gave them no opportunity to do so (*Inst.* VI, 10–12, esp. VI, 12, 2–7).

The impact of Christianization on the standing of beggars is however disputed. Scholars generally hold that Christianity made beggars more visible; P. Brown thinks this applicable to migrants fed at *hostels. C. Freu by contrast argues that Christianization marginalized beggars. Brown also argues that Christian emperors, by making clergy care for beggars in return for tax exemptions, taught clergy 'to know their place—closer to the poor than to the top of society'. Certainly, Late Antique Christian holy men and women might live by itinerant begging. The prayerful early Syriac monk celebrated in the 5th-century *Life of the Man of God* had no time for manual labour but begged in trustful dependency on God's providence. More widely monks begged for alms to redistribute. RDF

P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (2002).
A. Parkin, '"You do him no service": An Exploration of Pagan Almsgiving', in M. Atkins and R. Osborne, eds., *Poverty in the Roman World* (2006).
E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance 4e–7e siècles* (1977).
C. Freu, *Les Figures du pauvre dans les sources italiennes de l'antiquité tardive* (2007).
Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*.

Behnam, Mar, and Monastery of Mar Behnam Legendary Christian venerated as a *martyr of the 4th century, killed, together with his sister Sarah and 40

companions, by their father Sennacherib, a *Zoroastrian 'king' in *Corduene. A *monastery was built over his shrine in the 6th century (Qaraqosh, Syr. Bakhdayda, near Mosul); its surviving buildings are medieval. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Behnam, Dayro d-Mor, 66–8 (Snelders).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 86.

BHO 177; ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* 2, 397–441.

P. Bruns, 'Hagiographia Satis Legendaria. Einige Beobachtungen zum Mâr Behnâm-Martyrium (*BHO* 177)', in Christelle Jullien, ed., *Itinéraires missionaires: échanges et identités = Studia Iranica* 44 (2011), 13–47.

J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, vol. 2 (1965), 439–61; 565–613.

Beirut (Berytus) Veteran *colonia* founded by Augustus, probably in 14 BC (Strabo, VIII, 7, 5; *Jerome, *Chron.*; Jerome, *ep.* 108, 8). The full name Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus, 'the fortunate colony of Julius Augustus', is abbreviated BER COL. As a *colonia*, Beirut was tax-exempt due to the 'Italian right' (**Digest*, L, 15, 7).

Originally in the *province of Syria, from the time of Septimius Severus, Berytus was in Syria Phoenice (Hall, 85–128), and then in the *Verona List province of *Phoenice. The city was elevated to *metropolis*, co-equal to *Tyre, the capital of *Phoenice, by *Theodosius II and *Valentinian III *c.*448/450 (*CJust* X, 22, 1).

The territory of Beirut had a balanced economy, with small productive farms (original veteran grants of 10–20 *iugera*) producing *grain, *olive oil, and *wine (Marfoe, 659–61). The city's artisans gained wealth from producing, dyeing, and selling such luxury *textiles as linen and *silk (**Expositio Totius Mundi*, 31; *Procopius, *Anecd.* 25, 13).

Students from the time of *Gregory the Wonderworker (*Thanksgiving to Origen*, 5) in the 3rd century up to the 6th century came to Beirut from all over the Empire to study *Latin and *law and thereby to advance in the imperial *administration (*Libanius, *Oration*, 48, 22; Hall, 195–220; Collinet). *Diocletian encouraged study of Latin literature and law at Beirut as being in the public interest (*CJust* X, 50, 1). Praised as 'the nurse of the quiet life . . . the unshakeable wall of law' (*Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XLI, 396–8), Beirut was one of three official centres for the study of law (*Digest Constitutio Omnis*, 7). Famous students included *Zacharias Rhetor and *Severus of Antioch (Zacharias, *VSevAnt*). Eminent professors such as *Dorotheus and Anatolius were summoned to *Constantinople to collaborate on *Justinian's *Code* (*CJust* I, 17, 2, 9).

Philosophical *paganism flourished well into the 5th century. The ascetic Christian S. *Matrona in the mid-5th century occupied a pagan *temple to do battle with the *demons there (*VMatrona*, 14–28). Pagans were gradually converted by Christians in the city (*VSevAnt* 49–51). Numerous *bishops are known from church *councils (Hall 129–60, 177–82).

The *synagogue of the Jewish community was destroyed in an earthquake in 502 (*Joshua the Stylite, 47). A further earthquake and *tsunami in AD 551 destroyed the city though *Justinian I partly restored it (*Agathias, II, 15, 1–4). In about 570 the Piacenza Pilgrim (1) was told by the bishop that 30,000 people known by name, not including strangers, had died in the earthquake. The pilgrim added that there had been 'recently' a School of Letters there. LKJH

Millar, *RNE* 279–81.

P. Collinet, *Histoire de l'école de droit de Beyrouth* (1925).

L. J. Hall, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity* (2004).

N. Jidejian, *Beirut through the Ages* (1973; rev. edn., 1997).

L. Marfoe, *Between Qadesh and Kumidi: A History of Frontier Settlement and Land Use in the Biqa'*, *Lebanon* (Doctoral diss., Chicago, 1978).

Belalis Maior (Henchir el Faouar) Originally a pre-Roman settlement in the *province of *Africa Proconsularis continually inhabited into the Islamic period, located 10 km (*c.*6 miles) north-east of Béja, Tunisia. Belalis Maior was excavated mainly in the 1960s. The region was agriculturally important, and the city received a set of public buildings (*forum, *baths, *temples) mainly during the 2nd century that were largely restored in the 4th century with churches built mainly from the 5th century. The incorporation of the foundation walls of a Christian *basilica into an early Islamic fortification illustrates the continuing importance of the region around Béja into the medieval epoch RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 78–81.

A. Mahjoubi, *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar (Tunisie): la cité des Belalitani Maiores* (1978).

A. Mahjoubi, 'La Cité des Belalitani Maiores: exemple de permanence et de transformation de l'urbanisme antique', *L'Africa Romana* 1 (1983), 63–71.

Belgica Prima and Secunda Late Roman *provinces established out of Gallia Belgica under the *Tetrarchy. They lay between the Marne and Rhine rivers, in modern Belgium, Luxembourg, southern Netherlands, north-eastern France, and western Germany. They were divided approximately along the River Meuse, with Belgica Prima to the east centred on *Trier and Belgica Secunda to the west centred on *Reims. Both appear in the *Verona List within the Dioecesis *Galliae. *Governors with the title *Consularis are attested *c.*340 and in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. They ceased to function as administrative units during the reign of Frankish King *Clovis I. EMB

Barrington Atlas, 11–12.

Barnes, NEDC 215.
Wightman, Gallia Belgica.
Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule, vol. 1: Trèves, Belgica Prima, ed. N. Gauthier (1986); vol. 14: Belgica Secunda, ed. L. Pietri (2006).

Belgrade (Serbia; Roman Singidunum) *City and military base on the Danube in *Moesia Superior. Its *Bishop Ursacius (*fl.* 336–70) participated in investigations against *Athanasius. The city was destroyed by *Attila, seized by the *Sarmatians, and captured in a youthful enterprise *c.*472 by *Theoderic the Ostrogoth (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 281–2). It was subsequently restored under *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 5, 12–15). Scattered parts of the city and *cemeteries have been excavated. 5th- to 7th-century 'barbarian' cemeteries are associated with Germanic **foederati*. ER

Singidunum 1–4 (Arheološki institut, Beograd, Naučno-istraživački projekat za Beogradsku tvrđavu, 1997–2005).
V. Ivanišević and M. Kazanski, 'Nouvelle Necropole des grandes migrations de Singidunum', *Starinar* 57 (2007), 113–35.
D. Mladenović, *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior* (2012), 60–8.

Belisarius (*c.*500–565) The most celebrated general of *Justinian I was born in *Germania on the Thrace–*Illyricum border. He first served Justinian before his *accession, when Justinian was *Magister Utriusque Militiae. Then, fighting against Persia (when in 527 the historian *Procopius became his *assessor), he rose to become Magister Utriusque Militiae per Orientem (529–31). However, despite a victory at *Dara (530), this campaign ended in failure and his recall. On his return to *Constantinople, he was responsible (with *Mundus) for the brutal military action which ended the *Nika Riot (532).

In 533, Belisarius led the *Byzantine invasion of *Africa. In a brilliant campaign, he defeated the *Vandals, restored imperial rule, and returned in 534 with vast spoils including the Menorah originally from Solomon's Temple in *Jerusalem and *Gelimer, the Vandal king, In Constantinople he celebrated a triumph, and was made *consul *ordinarius* for 535 and **patricius*. He was then tasked with the conquest of *Sicily, which he swiftly accomplished, and invaded *Italy. In 540, after capturing the *Ostrogothic capital, *Ravenna, and its king, *Vitigis, in a laborious and eventful campaign, he was recalled to Constantinople, where his victories were depicted in *mosaic in the vault of the Chalke Gate of the *Great Palace (Procopius, *Aed.* I, 10, 11–20). He briefly returned to the eastern *frontier (541–2), where with minimal forces he forced King *Khosrow of Persia to retreat. He was then recalled to Constantinople, exonerated of charges of alleged misconduct, and in 544 dispatched again to *Italy, where lack of resources limited his effectiveness.

In the *Secret History*, Procopius depicts Belisarius as dominated by his influential and immoral wife *Antonina. She lobbied Justinian to have her husband recalled from Italy, and in 549 they settled in Constantinople surrounded by esteem and wealth. In 553 Belisarius tried to persuade Pope *Vigilius to return to the Second *Council of Constantinople. His final military exploit was in 559, when he led a scratch force against *Kutrigur Huns threatening the capital; these he routed.

He had never displayed political ambitions, but in 562 was accused of involvement in a plot to murder Justinian, deprived of his servants, and placed under house arrest. He was exonerated and restored to his dignities the following year, and died within a few weeks of Justinian in 565. PNB

PLRE III, Belisarius 1.
Averil Cameron, *Procopius* (1985).
Evans, *Age of Justinian*.
Stein, *Histoire*.

Bellesarius *See* LIBERATUS AND BELLESARIUS.

bells Metal bells (Lat. *tintin[n]abulum*), often made of *bronze, had many uses in the Roman world, from signalling the end of a session at the *baths (Martial, XIV, 163) to summoning the porter of a house to the door (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 91). *Isidore considered the bell a musical instrument (*Etymologiae*, III, 22, 13).

Farmers put bells on their beasts. According to the *Farmer's Law, cutting off an ox or *sheep's bell constituted theft of the animal. Germanic *law codes laid down various penalties for this crime. The **Lex Burgundionum* (IV, 5) requires a free man who removes the bell from a *horse or ox to replace it with another and a slave to be beaten. The **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum*) enumerates financial penalties and the *Edict* of the *Lombard King *Rothari (289) stipulates that one who steals a bell from a horse or ox should pay six **solidi* in compensation, the same amount as for the theft of a yoke or vine stake.

Bells were uncommon in the churches of the *Greek East; a belfry was not provided at the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople till 865. In the *monasteries of *Pachomius (*Rule*, ch. 3) and *John Climacus (step 19) monks were called to church by a trumpet; the wooden *semantron is attested from the 4th century onwards, and by 628 was customarily used also in the *Church of the East, as the **Chronicle of Khuzestan* indicates. In the early 6th century Ferrandus, a *deacon of *Carthage, presented a bell to a monastery near *Naples and *Bede mentions (*HE* IV, 23 [21]) that the monks and nuns of S. *Hild's monastery at *Whitby were called to church by a bell (*campana*) which was

also rung to mark their passing. At *Rome Stephen II (752–7) added a belfry with a ring of three to the *Vatican Basilica (**Liber Pontificalis*, 94, 47). The riveted iron bell known as the Bell of S. Patrick dates from the late 8th or early 9th century. OPN

P. Price, *Bells and Man* (1983).

DACL 3/2 (1914) *s.v.* cloche, clochette XVI, cols. 1954–77 (Leclercq).

belts and belt buckles Belts with elaborate buckles and end-plates were an important element of Late Antique *dress for men and women of all ranks from the *emperor (*Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini*, II, 115) downwards. Large and elaborate examples in *gold often with openwork plates, like those from the Ténès Treasure (Algeria), were associated with crossbow brooches, and like them marked their owners as high-ranking office-holders. A poem attributed to *Agathias describes a picture of a *Magister receiving his belt of office from an archangel (*AnthGraec* I, 36). Belts might also have served as cult regalia; a small gold buckle from the 4th/5th-century *Thetford Treasure bears a satyr (perhaps standing for the god Faunus) on the plate.

Other belts were of *silver, or of base metal. Some especially attractive examples from the Western provinces in the 4th and 5th centuries have plates embellished in chip-carved ornament, while others are enriched with *animal decorations (horse-heads or dolphins).

Belts were also important in the barbarian successor kingdoms from the *Avars in the East to the *Anglo-Saxons in the West, where the most elaborate, like those inlaid in garnet-*cloisonné from the grave of *Childeric I at *Tournai (buckles) or from the royal *tomb at *Sutton Hoo, Suffolk (belt), were worn by kings.

Women wore belts as well as men, generally more slender and refined. Some were clearly *marriage gifts, like an example made in *Constantinople in the 5th/6th century) and now at Dumbarton Oaks, which is composed of two terminals with reliefs depicting Christ blessing the marriage, but with additional plates around the belt figuring satyr heads. MEH

J. Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès* (1958).

C. Entwistle and N. Adams, eds., *'Intelligible Beauty': Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery* (2010).

Bruce-Mitford, *Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, vol. 2, 457–73.

H. W. Böhme, ed., *A l'aube de la France: la Gaule de Constantin à Childéric* (1981), 143–211.

K. Leahy, 'Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, Fourth to Fifth Century Revisited', in M. Henig and T. J. Smith, eds., *Collectanea Antiqua: Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes* (BAR Intser 1673, 2007), 133–43.

Benedict of Nursia, S. (*c.*480–*c.*545) Founder of *monasteries at *Subiaco and *Monte Cassino in *Italy, author of a *Rule for Monks* that in the Middle Ages became the standard monastic legislation in the Latin world.

Biographical details are derived entirely from *Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (*c.*600) in which Book 2 is devoted to Benedict. Born to wealthy parents in Nursia (mod. Norcia), Benedict was sent to *Rome for studies. Troubled by the *city and the behaviour of his fellow students, he fled to a village where his sanctity was soon revealed by a *miracle, prompting him to seek solitude in the remote wilderness known as Sublacum (mod. Subiaco). Discovered by monks wanting an abbot, he eventually left for the hilltop above the town of Cassinum (mod. Monte Cassino), where he built a monastery. It is thought that his *Rule* was written for that community.

The *Rule* was based largely upon the anonymous **Rule of the Master* (*Regula Magistri*), a much longer and sometimes obtuse document that in turn depended heavily on *John Cassian though with significant original content. Benedict's sensitive editing of his source, his own use of important monastic writings (by *Augustine, Cassian, *Basil, and others), and his pastoral wisdom ensured the *Rule*'s later influence in the Latin monastic world. Major emphases of the *Rule* include: the central role of humility as a means of spiritual progress; honouring Christ as present in the abbot, guests, and fellow monks; mutual obedience as a complement to hierarchical obedience; allowance for different needs and temperaments. The *Rule* also outlined a daily schedule of eight *prayer services (the 'Work of God' or 'Divine Office') that was observed until the liturgical reforms of the 20th century.

Monte Cassino was destroyed by the *Lombards in the late 6th century and not resettled until 717/18. The *Rule* first appears in the early 7th century as the 'rule of holy Benedict the Roman abbot', possibly reflecting a period spent by the monks in Rome following the destruction of their monastery. In the course of the 7th–8th centuries the *Rule* was used as a source for other monastic legislation, frequently combined with the *Rule for Monks* of the Irish missionary *Columbanus of *Bobbio (*c.*540–615) in the so-called 'mixed rule' or 'mixed observance'. The liturgical cult of S. Benedict spread from Monte Cassino after its refounding. After Charlemagne's conquest in 773–4 of the Lombard kingdom (in which Monte Cassino was located), he became acquainted with the *Rule* and later ordered a copy to be sent to his capital at Aachen for use in Frankish monastic reform, a process which accelerated under his successor Louis the Pious (778–840) and his monastic agent Benedict of Aniane (d. 821). Feast days: 21 March (death) and 11 July (transfer of relics). CAS

PCBE II/1, Benedictus 3.

Rule of S. Benedict (*CPL* 1852):

ed. (with FT) A. deVogüé and J. Neufville, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, 7 vols. (*SC* 181–186A; 1971–7).
ed. (with ET) B. Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (DOML 6, 2011).
ET T. Fry et al., *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict* (1981).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*: ed. (annotated with FT) A. de Vogüé, 3 vols. (*SC* 251, 260, 265, 1978–80).
ET of *Dialogues* 2: T. Kardong, *The Life of St. Benedict* (Religious order series 1, 2009).

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A. Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West', in Fentress and Dey, eds., *Western Monasticism* ante litteram, 53–84.
J. Semmler, 'Benedictus II: Una Regula—una Consuetudo', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, eds., *Benedictine Culture 750–1050* (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia; series 1, studia 11, 1983), 1–49.

beneficium The right of a Roman government official overseeing an appointment to benefit from the sale of an administrative post. This was prohibited by *Justinian I in *EdJust* 4, 1, which also provided compensation. *Emperors were accused by critics of permitting favoured courtiers to profit from selling on *beneficia* (*Malchus, 16.2 = *Suda Z* 83; *Zosimus, IV, 28, 3–4).
CMK

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 161–3.

Benevento, Duchy of *Zotto (Zottone) is documented as the first *Dux of the *Lombard military territory centred on Benevento. He quite possibly rebelled against the Byzantines and usurped this command in the name of the Lombards. His aggressive progress westwards against places in *Campania, including *Naples, in the 580s extended Beneventan control. The Benedictine *monastery of *Monte Cassino was also attacked, forcing the monks to flee to *Rome, carrying both the *Rule of S. *Benedict* and the saint's *relics.

Arichis (Dux 591–*c.*635), also assailed Byzantine Campania, besieging Naples and Capua, and carrying off many captives; the aggression may have been coordinated with attacks on the Rome duchy led by Ariulf of *Spoleto. Hostile acts subsequent to the treaty organized by Pope *Gregory I in 598 seem restricted (but include the capture of Salerno *c.*640). By the mid-7th century the duchy's territory extended from the modern provinces of Abruzzo in the east across to southern Lazio and south to northern *Calabria, facing Byzantine enclaves around Naples and Amalfi and around the toe and heel of Italy.

The duchy regained prominence in the 650s–60s under the Dux (later King) *Grimoald, who aimed to merge this largely independent southern polity into the wider Lombard Regnum. Large-scale Byzantine operations came in 663 under the *Emperor *Constans II, whose forces retook *cities such as Bari, Siponto, and Larino, and sacked the notable sanctuary of S. Michele sul Gargano. After a treaty was made, Grimoald's son and successor Romoald (663–87) subsequently enlarged Beneventan power southwards, by 680 taking Brindisi and Taranto.

Further expansion came in the 740s. The duchy's prominence increased with the loss of the Lombard northern kingdom. Under Arechis II (758–87) came major investment in and redefinition of Benevento and Salerno as princely seats, with *palaces, chapels of the Holy Wisdom and Ss. Peter and Paul respectively. Beneventan rulers withstood both Frankish and Byzantine assaults to forge a fairly stable principality, despite internal feuding, and monasteries such as *S. Vincenzo al Volturno testify to the artistic skills, inspiration, and *patronage of the mid-9th century.
NJC

*Gregory I, *Registrum Epistularum*, I, 66; II, 38, 42, 45; IV, 6: VI, 32; VII, 23; 25, IX; 134.
Gregory I, *Dialogues*, III, 8.
*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, II, 1; III, 1–4, 32–3; IV, 8; V, 7, 29; VI,6, 27.
S. Gasparri, *I duchi longobardi* (1979).
P. Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II* (1983).
P. S. Barnwell, *Kings, Courtiers & Imperium: The Barbarian West, 565–725* (1997), 115–18.
G. Roma, ed., *I Longobardi del Sud* (2010).

Benjamin I *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 626–65). Benefiting from the absence of the *Chalcedonian Patriarch, Benjamin remained in Alexandria after the *Persian invasion of *Egypt (619–29). The return of Roman rule under the *Emperor *Heraclius was accompanied by fresh efforts, enthusiastically supported by the newly appointed Chalcedonian (*Melkite) Patriarch *Cyrus (631–42), to make the anti-Chalcedonians (Miaphysites) join with *Constantinople. When Heraclius' theological compromise of *Monotheletism was rejected by Egyptian Christians, Cyrus resorted to economic, social, and military pressure, extensively described in (later) Coptic sources such as the **History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church* (PO 1/4 [1915] 381–519), the *Chronicle* of *John, *Bishop of Nikiu, and the *Life* of *Samuel of *Kalamoun. Benjamin was forced to leave Alexandria, hiding in *monasteries in the *Fayyum and Upper Egypt. The experience and memory of Benjamin's *exile was important in the shaping of a distinctive Coptic religious identity, expressed in ethnic terms, and confirmed by *Arabic sources that describe the Copts as related to the Arabs by way of the Egyptian Hagar. After the establishment of *Arab rule in 642, Benjamin returned from exile in 644. With the new rulers

dependent on its support and the support of its patriarch in this early period, and with its possessions restored, the Coptic (Miaphysite) Church entered a relatively stable period in which the rebuilding and restoration of churches and other religious buildings could begin.

PMS

CoptEnc vol. 2 *s.n.* Benjamin I, cols. 375a–377a (C. Detlef G. Müller).

Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy*.

Beowulf The longest surviving poem in *Anglo-Saxon (3,182 lines), though it recounts heroic deeds which occurred in Scandinavia, among the Geats, the Swedes, and the Danes. The first part of the poem narrates how the hero, Beowulf, saves King Hrothgar and the Danes by defeating Grendel, a monster descended from Cain (lines 1–2199); the second part describes how Beowulf, now much older and King of the Geats, fought and killed a fire-breathing dragon, but died in doing so (lines 2200–3182). The poem's date is uncertain: dates ranging from the later 7th century to the early 11th have been suggested. The only surviving manuscript copy (in London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xv) was written by two scribes, probably in the late 10th or early 11th century; on the other hand, some of the poem's events or figures (such as the Geatish King *Hygelac, Beowulf's uncle) may possibly have connections with historical sources for the 6th century. *Beowulf* is a complex text; it contains analogues in Germanic *poetry, and draws on Christian texts such as the *Vision of S. *Paul* (or texts influenced by it). HFF

ed. R. D. Fulk, R. E. Bjork, and J. D. Niles (with extensive comm.), *Klaeber's Beowulf* (Toronto Old English Studies, ^{4}2008).

Numerous ETs include M. Alexander (1973) and S. Heaney (2001).

A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (1995).

Berati Fortified hilltop town in European Albania, considered the site of ancient Antipatreia but renamed Pulcheriopolis after the sister of *Theodosius II and mentioned as such by *Hierocles. Berati is also identified with *Procopius' Antipagrae (*Aed.* IV, 4). Limited refurbishment of pre-Roman fortifications is usually associated with *Justinian I. Other archaeological evidence points to Late Antique occupation. WB

TIR K-34 *s.n.* Antipatreia, 16.

H. Spahiu, *Qyteti Iliro-Arbëror i Beratit* (1990).

Berber language Group of related dialects of the Afroasiatic language family spoken by groups in the interior of North *Africa. The language, often referred to by classical and Late Antique historians as Libyan, may have entered the region in the late 3rd millennium BC (prior to the Sahara's desiccation); the near mutual intelligibility between Tuareg dialects (Mali, Niger, southern Algeria) and Kabyle (Algeria), Dhamazighth (Rif Mountains), Tamazight (High Altas), and Tashilit (Anti-Atlas) suggests a relatively uniform population spread. The arrival of *Arabic with the *Arab Conquest in the late 7th century altered Berber: except for the Tuareg in the southern Sahara whose language exhibits little Arabic influence, North African urban populations now speak Arabic (with Berber influences) and Berber is spoken primarily in the mountains and small villages.

Berber is used predominantly for oral communication. Berber literary traditions employ other languages (notably Arabic), but Berber languages were written for symbolic purposes on short rock *inscriptions, tombstones, and on objects such as bracelets and weapons. Berber was first written in the Libyan alphabet (derived from Phoenician) from the 4th century BC; inscriptions have been found between the Fezzan (Libya) and the Canary Islands. The script was modified into the Tifinagh alphabet, first attested in the 5th century AD. It survives today amongst Tuareg.

*Augustine knew of barbarian peoples in Africa who had only one language (*City of God*, XVI, 6), and he regretted that it had heretofore not been possible to preach the gospel to them (*ep.* 199, 12). In Ghirza (Qirzeh), a settlement of *fortified farms in the *frontier region of *Tripolitania *c.*250 km (*c.*150 miles) south of the coast at Oea (mod. Tripoli), cult objects from a *temple of the 4th/6th century AD, perhaps dedicated to the god called Gurzil by *Corippus, bear inscriptions in Berber (Libyan) in a form of the Tifinagh script.

PAW

M. Brett and E. Fentress, *The Berbers* (1996).

M. O'Connor, 'The Berber Scripts', in P. T. Daniels et al., eds., *The World's Writing Systems* (1996), 112–16.

F. Millar, 'Local Cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin Roman Africa', *JRS* 58 (1968), 126–34.

R. M. Kerr, 'Some Thoughts on the Origins of the Libyco-Berber Alphabet', in H. Stroomer et al., eds., *Études berbères* V: *essais sur des variations dialectales et autres articles: Actes du 5 Bayreuth-Frankfurt-Leidener Kolloquium zur Berberologie* (2010), 41–68.

Berbers Term identifying indigenous populations of North *Africa, particularly peoples in the interior, removed from the Mediterranean littoral. 'Berber' is not an indigenous word, it probably derives from Greek *barbaroi* or Latin *barbarus*. North African peoples adopted the name in Late Antiquity, but they more commonly refer to themselves as *Imazighen*: 'free' or 'not vassal' people. Classical and Late Antique historians often use the term Libyan.

'Berber' can imply misleading apprehensions of a racially unchanging 'North African native'. In fact the

region's demographics have been transformed through population and cultural influxes from the Mediterranean and Near East, though the spread of closely related Berber language dialects across the Sahara from the Atlas to modern Libya suggests a uniform movement of interrelated peoples *c.*2,500–2,000 BC who displaced earlier African populations in the pre-Saharan zone and who remained comparatively distinct from the mixing of populations on the Mediterranean coast.

Rock art and frescos illustrate the newcomers and their militarized horse-rearing culture. Pharaonic records from *Egypt describe 'Libyans' controlling North Africa, and Herodotus calls these people 'Garamantes'. Punic settlement on the Mediterranean coast from the 9th century BC and *Carthage's gradual rise as a territorial empire prompted state building across North Africa (4th–3rd centuries BC). At this point, classical authors begin to call locals 'Numidians', whose three kingdoms, the Massyli, Masaesyli, and Mauri stretched from Morocco to modern Libya and mediated between Mediterranean powers and pastoral tribes of the pre-Sahara. They were bi-cultural, able to secure loyalty of independent tribes, while also developing court cultures on the Hellenistic model: kings built extensive funerary complexes (e.g. at Medracen, Siga, and Slonta). The Numidian kingdoms participated in the Punic wars of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, but Roman expansion arrested state development. Despite significant resistance and asymmetrical warfare, notably by Jugurtha of Massyli (111–107 BC) and revolts in the early 1st century AD, Rome established control in North Africa, but did not disrupt Numidian populations: beyond the Mediterranean littoral, North Africans had local autonomy and profited through cooperation with Rome, acting as a buffer between Empire and tribes in the pre-Sahara; though cycles of raiding and unrest continued.

In the 4th century local landholding elites enjoyed greater autonomy as they offered themselves as client-overlords to the Roman administration and competed with each other, creating new antagonistic alliances with tribes in the interior. The *Vandal conquest of the coast in the 5th century had little effect on North African populations in the pre-Sahara: 'Berber' tribes remained allied to an array of 'Berber' local elites, and from the 5th century, vigorous and sometimes quite stable Berber kingdoms emerged between the pre-Sahara and the Mediterranean. As had happened with their Numidian predecessors, Berber state development was soon checked by expanding outsiders: the *Arab conquest (670–710) introduced a new empire, language, and religion. Berber elites initially resisted, violent revolts occurred 740–60, but they eventually settled into a network of greater cooperation: the Berber elites' unique position of control over Saharan trade routes served Muslim demand for African slaves. Berbers converted to *Islam, but the form of Ibadi Kharijism which most of them embraced mirrored their political independence, as *Kharijite Islam was rigorously distinct from *Sunni or *Shi'ite Islam, and the Berber Kharijites established their own wealthy kingdoms with new names on the old ground. PAW

M. Brett and E. Fentress, *The Berbers* (1996).
Merrills, *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*.
O. Brogan and D. J. Smith, *Ghirza: A Libyan Settlement in the Roman Period* (1984).
E. Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest* (1997).
H. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature* (1982).

Berchar *Mayor of the Palace in *Neustria-*Burgundy, 686–8. 'A man small in stature, of low intelligence and harmful in counsel' (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 48), he succeeded his father *Waratto as Mayor, but was defeated by the *Austrasians at *Tertry in 687 and murdered not long afterwards. PJF

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. LXIX.

Berenice Southernmost Roman *harbour on the Red Sea, located in a bay sheltered from north-westerly winds *c.*820 km (*c.*512 miles) south of *Clysma (Suez). It was founded by Ptolemy II and between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD was important for *trade in *incense and Indian Ocean goods. In the Early Roman period it was connected to *Coptos on the *Nile by a path protected by *forts (*praesidia*) and supplied with wells (*hydreumata*). Berenice revived after the 3rd century and remained active until the middle of the 5th century, although perhaps no longer as the main Red Sea harbour. The last literary reference to the city is in a Roman proposal of *c.* AD 524/5, recorded in the *martyr *passion of S. *Arethas of *Najran to assist an military expedition from *Aksum, to which Berenice contributed two *ships. KS

S. Sidebotham, 'Late Roman Berenike', *JARCE* 39 (2002), 217–40.
S. Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* (CWHL 18, 2011).

Beroe (mod. Frecatel or Ostrov, Romania) Castellum on the lower Danube *frontier in *Scythia Minor (Dobruja) between Troesmis and Carsium, garrisoned, according to the **Notitia Dignitatum*, by the Cuneus Equitum Stablesianorum (*or.* 39, 5). A *bishopric is attested in the 6th century; a burnt level contained coins of 575/6, but the civil settlement persisted into the 7th century. A substantial cemetery has been excavated.

Beroe of Scythia Minor should not be confused with Beroea of *Macedonia Prima, *c.*80 km (*c.*50 miles) west of *Thessalonica (*TIR* K-34, 25–6, *s.n.* Berroia).

For Beroea (*Syria) *see* ALEPPO. For Beroea (*Thracia) *see* STARA ZAGORA. OPN

TIR L-35, 26.

Barrington Atlas, 22 F4; 23 B4.

A. Madgearu, 'The Province of Scythia and the Avaro-SIavic Invasions (576–626)', *Balkan Studies* 37/1 (1996), 35–61.

Beroea (Scythia Minor) *See* BEROE.

Beroea (Syria) *See* ALEPPO.

Beroea (Thracia) *See* STARA ZAGORA.

Bertha (*fl.* 590s–601) Daughter of the Frankish King *Charibert and Ingoberg, who married *Ethelbert (Æthelberht) of Kent. *Bede says (*HE* I, 25) that she brought Liudhard with her, a Frankish *bishop, whose death may have encouraged Æthelberht to ask Pope *Gregory I to send a replacement bishop to *Canterbury. In 601, Gregory thanked her for her support for *Augustine's mission and encouraged her to further the king's conversion (*ep.* XI, 35). EJ

PLRE IIIA, Bertha.

PCBE IV.1, Berthefledis.

Bertram *Bishop of *Bordeaux (577–85) and relative of the *Merovingian King *Guntram through the king's mother *Ingund; he played an influential part at the *court of Guntram's half-brother *Chilperic I. *Gregory of *Tours, our main source for Bertram, does not portray him in a favourable light in his *History*, perhaps because Gregory had been put on trial for spreading rumours that Bertram had committed adultery with Chilperic's wife *Fredegund. Bertram also features as a prominent supporter of the unsuccessful usurpation of *Gundovald. He exchanged verses with *Venantius Fortunatus. His intended successor was his kinsman *Bertram, future Bishop of Le Mans. HR; STL

PLRE IIIA, Bertchramnus.

PCBE IV/1, Berthechramnus 1.

M. Weidemann, *Kulturgeschichte der Merowingerzeit nach den Werken Gregors von Tours*, vol. 1 (1982), 143–4.

Bertram of Le Mans (d. 616/26) Bishop of Le Mans from 586, known principally through his *will, drawn up in 616. The scion of two wealthy families, probably related to the *Merovingians, he served at the *courts of *Lothar I and *Charibert I's wife Ingoberga, before turning to the religious life as a protégé of S. *Germanus of *Paris. Bertram was originally named Waldo, but at *baptism had taken the name of his patron and probable kinsman *Bertram, *Bishop of *Bordeaux, who failed in a bid to make him his successor; soon after, he became Archdeacon of Paris and then Bishop of Le Mans.

His will disposed of some 135 *villas or parts thereof, scattered throughout Francia, particularly in *Neustria and *Aquitaine, and amounting in total to perhaps around 300,000 ha (over 740,000 acres). These vast landholdings derived from family inheritance, royal benefactions, particularly from *Chlothar II, of whom Bertram was a loyal follower, and gifts from various clerics and laymen, as well as a series of purchases and exchanges. The bulk of his bequests were in favour of churches and *monasteries in and around Le Mans. His will is a mine of information for estate organization and management and the status of dependent tenants, and highlights in particular the sheer wealth of some members of the landed *aristocracy. TWGF; HR; STL

PCBE IV/1, Bertechramnus 2.

ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru in *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium*, 102–41.

M. Weidemann, *Das Testament des Bischofs Berthramn von Le Mans vom 27. März 616: Untersuchungen zu Besitz und Geschichte einer fränkischen Familie im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert* (1986).

M. Weidemann, *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans von der Spätantike bis zur Karolingerzeit* (2002).

Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 515–26.

Bertulf Third abbot of *Bobbio (*c.*625/6–643). Unable to resolve his jurisdictional dispute with Probus, *Bishop of Tortona, through the *Lombard King Aripert I (653–61), Bertulf travelled to *Rome and obtained a privilege from Pope *Honorius I (625–38) which placed Bobbio directly under papal authority. *Jonas of Bobbio wrote his *Life* (*BHL* 1311). CTH

M. Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages* (2008).

Berytus *See* BEIRUT.

Besa (5th cent.) The third archimandrite of the *White Monastery, succeeding *Shenoute the Great (of whom he wrote a *panegyrical *saint's life). Little is known about Besa's life, but he was highly esteemed. He oversaw both the men's and women's *monasteries, and had administrative, teaching, and pastoral duties. The most important influences on Besa were Shenoute, the *Bible, and the traditions of *monasticism. TV

CoptEnc vol. 2 *s.n.* Besa, cols. 378a–379a (K. H. Kuhn).

ed. K. H. Kuhn (with ET), *Letters and Sermons of Besa*, 2 vols. (CSCO 157–8, Scr. copt. 21–2; 1956).

Life of Shenoute: *BHO* 1074–8: Bohairic, *Life*: ed. J. Leipoldt (with LT by H. Wiesman), *Sinuthii Vita*, 2 vols. (CSCO 41, Scr. copt. ser. 2, vol. 1; 1951 and LT: CSCO 129, Scr. copt. ser. 2, vol. 16; 1951).

ET (annotated with introd.) D. N. Bell, *The Life of Shenoute* (CSS 73, 1983).

K. H. Kuhn, 'A Fifth Century Egyptian Abbot', *JTS* 5 NS (1954), 36–48, 174–87; 6 NS (1955), 35–48.

Bessas (before 480–after 554) Roman general of aristocratic *Gothic stock from Thrace, he fought succesfully for *Justinian I in *Mesopotamia (531) and *Italy (535–46), but in 546 lost *Rome to *Totila. He was nevertheless appointed *Magister Utriusque Militiae per *Armeniam (550–4) and **patricius*, but failure to consolidate victory at *Petra, compounded by accusations made against him (and fellow commanders, *Martinus and *Justin) by *Gobazes II, King of *Lazica, led Justinian to exile him in disgrace to *Abasgia (554/5). PNB

PLRE II, Bessas.

Bessi Tribe of the Haemus mountains, seen as mediators of Dionysian prophecies, but converted to Christianity by *Nicetas, *Bishop of *Remesiana (d. 414). The *Piacenza Pilgrim (56) mentioned Bessian-speaking monks on the *Sinai Peninsula. ABA

J. J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians* (1992), 84.

Beth 'Arabaye 'Land of the Arabs' in *Syriac. The *Sasanian province of Arbāyestān (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, *ŠKZ* §2, 8), between the Tigris and the Euphrates in the north of Persian *Mesopotamia, bordered the Roman *provinces of *Mesopotamia and *Osrhoene. It was governed by a *marzban. Its principal city, after 363, was *Nisibis, and it included also the fortress of *Sisauronon and the Jebel Sinjar, where *Miaphysite Christians of the *Syriac Orthodox Church (Jacobites) became numerous around *Singara in the 6th century. CJ

J.-M. Fiey, *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours* (CSCO 388, sub. 54, 1977).

J. Segal, 'Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam', *PBA* 41 (1955), 109–39.

Shahîd, *BAFOC*, *BAFIC*, *BASIC*.

Beth Aramaye *Syriac term for 'the land of the Arameans', corresponding roughly to the *Sasanian province of *Asorestan (MP Asūrestān) in Persian *Mesopotamia. It disappeared as an administrative unit after the reforms of *Khosrow I, but its name survived in the important ecclesiastical province of the *Church of the East. Its *cities included *Peroz-Shapur (Anbar). AZ; MPC

EncIran IV/2 *s.v.* Bēṯ Āramayē, 186 (Morony).

Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 3, 189, 148–9.

Beth Lapat, Synod of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, PERSIAN EMPIRE, GONDESHAPUR.

Bethlehem Town 10 km (6 miles) south-west of *Jerusalem; according to tradition the birthplace of both King David and Jesus. In 326 *Constantine I ordered the construction of the *Church of the Nativity to be carried out under the supervision of his mother *Helena. From 384 onwards *Jerome settled in Bethlehem, where he founded a *monastery adjacent to the church and completed several important works, among them his *Latin translation of the *Bible. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (29) describes his tomb and also monuments to David, Solomon, and the Holy Innocents (cf. *Adomnán, *De Locis Sanctis*, II, 4–5). Town and church were damaged in the wake of the *Samaritan uprising of 529, and rebuilt by *Justinian I. In 614 the city was captured during the *Persian invasion, and eventually conquered by *'Umar b. al-Khattab before 637. KMK

J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (1993).

J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross* (1992).

Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity Christian *basilica dating to the time of *Constantine I, covering a cave that is, according to Christian tradition, the birthplace of Jesus Christ. Construction was started during the journey of the *emperor's mother *Helena to the Holy Land in 326–8 (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 43, 1–2), and the church was apparently finished when the *Bordeaux Pilgrim (598) visited in 333.

The Constantinian church consisted of a double forecourt, a five-aisled nave, and an *octagonal building in the east. In the middle of the octagon a platform contained an oculus 3.9 m (12 feet 9.5 inches) wide that afforded a view into the grotto of the Nativity. Some of the column bases of the Constantinian church are extant under a well-preserved *mosaic pavement that was laid in the late 4th or early 5th century.

The Constantinian building was destroyed in the 6th century, perhaps during the *Samaritan revolts, and a new basilica was constructed. Radiocarbon sampling indicates a construction date of AD 605 ± 50 years. The nave of the new church, like that of the former Constantinian building, was flanked by four side aisles, giving the building's architectural layout a conservative appearance. This impression was emphasized by the Corinthian *capitals on the colonnades and pillars, newly manufactured but using an old-fashioned type of decoration. In the east the building received a modern *triconch layout composed of an eastern *apse and a transept ending in apses of equal sizes. The triconch structure was much larger than the Constantinian octagon and now also covered caves previously not incorporated in the building. The ceiling of the Cave of the Nativity was closed, and two still existing flights of steps were installed in the northern and southern transept arms to reach the cave from outside. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (29) describes how the interior of the Cave was illuminated day and night.

The church was spared during the *Persian invasion of 614. Additions were made to the church and its interior redecorated in Crusader times. UEV; KMK

M. Bacci et al., 'Historical and Archaeological Analysis of the Church of the Nativity', *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 13 (2012), e5–e26.

B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme: in seguito agli scavi e restauri praticati dalla custodia di Terra santa 1948–51* (1952).

U. Verstegen, *Heiliger Ort—sakraler Raum. Kontinuität und Wandel in der Inszenierung der Herrenorte in Jerusalem* (Habilitation thesis Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2013).

U. Verstegen, 'Geteiltes Gedenken. Parallelnutzungen von Sakralorten durch Christen und Muslime in Jerusalem und Bethlehem', in G. U. Großmann and P. Krutisch, eds., *The Challenge of the Object* 3 (2013), 1136–40.

Beth Misona Treasure Three chalices and one paten of *c.* AD 600. A *Greek *inscription on the paten records that Domnos son of Zacheos offered it to S. Sergius of the *chorion* of Beth Misona, possibly modern Msibina, 3 km (2 miles) south-east of *Stuma in *Syria. The chalices bear roundels portraying Christ, *Mary, and Ss. Peter and Paul; one was offered to S. Sergius by the priest Kuriakos, son of Domnos. OPN

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, 228–31.

Beth She'an *See* SCYTHOPOLIS.

Beth She'arim Small town in Lower *Galilee, 20 km (12 miles) east of Haifa.

The necropolis in Beth She'arim contains hundreds of burials and ranks as one of the major Jewish necropolises in antiquity. The town of Beth She'arim, an important centre of patriarchal and rabbinic activity at the turn of the 3rd century, owed its prominence to the presence of Rabbi Judah I, *Patriarch and editor of the *Mishnah, whose prestige was enhanced by the active support of the Severan dynasty (AD 193–235). His burial in Beth She'arim transformed the town into a favoured place for *Jews in Late Antique *Palestine and the eastern Diasporato bury their *dead. Recent archaeological finds demonstrate that the town and its cemetery continued to function as late as the 5th and even 6th centuries.

The archaeological finds reveal a fascinating amalgamation of Jewish and Hellenistic-Roman dimensions. Forms of burial, much of the art and architecture (including bases, pilasters, capitals, architraves, cornices, and friezes), the Greek and Roman names of many of those interred, and the predominance of *Greek (accounting for almost 80% of the *inscriptions) all point to the impact of Hellenistic-Roman traditions. The centrality of the patriarchal catacombs (nos. 14 and 20), the interment of Jewish *synagogue and communal leaders, and the depiction of many Jewish symbols—*including the Torah shrine, lulav, ethrog, shofar, and *incense shovel, as well as the most prominent motif, the *menorah, appearing some 37 times in a variety of shapes and styles—all clearly represent the Jewish dimension. LL

L. I. Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity* (2012), 80–91, 119–40.

Bewcastle Roman fort (*Fanum Cocidii*) 25 km (15.5 miles) north-east of *Carlisle, England, site of the *Anglo-Saxon Bewcastle *Cross and a later medieval castle. The irregular hexagonal fort was probably abandoned in the 4th century; *inscriptions suggest it housed cults of *Jupiter Dolichenus and Cocidius. The surviving cross shaft, one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon stone monuments, stands *c.*4.4 m (14.5 feet) high in the graveyard of S. *Cuthbert's Church. Decorated on four sides with figural sculpture, interlace, *inhabited scroll, and other motifs, it also bears inscriptions in *runes with similarities to the *Ruthwell Cross. SCT

R. N. Bailey and R. Cramp, *CASSS* 2: *Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands* (1988), 19–22, 61–72.

F. Orton and I. Wood with C. A. Lees, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (2007).

Bezabde Fortress on the eastern *frontier in the 4th century and site of two famous *sieges in 360 described in detail by *Ammianus Marcellinus. Despite a resolute defence by three legions and local archers, the city was captured by *Shapur II. A counter-siege by *Constantius II failed, but Bezabde returned to Rome after the Persians withdrew (XX, 7, 1–17; XX, 11, 1–24). It was ceded to the Persians in 363, after which histories no longer mention it.

It was formerly thought that Bezabde stood close to modern Cizre, on the west bank of the Tigris. However archaeological survey has located a major Late Roman site at Eski Hendek, 13 km (8 miles) north-west of Cizre. The outline of the city is trapezoidal and was aligned above the river. It may be seen to be divided into two distinct enclosures, with an annexe to the west and clear traces of projecting towers and multiple defences. JCr

G. Algaze, 'A New Frontier: First Results of the Tigris Euphrates Archaeological Project', *JNES* 48 (1989), 249–52.

M. Marciak, Sophene, *Gordyene, and Adiabene: Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia Between East and West* (2017).

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Armenian Written biblical exegesis and commentaries in *Armenia began with the invention of the *Armenian

alphabet, *c.*405. In parallel with the first *translation of the Bible into Armenian, interpretation followed the methods prevalent at *Antioch. Among the works first translated from *Greek were Eusebius of *Emesa's *Commentary on the Octateuch*, and *John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*. After the rejection of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia and *Diodorus of *Tarsus (*c.*435) works of some representatives of the Antiochene school were transmitted under the names of commentators who followed *allegorical methods of interpretation prevalent at *Alexandria. Allegorical interpretation is found also in the 6th-century Armenian translation of the works of Philo.

Original Armenian biblical exegesis flourished early, with the body of catechetical instruction in *Agat'angelos' *History of the Armenians* known as the **Teaching of S. *Gregory the Illuminator* (*c.*460). *Elishe Vardapet (Ełišē, *c.*500 AD), author of the influential *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, composed *sermons (e.g. on the Transfiguration, on the Passion), and commentaries on Genesis and on Joshua and Judges. Other early works include the *Commentary on the Four Gospels* of Step'anos Siwnets'i (d. 735). TMvL

S. P. Cowe, 'The Armenian Bible', in *NCHBible* vol. 2, 143–57.
J.-P. Mahé, 'Traduction et exégèse réflexions sur l'exemple arménien', in R.-G. Coquin, éd., *Mélanges Antoine Gillaumont: contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme XX, 1988), 243–55.
R. W. Thomson, 'Armenian Biblical Commentaries: The State of Research', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 18/1 (2009), 9–40.

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Coptic

It is generally accepted that the entire corpus of biblical texts was translated, at the very least, into the Sahidic *Coptic dialect, and perhaps even into Bohairic Coptic. However, textual evidence to support that thesis varies greatly for different books of the Bible, given the fragmentary state of the manuscripts that have come down to us. While the entire translation of the New Testament is attested, we still lack long passages of certain Old Testament books, such as 1 and 2 Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

This does not suggest that lesser value was accorded to the Old Testament: *Coptic art offers numerous examples of themes drawn from it, and the important Coptic author *Shenoute violently attacked heretics (perhaps *Marcionites) who refused to recognize the validity of the Old Testament. Shenoute's work also bears traces of anti-*Origenist polemic inherited from *Theophilus, Archbishop of *Alexandria, after the latter changed his views. (Until then, the Egyptian Church was characterized by the rather Origenist tendency to regard over-literal interpretation of the Bible as a form of anthropomorphism close to *paganism.) Theophilus and Shenoute criticize most of all the recourse to heretical, probably *Gnostic, books, favoured by holders of *Origen's theory on the pre-existence of souls. Their main support for whatever position they defended came from the biblical prophets, with whom both Shenoute and Theophilus can be said to have truly identified themselves.

Biblical style pervades the entirety of Shenoute's writings. Moreover, his numerous and well-elaborated borrowings from the Old Testament often provide us with either the sole or one of the major attestations of the existence of individual texts in Coptic. Such is the case for two long passages from Leviticus (13: 47–58 and 14: 33–48), quoted in their entirety in volume 8 of his *Canons*, which set the standard for all the *sermons in the collection.

Another strategy which Shenoute favours in homilies is the typological comparison of figures from the Old and New Testaments. In such cases, preferential treatment is given to those from the New Testament, insofar as they participate in the economy of salvation. The OT patriarch Joseph (son of Jacob) is thus compared to S. Joseph the carpenter and Judith to the Virgin *Mary. At first view, these texts do not seem to be characterized by any great theological sophistication, but lack of systematic study urges caution in judging them. AB

CoptEnc vol. 2 *s.v.* Biblical subjects in Coptic Art, cols. 382–90 (P. du Bourguet, M. Rassart-Debergh, C. Nauerth).
A. Boud'hors, 'Nouvelle Page de la version copte du Lévitique (14, 33–48) dans un sermon de Chenouté', in W. Belz et al., eds., *Sprache und Geist. Peter Nagel zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft 35, 2003), 47–63.
Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy*.
ed. H.-J. Cristea (with GT), *Schenute von Atripe, Contra Origenistas* (STAC 60, 2011).

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Greek

All early Christian authors interpreted the Bible, whether they were writing apologetic against pagan criticism, or protreptic in order to expound the Christian faith to outsiders or the faithful. The knowledge of scripture of authors like Irenaeus and Clement of *Alexandria is impressive and the incidence of quotations from apocryphal Gospels and other such works is low in comparison to their frequent recourse to biblical texts.

The most influential exegete of biblical texts from the centuries preceding *Constantine I was *Origen of Alexandria, who commented on nearly every book of the Bible (though much of his work does not survive). He used sophisticated methods of literary exegesis employed by his learned contemporaries to understand texts, including grammatical commentary, etymology, and the study of language. His *On First Principles* presented three levels of biblical interpretation, the literal (or historical), the moral, and the allegorical. Allegorical interpretation was of particular importance;

at its core was the practice of making connections between the text studied and other texts, whether with other parts of the Bible or with scientific or secular literature. He built up a vast *library at *Caesarea of *Palestine. The effect was to anchor Christian truths drawn from scripture among other truths. He considered that the Holy Spirit spoke through the entire biblical text so that the words of one biblical author could be used to illuminate the words of another, even where they might disagree on matters of historical fact. He noted that S. Paul employed forms of allegory, in particular typology, where one pattern of events is seen to have similarities with another pattern of events whether as between Old and New Testaments or between biblical event and external event. Origen's learned pagan contemporary *Porphyry did not object to his methods, but thought that the Christian scriptures (unlike *Homer) were simply not worthy of such close reading as serious literary productions (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 19, 4–14).

Origen was the principal influence on the school of biblical exegesis associated with *Alexandria, which favoured allegorical methods. *Eusebius of Caesarea was a pupil of *Pamphilus who was a pupil of Origen. Other eastern Christian authors who employed his methods included *Basil of *Caesarea, *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and *Gregory of *Nyssa. However, when Origen was condemned at the second *Council of *Constantinople in AD 553, much of his prodigious work and commentaries was destroyed. His methods also affected *Latin thinkers. *Augustine describes in the *Confessions* how *Ambrose's sermons interpreting the Bible allegorically completely altered his understanding (*Conff.* VI, 4, 6). *John Cassian identified four senses in which monks should come to understand their Bible reading, the literal, the allegorical, the tropological (moral), and the anagogical (spiritual); the practice became fundamental to medieval *lectio divina*.

From the 4th century onwards, theologians associated with *Antioch of *Syria read scripture in a literal manner that was at odds with the methods of Origen. Such Antiochene interpreters included *Diodore of *Tarsus, *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, and *John Chrysostom.

The variety of methods employed in the interpretation of scripture had theological consequences, as the Bible came under close scrutiny in the Christological and Trinitarian debates of the 4th and 5th centuries, particularly in the discussions concerning the nature of the Trinity associated with the *Arian Controversy in the 4th century, and in the debates about the Nature of Christ in the 5th century. Debates about theology in Late Antiquity were coupled to differences in spirituality. The process of biblical interpretation was an exercise in practical religion. MFC

P. Martens and P. M. Blowers, *Oxford Handbook on Early Christian Biblical Interpretation* (forthcoming).
CHECL.
C. Kannengiesser, ed., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis* (2004).
M. Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation of the Early Church* (1994).
F. M. Young, 'Alexandrian and Antiochene Exegesis', in *A History of Biblical Interpretation* (2003), 334–54.
D. Farkasfalvy, 'Interpretation of the Bible', in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (²1997), 580–4.
G. G. Stroumsa, *The Scriptural Universe of Ancient Christianity* (2016).

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Islamic

The *Qur'ān mentions other scriptures: the Tawrat (Torah), Injil (Evangelion/New Testament), and Zabur (Psalms). There is also a Qur'ānic reference to *suhuf*, or 'pages', a general reference to scriptures associated with the biblical patriarchs Abraham and Moses. Numerous prophets, biblical and Arabian, are mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, including Abraham, Moses, Noah, Jacob, Joseph, and Jesus. In general, references to biblical stories in the Qur'ān are allusive, with the assumption that the audience was familiar with the personages and events described. The main exception is *sura* 12, which follows the biblical narrative quite closely in its depiction of Joseph.

Jesus is mentioned in the Qur'ān, but explicitly as a prophet and not as part of the Trinity. His crucifixion is alluded to, but interpretations differ as to what the verses indicate. Similarly, the sacrifice of Abraham has a Qur'ānic version, but it is Ishmael, not Isaac, who was led to the sacrifice, according to some interpretations. The general position taken by Qur'ān commentators and exegetes, following from verses which say as much, is that the scriptures of previous traditions (those of the *ahl al-kitab*, People of the Book) were corrupted, and that the Qur'ān represents the final and most accurate revelation. NK

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Jewish

The Bible from the first was important in the life and thought of ancient Judaism. As the biblical books gained authority in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, commentaries were composed on them (*pesharim* found at Qumran), translations made (the Septuagint *Greek and some Aramaic translations), and the narratives were rewritten and expanded (Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon). By the 3rd century AD, therefore, when the *rabbis had declared the Torah sacred (defined as 'defiling the hands') and of divine origin ('from heaven', *m.Aboth* 1: 1) a variety of interpretative approaches had already been applied. The divine origin of the Torah led to a notion, developed only under the Amoraim (3rd to 6th cents.) and later, of the oral Torah ('Torah in the mouth') by which all teachings had been passed down orally from Moses at *Sinai and were

therefore of divine origin. Thus all the interpretations and legal teachings found in the commentaries, Mishnah, and *Talmud have an equal authority to the original ('written') Torah. Nonetheless, the relative importance of each work was still subject to debate, including the status of the Pentateuch in comparison to the other two parts of the Hebrew Bible (*b.Baba Bathra* 13b).

The centrality of the Bible, both the Torah proper (the Pentateuch) as well as the other books of the Hebrew Bible, means that it plays a part in most Jewish writings and is subjected to a large range of interpretations. The *Targums, Aramaic translations of the biblical books, developed over a long period of time and incorporated within them interpretations, sometimes expansive, of the text being translated. The very latest from the 8th century (the Writings) are so expansive that several hundred words are written on the few words in the verse, but the very words are never lost. The Targums reflect teaching traditions from the school house that have been developed for *synagogue exposition. Biblical commentaries (*midrashim*) are represented by commentaries on both legal material and narrative portions. The commentaries that are legal in nature, such as the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* on Exodus, *Sifra* on Leviticus, and *Sifrei* on Numbers and Deuteronomy, appear from the 3rd century onwards. They naturally include some discussion of narrative as well, but the full narrative commentaries appear from the 5th century onwards, with works such as *Genesis Rabbah* and *Leviticus Rabbah*. Beyond commentary there is frequent interpretation to be found in the tractates of the Mishnah, Tosefta, and the two Talmuds. There much of the discussion focuses on the laws that have their roots in the Bible, and frequently a ruling is supported by citation of a biblical verse.

Given the variety of interpretative literature, there is little distinct method of exegesis. The rabbis, nonetheless, sought to express some principles behind their practice. They draw a distinction between the plain meaning (*peshat*) and the amplified meaning (*derash*), although the difference is never precise or easily reducible. *Peshat* focuses on the clarification of textual and lexical issues in the text, in a similar manner to modern historical-critical approaches (Reif). An interest in such philological issues is also found in word lists in *Greek from towards the end of the first millennium (de Lange). *Derash* is commentary of an *allegorical nature that develops lines and themes from the biblical text. Eventually the rabbis drew up rules for exegesis, a total of 32 in one tradition, while some were attributed to early rabbis: the seven rules of Rabbi Hillel and thirteen of Rabbi Ishmael. These rules reflect standard ways of comparing and harmonizing texts and seem to be derivative of working methods rather than definitive for the interpretations.

Beyond literature the art in Palestinian *synagogues of the 3rd to 7th centuries depicts biblical scenes, often portraying the stories with elements from the commentaries rather than the biblical text. In Jewish *inscriptions from the Late Antique Mediterranean Basin there is a surprising lack of scriptural citation, other than the standard use of Prov. 10: 7 ('The memory of the righteous is a blessing') in *epitaphs. JKA

N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (1996).

M. S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism 200 BCE–400 CE* (2001).

S. C. Reif, 'Aspects of the Jewish Contribution to Biblical Interpretation', in J. Barton, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (1998), 143–59.

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Latin

The preaching of S. Paul in *Rome (*c.*60–5) marks the beginning of the spread of Christianity in *Latin-speaking areas. The first Latin Christian communities used the Septuagint (the *Greek translation of the OT) and the Greek NT as their Bible for several decades. Later, in the mid-2nd century, a translation of the Septuagint and the New Testament into Latin, usually referred to as the *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin), was made, probably in *Africa. This Latin translation of the Bible was the basis of all Latin biblical exegesis from the 3rd to the 7th century, even though a new translation of the OT from the Hebrew original and a revised translation of the NT was produced by *Jerome and his collaborators around 400 (the so-called Vulgate, which became the standard Latin version of the Bible from the 8th century onwards). Biblical exegesis, however, did not arouse the interest of the first Latin Christian writers (e.g. Tertullian, *Cyprian, *Novatian); they produced no systematic exegetical work, but included in their writings sporadic comments on biblical passages.

In the second half of the 4th century, *Hilary of Poitiers and *Ambrose published the first important exegetical works in Latin, covering books from both the Old and New Testament. In both these authors the exegetical approach derives from the *allegorizing *Alexandrian school of *Origen, and the biblical text (especially that of the OT) is interpreted through its symbolism and figurative meaning. A typical feature of this form of exegesis is the so-called 'typological' interpretation, through which incidents in the OT are seen as figures of events which will occur in the NT.

In opposition to this prevailing allegorizing trend, we find, in this same period, the commentaries by *Marius Victorinus on S. Paul's *Letters; those on Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians are extant. Marius Victorinus had been a renowned *rhetorician and interprets the biblical text in a strictly literal sense by using as a model the comments on classical texts used in rhetorical

schools. His method and point of view had a strong influence on certain later exegetes, especially *Pelagius and his follower *Julian of Eclanum.

Christian Latin exegetical literature reached its climax in the late 4th and early 5th centuries with two fundamental authors, Jerome and *Augustine. They both appeared to be strongly influenced by the allegorizing approach of Origen and the Latin tradition of Ambrose in the first phase of their careers, so that their first biblical commentaries are perfectly in line with this prevailing trend in Latin exegesis. Later, both authors abandoned a strictly allegorical interpretation of the biblical text, and adopted a more complex and flexible exegetical method. Jerome understood the extreme importance of a philological study of scripture and set out to produce a new translation of the OT from the Hebrew original. As a consequence, the biblical commentaries that he wrote during his maturity are based on a sound philological and literal study of the text as well as on a spiritual interpretation of those passages in which an allegorical approach appeared to be indispensable. Augustine saw the Bible as the sole foundation of Christian culture, and in his more mature works he interpreted it by using both philology and allegory, with a thorough approach which did not over-emphasize either too literal or too spiritual a reading of the text. In his later commentaries, Augustine also shows that the biblical text can have different interpretations, which are all acceptable insofar as they do not appear to be contrary to *recta fides*. MC

M. J. Moulder, ed., *The Latin Translations: Old Latin Versions*, in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (1988), 299–312.

M. Cimosa, *Guida alla Bibbia Latina: dalla Vetus Latina alla Vulgata, alla neo-Vulgata* (Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, 2007).

M. Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, tr. J. Hughes (1994; Italian original 1981).

P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, eds., *Cambridge History of the Bible*, I (1970), 412–586.

K. Froehlich, ed., *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (1985).

Ch. Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (2004).

Bible, interpretation and commentary, Syriac The *Syriac *translations of the Old and New Testament contain evidence of an early and rich exegetical tradition, as do the artful *Demonstrations* of *Aphrahat (*fl.* 336–45). A generation later *Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373) emerges as a fully formed poet-exegete, with his poetry and verse homilies frequently offering more extended exegesis on particular passages than the surviving prose commentaries. This role of poet-exegete was maintained by successive generations, as is seen in hundreds of verse homilies on biblical themes written between the 4th and 6th centuries. Special notice needs to be given to the substantial collection of dramatic dialogue poems on biblical themes written in this period, as well as imaginative prose works, such as the **Cave of Treasures*, all of which show a complex relationship with earlier authors and the broader Jewish and Christian traditions.

The substantial corpus of *Greek exegetical works translated into Syriac during the 5th century changed the complexion of Syriac exegetical texts. Though *Narsai (d. 503) and *Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) absorbed the Antiochene exegesis of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia and *John Chrysostom into their verse homilies, this genre was quickly replaced by conventional commentaries and scholia. Many works of important 5th- and 6th-century commentators are lost, fragmentary, or survive only in later works, but we do have a complete commentary on the Prologue to S. John's Gospel by *Philoxenus of Mabbug (d. 523) and the monumental mid-6th-century Psalms commentary by *Daniel of Salah. The work of *Jacob of *Edessa (d. 708) marks a high point in the Syriac exegetical tradition, particularly his scholia and the **hexaemeron* commentary that was completed by *George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (d. 724). The incisive scholia of Theodore bar Koni and the extensive commentaries of Ishoʿ bar Nun (d. 828) and Ishoʿdad of *Merv (*fl. c.*850) demonstrate the vitality of exegetical scholarship through the 9th century. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Bible (General), 74–6 (R. B. ter Haar Romeny).

S. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition* (2006).

J. C. McCullough, 'Early Syriac Commentaries on the New Testament', *Theological Review of the Near East School of Theology* 5 (1982), 14–33, 79–126.

L. Van Rompay, 'The Syriac Tradition of Interpretation', in M. Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 1/1: *Antiquity* (1996), 612–41.

L. Van Rompay, 'Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syriac Churches of the Middle Ages', in M. Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 1/2: *The Middle Ages* (2000), 559–77.

Bible, pagan interpretation of Even in an increasingly Christianized Roman Empire, pagan authors only very rarely exhibited significant interest in or knowledge of the Bible. Two primary modes of biblical engagement are nonetheless discernible. Direct quotation or more veiled allusion to particular passages (especially from the Old Testament) could contribute in a positive manner to philosophical argument (*Porphyry, *Ad Gaurum*, 11, 1–2, p. 48, 15 Kalbfleisch; *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, 10, p. 63, 10–13 Nauck) or provide rhetorical effect in orations addressed to

Christian *emperors (Themistius, *Oration*, VII, 89D; XI, 147C; XIX, 229A).

Second, and more obviously, anti-Christian polemic showed ever greater familiarity with biblical texts, targeting especially the New Testament (as well as Christian interpretations of the Old Testament). A significant component of Porphyry's *Against the Christians* sought to identify errors, inconsistencies, or implausible elements within the Bible, showing a solid knowledge of its entirety. *Jerome was prompted to respond to his demonstration that the prophecies of Daniel post-date the events they purport to predict. What we know of *Hierocles' *Philolēthēs Logos* focuses on the Gospels' depiction of *Jesus. The Emperor *Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*, as well as the anonymous pagan opponent(s) of *Macarius Magnesia's *Apocriticus*, exhibit an informed and often precise knowledge of the Bible. The former made numerous attacks of varying specificity against both Old and New Testaments, while only in the latter did the Bible become the principal focus of debate. In Macarius' opponents, inconsistencies in the Gospels or in S. Paul's preaching, the motivations or morality of the disciples, and unreasonable or implausible details in the biblical texts received detailed attention. APJ

J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (2000).

J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (2004).

G. Downey, 'Themistius and the Defense of Hellenism', *HTR* 50 (1957), 259–74.

ed. R. Goulet (with FT, comm., and introd.), *Macarios de Magnésie: le Monogénès*, 2 vols. (2003).

S. Morlet, ed., *Le Traité de Porphyre contre les chrétiens, un siècle des recherches, nouvelles questions* (2011).

P. M. Casey 'Porphyry and the Book of Daniel', *JTS* 27 NS (1976), 15–33.

Bible versions, Albanian Fragments of the *Albanian Bible have been recently discovered in the Albanian palimpsests from the monastery of Mount *Sinai. As well as the *Bible Lectionary, fragments of the Gospel of John, Isaiah, and Psalms are also preserved. NA

J. Gippert, W. Schulze, Z. Aleksidze, J.-P., Mahé, ed., *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, 2 vols. (2008).

Bible, versions of, Armenian Two separate translations of the Bible into Armenian were made in the 5th century AD. The original translation and the revision were only a generation apart and are designated as 'Arm 1' and 'Arm 2' respectively.

The three primary sources for the history of the Armenian Bible are *Koriwn, *Lazar P'arpets'i (437–500), and *Movses Khorenats'i. The very first project embarked upon after the invention of the Armenian alphabet (*see also* ARMENIAN LITERATURE, LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET) was the translation of the Bible, first completed between 406 and 411 and based on a *Syriac text. This reflects the fact that Armenia was in the Syriac cultural sphere when Christianity was introduced. Moreover, the first translation was made in the Persian-controlled area, where *Greek literature was forbidden. Following the *Council of *Ephesus in 431, Greek copies of the Bible were brought from *Constantinople and the Armenian translation was revised based on these 'authentic copies' (Koriwn, ch. 19), a reference to the Septuagint. VN

Thomson, *BCAL* 239–49, supplement 209–12.

C. Adjemian, *C'uc'ak Astuacasunc' mateani Hayeren jeragirnerum* (Catalogue of Armenian Bible Manuscripts) (1992).

F. C. Conybeare, 'The Armenian Version of the New Testament' and 'The Armenian Version of the Old Testament', repr. in *The Armenian Church: Heritage and Identity, Compiled with an Introduction by the Revd. Nerses Vrej Nersessian* (2001), 117–21, 146–9.

E. F. Rhodes, *An Annotated List of Armenian New Testament Manuscripts* (1959).

V. Nersessian, *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* (2001).

Bible, versions of, Coptic Translations of biblical texts have been preserved in six *Coptic literary dialects: B(ohairic), F(ayyumic), M(esokemic), L(ycopolitan), S(ahidic), A(khmimic). Among them, B, F, and S appear to reflect a systematic undertaking, since witnesses of almost all texts survive, even though sometimes they are very fragmentary.

In S, the literary language of the entire *Nile Valley from the 4th century onwards, translations are available in manuscripts dated from the 4th to the 12th century and show a great textual stability.

As for B, the dialect of northern *Egypt, which became the official language of the Coptic Church in the 11th century, the documentation leads us to postulate the existence of two different versions. One was an older version attested by 4th-century witnesses (remains of Genesis, Minor Prophets, Gospel of John, Epistle of James). The other, a standard version, was probably made around the 6th–7th centuries, although most of the manuscripts date from the first millennium.

Despite their extremely fragmentary state, the manuscripts written in F, the dialect of the *Fayyum oasis, show, as in S, a rather stable transmission from the 4th to the 10th century, with some differing and isolated translations. Significantly, the F versions are quite independent of S and B; the links with them still need to be defined.

Among the dialects that have not survived after the 6th century, M is the language of several well-preserved manuscripts from the 4th–5th centuries (Psalms,

Matthew, Acts, Epistles of S. Paul), and fragments of other books (Genesis, 4 Kingdoms, Job, and Romans). This indicates an organized and independent translation activity.

The two books fully preserved in A (Proverbs, Minor Prophets), as well as some fragments of others, show an indisputable textual dependence on the version in S. This dependence is also evident in some other southern dialects (John in L5, fragments in the so-called I7 dialect). A manuscript of Proverbs, the only witness to dialect P, is a notable exception to this dependence.

AB

W.-P. Funk, 'The Translation of the Bible into Coptic', in *NCHBible*, 536–46. <https://adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/koptisches-altes-testament/>

Bible, versions of, Ethiopic The conversion of the Aksumite kingdom to Christianity in the mid-4th century led to the need for a translation of the scriptures into the vernacular language, *Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic). The translation was based on the *Greek version, and although it has been attributed to Syrian missionaries, it seems clear that it was the work of Ethiopians. It is likely that the Bible was translated piece by piece in the 4th–6th century, and that the Gospels and the Psalter were translated first. The closest approximation to this original translation occurs in manuscripts dating from the 12th to the 14th century. The vast majority of the manuscripts are more recent and contain a Geʿez text revised in the light of an *Arabic version based on the *Syriac. In Old Testament manuscripts from the 16th century onwards the text has been further revised in the light of the Hebrew. Translations of the Bible into the languages now current in *Ethiopia and Eritrea such as Amharic and Tigrinya date from the modern period. MAK

EncAeth 1, 563–78.

M. A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1999).

E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1968).

Bible, versions of, Georgian Almost all the biblical books were translated into Georgian in Late Antiquity, the oldest translation dating to the 5th–6th centuries. These translations are collected in the Oshki Bible of AD 978. Most of the Old Testament books were translated from *Greek, some from *Syriac, and probably one (Ezra) from *Armenian. According to George the Hagorite, the 10th-century editor of Georgian biblical translations, two editions of the New Testament had existed in Georgian: the Khanmeti version, named for the archaic character of the language and preserved mostly in the palimpsests, and the S. Saba Lavra version, preserved in the Adishi manuscript of AD 897. The oldest redaction of the Gospels was apparently edited by S. Euthymios the Hagiorite (11th cent.). The Acts of the Apostles has survived in four redactions, the two oldest based on the Greek and compared with the Armenian and Syriac versions, and the others made by George the Hagiorite and Ephrem the Small in the 11th century. As for apocryphal texts, the oldest translations are of the Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of Nicodemus preserved in 10th- and 11th-century manuscripts. NA

Ts. Kurtsikidze, *The Georgian Bible* (2010).

Bible, versions of, Germanic The oldest translation of the Bible into a Germanic vernacular language is the Gothic Bible attributed to the 4th-century *Bishop *Ulfilas, who developed a written form of the Gothic language and translated the whole Bible with the exception of the OT Books of Kings, which he felt might encourage warlike behaviour (*Philostorgius, II, 5). The rendering of the *Greek text is literal. It survives in several manuscripts from the 5th and 6th centuries. A double leaf found at *Antinoöpolis in *Egypt is no longer extant. Palimpsest fragments now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan contain parts of the Epistles, of S. Matthew's Gospel, and of Nehemiah. The *Codex Argenteus, written in *silver and *gold on *purple parchment and now comprising 187 of its 336 leaves, contains the Gospels arranged originally in western sequence (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark); a further leaf, found at Speyer in 1970, has the last nine verses of S. Mark's Gospel. Fragments also survive of an early Gothic commentary on S. John's Gospel, known as **Skeireins* ('elucidations').

From the 8th century onwards portions of the Bible, especially the *Psalms and the Gospels, start to appear in Germanic dialects. Among the earliest texts are the Old English glossed psalters (e.g. the Vespasian Psalter, *c.*800) and the Old High German prose translation of Tatian's Gospel harmony the *Diatesseron* (*c.*830). Poetic adaptations of biblical material survive from the 9th century onwards, including the Old Saxon *Genesis* (which is considered the source for the Old English *Genesis B*), the Old English *Exodus*, and the alliterative and end-rhyming *Evangelienbuch* by Otfrid von Weissenburg (*c.*870). Culturally and linguistically important is the Old Saxon *Heliand*, an alliterative poem presenting the Gospels in a cultural translation with Christ as a Germanic lord; it survives in 9th-century codices.

Throughout the Western Middle Ages *Latin remained the language of learning and so the language in which the Bible was generally read. There are no complete Bibles in a Germanic vernacular, but there are many partial translations. The earliest complete

rendering of the Gospels to survive in Old English is the *Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss added to the *Lindisfarne Gospels in the 10th century.

MVDH; OPN

ed. W. Streitberg, *Die gotische Bibel*.

1. Teil: *Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage, mit Einleitung, Lesarten und Quellennachweisen sowie den kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang, mit einem Nachtrag zu Speyerer u. Hácser Fragmenten von P. Scardigli* (^{7}2000).

2. Teil: *Gotisch-griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, um zwei neue Wörter ergänzt von P. Scardigli* (^{6}2000).

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 145–85.

Project Wulfila maintains a website on old Germanic languages in general and the Gothic Bible in particular at http://www.wulfila.be.

T. Hall, 'Biblical and Patristic Learning', in P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne, eds., *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (2001), 327–44.

S. Sonderegger, 'Geschichte deutscher Bibelübersetzung in Grundzügen', in W. Besch, O. Reichmann, and S. Sonderegger, eds., *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, 2 vols. (1998), vol. 1, 229–84.

Bible, versions of, Greek With the spread of *Greek culture through the Mediterranean and Near East from the 4th century BC onwards, many religious texts were composed in Greek or translated into Greek from other languages. Beginning in the 3rd century BC, the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek; the resulting corpus illustrates how the Hebrew Bible was understood and used by Hellenistic *Jews for centuries. By the 2nd century AD, the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible along with the NT constituted the fundamental sacred texts of Christianity, not only for the large number of Greek-speaking Christians but also as the base from which the scriptures were translated into other languages. It would be difficult to assess the full impact of the Greek Bible. Particularly for Christianity, in Greek and in translation, it features prominently in *liturgy and spiritual writing, apologetic and doctrinal discussions, the interpretations of Christian writers, and at church *councils. As the seminal and historic fund of Christian thought and language, its impact on global culture is unique.

Translating the Hebrew Bible

The ancient *Letter of (pseudo-)Aristeas* attributes the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible to 72 Jewish scholars working in *Alexandria in the 3rd century BC. The Aristeas legend is not so much a record of fact as it is a 2nd-century BC Hellenistic Jewish apologetic for the divine origin of this version, one that enjoyed great currency in later Christian circles, in which the Greek Bible came to be known as the Seventy (LXX) or Septuagint as a result. Yet it is likely that a Greek version of at least the Pentateuch was made by Jews *c.*250 BC, probably in Alexandria, while various unknown translators rendered the rest of the Hebrew Bible into Greek over the next two centuries, utilizing different styles and methods. The formation of the Greek OT was occurring at the same time as the emergence of a closed Hebrew canon and the arrangement of books in LXX differed from that in the Hebrew Bible. LXX also came to include some Jewish books and expansions not in the Hebrew Bible, now commonly known as the OT Apocrypha. Ultimately rejected by Jews, these were highly esteemed by Christians, who often embraced them as canonical. The LXX text differs from the accepted Hebrew text in many places, often in ways that perturbed *rabbis but Christian interpreters exploited dogmatically.

Dissatisfaction with LXX led scholars in the 2nd century AD to produce new forms of the Greek Bible for use in Jewish communities: *Aquila, *Symmachus, and *Theodotion were credited with these, though great uncertainty exists as to the nature of their work. Aquila's literalizing edition was used in *synagogues into the 6th century and possibly later; the precise qualities and uses of Symmachus' and especially Theodotion's editions are far less clear. Due to the lack of direct evidence and complexities in the manuscript and citation traditions, scholars differ as to whether and to what extent the later Jewish editions should be seen as revisions of LXX or independent versions.

Influenced by Hellenistic synagogue usage and by the NT writers' consistent reliance on LXX, Christians adopted LXX as their first Bible by the end of the 2nd century. In addition to affirming its divine inspiration, some Christians argued that LXX was more reliable than the Hebrew Bible. The Christian use of LXX was probably an important factor in the Jewish revision and retranslation projects and in the eventual Jewish abandonment of the Greek Bible. Christian scholars also took a hand at revising LXX. By the 4th century, *Origen's *Hexaplaric recension (3rd century) and *Lucian of *Antioch's recension (*c.*300) were the editions of LXX most commonly used by Christians, though early writers spoke of other recensions as well (e.g. the Hesychian); multiple recensions or textforms are evident in the manuscript tradition. As Christianity spread, LXX was the base of other influential Christian OT versions, such as the Old *Latin, *Coptic, *Gothic, *Armenian, Ethiopic, the Syrohexapla, *Arabic, and Slavonic.

Although a few important *papyrus fragments of LXX from *Egypt and the Dead Sea Scrolls survive—some of which are dated as early as the 1st century AD or even earlier—the bulk of the extant manuscript

evidence dates from the 4th century AD and later, and is of Christian origin. Important textual evidence also survives in the citations of early writers, esp. Christians, but also some Jewish writers such as Philo and Josephus, as well as in *Bible lectionaries, and medieval Christian *biblical catenae. Manuscripts containing the whole Greek OT were rare; most had only single books (e.g. Genesis or *Psalms) or a group of books (e.g. Octateuch or Minor Prophets).

The New Testament

Although some have argued for an Aramaic or even Hebrew origin for a few books of the NT—esp. one or more of the Gospels—most scholars agree that the NT documents were originally composed in Greek. By the end of the 2nd century, at least the four Gospels and S. Paul's Epistles were being treated as scripture on a par with OT in many parts of the Church. Over the next century or so, most of the rest of the 27 NT books were received as canon, though certain books were more controversial and took longer to be accepted as part of the Greek Bible—especially the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of S. Jude, the 2nd Epistle of S. Peter, the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of S. John, and the Book of Revelation. Different forms of the Greek NT developed, with particular books and groups of books manifesting distinctive characteristics as a result of their unique transmission histories. Although scholars once confidently denominated several distinct text-types within the Greek NT tradition, categorizing them genealogically and geographically as e.g. 'Western', 'Alexandrian', 'Caesarean', 'Byzantine', more recent study of the vast manuscript and citation traditions has shown that the evidence resists such neat classification. In the earliest period for which we have papyri and citation evidence, the NT text of the 2nd and 3rd centuries is marked by a certain fluidity and variety of form. Yet from the 5th century, a more polished form of text was being standardized, promulgated from *Constantinople during Late Antiquity, accompanied by the decline in use of Greek elsewhere. Often labelled 'Byzantine', this form came to dominate the Greek NT text by the 7th century, and most of the surviving copies belong to this type—though it too is marked by variety and complexity. Prior to the development of this 'Byzantine' text, multiple forms of text in various parts of the NT are evident, some of which suggest a certain amount of recensional activity, yet also display complex patterns of intermixture. Attempts to identify distinct recensions and to name or locate specific editors have not yet been able to make sense of all the evidence.

As with the Greek OT, manuscripts containing the whole NT were rare in the first millennium AD—those of the entire Greek Bible even more so. Evidence for the Greek NT consists of early papyri, most of them very fragmentary but often dating from the 2nd–3rd centuries, many later Greek manuscripts, and lectionaries; and citations in Christian writers, along with a number of other NT versions translated from the Greek. These include: the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, Armenian, possibly *Georgian and Ethiopic, Arabic, Slavonic, and others. JWC

Ehrman and Holmes, *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*.

EncJud (²2007), vol. 3, 595–8 *s.v.* 'Bible, Translations, Ancient Versions, Greek: The Septuagint' (L. J. Greenspoon).

S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (1968).

N. F. Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (2001).

B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament* (⁴2005).

NCHBible, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to* 600 (2013).

ABD, vol. 5, 1093–104, *s.v.* 'Septuagint' (M. H. K. Peters).

Bible, versions of, Latin An unbroken tradition of Latin biblical materials survives from the early 3rd century onwards. Modern study tends to focus on their grouping, their value as textual witnesses, and their interest as linguistic documents.

The earliest versions of the Bible are conventionally known as the Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*). The evidence is conventionally divided into 'manuscripts' (i.e. continuous biblical texts) and 'citations' (quotations in early Christian writers). Within the broader Old Latin tradition, we may in various books discern an 'African' tradition, corresponding largely to the citations in *Cyprian of *Carthage. Outside this African tradition, the situation varies widely. *Augustine's statement that in the early days of Christianity, anyone with a *Greek codex and a smattering of either language thought himself a competent translator (*De Doctrina Christiana* II, 11) may be speculation, but it reflects a reasonable perception of the situation around the year 400.

Despite this variety of versions, we may construct certain groupings or types of texts. Traditionally, this has been done on the basis of the renderings chosen for a given set of Greek words; thus a writer who regularly uses *mundus* for 'world', *populus* for 'people', and *discipulus* for 'disciple' would belong to a different group to one using *saeculum*, *plebs*, and *discens*. However, the criteria for positing a text-type have been contested, and some groupings are more unified than others. It should be noted too that each book should be treated separately, and that the evidence itself varies widely from book to book. Thus S. Mark's Gospel is well attested in manuscript form, but it is often hard to identify Marcan citations that are not overlaid with features from S. Matthew or S. Luke. Moreover, a manuscript may change text-type within a single book.

The relationship between the Old Latin and the Vulgate Bible, often loosely described as 'Jerome's Vulgate', is complex. *Jerome's Gospels are a revision of existing Old Latin traditions, undertaken at the request of *Damasus in *Rome in 383. The rest of the New Testament he seems not to have touched. The name of Rufinus the Syrian (*c.* 411) is often cited as the reviser of the Epistles. The Old Testament Jerome translated directly from the Hebrew. In the Psalms, however, he first revised the existing version, in line with *Origen's Greek *Hexapla text (producing the so-called Gallican Psalter), before producing a fresh version based on the Hebrew (*iuxta Hebraeos*). Judith and Tobit he translated from the Aramaic. In the case of those Jewish scriptures originally written in Greek (Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch, 1 and 2 Maccabees) Jerome's contribution is at most a very light revision of the Old Latin text. While some parts of Jerome's work gained instant currency among Christian writers, Old Latin texts remained in circulation until well into the Middle Ages.

The importance of the Latin Bible as a witness to the text of the New Testament has been variously assessed. Older scholarship often sees it as secondary, reproducing the readings of an inferior 'Western Text' of the Greek. However, some readings do have a strong claim on our attention; for instance, the statement at John 2: 3, that the *wine at the wedding-feast in Cana ran out 'because the wine was finished/accomplished'; or the reading 'that I may boast' rather than 'that I may be burnt' in 1 Corinthians 13: 3, first attested in Tertullian. Here the Latin witnesses are secondary only in the sense that they derive from the Greek, not in their evidential value. On the linguistic level, the Latin Bible is best seen not as a 'vulgar' variety but as belonging to a form of post-Classical informal standard Latin. PHB

The standard edition of the Old Latin is that of the Institut Vetus Latina (1951–);
for the Synoptic Gospels, ed. A. Jülicher et al., *Itala* (1938–63).
For John, <http://www.iohannes.com>.
For other books, P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones* (1743–8).
Text of the Vulgate: ed. R. Weber et al., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* ([4]1994).
J. Wordsworth and H. J. White et al., *Novum Testament Latine* (1889–1954).
For patristic citations, see the Vetus Latin database at <http://www.brepolis.net>
Manuscripts: R. Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften/Manuscrits vieux-latins* (1999–2004).
Patristic sources: R. Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs latins ecclésiastiques* (2007).
Much excellent work in the monograph series *Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der altlateinischen Bibel* (Beuron, Vetus Latina Institut, 1957–).
P.-M. Bogaert, 'The Latin Bible', in *NCHBible*.
P. H. Burton and H. A. G. Houghton in B. Ehrman and M. Holmes, eds.), *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* ([2]2012).
Ongoing bibliography by P.-M. Bogaert, *Bulletin de la bible latine* (1955–; now published in *RevBén*).

Bible, versions of, Syriac The Hebrew Bible was translated into *Syriac during the second half of the 2nd century AD by non-rabbinic *Jews or Jewish converts working primarily in *Edessa (the provenance may vary from book to book). The standardized Hebrew text is the basis for the translation, though the translators also drew upon Targumic and Septuagint readings to clarify difficult passages.

The Gospels first came into Syriac as the **Diatessaron*, a Gospel harmony composed by Tatian in Syriac around 170. This was followed within a generation by the so-called Old Syriac version of the New Testament, which omits 2 Peter, 2–3 John, Jude, and Revelation. The *Diatessaron* was used in preference to the Old Syriac Gospels until it was systematically purged in the 5th century.

The linguistic subtleties of the 5th-century Christological controversies and the growing corpus of *Greek *literature translated into Syriac in the 5th century made the more theologically astute Syriac clergy and exegetes self-conscious about deficiencies in their existing versions of the New Testament. This motivated 5th-century reformers such as *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus and *Rabbula of *Edessa not only to suppress the *Diatessaron* but also to order a revision of the Old Syriac version of the Gospels with a view to bringing its text closer in line with the Greek. This 5th-century revision became the standard New Testament *Peshitta version.

The growing reputation of Greek theology inspired further revisions and *translations. The revision of the New Testament Peshitta commissioned by *Philoxenus of Mabbug (d. 523) is known only from quotations in his Gospel commentaries (it is doubtful that Philoxenus was associated with the 6th-cent. translation of the Minor Epistles and Revelation). This revision was used as the basis of the revision undertaken by *Thomas of Harkel at the *Ennaton *Monastery near *Alexandria 614–16. Thomas revised the Philoxenian version with philological precision, striving for a formal equivalence between the Greek and Syriac.

Evidence from the 6th century for the Septuagint in Syriac is limited to fragments of a translation of Isaiah, thought to have been commissioned by Philoxenus along with one or two other books. More important are the 6th-century translations of Greek theological works, because their biblical citations are rendered literally. A Hexaplaric Septuagint manuscript was translated by *Paul of Tella in the early 7th century under the direction of the *Syriac Orthodox Patriarch Athanasius. Paul's

Syro-*Hexapla also included *Origen's apparatus and textual variants. The two-year project was completed in 617 at the Ennaton Monastery, overlapping with Thomas of Harkel's revision of the New Testament.

*Jacob of Edessa's (d. 708) revision of the Peshitta was prepared after the philhellenic tradition of the previous generations had subsided. Though he drew readily upon both the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek Septuagint, he aimed at an accurate readable translation rather than at formal equivalence. The proliferation of Syriac translations and revisions led the Syriac Orthodox commentator Moshe bar Kepha (d. 903) to give the earliest and most widely used Syriac translation of the Old Testament the name 'Peshitta' (meaning simple or widespread). KSH

GEDSH s.v. Bible (General), 74–6 (ter Haar Romeny); *s.v.* Bible, Old Testament manuscripts, 76–7 (Brock) and *s.v.* Bible, New Testament manuscripts, 77–81 (Juckel).

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B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* (1986–).

W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (1968).

A. M. Ceriani, *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus* (1874).

G. A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels* (1996).

Leiden Peshitta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version* (1966–).

I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et Exinde Excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (1967).

P. E. Pusey and G. H. Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium Syriacum* (1901).

A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla* (1975).

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S. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition* (²2006).

B. Metzger, *The Early Version of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (1977).

R. B. ter Haar Romeny, 'The Syriac Versions of the Old Testament', in *Nos Sources: arts et littérature Syriaque* (Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orientales, 2005), 59–83.

M. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* (1999).

Bible lectionaries, Christian Texts which indicate which passages from the *Bible should be read in public in church in the course of the year. The earliest actual list to survive is the Armenian *Bible Lectionary of *Jerusalem, originally written in *Greek and reflecting Jerusalem practice between 417 and 438/9. It specifies the Festival and the station where it should be celebrated, the Psalm and its Antiphon, an Old Testament lesson, 'the Apostle' (i.e. a New Testament reading from something other than the Gospels), sometimes a *Martyr Passion or other text, the Hallelujah and Gradual Psalm, and the Gospel reading. A *Syriac lectionary of the later 5th century appears to be related to it. The Albanian *Bible Lectionary and the Georgian *Bible Lectionary both date from the 6th century. The Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest of the early 6th century (cod. Weissenburgensis 76) and the Luxeuil Lectionary (BN Lat. 9427) of *c.*700 are the earliest lectionaries from *Gaul. The texts of lectionaries often list only the beginning (*incipit*) and ending (*explicit*) of the biblical passages to be read on particular occasions in the course of the liturgical *calendar.

There is, however, ample earlier evidence from *sermons for set patterns of readings. *Augustine and *John Chrysostom both record that the Acts of the Apostles were read in the season between *Easter and Whitsun and John Chrysostom goes to some lengths to explain why. Tables of readings can be reconstructed in some detail both for Sundays and great festivals and for the commemoration of *martyrs from the references in Augustine's sermons and to a lesser extent from those made by *Gregory of *Nyssa. MFC; OPN

DACL 8/2 (1929) *s.v.* lectionnaire, 2270–306 (H. Leclercq).

F. C. Burkitt, *The Early Syriac Lectionary System PBA* 10 (1921–3), 301–38.

ed. (with study) P. Salmon, *Le Lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris, ms. lat. 9427)*, 2 vols. (1944 and 1953).

G. G. Willis, *S. Augustine's Lectionary* (Alcuin Club collections, no. 44, 1962).

Bible lectionaries, Georgian The oldest Georgian version of the *Jerusalem Lectionary is preserved in a 7th-century manuscript. The text itself is tentatively dated to the early 6th century. This version is called the Khanmeti Lectionary owing to its archaic linguistic characteristics. The second oldest Georgian lectionary is the Haemeti Lectionary, which is preserved in two manuscripts (H1329 and Q333). Other Georgian lectionaries are the Kala, Latali, Paris, and Sinai lectionaries. NA

ed. (with introduction and LT) M. Tarchnishvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de Jérusalem* (CSCO 188–9, 204–5, 1959–60).

ed. (with Russian translation) К. Кекелидзе, Иерусалимский Канонар VII века (грузинская версия) (1912).

S. S. R. Frøyshov, 'The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies', in B. Groen et al., eds., *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship* (Eastern Christian Studies 12, 2012), 227–68 at 244–8.

Bible lectionaries, Jewish There are no written Jewish lectionaries extant from Antiquity and the practices of reading seem to have varied by location. Christian evidence from the New Testament confirms the practice of the reading of the law in the 1st century, but attempts to identify a precise reading cycle behind the New Testament have been unsuccessful. By the time of the Babylonian *Talmud the Pentateuch was read in a one-year cycle (Meg. 29b), which became standard practice, although a triennial cycle continued

in *Palestine and *Egypt into the Middle Ages. The Theodotus inscription from *Jerusalem indicates that one purpose of the 1st-century *synagogue was to provide a place for the reading of the Torah, and this custom developed over time. The reading of the Torah (Pentateuch) was supplemented by a reading from the Prophets (the *haftarah* 'completion [of the reading]'), a practice established in the Mishnah (m. Meg. 4.1–2) but possibly already recorded in the New Testament (Luke 4: 17). By the 3rd century readings were established for sabbaths, weekdays (Mondays and Thursdays), and for particular festivals and fast days (m. Meg. 3.4–6). Variation still remained far into Late Antiquity over the precise portion and length of reading, as seen in the Talmudic debate over such issues (b. Meg. 31b). JKA

Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (1993).

Bible Lectionary, Albanian Fragments of the Albanian Lectionary are preserved in the Albanian palimpsests found in the Monastery of Mount *Sinai. The Albanian Lectionary is tentatively dated to the 6th–7th centuries. Its vocabulary reveals a range of Armenianisms, and also *Georgian and *Greek loanwords. NA

J. Gippert, W. Schulze, Z. Aleksidze, and J.-P. Mahé, eds., *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. 1 (2008), III/1–III/46.

Bible Lectionary of Jerusalem, Armenian A lectionary text for the Armenian Church that is believed to reflect 4th-century liturgical practices in *Jerusalem. In his *Commentary* of 684 Grigoris Arsharuni considers *Cyril of Jerusalem to be the author. According to Yovhannes Odznets'i (d. 718) this lectionary was still in use in his time. There are also many references to the Lectionary in the *Book of Letters (*Girk' T'lt'ots'*). Another indication of the lectionary's origin is that it states where ceremonies are performed at the holy places of *Palestine on important festivals. VN

Thomson, *BCAL*, 277–8.

ed. A. Renoux PO 35–6 (1969, 1971).

A. Renoux, 'Un manuscrit du vieux lectionnaire Arménien de Jérusalem', *Le Museon* 74 (1961–2), 361–85; 385–98.

biblical catenae Exegetical 'chains' of *Bible exegesis by early church authors, forming continuous commentaries around individual biblical texts, resulted in anthologies of interpretations. The citations they preserve from commentaries and *sermons, presented in a variety of formats around or within a biblical text, are a particular feature of early Christian commentary. This model of commentary appears to have started with *Procopius of *Gaza and therefore originated in *Palestine. It was inspired by the example of scholars in *Alexandria who added comments to a text, and it might conceivably have been the basis of rabbinic textual commentary and layout. Few of the authors of the quotations in the catenae are known by name, but the catenae are important for preserving otherwise lost commentaries on the Bible and for recording writers that would otherwise have been unknown. JKA

N. F. Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (2000).

bicharacta The adjective, derived from *Greek and meaning 'minted twice', appears only in the Tetrarchic Currency Edict applied to the word *moneta*. Here it indicates a particular denomination: this must have been the silver-washed radiate piece introduced by the *Tetrarchic Currency Reform, similar in weight and composition to the last **antoniniani*. FC

D. Sperber, 'Moneta bicharacta—disgnim', *CQ* 24 (1974), 134–6.

Biferno Valley The Biferno is the principal river of Molise (south central *Italy). It rises in the Matese mountains and flows 75 km (46 miles) north-east, reaching the Adriatic Sea at Termoli. The valley was the subject of an influential field survey project under the direction of Graeme Barker, whose survey explored the long-term relationship between a *landscape and its occupants. Barker's approach was explicitly informed by the so-called *Annales* historians, notably F. Braudel, who prioritized longer-term historical change over event-based political history. The survey led to excavations at several sites, and provided evidence about changes in Late Roman settlement patterns and the development of hilltop villages from the 7th century. Survey evidence suggested that many early imperial sites in the upper valley did not survive beyond the 3rd century. The lower and middle valley saw a similar decline in small sites but many larger sites survived into Late Antiquity. Little occupation was detected in the 6th and 7th cenuries, with the exception of the hilltop site of S. Maria in Civita, where excavation identified important early medieval horizons. WB

G. Barker, *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (1995).

Bilichild (d. 675) Daughter of *Sigibert III of *Austrasia. Her marriage to her cousin *Childeric II, though opposed by some within the Church (*Passio *Leodegari*, I, 8), facilitated his accession to the Austrasian throne, but the *Neustrians murdered both of them in 675 (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 45; *Fredegar continuatus, 2). JHo

bilingualism In general in the Later Roman Empire educated men learned both *Latin and *Greek at *school, not always, *Augustine assures us, painlessly

(*Conff.* I, 15, 23). Even in the *Latin-speaking West Greek remained till the late 4th century the language for *philosophy, intellectual endeavour, and high culture, as it had been since the *Second Sophistic and the time of Galen and *Plotinus. Proficiency in Greek became less common in the West during the 5th century; it remains an open question whether *Gregory the Great knew Greek.

The *army was commanded in Latin. Also, knowledge of Latin made it possible to study Roman *law (especially, for such Easterners as *Gregory the Wonderworker and *Severus of *Antioch, at the schools of *Beirut), and therefore, from the time of the expansion of the civil *administration under the *Tetrarchy right into the 6th century, Latin opened up opportunities for those wishing to rise to high office in the imperial *administration. *Diocletian and his colleagues actively promoted the study of Latin *rhetoric by restoring the schools at *Autun and appointing *Lactantius to teach at *Nicomedia. The fact that students were led by its practical advantages to study Latin rhetoric rather than Greek was resented by both *Libanius and *Gregory of *Nazianzus (Gregory, *ep.* 14, 6). The promotion of Latin contributed, however, to the revival of Latin literature in the 4th century, when *Ammianus Marcellinus, 'a former soldier and a Greek' (XXXI, 16, 9), chose to write his history in Latin.

Latin and Greek were widely understood right across the Empire, and were carried, by the foundation of *cities and then in Late Antiquity by Christianity, into areas of the countryside where to varying degrees in different areas they replaced indigenous languages or were used alongside them. In *Anatolia the evidence suggests that local languages had mostly disappeared by Late Antiquity, whereas the invention of an alphabet for *Armenian by Mesrop *Mashtots' (Maštoc') and its use for Christian purposes has ensured the surival of the language till the present.

Despite the lively civic culture of Latin-speaking *Africa, *Berber continued to be spoken and Augustine, who valued the pastoral ministry of a *Punic-speaking *deacon at *Hippo (*ep.* 84, 2) would have preferred a Punic-speaking *bishop for the formerly *Donatist city of *Fussala 40 (Roman) miles (59 km) away (Augustine, *epp.* 209, 3). The primate of *Numidia, Aurelius Bishop of Macomades, knew enough Punic to talk to country folk (Augustine, *ep.* 20*, 21 Divjak). But even Donatist *Circumcellions knew enough Latin to shout 'Deo Laudes'. In most of *Gaul Latin was able to survive the *Barbarian Migrations as a popular language, whereas in England it endured only as the highly literary phenomenon scholars call *Celtic Latin.

In *Egypt, the Egyptian language, written as Coptic, was, as the *papyri indicate, in general use alongside Greek. The script used for *writing it was based on Greek, it borrowed words from Greek, and developed its own literature as well as literature translated from Greek into Coptic. Similarly, *Syriac developed a literature in *translation and an important literature of its own. A large body of this literature was later rendered into *Arabic in the *Abbasid period. At a more popular level, Syriac was the *lingua franca* of *Syria and *Mesopotamia, on both sides of the Roman–Persian *frontier. *John Chrysostom when preaching at *Antioch employed a Syriac interpreter at festival time when country people came to the city and needed to have his words translated. The prevalence of Syriac, however, was regional; *Daniel the *Stylite and Gelanius the imperial cup-bearer could communicate safely in their native Syriac because they could count on other people at *Constantinople not knowing the language (*VDanStyl* 28, cf. 17). Coptic and Syriac survived the *Arab conquests of Egypt and the Levant, though Arabic replaced Greek in the *'Ummayad administration under *'Abd al-Malik in 81 AH, after an unfortunate incident involving a clerk misusing an inkwell (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 301).

To facilitate foreign *diplomacy, the Romans relied on their *interpretes, professional interpreters in an **officium* under the *Magister Officiorum (**Notitia Dignitatum or.* XI, 52; *occ.* IX, 46). Vigilas, one of this corps, accompanied the embassy to *Attila described by *Priscus (fr. 11, 1–2 Blockley = 7–8 Müller *FHG*). Priscus found at the *Hun court a man from *Moesia whom *Attila had captured and employed as a secretary; he was not surprised at meeting 'Scythians' who spoke *Gothic and Latin as well as Hunnic (fr. 13, 3 Blockley = 8 Müller *FHG*), but found unusual a man who looked like a Hun but spoke Greek (fr. 11, 2 Blockley = 8 Müller *FHG*).

Presumably the *Persian Empire had similar expert interpreters. The **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* was inscribed in *Greek as well as in two forms of Middle *Persian. Later, in the 6th century, *Sergius the Interpreter was trusted by both the Roman and Persian *courts. OPN

J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003).
J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain, *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word* (2002).
V. Bubeník, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area* (1989).
E. Dickey, 'Ancient Bilingualism', *JRS* 93 (2003), 295–302.
Van Dam, *Roman Revolution of Constantine*, ch. 7.
S. J. Clackson and A. Papaconstantinou, 'Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri', in A. Papaconstantinou, ed., *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbāsids* (2010), 73–104.
S. [P.] Brock, 'Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek', in Brock, *Syriac Perspectives*, study XI.

billeting of soldiers The billeting of troops resulted from the duty of civilians to provide **hospitalitas* for

soldiers when needed. The property of *senators and others was exempt (*CTh* VII, 8). The frontier troops (**limitanei*) required billeting only when they were moved from one place to another, but the mobile troops (**comitatenses*) were always billeted on civilian properties in *villages, towns, and *cities except when living under canvas in campaign conditions. Problems with billeting were acute when men (esp. barbarian troops) were billeted among complete strangers during wartime, though the lamentable tale of *Euphemia and the Goth relates peacetime military behaviour. Civilian owners were required by law to provide only shelter; they were not obliged to furnish the so-called *salgamum* ('pickles'), extras such as oil, wood, bedding, and other luxuries. Cities were obliged to fire up their *bathhouses only for very senior officers (*CTh* VII, 9–10). Soldiers might rob their hosts or throw them out of their property. In some cases officers exercised patronage over whole villages; *Libanius (*Oration*, 47) stigmatized such **patrocinium* as a protection racket. It is not surprising that civilians attempted to bribe the quartermasters to get an exemption, or that entire communities bribed commanding officers to leave them in peace. Senior officers allegedly exploited the fears of communities by moving troops around so that they could demand money in return for not billeting their troops on them. IAPS

A. D. Lee, *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007), 163–75.

biography, Greek Literary traditions strongly shaped *Greek biography in Late Antiquity. Political biographies of particular *emperors continued to be written (Onesimus under *Constantine: *FGrHist* Jacoby 216; Bemarchius of *Caesarea of *Cappadocia: ten lost books on *Constantine I, *FGrHist* Jacoby 220; *Praxagoras of *Athens: *FGrHist* Jacoby 219) until *Eusebius transformed the genre with his *Life of Constantine*. Political biography seems to have died out relatively soon after him: earlier authors such as Plutarch were still read, but there are no traces of political biographies in Greek after Eusebius.

Much more persistent was philosophical biography, stretching from the 3rd to the 6th century with *Porphyry, *Marinus, and *Damascius. The work of Damascius was part of a larger philosophical history, as was Porphyry's *Life of *Pythagoras*. *Iamblichus' *Introduction to the Pythagorean Life*, by contrast, was an introduction to *philosophy. Philosophical biographies focused, as much as Christian *saints' lives or the *Life of Mani* preserved in the *Mani codex, on *holy men; some seem to propose alternative models of sanctity to those propagated by Christianity. *Eunapius combined lives of *philosophers along the lines of Porphyry with lives of *sophists (and *doctors) along the lines of *Philostratus. Biographies of sophists and authors were not a prominent genre after Eunapius, but they resurface in the *Onomatologos* of *Hesychius of *Miletus in the 6th century, with a focus on classical authors.

Another traditional form of biographical writing was the rhetorical *funeral oration (Gk. *epitaphios*), exemplified by *Libanius' *Oration* 18 on the Emperor *Julian and *Gregory of *Nyssa's *Life of S. *Macrina*. Controversy was another fertile ground for biography: *Palladius and Pseudo-Martyrius wrote their *Lives* of *John Chrysostom to counteract the slur on his reputation caused by his deposition, and *Zacharias Rhetor sought to defend *Severus of *Antioch against the charge of being a *pagan. Self-justification was probably also the driving force behind the autobiographies of Libanius and *Gregory of *Nazianzus. LVH

Averil Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (1999).

P. Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man* (1983).

M. J. Edwards and S. Swain, eds., *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (1997).

T. Hägg, P. Rousseau, and C. Høgel, eds., *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (TCH 31, 2000).

B. McGing and J. Mossman, eds., *The Limits of Ancient Biography* (2007).

G. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie* (1907).

A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (1973).

R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D.: Studies in Eunapius of Sardis* (1990).

H. Sonnabend, *Geschichte der antiken Biographie. Von Isokrates bis zur Historia Augusta* (2002).

M. S. Williams, *Authorised Lives in Early Christian Biography: Between Eusebius and Augustine* (2008).

Anna Wilson, 'Biographical Models: The Constantinian Period and beyond', in D. Montserrat and S. N. C. Lieu, *Constantine: History, Historiography and Legend* (1998), 107–35.

biography, Latin Two largely distinct forms of Latin biography were written and read in Late Antiquity: the imperial and the Christian. Both were influenced by Suetonius' *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, which continued to be widely read under the Late Empire. The imperial biographies of Marius Maximus, written in the early 3rd century, do not survive except for a few fragments, but *Ammianus states that they were popular at *Rome in the late 4th century (XXVIII, 4, 14). It seems likely that they were a continuation of Suetonius' imperial biographies, from Nerva to Elagabalus. Also lost, but generally accepted to have existed, is the so-called **Kaisergeschichte*, a series of imperial biographies from Augustus to the mid-4th century.

The author of the imperial biographies which make up the *Historia Augusta* may or may not have relied on Marius Maximus but he does quote Marius Maximus 26 times. The series of biographies in the *Historia Augusta* ran from Hadrian (117) to *Carinus and *Numerian (284). Other texts about *emperors with a strong biographical character include Aurelius *Victor's *Liber de Caesaribus*, the anonymous **Epitome de Caesaribus*, and the **Origo Constantini Imperatoris.* Also in the Suetonian tradition was the *Vita Vergilii* of Aelius *Donatus. A more private biographical strain can be seen in the catalogue of the poet's family in *Ausonius' *Parentalia* and of his academic colleagues in his *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, which are both indebted to the tradition of the *funeral oration. *Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (392–3) contains brief biographies of 135 Christian authors, including himself; it too seems to have been intended as a Christian counterpart to Suetonius' identically named collection of biographies of authors.

Late Antique Christians found a variety of ways of representing their lives in words. Early *martyr passions were composed in several genres ranging from the embroidered *report of proceedings (Scillitan Martyrs) to the intimate journal (Ss. Perpetua and Felicity). All, except the *panegyric biography of S. *Cyprian attributed to his *deacon Pontius, emphasize the final stages of a Christian's witness without describing his earlier development. The later literary development of martyr passions is even more various, whether into unlikely romances, like the **Gesta Martyrum Romanorum*, formulaic passion narrative (e.g. S. *Alban), the classical verse of *Prudentius, or the liturgical lists of names found in the *martyrologies. From the 4th century onwards, several literate Christians wrote intimate memoirs, some lost, like the prosimetric *Katastrophe* of Acilius Severus (Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 111), some extant, such as *Augustine's *Confessions* and the *Eucharisticon* of *Paulinus of Pella.

The most influential of all Christian biographies was the *Life* of S. *Antony the Great, translated into Latin twice within twenty years of its composition. This text influenced ways of living as well as ways of recording lives; the shrieks of the *demons which came at S. *Guthlac through the mists of the Lincolnshire Fens in the 8th century echo those which tormented S. Antony in the sands of *Egypt four centuries earlier. The three *saints' lives by *Jerome owe much to the *Life of S. Antony*, as does *Sulpicius Severus' *Life of S. Martin*. All three were conscious models for *Paulinus of Milan's *Life of S. *Ambrose (VAmbrosii* 1), and so for *Possidius' *Life of S. Augustine*. Several biographies of *bishops from *Gaul (e.g. Ss. *Germanus of *Auxerre and *Hilary, *Honoratus, and *Caesarius of *Arles) are similarly ordered. *Bede's *Prose Life of S. Cuthbert* marks an artistic apogee in this genre. The saints' lives in verse by *Venantius Fortunatus and Bede's *Verse Life of S. *Cuthbert* represent the preoccupations of hagiography in a more consciously literary manner.

The genre of hagiography diversified. The edifying vignettes in *Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, *Glory of the Confessors*, and *Glory of the Fathers* record particular details not to illustrate individual traits of character, as in Suetonius, but to preserve an account of instances where divine power penetrated earthly affairs directly. Similarly, the *miracle stories told by *Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues* are explicitly linked to scriptural precedents so as to trace the patterns through which God, employing those who are close to him, can bring order to a disintegrating world.

RDR; OPN

T. D. Barnes, 'The Lost *Kaisergeschichte* and the Latin Historical Tradition', *BHAC* 1968–9 (1970), 13–43.
A. Birley, 'Marius Maximus: The Consular Biographer', *ANRW* II.34.3 (1997), 2678–757.
R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (1983).
Barnes, *Hagiography*.
A. A. R. Bastiaensen, ed., *Atti e passioni dei martiri* (1987).
L. Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (2004).
C. Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (1983).
B. Ward, 'The Spirituality of Saint Cuthbert', in Bonner et al., *St. Cuthbert*, 65–76.
M. Williams, *Authorised Lives in Early Christian Biography: Between Eusebius and Augustine* (2008).

birds Late Antique science was aware of the diversity of birds (*Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII, 7). Some had been important in *pagan cult as sacrificial victims. Many also bore deep cultural significance. The eagle was a sign of imperial Rome and sacred to Jupiter, the peacock was an emblem of the *empress, was sacred to Juno, and was believed to have incorruptible flesh (*Augustine, *City of God*, XXI, 4). The *phoenix embodied ideas of renewal and the dove was a Christian symbol. The flamingos depicted in *Justinian I's church at *Sabratha in *Tripolitania represent souls in paradise, and in the *Qu'rān the hoopoe bird plays a prominent part in the story of Solomon and Sheba (*Sura* 27.20). In Persia, cranes were considered exemplary for their courage and discipline.

Several species were kept as pets, including the finch, gallinule, parrot, peacock, magpie, and even ravens and crows. Birds were commonly pursued by fowlers for the table, cranes, ducks, geese, partridges, and pheasants, among others, and so supplemented the protein available to the table. Ostriches were popular and relatively common in the Roman Mediterranean and especially prized for their eggs and meat. *Synesius caught some while *hunting (*ep.* 134, 27) and promised to send them

to a friend. Domestic fowl were easily kept and universally raised; pigeon houses were especially common in Egypt (P.Oxy. LV, 3804). Due to their fast reproduction, ability to forage, and the quantity of manure for crops that they produced, pigeons were important in the intensive *farming of the Levant and Persia but seem less so in the Germanic realms where at least geese, ducks, and other fowl were common in the 5th/6th-century aristocratic diet (*Anthimus, *De observatione ciborum*, §25–40). MD

Toynbee, *Animals*.
Sir W. D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (new edn., 1936).

Birtha (mod. Birecik, SE Turkey) Birtha ('castle' in Aramaic) stands on the bank of the Euphrates. Its Late Roman *fortifications were built by *Bishop Sergius with funds received from the *Emperor *Anastasius I (*Joshua the *Stylite, 91); the visible remains are medieval. EKK

A. Durukan et al., eds., *The Cultural Heritage in the Towns Birecik, Halfeti, Suruç, Bozova and Rumkale* (1999).
Sinclair *Eastern Turkey* IV, 157–60 (medieval).

Bishapur *City founded by *Shapur I in south-west Iran (mod. *Fars Province). Named Bīšābuhr (MP 'Good (city of) Shapur'), the city was completed *c.* AD 266. According to *Manichaean homilies surviving in *Coptic, Shapur died in the city. Late Antique and Islamic sources indicate that Shapur I settled Roman prisoners of war at Bishapur.

Bishapur's rectangular shape and grid plan were not necessarily a layout imported from the Roman Empire, since most Iranian cities since the Seleucid period had been organized along these lines. The monumental *fire temple complex at its centre (called a *palace in earlier literature) contained Roman masonry work, ornament, and *mosaics. Bishapur has been only partially excavated, first by R. Ghirshman before the Second World War and then by A. Sarfaraz in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The city's main surviving features include stone fortification *walls, a massive fire temple complex, an adjoining subterranean 'water temple' with water channels, and a double column monument dedicated to *Ardashir I and Shapur I. Its palace, the Qa'la-ye Dokhtar, was probably located on the slope of the gorge above the city at the entrance to the Tang-e Chogan river gorge.

A centralized, cruciform structure with thick piers dominated the central sacred district. Measuring 22 m (72 feet) across, it was constructed with rough stone and gypsum mortar and decorated with *stucco that incorporated Graeco-Roman ornament. It has been reconstructed variously as an open, quadruple **ayvan* court or as carrying a huge elliptical *dome. The court with the mosaics, which lay to the north-west, was built over with a triple *ayvan* in the late Sasanian period.

Shapur I carved three *rock reliefs on the cliffs of the Tang-e Chogan to the north-east. These celebrate his victories over the Romans and Kushans as well as other peoples. Succeeding kings carved three additional rock reliefs: *Bahram I (his was later modified by *Narseh), *Bahram II, and *Shapur II. In a cave possibly intended as his tomb, on a cliff above the river about half an hour's walk away from the city, Shapur carved a 6.7-m (22-foot) statue, surrounded by unfinished rock reliefs on the cave walls. MPC

EncIran IV/3 *s.v.* Bīšāpūr, 287–9 (Keall).
P. Callieri, *Architecture et représentations dans l'Iran sassanide* (2014).
Canepa, *Two Eyes*.
R. Ghirshman and G. A. Salles, *Fouilles de Châpour: Bîchâpour* I (1971) and II (1956).

bishop A workable distinction between the ministries of bishop, presbyter (*priest), and *deacon is evident by the 2nd century, when each urban Christian community could be supposed to have a single bishop. These bishops also represented their community to the wider Church: hence *Cyprian of *Carthage could insist both that a bishop was subject only to God and that he must act in concert with his colleagues. *Constantine I's privileging of Christianity and its clergy gave both aspects greater significance, raising the status of bishops within their own communities and offering them more opportunities to influence events outside it.

Becoming a bishop

Bishops derived their status from popular consent and from consecration by fellow-bishops, who could claim descent from the Apostles (e.g. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, III, 3). The First *Council of *Nicaea (325) confirmed the requirement of a minimum of three consecrating bishops, and envisaged the presence of the remaining bishops of the *province overseen by the *metropolitan. This became the norm in both East and West, and as such was regularly appealed to as a criterion in disputes over controversial appointments.

There was less consistency in the selection of candidates. Incumbents frequently nominated their successors; bishoprics might be inherited or acquired from relatives, or assigned by a church council, metropolitan or *patriarch. In major sees bishops might require the approval of the secular authorities, as in the cases of Nectarius of *Constantinople or *Ambrose of Milan. Yet the need for popular consent could not be entirely ignored or finessed. Bishops might be rejected by their congregations; conversely, unanimous *acclamation implied divine approval and could justify doubtful choices such as *Ambrose of *Milan or *Martin of *Tours.

Institutional authority thus had to be supplemented by conspicuous holiness or a capacity to further the interests of the community. These were not always found among the local clergy. Foreigners and laymen might recommend themselves by their ascetic way of life, their learning and oratory, their wealth, renown, or administrative experience: all were combined in *Paulinus of Nola. Nevertheless, 'senatorial bishops' remained rare in the West outside *Gaul. Most bishops belonged to the civic *aristocracy; others had undistinguished or even servile origins. Bishops were generally respectable, but the pagan *senator *Praetextatus was certainly joking when he contemplated becoming Bishop of Rome.

Within the community

The bishop's unrenounceable role was that of priest: celebrating the *liturgy, administering the sacraments, and preaching *sermons. He provided his community with access to the divine. The anxiety that arose when this arrangement faltered is seen in responses to potential rivals: competing bishops were labelled heretical or schismatic; monks and ascetics were co-opted (e.g. S. Daniel the Stylite) or driven out. The ideal is expressed in the *acclamation greeting the restoration of *Liberius of Rome: 'One God, one emperor, one bishop.'

From this position as principal representative of the Christian community followed other duties. The bishop discharged the Church's financial responsibility for *widows, *orphans, and the *poor; he managed the clergy, and administered church property and bequests. Bishops greeted new arrivals, listened to *petitions, and might pursue them with the secular authorities. Christian emperors subsequently formalized the bishop's role as arbiter, giving legal force to mediation in the *bishop's court (*episcopalis audientia*), although the further concessions implied by **Sirmondian Constitutions* 1 seem not to have lasted long beyond Constantine's grant of them in 333.

These measures reflect not incorporation into the state but recognition of the bishop as patron of a specific constituency. His combination of spiritual leadership and popular appeal made him an important figure in civic and imperial politics.

Outside the community

Despite some famous and storied encounters, direct confrontations between bishops and *emperors were rare. Bishops were more often keen to work in conjunction with the secular authorities, and most 'court bishops' had rather less influence than their critics imagined. Their presumed disinterestedness, however, recommended the employment of bishops in *diplomacy: *Leo I of Rome negotiated with *Attila, while a 4th-century bishop of *Bezabde on the Tigris made an ill-fated embassy to *Shapur II (*Ammianus, XX, 7, 9).

Most bishops confined themselves to ecclesiastical politics. Decisions made corporately at church councils aimed at consensus, although—especially when emperors were involved—this outcome sometimes required the threat or exercise of force. Ecumenical gatherings nevertheless witnessed real (if not always open or edifying) debate, as at the often chaotic Council of *Chalcedon in 451. The principle of a church governed by bishops remained jealously guarded by bishops themselves.

Discipline and diversity

Emperors, patriarchs, and popes nevertheless insisted on discipline. Where not secured by control over episcopal appointments, consensus could be fostered through deposition and *exile. But bishops could not easily be executed, and the difficulty of silencing an exiled bishop merely perpetuated divisions. Nor was discipline effective beyond the Empire: churches in *Armenia and elsewhere retained their own customs, and missionaries such as *Ulfilas popularized doctrinal positions which set immigrant peoples apart from the mainstream.

The beliefs and abilities of bishops varied, but each was in effect a permanent magistrate at the head of a broad and coherent community. Their influence had therefore to be taken seriously; and ultimately it was the choices made by individual bishops that defined the boundaries drawn within Christianity between orthodox, schismatic, and heretical positions. MSW

Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum: ed. F. X. Funk (1905).
ET R. Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum* (1929).
John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio*: ed. J. A. Nairn (Cambridge Patristic Texts, 1906).
ed. A.-M. Malingrey (annotated with FT, SC 272, 1980).
ET G. Neville, *St. John Chrysostom: Six Books on the Priesthood* (2002).
Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*: PL 77:13–128 reprinting J. B. Gallicioli (1768–76).
ed. F. Rommel (annotated with FT, SC 381–2, 1992).
ET H. Davis, *Pastoral Care* (ACW 11, 1950); and G. Demacopoulos, *The Book of Pastoral Rule* (Popular Patristics Series, 2007).
Bingham, *Antiquities*, Book II, (1875), 17–104.
H. Chadwick, *The Role of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society* (1980).
H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (2000).
A. Fear, J. Fernández Urbiña, and Mar Marcos, *The Role of the Bishop in Late Antiquity: Conflict and Compromise* (2013).
R. Lizzi, *Il potere episcopale nell'Oriente romano: rappresentazione ideologica e realtà politica (IV–V secolo d.C.)* (1987).

R. MacMullen, *Voting about God in Early Church Councils* (2006).
R. Mathisen, 'Barbarian Bishops and the Churches "*in barbaricis gentibus*" during Late Antiquity', *Speculum* 72 (1997), 664–97.
P. Norton, *Episcopal Elections* 250–600: *Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity* (2007).
C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Leadership in an Age of Transition* (2005).

bishops' court (*episcopalis audientia*) The *bishop's court evolved out of the pre-Constantinian authority exercised by the bishop, on the basis of consent, as an informal adjudicator of disputes within his congregation. He was not formally bound by Roman *law (see *NovVal* 35 preface, of 452), although his judgements often conformed to it. Bishops' courts, ostensibly immune from **gratia* or improper influence (*Ambrose, *De Officiis*, II, 24, 125), were flexible, swift, cheap, and therefore busy; penalties imposed ranged from excommunication (for Christians a spiritual death) to the imposition of a *penance. Clergy were accountable in law solely to their bishops; accusations against *bishops were heard by a synod of their peers, whose judgement was final (*CTh* XI, 36, 20 = *CJust* I, 4, 2, of 369). Although the Roman government assimilated the procedure to arbitration, which also depended on consent, *bishops could resort to third parties as mediators to avoid unnecessary conflict in difficult cases. JDH

C. Humfress, 'Bishops and Law Courts in Late Antiquity: How (not) to Make Sense of the Legal Evidence', *JECS* 19/3 (2011), 375–400.

Bistam (Bestam; MP Wistahm) King of Kings in the *Persian Empire, briefly in *c.*593/4. Bistam and his brother Bindoes came from one of the seven great houses of the Persian Empire and were maternal uncles of *Khosrow (Husraw) II. Together they were initially supporters of *Hormizd IV against *Bahram VI Chobin, till Hormizd imprisoned Bindoes (*Theophylact Simocatta, IV, 3, 5–12). After Hormuzd's deposition Khosrow dispatched Bistam to *Armenia to secure support (IV, 12, 10; IV, 15, 5–6; cf. V, 11, 4–7). Later, Bistam claimed the right to rule through his descent from the Arsacids and rose in rebellion, but was cut down by Khosrow II (*Tabari V, 998). KR

PLRE III, Bistam.
EncIran IV/2 (1989) *s.n.* Bestam o Bendoy, 180–2 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

Bithynia *Province of *Dioecesis *Pontica, with *Nicomedia as metropolis, bordering the Sea of *Marmara, *Bosporus, Black Sea, and *provinces of *Honorias, *Phrygia, and *Hellespontus. Under the *Tetrarchy, Nicomedia was also the principal residence of *Diocletian. The province was created under Diocletian, when the former province of Bithynia et Pontus was subdivided, and appears in the *Verona List (255 verso, 2) and, governed by a *Consularis under the *Praefectus Praetorio per *Orientem, in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or*. I, 70; II, 43; XXV, 3 and 15). Ecclesiastical authority was further subdivided after 451 among the *metropolitans of *Chalcedon, *Nicaea, and Nicomedia. In the 7th century Bithynia merged into the larger *Opsikion *Theme, but was soon thereafter divided among a reduced version of the former and the Theme of the Optimatoi.

The geography is characterized by mountain ranges, rivers, and lakes. Numerous important *cities, among them Prusa (mod. Bursa), may have both suffered and profited from the establishment of the capital at nearby *Constantinople. The countryside contained many *monasteries, including that of S. *Hypatius, in particular on Mount Olympus and along the shore of the Sea of Marmara. The few buildings surviving from Late Antiquity and numerous *marble stray finds are closely comparable to monuments in *Constantinople. PhN

M.-F. Auzépy, 'Campagne de prospection 2008 de la mission Marmara', *Anatolia Antiqua* 17 (2009), 427–56.
B. Geyer and J. Lefort, eds., *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge* (2003).
Janin, *Grandscentres*.
C. Marek, *Pontus et Bithynia: Die römischen Provinzen im Norden Kleinasiens* (2003).
S. Y. Ötüken, *Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien: Antike und byzantinische Denkmäler in der Provinz Bursa* (IstMitt Beihefte, 1996).
U. Peschlow, A. Peschlow-Bindokat, and M. Wörrle, 'Die Sammlung Turan Beler in Kumbaba bei Şile', *IstMitt* 52 (2002), 429–522.

Blachernae, Hagiasma of A healing spring supplying a bath at the north end of the Land Walls of *Constantinople. Nearby, the Soros, decorated with *mosaic by *Leo I and *Verina, housed a garment of the Virgin *Mary. An adjacent *basilica, built by *Justinian I, was restored by *Justin II. *Heraclius brought the whole shrine within the city walls after 626. JB

Janin, ÉglisesCP 161–71.
C. Mango, 'The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople', *StudAntCrist 54* (1998), 61–76.
S. J. Shoemaker, 'The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest *Life of the Virgin* and Constantinople's Marian Relics', *DOP* 62 (2010) 53–74.

Black Assarca wreck *Shipwreck in shallow waters of the Red Sea off Black Assarca island, Eritrea. No details of the ship itself are yet available; it carried *amphorae of a type produced *c.*6th century at *Aila (in modern Jordan) and exported, probably containing *wine, to the Aksumite kingdom where *pottery of this

type has been found, notably at *Adulis, *Matara, and *Aksum. DWP

R. K. Pedersen, 'The Byzantine-Aksumite Period Shipwreck at Black Assarca Island, Eritrea', *Azania* 43 (2008), 77–94.

Blarathon, Battle of Victory of the *Sasanian King *Khosrow II, assisted by Roman forces under *John Mystacon and *Narses, over the usurper *Bahram VI Chobin at *Ganzak, on the River Blarathos, near Lake Urmia, in late summer 591. GBG

Greatrex and Lieu 174.
P. Riedlberger, 'Die Restauration von Chosroes II', *Electrum* 2 (1998), 161–75.
Whitby, *Maurice*, 302–3.

Blemmyes Ethnic term denoting a variety of tribes originally from the Eastern Desert of *Egypt, between the *Nile and the Red Sea, mostly known for their raids into the Nile Valley during the Roman and Late Antique periods. After the withdrawal of the Egyptian *frontier to the Aswan region in 298 (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 19, 27–37), and the subsequent waning of the power of the kingdom of Meroe, Blemmyes settled among the indigenous *Nubian tribes (called Noubades in 5th-cent. sources) in the Nile Valley south of the frontier, in particular at Talmis (Kalabsha). Roman policy was aimed at maintaining stability on the frontier, for example by granting these peoples access to *Philae (*Priscus, fr. 27 Blockley; Procopius, *Persian* I, 19, 34–7). However *inscriptions and *papyri from the area itself (e.g. the *Silko inscription, *Sammelbuch*, V, 8536) indicate internal conflicts among the Blemmyes. As a result of the growing organization of the Noubades, the Blemmyes were marginalized again in the second half of the 5th century. In 6th-century sources they are no longer reported to be in Lower Nubia: *John of *Ephesus (*HE* III, 4, 53) locates them in the Eastern Desert further south. The Blemmyes are probably the predecessors of the medieval Beja, who inhabit the Eastern Desert to this day. JHFD

Dijkstra, *Philae*, 138–73.

Blues *See* FACTIONS.

bnay qyama and bnat qyama *See* COVENANT, SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE.

Bobbio Irish monastic colony founded in 613/14 by S. *Columbanus in *Lombard *Italy, in south-west Piacenza province, near the *Liguria border (*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, IV, 41). Bobbio retained regular Irish connections throughout the early Middle Ages, as signified by manuscripts, *relics, and tombstones (e.g. that of the Abbot-*Bishop Cumian *c.*725 provided by King *Liutprand, who was keenly interested in Bobbio). The 'Arian' (*Homoean) King *Agilulf and his Catholic Queen *Theudelinda gave Columbanus land (and a ruinous church of S. Peter), in line with contemporary royal initiatives in *Francia. Although Bobbio attracted pilgrims, this compact *monastery seems not to have become a launchpad for the *conversion of the Lombards, despite claims by Columbanus' biographer *Jonas. Following Abbot *Bertulf's visit to *Rome in 628, *Honorius I exempted Bobbio from episcopal jurisdiction, thus making the abbey and its lands directly subject to the see of Rome. In line with his wider policy, Charlemagne in the later 8th century gave Bobbio grants and exemptions. Texts from the 830s refer to burials *ad sanctos*, the monastic *library and *archives, workshops and carpenters, and even wine, *bread, and apple custodians. NJC

E. Destefanis, *Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale* (2002).
M. Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus* (2008).

Bodmer manuscripts A group of nineteen codices dating from the 2nd to the 5th centuries, containing 54 literary works in *Coptic, *Greek, and *Latin, now housed at the Bodmer foundation in Cologny, Geneva. The corpus includes fifteen biblical *papyri (two-thirds of which bear the oldest witnesses of the texts preserved), two codices of aprocryphal works including the *Nativity of Mary*, the *Gospel of James*, a correspondence between S. Paul and the Corinthians, the eleventh *Ode of Solomon*, and the *Acts of Paul*, and also the **Vision of Dorotheus*, a 4th-century bilingual (Gk./Lat.) codex, a 3rd-century copy containing three (otherwise lost) plays of Menander: and the *martyr *Passion* of S. *Phileas of *Thmuis. J. M. Robertson argues that the manuscripts, discovered near *Nag Hammadi, may have belonged originally to a monastic *library or a private school in the area of *Panopolis. MPe

CoptEnc, vol. 8 *s.v.* Bodmer Papyri 48–53 (R. Kasser).
P. Schubert, 'Contribution à une mise en contexte du *codex du visions*', in A. Hurst and J. Rudhardt, eds., *Le Codex des visions* (2002), 19–25.

Boeotia That part of the *province of *Achaea bounded by Attica to the south and the province of *Thessalia to the north. With coastlines on the Gulf of *Corinth and the Aegean, Boeotia furnished a land corridor between the eastern and western Mediterranean.

Archaeological survey has shown that from AD 300 onwards, many *cities were reoccupied and new settlements founded, while cultivation intensified to a level not seen since the Classical period. A 5th-century *inscription indicates that Boeotia provided the state with significant quantities of *grain. In the 6th century its main city, *Thebes, became a *metropolitan see.

From the 7th century onwards the other surviving Classical cities of Boeotia were in decline, while Thebes became the administrative capital of the newly created *Theme of *Hellas. PA

J. L. Bintliff et al., *Testing the Hinterland: The Work of the Boeotia Survey (1989–1991) in the Southern Approaches to the City of Thespiai* (2007).

A. W. Dunn, 'The Rise and Fall of Towns, Loci of Maritime Traffic, and Silk Production: The Problem of Thisve-Kastorion', in E. Jeffreys, ed., *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (2006), 38–71.

Boethius (*c.*475/480–524/526). *Senator and *philosopher.

Life

Senator at *Rome and *vir illustris*. The only certain dates for Boethius' life are the years in which he held political office. Boethius was appointed *consul (510) and *Magister Officiorum (522) by the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic at *Ravenna. Public office had been a tradition in his family (the *Anicii) since the 1st century. His father and father-in-law had previously supported Theoderic's rival *Odoacer. Boethius' career may represent an attempt to rehabilitate the relationship between Theoderic and the Anicii. *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, 1, 45; 2, 40) describes Boethius' involvement in diplomatic missions to the *Franks and *Burgundians on behalf of Theoderic, although some scholars dispute the authenticity of these *letters. His sons held both consulships in 522, in gratitude for which Boethius recited a *panegyric addressed to Theoderic (*Consolation of Philosophy*, 2, 3), suggesting intimacy with the *court. In 523 detractors accused Boethius of conspiring to deliver *Italy to the *Emperor Justin I. Theoderic confined Boethius on an estate outside *Pavia, where he was executed without formal trial (**Chronicon Theoderici*, 14, 87). Boethius claimed to have opposed palatine corruption and defended the liberty of the *Senate (*Consolation of Philosophy*, 1, 4); his downfall was the result of growing mistrust between Theoderic's Germanic court and the Senate at *Rome. The later *Origo Generis Cassiodorum* (**Anecdoton Holderi*) sketches his literary and public life and lists patrician status among his titles. His family emigrated to *Constantinople after the *Byzantine invasion of Italy.

Thought and writings

Boethius was one of the most influential thinkers of Late Antiquity. He commented upon and wrote philosophical texts; he is notable for the carefulness of his translations and his critical use of sources. His legacy was shaped by his familiarity with two cultures: the Roman, *Latin-speaking culture in which he lived and the *Greek tradition of *philosophy in which he was educated. He was deeply influenced by the *Neoplatonist scholar *Porphyry (*c.*232–305), who introduced Aristotelian logic to late Platonic thought. His most famous work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, written while unjustly imprisoned for *treason, had a widespread influence on the literature of the medieval and Early Modern period.

Boethius' works can be divided into five groups: mathematical texts, translations and commentaries, logical monographs, theological treatises (the *Opuscula Sacra*), and *The Consolation of Philosophy*. Only two mathematical texts—*On Arithmetic* (*CPL* 879) and the incomplete *On Music* (*CPL* 880)—survive, although in the dedication of *On Arithmetic* Boethius describes a plan to write on all four subjects in the Quadrivium (*music, *astronomy, arithmetic, and *geometry), a term first attested in that text. *Cassiodorus suggests that Boethius completed a work on geometry, but neither it nor any text on astronomy survives.

Boethius' most ambitious plan, described in his second commentary on Aristotle's *On Interpretation*, was to translate and comment on all the works of Plato and Aristotle, and then to compose a work showing that the two philosophers agreed in the fundamentals of their philosophy, a goal he shared with Porphyry. Boethius' translations include Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Refutations* (*CPL* 887b). His commentaries include two on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*CPL* 881), one on Aristotle's *Categories* (*CPL* 882), two on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* (*CPL* 883), scholia on *Prior Analytics* (*CPL* 882a), and a commentary on Cicero's *Topics* (*CPL* 888). The two commentaries on *On Interpretation*, as well as a projected, more advanced commentary on *Categories*, again reflect the influence of Porphyry, who wrote paired commentaries for readers of different levels. Boethius' five surviving logical monographs include *On Division* (*CPL* 887), *On the Categorical Syllogism* (*CPL* 884), *Introduction to Categorical Syllogisms* (*CPL* 885), *On Hypothetical Syllogisms* (*CPL* 886), and *On Topical Differentiae* (*CPL* 887a). He is known to have written at least one lost monograph describing a programme for students of logic.

His five short theological treatises were transmitted as a group (*CPL* 890–4). They are characterized by Boethius' application of Aristotelian logic to theological problems and his reliance on *Augustine, the only patristic authority he claims to use as a source. The first and second treatises, *On the Trinity* and *Whether the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are Substantially Predicated of the Divinity*, discuss the nature of the Trinity. The third, *How Substances are Good in that they Exist, when they are not Substantially Good*, dedicated to the future Pope *John I, is perhaps his most

densely metaphysical work. The fourth text, *On the Catholic Faith*, is a summary of the differences between Catholic orthodoxy and heretical beliefs. The fifth, titled *Against Eutyches and Nestorius*, was written in response to Christological controversies that had caused a schism between the Catholics of Italy and Byzantium.

Boethius' most renowned work, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (*CPL* 878), was written while he was imprisoned, and depicts him in conversation with the personification of Philosophy, who comes to comfort him in his grief. The text combines three genres: the philosophical dialogue, in the tradition of Plato; Menippean satire and its structure of alternating prose and verse passages; and Roman works offering *consolation to those facing trying circumstances. Boethius' text, however, differs from the consolation texts in the technicality of its philosophical arguments and its representation of the author as interlocutor. Divided into five books, with 39 poems, the work presents a cyclical structure in which Boethius' character disappears as Philosophy presents her views on free will, divine foreknowledge, theodicy, and the ultimate end of all things. Since the Middle Ages, debate has surrounded the text, due to Boethius' recourse to philosophy, rather than faith, for comfort. When combined with Boethius' apparent endorsement of unorthodox beliefs, such as the pre-existence of souls, this has led some to suggest that he apostatized. In response, some have pointed to the flaws in Philosophy's arguments as evidence that the text is a veiled affirmation of the superiority of the Christian tradition. Concerns about orthodoxy in no way lessened the work's popularity and influence in succeeding centuries, attested by numerous borrowings and translations. MSB; AHS

PLRE II, Boethius 5.
PCBE II/1, Boethius.
Consolatio (*CPL* 878), ed. L. Bieler (CCSL 94, 1984); ET P. G. Walsh (1999); comm. J. Gruber (1978).
Opuscula Sacra (*CPL* 890–94), ed. (with ET) H. F. Steward and E. K. Rand (LCL, 6th edn., by S. Tester, 1973).
De Institutione Arithemetica (*CPL* 879), ed. J. Schilling and H. Oosthout (CCSL 94A, 1999); ET M. Masi, *Boethian Number Theory* (1983).
De Institutione Musica (*CPL* 880), ed. G. Friedlen (1879); ET C. M. Bower (1989).
In Porphyrii Isagogen (*CPL* 881), ed. L. Minio-Paluello and B. G. Dod in *Aristoteles Latinus*, I, 6–7 (1966).
S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554* (2012).
H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (1981).
P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* (1967).
M. Gibson, ed., *Boethius, his Life, Thought and Influence* (1981).
N. H. Kaylor, Jr., and P. E. Phillips, *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages* (2012).
J. Magee, 'Boethius', *CHPLA* (2010), vol. 2, 788–812.
J. Marenbon, *Boethius* (2003).
J. Marenbon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (2009).
L. Obertello, *Severino Boezio* (1974).
H. Scheible, *Die Gedichte in der Consolatio Philosophiae des Boethius* (1972).

Boniface (d. 432) Military commander in *Africa and correspondent of *Augustine in the saint's latter years (*epp*. 185; 189; 200; 220). Boniface campaigned successfully against *Moors from 417 (Augustine, *ep*. 220) and won a considerable reputation during campaigns with Castinus against the barbarians in *Spain in 422 (*Prosper, *Chron. ad ann.* AD 422). He succeeded to a number of imperial appointments in Africa from 423, and continued his campaigns in *Mauretania, while keeping the region loyal to the Western *court (*Olympiodorus, fr. 40, 42, Prosper, *Chron. ad ann.* AD 424, Augustine, *ep*. 220,7). During this period he also had a daughter by his second wife, Pelagia, who was baptized as a *Homoean ('Arian')—an act which horrified Augustine (*ep*. 220.4).

Boniface was centrally involved in the great power struggles during the regency of *Galla Placidia, particularly through his rivalry with *Aëtius. According to a later Byzantine tradition, Aëtius turned imperial opinion against Boniface and sent an expeditionary force against him (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 3, 17–21; *Jordanes, *Getica*, 167; *Theophanes, AM 5931). Procopius states that the *Vandal crossing to Africa was engineered by Boniface as part of the resulting military struggle, but no contemporary source offers corroborating evidence (*Vandalic*, III, 3, 22–6). At any event, the Vandals soon came into conflict with Boniface and defeated him in battle in 430, and later besieged him in *Hippo Regius. After a further defeat in battle, Boniface was recalled to *Italy. In 432, he defeated Aëtius in battle, but lost his life soon afterwards (Prosper, *Chron. ad ann.* AD 432, *Hydatius, *Chron. ad ann.* AD 432). AHM

PLRE II, Bonifatius 3.
O'Flynn, *Generalissimos*.
M. E. Gil Egea, *África en tiempos de los Vándalos: continuidad y mutaciones de las estructuras socio-políticas romanas* (1998).
J. W. P. Wijnendaele, T*he Last of the Romans: Bonifatius—Warlord and Comes Africae* (2015).

Boniface, S. of Mainz (Wynfrith; *c*.675–754) *Bishop, latterly of *Mainz (722–54). An *Anglo-Saxon missionary to the Continent, known later as the Apostle to the Germans, Boniface was born in Wessex, and named Wynfrith. Bishop Grandisson of Exeter in the 14th century is the earliest author to place

his birth in Crediton, but the earliest *Life* records his upbringing at a *monastery in Exeter. He journeyed to *Frisia in 716, following the example of S. *Willibrord. In 718/19 he visited *Rome and was instructed by Pope *Gregory II to preach to the heathens. In 722 he was ordained bishop, but without a see. He helped to establish several religious houses, including those of *Fritzlar, *Fulda, and Tauberbishofsheim. In 732 Pope *Gregory III made him archbishop of the German regions; he was given jurisdiction over the bishoprics at Salzburg, Eichstätt, Regensburg, and Passau, and in 745 he was given Mainz as a *metropolitan see. In 754 he was martyred at Dokkum in the course of a final effort to convert the *Frisians, and was quickly recognized as a saint. His *relics lie at Fulda.

Boniface's *Latin writings were strongly influenced by *Aldhelm's works, and the *letters which he wrote to religious men and women and to other people give a vivid insight into the politics and concerns of missionary life. It is possible that three manuscripts preserve Boniface's own handwriting. HFF

ODNB s.n. Boniface, St. (I. N. Wood).

WORKS

Epistolae, ed. M. Tangl, in MGH Epp. sel. 1 (1916).

ET E. Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (1940).

Ænigmata de Virtutibus et Vitiis, ed. F. Glorie (CCSL 133, 1968).

Ars Grammatica; *Ars Metrica*, ed. G. Gebauer and B. Löfstedt (CCSL 133B, 1980).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Life attributed to S. *Willibald, *VBonifatii* (*BHL* 1400), ed. W. Levison in SS rer. Germ. 57 (1905), 1–58.

STUDIES

M. B. Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1976), 161–79.

J. T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900* (2009).

J.-H. Clay, *In the Shadow of Death: St Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia, 721–54* (2010).

Bonitus, S. *Bishop of *Clermont (*c.*691–*c.*703) of Arvernian senatorial stock. He served *Sigibert III as *referendary, and was *Theuderic III's prefect in *Marseilles before succeeding his brother Avitus as bishop. Fearing his appointment was uncanonical, he resigned and went on *pilgrimage to *Rome before his death in 705. PJF

Vita Boniti (*BHL* 1418), ed. B. Krusch, in MGH SS rer. Meroving. VI (1913), 110–39.

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. LXXXIX.

I. Wood, 'The Ecclesiastical Politics of Merovingian Clermont', in Wormald, *Ideal and Reality*, 34–57.

Bonus (d. 627) Roman general and *patricius appointed by *Emperor *Heraclius as his deputy in charge of defending *Constantinople and supervising his sons when he went east to fight the Persians in 624. His precise title is disputed but was probably *Magister Militum Praesentalis. Bonus successfully led the city's resistance to the *Avar *siege in July/August 626, including direct negotiations with the *Khagan. In the prelude to the siege, *George of *Pisidia dedicated a *panegyric to him (*In Bonum Patricium*) in which he stresses Bonus' authority on behalf of the absent emperor. The domed *Cistern of Bonus in Constantinople was located near his house. BC

PLRE III, Bonus 5.

Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 133–41.

J. Howard-Johnston, 'The Siege of Constantinople in 626', in Mango and Dagron, 131–142 (repr. in his *East Rome, Sasanian Persia and the End of Antiquity*, 2006).

Janin, *CPByz* 128–9, 206–7.

book covers The first centuries of Christianity saw changes in the production of both *papyrus and parchment *books, as the codex replaced the scroll. The design of the codex may have been influenced by the *pugillar*, a small stack of wax writing *tablets bound together that could be held in a fist (*pugillum*). Codices required a binding, whether in wooden boards, like the *Medinet Madi *Manichaean manuscripts, or, like the twelve *Nag Hammadi codices (datable to the 4th century from the fragments of papyrus cartonnage used to stuff the binding), in *leather or, like the 4th/5th-century Glazier Acts of the Apostles, a combination of leather and wooden boards.

Bindings might be decorated. Leather might be gilded or tooled, as is the cover of the late 7th-century S. Cuthbert Gospel Book (formerly the Stonyhurst Gospel, now British Library Add. Ms. 89000), the oldest European manuscript still in its original leather binding. The two board covers of the Freer Gospels (Codex Washingtoniensis) are painted with a pair of bearded figures each holding a gilt and jewelled book. There is a similar jewelled cover on the book carried by the cleric in the entourage of the *Emperor *Justinian I in the *mosaic at S. Vitale at *Ravenna; the jewelled *gold covers of a book presented by the *Lombard Queen *Theudelinda to the Church at Monza are decorated with a *cross and antique *cameos. There are three pairs of decorated *silver gilt book covers in the *Kumluca Treasure and two pairs in the *Kaper Koraon Treasure. The pairs of 5th/6th-century *ivory panels known as the Milan Diptych and the S. Lupicin Diptych (now BNF Lat. 9384) and the surviving panel known as the Murano Diptych (now in Ravenna) depict biblical scenes typologically arranged around images or emblems of Christ. NAS; OPN

P. Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400–1600* (1979).
J. A. Szirmai, *The Archeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (1999).
M. E Frazer, 'Early Byzantine Silver Book Covers', in Boyd and Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 71–6.
S. A. Miller, *The Milan Diptych: A Sixth-Century Gospel Book Cover in the Political Landscape of Ravenna* (MA diss., N. Carolina Chapel Hill, 2008).

***Book of Judges* (*Liber Iudiciorum, Forum Iudicum, Leges Visigothorum*)** A *Visigothic legal text, compiled in 654 under King *Reccesuinth, also containing laws of his predecessors, some of which are found in the *Code of *Euric*. Some, marked 'antiqua', may derive from a lost code of *Leovigild. It was intended as a complete statement of the *law for all people in the Visigothic kingdom, to replace all previous codes, which it ordered destroyed. Its concept of law is territorial, binding for those identifying both as Roman and as barbarian. It is not clear whether this was new, replacing an earlier personal conception of different laws for Romans and barbarians.

The manuscripts are divided into three classes. The first may represent the original form of Reccesuinth. The second is a revised and expanded text, possibly issued by *Ervig in 681. The third also contains later laws of kings *Egica and *Wittiza. TWGF

CPL 1802:
ed. K. Zeumer in MGH Leges (MGH LL nat. Germ., 1902), 1, 33–456.
R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004).
P. Wormald, 'The Leges Barbarorum: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West', in H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut, and W. Pohl, eds., *Regna and Gentes* (TRW 13, 2003), 21–55.
K. Zeumer, 'Geschichte der westgotischen Gesetzgebung', *Neues Archiv* 23 (1898), 419–516.

Book of Kells Illustrated Vulgate Gospel manuscript, written in insular majuscule *script on vellum in the late 8th or 9th century, now in Trinity College, Dublin (ms. 58). Throughout the Middle Ages it was at the *monastery of Kells (Co. Meath, Ireland) and may have been written there or at the monastery on *Iona, or both. NAS

CLA II, 274.
P. Fox, ed., *The Book of Kells: MS 58, Trinity College Library, Dublin*, 2 vols. facsimile and comm. (1990).
B. Meehan, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin* (1994).
B. Meehan, *The Book of Kells* (2012).

***Book of Letters, Armenian* (*Girk' T'lt'ots'*)** A collection of *letters between the leaders (primarily *Catholici) of the *Armenian Church and various ecclesiastical figures throughout the *Caucasus and the Christian world. The precise dating and ordering of the correspondence has not been conclusively established, nor has there been a full philological study of the transmission of the collections that comprise the *Book*. In the two published editions the letters span the 5th to the 13th centuries. The letters are concerned primarily with Christological questions and elucidate the *Miaphysite position of the Armenian Church, as it contrasted with *Nestorian and *Chalcedonian Christology. It is probably the most important source for the development of Armenian Christianity from its beginnings as a Christian Church within the *Zoroastrian *Persian Empire, through its survival in the upheavals of the 7th century and its break with Chalcedonian churches, up to the renewed attempts of *Constantinople to achieve ecclesiastical union and the crusading-era contacts with Rome. TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* 104–5, supplement 186.
Girk' t'lt'oc' (Jerusalem: Tparan Srboc' Yakobeanc', 1994).
A. Schmidt, 'Das armenische "Buch der Briefe"', in Brennecke et al., *Logos: Fs. L. Abramowski*, 511–33.

books and book production In Late Antiquity book production witnessed important changes, particularly between the 4th and 6th centuries.

Two developments changed the nature of book production in ways which lasted till the advent of printing: the shift from the roll to the codex and the replacement of *papyrus by parchment. The earliest codices written on papyrus were initially limited to technical works and popular literature (e.g. Lollius' *Phoinike*). However, codices were soon in demand by the Christian community because of their lower cost; indeed it was Christian demand which influenced the shift of production from roll to codex.

The 50 *bibles which *Constantine I ordered from *Eusebius of *Caesarea for the churches of *Constantinople were to be copied onto parchment (*VCon* IV, 36–7). The successors of Eusebius as Bishop of Caesarea of *Palestine had the library of *Origen copied onto parchment to preserve it (*Jerome, *ep.* 34, 1; cf. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 113). Further impetus to the adoption of parchment came in 356 with *Constantius II's command that deteriorating ancient books were to be recopied into parchment codices (*Themistius, *Oration*, 4, 61CD). By the 6th century the parchment codex had become the standard for both non-illustrated and illustrated books, though papyrus was used by some chanceries down to *c.*1100.

Only very few illustrations on papyrus survive (e.g. the *Charioteer Papyrus), but both fragmentary and complete illustrated parchment codices still exist. These were produced in both East and West and include Christian and pagan writings. Remains of *Greek illustrated bibles include the *Vienna Genesis

and the *Cotton Genesis. Secular texts include the *Naples and the *Vienna **Dioscorides* and the *Ambrosian *Iliad* now in Milan. A taste for luxury is exhibited in the magnificent *Rossano Gospels and other *purple codices written on dyed parchment. Illustrated books in *Latin include the *Quedlinburg Itala and two famous copies of *Vergil: the *Vatican Vergil and the *Roman Vergil. Traditions of employing *script varied between East and West. Greek scribes reserved uncial for the Bible—the exception being the Ambrosian *Iliad*—while Latin copyists used uncial and capital scripts indiscriminately for biblical and secular works.

In the West, the conservative tastes of the senatorial *aristocracy spurred the production of luxury manuscripts of the classics and new copies of secular works, as they furnished their books with factual annotation and recorded textual variants between various copies; evidence of such activity survives in manuscripts of Livy and Fronto (cf. *Symmachus, *ep*. IX, 13). In the East, imperial backing ensured continuous production of both secular and religious writings: an edict of *Valens of 372 required Greek and Latin *antiquarii* to copy and restore books for the *library at Constantinople (*CTh* XIV, 9, 2). In the 6th century private book production disappeared in the West, and it became the task of *monasteries (e.g. *Vivarium) and episcopal centres to fulfil the demand for books. MWHe

G. Cavallo, ed., *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico: Guida storica e critica* (1975).
C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (1983).
O. Mazal, *Geschichte der Buchkultur*, 3 vols. (1999–2003).
H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (1995).
W. E. Klingshirn and L. Safran, eds., *The Early Christian Book* (2007).

Boradi (Gk. Boradoi) Canon 5 of *Gregory the Wonderworker's *Canonical Epistle* mentions *Goths and Boradoi who have 'worked deeds of war'. Heather and Matthews identify the Boradoi with the *Borani, a Danubian people who according to *Zosimus raided *Italy, Illyricum, and, using *ships, *Georgia and northern *Anatolia under *Gallienus (I, 27; I, 31–5). TMvL

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 2–3, 8.

Boran Persian Queen (r. 629–31). She was a daughter of *Khosrow II and wife of her brother *Qobad II Shiroe (r. 628). Her father died in 628, and was succeeded briefly by Qobad, who killed his brothers, and then by Qobad's young son *Ardashir III. Ardashir was in turn killed by the general *Shahrwaraz, who, having returned the *Relic of the True *Cross to the Romans, was assassinated. Boran then took power and was the first Sasanian queen to mint coins. She reigned, according to *Tabari, for a total of sixteen months (Tabari, V, 1064). She negotiated a peace treaty with *Heraclius, who received her ambassadors amicably (**Chronicle of Khuzestan*). She died by strangulation; various short-lived shahs succeeded her, including *Hormizd V and eventually *Yazdegerd III. TD

EncIran IV/4 (1989) *s.n.* Boran, 366 (M. L. Chaumont).
PLRE III, Boran.
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 35–6.

Borani 'Scythian' tribe that raided the eastern shores of the Black Sea in the mid-3rd century (*Zosimus, I, 31). Previously contained by the Bosporan kingdom on the north side of the Black Sea, they forced the Bosporans to provide them with vessels for the siege of *Pityus and *Phasis in *Lazica (western Georgia). They failed at first, but eventually sacked Pityus and, using their captives as oarsmen, they built up a significant fleet with which they proceeded to sack *Trebizond. Their success encouraged further raids by northern tribes (e.g. the *Goths) across the Black Sea into Anatolia. ABA

D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (1994), 262–3.

Borborians Sect referred to by *Epiphanius (*Haer*. 26) as Borborites, suggesting uncleanness, and by *Koriwn, the Armenian biographer of Mesrop *Mashtots' (ch. 16), in terms recalling *Syriac *barbarit* (meaning 'sons of the desert'). Atticus, *Patriarch of *Constantinople (405–25), gave the Armenian *Catholicus *Sahak I Part'ew (387–436) leave to preach in western *Armenia provided he converted or expelled the Borborites (*Movses Khorenats'i III, 57–8). The task was deputed to Mashtots'. VN

H. G. Melk'onyan, *Hay-Asorakan haraberut'yunneri patmut'yunic' 3–5 darer* (From the history of Armenian–Syriac relations, 3rd–5th cent.) (1970).
V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement: Religious Movements in the Armenian Church from the Fourth to the Tenth Centuries* (1987).

Bordeaux (*metropolis civitas Burdigalensium*: dép. Gironde, France) Port on the Garonne estuary, capital of the province of *Aquitania Secunda (**Notitia Galliarum*, XIII, 1), and probably the residence of the *Vicarius of the southern Gallic **dioecesis* from before 355 until 407 (Chastagnol).

The Bordeaux schools of *grammar and *rhetoric were among *Gaul's most distinguished educational establishments. They were flourishing in the 4th century, and persisted at least until the days of *Sidonius. *Ausonius, their most celebrated alumnus and their most successful colleague, described its professors, many of them his kinsmen, in the series of character sketches called the *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*.

*Athaulf's *Goths were briefly quartered there, but fired the *city, including the *house of *Paulinus of

Pella, on their acrimonious departure in 414. Their subsequent settlement in *Aquitaine brought Bordeaux more firmly into the Gothic orbit, and *Euric occasionally used it as a royal residence. In 498 the *Franks temporarily seized the city, which passed definitively under their control after the Battle of *Vouillé.

Bordeaux had a *bishop from at least 314, but most early incumbents of the see are obscure or, in the case of the local saint Severinus, semi-legendary. Their more prominent 6th-century successors included scions of the senatorial *aristocracy such as Leontius I and *Leontius II commemorated in verse by *Venantius Fortunatus, and *Bertram, a member of the royal kindred.

Ausonius' encomium of his native city (*Ordo Urbium*, 128–68) emphasizes its walls, probably erected late in the 3rd century, which encompassed some 32 ha (*c.*80 acres); these excluded part of the earlier public landscape, but incorporated at their heart a *harbour along the Devèze, as likewise stressed by Paulinus of Pella (*Eucharisticum*, 42–7).

Bordeaux was a centre for the production of the regional fine ware *pottery known as **dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes* (DSP), and its importance in mediating trade along the Atlantic seaboard and up to *Britain persisted into the 6th century. Excavations at the S. Christoly and place Camille-Jullian sites have indicated the density and vitality of intramural settlement, and Late Antique structures have recently been identified around the cathedral and the suburban church of S. Seurin, already noted by *Gregory of Tours (*Glory of the Confessors*, 44). STL; RDR

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 10, 19–33 and vol. 16/1, 62–7.

R. Étienne, *Bordeaux antique* (1962).

A. Chastagnol, 'Le Diocèse civil d'Aquitaine au Bas-Empire', *BSNAF* (1970), 272–92.

D. Barraud and L. Maurin, 'Bordeaux au Bas-Empire', *Aquitania* 14 (1996), 35–53.

L. Maurin, ed., *Les Fouilles de la place Camille-Jullian: un quartier de Bordeaux du 1er au VIIIe siècle* (2012).

SCHOOLS

H. Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (1993).

R. P. H. Green, 'Still Waters Run Deep: A New Study of the Professores of Bordeaux', *CQ* 35 NS (1985), 491–506.

M. K. Hopkins, 'Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire: The Evidence of Ausonius', *CQ* 11 NS (1961), 239–49.

T. J. Haarhof, *Schools of Gaul* (1920).

Bordeaux pilgrim In AD 333 a Christian travelled from *Bordeaux on the *Via Militaris to *Constantinople and on the *Pilgrims' Road across *Asia Minor to the *Holy Land, then back along the *Via Egnatia to *Milan. The itinerary lists places passed through and mileages between them, but describes the Holy Land in detail, mentioning 'the *basilica of wondrous beauty now built by the Emperor *Constantine' at *Jerusalem. OPN

CPL 2324.

HLL 5, section 518.

ed. P. Geyer, *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CSEL 39, 1898), 3–33, repr. CCSL 175–6 (1965), 1–26.

Partial ET J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* ([3]1999), 22–34.

Jas Elsner, 'The Itinerarium Burdigalense: Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire', *JRS* 90 (2000), 181–95.

Bosporus Strait linking the Black Sea with the Sea of *Marmara and dividing Europe from Asia. *Constantinople lay at the extreme south of the Bosporus on the European side facing on the Asian side *Chrysopolis of *Bithynia and the *city of *Chalcedon. On both sides there were small settlements, *villas, and *harbours. In Antiquity the banks were lined with *temples and monuments, many of them associated with the Argonauts, as described by Dionysius of Byzantium before the foundation of Constantinople. By the late 5th century these had given way (though mostly not in the same locations) to churches and *monasteries stretching north up to the Black Sea.

On the European side, the small harbour at *S. Mamas (nr. mod. Dolmabahçe) was built in 469 by *Leo I who took refuge there for six months after a devastating fire in Constantinople. To the north were a number of oratories, churches, and monasteries dedicated to the Archangel Michael. S. *Daniel the *Stylite stayed in one of these oratories, at Anaplus, when he first came to the area (*VDanStyl* 13), and was resented by the *priests of a nearby church of S. Michael who were later won round; Leo I built a *palace nearby (*VDanStyl* 17; 46; 50; 58) and *John Malalas knew a story about *Constantine I ordering that the former pagan temple at *Sosthenion (Stenia, mod. İstinye) be turned in to a church of S. Michael (IV, 13; cf. *Sozomen, II, 3). Further north lay the bay of Pharmaceus, so called according to Dionysius of Byzantium (68) because it was where Medea of Colchis kept her potions, but renamed Therapeia (modern Tarabya) in 424 on the orders of Atticus, *Patriarch of Constantinople, because it was used for religious assemblies (*Socrates, VII, 25).

On the Asian side, at what was deemed the mouth of the Bosporos towards the Black Sea was *Hieron, formerly the site of the Temple of Zeus Ourios, in the early 5th century the site of a naval station where *John Chrysostom took refuge before being sent into *exile (*Theodoret, *HE* V, 34), and from the time of *Justinian I the location of a customs post regulating traffic coming from the Black Sea. South of Hieron were numerous monasteries and churches, including

from *c.*430 the house of the Acoemeti or Sleepless monks at Ireneum (mod. Çubuklu) opposite Sosthenion. S.*Alexander the Sleepless and the Acoemeti had previously been further south at *Rufinianae, where *Rufinus (*consul 392) had constructed a palace, a *martyrium of Ss. Peter and Paul, and a monastery, and where the Synod of the *Oak was held in 403. South of Ireneum was Boradion, which was possibly the site of a church of S. Thomas the Apostle, founded by the future Western Emperor *Anthemius in 454 (**Chronicon Paschale s.a.* AD 454). Further south were the convent of *Metanoia founded by *Theodora, and a church of the Archangel and the imperial palace of Sophianae (probably mod. Çengelköy), birthplace of *Heraclius II (*Chronicon Paschale* AD 612), praised by *Theophanes for its expensive *marbles (AM 6061). Chrysopolis (mod. Üsküdar, formerly Scutari), a harbour-settlement approximately opposite the Golden Horn, was the site of an elaborate monastery founded by *Philippicus, brother-in-law of the Emperor *Maurice. It was in this area that Constantine I decisively defeated *Licinius in 324. The city of Chalcedon (mod. Kadiköy) was the most substantial settlement on the Asiatic shore, and the site of a famous martyrium of S. Euphemia and of the Fourth Oecumenical *Council in 451. Chalcedon was besieged and its surroundings ravaged by the Persian *army of *Shahrwaraz in 626. On a promontory in the southern suburbs of Chalcedon and projecting out into the Sea of *Marmara was *Hieria, where Justinian I built a church, a harbour, and a suburban imperial palace. JPH; OPN

RE III/ 1 (1897) *s.v.* Bosporus 1 cols. 742–57 (Oberhummer).
Janin, *CPByz* 468–89.
Janin, *Grandscentres*, 5–29.
ed. R. Güngerich, Dionysius of Byzantium, *Anaplus Bospori* (1927).
J. Pargoire, 'Anaple et Sosthène', *IRAIK* 3 (1898), 60–97.

Bosra (Bostra; mod. Busra, Syria) Principal *city of the Roman *province of *Arabia, 110 km (70 miles) south of *Damascus at the junction of a number of ancient *roads, set on the edge of the Syrian Desert, but in Late Antiquity surrounded by fertile land. The *Era of Bosra, used in local *inscriptions, begins with the year of the foundation of the province of Arabia in AD 106.

Legio III Cyrenaica was stationed in Bosra. In the mid-3rd century the city was occupied by forces of the Empire of *Palmyra, who damaged the temple of Zeus Hammon (*IGLS* 9107). Bosra was integral to the reformation under the *Tetrarchy of the defences of the Empire along the *Strata Diocletiana, running along the edge of the Syrian Desert, a line of defence maintained under *Constantius II (*IGLS* 9062). *Ammianus praised Bosra's defences (XIV, 8, 13). Legio III Cyrenaica is recorded as still based there in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XXXVII, 21). From 481 onwards the theatre was incorporated into the city's defences.

Bosra had a vibrant Jewish community. The *letters of the first recorded Christian *bishop, Beryllus (*c.*222–35), were preserved at *Jerusalem in the time of *Eusebius (*HE* VI, 20, 2). He was inclined to deny the divine pre-existence of Christ; *Origen, characteristically, encouraged him to explain his position before reasoning him round to orthodoxy (VI, 33, 1–3). The *Emperor *Julian wrote to Bosra in 362, urging the people to run their bishop out of town and worship the gods instead (435D–438C = *ep.* 41 Wright = *ep.* 114 Bidez-Cumont); the bishop was *Titus of Bosra (d. *c.*378), author of a refutation of *Manichaeanism.

Bosra's elaborate cathedral reflects the prosperity of the area in the 6th century. It was built on a central plan, dedicated to the *martyred *military saints *Sergius, Bacchus, and Leontius (*IGLS* 9125) and consecrated in 512/13 by the Bishop Julian, an opponent of the *Miaphysite *Severus of *Antioch. The bishops of *Bosra appear to have adhered to the Christology of the Council of *Chalcedon. However in 542, a separate *Miaphysite bishop, Theodore, a monk of Arabia, was consecrated for Bosra, and he resided not in the city but 'in the camp of the Saracens' in the *Gaulanitis. The fact reflects the increasing importance of the Miaphysite *Ghassanids, the *Arab allies of the Romans in their contests with the *Persian Empire, in the affairs of the province. Following serious mismanagement of the alliance in 582 the Ghassanids actually besieged the city of Bosra. During the *Persian invasion of 614, *Shahvaraz passed through on his way to capturing *Jerusalem, and passed through again on his way back north.

It is said to have been at Bosra that *Muhammad the Prophet met the monk Bahira. Certainly in 634 it was the first substantial Roman city captured by Muslim forces during the *Arab invasions, and it became an important base for them under the *'Umayyads. The al-Umari *Mosque was built, making much use of *spolia, in the early 8th century and survived into the 21st century. Churches were still being built and repaired in the area in 735, and though the city was seriously damaged in *earthquakes in the mid-8th century, it flourished down to the 13th century. PWMF; OPN

GEDSH s.n. Bostra, 86.
EI 2 vol. 1 *s.n.* Bosra (1960), 1276 (A. Abel).
R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria: An Historical Guide* (2009).
C. Foss, 'Syria in Transition A.D. 550–750: An Archaeological Approach', *DOP* 51 (1997), 189–269 at 237–58.
Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites*, 76–7, 160–3.
A. Kindler, *The Coinage of Bostra* (1983).
M. Sartre, *Bostra: des origines a l'Islam* (1985).

boule *See* CITY COUNCILS AND COUNCILLORS.

Bozorgmihr (MP Wuzurgmihr-ī Bōxtagān) Sage and adviser of uncertain historicity, supposedly active at the *court of the *Sasanian King *Khosrow I (531–79). He is known from two Middle *Persian texts as Wuzurgmihr son of Bōxtag. The first text, Aydāgār ī Wuzurgmihr, is a collection of wise counsels (**andarz*) attributed to him, also transmitted in *Arabic translation (*Hekmat al-khaleda*) and in the *Shahnama* of Ferdowsi (Firdausi). In the second text, **Wizārišn-ī čatrang*, he accepts a challenge from an Indian king to solve the puzzle of *chess, and in return invents backgammon. His name also occurs in later Persian and Arabic sources. He is to be distinguished from Burzoy, the translator of **Kalilah wa Dimnah*. AZ

EncIran IV/4 (1989) *s.n.* Bozormehr-e Boktagan, 427–9 (Djalal Khaleghi Motlagh).

EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.n. Aydāgār ī Wuzurgmihr*, 127–9 (S. Shaked).

EncIran V/4 (1991) *s.v.* chess, i. The history of chess in Persia, 393–397 (Bo Utas).

Aydāgār ī Wuzurgmihr and *Wizārišn ī čatrang*:

ed. (with ET) J. M. Jamasp-Asana, *Corpus of Pahlavi Texts*, 2 vols. *(*1897–1913).

ed. (with ET) J. C. Tarapore, *Pahlavi Andarz Nāmak* (1933), 38–57.

F. de Blois, *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalilah wa Dimnah* (1990).

bracteate A thin, one-sided, *gold pendant with stamped decoration, characteristic of the *Migration Period (5th and 6th cents. AD). Over 1,000 bracteates have been discovered, primarily in Scandinavia though 20% of them have been found distributed across Europe, from England to Hungary. Many bracteates are single finds without archaeological context; however, some are found in hoards and graves of women. Hoards containing bracteates are commonest in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany, where they sometimes contain *solidi—these allow the bracteates to be dated to *c.*450–550.

The decorated field at the centre of a bracteate measures between 2 and 3 cm (*c.*1 inch) in diameter, but some bracteates are considerably larger, with several punched zones encircling the picture area. Three recent finds of *bronze dies used to make bracteates have elucidated the process by which a reverse image was produced when the die was hammered against a thin metal disc. A suspension loop was then fixed to the stamped piece so it could be worn around the neck.

Late Roman medallions and medallion imitations of the 4th century often provided models for bracteate images and *inscriptions. Almost a quarter of all bracteates display inscriptions in Roman letters or Nordic *runes. The runic inscriptions indicate ways that bracteates were used as *amulets—e.g. 'I give luck' on an example from Køge, Denmark. Although some bracteate images can be traced to Roman *coinage, they are more often interpreted as scenes from pagan Germanic myths known from 13th-century Old Icelandic sources. NLW

W. Heizmann and M. Axboe, eds., *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Auswertung und Neufunde* (2011).

Braga (Portugal) Roman Bracara Augusta and principal *city of the *province of *Gallaecia. Between the 4th and 6th centuries, the *bishops of Braga played a leading role in political and church matters. Under the Germanic *Suebes who ruled greater Gallaecia from 409 to 585 and made Braga their capital, the *bishops continued to be prominent. The most renowned was S. *Martin of Braga who is credited for permanently converting the *Suebes from *paganism and from *Homoean Christianity ('Arianism') in the 6th century. Church *councils met at Braga in 561 and 572; *Martin of Braga presided over the latter. Braga and Gallaecia were not politically or culturally isolated; diplomatic contacts were maintained with *Gaul and *Constantinople. A third council of Braga met in 685 under the rule of the *Visigoths who had conquered Gallaecia in 585. One of the leading monks of the 7th century, S. *Fructuosus of Braga, flourished at Braga as both bishop and abbot of Dume *monastery. AF

O. Núñez García, *Gallaecia Christiana: de los antiguos cultos a la nueva religión (ss. I–VI)* (2010).

L. Rebelo, 'Braga', in E. M. Gerli, ed., *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (2003), 181–2.

Braga, Councils of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, SPAIN.

brandea Latin neuter plural word denoting pieces of linen or precious figured *silk cloth placed in contact with or wrapping the *relics of Christian saints, especially in *Merovingian *Gaul and at *Rome. Often antique or from the eastern Mediterranean or *Persian Empire, the *textile scraps might become secondary relics (e.g. *Gregory the Great, *ep.* IV, 30). JPW

B. Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien in Kirchen und Klöstern der Schweiz* (1978).

branding *See* TATTOOING AND BRANDING.

Brandon A high-status *Anglo-Saxon settlement in Suffolk, eastern England, occupied between the 7th and 9th centuries AD. Its *timber buildings, including a probable church with burials, lay on a small island. High-quality finds suggest a monastic estate centre. ARe

A. Tester, R. Carr, S. Anderson, and I. D. Riddler, *Brandon, Staunch Meadow: A High Status Middle Saxon Settlement* (in press).

Braulio *Bishop of Saragossa (Caesaraugusta) 631–51. Born into an episcopal dynasty, Braulio succeeded his brother John as Bishop of Saragossa. One of the foremost literary figures of *Visigothic *Spain, he is best known for his epistolary collection, which includes 44 *letters to and from kings, ecclesiastics, relatives, and friends, on subjects ranging from theology to *consolation, in the Late Roman tradition exemplified by *Jerome. He also wrote a *Life* of S. *Aemilianus (S. Millán), the 6th-century hermit of La Rioja, and a *hymn for use in celebrating his *festival. As a student and correspondent of *Isidore of *Seville, Braulio was entrusted with dividing his *Etymologies* into twenty books, and compiled an annotated list of his works. As a teacher of Bishop *Eugenius II of *Toledo and senior figure in court circles, he was asked by King *Chindasuinth to revise his edition of the Visigothic law code, the **Book of Judges*, and may have composed its philosophical preamble. GDB

CPL 1230–3:

Letters (*CPL* 1230): ed. L. Riesco Terrero (with SpT and introd.), *Epistolario de San Braulio* (1975).

VAemiliani (*CPL* 1231; *BHL* 100), ed. L. Vazquez de Parga (1943).

Renotatio Librorum Domini Isidori, ed. J. C. Martín (CCSL 113B, 2006).

ET C. W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 2: *Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuosus of Braga* (FC 63, 1969), 3–142.

C. H. Lynch, *Saint Braulio of Saragossa (631–651): His Life and Writings* (1938).

Brauron (mod. Vravrona, 38 km (24 miles) N of *Athens, *Greece) The famous *temple of Artemis, abandoned in the 3rd century BC (but where a **solidus* of AD 538 has been found), provided in the 5th century AD *spolia for a newly constructed three-aisled *basilica and a large *baptistery with floor *mosaics and wall paintings. These have features characteristic of both Greece and western *Anatolia. A small chapel was later built in the ruins of the basilica. PA

TIB 1, 137.

ECBArch 121, ill. 74.

bread The most common foodstuff among the peoples of Late Antiquity with per capita daily consumption of 1–3 kg (3–6 lb). Bread was usually made from dough prepared from ground cereal *grains, water, and *salt. In the Roman and *Persian Empires, wheat was the preferred flour for bread baking. Numerous additives, such as *fruit and wild edibles, were sometimes added for flavour. During times of shortage, flour was adulterated with acorns, beans, and other starchy foods. Round, flat breads were most common, though raised (leavened) varieties were not unusual. By today's standards, this bread would be considered quite coarse and impure, with inclusions of bran and grain fragments.

Barley bread was usually consumed by the poor. Eating barley bread was often a mark of piety, as by Julian Saba (d. 367; recorded in *Theodoret, *Religious History*, II, 2) or imposed as penance: *Gregory of *Tours reports that the *Merovingian King *Childebert II (d. 595) ordered parishioners to eat barley bread during the *plague (*HF* IX, 21).

Baking was done in small, private, charcoal or wood-burning hearths or in clay or earthen ovens. The dough might be left uncovered or covered with a plate or ashes. Large commercial bakeries with masonry ovens were found in *cities. Fifth-century *Constantinople had nineteen public bakeries and numerous large private commercial bakeries (*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, 230, 234, 237). Baked bread, especially that used for the *Eucharist and in Jewish rituals, was sometimes stamped and bread stamps bearing Christian and Jewish symbols have been found. MD

J. Alcock, *Food in the Ancient World* (2006).

D. D. E. Depraetere, 'A Comparative Study on the Construction and the Use of the Domestic Bread Oven in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman and Late Antique/Early Byzantine Period', *MDAI(K)* 58 (2002), 119–56.

Brebières (dép. Pas-de-Calais, France) The first *Merovingian settlement site to be excavated and published in France. The excavations, between 1965 and 1968, uncovered 30 huts of the so-called Grubenhaus type (SFBs, *sunken-featured buildings), along with five rubbish pits. There were numerous fragments of bone and *pottery, and a few small artefacts, such as *rings and beads. Initially, historians saw it as confirming their presuppositions about the sordid and impoverished life of Merovingian peasants. Now that many more settlement sites from the period are known, it is suspected that the excavators missed the slight traces of the larger structures where people actually lived, and found only the deeply dug pits, which may have been used for storage or for craft activity. EJ

P. Demolon, *Le Village mérovingien de Brebières (VIe et VII siècles)* (1972).

H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements* (2002).

Brescia Roman Brixia, situated on the Po Plain, south-west of Lake Garda, a Latin *colonia* from 89 BC and a *municipium* from 49 BC, with a *street grid and walls laid out in the Augustan/Tiberian period.

A *bishop, Latinus, is known from the early 4th century (*InscrIt* X, 5, 2). Bishop *Philaster was

succeeded in 387 by his pupil *Gaudentius, who built a church to house his *relic collection, which included remains of the *Forty *Martyrs of *Sebasteia (*Sermon*, 19). The *Brescia Casket is of approximately this date. An episcopal complex with a double *basilica and *baptistery, and a palatial building (later occupied by the *Lombard *Duces) were established on the western edge of the *city in the 5th century, and a new *harbour was constructed to the south-east. Other Christian buildings were erected in the extramural *cemeteries.

Sacked by the *Visigoths in 402 and the *Huns in 452, and falling to *Ostrogothic rule in the late 5th century, the city was taken by the Lombards in 568/9 and became the capital of an independent duchy, whose rulers played key parts in the doctrinal and political struggles of the Lombard kingdom. Archaeology has shown that the eastern half of the town underwent progressive change from the 5th century onwards, continuing throughout the Lombard period. The public buildings (theatre, capitolium, *forum, and basilica) were used for *burial, productive activities, and small-scale habitation. Excavation in the *monastery of S. Salvatore has revealed how Roman town-houses were transformed and subdivided between the 5th and 7th centuries with the construction of post-built *houses and *sunken-featured buildings. WB

G. P. Brogiolo, ed., *Brescia altomedievale: urbanistica ed edilizia dal V al IX secolo* (1993).

G. P. Brogiolo, ed., *Dalle domus alla corte regia. S. Giulia di Brescia: gli scavi dal 1980 al 1992* (2005).

Brescia Casket *Ivory panels from late 4th-century northern *Italy, now in the Museo di Santa Giulia at *Brescia, depicting scenes and people from the *Bible. They were reassembled in 1928 into what they must have originally been, namely a small box. Although most of the scenes are identifiable, the rationale for combining them is unclear. Scholars have supplied elaborate programmatic suggestions ranging from a specific response to the *Arian controversy to general exegesis employing *typology. JEH

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 56, no. 107, pl. 31.

C. B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 165, 2002).

Bretwalda (Brytenwalda) *Bede lists seven *Anglo-Saxon kings who held *imperium* (which might be translated as 'sovereignty') over all the Southumbrian kingdoms (*HE* II, 5): *Ælle, *Ceaulin (Cælin), *Ethelbert (Æthelberht), Redwald (Rædwald), Edwin, Oswald, Oswy (Oswiu). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 829 repeats this list, adding Ecgberht, King of the West Saxons, and noting that he was the eighth 'Bretwalda' (meaning, probably, something like 'ruler of Britain'). On balance it seems likely that neither Bede nor the chronicler meant to describe a specific office. HFF

S. Keynes, in Kendall and Wells, *Voyage to the Other World*, 103–23.

P. Wormald, in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (1983), 99–129.

Breviarium Vindobonense A list of the rulers of *Italy, Alba Longa, and *Rome from Picus to the *Emperor *Licinius, compiled between 325 and 337, with a short historical commentary for all but the Alban kings. The text is best known for its inclusion of the length of every emperor's reign in years, months, and days and its many comments on imperial buildings in Rome. Although it is found in the same Vienna manuscript that contains the **Codex-Calendar of 354* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3416), it does not belong to the original compilation but was part of an independent compilation that was added to the *Codex-Calendar of 354* in the early Carolingian period. RWB

ed. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2 (with annotated ET/study).

ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1 (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 143–8.

ed. C. Frick, *Chronica Minora*, 1 (1892), 111–22.

Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 52–6.

R. W. Burgess, *Roman Imperial Chronology and Early-Fourth-Century Historiography: The Regnal Durations of the So-Called Chronica Urbis Romae of the Chronograph of 354* (Historia Einzelschriften, 2013).

R. W. Burgess, 'The Chronograph of 354: Its Manuscripts, Contents, and History', *JLA* 5 (2012), 345–96.

bricks and brickstamps In Rome, fired brick was used regularly to face walls with a solid core of extremely strong mortar (*opus caementicium*) (e.g. at *S. Sabina, *Ss. Giovanni e Paolo). Elsewhere, a wall's core, often of an inferior mortar, was penetrated by regular bands of brick that served as levelling and bonding courses (e.g. the Theodosian Walls of *Constantinople). Alternatively, a wall might be constructed of solid brickwork (e.g. the Harbour *Baths at *Ephesus; the Praetorium at Balis-Barbalissos), a technique used in 6th-century Constantinople with an occasional course of large greenstone blocks (e.g. the churches of *Ss. Sergius and Bacchus and of the *Holy Wisdom). In the East, vaults too were constructed of brick, which could be laid radially or pitched.

The three main sizes of brick in Rome were the *bessalis* (*c.*20 cm², 3 square inches), the *sesquipedalis* (*c.*45 cm²), and the *bipedalis* (*c.*80 cm²). In northern *Italy, however, much shorter, thicker bricks might be used (e.g. S. Giovanni Evangelista, *Ravenna). In Constantinople, typical bricks were about 31 cm² under *Constantine I, 37 cm² through the 5th and early 6th

centuries, and 33.5 cm² in the later 6th century. The Late Antique bricks of *Thessalonica were rectangular, measuring about 40 × 30 cm (16 × 12 inches).

Particularly in Rome, Constantinople, and Thessalonica, the wet clay was often marked before firing, using either a stamp or an incised mould, and the information given (often one or two names or a *monogram, sometimes with an *indiction year) has proved valuable for dating buildings and understanding the organization of the manufacturing and construction industries.

BRICKSTAMPS

Bardill, *Brickstamps*.

M. Steinby, 'L'industria laterizia di Roma nel tardo impero', in A. Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, II: *Roma: politica, economia, paesaggio urbano* (1986), 99–164.

M. J. Vickers, 'Fifth-Century Brickstamps from Thessaloniki', *ABSAthens* 68 (1973), 285–94.

K. Theocharidou, 'The Walls of Thessaloniki: Evidence from Brickstamps', in *Metin Ahunbay'a Armağan: Bizans Mimarisi Uzerine Yazılar* (Sanat Tarihi Defteleri 8, 2004), 221–35.

BUILDING TECHNIQUES

J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Notes on the Structure and Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture', in D. Talbot Rice, ed., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: Second Report* (1958), 52–104.

J. Bardill in *OHBS*, 193–201, 335–52.

bridges, Persian Many rivers in the *Persian Empire were crossed by bridges. According to *Tabari, *Shapur I compelled the captured Roman *Emperor *Valerian (al-Riyānūs) to build a dam (*šādurwān*) on the Karun River at *Susa (Shushtar) known as the Band-e Qaysar ('Caesar's/Emperor's dam'). This, combined with evidence of Roman masonry techniques in the works themselves, has led to the suggestion that Roman engineers deported to *Khuzestan following Shapur I's capture of *Antioch in 256 constructed bridges at Pa-ye Pol (Karkheh River) and Dezful (Dez River).

The bridge at *Bishapur may also date from the time of Shapur I. That at *Firuzabad is attributed to *Mihr Narseh, a grand vizier of the early 5th century, in an *inscription which makes it plain that he considered its construction a work of *Zoroastrian piety.

Other examples include Pol-e Khosrow and Pol-e Ab-borda (across the Saymara River, Luristan); Khorramabad; Pol-e Khosrow (Bisotun); Behbehan; Pol-e Murd (? between Fahliyan and Ardekan); and Pol-e 'Aruz (Qir, in *Fars). Bridge construction and repair is also attested under *Shapur II, who built a new bridge at *Ctesiphon across the Tigris (Tabari), *Bahram V, and *Khosrow I. A pontoon bridge at Vehkavat (Weh-Kawad) on the Tigris is documented in the reigns of *Hormizd IV and *Khosrow II, according to *Sebeos (10, 74; 39, 127). DTP

EncIran IV/5 (1989) *s.v.* Tigris River (D. T. Potts) and *s.v.* bridges, 449–55 (D. Huff and W. Kleiss).

Tabari, V.

C. E. Bosworth, 'Some Remarks on the Terminology of Irrigation Practices and Hydraulic Constructions in the Eastern Araba and Iranian Worlds in the Third–Fifth centuries A.H.', *JnlIslSt* 2/1 (1991), 78–85.

M. A. Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal* (1913), 19–20.

D. L. Graadt van Roggen, 'Notice sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane', *Mémoires de la Délégation Française en Perse* 7 (1905), 167–207.

bridges, Roman and post-Roman Romans built bridges over rivers, often in stone. At *Rome more than half a dozen bridges spanned the Tiber. Even a provincial *city like *Aezani in *Phrygia built four stone bridges. The Roman bridge over the Orontes in the centre of *Antioch survived until it was demolished in 1972.

Outside cities, bridges were integral to the *road network whose main purpose was to provide fast and reliable communication for the *administration and the *army. Many are named in the Peutinger *Map. *Constantine I's bridge across the Danube was 2.5 km (1.5 miles) long. According to *Procopius, *Justinian I built or repaired numerous bridges, including one across the *Sangarius, which may be identified with an extant monument in *Bithynia. The neighbouring *province of *Hellespontus has many surviving bridges. PhN

M. Adak, 'Akköprü. Eine frühbyzantinische Brücke über den Indos', *Gephyra* 3 (2006), 201–12.

K. Belke, 'Communications: Roads and Bridges', in *OHBS*, 295–308.

B. Goudswaard, 'The Late Roman Bridge at Cuijk', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 44 (2001), 439–560.

P. Niewöhner, 'Mysia (Hellespontus). A. III. b. Straßen und Brücken', in *RAC* 25, Lieferung 196–7 (2012), 389–403.

S. Şahin, 'Wasserbauten Justinians am unteren Sangarios in Bithynien', in *XI Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina. Atti 2* (1999), 643–58.

brigands References to bandits or brigands (*latrones*) and *pirates (*piratae*) are widespread in Late Antique *law codes and other texts, and reflect the breadth of this definition as much as the social instability of the period (*CTh* I, 29, 8; VII, 1, 1, and 19, 1 and 20, 11; IX, 14, 2). The fragmentation of imperial power along the *frontiers led to the proliferation of autonomous or semi-autonomous groups who were often defined in these terms. Thus, various contemporary commentators identify the Gallic *Bacaudae as bandits, and *Augustine's

condemnation of the so-called *Circumcellions in North *Africa employed similar language (*ep.* 23, 7; *Contra Litteras Petiliani Libri Tres*, 2, 194). *Ammianus Marcellinus also calls the Isaurian rebellion of 354–5 brigandage (XIV, 2).

Brigandage was a literary as well as a social fact. Brigands were a stock motif of the ancient novel, perhaps most obviously the *boukoloi* of *Heliodorus (*Aethiopica*, I, 19, 22). While these conventions may have originated in genuine concerns, their character and narrative function was rapidly conventionalized. Patristic references to banditry and piracy are also widespread, both as a manifestation of the power of *demons and as a metaphor for the challenges of mundane life (cf. e.g. *Passio of S. Sebastian* [*BHL* 7543], 3; *Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 13).

For all that, the danger posed by bandits and highwaymen was no mere metaphor. People commonly travelled in company (e.g. *Eusebius, *MartPal* (S and L) 11, 5–6; *Egeria, 10, 3 and 13, 2), and the threat of attack was one reason they did so; 'some people sing as they travel for fear of brigands' (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 66, 6). AHM

G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Les Démons comme brigands', *VigChrist* 21 (1967), 12–24.
T. Grünewald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire: Myth and Reality* (2004).
L. Honey, 'Justifiably Outraged or Simply Outrageous?', in H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity* (2006), 47–55.
K. Hopwood, 'Bandits between Grandees and the State: The Structure of Order in Roman Rough Cilicia', in K. Hopwood, ed., *Organised Crime in Antiquity* (2009).
O. Perler, *Les Voyages de Saint Augustine* (1969), 52–4; 85–90.
B. D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence* (2011).

Brigetio (mod. Szőny, Hungary) Legionary fortress with a base for the Danube *fleet and with sites in *Pannonia *Valeria at the confluence of the rivers Danube and Vág, established in the later 1st century AD and occupied until the 5th. A *bridge crossed the Danube to a fort on the left bank at Kelemantia (Iza-Léanyvár). The fortress was a nodal location for campaigns north of the Danube *frontier. It was destroyed under the *Tetrarchy, soon rebuilt, and further restored by *Valentinian I, who died at Brigetio (*Ammianus XXX, 5, 15). His son, *Valentinian II, was proclaimed there (Ammianus XXX, 10). The **Notitia Dignitatum* records the garrison at Brigetio as the rump of Legio I Adiutrix, five cohorts under a Praefectus Legionis (*occ.* XXXIII, 51), answering to the *Dux Valeriae. The *road alongside the Danube continued in use long after Roman control had ended.

A *bronze *tablet found here (Riccobono, *FIRA* I, no. 93) reproduces a *letter of *Licinius of 311, according tax privileges to soldiers, presumably to secure their loyalty during his confrontation with *Maximinus Daza (*NEDC* 232–34). JCNC; OPN

Barrington Atlas, 20 F2 Brigetio.
TIR L-34.
L. Barkóczi, *Brigetio* (1944–51).
Z. Visy, *The Roman Army in Pannonia* (2003), 75–8.
L. Dobosi and L. Borhy, 'The Municipium of Brigetio: Roman Houses at Komárom/Szőny-Vásártér', *Periodica Polytechnica*42/2 (2011), 3–10.
L. Borhy, 'Everyday-life on the Pannonian Limes: Houses and their Inner Decoration in Roman Brigetio (Komárom/Szőny, Hungary)', *Histria Antiqua* 20 (2011), 34–62 (with bibliography).

Brigit, S. *Ireland's foremost female saint. She may have lived in the 6th century but this is uncertain. She is associated with the goddess Brigit, patroness of craftsmen and poets. She is said to have founded the royal *monastery of Kildare and her Lives date to the 7th century. Cogitosus, the author of the Latin *Life*, had little historical detail about her but included notable descriptions of Kildare's double monastery. Kildare competed with *Armagh to become Ireland's primatial church and was Ireland's leading female foundation until the 12th century. The common *place name Kilbride (*Cill Bhríde*) attests to Brigit's widespread cult. Prayers and tales devoted to Brigit occur throughout *Irish literature. EB

ODNB s.n. Brigit [St Brigit, Brigid] (Charles-Edwards).
Life (*BHL* 1455–62, *CPL* 2147–48):
ed. S. Connolly, 'Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae Background and Historical Value', *JRSAI* 119 (1989), 5–49.
ed. S. Connolly and J.-M. Picard, 'Cogitosus's "Life of Brigit" Content and Value', *JRSAI* 117 (1987), 5–27.

Britain, Roman and post-Roman Britain was one of the last areas to be added to the Roman Empire following the invasion of AD 43, initiated by Claudius, and the succeeding decades of conquest and consolidation. Originally it was intended to conquer the whole island but after failed attempts in Scotland, a border was established at *Hadrian's Wall, although briefly also further north at the Antonine Wall.

Its late incorporation, political situation, and geographical position across the sea all played some part in the character of the area within the Empire to the 5th century and beyond in post-Roman Britain. Provincial reforms under the *Emperor Septimius Severus (193–211) saw Britannia split into Britannia Superior, with a *governor of consular rank and capital at *London, and Britannia Inferior, with a praetorian governor and capital at *York. Further divisions came with the reforms of the *Tetrarchy which created four provinces, *Maxima Caesariensis, *Flavia Caesariensis, *Britannia Prima, and *Britannia Secunda, as listed in the *Verona List

and *Notitia Dignitatum*, but our knowledge of provincial boundaries and capitals remains imprecise. A further province, *Valentia, may indicate another later subdivision or a renaming of an existing province.

Settlements

The study of Late Roman Britain has not attracted as much enthusiasm as study of the earlier centuries, and in the early years of archaeological investigation the difficult Late Roman phases in excavations were often lost or inadequately recorded due to poor recognition, understanding, or lack of interest. This can pose difficulties for attempts to understand the use of settlements, but modern excavation techniques have done much in changing our understanding of this period.

Whilst *cities remained administrative centres, their character was changing in the late 3rd and 4th centuries. Wealth appears increasingly to have been used privately and although public buildings were maintained where possible there were also cases of demolition or changes in use. That the theatre at *S. Albans (Verulamium), for example, was used as a rubbish dump need not necessarily indicate a decline of city life but rather changing needs and conditions. Large courtyard *houses became more common, and monumental *city walls may have been status symbols as much as a response to insecurity. The recognition of *timber buildings, as at Silchester, indicates that towns were more densely occupied than often thought, and 'dark earth' may also represent late activity rather than devastation and abandonment.

Small towns were thriving in Late Roman times with some even possibly promoted to *civitas* status, including Water Newton (Huntingdonshire) and Ilchester (Somerset), along with some civilian settlements in the northern, military zone including *Carlisle and Corbridge. The character of forts may also have changed as garrisons were scaled down and soldiers were permitted to marry. A reduced military presence was perhaps also a factor in the rise in the number of large and richly decorated *villas in the 4th century. Regional schools of *mosaic artists particularly active at this time included the Cirencester School with its prominent figured designs. Villas, however, remained a minority form of rural settlement throughout the Roman period, with life on many other types of sites apparently affected much less by the political and economic changes of the time.

Christianity

The nature and importance of Christianity in Late Roman Britain remains obscure, but at least some cities had *bishops. The proceedings of the *Council of *Arles of 314 lists four delegations from Britain consisting of three bishops, Eborius (*York), Restitutus (London), Adelfius (possibly *Lincoln), and a priest and deacon (possibly from Britannia Prima). There is as yet no incontrovertible evidence of a 4th-century urban church building, although a number of suggestions have been made, most plausibly at *Colchester. There is also the possible house-church at *Lullingstone villa. Fourth-century hoards of *silver and pewter vessels, such as the *Mildenhall Treasure, display images from classical mythology, pagan iconography, and Christian chi-rho symbols. As with contemporary mosaic designs, they may indicate elites displaying their cultural and religious knowledge or, in the case of church plate, suggest a mixture of religious iconography at this time. The visits of S. *Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, to oppose the *Pelagian heresy attest to the vigour of Christianity, and in particular of the cult of S. Alban, in the first half of the 5th century.

Events

Our knowledge of historical events in Late Roman and post-Roman Britain is very partial and based on sources written at some distance in place or time from the events. They include *Ammianus, *Zosimus, *Gildas (*De Excidio*, 6th cent.), and *Bede (*HE*, AD 725). *Usurpers whose rebellions relied on troops stationed in Britain include *Carausius (286–93), *Allectus (293–7), and, later, *Magnus Maximus (383–8). *Constantine I was proclaimed *emperor by his father's troops at *York in 306. During much of the 4th century, external attacks are unlikely to have been very significant, permitting apparent prosperity. However, raids across the North Sea appear to have posed a real threat and these may have led to the system of so-called *Saxon Shore forts on the east coast; how the system functioned is still unclear. It is possible that the seriousness of the *Barbarian Conspiracy of 368–7 is exaggerated in the sources.

The crisis of 406–11, exacerbated no doubt by threats from across the North Sea, precipitated the successive brief usurpations of Marcus, Gratian, and then *Constantine III, who left Britain and established himself in *Gaul (*Orosius, VI, 40, 4; *Olympiodorus, fr. 12; Zosimus, VI, 2). When armies loyal to the *Emperor *Honorius regained control of Gaul in 411, they did not attempt to regain Britain. Zosimus (VI, 10) records that Honorius sent a letter to the Britons telling them to see to their defences, though there is now doubt whether this refers to Britain at all, reminding us of the difficulty of using these narratives.

The period does however appear to have been a major turning point. Local *pottery production, for example, declined sharply after its strong position in the 4th century, and some villas were abandoned; but

other settlements remained in use including towns. The political and administrative organization of Britain probably changed fairly rapidly with an increasing importance of local chieftains, tyrants, and warlords, also recognized archaeologically at sites such as *Wroxeter, Birdoswald on *Hadrian's Wall, and others.

Gildas indicates the existence of some degree of cooperation among the Britons when, in or after 446, Flavius *Aëtius in Gaul rejected their appeal for military help against the *Picts and *Scotti, so precipitating the *Adventus Saxonum (*De Excidio*, 20–3). Increasing *Anglo-Saxon control in the 5th and 6th centuries possibly caused the forced abandonment of some towns, such as Silchester, whilst others continued in some form as medieval settlements. In western England and Wales, less affected by Germanic influences, the indigenous population formed independent polities. ACR

K. R. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity, 300–800* (1994).
A. S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (1989).
A. S. Esmonde Cleary, 'The Roman to Medieval Transition', in S. James and M. Millett, eds., *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda* (2001), 90–7.
A. Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (2007).
M. Henig, 'The Fate of Late Roman Towns', in D. A. Hinton, S. Crawford, and H. Hamerow, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (2011), 515–33.
M. E. Jones, *The End of Roman Britain* (1996).
D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (2006).
A. Rogers, *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline* (2011).
R. White, *Britannia Prima: Britain's Last Roman Province* (2007).

Britanniae *Dioecesis attested in the *Verona List, and comprising the *provinces of *Maxima Caesariensis, *Flavia Caesariensis, *Britannia Prima, and *Britannia Secunda. *London was the residence of the *Vicarius. The **Notitia Dignitatum* places it under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Gaul. ACR

Barrington Atlas, maps 8–9.
TIR M-30 (1983) and N-30 (1987).
NEDC 216.
D. J. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (2006).

Britannia Prima and Secunda *Provinces listed in the *Verona List, as part of the *Dioecesis of *Britannia, and both recorded in the **Notitia Dignitatum* as governed by a *Praeses. Their boundaries are imprecisely known but Britannia Prima probably consisted of western *Britain, including Wales and Cornwall, with Gloucester or Cirencester as capital, and Britannia Secunda was in northern England possibly with *York as its capital. An *inscription from Cirencester recording restoration of a Jupiter Column by L. Septimius *Governor of Britannia Prima (*RIB* I, 103) need not imply Cirencester was his capital. ACR

Barrington Atlas, 8–9.
NEDC 216.
R. White, *Britannia Prima: Britain's Last Roman Province* (2007).

British language and literature Immediately before and during the period of Roman rule (AD 43–410), the language of *Britain south of the Forth was 'Common British', a P-Celtic language, evidence for which survives in place names and personal names recorded in *Greek and *Latin texts. North of the Forth, the 'Pictish' language was probably similar. The Romans introduced *Latin to Britain and a large number of Latin loanwords were adopted into British. Some of them were further borrowed from British into *Irish in Late Antiquity and constitute part of the evidence for the changes affecting the British language during this time.

Between about 400 and 550, British underwent a series of changes, most notably the lenition (softening) of intervocalic consonants, and the loss of unaccented final syllables (apocope—which entailed the loss of the case system) and of some unstressed intermediate vowels (syncope). Thus, the Romano-British name *Cunomāros became Conmor. These changes—analogous to changes taking place in spoken Latin, Irish, and the *Germanic languages at about the same time—had probably emerged gradually in popular speech, and were eventually admitted into the written language because of the disruption of the educational system following the end of the Roman order in Britain.

From about 550, the borrowing of British words into English place names gives evidence for possible dialectal differences between 'Primitive Welsh' and 'Primitive South-west British' (anterior to Cornish and Breton); however, the languages of all the British-speaking regions *c.*550–800 remained so similar that it may be preferable to categorize them all as 'Archaic Common Neo-Brittonic'. It was only *c.*800 that they began to differ significantly, and they would remain mutually comprehensible until *c.*1000.

The corpus of Neo-Brittonic includes inscriptions from western Britain; British names given in early medieval Latin texts; and possibly some of the earliest 'Welsh' poetry, including the elegies of *Y *Gododdin*, ascribed to Aneirin, and twelve poems ascribed to Taliesin. These court poems survive in Welsh manuscripts of the 14th century and later, but contain certain archaic linguistic features, and appear to fit into late 6th- and

early 7th-century political contexts, chiefly in North Britain. However, dating is made problematic by the fact that no other extended texts survive from the Neo-Brittonic period. The few archaisms of morphology and syntax in the early poetry might be expected to be much more numerous had the poems been written down as early as *c.*600, and these may be literary works of the 9th century and later giving a retrospective view of the 'British heroic age'. It is probable, however, that vernacular court poetry was cultivated orally in the Neo-Brittonic period in northern and western Britain, and perhaps also in *Brittany, although none from there has survived. CJB

T. M. Charles-Edwards, in Green, *Celtic World*, 703–36.
K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953).
Koch, *Celtic Culture s.v.* Breton language; British; Brythonic; Cornish language; *Cynfeirdd*; Dumnonia; Iudic-Hael; Romano-British; Welsh language; Welsh poetry.
O. J. Padel, in A. Woolf, ed., *Beyond the Gododdin* (2013), 115–52.
P. P. Sims-Williams, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c.400–1200* (2003).

Brittany and Bretons The region of Brittany was a creation of Late Antiquity. Within Late Roman *Gaul, the *Armorican peninsula was part of the *province of *Lugdunensis III, and fell under the military command of the *Tractus Armoricanus et Nervicanus* detailed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XXXVIII). By the late 6th century, however, the peninsula west of the River Vilaine was referred to as Britannia by *Gregory of Tours and other authors, and its language was a Brittonic (P-Celtic) dialect that was almost identical to *Welsh and Cornish until the 10th century, and remains very similar to Cornish. It has been argued that the Gaulish language may have survived long enough in the region to contribute to the adoption of Brittonic, but this is uncertain.

The 9th-century **Welsh Annals* (*Historia Brittonum*) claim that Brittany was colonized by British followers of the usurping Emperor 'Maximianus' (probably meaning the *usurper *Magnus Maximus, 383–8). Breton *saints' lives from the 9th century onwards indicate that the west of the peninsula was divided into a northern and a southern zone named *Dumnonia* and *Cornubia* (like the corresponding regions of south-west *Britain), cutting across the former Gallo-Roman *civitates* of the Osismi and Coriosolites, and that the founding saints of many Breton churches were believed to have migrated from southern Wales and Cornwall. While the careers of individual saints may be legendary, the use in Brittany of the Insular system of *writing, the similarity of ecclesiastical place names, and the shared cults of many saints suggest the real existence of close links between these regions in Late Antiquity.

Migration from Britain doubtless occurred, but in the near-absence of contemporary evidence it is impossible to gain a detailed understanding of the process. The apparent impoverishment and marginalization of the peninsula within Late Roman Gaul, together with documented revolts in Armorica in the early 5th century, was probably a factor. Government-sanctioned settlements of British troops from the late 3rd century onwards, the flight of refugees from state collapse and external invasion in 5th-century Britain and other regions of Gaul, and the movements of Christian ascetic wanderers may variously have contributed to the formation of Brittany. Unfortunately there is little archaeological evidence to match the linguistic and cultural evidence for contact with post-Roman Britain.

The earliest evidence for the politics of the newly formed Brittany comes from the *Histories* of *Gregory of *Tours. He depicts the Bretons as being ruled by several different families of warlords, semi-Romanized and Christian, who intermittently recognized the overlordship of the *Merovingian kings of *Francia, while opportunistically attacking them. The most successful Breton dynast of his time was Waroch, who captured the *city of Vannes in 578 and thus established the region of Brittany later known as Bro-Werec. As Archbishop of Tours, Gregory was nominally in charge of the Breton Church, but it seems to have been effectively independent. A ruling of the *Council of Tours in 567 forbade the ordination of any 'Briton or Roman' as *bishop without the *metropolitan bishop's consent, but the founding bishop of Dol, S. *Samson, is the only Breton bishop recorded as having attended a Merovingian church council (Paris 556/73). Bishops' sees had also appeared at S. Pol-de-Léon and Quimper by the 9th century, but not at Roman Vorgium (Carhaix), the capital of the Osismi, in contrast to Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes (and possibly Alet) where bishoprics continued to occupy the Roman *civitas*-capitals. CJB

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 5.
C. Brett, 'Soldiers, Saints and States? The Breton Migrations Revisited', *CMCS* 61 (summer 2011), 1–56.
L. Fleuriot, *Les Origines de la Bretagne* (1980).
P. Galliou, *La Bretagne romaine: de l'Armorique à la Bretagne* (1991).
P. Galliou and M. Jones, *The Bretons* (1991).
P.-R. Giot, P. Guigon, and B. Merdrignac, *The British Settlement of Brittany: The First Bretons in Armorica* (2003).

bronze *χαλκός* (Gk.) and *aes* (Lat.) can describe bronze (a copper-tin alloy) as well as *copper. A vast array of everyday objects, e.g. vessels, *furniture, armour, horse fittings and *harness, *lamps, *fibulae, pendants, *amulets, tools, etc., were made of bronze. Bronze *tiles,

some gilded, *doors, and other bronze ornaments adorned the exteriors and interiors of *temples, churches, and *palaces in *Rome, *Constantinople, and other large *cities (*Eusebius, *VCon* 4, 58; *HE* X, 4, 41; *ChronPasch ann.* AD 407; *Procopius, *Aed.* I, 2, 4). Bronze statues and busts depicted *emperors and *senators (including the colossus at *Barletta in Italy; *Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VIII, *ep.* 2, 5; Procopius, *Aed.* I. 2, 5–12; *CIL* VI, 1200, 1698, 1731), *pagan deities and heroes displayed as art, and the *Fortuna of the City (e.g. *Zosimus, II, 31; *Zonaras, 14, 4). Some of these were destroyed in the 6th century (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 5, 3–5; *Gothic*, VIII, 21, 12–14; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII, 13, 3, and 7, 15). *Laws and other *inscriptions were published on bronze tablets (e.g. *CTh* XII, 5, 2; XIV, 4, 4; *SEG* 50, 463); and the metal was claimed to have magical properties. AMH

RAC 6 (1966), 'Erz' (D. K. Hill and I. Mundle).

bronze and copper in coinage The *Tetrarchic Currency Reform introduced three new divisional coins: a 'large laureate', with *c.*5% *silver, a 'radiate' and a 'small laureate' of pure bronze. After this reform the divisional coins had a very complicated history: the pattern of events was that a reform would introduce new denominations of coins and that these would swiftly diminish in value and disappear, so that only one divisional coin would remain in existence till the next reform. For example, in 348 three new coins were introduced, with a weight of 1/60th, 1/72nd, and 1/230th of a pound. The first two also contained respectively *c.*2.5% and 1.5% silver. From *Valentinian I onwards no silver was added to divisional coins. *Inflation then caused the introduction, probably in 379, of a new accounting unit, the **nummus*, equivalent to 6,000 old **denarii*, originally represented by a specific coin. In 498 the reform of Anastasius I planned that the largest coin should be the **follis*, equivalent to 40 *nummi*, and the *follis* also became an accounting unit. Divisional coins always circulated by number and not by weight. FC

J. P. Callu, 'Monnaies de compte et monnaies réelles: l'Ostracon 54 de Douch', *ZPE* 79 (1989), 73–9.

C. E. King, 'The Fourth Century Coinage', in *L'inflazione nel IV secolo d.C. atti dell'incontro di studio, Roma 1988* (1993), 1–87.

P. V. Hill, J. P.C. Kent, and R. A. G. Carson, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage: AD 324–498* (1965).

Bructeri A Germanic people who lived near the Ems River in northern Germany. One of the eagles lost by Varus in AD 9 was recovered in their possession. They fought against Rome throughout the Roman period. *Constantine I campaigned against them in 308 (*Pan-Lat* VI (VII), 12, 1–3; cf. IV (X), 18, 1). A corps of Bructeri is recorded in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* V, 39 and 187; VII, 69) as serving in *Gaul. PSW

RE III/I (1899), cols. 899–902 (Häbler).

Brunhild (d. 613) *Frankish queen and regent. She was the daughter of the *Visigothic King *Athanagild, and sister of *Galswintha, wife of *Chilperic I. She married *Sigibert I *c.*566, and after his murder in 575, briefly married Merovech, son of Chilperic I. Brunhild's reputation for political intrigue was unsurpassed, and she remained a pivotal figure at the *Austrasian court for two generations after Sigibert's death. Her daughter *Ingund married *Hermenigild, son of the *Visigothic King *Leovigild. Her daughter Chlodosinda was proposed for *marriage to the *Lombard King *Authari and the *Visigothic King *Reccared. She corresponded with the *court of the *Emperor *Maurice at *Constantinople and with Pope *Gregory I. After the death of her son *Childebert II in 596, she encouraged her grandsons *Theudebert II (in Austrasia) and *Theuderic II (in *Burgundy) in their conflicts with *Chlothar II, son of Chilperic and *Fredegund. She connived at the assassination of aristocrats and even *Bishop *Desiderius of *Vienne, and she persuaded Theuderic to attack Theudebert in 605 and kill him in 612. When she elevated her great-grandson *Sigibert II after Theuderic's death in 613, rebellious aristocrats from Austrasia and Burgundy delivered her to Chlothar II, who charged her with the deaths of ten kings and had her brutally executed (*Fredegar, IV, 42). For her opposition to the monk S. *Columbanus, she was famously condemned as 'a second Jezebel' (*Jonas of *Bobbio, *VColumbani* 1, 18, repeated in Fredegar, IV, 36). RVD

PLRE IIIA, Brunichildis.

B. Dumézil, *La Reine Brunehaut* (2008).

J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels' (SCH Subsidia 1, 1978), 31–77.

Bruttii Area of *Italy corresponding to modern Basilicata and Calabria, part of the *Verona List *province of *Lucania et Bruttium. Late Roman sources refer to the region sporadically. Archaeology suggests intensive investment by landowners in the 5th century, although the region was also prone to raids by the *Vandals based in *Africa. The *Variae* of *Cassiodorus describe a bucolic *landscape, productive of *grain, *olives, *wine, minerals, *timber, and *horses. The region became a theatre of the *Gothic War (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 22), after which Cassiodorus founded the famous *Vivarium here on his family estates. In the 7th century, the *Lombard Duchy of *Benevento incorporated much of the region. MSB

R. Arcuri, *Rustici e rusticitas in Italia meridionale nel VI sec. d.c.* (2009).

Buccelin (Butilin) (d. 554) An *Alamannic general in the army of *Theudebert I that invaded *Italy in 539. He commanded a vast force of *Franks and Alamans that invaded Italy in 553, supposedly to assist the *Ostrogoths, but was defeated in *Campania by *Justinian's general *Narses. RVD

PLRE IIIA, Butilinus 1.

bucellarii Formations of escort troops employed by such Roman generals as *Aëtius and *Belisarius (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 8; *Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 18–20). The term was derived from their bread ration (**buccellatum*), and became common from the time of *Honorius. One regiment appears in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 7, 24). *Bucellarii* reflected a rise in the use of armed retinues by public officials. They provided the best *cavalry in 5th–6th-century armies, recruited from Romans, Persians, *Goths, and *Huns, amongst others. JCNC

R. I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae* (1969), 189–92.

H. J. Diesener, 'Das Buccelariertum von Stilicho und Sarus bis auf Aetius', *Klio* 54 (1972), 321–50.

O. Schmitt, 'Die Bucellarii. Eine Studie zummilitärische Gefolgschaftwesen in der Spätantike', *Tyche* 9 (1994), 147–74.

***bucellatum* (*buccellatum*)** The twice-baked bread issued as part of field-rations to Roman troops (*HA*, *Avidius Cassius* 5, 3; *Julian, *ep.* 89 (Bidez), 58 (Wright), 402B, *CTh* VII, 4, 6; V, 2). The second baking helped preserve the bread; failure to execute this properly through incompetence or peculation could result in serious health problems (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 13, 15–20). JCNC

Jones, *LRE* 628–9, 673–4.

Buddhism in the Persian Empire and Central Asia Buddhism was a proselytizing religion, cultivating local rulers and *merchants to promote its spread. Under King Asoka (r. 304–232 BC) of the Mauryan Empire it reached Gandhara and Kapisa in *Central Asia. Some Asokan inscriptions were in Aramaic, suggesting links with the Iranian world. Over the following three centuries it spread further into Central Asia.

The stability and tolerance of the Kushan Empire in Central Asia facilitated Buddhism's move east into the *Tarim Basin and thence to *China and east Asia. During this period it also reached the *Persian Empire under the Parthians and *Sasanians. *Inscriptions of the 3rd-century *Zoroastrian priest *Kerdir note Buddhist communities. Buddhism also reached the Iranian world by sea from ports in *India and Sri Lanka; place names on the Gulf preserve remains of this legacy. The Sasanians' adoption of Zoroastrianism as their official religion in 224 was accompanied by a clampdown on other religions, but evidence for the influence of Buddhism is to be found in place names, rock-cut caves, architecture, and religious practices. The last include circumambulation and the adorning of *Shi'a shrines with *silk. SWh

EncIran IV (1990) *s.v.* Buddhism Among Iranian Peoples. I: In Pre-Islamic Times, 492–6 (R. E. Emmerick).

M. Vaziri, *Buddhism in Iran: An Anthropological Approach to Traces and Influences* (2012).

Buis hoard (dép. Saône-et-Loire, France) A *hoard of 300–400 *Merovingian *gold coins, found near *Autun *c.*1855 and largely dispersed. J. Lafaurie has identified 76 of them, 11 from the mint in *Chalon-sur-Saône, a sequence pointing to its deposition in the 640s, and a possible connection with the murder of the **patricius* Willibad. BKY

J. Lafaurie, 'Nouvelles Recherches sur le trésor de Cissey-en-Morvan (Saône-et-Loire) lieu dit Buis', *BSFN* 32 (1977), 211–16.

Bukhara (Bokhara) *City located in a large oasis on the Zarafshan River in ancient *Sogdiana. Reconstructing the early history of Bukhara is difficult, due to a dearth of early numismatic or textual evidence. The city's name originates in either Sogdian *bukharak* 'fortunate place' or Sanskrit *vihara* 'Buddhist monastery'. The most valuable literary source is Narshakhi's *History of Bukhara* (of AD 943).

Although Bukhara became the most important city in the area, there were several other small city states in the oasis before the *Arab conquest, including Paykand, Vardana, and Varakhsha. A well-organized irrigation system and extensive walls in pre-Islamic times suggest some degree of political cooperation between these city states. The 7th-century *Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 34) gives a brief account.

Ultimately, the Bukharans, led by their ruler, the Bukhar Khudat, were unable to resist the *Arab conquest of Sogdiana. In 674 or 681, an Arab army forced Bukhara to submit and pay *tribute. Arab control was finally established by *Qutayba b. Muslim (706–9), who built the first Bukharan *mosque in 713 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 171–3). Although most Bukharans were originally *Zoroastrians, Narshakhi (53) also mentions a Christian church converted to a *mosque. Local resistance to Arab rule in Bukhara continued throughout the 8th century, including revolts against the new *Abbasid regime (750–1). The 9th-century Arab scholar Yaqubi (109) gives a brief account,

During the Arab conquest (late 7th–late 8th cent.), the Bukhar Khudat lived in Varakhsha, where Soviet excavations have uncovered ruins of a magnificent *palace, including remnants of elaborate wall paintings. MLD

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* Bukhārā (W. Barthold, R. N. Frye).

EncIran IV/5 *s.n.* Bukhara i. In Pre-Islamic Times, 511–13 (R. N. Frye), ii. From the Arab Invasions to the Mongols, 513–15 (C.E. Bosworth).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 98–117.
R. N. Frye, *Bukhara: The Medieval Achievement* (1965).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 460–3.
P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (1959), 108–9.

Bulgars (< Turkic *bulgha-* 'to mix, stir up, disturb', i.e. 'rebels') A Turkic tribal union of the Pontic steppes that gave rise to two important states: Danubian-Balkan Bulgaria (First Bulgarian Empire, 681–1018) and Volga Bulgaria (early 10th century–1241). They derived from Oghuric-Turkic tribes, driven westward from Mongolia and south Siberia to the Pontic steppes in successive waves by turmoil associated with the Xiongnu (late 3rd cent. BC–mid-2nd cent. AD) and subsequently by warfare between the Rouran/*Avar (*c.*402–552) and northern Wei (386–534) states.

The Bulgars are first noted by name *c.*480–2 as allies of the *Emperor *Zeno (474–91) in his wars against the *Ostrogoths. Their tribal union may have included *Hunnic elements. *Zacharias Rhetor (XII, v–ix) twice mentions the 'Burgar', possessors of 'cities' and 'tent-dwellers', among the 'Hunnic' peoples of the north Caucasian-Pontic steppes *c.*555, along with the *Kutrigurs and *Onoghurs, peoples closely associated with them. Bulgar territory extended from the Kuban River–Sea of Azov steppes to the Dnieper zone and probably the lower Danube, whence they raided eastern Roman territories. Subjugated by the Avars in the mid–late 550s, some Bulgar groupings joined the Avars in *Pannonia where the Avars had taken refuge (late 560s), from their *Türk enemies. They then participated in Avar raids on the *Balkans.

Other Bulgars came under western Türk rule. *Kubrat, of the royal Dulo clan, 'lord of the Ononghundur-Bulgars and Kotrags [Kutrigurs?]', and according to the *Chronicle* of *John of *Nikiu (120, 47) a convert to Christianity (in *Constantinople in 619), exploited domestic strife among the Avars and western Türks and founded an independent state, 'Magna Bulgaria' in the Pontic steppe zone in 635. Following his death (642?/660s?), internal discord and pressure from the *Khazars (630s–*c.*965–968/9), successors of the Türks in the western steppes, brought about the collapse of Magna Bulgaria, probably between 665 and 670.

Of Kubrat's five sons, Batbaian (the eldest) and Kotragos became Khazar subjects. *Asparukh fled to the Danube by 679, and secured *Moesia by treaty (681), following Constantinople's failure to halt him. This gave rise to the First Bulgarian Empire. Other (unnamed) sons migrated to Avar Pannonia and north-east *Italy. Pontic Bulgars intermittently migrated to the Middle Volga between the late 8th and early 10th centuries, founding Volga Bulgaria. The Balkan Bulgars, with their capital at Aboba/*Pliska, became a factor in Byzantine politics. After the death of Sevar (*c.*737/739), the last of the Dulo line, succession contests and Bulgar–*Slav conflicts allowed the Emperor *Constantine V Copronymus (741–75) to inflict a series of devastating defeats on them, beginning in 755. Thereafter, Bulgar–Byzantine relations were largely hostile.

Bulgar culture preserved many titles (e.g. *qan*, *boyla*) of Inner Asian Turkic origin, the twelve-year animal cycle calendar (recorded in the Slavo-Bulgaro-Turkic *Imennik*, 'Name-List of Khans': 19–21, dated variously to the 8th–10th centuries), and worship of Tangra (Turkic Tengri), a supreme celestial deity. Bulgar Turkic words are found in Graeco-Bulgar inscriptions in Bulgaria. There are also runiform inscriptions that have been deciphered as Bulgaro-Turkic. The principal Byzantine sources are *Theophanes, who provides a brief ethnography of the Bulgars (AM 6171) and *Nicephorus the Patriarch (70–1, 86–9). PBG

V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (1981).
P. B. Golden, *Introduction, Turkic Peoples*, 92–104, 244–58.
S. A. Romashov, 'Bolgarskie plemena Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v V–VII vv.', *AEMAe* VIII (1992–4), 207–52.
D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.–9. Jahrhundert)* (2007) 31–240.
V. N. Zlatarski, *Istoriia Istoriia na Bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava priez sriednitie viekove* I/1 (1918), 21–246.

Bulla Regia *City in the Medjerda Valley, on the *Carthage–*Hippo *road, four days west from *Carthage, according to *Procopius (*Vandalic*, III, 25, 1). *Bishops are attested from 256 to 703. *Augustine preached at Bulla against the *theatre (*Sermon Denis*, 17). A small double church complex with *baptistery and *baths and a minor Byzantine fortification have been excavated. Finds indicate settlement until the 12th century. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 87–90.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 50.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 290.
M. Chaouali, *Bulla Regia, Bulla la Royale* (2010).
A. Beschaouch et al., *Les Ruines de Bulla Regia* (1977).
O. Perler and J. L. Maier, *Les voyages de Saint Augustin* (1969).

Bumin (Tumin) (r. 552) Founder and first *Khagan (Qaghan) of the First Türk Empire (552–657). Dying shortly after founding the Empire, he was succeeded by his sons Qara (r. 552–3) and then Muqan (Muhan, r. 553–72). The more prestigious eastern half of the Türk Empire was ruled by Bumin's progeny, while the

western half was governed by descendants of his younger brother *Istemi. Bumin's name is probably derived from Iranian for 'earth', hence 'Lord of the Earth'. MLD

Chavannes, Documents, 47.

*Orkhon inscriptions, 263–4.

M. Dobrovits, 'Silziboulos', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25 (2008), 67–78.

Bundahishn **(*Zand-agahih*)** Middle *Persian encyclopaedic compilation in 36 chapters concerned with *Zoroastrian *cosmology and cosmography, and the legendary histories of the Kayanids. The transmission of the text in two groups of manuscripts has led scholars to distinguish between shorter and longer recensions, known as the Indian *Bundahishn* and the Greater or Iranian *Bundahishn* respectively. A precise dating of the *Bundahishn* is impossible. The mention of two names in a chapter on the genealogy of priests (ch. 35a) underpins the assumption of a 9th-century redaction, and a final redaction in the 12th century AD has also been proposed.

Despite references to the *Arab conquest of Iran, the text probably contains older, undated material, and, as the incipit states, it derives its knowledge from the Middle Persian translations of the religious traditions associated with the *Avesta, the *Zand, and the Weh Den (the Good Religion); the compilation frequently invokes both as the source of its knowledge. Some passages in the *Bundahishn* allude to content known from the Avesta, including the section on the mountains (ch. 9), reminiscent of the *Zamyad Yasht* (*Yasht* 19); the chapter on the seventeen types of waters (ch. 11b), which closely resembles the *zand* of the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* (Y. 38); and the description of the lands of the Iranians (ch. 31), which is a reinterpretation of the first chapter of the Middle Persian version of the *Vendidad.

The *Bundahishn* divides the Creation into four phases, each spanning three millennia, and provides a detailed account of the universe through to its eschatological end. *Ohrmazd, the supreme deity, first creates the world in spiritual or invisible form, a phase lasting 3,000 years. In the next three millennia, he creates the corporeal or material form in seven stages: the first six are sky, waters, earth, plants, sole-created bull, and the first man. The seventh creation is variously designated as either the *fire or Ohrmazd himself; sometimes it is omitted. The adversary, or the foul spirit, attacks the creation at the end of the second tri-millennial phase. In the next 3,000 years, the phase of 'mixture', Ohrmazd's creation battles the foul spirit. The final three millennia, the phase of 'separation', witness Zoroaster's (Zarathushtra's) prophethood and a succession of three saviours who prepare for the final battle and the destruction of Evil. After the resurrection of the future body and the final judgement, Limited Time transforms into an eternal state.

The cosmographical sections describe phenomena such as the earth, wind, rain, lakes, plants, flowers, etc. Individual chapters are dedicated to sleep, fire, and the nature of women and men. The Zoroastrian world-view is paramount. It is evident, for instance, where animals are divided into beneficent and noxious creatures; the latter are creations, or rather corruptions, of the adversary, whose aim is to harm the good creation of Ohrmazd. AZ

EncIran IV/5 (1989) *s.n.* Bundahišn, 547–51 (D. N. MacKenzie).

ed. F. Pakzad, *Bundahišn: Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie* (2005).

ed. (with ET) B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn* (1956).

J. K. Choksy, 'An Annotated Index of the Greater or Iranian Bundahišn (TD2)', *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986), 203–42.

C. G. Cereti and D. N. MacKenzie, 'Except by Battle: Zoroastrian Cosmogony in the 1st Chapter of the Greater Bundahišn', in C. G. Cereti, M. Maggi, and E. Provasi, eds., *Religious Themes and Texts in Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002* (2003), 31–59.

bureaucratese A modern term referring to distinctive patterns of Late Roman administrative language. A dominant characteristic was a windy style, heavy with circumlocution, bombast, and archaism. Also common were euphemistic synonyms, such as the medley of words for 'bribe': the regular term *sportulae*, 'little baskets'; *salgamum*, 'pickles' (*CTh* VII, 9, 3); *stillatura*, 'drippings' (*CTh* VII, 4, 28); etc. There was a tendency to invent jargon, e.g. the illegal *cenatica superstatuta*, 'superstatutory food-money' (*CTh* VII, 4, 12).

This style is particularly noticeable from the reign of *Diocletian onwards. It has been linked to the efforts of a rhetorically educated administration to convey the grandeur of imperial absolutism while masking its brutality. Whether (as originally suspected) such language reflected greater legal and administrative inefficacy, when compared with the earlier Empire, has been questioned. AGS

J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (1999), esp. ch.4.

R. MacMullen, 'Roman Bureaucratese', *Traditio* 18 (1962), 364–78.

Bureba sarcophagi Distinctive *sarcophagi of local granite carved in low relief on all four sides, found near Virobesca, about 32 km (20 miles) north-east of Burgos, *Spain. That from Pozo de la Sal may depict the Vision of S. *Perpetua. RJW

H. Schlunk, 'Zu den frühchristlichen Sarkophagen aus der Bureba', *MadriderMitt* 6 (1965), 139–66, and *MadriderMitt* 13 (1972), 196–210.

Burgundians and Burgundian kingdom A *Germanic people and the kingdom they established in modern Burgundy and Savoy in the 5th century. The Burgundians first appear briefly in the writings of *Pliny and *Ptolemy. *Zosimus mentions them as fighting against the *Emperor *Probus in the 3rd century. The first author to discuss them in detail was *Ammianus Marcellinus, who relates that the Emperor *Valentinian I made use of Burgundian soldiers against the *Alamans, with whom they engaged in hostilities over territory and control of *salt mines east of the Rhine.

In the early 5th century, the Burgundians reappear on the Rhine near Worms. In 436, they were attacked by *Huns who killed their leader Gundichar and many of his people. *Aëtius, who had subjugated the Burgundians not long before the Huns attacked, settled some of the survivors in 443 in the *province of *Maxima Sequanorum, in the region of *Sapaudia, centred on Lake Geneva, and roughly corresponding to modern Savoy and the Jura mountains. These Burgundians, under King Gundioc, fought for Aëtius against the Huns in the Battle of the *Catalaunian Fields in 451. A Burgundian force also supported the *Visigoths against the *Suebes in *Spain in 455.

Gundioc, also known as Gunderic, maintained strong ties with the Roman Empire and served as *Magister Militum in Gaul in 463 alongside his role as Rex. His son *Gundobad continued this pattern, succeeding his relative *Ricimer as **patricius* in *Italy late in his father's reign and also becoming Magister Militum, before abandoning imperial politics *c.*474 when, in the aftermath of Gundioc's death, the Burgundian kingdom was divided in some way between his four sons, Gundobad, *Godigisel, *Chilperic II, and the obscure Godomar. According to *Gregory of *Tours, Gundobad killed Chilperic and subsequently married his daughter *Chlothild to *Clovis I, King of the *Franks. In 500, Godegisel allied with Clovis to defeat Gundobad, but after the Frankish withdrawal, Gundobad regrouped and sacked Godigisel's base in *Vienne, killing his brother and emerging as sole King of the Burgundians. In 508, in the aftermath of the Battle of *Vouillé, the Burgundians allied with the Franks against the Visigoths, but subsequently lost territory in northern *Provence as a result of the *Ostrogothic counter-offensive.

Having secured power for his own line, Gundobad elevated his son *Sigismund to co-kingship as his subordinate. Like his father, Sigismund held the title of *patricius* and in 516, upon Gundobad's death, was granted the post of Magister Militum by the Emperor *Anastasius I. Sigismund was responsible for issuing the first written law code for the Burgundian kingdom, the *Liber Constitutionum*, also called the **Lex Burgundionum* or *Burgundian Code*, often misattributed to Gundobad; it appears edicts issued by both kings were only compiled together into a code after Gundobad's death. The **Lex Romana Burgundionum* was probably assembled around the same time as an abridged version of Roman *law to be used alongside the *Liber Constitutionum*.

Sigismund reigned until 523, when he was defeated in battle by the Frankish kings and subsequently drowned along with his wife and children. Sigismund had been converted from the *Homoean ('Arian') Christianity of his predecessors to Catholicism under the guidance of *Avitus, *Bishop of *Vienne. His body was recovered by his supporters and transferred to the *monastery he had founded at *Agaune, where he was venerated as a saint. He was succeeded as king by his brother *Godomar, who defeated the Franks at *Vézeronce in 524, killing their King *Chlodomer, only to be overthrown by Chlodomer's brothers in 534, when the Burgundian kingdom was finally annexed by the Franks.

Burgundy subsequently re-emerges as one of the three main subkingdoms of *Merovingian Francia, alongside *Neustria and *Austrasia. By this time, its core territory extended from *Remiremont in the north to Vaison in the south, and S. Gall in the east to Nevers in the west, and included the *cities of *Autun, Besançon, Châlon, Dijon, Geneva, Langres, *Lyons, and Vienne. After 623, it was regularly combined with Neustria, while Austrasia retained its own king. In 843 the bulk of this territory was assigned to Middle Francia (later Lotharingia) through the Treaty of Verdun, but its north-western region, which passed instead to West Francia, would become the medieval duchy of Burgundy and roughly corresponds to the modern region of the same name. EMB

J. Favrod, *Histoire politique du royaume burgonde (443–534)* (1997).

K. F. Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (1949).

I. Wood, 'Gentes, Kings, and Kingdoms—The Emergence of States: The Kingdom of the Gibichungs', in Goetz et al., *Regna et Gentes*, 243–69.

R. Kaiser, *Die Burgunder* (2004).

Burgundofara (d. after 643) Founding abbess of the *monastery of *Faremoutiers-en-Brie, and a member of the *Burgundian/*Austrasian aristocratic family of the Burgundofarones who were among the earliest supporters of the Irish monk S. *Columbanus and his monastic foundations. Her *will, drawn up in 633/4, survives. ADi; STL

DHGE 16, 506–31, 643–65.

J. Guérout 'Le Testament de sainte Fare, matériaux pour l'étude et l'édition critique de ce document', *RevHistEccl* 60 (1965), 761–821.
Y. Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (2014).

Burgundy, Frankish With *Austrasia and *Neustria, one of the three *Merovingian kingdoms. The *Teilreich* of Burgundy emerged from the royal divisions of 561 and 567 when King *Guntram (561–92) received the kingdom of *Orléans and the former Burgundian kingdom, as well as contiguous portions of *Aquitaine and *Provence. In the 570s, Guntram made the more centrally situated *Chalon-sur-Saône his chief royal residence over Orléans and *Lyons. Guntram's kingdom became known as the kingdom of Burgundy during the reigns of his successors *Childebert II (592–6) and *Theuderic II (596–613). After *Chlothar II (594–629), the kingdoms of Burgundy and *Neustria were conjoined through the 7th century into a territorial unit with a single king and, with a brief exception, a single *Mayor of the Palace, and despite the continued importance of a Burgundian magnate faction, the distinct identity of Burgundy was increasingly subsumed into that of Neustria. HJH

LexMA s.v. Burgundy (Frankish kingdom), vol. 2, 1062–6 (K. F. Werner).
Ewig, *SFG*, 157–65, 192–3.
Wood, *Kingdoms*, 55–8, 140–58.

burial *See* DEAD, DISPOSAL OF.

Busta Gallorum, Battle of Byzantine victory of 552 over *Ostrogothic forces commanded by King *Totila. The combined imperial and allied (notably *Lombard and *Herul) *army under *Narses slightly outnumbered the Goths. Battle was joined at Busta Gallorum (Tadinae) near the Via Flaminia, between *Perugia and *Ariminum (Rimini). The Ostrogothic forces were mostly *cavalry; the Byzantine army totalled *c.*20,000, comprising cavalry, infantry, and archers, the latter occupying higher ground. Superior Byzantine training soaked up the Gothic attack before the imperial cavalry routed the Goths. Totila was among the claimed 6,000 Ostrogothic casualties. His main general and successor, *Teias, also died soon after, fighting Narses' troops. *Procopius (*Gothic*, VIII, 29–32) provides copious detail of the conflict. NJC

Bury, *Theodosius to Justinian*, II, 261–7.
Haldon, *Byzantine Wars*, 37–40.

butchers *See* MEAT.

Butrint Roman *city on the coast of southern (European) Albania, founded *c.*8th century BC, later a Julio-Claudian *colonia*. *Bishops are mentioned in 458 and 516, and the *Synecdemus* of *Hierocles records it in 535 (*TIB* 3). Extensive excavations have taken place under the Italians (1927–42), after the Second World War, and recently in an Anglo-Albanian project.

Public areas including the Forum and Sanctuary of Asclepius seemingly changed significantly in the 4th century (possibly following major *earthquakes). Early Christian buildings include the so-called Great *Basilica, which although ruinous stands to *roof height, and a very large free-standing *baptistery with impressive *mosaics thought to be by artists from *Nicopolis of Epirus. A further church, probably of *triconch form, has been identified on the acropolis. Two further Christian complexes have been excavated outside the town: a *pilgrimage church at Diaporit and a further basilica built within a *villa *suburbana* on the Vrina Plain (the latter with extensive mosaics). Secular buildings include the Triconch Palace, a grand *domus* with a three-*apsed *triclinium. Excavations here identified extensive phases post-dating the *domus* including late 5th–6th-century habitation, workshops, and *burials.

The Late Roman *fortifications enclose 16 ha (about 40 acres), an area larger than the original Hellenistic wall. They date to the early 6th century. Excavations in the towers on the western side revealed extensive burnt deposits dating to the late 7th and 8th centuries. Elsewhere the town has little evidence of 7th–8th-century occupation, but it revived in the late 9th–10th centuries. WB

TIB 3 (1981) *s.n.* Buthrotos, 132–4.
W. Bowden and R. Hodges, *Butrint 3: Excavations at the Triconch Palace* (2011).
R. Hodges, W. Bowden, and K. Lako, *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994–99* (2003).
W. Bowden and R. Hodges, '"An Ice-Age Settling on the Roman Empire": Post-Roman Butrint between Strategy and Serendipity', in N. Christie and A. Augenti, eds., *Vrbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns* (2012), 207–41.

***Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (*Epic Histories*)** History of 4th-century *Armenia, composed perhaps *c.*470. The Parthian term 'Buzandaran' (epic cycle) was taken until recently to refer to the provenance of the author, identified as 'P'awstos' by *Lazar Parp'ets'i; he was thus known as Faustus of Buzanda or of Byzantium, but it is unclear whether such a person ever existed. Garsoïan argues that the author was an anonymous cleric with conservative aristocratic sympathies and some skill as a preacher. At the outset of the book, the author places the history consciously within a chain of histories of early Armenia stretching from *Agat'angelos to *Koriwn, and later explicitly extended by Lazar Parp'ets'i.

The *Buzandaran* is, as its title suggests, a collection of oral epic tales recounting the adoption of

Christianity in Armenia over the course of the 4th century. In this it serves as a useful counterpoint to Agat'angelos. Where Agat'angelos has become the received tradition for the life of S. *Gregory the Illuminator and King *Trdat, the *Buzandaran* captures the struggle that came after the official conversion, not only between Christian and pagan but also between the pro-Nicene and *Homoean factions of the Church. Its themes are royal succession, succession to the See of S. Gregory, and the deeds of the *Mamikonean clan. Although the style of the work is traditional Armenian epic of the sort that pre-dated the written language (invented in the early 5th cent. AD) and is usually associated with pre-Christian culture, in content it is a pro-Christian polemic sympathetic to the pro-Nicene faction of the Church and bitterly opposed to such 4th-century opponents of the theology of the Council of Nicaea as King *Arshak II and King *Pap. TLA

ODB, P'awstos Buzand, Pseudo-.

ET (with comm.) N. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand: (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')* (1989).

Byblos (mod. Jbeil, Lebanon) *City north of Beirut, whose port exported linen (Tetrarchic *Prices Edict 26–8; **Expositio Totius Mundi*, 31). The shrine of Adonis at *Aphaca, in the mountains above the city, was closed by *Constantine I. Basilides, *Bishop of Byblos attended the *Council of *Constantinople of 381. The tale of the *martyr S. Aquilina is known only from an epic *passion (*BHG* 163). Byblos was damaged in the earthquake of 550/1 (*John Malalas, XVIII, 102). KETB; OPN

N. Jidejian, *Byblos through the Ages* (1968).

Byzacena *Province in the *Dioecesis *Africae, comprising modern central Tunisia, carved out of *Africa Proconsularis under the *Tetrarchy, listed in the *Verona List and governed from *Hadrumetum (Sousse), till 324 by a *Praeses, thereafter by a *Consularis. It was controlled by the *Vandals from *c.*442 till the *Byzantine invasion of 534, when *Justinian I appointed a *Consularis under the *Praefectus Praetorio Africae (*CJust* I, 27, 12). The *Arab conquest replaced the Byzantine Exarchate of *Carthage in the mid-7th century. RB

Barrington Atlas, 33.

Jones, *LRE* 190, 249, 1073.

Byzantine Brittle Ware Thin-walled, wheelmade utilitarian *pottery vessels (mostly for cooking), requiring substantial technical skill to manufacture. Brittle Ware was widely distributed in northern *Syria, *Mesopotamia, and south-east *Anatolia, especially on military sites along the eastern *frontier. Kilns have been found only in *Palmyra, but eight workshops were probably operating in northern Syria from Roman to Early Islamic times. JV

A. Vokaer, 'Brittle Ware Trade in Syria between the 5th and 8th Centuries', in Mango, ed., *Byzantine Trade* (2009), 121–36.

J. Vroom, 'Medieval Ceramics and the Archaeology of Consumption in Eastern Anatolia', in T. Vorderstrasse and J. Roodenberg, eds., *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia* (2009), 235–58.

Byzantine invasion and occupation of Africa
Despite the apparent misgivings of many within the imperial *administration, on *c.*20 June 533, the *Emperor *Justinian I launched an expedition of roughly 6,000 men under the command of Flavius *Belisarius, *Magister Militum per Orientem, against the *Vandal kingdom which had occupied *Latin-speaking North *Africa since the first half of the 5th century. The expedition was accompanied by Belisarius' secretary, *Procopius, the third and fourth books of whose *History of the Wars* (*Vandalic* III and IV) provide a detailed account of the campaign. Sailing from *Constantinople, the Byzantine *army disembarked at Caput Vada, on the eastern coast of *Byzacena, in late August or September, before advancing on the Vandal capital, *Carthage. At *Ad Decimum and in an associated action, the Byzantine army routed a poorly coordinated attack by Vandal forces, causing the Vandal King *Gelimer (530–4), to withdraw westwards to the plain of *Bulla Regia. The Byzantine army then entered Carthage unopposed the following day—traditionally dated 15 September.

Having secured Carthage, Belisarius moved to defeat the regrouped Vandal army, bolstered by *Berber allies and forces recalled from *Sardinia. At *Tricamerum, in mid-December 533, the Byzantine army inflicted a decisive defeat upon its Vandal counterpart, ending effective Vandal resistance and capturing the royal baggage train. Gelimer retreated, sheltering on Mount Papua, from where he surrendered to Byzantine forces in the spring of 534. Secondary expeditions were also made to capture *Sardinia, *Corsica, the *Balearic Islands, and *Mauretania, which were subordinated to the new administration in Carthage.

The conquest was preceded and, in its rapidity, facilitated by developments within the Vandal kingdom. In 530/1, Gelimer had assumed the throne by overthrowing his cousin *Hilderic (523–30), whose reign had witnessed a relaxation in the persecution of Nicene Christians within the *Homoean ('*Arian') kingdom and a warming of Vandal foreign policy towards Constantinople. This usurpation and an expressed wish to protect Nicene Christians provided a rhetorical *casus belli*, if not pragmatic motives, for the campaign. Simultaneously, rebellions in *Tripolitania and Sardinia

reflected the internal fragmentation of Vandal rule and created opportunities for imperial intervention, as rebel leaders courted support from Constantinople. Although no immediate action was taken to recover Tripolitania, Gelimer dispatched an army and the bulk of the Vandal fleet to Sardinia, diverting forces and allowing Belisarius to land unopposed.

On 13 April 534, Justinian issued legislation (*CJust* I, 27, 1–2) outlining a civil and military administration for the government of Africa under the *Praefectus Praetorio Africae. The reconquered territories were divided into seven *provinces: *Zeugitana, Byzacena, Tripolitania, *Numidia, Mauretania Prima, Mauretania Secunda, and Sardinia. The occupation also witnessed the construction and renovation of a number of defensive, civic, and ecclesiastical sites in Africa, at least partially through imperial initiative, including numerous blockhouses built in the time of the Praefectus *Solomon. Procopius records elaborate rebuilding at Carthage (*Aed.* VI, 5). However, the real extent of Byzantine control, particularly in the south and west of the Prefecture, was initially limited—with the imperial presence in Mauretania Secunda evidently confined to the coastal cities of *Caesarea and Septem.

Nor did the Vandal defeat bring about the complete pacification of Africa under Byzantine rule. In 534, raids in Byzacena and Numidia initiated a protracted series of intermittent conflicts with various *Berber tribes, with significant fighting recorded in 534–5, 539–40, 543–8, and 563. Between 536 and *c.*539, consolidation was further impeded by a mutiny within much of the African army, precipitated by an imperial measure to redistribute Vandal property and suppress Arianism, as well perhaps as arrears in military pay, which cast the prefecture into a virtual civil war. The campaigns fought by *John Troglita against the Moors and the *Laguatan in the 540s were celebrated by *Corippus in his *panegyric poem the *Johannis*. In the late 6th century the administration of *Africa was reorganized under the Exarchate of *Carthage, which survived until the *Arab invasion of the mid-7th century. SSF

J. Conant, *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700* (2012).

A. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (2010).

M. E. Williams, *The African Policy of Justinian I* (Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2015).

Averil Cameron, 'Byzantine Africa—the Literary Evidence', in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *Excavations at Carthage 1978 Conducted by the University of Michigan*, vol. 7 (1982), 29–62.

C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709)* (1896).

D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest: An Account of the Military History and Archaeology of the African Provinces in the 6th and 7th Centuries*, 2 vols. (BAR Int Ser 99 i and ii; 1981; rev. edn. 2001).

W. E. Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* (2010).

Byzantine invasion and occupation of Italy (535–54) The attempt of the *Emperor *Justinian I to wrest control of *Italy from *Ostrogothic rulers led to the longest continuous military conflict in the history of Italy. The most detailed source, although not unproblematic, is *Procopius, *Gothic Wars*.

Causes

The various causes for the war include Belisarius' rapid successes against the *Vandals in *Africa and the opportunity presented by his proximity to *Sicily. The murder of the Ostrogothic ruler *Amalasuintha by *Theodahad is also often cited as a *casus belli*. Procopius notes that both Amalasuntha and Theodahad made overtures of submission to Justinian prior to the war. Additionally, Justinian's ambitions for wider political and religious unity in the Mediterranean should be seen in light of the politics of governing *Constantinople.

Main phases and events

In 535, a Byzantine force invaded *Dalmatia (then under *Gothic control) and Belisarius crossed from *Carthage to Sicily. A Gothic victory at *Salona prompted Theodahad to end negotiations for peace. After taking Syracuse, Belisarius crossed to *Bruttii, where Roman *cities and a Gothic commander defected to eastern control. Theodahad's inactivity earned the suspicion of the Gothic army, who deposed him and elevated *Vitigis as king. Vitigis returned to northern Italy to gather soldiers, took senatorial hostages to *Ravenna, and there secured his position as king by marrying Matasuntha, the granddaughter of *Theoderic the Ostrogothic ruler (d. 526). During this time, Belisarius seized *Naples after a short *siege and assumed control of the city of *Rome in December of 536. Vitigis' subsequent siege of Rome is the longest and most vivid episode of the war recounted by Procopius. The successes of Belisarius' commanders with the cities of *Samnium and *Picenum, particularly at *Ariminum, forced Vitigis to abandon Rome after a year (March 538). In the same year, a separate Byzantine force arrived by sea and claimed *Milan. The theatre of conflict then shifted to northern Italy: Vitigis ordered the execution of senatorial hostages at Ravenna and a combined force of Goths and *Burgundians sacked Milan in 539. By the end of 539, however, Belisarius had confined Vitigis to *Ravenna. He surrendered to Belisarius in 540 after Belisarius falsely agreed to accept the title of Western emperor. Belisarius

transported Vitigis, Matasuntha, and much of the Gothic *court to Constantinople.

When Justinian detained Belisarius in the East on suspicion of *treason, *Franks raided northern Italy under *Theudebert I. It is generally thought that Belisarius' absence from Italy allowed rivalries among Byzantine commanders to detract from further success. Furthermore, heavy-handed treatment by Byzantine administrators alienated both Romans and indigenous Goths who had surrendered. They soon after elected a succession of kings (*Uraias, *Ildibad, *Erarich). Factional rivalries caused the downfall of each of these kings until *Totila was elevated in 541.

Totila reversed the course of the war, scoring victories in northern Italy, capturing Rome on two separate occasions, overturning Byzantine control of southern Italy, subduing Sicily, and sending expeditions to *Corsica and *Sardinia. By the time Belisarius returned to Italy in 544, the situation had changed dramatically. Belisarius succeeded in taking Rome again, but his activities were confined mainly to Ravenna and other towns accessible by *ship. While at Rome, Belisarius rebuilt mural fortifications, but was again recalled to Constantinople in 549.

In 551, with Rome and Sicily again in Gothic hands, Justinian transferred command of the campaign to the *eunuch *Narses. With a large force including *Lombards, Narses penetrated *Venetia and reached Ravenna by June of 552. Totila and Narses eventually converged at a small valley in the Apennines where Totila was slain and the Goths routed in the Battle of *Busta Gallorum. Afterwards, Narses marched on Rome, releasing the Gothic hold on central Italy. One final confrontation between Narses and a new Gothic king (*Teias) occurred at Mons Lactarius in southern Italy (October, 552). Justinian's *Pragmatic Sanction of 554 declared the war concluded and offered a framework for the restoration of senatorial and church properties, but pockets of Goths continued to resist in northern Italy. The Goths finally surrendered *Verona in 562.

Tactics and strategy

Procopius describes an array of military tactics in pitched battles and siege warfare. The eastern army excelled in siege warfare and mounted *archery, giving them a distinct advantage. The Goths had the advantage of sheer numbers (Belisarius initially had about 5,000 soldiers), although maintaining garrisons in *Gaul, the Alps, Italy, and Dalmatia impeded their ability to bring superior numbers to bear. More importantly, while the Byzantine strategy focused on claiming cities, the Goths controlled assets in the countryside, which probably accounts for the long duration of the war.

Consequences

The most destructive war in the Italian peninsula since the Second Punic War of the late 3rd century BC, the Gothic War caused massive disruption in Italy. The near annihilation of the *senatorial order and the depopulation of the cities like Rome and Milan are more spectacular consequences. The disruption of *farming and *land tenure, the destruction of urban fortifications, and the introduction of the Justinianic *Plague in 543 were much more pervasive and contributed to generally poorer living conditions. Additionally, the opportunistic involvement of Franks, *Burgundians, and *Alamans contributed to disruption in northern Italy. Justinian's *Pragmatic Sanction attempted to address many of these issues, but his settlement of Lombards in *Pannonia in 546, although a response to Frankish aggression in Venetia, had the additional consequence of the *Lombard invasion of Italy in 568. Thereafter, Byzantine control in Italy was limited to clusters of coastal cities and Rome until the extinction of the *exarchate of Ravenna by Lombards in 751. The Eastern Empire maintained control of coastal strongholds in southern Italy until the Norman Conquest in the 11th century. MSB

K. Hannestad, 'Les Forces militaires d'après la Guerre gothique de Procope', *ClassMed* 21 (1960), 136–83.

M. Kouroumali, 'The Justinianic Reconquest of Italy: Imperial Campaigns and Local Responses', in Sarantis and Christie, *War and Warfare*, 969–99.

Wolfram, *Goths*.

Byzantine invasion and occupation of Spain

(*c*.552–625) Byzantine troops invaded southern *Spain in 552 and continued to occupy parts of the peninsula until *c*.625. The invasion was initiated by an appeal from the *Visigothic rebel *Athanagild to the Byzantine *Emperor *Justinian I (527–65) for military assistance to support his revolt against the Visigothic King Agila (549–54). A Byzantine army under the **patricius* *Liberius (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 303) landed in the south of the Iberian Peninsula in 552. *Isidore of *Seville (*Historia Gothorum*, 46) states that the invasion compelled the Visigothic nobles to assassinate King Agila and proclaim Athanagild as the Visigothic king in 554.

It certainly resulted in the creation of a Byzantine province of Spania in south-east Spain which lasted from *c*.552 to 625. A postscript to a *letter from Pope *Gregory the Great (*ep*. IX, 229) to the Visigothic King *Reccared I (586–601) in 599 refers to the negotiation of a peace treaty between the Emperor Justinian and the Visigothic King Athanagild. The geographical extent of the Byzantine occupation of the Iberian Peninsula remains subject to scholarly debate. Isidore of Seville

and *John of Biclar record the presence of the Byzantine army at the sites of *Cartagena, Malaga, Asidona (Medina-Sidonia), Basti (Baza), Sagontia (Gigonza), and on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar in Septem (Ceuta). The *cities of Seville and *Cordoba are no longer considered to have been part of the Byzantine province of Spain.

Recent archaeological excavations at the Byzantine capital of Cartagena have identified a Byzantine residential quarter, with material finds of Byzantine *arms and armour. The Byzantine Empire established an imperial mint in Cartagena. *George of *Cyprus's *Description of the Roman World* of *c.*602–5 considers the administrative organization of Spain. At the head of the Byzantine province of Spain was the *Magister Militum Spaniae, appointed from the reign of the Byzantine Emperor *Maurice (582–602) and recorded in the *inscription of *Comentiolus (*CIL* II, 3420) from Byzantine Cartagena. Evidence for imperial officials in Spain derives from Isidore of Seville, who says that King *Suinthila captured two Byzantine **patricii* in his campaigns against Byzantine armies (*Historia Gothorum*, 62). The letters of the Visigothic King *Sisebut (611/12–620) to the Byzantine Patricius Caesarius refer to diplomatic negotiations over the Byzantine presence in Spain in the reign of the Byzantine Emperor *Heraclius (610–41). Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, XV, 1, 67) records that the Byzantine capital of Cartagena was destroyed in the reign of the Visigothic King Suinthila (621–31). The final expulsion of imperial troops from Spain took place in *c.*625 (Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, 62), although Byzantine troops remained in Ceuta and the *Balearic Islands. DD

M. Vallejo Girvés, *Bizancio y La España Tardoantigua (ss. V–VII): un capitulo de historia mediterránea* (1993).

G. Ripoll López, 'On the Supposed Frontier between the *Regnum Visigothorum* and Byzantine *Hispania*', in W. Pohl, I. Wood, and H. Reimitz, eds., *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (2001), 95–115.

J. Vizcaíno Sánchez, *La presencia bizantina en Hispania (siglos VI–VII): la documentación arqueológica* (2009).

Byzantium *See* CONSTANTINOPLE.

C

Caerleon Isca in south-east Wales was the base of the Roman Legio II Augusta on the Usk from *c.* AD 75. The remains of barracks, an amphitheatre, legionary *baths, and a *harbour survive. After *c.*300 the garrison was withdrawn or greatly reduced, but the site remained occupied throughout the 4th century. Two inscribed stones suggest 6th-century occupation. *Gildas claimed that the *martyrs Ss. Julius and Aaron were venerated there. CJB

C. J. Arnold and J. L. Davies, *Roman and Early Medieval Wales* (2000).

J. K. Knight, 'Britain's Other Martyrs: Julius, Aaron and Alban at Caerleon', in M. Henig and P. Lindley, eds., *Alban and St Albans* (2001), 36–44.

Caernarfon The Roman fort at Segontium (Caer Seint) in north-west Wales continued to be occupied until at least the reign of *Gratian (375–83). A unit of Seguntienses in *Illyricum, presumably raised here, is listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. Suggestions that Segontium functioned as the administrative centre of the Ordovices are speculative. AW

P. J. Casey and J. L. Casey, *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort 1975–79* (1995). http://www.roman-britain.org/places/segontium.htm

Caerwent (Wales) Venta Silurum, the *ciuitas* capital of the Silures, was more heavily fortified than most *cities in Roman *Britain, turrets being added to the *walls in the 4th century. In the post-Roman period it appears to have become an ecclesiastical centre. It was probably the see of the local *bishop. AW

R. J. Brewer 'Venta Silurum: A Civitas Capital', in S. J. Greep, ed., *Roman Towns: The Wheeler Inheritance* (1993), 56–65. http://www.roman-britain.org/places/venta_silurum.htm

Caesar (as title) (Gk. *kaisar*) Under the *Tetrarchy, Caesar was reserved for the two junior *emperors in the imperial college. *Constantine I designated his successors Caesar, a practice that continued until the usurpation of *Julian, Caesar of *Constantius II. Thereafter successors usually were declared *Augustus directly. Caesar remained in intermittent use throughout the 5th century. In the late 6th century, *Tiberius II in 574 and *Maurice in 582 successively were proclaimed Caesar before becoming Augustus. The title Caesar was revived as a court title under later Byzantine emperors. JND

Kienast, *Kaisertabelle*, 24–5.

Rösch, *Onoma basileias*, 36–7.

Caesarea of Cappadocia (ancient Mazaka, mod. Kayseri, Turkey) Principal *city of *Cappadocia, and from 372 (after *Valens divided the *province) of Cappadocia Prima, named Caesarea after Augustus in the 1st century. Caesarea is located at *c.*1,000 m (*c.*3,300 feet) above sea level, south of the Pontus mountains, north of the Taurus, and immediately north of Mount Argaeus (Erciyes Dağı, 3,916 m, 12,847 feet). Little of the ancient city has been preserved, but archaeological remains from Roman times have been excavated outside the city.

Caesarea was the principal city of East Central *Anatolia and an important crossroads. Considerable areas of Cappadocia were imperial *estates, famous for breeding *horses. Caesarea had an imperial mint and **fabricae* producing *textiles and *arms and armour. Its location between *Constantinople and the *frontier with the *Persian Empire meant that in the 3rd and 4th centuries *emperors regularly travelled through Caesarea on their way to *Antioch and the East. Armies also came the other way. In the mid-3rd century, the armies of *Shapur I penetrated Cappadocia, but the Shah's own record of his campaigns, the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, does not claim that he captured Caesarea. In 608/9 the forces of *Khosrow II occupied Caesarea for a year and then burnt it, though the city was then the mustering point for the counter-attack on the Persians by the Emperor *Heraclius (*Sebeos, 33–4, 112–13 and 38, 124). An *Arab *army temporarily occupied the city in 726.

*Firmilian, *Bishop of Caesarea in the 3rd century, visited *Origen in *Caesarea of *Palestine, corresponded

with *Cyprian in *Carthage in 256 (*ep.* 57), and died in 268. The names of various early Christian *martyrs, including Ss. Gordius and *Mamas, are known from rhetorical *sermons by S. *Basil. By the time of the *Emperor *Julian's *accession in 361 the only *pagan *temple left in the city was that of the *Fortuna of the City; its destruction by the Christian *Eupsychius led to the demotion of the city and a brief reversion to the pre-Roman name of Mazaka. Basil the Great (329/330–79) swiftly restored the city's reputation and established well-organized almshouses and *hospitals in the city suburbs. This 'new city' or Basileiados attracted the *patronage of the emperor. His *letters provide considerable information about social conditions and church politics in late 4th-century Cappadocia.

During the 4th century Caesarea played an important role in Armenian Christianity. S. *Gregory the Illuminator (d. *c.*328) was consecrated Bishop of *Armenia in *c.*314, as were his successors until S. *Nerses the Great (*c.*353–373). In 387 Armenia was partitioned and the greater part came under the Persian Empire, but Caesarea continued to nourish Armenian theological and intellectual thought. TMvL

J. E. Cooper and M. J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia* (2012).

P. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (1994).

H. C. Teitler, 'Avenging Julian: Violence against Christians in the years 361–363', in A. Geljon and R. Boukema, eds., *Violence in Ancient Christianity: Victims and Perpetrators* (2014), 76–89.

R. W. Thomson, 'Caesarea and Early Christian Armenia', in R. G. Hovannisian, ed., *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia* (2013), 43–56.

R. van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (2002).

Caesarea of Mauretania (Iol Caesarea) (mod. Cherchel) Capital of *Mauretania Caesariensis, a large *port *city and *colonia*. Statues of gods found in the *baths have *inscriptions indicating they came 'from foul places'—presumably *temples. The *settlement patterns in the *territorium* have been closely studied. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 513–20 and 547–8.

Ph. Leveau, 'Caesarea de Maurétanie', *ANRW* II.10.2 (1982), 683–738.

Ph. Leveau, 'Caesarea de Maurétanie: une ville romaine et ses campagnes', *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 38/1 (1984), 189–90.

T. W. Potter, 'Towns in Late Antiquity: Iol Caesarea and its Context' (1995).

Caesarea of Palestine *Harbour *city founded by Herod the Great in AD 6 which became the seat of the Roman *governors and remained the metropolis of *Palestine until the *Arab conquest in 640. After the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) its *bishop lost primacy to the *Patriarch of *Jerusalem. In Late Antiquity the Jewish community flourished led by *rabbis like the celebrated Abbahu, and *Samaritans remained numerous, especially in the city's expansive and fertile subject territory. The Christian community dated from apostolic times but became a majority only in the 5th century. The Alexandrian *Origen arrived *c.*234 and established a school of biblical studies that featured his *Hexapla. After him, *Pamphilus assembled a *library over which *Eusebius the church historian (*Bishop of Caesarea 313–39) presided after Pamphilus was martyred in 309 (Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine*, 11). *Constantine I ordered that biblical codices be copied here assuring the ascendancy of the *book over the scroll (*VCon* III, 34–7). Eusebius also created a new genre in his *Ecclesiastical History*, which *Gelasius, his successor as Bishop of Caesarea, continued late in the 4th century. Furthermore, the city harboured grammarians and rhetorical *schools; *Eudocia Augusta allegedly studied there with the **grammaticus* *Orion. The Justinianic historian *Procopius bore the name of a Caesarea *martyr recorded by Eusebius, and retained a loyalty to his native city.

Literary sources abound. In his *Martyrs of Palestine* Eusebius set the executions of his Christian friends against the background of urban topography and communal violence. *Choricius of *Gaza describes a conflagration and resulting panic and the social consequences of deteriorating *aqueducts (*Oration*, 3, 38–51), Procopius records the economic impact of *Samaritan rebellion 529/30 (*Anecd.* 11, 27–30), and the anonymous *Acts, Translation, and Miracles of S. Anastasius the Persian* present vignettes of urban cult and *festival *processions during and after the Persian occupation of 614–27.

Excavations since the 1960s—especially during the 1990s—have illuminated the Late Antique urban environment. A *village at Tel Tanninim and a *villa at Ramat ha-Nadiv, to the north and north-east of the city, along with much archaeological survey work in the rest of the territory, have demonstrated prosperity until the *Arab conquest. The *water supply system was maintained and expanded. *Fortifications of the 5th century enclosed 95 ha (235 acres), three times the urban space of the earlier Herodian circuit, and the original orthogonal *street plan extended across the new tracts. The excavators discovered modest *houses and *shops, suburban villas, and inside the city a neighbourhood of lavishly decorated mansions along the shore equipped with private *baths. To the north of them stood the *palace (Gk. *praitorion*) of the provincial *governor, incorporating an audience hall and the imperial revenue office. The city's two amphitheatres, two theatres, and *hippodrome all passed out of service during the 6th century, and in the early

7th stones from the theatres were reused in an impressive intramural fortress. Only one *synagogue has been found, poorly preserved. Construction of churches flourished; literary sources record ten, the latest dedicated to S. Anastasius shortly before the Arab conquest. The archaeologists have recovered only four, one a chapel of S. Paul, another an octagonal *martyrium located in the city centre adjacent to the harbour. *Ships continued to visit the harbour after the *Emperor *Anastasius I restored it *c.* AD 500, and a bustling commercial and industrial quarter thus developed surrounding the octagonal church, which became also a significant goal of *Holy Land *pilgrimage.

KGH

B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle* (2 vols., 1992).
L. I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (1975).
A. Grafton and M. Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (2006).
R. L. Vann, ed., *Caesarea Papers 1* (1992).
A. Raban and K. Holum, eds., *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (1996).
K. Holum, A. Raban, and J. Patrich, eds., *Caesarea Papers 2* (1999).
K. Holum, J. Stabler, and E. Reinhardt, eds., *Caesarea Reports and Studies* (2008).
K. Holum, 'Caesarea Palaestinae: A Paradigmatic Transition', in K. Holum and H. Lapin, eds., *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition 400–800 C.E.* (2011), 11–31.
J. Patrich, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima* (2011).

Caesaria the Elder (d. *c.*525) Sister of *Caesarius of *Arles and first abbess of the cloistered women's *monastery they founded there (*VCaesarii* 1, 35). An early version of his *Rule for Nuns* and letter of advice on female *asceticism were addressed to her. WEK

PCBE IV/1, Caesaria 1.
W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, and Letters* (1994).

Caesaria the Younger (d. *c.*560) Relative of *Caesarius of *Arles and *Caesaria the Elder, and second abbess of their *monastery in *Arles (*VCaesarii* 1, 58). A *letter to Richild and S. *Radegund accompanied her transmission of Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns* to Radegund's monastery in *Poitiers. WEK

PCBE IV/1, Caesaria 2.
Letter (*CPL* 1054): ed. (with FT and notes) A. de Vogüé and J. Courreau, *Césaire d'Arles: Œuvres monastiques*, vol. 1 (SC 345; 1988), 440–99.
ET McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, 112–18.
L. Pietri, 'Les Premières Abbesses du monastère Saint-Jean d'Arles', in M. Fixot, ed., *Paul-Albert Février de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque de Fréjus, 7 et 8 avril 2001* (2004), 73–85.

Caesarius of Arles (469/70–27 August 542) *Bishop of *Arles from 502. Caesarius made his mark on the Christian culture of the Latin West as a preacher, church reformer, and monastic founder. His literary legacy to the *Frankish, *Visigothic, and *Anglo-Saxon churches included *sermons, monastic rules, church *councils, *letters, theological treatises, and a *Life* (*VCaesarii*) written by his supporters shortly after his death. His material legacy was equally durable: the cloistered *monastery he founded with his sister *Caesaria the Elder; the resources he commended in his *Testament* to her successor *Caesaria the Younger; and the *relics of his *dress and church *vestments kept by the foundation until its dissolution in 1790, now preserved, newly restored, in the cathedral of S. Trophîme at Arles.

Born in *Chalon-sur-Saône, in *Burgundian territory, Caesarius began his career in the local clergy and departed *c.*490 for the Monastery of *Lérins in the *Visigothic south. Its abbot, Porcarius, eventually sent him to Arles, where he studied under *Julianus Pomerius. In 502, after serving as *deacon, *priest, and abbot, he succeeded his relative Aeonius as bishop and *metropolitan. Banished to *Bordeaux in 505 by the Visigothic King *Alaric II, he was soon released and appointed to preside over the Council of Agde in 506. His alliance with Alaric came to an end in 507 with the king's death at the Battle of *Vouillé. After a siege by Burgundians and *Franks (507/8), Arles was rescued by the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic and designated the capital of a newly revived Gallic prefecture. With royal approval in *Ravenna, papal backing in *Rome, and local support from the *Praefectus Praetorio and *Patricius *Liberius, Caesarius resumed the reform agenda he had initiated at Agde. In sermons preached in the *city and countryside, many adapted from *Augustine, he urged the laity to abandon objectionable practices such as consulting diviners and drinking at saints' *festivals, and instead to pray, read the *Bible, and give *alms. At the councils of Arles (524), Carpentras (527), and Vaison (529) he advocated an ascetic way of life for bishops and clergy, and promoted throughout his province the pastoral standards of preaching and worship he had established in Arles. At the Council of Orange (529), he attempted to resolve a continuing theological problem (and deflect criticism from rival bishops) by harmonizing Augustinian and Gallic definitions of grace and free will. In 534 he issued the final revision of his *Rule for Nuns*, first composed for the women's monastery in Arles and later adopted by S.*Radegund's monastery in *Poitiers. His influence began to wane in the last years of Ostrogothic rule, and further declined after 536 when *Provence was ceded to the Franks. Caesarius died 30 years after the

dedication of his monastery and was laid to rest in the burial church he had built for it, his *miracle-working body a final bequest to the thriving institution. WEK
PCBE IV/1, Caesarius 1.

WORKS (*CPL* 1008–1019A):

ed. G. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (1937–42; repr. in CCSL 103–4, 1953).

Sermons (*CPL* 1008): ed. (annotated with FT) M.-J. Delage, A. de Vogüé, and J. Courreau, *Sermons au peuple*, 3 vols. (SC 175, 243 and 330, 1971–2010).

ed. J. Courreau, *Sermons sur l'Écriture*, I (SC 447, 2000).

ET: M. M. Mueller, *St. Caesarius: Sermons*, 3 vols. (FC 31, 47 and 66, 1956–73).

MONASTIC WORKS:

Regula ad Monachos, ed. in PL 67, 1099–1104.

ed. G. Morin (CCSL II), 149–55.

ed. (annotated with FT) A. de Vogüé and J. Courreau, *Œuvres monastiques*, vol. 1 (SC 345, 1988) and vol. 2 (SC 398, 1994).

ET M. C. McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles* (1960).

VCaesarii (*BHL* 1508–9):E. Bona (annotated with IT), *Vita Sancti Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis* (2002).

ET, W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters* (TTH 19, 1994).

L. K. Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul* (2010).

A. Diem, *Das monastische Experiment. Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens* (2005).

J. Guyon and M. Heijmans, eds., *L'Antiquité tardive en Provence (IV^e–VI^e siècle): naissance d'une chrétienté* (2013).

W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (1994).

C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (2000).

cage cups *See* DIATRETA GLASS.

Calabria Area of *Italy corresponding to modern Puglia, part of the *Verona List *province of *Apulia et Calabria. Late Roman sources refer to the region infrequently, although the gubernatorial seat of the provincial *governor at Canusium served as a centre for the collection of *grain and garments destined for the *army. The arid coastal plains of Calabria supported the cultivation of *olives and vines; the inland plateaux of Apulia were noted for *sheep and fine wool. The *Variae* of *Cassiodorus illustrate the continuing prosperity of the region in the 6th century. The *Lombard ruler *Romuald (r. 671–87) incorporated most of the region into the Duchy of *Benevento. MSB
S. Settis, ed., *Storia della Calabria antica* (1993).

Calama (Guelma, Algeria) *City on the edge of *Africa Proconsularis, 65 km (49 miles) south-west of *Hippo Regius. There is little physical evidence from the Roman period, due to continuous settlement, though *inscriptions survive embedded in the Justinianic fort. *Possidius, Bishop of Calama 401–after 437, was the biographer of *Augustine and one of his most agile fellow combatants against *Donatism and *paganism. Following a pagan procession on the Kalends of June 408, there were *riots at Calama; a Catholic *priest was killed and the church torched without the magistrates intervening. The city was heavily fined, though appeals by Nectarius, a local notable, to Augustine (*epp.* 90–1, 103–4) saved its citizens from *torture or *execution. Augustine (*City of God*, 22, 8) describes the conversion of Martial, a leading councillor, among other *miracles resulting from prayers at the shrine of S. Stephen in the church at Calama. RB
Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 90–103.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 296–8.
Hermanowicz, *Possidius.*
E. T. Hermanowicz, 'Catholic Bishops and Appeals to the Imperial Court: A Legal Study of the Calama Riots in 408', *JECS* 21 (2004), 481–521.

Calcidius (4th cent. AD) *Middle Platonist *philosopher, whose commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* became exceptionally influential throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The form of his name (with or without *h*), his dates, life, social background, and functions are all controversial.

The standard spelling of Calcidius' name was Chalcidius from the 16th to 19th century inclusive, but since his editor, J. H. Waszink, pointed out that the best manuscripts do not use the h, scholars tend to spell the name Calcidius. One of the best mss. of Calcidius, however, does display an 'h' (*Vat. Reg. Lat.* 1068); the correct spelling cannot be ascertained from such thin information. In addition, it has been suggested that the Calcidius of the *Timaeus* commentary should be identified with the 'Calcidius grammaticus' of *Fulgentius' *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*. This, too, is thin evidence for the author's identification and exact name.

On the basis of both historical and stylistic arguments, it is now thought that Calcidius may have lived towards the end of the 4th century AD, although some still argue for an early 4th-century date, on the grounds that no influence of *Porphyry can be detected in Calcidius' work and that the Ossius to whom it is dedicated might be *Constantine I's *court *bishop Ossius of Cordoba. Indeed, a bewildering feature of Calcidius' work is that it owes more to *Middle Platonist doctrines, antiquated by the later 4th century, than it does to more recent *Neoplatonist developments.

Similarly unclear is the place and milieu in which Calcidius could have studied and worked. A case has been made for *Spain, but *Milan and *Constantinople are also relatively plausible locations. Again, no consensus has been reached among scholars; nothing, in fact, is known for certain about Calcidius the man.

Nevertheless, Calcidius' commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* was a 'key transmitter of Plato's cosmological doctrine to the Middle Ages' (Gersh). The only work of Plato continuously read in the Latin West from Antiquity to the Renaissance, the *Timaeus* was often transmitted alongside the *Latin *translation and commentary by Calcidius, hence ensuring the latter's wider diffusion (about 150 manuscripts of Calcidius' work survive). Both translation and commentary, in turn, received copious glosses and explanatory diagrams. During the 11th century, each text began to have a life of its own, thus allowing the exegetical tradition of Calcidius' work to become even more complex, even before the 12th-century Renaissance. Through its many lines of thought, Calcidius' commentary not only shaped much medieval philosophical thinking, but also initiated a trend in borrowing exegetical devices from various traditions: 'Calcidius' fearless juxtapositions of Hebrew, Christian, and Pagan mythological motifs made original juxtapositions of such a kind possible for his successors' (Dronke). Indeed, from William of Conches to Bernardus Silvestris, interpreting the *Timaeus*, and connecting it to broader concerns such as the role of Nature in a Christian world, was greatly facilitated by Calcidius' multifaceted approach to Platonic doctrines. Many factors explain Calcidius' enduring popularity; his *Commentary* touches upon such crucial concepts in ancient and medieval metaphysics as God, Nature, the Cosmos, and the Soul. It also owes as much to Platonist ideas as to the Christian intellectual legacy, an appealing feature for Christian medieval scholars. Like Plato's *Timaeus* itself, Calcidius' commentary gave rise to studies focusing on specific sections or themes adumbrated in the *Timaeus*, for example demonology (Den Boeft). CP; OPN

HLL 5, section 566.

ed. B. Bakhouche with L. Brisson (with FT, introd. and comm.), 2 vols. (2011).

IT C. Moreschini, with Waszink's text (2003).J. H. Waszink, ed., *Plato, Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus* (²1975).

ed. (with ET and comm.) J. Magee, *On Plato's Timaeus* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 41, 2016).

J. Den Boeft, *Calcidius on Daemons (Commentarius, 127–136)* (1977).

J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (1977), 401–8.

P. E. Dutton, 'Medieval Approaches to Calcidius', in G. J. Reydams-Schils, ed., *Plato's Timaeus as a cultural icon* (2003), 183–205.

P. Dronke, *The Spell of Calcidius: Platonic Concepts and Images in the Medieval West* (2008).

St. E. Gersh, 'Calcidius' Theory of First Principles', *Studia Patristica* 18/2 (1989), 85–92.

Ilsetraut Hadot, *Le Problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin: Hiéroclès et Simplicius* (Études Augustiniennes, 1978), 117–42.

M. Huglo, 'La Réception de Calcidius et des Commentarii de Macrobe à l'époque carolingienne', *Scriptorium* 44 (1990), 3–20.

M. Huglo, 'Recherche sur la traduction des diagrammes de Calcidius', *Scriptorium* 68 (2008), 185–233.

A. Somfai, 'The Eleventh-Century Shift in the Reception of Plato's Timaeus and Calcidius' Commentary', *Jnl Warburg & Courtauld Inst* 65 (2002), 1–21.

caliphate The caliphate (*al-khilafa*) was the office of leader of the new polity formed in the wake of *Muhammad's mission (*c.*610–32) and the subsequent *Arab conquests. 'Caliphate' is now often used in a territorial sense. However, in the early sources 'caliphate' denotes an office and not territory.

Khilafa implies both 'succession' and 'delegation'. Sunni scholars later agreed that the title 'caliph' (*khalifa*) was an abbreviation of *khalifat rasul Allah* (Successor to God's Messenger) and this form circulated in some earlier traditions. However, the first documentary attestation is on rare *coinage (*c.*694–7), where it is *khlft Allh* (i.e. *khalifat Allah*, or 'God's Deputy'). Early *poetry and prose also refer to 'God's Deputy'; Crone and Hinds propose that this was in fact the title's original meaning.

'God's Deputy' was not the caliph's protocollary title. In most *inscriptions and documents he was *'abd Allah… amir al-mu'minin* (God's Servant… Commander of the Faithful). AM

P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (1986).

P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (²2005).

A. Hakam, "Umar b. al-Khattab and the Title *khalifat Allah*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005), 207–30.

Callinicum (mod. ar-Raqqa, Syria) City at the confluence of the Balikh and the Euphrates, founded on Hellenistic Nicephorium, and called Callinicum after Seleucus II Callinicus who enlarged it. *Julian celebrated pagan rites here in 363 during his advance into Persia (*Ammianus, XXIII, 3, 7). In 388 *Theodosius I ordered the *bishop to pay for rebuilding a *synagogue burnt by Christians; *Ambrose argued against the order, enumerating churches destroyed by *Jews (*ep.* 40). A law of 408/9 (*CJust* IV, 63, 4, pr. and 1) listed Callinicum, with *Nisibis and Artaxata, as the only cities where *trade with the Persians was permitted. It seems to have been mainly an economic and military settlement before *Leo I rebuilt it in 465/6, renamed it Leontopolis, and appointed a bishop (**Chronicle of Edessa*, 70).

The city was a key point during the invasion of *Qobad I (*Joshua the Stylite, 57, 64, 69, 88) and a Persian *army camped opposite it in 531. The campaign of Callinicum (spring 531) was a disaster for the Romans (Greatrex and Lieu, 92–3). It was followed by a commission of enquiry which resulted in the dismissal of the famous general *Belisarius. *Khosrow I damaged the city in 540 and destroyed it in 542, taking its citizens to Persia, *Justinian I subsequently rebuilt its defences (Greatrex and Lieu, 107–11). It was captured by the *Arabs in 636/7.

Not much has survived from the Roman city. Parts of the city walls, which apparently enclosed 50 ha (over 120 acres), have been found. Two *monasteries are known, Tell Bia (1 km north-east of the city) and Dera d-estuna (at an unknown location). The city was called al-Raqqa by the Arabs. The *Caliph *Hisham maintained an agricultural estate next to the city. An entirely new city, called al-Rafiqah, the companion, was built just to the west of Raqqa by the *Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur (754–75). From the Abbasid period onwards, the city was associated with the production of fine *glass and *pottery. EKK

M. al-Khalaf and K. Kohlmeyer, 'Untersuchungen zu ar-Raqqa-Nikephorion/Callinicum', *DamasMitt* 2 (1985), 134–62.
S. Heidemann, 'Die Geschichte von ar-Raqqa/ar-Rafiqa—ein Überblick', in S. Heidemann and A. Becker, eds., *Raqqa II—Die islamische Stadt* (2003), 9–56.

Callinicus Engineer (*mechanicus*) from *Heliopolis (Ba'albek) who fled *Syria at the time of the Battle of the *Yarmuk. He invented *Greek fire, used at a naval battle off *Cyzicus in 673 (*Theophanes AM 6165), in the 674–8 operations defending *Constantinople, and possibly, according to *Michael the Elder, against an Arab fleet off *Lycia in 671. OPN

PBE, Kallinikos 1.

Calliopius Imperial official under *Anastasius I. In 494 he was *Comes Orientis at *Antioch. During Anastasius' *Persian War (502–5), he held the title *Praefectus Praetorio (Hyparchus) and superintended the *billeting and provisioning of the army, particularly at *Edessa. After 506, having been made a **patricius*, he supervised, according to *Marcellinus Comes (*s.a.* 518), the construction of *Dara. BC

PLRE II, Calliopius 3 to Calliopius 7 (all same man).
B. Croke, 'Marcellinus on Dara: A Fragment of his Lost De Temporum Qualitatibus et Positionibus Locorum', *Phoenix* 38 (1984), 77–88.

Calocaerus *Magister of a troop of *camels, *usurper in *Cyprus under *Constantine I, probably *c.*334. He was suppressed and burnt alive at *Tarsus by Constantine's half-brother *Dalmatius (*consul 333). OPN

Barnes, *NEDC* 15–16.
Barnes, *CE* 252.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 49.

Calopodius and *Acta per Calopodium* *Spatharius (bodyguard) of the Sacrum *Cubiculum of doubtful date, denounced in the *Acta per Calopodium*, a vituperative dialogue chanted rhythmically at the *Constantinople *Circus between the circus *factions and the *emperor's herald. *Theophanes preserves the earliest surviving version (AM 6024), making it the prelude to the *Nika Riot of 532. The version interpolated in the **Chronicon Paschale* (AD 532) is copied, possibly from Theophanes or the original version of *John Malalas, and abbreviated. OPN

PLRE III, Calopodius 1.
Jones, *LRE* 1233 n. 9.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 277–83.
Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 113–14.
Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 317–33.

Cambrai (*civitas Cameracensium*: dép. Nord, France) A small Late Roman *city on the River Scheldt, which by *c.*500 had become the centre of a *Frankish kingdom which was eliminated by *Clovis I. Its first securely attested *bishop is Gaugericus (S. Géry) (580s–620s). EJ

DHGE 11, 547–50.
CAGaule 59 (1996), 155–67.
Topographie chrétienne, vol. 14 (2006), 97–105.

Cambyses Romance (*c.*6th/7th cents.) The narrative combines elements from *Greek historians (Herodotus, Josephus), biblical narratives (Judith), and indigenous traditions (e.g. the *Apocalypse of *Elijah*, and elements found in the chronicle of *John of *Nikiu) to mythologize local history and to depict *Egypt as the New Jerusalem. The beginning and ending are lost. It was probably composed in Egypt at a date later than the *Council of *Chalcedon. The text survives in *Coptic on parchment fragments in Berlin. LSBM

H. L. Jansen, *The Coptic Story of Cambyses' Invasion of Egypt: A Critical Analysis of its Literary Form and its Historical Purpose* (Avhandlinger 2, 1950).
E. Cruz-Uribe, 'Notes on the Coptic Cambyses Romance', *Enchoria*, 14 (1986), 51–6.
P. Venticinque, 'What's In a Name? Greek, Egyptian and Biblical Traditions in the *Cambyses Romance*', *BASP* 43 (2006), 139–58.

camels These animals provided transport, *meat, milk, *leather, and fibre. Two-humped camels were common throughout *Sogdia, and the Persian Empire; their penetration as far west as *Syria is attested from a **graffito* at *Dura Europus. The **Geoponica* (XVI, 22, 3)

attests to familiarity with the two-humped variety, which probably formed the vast herds in *Cappadocia noted by *Basil of *Caesarea (*In Divites*, 2.4). The Parthians bred hybrid varieties from mating one- and two-humped animals that could carry heavy loads (up to 900 lb or about 296 kg), a response to *Silk Road trade. One-humped camels were always more numerous, especially in the warm regions of *Arabia and the Mediterranean. *Sasanian *silver plates depict kings *hunting from camelback, but their role in war was restricted to transport or to defensive laagers, such as those encountered by Romans fighting the *Moors in 6th-century North *Africa (*Corippus, *Ioannis*, II,93) and the *Arab army at the Battle of the *Yarmuk. MD

R. W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (1975; repr. 1990).

cameo A relief image (contrary to an intaglio) usually carved in banded sardonyx and used in *jewellery. By removing the first plane of the material a contrast in colour is created between image and background.

Developed in the late Hellenistic period, cameos became common in Roman imperial times but considerably rarer after the mid-3rd century. In later periods classical cameos were sometimes reused or made of *glass. Cameos with *inscriptions and Christian scenes were still popular until the 6th century. Important Late Antique examples include the sardonyx *cameo depicting the capture of *Valerian by *Shapur I, and the agate Great Cameo now in Leiden (formerly in Utrecht) showing *Constantine I with his wife and child in a chariot. AHi

J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (2007).

Campania *Province of the *Dioecesis Italiae created under the *Tetrarchy before *c.* AD 294 (*CIL* VI, 1418 = *ILS* Dessau 2941), but, like several other Italian provinces, omitted (presumably in error) from the *Verona List. The*Notitia Dignitatum* places Campania in the Dioecesis Italiae (*occ.* II, 19) under the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae (XIX, 3), indicating that it formed part of *Italia Suburbicaria. The area lay between the Tiber, Anio, Garigliano, Sangro, Sebeto, and Silaro rivers. It was governed from Capua by a *Corrector up till *c.*324, thereafter by a Consularis (cf. *Not. Dig. occ.* I, 59; XIX, 3), though briefly under *Gratian the *governor had the rank of *Proconsul (*ILS* Dessau 1262–3). MMA

NEDC 163–4, 218–19.
F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen in spätantike Italien* (1988).
R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Campus Mauriacus, Battle of *See* CATALAUNIAN PLAINS, BATTLE OF.

Camuliana icon Linen *acheiropoietos *icon of Christ. It was found in a fountain and kept at Camulia, north-west of *Caesarea of Cappadocia. Copies were venerated at Caesarea and Diyabudin near *Amaseia (*Zacharias Rhetor XII, 1–4). It was taken to *Constantinople in 574 (*George Cedrenus, 685, 1–3). HAHC

Barber, *Figure and Likeness*, 25–6.
Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 49–57.
E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (TU 18 = NF 3, 1899).

cancellarii **1.** *Palace functionaries, probably attendants (cf. **decani*), under the *Magister Officiorum (*Not. Dig.* (*occ.*) IX, 15).

2. Personal assistants to high-ranking officials in the exercise of their judicial functions. In the 6th century, the Cancellarius was a senior staff appointment outside the regular progression of posts by seniority (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3, 27; *Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 11, 6). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 602–3.
Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 59.
R. Morosi, '*Cancellarii* in Cassiodoro e in Giovanni Lido', *Romanobarbarica* 3 (1978), 127–58.
Stein, *Officium*,34–6.

Çandarli Ware Excavations in 1911 at the coastal site of Çandarli (ancient Pitane, south-west of *Pergamum), discovered kilns and production waste of a good-quality red gloss tableware of the mid-1st to mid-2nd century AD. Earlier Augustan forms were subsequently identified in Pergamum. Significant later production and long-distance exports associated with the site continued into the mid- or later 3rd century (Hayes 1972, forms 1–4). The later ware is generally well fired with characteristic sparse flakes of gold mica on the surface. The well-fused slip on the inside, turning marks and scratches on the outside, and heavy, square-cut (forms 1–3) or triangular (form 4) feet are distinctive. The flanged cup (form 3) and wide dish (form 4) are the most common of the later forms.

Finds at *Mytilene suggest that Çandarli Ware was still in production for a local market *c.*320–40. Indeed, production may have continued without a break, as Late Roman C form 1, appearing in the late 4th century, is clearly related in form and fabric to Çandarli form 4.

The ware is well represented on Aegean sites, in *Athens, *Corinth, Knossos, *Cyrenaica, and to a lesser extent the Black Sea, whereas it was quite scarce on Levantine sites (in contrast to the Late Roman C ware) and in the West (e.g. *Rome, *Ostia, *Butrint). PR

J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), 316–22, 369, 459.
J. W. Hayes, in *Atlante delle forme ceramiche, II, Ceramica fine romana nel Bacino mediterraneo (tardo ellenismo e primo impero)* (Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), 71–8, Tavole XVI–XVIII.
P. M. Kenrick, *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, vol. 3, part 1: *The Fine Pottery*, Supplements to *Libya Antiqua* 5 (1985), 257–65.

candidati From the 4th century AD, a group of 40 men chosen from the *Scholae Palatinae as the *emperor's personal bodyguard. They were named after their white uniforms. HE

Candidianus Son, by a concubine, of the *Emperor *Galerius, born *c.*296. *Lactantius (*Mort.* 20, 4) states Galerius planned to abdicate after ruling twenty years and make Candidianus *Caesar. Galerius' death in 311 forestalled this (*Mort.* 35, 3). Candidianus was executed after *Licinius' victory in 313 (*Mort.* 50, 2). OPN

PLRE I, Candidianus 1.
Barnes, *NEDC* 38.

Candidus the Isaurian Author of a lost three-book history covering 457 to 491, summarized by *Photius (79) and mentioned in the **Suda*. OPN

PLRE II, Candidus 1.
ed. Müller, *FHG* IV, 135–7.
ed. (with ET and introd.) R. C. Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 2, 463–73.
ET in Gordon, *Age of Attila.*

canonicarii Officials responsible for monitoring revenue collection in the provinces, sent from the *Res Privata, the Sacrae *Largitiones (both drawn from a Scrinium Canonum), and the financial staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio (sometimes known as *tractores*). They were largely indistinguishable from the **compulsores* until the mid-5th century. CMK

RE III (1899) *s.v.* canonicarii, cols. 1488–90 (Seeck).
Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, 72–3.

canon law, Greek and Latin Conventional term for the legal system of the Christian Church, applied especially to developments of the 4th century and later. The gradual establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire encouraged the regularization of *councils of *bishops (*synodos*) as the central mechanism of church governance. Councils across the Empire began to issue disciplinary decisions which were soon regularly called 'canons' (*kanones*), i.e. rules. These rules often referred to earlier customary material but gradually displaced earlier regulative traditions (e.g. the apostolic *church orders).

In *Anatolia one local collection of conciliar canons, known to scholarship as the *Corpus Antiochenum*, seems to have risen to prominence in *Homoean circles in the region of *Antioch in the mid–late 4th century (Schwartz). Appropriated by the victorious Nicene faction after 380, and prefixed by the canons of the Council of *Nicaea (AD 325), this collection would eventually become the common textual kernel of every major Christian legal tradition. In the following centuries it underwent a variety of translations, expansions, and modifications in both East and West. Common additions included canons of later ecumenical councils, some apostolic church order material, and canons from *Africa.

Greek collections would be characterized by the incorporation of earlier patristic regulations and much imperial legislation. Latin collections, as a rule more diverse, were distinguished by the addition of local western conciliar material and papal decretals. In the 6th century, collections emerged that arranged material not only by source ('chronologically') but also by topic ('systematically'). In northern Europe collections became increasingly idiosyncratic in sources and form.

Dominant topics of canonical regulation were qualifications for the clergy, the administration of the Church, moral standards, monasticism, interaction with religious outsiders (*heretics, *pagans, *Jews), and ritual matters. Sanctions for wrongdoing were typically removal from church office or exclusion from participation in the *Eucharist. Substantive regulations were similar in both East and West, especially in the Mediterranean region, but notable divergences can be observed, for example in rules on clerical celibacy. The appropriation of Late Roman civil legal concepts and terminology was at times pronounced, especially in procedure. In the early 6th century *Justinian I gave the canons the force of law (*CJust* I, 3, 44(45),1; *Nov-Just* VI, 1, 8; 131, 1). Canon law did not, however, develop in this period into a well-delineated branch of law with a comprehensive codification, a dedicated set of professionals, or a specialized proprietary jurisprudence. Imperial legislation on ecclesial matters typically addressed problems of financial administration, the relations of the Church with civil institutions, property, uniformity of belief, and professional standards for the clergy. DFW

H. Alivisatos, *Die kirchliche Gesetzgebung des Kaisers Justinian I* (1913, repr. 1973).
J. Gaudemet, *La Formation du droit séculier et du droit de l'Église aux IVe et Ve siècles* (1957).
J. Gaudemet, *Les Sources du droit de l'Église en occident du IIe au VIIe siècle* (1985).
H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica* (2002).

H. Ohme, *Kanon ekklesiastikos* (1998).
E. Schwartz, 'Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche', *ZRG (KA)* 25 (1936), 1–114.
S. Troianos, *Oi Peges tou Byzantinou Dikaiou* (²2011).

canon law, Armenian Early Armenian canon law consisted of three elements: canons of the Œcumenical *Councils of *Nicaea, *Constantinople I, and *Ephesus, canons of local councils such as those of Ancyra (*Ankara), *Neocaesarea, Gangra, *Antioch, and *Sardica, and canons and canonical letters of the holy fathers, including the Apostles, in Armenian redaction. Canons from each of these sources were sometimes mixed together, adapted, and substituted for one another.

Original Armenian canons were added to those adopted from elsewhere, in particular under the *Catholici *Sahak I Part'ew, *Nerses, Nershapuh, *John (Yovhannes) Mandakuni, Abraham *Mamikonean, the Later Sahak, and Yovhannes (John) Odznets'i (Ōjnec'i), under whom the *Book of *Canons* (*Kanonagirk'*) was collected and codified. The earliest compilation, undertaken at the Council of Shahapivan (444), is considered the founding act of Armenian canon law. As a tool in the Christianization of Armenia, early Christian canon law had to contend with deeply rooted customary law, which, incompatibilities excepted, it to a certain extent absorbed.

TMvL

Chr. Hannick, 'Zur Rezeption des byzantinischen Kirchenrechtes in Armenien', in W. Diem and A. Falaturi, eds., *XXIV deutscher Orientalistentag* (1990), 116–22.
A. Mardirossian, *Le Livre des Canons Arméniens (Kanonagirk'Hayoc') de Yovhannēs Awjnec'i: Église, droit et société en Arménie du IV^e^ au VIII^e^ siècle* (2004).
J.-P. Mahé, 'Norme écrite et droit coutumier en Arménie du Ve au XIIIe siècle, *TM* 13 (2000), 683–705.

canon law, Syriac The ecclesiastical law of the Syriac churches does not differ fundamentally from that of other churches, as it goes back to a great extent to earlier Greek canons. The conciliar decisions and other canonical writings primarily address contemporary, practical questions. Only later do systematic compilations aim at presenting canon law in ways organized by theme. However, no truly comprehensive *Syriac or *Arabic works on canon law have come down to us.

Most collections are organized chronologically, but a few systematic collections are extant, such as those of the west Syriac scholar *Bar 'Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus, 13th cent.) and the east Syriac Gabriel of *Basra (late 9th cent.). The *Fiqh al-Nasraniya* (*Law of Christiandom*) by the polymath Ibn at-Taiyib (11th cent., in Arabic) and the Syriac *Nomocanon* of ʿAbdishoʿ of *Nisibis (*c.*1300) are based on Gabriel of Basra. ʿAbdishoʿ also composed a further thematic collection known by the *Latin title *Ordo Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum*.

The canons primarily address diverse church offices, the personal qualifications necessary for holding an office, appointment and deposition of the clergy, and the duties and conduct appropriate to the various offices. The canons also regulate monastic life. There are detailed prescriptions concerning the sacraments. Law concerning *marriage in particular is laid out in detail. There are also regulations pertaining to ecclesiastical property for both churches and *monasteries. Penal law occupies a significant place. Penalties range from *penance to exclusion from the church community. Under Muslim rule the Syriac churches were allowed to exert jurisdiction over their adherents in matters of civil law, so that laws on *inheritance and occasionally other matters pertaining to civil law were treated.

There are hardly any theoretical expositions of canon law, such as a reflection on its sources, or the principles underlying its application and further development. Rather, of primary concern is the solution of practical problems. There are few indications of clergy being trained in canon law, or of the existence of specialists in canon law. A few authors, however, such as the *Syriac Orthodox Bishop *Jacob of *Edessa (d. 708) or the east Syriac *Catholicus Timothy I (sed. 780–823), did, however write about canon law.

HK

GEDSH s.v. juridical literature (van Rompay).
W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, vol. 1: *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit* (1981); vol. 2: *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit* (1989).
H. Kaufhold, 'Sources of Canon Law in the Eastern Churches', in W. Hartmann and K. Penington, eds., *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law* (2012), 238–54, 295–313.

Canons, Armenian (*Kanonagirk'*) A collection of canons of the Armenian Church compiled near the beginning of the 8th century by the *Catholicus Yovhannes Odznets'i. At the time Armenian law existed in the form of secular customs transmitted orally, and also in the form of canon law that had first been written down after the *Council of Shahapivan in 444 and augmented by later councils. The work of Odznets'i was meant to collect and codify the canon law, establishing definitively the Armenian rejection of the Council of *Chalcedon but also avoiding overt adoption of the doctrine of *Julian of Halicarnassus as advocated by late 7th-century theologians such as Yovhannes Mayragomets'i. The canons were formally adopted in a council at *Dvin in 719. They remain one of the most important historical sources for the development of the Armenian Church.

TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* 265–7, supplement 213.
A. Mardirossian, *Le Livre des Canons Arméniens (Kanonagirk Hayoc') de Yovhannēs Awjnec'i* (2004).

Canons, Syriac *Syriac ecclesiastical law is based on the earlier *Greek ecumenical and local *councils. Although the west Syrians (*Syriac Orthodox, Jacobites) recognize only the first three ecumenical *councils, of *Nicaea, *Constantinople I, and *Ephesus, they have also adopted the canons of *Chalcedon. In east Syrian (*Church of the East) collections one finds the canons of Nicaea, Constantinople I, and Ephesus. The west Syrians also recognize councils of *Cyprian of *Carthage. For the east Syrians 73 pseudo-Nicene canons, whose origin is still unknown, are also important. Apart from these, the west Syrians also use the Fifteen Responses of *Timothy of *Alexandria.

The Pseudo-Apostolic canons of the Syrians also go back to Greek models. Alongside 27 canons allegedly transmitted by the Apostles (the **Didascalia Apostolorum* or *Teachings of the Apostles*; called by the west Syrians *The Teachings of the Apostle Addai*) these are texts that include a part of Book 8 of the **Apostolic Constitutions*. Together with the **Testamentum Domini Nostri*, the **Apostolic Church Order*, and the *Apostolic Canons*, these are the components of the collection known as the *Octateuch of Clement*, which was compiled in the 7th/8th century upon the model of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The east Syrians recognize three 'Apostolic Councils', whose material consists of the *Teachings of the Apostles*, the *Apostolic Canons*, and the parallel text of Book 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

The Greek sources were complemented by the conciliar decisions of the Syrian Churches themselves. Most of the west Syrian canons date from the time between 785 and 896. The east Syrian canons are collected in the **Synodicon Orientale* (between 410 and 476).

To the legal literature of the Syrians belong also further individual works of diverse content. In the west Syrian literature most of these come from the 6th and 7th centuries. Unlike the west Syrians, the east Syrian authors considered questions pertaining to civil law.

The extant legal literature was later compiled in collected volumes. Among these some are organized chronologically and some systematically. The west Syrian *Bar 'Ebroyo (Barhebraeus, 1125/6–1286) composed the *Book of Directions* (*Nomocanon*) which contains rules pertaining to church and civil law. Among the east Syrians, Gabriel of *Basra compiled a systematic collection of laws (end of the 9th cent.) which was reworked by Abdisho of *Nisibis in the 13th century. HK

W. Selb, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer* (1981).
W. Selb, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer* (1989).
H. Kaufhold, 'Orientalisches Kirchenrecht', in *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients* (2007), 241–3, 248–9.

Canoscio Treasure Twenty-five *silver objects, probably of the 6th century, unearthed during ploughing near Canoscio, Umbria, in 1935, and now in the Cathedral Museum at Città di Castello. It was formerly considered domestic, but a *votive *inscription recently restored on one plate confirms it was a liturgical donation. HAHC

J. Engemann, 'Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagslebens', *JbAC* 15 (1972), 154–73.
M. Aimone, 'Il tesoro di Canoscio', in A. Bravi, ed., *Aurea Umbria: una regione dell'Impero dell'era di Costantino* (Bolletino per i beni culturali dell'Umbria, quaderno 6, 2012), 132–7.

Canterbury Roman town in south-east Kent, England. Occupation had declined by the 4th century, with wooden buildings encroaching onto former *streets. A *hoard of early 5th-century *silver objects indicates some continued wealth. The extent of 5th- and 6th-century activity is uncertain; 'dark earths' built up across much of the town, but there is debate about their significance. By the later 6th century, the town was the centre for secular governance in Kent. S. *Augustine's mission in 597 found a church east of the town dedicated to S. *Martin in use (*Bede, *HE* I, 26). Other ecclesiastical establishments in the city trace their origin to his conversion of King *Ethelbert of Kent. Clear archaeological evidence for increasing settlement within the *city walls from the 7th century onwards reflects its growing importance. DAP

C. M. Johns and T. W. Potter, 'The Canterbury Late Roman Treasure', *AntJ* 65 (1985), 312–52.
E. Cambridge, 'The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission', in R. Gameson. ed., *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England* (1999), 202–36.
N. Brooks and S. E Kelly, *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury* (Anglo-Saxon Charters 17, 2013).

Canterbury Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 286) Also known as the S. Augustine Gospels, an Old Latin Gospelbook, written in uncial *script, with illuminations depicting S. Luke as author and Christological cycles, probably made in *Rome in the late 6th century. It was in England by the 8th century and may have accompanied S. *Augustine to Canterbury in 597. It serves as the installation-book of the archbishops of Canterbury. MPB

F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St Augustine: Corpus Christi College Ms. 286* (1954)
K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (1977).
R. Gameson, ed., *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England* (1999).

canticle Generic term for non-psalmic scriptural hymns. First used in the Eastern rite as *hypopsalmata*

(psalm refrains), the fourteen canticles collected after the psalms in the Codex Alexandrinus (5th cent.) were reduced to a fixed sequence of nine canticles, also known as odes (*Odai*), arranged in a tripartite structure and sung during the morning hours (Orthos) on *Sundays and *festivals until they were replaced by the *kanon*. In the Roman rite, the *Rule of S. *Benedict* (*RegBen* 13) similarly assigns OT canticles to Lauds. AJH

H. Schneider, 'Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum', *Biblica* 30 (1949), 28–65, 293–72, 433–52, 479–500.

cantor (Gk. *psaltes*) Christians sang in *praise of God from the earliest times (Ephesians 5: 19, Colossians 3: 16; Ignatius of *Antioch, *To the Romans*, 2, *To the Ephesians*, 4; Pliny, *ep*. X, 96, 7). The **madrashe* of *Ephrem the Syrian were sung either by a cantor with a choir singing the chorus or in alternate verses by a double choir with the full choir singing the chorus The earliest references to a separate body of singers are in the canons of the 4th-century *Council of *Laodicea and in the late 4th-century *church order the **Apostolic Constitutions*. The 'singers from the *ambo' mentioned in the canons of Laodicea sing from a book, are the only people permitted to sing (15), may not wear an *orarion* (stole, 23), and may not go to taverns (24). In *Africa the Fourth *Council of *Carthage of 398 directed that a cantor should be admitted to his office with the words: 'See that what you sing with your mouth you believe in your heart, and that what you believe in your heart you show forth in what you do.' *Socrates (VI, 8) tells the story of a *eunuch cantor employed by the *Empress *Eudocia who led the singing in processions through the *streets of *Constantinople till he was hit on the head and killed by a *brick thrown by an Arian. Of the 425 clergy in the Great Church at *Constantinople in the reign of *Justinian I, 25 were *psaltai* (*NovJust* III, 1 of AD 535). OPN; MFC

DACL 3/1 (1913) *s.v.* chantres, cols. 344–65 (Leclercq).

Bingham, *Antiquities*, III, 7; 116–17 (1875 edn.); XIV, 1; 677–85.

M. E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29–51.

Kaija Ravolainen, *The Singer in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy: The Early History of the Order* (doctoral thesis, University of the Arts Helsinki, 2014).

Capernaum Fishing *village of *Galilee and biblical site with a 5th-century octagonal church over the 'House of Peter'. The *insula sacra*, which included the *domus*, traditionally considered the house of S. Peter, was first turned to a *domus ecclesiae*, as recorded by *Epiphanius (347–77) in his *Panarion* (XXX, 40, 1; 11, 10). In the second half of the 5th century, an *octagonal church was erected on a fill within the perimeter of the former enclosure walls of the *insula*. It consisted of a small octagon standing directly on the walls of a square room venerated as the house of the Apostle, as well as a larger concentric octagon. An outer semi-octagon was linked to the internal part of the church and to its eastern *diaconicon and *prothesis. A *baptistery set in the eastern *apse was added later. The pavement received *mosaic decoration showing a peacock and rosettes. The church was visited by the *Piacenza Pilgrim in 570 (7). There is also a Late Antique *synagogue. BH

V. Corbo, *The House of Saint Peter at Capharnaum* (1969).

V. Corbo, 'The Church of the House of St. Peter at Capernaum', in Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed* (1993), 71–6.

M. Fischer, 'Kapharnaum. Eine Retrospektive', *JbAC* 44 (2001), 142–67.

capitals Of the five types of design for column capitals recognized by classical architecture, those most common on Roman monuments were the Corinthian and Composite, carved to resemble acanthus *foliage. These designs continued to be employed in the Later Roman Empire, whether freshly sculpted or as *spolia from earlier buildings (as in the 5th-cent. colonnade of the Church of S. *Sabina in *Rome). The reuse of architectural *sculpture began in the 3rd century; capitals in Late Roman colonnades did not always match one another, so expressing the *'aesthetics of variety'.

The design of capitals developed from classical models in Late Antiquity. In the course of the 4th century, the impost capital emerges and soon develops into the Ionic impost capital, documented between 450 and 600. The production of the Corinthian capital, taking up the tradition of the imperial period, continues until the 6th century and is distinguished by different forms of acanthus, e.g. the windblown acanthus capitals at *Qalat Seman. New forms were invented in the 6th century, when impost capitals (as at S. Vitale, *Ravenna, at the Basilica Eufrasiana at *Poreč and at Justinianic churches at *Constantinople) frequently resembled basketwork and were made using the deep drilling method called the *à-jour* technique. Other developments include the folded capital and the capital with figural motifs. *Crosses and christograms begin to appear on capitals in the early 5th century. Some capitals had the *monograms of *patrons worked into the decoration.

In Constantinople, the principal centre of their production, capitals were manufactured from the end of the 4th until the end of the 6th century, both for use in the city itself and for export. Capitals made of *marble from *Proconnesus in the Sea of *Marmara are among the fragments found in the 6th-century Church Wreck

off *Marzamemi in *Sicily. Most regional workshops of the Late Roman world copied Constantinopolitan models. Noteworthy are workshops in *Lycia and *Cilicia in Asia Minor and in the Belus Mountains in *Syria, which developed original forms and a particular character of their own. JDW; OPN

RAC 20 (2004) *s.v.* Kapitell, 58–123 (U. Peschlow).

W. E. Betsch, *The History, Production and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital* (doctoral diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977).

J. Dresken-Weiland, 'Maria mit dem Kind: Ein Figuralkapitell in Herakleia Pontike', in H. Grieser and A. Merkt, eds., *Volksglaube im antiken Christentum* (2009), 275–90.

M. J. Vickers, 'A "New" Capital from St. Polyeuktos (Saraçhane) in Venice', *OxJnlArch* 8/ 2 (1989), 227–30.

capitatio* and *caput Late Roman unit of tax assessment based on the number of 'heads' (human and animal) on a given piece of land. The Late Roman *taxation system, introduced by *Diocletian (AD 287), comprised two methods of assessing tax liability: **jugatio* and *capitatio*. The former was based on *iuga*, the notional units of productive land; the latter on *capita*, notional units of livestock and people (**coloni*, **adscripticii*, and *servi*). The *iugum* formed a simple unit of assessment; the *caput* instead could be interpreted as the distribution of liability among the taxable population (*PanLat* VIII). The total tax burden was calculated by combining both units of assessment. The *Greek term for this combined liability was *zygokephalē*. PT

J.-M. Carrié, 'Dioclétien et la fiscalité', *AntTard* 2 (1994), 33–64.

J.-M. Carrié, 'L'Incidence de la fiscalité sur les divisions territoriales de l'Empire Tardif', *Atti dell'Accademia romanistica costantiniana* 13 (1997), 309–31.

J. Durliat, *Les Rentiers de l'impôt: recherches sur les finances municipales dans la pars orientis au IVe siècle* (1993).

W. Goffart, *Caput and Colonate: Towards a History of Late Roman Taxation* (1974).

Capito Historian (?*c.*500) from *Lycia. The **Suda* (K 342) mentions writings on Lycia and *Pamphylia, his Greek translation of *Eutropius' *Breviarium*, and his *Isaurica* of which *Stephanus of Byzantium preserves geographical fragments. OPN

PLRE II, Capito.

ed. Müller, *FHG* IV, 133–4.

Capitolias (Aramaic and mod. Arabic Beit Ras, Jordan) *City of the Decapolis, in the *province of *Arabia from 106 and in *Palaestina Secunda from the *Tetrarchy onwards. Though named after Jupiter Capitolinus it sent *bishops to the *councils of *Nicaea and *Chalcedon. Excavations have partially revealed a market and church and have shown that the Roman city wall and the acropolis walls were regularly rebuilt up to the mid-8th century. The *passion recounting the martyrdom of S. Peter of Capitolias under the *Umayyads, written in *Greek but surviving in Georgian, and attributed to *John of *Damascus, mingles possible facts about Capitolias inextricably with martyrological convention (Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 354–60). The *wine of Capitolias is praised by *Arabic *poets such al-*Akhtal. BH; OPN

C. J. Lenzen and E. A. Knauf, 'Beit Ras/Capitolias: A Preliminary Evaluation of the Archaeological and Textual Evidence', *Syria* 64 (1987), 21–46.

C. J. Lenzen, 'Beit Ras Excavations: 1988 and 1989', *Syria* 67/ 2 (1990), 474–6.

A. Walmsley, 'Pella/Fihl after the Islamic Conquest (AD 635–900): A Coverage of Literary and Archaeological Evidence', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (1988), 145–53.

Capitolinus, Julius Alleged author of lives of a dozen *emperors between Antoninus Pius and Balbinus (AD 238) in the **Historia Augusta*. OPN

Cappadocia *Province belonging to the *Dioecesis *Pontica, and stretching from central *Anatolia to the Euphrates. In 314 Cappadocia was the largest province of the Roman Empire. The western part was divided in 371 into Cappadocia Prima (capital *Caesarea), and Cappadocia Secunda (capital *Tyana). By 386 a province of *Armenia Secunda had been created in the region east of Caesarea, and Armenia Prima to the north-east also existed by this date. All these provinces were governed by a *Praeses.

Apart from Caesarea and Tyana there were few *cities in Cappadocia, a highland region traversed by the *Pilgrims' Road and largely divided into huge *estates owned by the *emperors, or by wealthy local families. The Cappadocian imperial properties were known collectively as the *Domus Divina per Cappadociam which was controlled by the *Comes Domorum, answerable under *Theodosius I to the *Comes Rei Privatae, but subsequently to the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi. In 535/ 6 the duties of the Comes Domorum were fused with those of the Praeses of Cappadocia Prima, which was now governed by a *Proconsul.

There were important imperial ranches in Cappadocia Secunda, previously the property of the *senator Flavius Palmatius, which supplied *horses for the *Circus (Hippodrome) at *Constantinople. The Cappadocian provinces became a focus for imperial attention in the later 4th century, as the Roman Empire first confronted and around 387 reached a stable settlement with the *Persian Empire concerning control of *Mesopotamia and *Armenia beyond the Euphrates. Many inhabitants of Cappadocia were of Persian descent and Iranian *fire worship is attested as late as 465 (*Priscus fr. 41).

From the 350s to the 380s an extraordinary group of theologians from leading local families, *Basil of Caesarea, *Gregory of *Nyssa, and *Gregory of *Nazianzus, 'the Cappadocian fathers', came to prominence as ecclesiastical leaders and shapers of Christian doctrine. Basil in particular was also active in politics. During the 5th century Cappadocia retreated into obscurity. SM

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981).

S. Métivier, *La Cappadoce (IVe–VIe siècle): une histoire provinciale de l'Empire romain d'Orient* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 22, 2005).

Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow*.

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, II, 67–84.

Cappadocian Fathers *See* BASIL OF CAESAREA, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, GREGORY OF NYSSA.

Carabisian Theme Element in the *theme system, plausibly deriving from the 6th-century *Quaestura Exercitus; the Carabisian was the principal Roman maritime division in the 7th century. Probably based on *Samos, the Carabisian was first augmented and then in the 8th century replaced by the *Cibyrrhaeotic Theme. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 723–43.

carat (Gk. *keration*) A unit of weight, equivalent to *Latin *siliqua*, and to one-eighteenth of a *drachma* or one-third of an *obolus*. When applied to *gold, it indicates from the 4th century onwards a value equivalent to 1/24 of a **solidus*. It was thus a way to calculate the gold equivalents of sums of *money which were to be paid physically in divisional *bronze coins. FC

E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (1970).

Carausius M. Aurelius Mausaeus Carausius revolted against *Diocletian and *Maximian and established a regime in *Britain and northern *Gaul from 286 to 293. His early naval experience led to command of forces against *Saxon and *Frankish *pirates. The claim that he commanded the Classis Britannica is incompatible with the archaeological evidence that the *fleets' bases were abandoned before *c.*270. Accused of appropriating for his own use the loot recovered from the raiders, and condemned to death by *Maximian, Carausius used his forces to seize parts of northern Gaul and Britain. Carausius opened new mints at *London and *Colchester and issued *denarii* of notably higher *silver content than contemporary imperial issues. Coin designs were varied and legends appealed to a 'Britannic' but also a Roman identity.

Coins struck in *Rouen (Rotomagus) show that the earliest stages of the revolt were centred in Gaul itself and that the expulsion of Carausius from Gaul was neither immediate nor easily accomplished. Between 288 and 290 Maximian launched an unsuccessful invasion of Britain, Carausius recovering lost holdings in Gaul.

In 293 military action was initiated by the newly appointed *Caesar *Constantius I. The key naval base of Gesoriacum (Boulogne) fell, precipitating the killing of Carausius in a coup probably instigated by his successor *Allectus. PJC

PLRE I, Carausius.

ODNB s.n. Carausius (Casey).

RIC V, 2.

NEDC 10–11.

G. de la Bédoyère, 'Carausius and the Marks RSR and INPCDA', *NumChron* 158 (1998), 79–99.

P. J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers* (1994).

N. Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus* (1977).

Carchemish (Lat. Europus, mod. Karkamış, Turkey) *City on the west bank of the upper middle Euphrates, important as a crossing and place of *trade in Antiquity. Its situation at the junction of routes connecting *Mesopotamia with the Mediterranean and *Anatolia accounted for a settlement history stretching back into the 2nd millennium BC. Late Antique *mosaics have been excavated. SGB

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 166.

N. Marchetti, 'Karkemish on the Euphrates: Excavating a City's History', *NEA* 75 (2012), 132–47.

Caretena (*c.*456–506) *Burgundian queen, wife of *Gundobad, mother of *Sigismund but probably not of *Godomar. Her *epitaph reports that she subsequently adopted an ascetic Christian way of life (*ILCV* 46). She founded the Church of the Archangel Michael in *Lyons, in which she was probably buried. RVD

PCBE IV/1, Caretena.

G. Kampers, 'Caretena—Königin und Asketin', *Francia* 27 (2000), 1–32.

Caria *Province of *Dioecesis *Asiana, bordering the Aegean Sea and the provinces of *Asia, *Phrygia, *Pamphylia, and *Lycia, with *Aphrodisias as metropolis and an analogous ecclesiastical administration. The province was created under the *Tetrarchy, out of the Roman province of Asia, and is named in the *Verona List. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* the *governor's title is *Praeses, from *c.*491 onwards *Consularis. In the 7th century Caria was divided among the *Thrakesion *Theme and the *Cibyrrhaeotic Theme.

The geography is mostly mountainous with the exception of the *Meander Valley that served as a main artery between the *harbour *city of *Miletus on the Mediterranean coast and the High Plateau of Central *Anatolia. Among the traditional *aristocracy of the old cities *pagan religion and learning continued well

into the 5th century, as is apparent from both *Damascius' *Philosophical History* (*VIsidori*), and *Zacharias' *Life* of Severus of *Antioch. *Aphrodisias and Miletus maintained an ancient cityscape, statuary, and a retrospective style even when building anew. Some *temples were converted into churches, and a local workshop (or several closely related workshops) erected numerous churches at Miletus, along the coast, and on the neighbouring island of *Cos as late as the second half of the 6th century. PhN

Barrington Atlas, 61.
NEDC 215.
RAC 20 (2004) *s.v.* Karien, cols. 146–66 (V. Ruggieri).
V. Ruggieri, *La Caria Bizantina topografia, archeologia e arte* (2005).
Thonemann, *Maeander Valley*.
Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*.
Last Statues of Antiquity http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/.
D. Parrish, 'An Early Byzantine Mosaic Workshop Based on Kos; Architectural Context and Pavement Design', *AntTard* 9 (2001), 331–49.

Caričin Grad *City in south Serbia, 29 km (18 miles) west of Leskovac. Constructed during the 6th century and abandoned early in the 7th century, Caričin Grad has plausibly been identified as Justiniana Prima, built by the *Emperor *Justinian I to honour his birthplace. In 535 Justinian established at Justiniana Prima a new archiepiscopal see, whose holder had ecclesiastical authority over the Dioecesis of *Dacia within the Prefecture of Eastern *Illyricum (*NovJust* 11; *NovJust* 131, 3). *Gregory the Great wrote *letters from *Rome to the Archbishop of Justiniana Prima.

The fortified site of Caričin Grad spreads *c.*500 m down a rocky plateau between the Caričinska and Svinjarička rivers. The walled town had three parts, all separately fortified: (1) the Acropolis, located within (2) the Upper City, and (3) the Lower City. Recent investigations suggest that extensive suburbs and industrial areas lay outside the walls and were defended by ditches, earthen banks, and probably palisades. An underground *aqueduct, 17 km (10.5 miles) long, supplied water.

On the south side of the Acropolis stood the monumental Episcopal *Basilica, with atrium, tripartite *narthex, and *apses at the end of the nave and lateral aisles; a tetraconch-in-square *baptistery and a consignatorium stood to the south. Along the north side of the Acropolis is a row of three structures identified as the *bishop's palace; its central building, of two storeys, included a square apse and other features typical of an audience hall.

The Upper City at its north end displayed a large, round piazza, where east–west and north–south streets intersected and where fragments of a monumental *bronze statue of Justinian have been found. In the south-west corner lay the Principia (military headquarters), part of a large, multi-phase complex extending north to the Acropolis wall. It included an audience hall and administrative offices as well as the Villa Urbana and Basilica F. Remains of the Crypt Basilica and the Cruciform Church are also in the Upper City.

Recent investigations suggest that the Upper City and Lower City were built at the same time. The Lower City had south and east *gates and also included a large *cistern, a *bath, the Double Basilica, the Transept Basilica, and a domestic quarter. The Transept Basilica exhibits both an unusual plan and figural floor *mosaics.

Excavations have revealed a bath outside the east gate and a triconch church and a single-aisle church south of the city. CSS

B. Bavant, 'Caričin Grad and the Changes in the Nature of Urbanism in the Central Balkans in the Sixth Century', in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, 337–74.
B. Bavant and V. Ivanišević, *Iustiniana Prima—Caričin Grad* (2006).
B. Bavant, L. Bjelajac, V. Ivanišević, et al., *Caričin Grad II: le quartier sud-ouest de la ville haute* (1990).
N. Duval, M. Jeremić, J. Guyon, et al., *Caričin Grad I: les basiliques B et J de Caričin Grad* (1984).
N. Duval, J.-P. Caillet, M. Jeremić, and V. Popović, *Caričin Grad III: l'acropole et ses monuments (cathédrales, baptistère et bâtiments annexes)* (2010).
I. Nikolajević, 'La Décoration architecturale de Caričin Grad', in *Villes et peuplements dans l'Illyricum: actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, 12–14 mai 1982* (1984), 483–99.
V. Popovic, 'Grčki natpis iz Caričinog Grada i pitanje ubikacije Prve Justinijane', *Glas srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti* 355 (1990), 53–108.

Carinus *Emperor 282–5. *Carus appointed his sons Carinus and *Numerian *Caesars, and left Carinus on the Rhine and Danube *frontiers while he attacked Persia. Carus died in 283 and Numerian in 284. Carinus was killed in 285, after fighting *Diocletian on the *Margus near *Viminacium. OPN

PLRE I, Carinus.
CAH XII (2005), 57–8.
Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 4–6.

Carlisle (England, Roman Luguvallium) Civitas capital of the Caruetii, and presumably by the end of the 4th century the seat of a bishopric, whose fate is unknown. In 685 S. *Cuthbert visited in the company of the Bernician Queen Eormenburg whose sister was abbess there (*VCuthAnon* 37; *Bede, *VCuth* 27). AW

M. McCarthy, *Roman Carlisle and the Lands of the Solway* (2002), 131–54.
M. Henig, '*Murum civitatis, et fontem in ea a Romanis mire olim constructum*: The Arts of Rome in Carlisle and in the

Civitas of the Carvetii and their Influence', in M. McCarthy and D. Weston, eds., *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology* (2004), 11–28.

Carmen ad Senatorem *Latin poem in 85 hexameters wrongly attributed to Cyprian, also known as *Carmen ad Quendam Senatorem*. In fact it belongs to the late 4th century, and is an attack on *paganism in the manner of the **Carmen contra Paganos*, the *Contra Symmachum* of *Prudentius, and the *Carmen ad Antonium*. Criticism of the apostasy from Christianity of an unidentified and probably unidentifiable ex-*consul (Cameron suggests Domitius Modestus) is amplified into full-scale attacks on the cults of Magna Mater and *Isis. GAJK

ed. R. Peiper (CSEL 23, 1891), 227–30.
ET in Croke and Harries, *Religious Conflict*, 84–5.
Cameron, *Pagans*, 320–7.

Carmen ad Uxorem Early 5th-century Gallic poem of 53 elegiac couplets, with a preface in anacreontics addressed to the speaker's wife, attributed to *Prosper of *Aquitaine. The poet laments contemporary conditions and urges a reorientation to the life to come. MJR

Guillelmus von Hartel (*CSEL* 30, ²1999), 344–8.
N. McLynn, 'Poetic Creativity and Political Crisis in Early Fifth-Century Gaul', *JLA* 2 (2009), 60–74.

Carmen contra Paganos (*Poem against the Pagans*; also referred to as the *Carmen codicis Parisini 8084* and, wrongly, *Carmen adversus Flavianum*) A *Latin poem in 122 hexameters, transmitted anonymously in one 6th-century manuscript alongside works of *Prudentius. It was first published in 1867. Like the **Carmen ad Senatorem* and the *Contra Symmachum* of Prudentius, the *Carmen contra Paganos* mixes conventional Christian mockery of *pagan myths and cults with an attack on an individual aristocrat. The unnamed *Praefectus has recently died, after futile attempts to prolong his life though pagan worship in Rome. Metrically unclassical, the poem alludes to, among others, *Vergil, Petronius, Juvenal, and *Proba. The Prefect has most often been identified with Virius *Nicomachus Flavianus—even though Flavianus committed *suicide and the Prefect of the *Carmen* died slowly from dropsy. Ruggini and Cameron have shown that the best fit is Vettius Agorius *Praetextatus, who died in *Rome in autumn 384 as *Praefectus Praetorio Italiae and *consul designate (having been *Praefectus Urbi in 367–8). Circumstantial support includes references to public grief in *Rome (32–3), the implication that he died before actually achieving the consulate (110–12), and the prominent mourning of the wife of the Prefect (116–22)—all circumstances attested for Praetextatus. A medieval library catalogue from Lobbes seems to refer to the *Carmen* as 'verses by *Bishop *Damasus about the Urban Prefect Praetextatus', and Cameron has argued compellingly on metrical, stylistic, and intertextual grounds that Pope Damasus did indeed write the poem before his own death on 11 December 384. GAJK

ed. A. Riese in *Anthologia Latina*, 1, 1, 20–5.
ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey in *Anthologia Latina*, 1, 1 17–23.
ET in Croke and Harries, *Religious Conflict*, 80–3.
Text and ET in Cameron, *Pagans*, 802–8, with discussion 273–319.
Comm. C. Markschiess in Feldmeier and Heckel, *Die Heiden*, 325–77.
L. Cracco Ruggini, *Il paganesimo romano tra religione e politica (384–394 a.C.)* (1979).
F. Dolbeau, 'Damase, le "Carmen contra paganos" et Hérige de Lobbes', *REAug* 27 (1981), 38–43.

Carmen de Providentia Dei Christian poem written in *Gaul, *c.*416, which tries to refute claims that divine justice is called into question by the suffering caused by *barbarian invasions and other disasters. It has stylistic similarities to the poetry of *Prosper of *Aquitaine, but puts forward religious ideas resembling *Pelagianism, to which Prosper is otherwise extremely hostile. His authorship therefore remains disputed. DRL

PL 51, 617–38.
ed. (with ET and comm.) M. Marcovich (1989).
N. B. McLynn, 'Poetic Creativity and Political Crisis in Early Fifth-Century Gaul', *JLA* 2 (2009), 60–74.

***Carmen de Synodo Ticenensi* (Papiae)** A laudatory poem possibly composed by a certain Magister Stefanus to celebrate the end of the *Three Chapters Schism in north *Italy and the actions of King Cuninc-pert who presided over the synod in *Pavia in 698 which marked the end of the controversy. CTH

ed. L. Bethmann in MGH SS rer. Lang. (1878), 189–91.

Carnuntum (near mod. Petronell, Lower Austria) *Frontier fortress on the *Pannonia–*Noricum border, located where the *Amber Road crossed the Danube, founded under Augustus, and housing the Legio XIIII Gemina (*Martia victrix*) from *c.* AD 110 until the late 4th century (**Notitia Dignitatum* [occ.] 34, 28). An adjoining civilian settlement became a *municipium* under Hadrian. Carnuntum was a regular military base for Marcus Aurelius. An imperial conference was held at Carnuntum in 308 intended to resolve the tensions following the dissolution of the *Tetrarchy; it resulted in the *accession of *Licinius (*CIL* III, 4413; *Lactantius, *Mort*, 29, 1–2; *Zosimus, II, 10, 4, *Chron-Pasch ad ann.* AD 308). In the mid-4th century, despite

*earthquake damage, Carnuntum was central to operations against *Sarmatians and *Quadi by *Constantius II, *Valens, and *Valentinian I and housed a river *fleet detachment.

The extant 'Pagan Gate' *victory monument was erected under Constantius II. *Ammianus Marcellinus claims the site was 'abandoned and in ruins' in 375 (XXX, 5, 2). Long-term archaeological investigations have occurred at both military and civilian sites and the religious sanctuary at Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Petronell, and Pfaffenburg. Excavations show continued, if reduced activity into the 5th century. NJC

TIR M 33 (1986), 32–3.
Extensive coverage in *Limes* congresses, and in *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* (1955–63/1964, then regularly 1985–).
M. Kandler, *100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 1898–1998, Forschungen in Carnuntum* (1998).
M. Buora and W. Jobst, eds., *Roma sul Danubio: da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra* (2002).
V. Visy, ed., *The Roman Army in Pannonia: An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica* (2003), 49–52, 55–60.

carpet, Persian (MP *bōb*) The Persians, like the Romans, decorated their dwellings with floor and wall *textiles. Persians excelled at knotted pile and flat-woven carpets. Many fragments of flat-woven tapestry survive in European church treasuries and the sands of *Egypt and *Central Asia. Only one fragment of a knotted pile carpet securely dated to the *Sasanian era has been discovered, having been excavated at Shahr-e Qumis. *Sogdian wall paintings of the 7th century from *Panjikent portray carpets with Sasanian ornament, as does Cave 220 at *Dunhuang. The reliefs of the Great Ayvan at *Taq-e Bostan hint at carpets in the *hunting boats.

Literary sources indicate that carpets and wall hangings were among the wonders of the late Sasanian court. The 'Spring of Khosrow' was a *c.*30 m square carpet discovered by the *Arabs at the *palace at *Ctesiphon. It portrayed an elaborate *garden divided by water channels. Created for winter banqueting, the carpet's precious *stones and *gold and *silver thread portrayed the *foliage and flowers in full spring vigour. Firdowsi describes an enormous wall hanging decorated with 48 Persian and Roman sovereigns, which was hung over *Khosrow II's colossal rotating throne, the Takht-e Taqdis. The carpets on the throne changed according to season. MPC

EncIran III (1988) *s.v.* Bahār-e Kesrā, col. 479 (M. Morony).
Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 146–7.
T. S. Kawami, 'Archaeological Evidence for Textiles in Pre-Islamic Iran', in *The Carpets and Textiles of Iran—New Perspectives in Research*, special issue *IranStud* 25/1–2 (1992), 7–18.
E. J. Laing, 'Evidence for Two Possible Sasanian Rugs Depicted in Tun-Huang Murals of A.D. 642', *AO* 12 (1981), 69–71.

carpet, Roman The *Latin word *tapeta* (Gk. *tapes*) can denote a wall hanging or tapestry covering for a dining couch or saddle, as well as a carpet for the floor (e.g. *Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIX, 26, 5). Prices quoted in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict suggest that British rugs were the best in the Empire (19, 28–9). This *edict also specifies carpets from *Cappadocia and *Pontus (19, 30–1) and Egypt (19, 32). *Laodicea ad Lycum in *Phrygia was a centre where wool from *sheep on the central plateau of *Anatolia was worked and marketed for onward sale to *cities on the Mediterranean coast. *Mosaics echoed the patterns worked on carpets, as at the Domus of the Stone Carpets discovered at *Ravenna in the 1990s. OPN

J. P. Wild, 'Soft-Finished Textiles in Roman Britain', *CQ* 61 (1967), 133–5.

carpet mosaics Name given to a style of *mosaic pavement where repetitive designs are distributed over a broad area without formal demarcation. The style appears first in the late 4th century and is common in *Syria, southern Turkey, *Palestine, and Transjordan through the 5th and 6th; it appears in both religious and secular buildings. These designs may be geometric (e.g. Qaousiye Church, *Antioch) or flowers and *foliage (e.g. Phoenix mosaic, Antioch). A sub-type, the *animal carpet, appears later in the 5th century, with figures of animals similarly distributed freely over the surface. KMDD

J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient* (1995), esp. 87–140.
K. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (1999), chs. 10, 11.

carpet pages Pages of abstract ornament, sometimes with *crosses or other motifs (such as marigolds) embedded within them, which introduce major texts (usually the individual Gospels) in Early Christian manuscripts. The earliest are found in *Coptic manuscripts and this Late Antique feature influenced *Insular manuscript art (including S. *Columbanus' *Bobbio scriptorium) as well as those of *Judaism and *Islam. Some of the finest examples are found in Insular Gospel books, such as the Book of Durrow and the *Lindisfarne Gospels, where their aniconic symbolism may represent a response to the debate on *Iconoclasm and the use in northern Europe of prayer mats of Near Eastern origin in the Good Friday *liturgy. MPB

G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel-Books 650–800* (1987).
M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World* (2011).

Carpi Confederation of indigenous Dacian-speaking groups occupying the eastern fringes of the Roman

*province of *Dacia. They appear in the mid-3rd century competing with intrusive *Gothic groups for Roman subsidies and recognition, and invaded the Roman *Balkans alongside the Goths during the reign of *Decius. Carpi were resettled on Roman territory in 296/7 by the *Tetrarchy under *Diocletian (*PanLat* VIII (V), 5, 2; *Ammianus, XXVIII, 1, 5) and they were again defeated by *Galerius in 308/9. Some Carpi inhabited a *village south of the Danube *frontier in 368 (Ammianus, XXVIII, 5, 5) but the Goths became predominant in their former territories (*see also* TERVINGI). PHe

G. Bichir, *Archaeology and History of the Carpi, from the Second to the Fourth Century A.D.* (BAR SupplSer 16, 1976).

Carpio del Tajo, El Sizeable *burial site on *meseta* west of *Toledo containing 285 graves, *c.*90 female with some adornment. It was not excavated by modern methods but has been recently reassessed, based on the plans of C. de Mergelina (1949). Once believed to be the row graves of invading *Visigoths, the *cemetery was more probably used by a small settlement of indeterminate ethnicity for 200 years. The choices of buckles and brooches reflect changing tastes over generations. RJW

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004), 174–86.

G. Ripoll López, 'The Arrival of the Visigoths in Hispania: Population Problems and the Process of Acculturation', in W. Pohl and H. Reimitz, eds., *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (1998), 166–87.

C. de Mergelina, 'La necropolis del Carpio del Tajo', *Boletin del Seminario de Arte y Arqueologia (Valladolid)* 15 (1949), 146–54.

Carrand Diptych *Ivory *diptych from *Rome *c.* AD 400, now in the Bargello Museum, Florence. On one leaf, Adam names the *animals (Gen. 2: 20), signifying that God has given him dominion over them. The other leaf depicts *miracles of S. Paul, including his immunity to a viper's bite (Acts 28: 1–10), an NT analogue signifying his mastery of animals and sin. JEH

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 57, no. 108, p. 32.

E. Konowitz, 'The Program of the Carrand Diptych', *ArtBull* 66 (1984), 484–8.

Cartagena (ancient Carthago Spartaria) Capital of the *Verona List *province of Hispania *Carthaginensis and from *c.*552 to 625 capital of Byzantine-controlled *Spain. Cartagena is located on the south-eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. The fortified *city remained an important *harbour in the 6th and early 7th centuries. Byzantine military presence in Cartagena is known from an *inscription (*CIL* 3420) commemorating the *fortification work of the *Magister Militum *Comentiolus in 589/90. Excavations in the abandoned Roman theatre have identified a Byzantine quarter with *houses and shops dated to the second half of the 6th and first quarter of the 7th century. Finds of small *bronze coins with *crosses and imperial *gold *coinage have been attributed to a Byzantine mint in Cartagena. *Isidore of *Seville (*Etymologiae*, XV, 1, 67) records that Cartagena was destroyed by troops of the *Visigothic King *Suinthila (621–31). DD; RRD

J. Vizcaíno Sánchez, '*Cartago Spartaria*, una ciudad hispana bajo el dominio de los *milites romani*', in L. Olmo Enciso, ed., *Récopolis y la ciudad en la época visigoda* (2008), 339–60.

P. Grierson, 'Una ceca bizantina en Espana', *Numario Hispanico* 4/8 (1955), 305–14.

Grierson, *DOC* II/1.

Carthage One of the largest metropolises in the ancient Mediterranean basin and the principal *city of *Latin-speaking *Africa, today a suburb of Tunis, Tunisia.

History of the city

The mythological founding of the city is dated by ancient sources to the 9th century BC and archaeological investigation in central Carthage (Rue Ibn Chabâat) has recently supported this date for the founding of the earliest Phoenician colony here. From the 6th century BC, Carthage continuously expanded its zone of influence in the western Mediterranean and North Africa, competing especially in *Sicily with the Greek city states. From the 3rd century BC, Rome became its main adversary. The third of the three Punic–Roman wars ended in 146 BC with the destruction of the city. This led to a hiatus, but not absolute abandonment, of the settlement.

The city was refounded under Augustus as *Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago.* Carthage was the seat of the *Proconsul of Africa and the main administrative, economic, and cultural centre of Roman Africa. By the end of the 2nd century AD, the city was equipped with a prominent set of public buildings, amphitheatre, theatre, odeon, *circus, and *baths. Many of these buildings were only surpassed in size by their counterparts in *Rome itself. Carthage was again one of the biggest cities in the Mediterranean. Due to its relative remoteness from the eastern *frontier, the fertility of its soils, and the long established agricultural hinterland, North Africa remained a wealthy *province throughout the 4th century AD. Carthage was the seat of the *Proconsul Africae and the *Vicarius Africae. Military uniforms were manufactured in a **gynaeceum*. Coins were minted at the city between 296/7 and 311. In the early 5th century a series of anonymous copper issues were struck at Carthage. The city maintained

civic chairs of *Latin rhetoric, one of which was occupied from 376 to 383 by the young *Augustine.

Carthage was captured in 439 by a mixed army led by the *Vandal royal house which had entered North Africa ten years earlier. The city was made the capital of the Vandal kingdom in Africa; the Vandals occupied the residence of the Proconsul Africae, but appointed a judicial official known as the *Proconsul of Carthage. Vandalic Carthage issued *silver and copper *coinage. In 533, a Byzantine army led by *Belisarius conquered Carthage which then became the capital of Byzantine North Africa. The mint reopened, issuing *gold, silver, and copper, and continued until the reign of *Constantine IV, possibly up to 681. In the late 6th century the city became the seat of the *Exarch of Carthage, exercising authority over all imperial territory in Africa.

Following the *Arab conquest, the city was finally taken by the army of Hassan b. al-Nu'man in 698. Carthage lost its importance as an administrative centre in favour of Tunis, which was nearby but more conveniently sheltered at the end of a lagoon beyond the bay.

Archaeological investigation

Archaeological interest in Carthage began in the 19th century with larger excavations carried out mainly on private initiatives, mostly without stratigraphic excavation or documentation. In general, ancient Carthage had served as a source of building material probably from the 7th century AD onwards, and the remaining ruins were less impressive than was expected of a city of Carthage's status, a fact which has hampered archaeological investigation ever since. At the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, the Roman Catholic order of the White Fathers resident on the Byrsa Hill, in particular Père Delattre, carried out large-scale excavations that still lacked scientific methodology and documentation. After the end of French colonial occupation of Tunisia, the development of housing and infrastructure north of Tunis threatened the remaining ruins. An international 'Save Carthage' campaign was initiated by the Tunisian authorities together with UNESCO in 1972 with an array of international missions being carried out in the 1970s and 1980s. The site of ancient Carthage was added to the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1979. Although archaeological knowledge of the city has considerably progressed through this initiative and through more recent projects, it remains fragmentary considering the historic importance of Carthage and still suffers from the loss of stratigraphic information in the early excavations at major sites.

Written sources

Written sources add information especially for the later Roman and Late Antique phases. As Carthage was the most important Christian centre of Africa it features in the writings of authors like Tertullian and *Cyprian who lived and worked in the city. The **Anthologia Latina*, a collection of poems edited in Carthage at the end of the Vandal period, is an important source especially for cultural life in the city in this epoch. Also, it balances the important text of *Victor of Vita, *History of the Vandal Persecution*, which centres on the capital, having been written there in the 480s to attack the religious policy of the *Homoean ('Arian') Vandal kings and their opposition to Nicene Christianity. Christian texts are especially abundant from the 5th and 6th centuries, and *Procopius' books on the Vandal War (Books III and IV of his *Wars*) provide important historical information about Carthage.

Topography

The topography of the Roman and Late Antique city can be reconstructed in respect of its main road axes, public buildings, and urban boundaries. The city is set in well-defined geographical surroundings, on the coast opposite the Cape Bon peninsula but sheltered by the Bay of Tunis (the Lac de Tunis). To the north lay the so-called *Megara*, where suburban *villas and cemeteries were located, stretching northwards to a coastal promontory. To the south, the lagoon of Tunis was situated. The primary access to the city was on the land side, from the west.

The Augustan colony radically restructured Carthage. The central Byrsa hill was terraced to form a *forum with *temple, civil *basilica, *archives, and porticoes. The principal *streets, the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus*, crossed at its centre. The ideal Roman grid plan with regular *insulae* has been documented in all the excavations carried out in the city centre. Carthage acquired a city wall only in 425 on the initiative of *Theodosius II. Its course has been documented at several points. The north-eastern part of the city was the site of the large baths inaugurated by Antoninus Pius; these fell out of use in the early 5th century AD when the *frigidarium* cupola collapsed, but were reopened on a smaller scale in the Byzantine period, when a *pottery furnace was built into the substructures. The theatre and odeon were also located in this part of the city. The theatre, built presumably in the early 2nd century, received a renovation of its statuary on behalf of the *Proconsul in 382. At some point, probably in the 5th century, statues were collected in the theatre and burials inserted in its *scaena*. Here, an *aedicula* with a *mosaic was erected in the Byzantine period, when the theatre was partly backfilled. The odeon opposite the theatre had been built for the Pythian games in 203 which included musical performances. It is mentioned in the mid-4th-century geographical work the **Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, but was

used for burials in the Vandal period, so had apparently lost its original function by then.

The amphitheatre and circus were located in the south-western part of the city. Both supposedly date from the 2nd century AD. The amphitheatre was in function in the early 5th century, as attested by *inscriptions on reserved seats for office-holders, and probably also through the Vandal period as is indicated by several poems in the *Anthologia Latina*. The circus was still operating after the *Byzantine invasion, as attested by personalized *mosaics depicting charioteers and horses dating from that period. The circus is also mentioned by Procopius. In the 7th century, its colonnades were turned into small production spaces and a cemetery was inaugurated behind it in the direction of the Theodosian city wall.

The Roman *harbours of Carthage were situated in the south-eastern part of the city. Since 186, they had been the base of the *classis Commodiana* whose main purpose was to transport supplies of African *olive oil and *grain to Rome, vital for central Italy until Late Antiquity. The characteristic circular harbour (originally the Punic war harbour) played a vital part in the trade as is attested by a collection of *ostraca dating to 373 documenting weighing and storing of state olive oil. The circular harbour silted up in the 5th century, but the rectangular harbour south of it seems to have continued to work. Carthage was still a port for Vandal and Byzantine fleets.

Christianity

Carthage was the most important Christian centre in Africa. From the mid-3rd century onwards, *councils of the Church were held regularly in the city. The **Martyrology of Carthage*, a list of the 6th century, contains the names of numerous African *martyrs, including some, such as *Cyprian, *Bishop of Carthage (d. 258; cf. Cyprian, **Letter*, 81), who were executed at Carthage.

By the 4th century, Carthage had a distinctive set of large extramural cemetery *basilicas at Damous el Karita, S. Monique, and Mcidfa that are remarkable for their extraordinary numbers of seven to nine aisles. By the 5th century, a number of churches existed also inside the city limits, e.g. at Dermech near the Antonine Baths. A rotunda (the *monument circulaire*), which possibly commemorated martyrs, had probably existed already since the 4th century next to the odeon. A subterranean *baptistery is all that remains from a further 5th-century inner-city church.

Written sources mention a number of *monasteries in Carthage, but these are difficult to identify archaeologically. A restructured Roman *house has been interpreted, on the basis of an inscription, as the Bigua Monastery, where the Seven Monks from Gafsa, martyred in the Vandal period, were supposedly buried. The Monastery of S. Stephen has been identified by similar means, though even less reliably.

After the Byzantine invasion, *Justinian I is said to have founded a fortified monastery at the harbour called Mandrakion; this has not so far been identified. In the Byzantine period, existing buildings in the city at Bir Messaouda were modified in the form of the so-called 'Carthagenna basilica'. A rotunda presumably with memorial function was erected at the Rue Ibn Chabâat on a former secular public building. The large extramural basilicas at Bir el-Knissia, Mcidfa, and S. Monique also saw building activities. The massive Damous el-Karita basilica north of the city received a martyr rotunda in the mid-6th century. Further north, at Bir Ftouha, a new basilica was erected that contained a large baptistery in an attached building. The Bir Ftouha basilica combined Byzantine building principles with western architectural features and was richly decorated.

Medieval activity has been documented at Bir Ftouha, on the Byrsa hill, at S. Monique, and in some isolated locations within the city. In general, however, with the Arab conquest of this part of Africa the city lost much of its importance in favour of Tunis and *Kairouan, and in the medieval period lost its urban character. RB; RRD

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A. Ben Abed et al., *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie IV, Karthago (Carthage) I: les mosaïques du Parc Archéologique des Thermes d'Antonin* (1999).

R. Bockmann, *Capital Continuous: A Study of Vandal Carthage and Central North Africa from an Archaeological Perspective* (Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz 37, 2013).

G. Di Stefano, *Cartagine romana e tardoantica* (2009).

H. Dolenz, *Damous el-Karita. Die österreichisch-tunesischen Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1996 und 1997 im Saalbau und der Memoria des Pilgerheiligtums Damous-el-Karita in Karthago* (Sonderschriften des Österreichisches Archäologisches Instituts 35, 2001).

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L. Ladjimi Sebaï, *La Colline de Byrsa à l'époque romaine: étude épigraphique et état de la question* (Karthago 26, 2005).
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R. Miles, 'British Excavations at Bir Messaouda, Carthage 2000–2004: The Byzantine Basilica', *BABESCH* 81 (2006), 199–226.
J. T. Peña, 'The Mobilization of State Olive Oil in Roman Africa: The Evidence of Late 4th.-c. *Ostraca* from Carthage', in *Carthage Papers* (*JRA* [Suppl.] 28, 1998), 116–238.
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COINS

Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins.*
Grierson, *DOC* 2/2.
Blackburn et al., *MEC* 1.

Carthage, Councils of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, AFRICA.

Carthage, Exarchate of From the late 6th century onwards an administrative division of the Roman Empire, similar to the Exarchate of *Ravenna. Theoretically it incorporated the *provinces of the Praetorian Prefecture of *Africa as re-established by the *Emperor *Justinian I (*CJust* I, 27 of 534), as well perhaps as the Empire's territories in southern *Spain. The exarchate consolidated both civil and military authority in the office of the *Exarch, superseding the *Magister Militum Africae and taking precedence over the office of the *Praefectus, and of the *Dux of each individual province. Although the date of its institution is uncertain, the exarchate, as such, is generally thought to have been established in the reign of *Maurice (582–602). Several rebellions began within the Exarchate, including that led by the Exarch *Heraclius the Elder, father of the Emperor *Heraclius, in 608–10, and that of *Gregory the Exarch in 646–7. The Exarchate appears likely to have continued as an administrative unit—at least nominally—until the *Arab conquest of North Africa in 697. SSF

Conant, *Staying Roman*, 217–39.
C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique (533–709)* (1896), 453–502.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 39–50.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, vol. 1: *602–634* (1968), 37–8 and 80–91; and vol. 3: *642–668* (1975), 62–73.

Carthage Treasure Hoard, buried *c.* AD 450, discovered in the mid-19th century on the Hill of S. Louis at *Carthage, now divided between the British Museum and the Louvre. *Silver items include bowls with *pastoral scenes, spoons with Christian symbols, and lidded bowls; there is also *gold *jewellery. *Inscriptions suggest ownership by the Cresconii family. RHob

F. Baratte et al., *Le Trésor de Carthage: contribution à l'étude de l'orfèvrerie de l'antiquité tardive* (2002).
Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 50–2.

Carthaginensis One of the six *provinces of *Dioecesis *Hispaniae which appears in the *Verona List, following the reorganization under the *Tetrarchy. Carthaginensis comprised the southern section of the former province of *Tarraconensis, with (till 395) the *Balearic Islands. Its principal city was Carthago Nova (*Cartagena); the title of the *governor was *Praeses. The province was divided following the *Byzantine invasion and occupation of the coastal regions between 552 and 624, but remained a central part of the *Visigothic kingdom. AHM

Barrington Atlas, 27.
TIR J-30 (2002).

cartography *See* MAPS.

Carus M. Aurelius Carus, *emperor 282–3, came from *Narbo in *Gaul (*Jerome, *Chron.* 224g Helm; Aurelius *Victor, 39, 12; *Epitome de Caesaribus*, 38, 1) and served as *Praefectus Praetorio under *Probus (Aurelius Victor, 38, 1). He was proclaimed emperor by troops in *Raetia and *Noricum (*Zosimus, I, 71, 4—transmitted through *John of Antioch and the **Excerpta de Insidiis*), and promptly had his sons *Carinus

and *Numerian proclaimed *Caesars, sending Carinus to defend Gaul.

Carus was campaigning against the *Sarmatians when news arrived of Persian agression in *Mesopotamia (*Eutropius, IX, 18). He took Numerian with him and invaded the *Persian Empire, destroying at least one *city (*Ammianus, XXIV, 5, 3, cf. Zosimus, III, 25, 3) and capturing *Kokhe (Weh-Ardashir) and *Ctesiphon (Eutropius, IX, 18; *Festus, *Breviarium*, 24), but dying suddenly while still in Persian territory. The *Latin sources, relying presumably on the **Kaisergeschichte* of Enmann, say he was killed by a *thunderbolt as divine punishment for excessive ambition. The **Historia Augusta* characteristically colours the story by claiming that the *eunuch chamberlains set fire to the imperial tent. The tale was still told in the time of *Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmen*, XXIII, 91–6). OPN

PLRE I, Carus.

CAH XII (2005), 56–8.

P. Meloni, *Il regno di Caro, Numeriano e Carino* (1948).

H. W. Bird, 'Diocletian and the Deaths of Carus, Numerian and Carinus', *Latomus* 35 (1976), 123–32.

cash taxes *See* TAXATION.

Casilinus, Battle of A victory of *Narses, commanding Byzantine and *Heruli troops, over about 30,000 *Alamans at the River Casilinus (modern Volturno), near Capua, in 554. After decisively defeating the *Ostrogoths under *Totila and *Teias in 553–4, the imperial general Narses faced invading Alamans, who had apparently been in *Italy for a year, penetrating even into southern Italy in two groups. One group, returning north with booty, suffered disease and defeat. The second group was met by Narses at the Casilinus. *Agathias (*Histories*, II, 1–14) describes a mixed *cavalry and *infantry imperial *army showing drilled tactical superiority, absorbing the Alamannic wedge assault; allegedly only five Alamannic fighters escaped. NJC

Bury, *Theodosius to Justinian*, 2, 278–80.

Haldon, *Byzantine Wars*, 40–4.

Caspian Gates *See* CAUCASUS PASSES.

Cassian, John *See* JOHN CASSIAN.

Cassianus Bassus Agricultural writer of uncertain origin (his title *scholasticus suggests 6th cent.). Author of *Peri geōrgias eklogai*, a compendium based on *Anatolius' *Sunagōgē* and the *Geōrgica* of Didymus of *Alexandria. The work survives in *Greek only as incorporated into the **Geoponica* (one manuscript, Marcianus gr. 524, preserves the author's name and reveals his son as addressee). *Arabic versions, inadequately studied, corrupt his name to Qusṭūs or Kasinūs. RR

RE 3.2 (1899) *s.n.* Cassianus 10 1667–8 (M. Wellmann).

Cassiciacum Wooded *villa, belonging to his friend Verecundus, among hills a half-day's journey from *Milan, where *Augustine retired for six months after his *conversion in autumn 386. It has been variously identified as Casciago and Cassago Brianza. OPN

L. Beretta, 'Rus cassiciacum: bilancio e aggiornamento della vexata quaestio', and S. Colombo, 'Ancora su Rus Cassiciacum', in A. Caprioli and L. Vaccaro, eds., *Agostino e la conversione cristiana* (Augustiniana I, 1987), 67–83 and 85–92.

Brown, *Augustine*, 102–20.

D. E. Trout, 'Augustine at Cassiciacum: Otium Honestum and the Social Dimensions of Conversion', *VigChrist* 42/2 (1988), 132–46.

Cassiodorus (*c.*485/90–580/5) In full Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, often just Senator. Cassiodorus was born on the family estate at Squillace (Scylletium) on the Coscia di Staletti promontory in *Calabria to a distinguished southern Italian family of Syrian origin. His grandfather was an envoy to the *Hun King *Attila and his father an official of the regimes of *Odoacer and *Theodoric the *Ostrogoth, first as *Comes then as *Praefectus Praetorio (503–7) to which his young son was a *consiliarius*. Cassiodorus' long life and diverse literary output may be divided into three distinct periods and locations.

Ravenna and Rome

Educated at *Ravenna during his father's service at the *court of Theodoric, in 507 he became the king's *Quaestor (until 512) and was *Consul for 514. In 524, following a period as governor of his home province (*Lucania et Bruttium) and years in which he deepened his knowledge of the *Bible and Christian writings, he was appointed by Theodoric as *Magister Officiorum (until 527, succeeding the executed *Boethius). From those years come his *Chronicle* (celebrating the consulship of Eutharic in 519), his twelve-book *Gothic History* (commissioned by Theodoric before 526), and court *panegyrics. From 533 to 537 he was Praefectus Praetorio to King *Athalaric, then *Theodahad and *Vitigis. Cassiodorus remained loyal to the Gothic kings of *Italy and their legacy. An edited selection in twelve books of the official correspondence he originally drafted for the kings (ten books, including two being standard templates for future use) and his own positions (two books) was published in the late 530s as the *Variae*. To these he appended a treatise on the soul (*De Anima*). In 536 Cassiodorus was in *Rome working with Pope *Agapetus on founding an

institution of Christian learning and a *library. He probably spent most of the 540s there working on his *Commentary on the Psalms* (*Expositiones Psalmorum*) which demonstrates profound learning combined with pervasive spiritual and moral purpose.

Constantinople

Cassiodorus was definitely in *Constantinople in 551 as part of Pope Vigilius' entourage, but clearly advocating against the *Emperor *Justinian I's condemnation of the *Three Chapters. He had with him there a copy of his *Gothic History* which was lent to *Jordanes who used it as the basis of his own history of the Goths (*Getica*). It is possible he left Italy for the eastern capital on the surrender of Ravenna in 540 or with Vigilius and his friend *Cethegus in 547 and finished his psalm commentary there. It is unlikely that he stayed in Constantinople for long after the promulgation in 554 of the new imperial law for Italy.

Squillace

From the mid-550s to his death 30 years later Cassiodorus presided over an active and industrious *household on his family *estate. Known as *Vivarium from the local *fish ponds (on the Alessi River near Squillace di Lido), it was a community of scholars and scribes operating within the framework of a monastic routine with a nearby walled enclave for those who preferred the solitary monastic life. Studying the scriptures and the Church Fathers involved copying manuscripts day and night, while for some, such as *Epiphanius, *translation was a priority. Cassiodorus used Epiphanius' translations of church historians to compile his influential **Historia Tripartita c.*565, and other translations such as that of the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus were also important. The essential volumes to be read and understood by monks, and how they should be read, were itemized in his *Institutione*s (Book I covering religious writings, Book II the texts of a traditional secular *education). Successively reworked over the period from the mid-550s, the final version of the *Institutiones* was completed after his death. The importance of the scribes knowing accurate spelling gave rise to his final work (*De Orthographia*) at the age of 93. Individual manuscripts originally owned or copied at Vivarium remain difficult to identify. Late in life he briefly summarized his life and work in the *Ordo Generis Cassiodorum* (also known as **Anecdoton Holderi*). BC

PLRE II, Cassiodorus 4.
PCBE II/1, Cassiodorus 2.
Works (*CPL* 896–908):
Panegyrics (*c.* AD 506–25; *CPL* 898):, fragments only, L. Traube (MGH Auct. Ant. 12, 1894), 457–84.
Chronicle (AD 519; *CPL* 2268), T. Mommsen (MGH Auct. Ant. 11, 1894), 109–61.
Gothic History (early 520s AD; *CPL* 899), lost, but utilized in Jordanes, *Getica* (Mommsen, MGH Auct. Ant. 5/1, 1882).
ET C. C. Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (1915).
Variae (AD 537/8; *CPL* 896), ed. T. Mommsen (MGH Auct. Ant. 12, 1894).
ed. A. J. Fridh (CCSL 96, 1973).
ET T. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (1886), condensed, and S. J. B. Barnish, *Cassiodorus: Variae* (TTH 12 1992), partial.
Expositiones Psalmorum (*c.* AD 538–48; *CPL* 900), M. Adriaen (CCSL 97–8, 1958).
ET P. G. Walsh, *Explanation of the Psalms*, 3 vols. (ACW 51–3, 1990–1).
De Anima (AD 538; *CPL* 897), J. W. Halporn (CCSL 96, 1973) with detailed introduction (503–31).
ET J. W. Halporn, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning: On the Soul* (TTH 42, 2004), 237–83.
Institutiones (*c.* AD 560; *CPL* 906): ed. R. Mynors (OCT, ^{2}1961).
ET J. W. Halporn, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning: On the Soul* (TTH 42, 2004), 105–233.
De Orthographia (*c.* AD 580; *CPL* 907), ed. Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* V (1880), 143–210; ed. P. Stropacci, *Cassiodoro de orthographia* (2010).
S. J. Barnish, 'The Work of Cassiodorus after his Conversion', *Latomus* 48 (1989), 157–87.
S. J. Barnish, 'Roman Responses to an Unstable World: Cassiodorus' *Variae* in Context', in *Vivarium in Context* (2008), 7–22.
A. S. Christiansen, *Cassiodorus Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth* (2002).
P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, tr. H. E. Wedeck (1969).
S. Krautschick, *Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit* (1983).
R. Macpherson, *Rome in Involution: Cassiodorus'* Variae *in their Literary and Historical Setting* (1989).
J. J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (1979).
F. Troncarelli, *Vivarium: i libri, il destino* (1998).
M. Vessey, 'Introduction', in J. W. Halporn, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning: On the Soul* (TTH 42, 2004), 1–101.

Castellum Tingitanum (of *Mauretania Caesariensis (mod. Chlef, formerly El-Asnam and Orléansville, Algeria)) Its five-aisled *basilica is dated to 324 by an *inscription (*CIL* VIII/2, 9708), and is the church with the earliest absolute date in *Africa. The second apse added later in the west contained the burial of *Bishop Reparatus (d. 475). The church was incompletely excavated and subsequently reinterred, so only fragments of the elaborate floor *mosaics survive in Chlef and Algiers. RB

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 463–5.
J. P. Caillet, 'Le Dossier de la basilique chrétienne de Chlef (anciennement El Asnam, ou Orléansville)', *Karthago* 21 (1987), 135–61.
Duval, *Les Églises africaines à deux absides*, 412.
Gui, Duval, and Caillet, *Basiliques*, 11–15.

Castelseprio Excavations since the 1960s at Castelseprio, recorded as Castrum Sibrium, a hilltop site along the Olona Valley north-west of *Milan, have revealed a sequence of progressive defensive, religious, and civilian occupations, with a mint active from the 8th century.

Three watchtowers of 7×7 m (23×23 feet) were built in the later 4th century, and were designed to observe routes leading south from the Alpine foothills. A *castrum* was created in the 5th century, and was defended by an extensive (and partly extant) curtain wall formed of river cobbles and *spolia, girding the irregular hilltop. The chronology of these first phases is disputed, the *castrum* perhaps beginning in the second half of the 5th century. The fortress interior held a large *cistern and the adjoining baptismal church of S. John the Evangelist.

Finds and building works (including housing and the church of S. Paolo) attest continuity through the *Ostrogothic to the *Lombard and Carolingian periods. The latter phase probably saw construction west of the *castrum* of the (intact) Church of S. Maria *foris portas* with its remarkable cycle of wall paintings, whose dating has ranged from as early as the 6th century through to the 10th, though most scholars now prefer the 9th century. The monastic complex of S. Maria di Torba, located within a fortified annexe at the eastern base of the promontory, also probably belongs to this latter phase. The fortress site was destroyed in 1287. NJC

G. P. Bognetti, *L'età longobarda*, vol. 3 (1966).
M. Mirabella Roberti, 'Indagini e metodo nello scavo di Castelseprio', *Sibrium* 12 (1973–5), 425–36.
M. Dabrowska, L. Leciejewicz, E. Tabaczynska, and S. Tabaczynski, 'Castelseprio: scavi diagnostici, 1962-63', *Sibrium* 14 (1978–9), 1–128.
G. P. Brogiolo and S. Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale* (1996), 119–58.
M. O. H. Carver, 'S. Maria foris portas at Castel Seprio: A Famous Church in a New Context', *World Archaeology* 18/3 (1987), 312–29.

Castel Trosino One of the best-known *Lombard *burial grounds in *Italy, 4 km (2.5 miles) from Ascoli Piceno. A century separates the two principal publications related to the burials, grave-goods, and interpretation. The main *cemetery is located at Contrada Santo Stefano, east of the settlement, with lesser burial plots located between. A contemporary village possibly lay close by, with Castel Trosino as fortress-refuge.

Excavated in 1893, Santo Stefano yielded 270 burials, although only half held grave-goods and the burials lay in specific groups. Only nineteen skulls were retained, depriving modern scholars of vital data on the community. The finds suggest use from the later 6th century into the 8th. From the mid-7th century high-ranking burials are concentrated near a church and Lombard and native *dress and burial types merge.

Although near the border of the duchies of *Spoleto and *Benevento, the settlement seems less strategic than one where a new ruling group (perhaps just one or two *families) is imposed on an already-active *landscape. There are few weapon graves, but there are *hunting and luxury items (including spurs). Brooches, *earrings, *combs, pins, and necklaces are prominent in female graves, the best known being from Tomb 115 with two necklaces each featuring coins ranging from *Justinian I to *Maurice (550–600).

R. Mengarelli, 'La necropoli barbarica di castel Trosino presso Ascoli Piceno', *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* 12 (1902), 145–380.
L. Jørgensen, 'Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra: A Chronological and Social Analysis of Family Burial Practices in Lombard Italy (6th–8th cent. A.D.)', *Acta Archaeologica* 62 (1992), 1–58.
L. Paroli, ed., *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino: Bizantini e Longobardi nelle Marche. Ascoli Piceno, 1 luglio–31 ottobre 1995* (1995).
L. Paroli and M. Ricci, *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino (Catalogo e Tavole)* (2005).

Castrensis Sacri Palatii and *castrensiani* As steward of the *Palatium, apparently the leading official in running the administration and finances of the Palace in the 4th century. His **officium* is described in detail in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XVII, *occ.* XV). With his staff (*castrensiani*) he oversaw the **palatini* who included cooks, waiters, and barbers, as well as the *eunuch chamberlains. Gradually the Castrensis became subordinate to the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi and himself one of the **cubicularii*. The first known *eunuch Castrensis is *Amantius, who served *Arcadius' wife *Eudoxia. SFT

Jones, *LRE* 567.
E. A. Costa, 'The Office of the "Castrensis Sacri Palatii" in the Fourth Century', *Byzantion* 42 (1972), 358–87.

Castulo *Silver *mining centre in south central *Spain on the River Guadalimar. First settled by Iberians, who established a mint there, it prospered under the Romans until the 3rd century, when expansion of

the mines ceased. Limited mining continued, and the mint remained in use until the late *Visigothic period, at which point Castulo steadily declined. Many Roman coins struck here survive, as do local Iberian, Roman, and Visigothic *burial sites. EMB

J. M. Blázquez, *Cástulo II* (Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España 105, 1979).
T. A. Rickard, 'The Mining of the Romans in Spain', *JRS* 18 (1928), 129–43.

catacombs *See* ROME, CATACOMBS OF.

Catalaunian Plains, Battle of Battle in AD 451 fought near modern Châlons-sur-Marne, between the rivers Seine and Aube near Chartres in northern *Gaul (also *locus Mauriacus*). The 'Roman' army of Flavius *Aëtius fought the 'Hunnic' army of *Attila, gaining a tactical victory. Aëtius commanded Roman troops, *Visigoths under their King *Theoderic I, *Sarmatian *Alans, Salian and Ripuarian *Franks, *Saxons, Armoricans, *Burgundians, and the otherwise unknown Liticiani and Olibriones. Attila fielded *Huns, *Ostrogoths under King Valamer, and *Gepids.

The Romans and Visigoths took a dominating hill early in the battle and the Huns were forced back with heavy loss to their wagons, with a river behind them, to make a last stand. Attila prepared for death. The main source, *Jordanes, termed the field 'the threshing-floor of countless peoples' (*Getica*, 36, 191–41, 215). In the confusion Theoderic was killed and Aëtius persuaded his son *Thorismund to return to the Visigothic territory to secure his succession, thus sparing the Huns as a future counter-balance to the Visigothic threat. This was Attila's only defeat in battle and in the following year he devastated *cities in northern *Italy. JCNC

E. A. Thompson, *The Huns* (1996), 148–56.
C. Kelly, *The End of Empire: Attila the Hun and the Fall of the Roman Empire* (2009), 244–52.

Catania *City in *Sicily *praised in the **Expositio Totius Mundi* (65) and by *Ausonius (*Ordo Nobilium Urbium*, 16). *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth gave permission for stones from the amphitheatre to be used to rebuild the city walls (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, III, 49). Catania (mint mark CAT) issued low-denomination copper coins from 582 until 628/9. S. *Euplus was a *martyr of the Great *Persecution. S. Agatha (feast day: 5 February) is the city's *patron saint. OPN; RRD; CS

B. Gentili, ed., *Catania antica*, *Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana per lo Studio dell'Antichità Classica; Catania, 23–24 maggio 1992* (1996).
Grierson, *DOC* II/1.

cataphract A type of heavy armoured cavalryman. Meaning literally 'defended on all sides', cataphracts were associated particularly with the Parthians and *Sasanians, but specialist units increasingly featured in the Roman *army from the 2nd century through Late Antiquity. There is debate as to how they differed from **clibanarii*. ADL

catenae, Biblical *See* BIBLICAL CATENAE.

Catholicus (Armenian) Title of the head of the *Armenian Church. From the time of S. *Gregory the Illuminator until the death of *Nerses I in 373, the Catholicus was consecrated in *Caesarea of *Cappadocia, although the Armenian Church was not strictly under the jurisdiction of Caesarea. Secular authority usually rested primarily with the Persian King of Kings, who was accorded the same prerogatives as the Roman emperor for both the Persian and Armenian churches. When the Armenian Church broke off communion with *Constantinople in 607/8, the catholicus was left as head of the newly independent Church. After the *Arab conquest of the 7th century, it increasingly fell to the Catholicus to negotiate with the *caliphs on behalf of the entire Armenian community; the Catholicus was therefore often one of the few unifying figures for the Armenian community. TLA

K. H. Maksoudian et al., *Chosen of God: The Election of the Catholicos of All Armenians from the Fourth Century to the Present* (1995).

Catholicus (Church of the East) A title in the *Church of the East for the *Bishop of Seleucia-*Ctesiphon. It comes into *Syriac from *Greek (where it could apply to an important church or archbishop) as *Qatoliqa*. When the title of *patriarch began to be applied to this see in the 5th or 6th century, Catholicus became a synonym: the title in the present-day church is 'Catholicus-Patriarch'.

The Church of the East officially traces its patriarchate back to the Apostle Peter (citing his presence in 'Babylon', 1 Peter 5: 13). According to other ancient authors, the founder of the see of *Kokhe (an old name for Seleucia) was a certain Mar *Mari, identified later as a disciple of Addai the apostle of *Edessa. The first *bishop of whom anything is known, *Papa (early 4th cent.), is recorded to have aroused opposition from other bishops; but whether this opposition was to Papa's new assertion of primacy, or whether this primacy was already established, is not clear from the sources. At all events, the authority of the Catholicus as the 'great *metropolitan' of the capital city was canonized at the *Council of Isaac (410)—'by our own will and also as it has been commanded to us by the Shah *Yazdegerd', as the bishops said (canon 12).

Any lingering idea that the catholicus was subject to the *Patriarch of *Antioch was finally rejected by a

synod of 524. The autocracy of the Catholicus was often a source of trouble in the Church, as witnessed by the Council of Barsauma in 484. Succession to the office also became the occasion for crises. Catholicus Dadishoʿ had to be defended by a council against a group of opposing bishops in 424, there was a schism with two rival catholici between 524 and 537, and when the Shah *Khosrow II refused to allow the bishops to elect a successor to Patriarch Gregory in 608, there was a long vacancy until the shah's death in 628.

See also CATHOLICUS (ARMENIAN) and, for secular use of the term, KATHOLIKOS. JFC

List: *GEDSH* 482–3.

J. M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq* (CSCO 310, Sub. 26, 1970), esp. ch. 3, 66–84.

Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*.

cats Domesticated in *Egypt, cats had spread throughout the Roman and *Persian Empires by the 3rd century AD. Originally sacred, cats became domestic pets in Roman lands. *Palladius recommends them as a remedy for moles in *gardens (IV, 9, 4). They were despised by *Zoroastrians in Persia but common in *Jewish *households (*Babylonian Talmud*, *Baba Mesi'a*, 97a). MD

D. W. Engels, *Classical Cats*: *The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat* (1999).

cattle The most important sources of traction in Late Antiquity, also valuable for milk, *meat, and hides. *Plough oxen, often castrated males, yoked in pairs made large-scale *grain cultivation possible. Much larger areas of land could be ploughed using oxen than by unaided human labour. The cattle depicted on *mosaics in *Syria are often humped, probably indicating breeds of *Bos indicus*. In Persia cattle were highly valued for their milk and traction and less relied on for meat. *Paul the Deacon (4, 10) records the introduction of water buffalo (*Bubalis bubalis*) into *Italy in 593, where their heat tolerance and adaptability to wet environments made them superior to other species. In Late Antique *Italy, intensive *farming practices, improved management, and demand for beef contributed to the development of larger, heavier cattle and identifiable 'breeds', but evidence of this breed improvement is spotty in *Britain where the data is best published. In the post-Roman West, cattle remained a valuable resource; the **Lex Salica* (*PLS* III, 14 = p. 69 Drew) includes steep fines for *theft of large herds (over 25 animals) and cattle remains appear in 5th-century *Anglo-Saxon sites in Britain at rates similar to the Roman period. Cattle plague (*Rinderpest*) devastated herds in *Gaul (*Endelechius, *De Mortibus Boum*, PL 19 = 70–5 White) and elsewhere throughout Late Antiquity. MD

M. R. MacKinnon, *The Production and Consumption of Animals in Roman Italy*: *Interpreting the Archaeological and Textual Evidence* (2004).

Caucasus Passes The ancient history of *Georgia was shaped by the passes through the Caucasus Mountains. The routes through *Suania (the Mamisoni and Tsebelda gorges) connected the northern steppe with eastern and western Georgia. The Surami range with its difficult passes had determined in Antiquity the division of Georgia into two kingdoms that lasted for centuries, *Iberia to the east and *Lazica (previously Colchis) to the west. The strategic importance of Iberia and Lazica lay in their control of the Caucasian passes; this was the dominant concern in the region of both the Roman and *Persian empires.

Dariel and *Derbent are the primary passes that run north to south through the Caucasus range, although many more paths and trackways also provide access. Derbent is the direct passage to *Albania and thus to the Caspian Sea. To its west runs the main pass of Dariel (also called the Caspian Gates, Iberian Gates, and Caucasian Gates: *Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 40; *Procopius, *Persian*, II, 10, 1–10). Both Dariel and Derbent have been identified with the legendary 'Phalanx of Alexander' (Suetonius, *Nero*, 19, 2.) The **Alexander Romance* claims that Alexander the Great hung the gates between two rocks. Strabo (XI, 3, 5) notes that it took three days to negotiate the pass. Georgian tradition attributes the building of the first fortress at Dariel to King Mirian I (2nd cent. BC) and King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali is said to have restored the fortress.

Roman payment to the *Persian Empire towards the costs of maintaining a garrison at the Caspian Gates intended to exclude *nomad invaders from the steppes of *Central Asia became a persistent topic of *diplomacy from the time of the *Emperor *Julian into the 5th century (*Priscus, fr. 41, 1; *John Lydus, *Mag.* III, 52–3). *Anastasius I declined to go to any expense to protect the passes (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 10, 10), a fact thrown in the face of a Roman ambassador by *Qobad I in 531 (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 16), adumbrated again at the time of the negotiation of the *Everlasting Peace (*Persian*, I, 22, 5–11) and when *Khosrow I broke the peace in 540—at which point the Romans agreed to pay 500 pounds of *gold annually, though as a subsidy rather than as *tribute (*Persian*, II, 10, 18–30). MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 225–6, 269–74.

cavalry, Persian (MP *aswār*) The dominant military element in the Persian *army in the *Sasanian period. Persian heavy armoured cavalry refined Parthian military practices, and their effectiveness, as *Ammianus (XXV, 1, 10) and other Roman sources noted, led the Romans to adopt aspects of their cavalry

*arms, armour, and techniques, while holding a low view of their infantry (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 14, 25–6).

Sasanian cavalry wore heavy armour from the 3rd century to the end of the Sasanian Empire. They were drawn from those of noble stock who showed exceptional talent in the art of war. *Tabari (V, 262) describes their armament as including horse mail, a mailed coat, breastplate, leg armour plates, sword, lance, shield, mace, battle axe or club, bow case with two bows with 30 arrows, and two plaited cords. The leader of the cavalry (MP *Aspbed*) was from the rank of the high nobility (MP *wuzurg*). His personal *seal bore winged horse(s). By the late Sasanian period it seems that the Empire's supreme cavalry (and thus military) commanders were specifically chosen from Persian and Parthian families as their titles are followed either by the term 'Persian' (MP *Pārsīg*) or 'Parthian' (MP *Pahlaw*). The great generals (MP *Spāhbed) of the four quarters of the Empire are portrayed on *bullae* (sealings) as seated on horseback wearing full cavalry armour. Before the reforms of *Khosrow (Husraw) I, a 'Great General of Iran' (MP *Ērān Spāhbed*) held supreme command, but after the 6th century power was divided among four generals responsible for the south-east, north-east, south-west, and north-west respectively, to deal with threats from all fronts. In the course of the *Arab conquest, some of the *Aswār*s joined the conquerors and kept their status into the early Islamic period. TD

T. Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia* (2013).
R. Gyselen, *Sasanian Seals and Sealings in the A. Saeedi Collection* (2007).
M. Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society* (1995).
A. Tafazzoli, *Sasanian Society* (2000).

cavalry, Roman and post-Roman The mounted component of Roman *armies in the first three centuries AD was provided by the **Equites Singulares Augusti*, the *Equites Singulares* of *governors, the *Equites Praetoriani*, the *Equites Legionis*, the auxiliary *Alae* and *Equites Cohortales*, and irregular formations (Palmyrene horse-archers, *Moors, etc.). *Alae* continued to exist in Late Roman frontier forces, but many of the other elements were formed into separate units of *Equites Promoti* and *Stablesiani*. These appear separately from new mounted guard formations (**Scholae Palatinae*) and cavalry regiments (**vexillationes* and *Cunei Equitum*) in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. The *vexillationes* provided the bulk of the field army cavalry in the 4th to 6th centuries, supplemented by the mounted **bucellarii* of generals. The *Notitia* also lists numerous units of horse-archers in the East (*Equites Sagittarii Indigenae*). Later regiments were defined by their geographical, ethnic, and equipment titles, which included both heavily armoured troops (*cataphracts, **clibanarii*) and light cavalry (*Mauri*, *Dalmatae*).

Roman cavalry drew on the cultures of horse-borne *elites* within the Empire (Iberians, Gauls, Germans, Thracians, *Moors) and also recruited the skills of external peoples (*Sarmatians, *Huns, *Avars, Turks, Parthians, Saracens, Persians). Horse *harness, *saddles, clothing, *arms and armour, and military *standards were characteristic of these internal and external cultures.

Among Rome's enemies, the Asiatic *nomads excelled in horse-*archery and directly affected both Roman and Persian tactics. *Procopius, *Agathius, and *Maurice all demonstrate that armoured horse-archers predominated as the decisive tactical component of Roman armies from the 5th century onwards. Some carried lances, and front-rank horses were armoured. They dealt effectively with Germanic barbarians with mounted *elites* (*Vandals, *Ostrogoths), as well as those whose warriors fought mainly as *infantry (*Franks, *Slavs). However, Roman armies never became predominantly mounted forces, and infantry continued to be a vital component. This tactical shift towards armoured horse-archers was derived from Persian and Hunnic warfare, not a consequence of the supposedly pivotal victory of barbarian cavalry over Roman infantry at the Battle of *Adrianople in AD 378. From the 7th century onwards, in the *Themes, the best armoured cavalry (**tagmata*) continued to be organized in the equivalent of *vexillationes*, some retaining their old titles into the 10th century.

The Parthians and Persians faced a range of indigenous, Asiatic, and Roman archery practices. They therefore developed for their predominantly mounted forces appropriately complete defences and employed lances and other penetrative weapons. Asiatic mounted nomads were less well supplied with metallic armour, but excelled in horse-archery. Northern barbarians and Germanic successor states fielded significant cavalry forces but were more constrained by wealth, status, and resources than the Roman and Persian *armies. In particular, the *Lombards were heavily influenced by *Avar armour and archery practice. North *African peoples continued to fight as light cavalry skirmishers with javelins, from the Punic Wars into the Middle Ages. Mounted *Arab troops were initially not especially strong in cavalry, armour, or archery, until influenced by Roman, Persian, and Asiatic practices. JCNC

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 193–9, 243–79.
Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 60–5.
J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World* (1999).
Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.

Cave of Treasures (Syr. *M'arrat gaze*) Anonymous *Syriac work, formerly attributed to *Ephrem the Syrian, extant also in *Arabic and *Georgian. Although its

present form dates from the 6th century, the work was probably written in the 5th century, or possibly earlier, by an author of the School of *Edessa familiar with Ephrem's works. He describes the history of the world from Adam to Christ on the basis of biblical, Mesopotamian, Jewish, and Christian stories and legends, in order to establish the genealogy that links Jesus to Adam. The eponymous Cave of Treasures is that in which Adam and Eve lived after their expulsion from Paradise and in which Adam hid the *gold, *incense, and myrrh later given to Jesus by the Magi. KDB

GEDSH s.v. Cave of Treasures, 90–1 (Leonhard).

ed. (with FT) S.-M. Ri, *La Caverne des Trésors: les deux recensions syriaques* (CSCO 486–7, Scr. syr. 207–8; 1987).

ET E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (1927).

S. Minov, *Syriac Christian Identity in Late Sasanian Mesopotamia: The Cave of Treasures in Context* (diss. Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013).

Ceaulin (Ceawlin, Cælin) King of the West Saxons (d. 593), son of Cynric, a founder of the West Saxon royal dynasty. Ceaulin was remembered as one of the *Bretwaldas (overkings). He died the year following defeat at a battle at Wodnesbeorg, near where *Wansdyke crosses the Ridgeway in Wiltshire (*ASC s. a.* 592). NAS

ODNB s.n. Cealwin (Yorke).

ceilings and ceiling decoration Under the trussed roofs of *palaces and *basilicas, vaulted or more often flat ceilings were constructed. Timber was precious, so well-made roofs from one building might be preserved for reuse in another (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 14), while the 6th-century *Life* of S. Nicholas of Sion records the miraculous lengthening of roof timbers which had been cut too short (*VNicSion* 20.25–30).

Wooden panels, generally of pine, cedar, or cypress, were attached to the tie-beams, so as to create coffers, rectangular or octagonal recesses. These might be covered with *mosaic or painted with geometrical, *foliage, fruit, and figural motifs or with representations of divinities or mortals, as on the fifteen coffers of a ceiling of a room excavated at the 4th-century imperial *palace at *Trier.

Ceilings were often gilded, lavishly reflecting shimmering *light. The mosaics in the soffits of the arches in the nave of the Acheiropoietos Basilica at *Thessalonica give a small idea of the intricacy of such decoration. Impressive ecclesiastical examples of descriptions which survive include *Constantine I's churches of the Holy Sepulchre in *Jerusalem, and the *Holy Apostles in *Constantinople, *Paulinus of *Nola's *martyrium of S. Felix from the 5th century, and the churches of *S. Polyeuctus at Constantinople and of S. Stephen at *Gaza in the 6th century. Open-vaulted and barrel-vaulted roofs prevail after the 6th century, and in some cases these *brick or brick-and-stone constructions probably had no separate ceiling beneath them, though some of the brickwork, as with the herring-bone patterns in the church at Salah (Turkish Salhı, mod. Bağlarbaşı) on the *Tur 'Abdin, might itself be a work of art. DK; OPN

J. Bardill, 'A New Temple for Byzantium', in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado, eds., *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity* (2008), 339–70.

Ceionii Family of senatorial *aristocracy which had two main branches, the Iuliani and the Rufii, whose relationship is unknown. The Ceionii Iuliani are first attested with M. Ceionius Iulianus, *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome in 333. His descendants occupied important positions in the later 4th century. Ceionii Rufii held important magistracies during the 4th and early 5th centuries (Rufius Agrypinus *Volusianus was Praefectus Urbi in 417). Prominent pagans, they were connected to Christian families through *marriage. Probably of Etruscan origin, their names indicate links with early imperial aristocrats. The earliest attested Ceionius is C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, urban prefect and *consul under *Maxentius and *Constantine I. His son Albinus held these same offices under Constantine, and at least one member of each following generation was Praefectus Urbi. *Marcella of Rome, ascetic friend of *Jerome, was Albinus' granddaughter. The Rufii were linked to the *Decii, preserving the family name into later periods. CARM

PLRE I, stemma 12 and stemma 13, 1137–8.

A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (1962).

Celer *Magister Officiorum (503–18), admired by *John Lydus (*mag.* III, 17). Effective as commander and negotiator in the *Persian war (503–6), he was *consul for 508. He helped to depose the *Patriarch *Macedonius (511), and to calm the pro-*Chalcedon riot of 512. He lost influence under *Justin I, but was involved in religious negotiations with *Hormisdas of *Rome in 519–20. FKH

PLRE II, Celer 2.

Greatrex, *RPW.*

Haarer, *Anastasius.*

Celtic Christianity The Churches of Celtic *Britain, *Ireland, and *Brittany originated in Roman Britain, and were marked during Late Antiquity by adaptation from a centralized to a highly localized political system, and from a Latin-speaking to a Celtic-speaking milieu. Accordingly, especially in the 6th and 7th centuries, they showed similarities both in

culture (e.g. in their distinctive system of *scripts) and in organization (the large numbers of *bishops, and the high status accorded to scholars). The cults of many saints revered as monastic founders of the 6th century were spread over more than one of the Celtic-speaking regions. These regions also shared a conservative method of calculating the date of *Easter which brought disagreement with the Churches of Francia and England in the 7th century. However, as the Easter controversy was gradually resolved, the 'Celtic' Churches began to diverge from one another.

The idea of a 'Celtic Church'—decentralized, *ascetic, and mystical—united in opposition to 'Roman' authority, has largely been discounted by modern scholarship. Some supposed 'Celtic' attributes, such as a lack of separation between monks and secular clergy, were common elsewhere in Late Antiquity; others, like the monastic confederations exemplified by *Iona, were exceptional even in Celtic areas. Regional phenomena, for instance the Christian sculpture of Pictland, or the precocious, parish-like *plebs*-communities of *Brittany, can be better appreciated when the 'Celtic Churches' are not forced into a uniform mould. CJB

T. Charles-Edwards, 'Beyond Empire II: Christianities of Celtic Peoples', in *CHC* III (2008), 86–106.

N. Edwards, ed., *Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches* (2009).

C. Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650 to 1000* (1999).

D. E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (2000).

C. E. Stancliffe, 'Religion and Society in Ireland' and 'Christianity among the Britons, Dálriadan Irish and Picts', in *New CMedH* 1 (2005), 397–425, 426–61.

Celtic Latin The term refers here to the *Latin writings of Celtic *Britain and *Ireland *c.*400–*c.*800. These regions produced a body of literature comprising *saints' lives, monastic texts (rules and penitentials), *Bible interpretation and commentary, theological works, computistica, *hymns, *letters, annals, and a small corpus of secular works (*grammars, poetic commentaries). The earliest known writings from Britain (excluding *inscriptions) come from ecclesiastics who migrated to the Continent (*Pelagius, *Faustus of Riez). Among the earliest island-based writers were the Britons S. *Patrick, who migrated to Ireland, and *Gildas, who flourished in Britain (perhaps Wales). The letters of S. Patrick describe the saint's mission to Ireland in the 5th century, while Gildas's *De Excidio Britonum*, a diatribe against corrupt *priests and rulers, mentions the *Anglo-Saxon invasions. Uinnianus (6th cent.), a British *bishop active in Ireland, wrote the earliest Celtic penitential; this became a model for the Irish penitentials transmitted under the names of S. *Columbanus (d. 615) and S. Cummean (early 7th cent.). These innovative writings joined monastic instruction with rules governing penances. The name Cummean is also attached to a letter dealing with controversy over the dating of *Easter. Computistical writings used in this controversy display the reading of Irish scholars; this included works by *Isidore of *Seville, *Macrobius (*Saturnalia*), and *Boethius (*De Arithmetica*) besides ecclesiastical writers—all used to support a particular arithmetical system of predicting Easter dates. Scientific topics (tides, *eclipses) are treated in the Ps.-Isidorean *Liber de Ordine Creaturarum*. Theologically interesting is the Ps.-Augustinian *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* (*c.*655), which attempts to show how *miracles in both Testaments can be reconciled with natural phenomena. This typifies the 'topics approach' of Irish exegesis such as we find in the 'Reference Bible'. Irish hagiography concentrated on native saints beginning with Patrick, Brigit, and Columba. The life of S. *Columba by *Adomnán of *Iona (d. 704) is a masterpiece of the *genre. The earliest British hagiography, by contrast, is concerned with continental saints with connections to Britain: Ss. *Germanus of Auxerre and *Samson of Dol. Hagiography and hymnology coalesce in poems lauding saints, e.g. 'Audite Omnes Amantes' (on S. Patrick), and verses on the abbots of Bangor (from the 'Bangor Antiphonary'). One of the finest hymns is 'Altus Prosator', a poem on Creation attributed to S. Columba (d. 597). *Grammar was another well-developed interest of the Irish. The *Ars Asporii* is a christanized *Donatus of the early 7th century. More influential was the enigmatic Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, whose cryptograms and bizarre linguistic theories were cited over several centuries. Rhetorical contests are featured in the **Hisperica Famina*, where a judge enumerates 'the faults of Ausonian diction'. One finds evidence of genuine classical tradition in an Irish recension of Philargyrius' commentary on *Vergil's *Eclogues*. Historiography is limited largely to annalistic writing, the exception being the British '*Nennius'.

Linguistically, Celtic Latin is not a *Sondersprache*, but Late Latin reflecting a fairly good standard across genres. Some words derived from Irish occur in Hiberno-Latin texts, and there are certain identifying features of orthography, some of which show influence of Irish vernacular spellings. *Greek and Greek-derived words occur with some frequency, e.g. in Gildas, Columbanus, *Hisperica Famina*, Virgilius Maro, and Adomnán. MWHe

M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (1985).

M. Esposito, *Latin Learning in Medieval Ireland*, ed. M. Lapidge (1988).

M. W. Herren, *Latin Letters in Early Christian Ireland* (1996).

Celts Late Antique writers used the terms *Celtae*, *Keltoi*, and their derivatives to describe the inhabitants of central and western *Gaul. When referring to language they seem to have intended local dialects of Romance to be understood by the term *lingua celtica*.

Since the early 18th century, scholars have classified the pre-Roman dialects of Gaul and Atlantic *Spain alongside the ancestral tongues of Gaelic and *British under the label 'Celtic'. There is little evidence for Continental Celtic dialects surviving into Late Antiquity; whether because of genuine language replacement or the dominance of *Latin in the written record is unclear. By the 7th century two vernacular Celtic acrolects had emerged which scholars term Old Irish and British. These acrolects were not mutually intelligible and early medieval scholars who noticed similarities between them assumed borrowings of individual words rather than shared inheritance. Whether the contrast between the written standards reflected the grouping of vernacular dialects *c.*600 is unclear and debate continues as to whether, for example, the British of *Brittany had inherited any of its character from Gaulish, or, to take another, whether the language of the *Picts was simply a dialect of British.

In terms of ethnic perception, native scholars had, by the late 7th century, already adopted the idea of a *Scythian origin for the Irish (influenced by the homophony of the ethnonyms *Scotti and Scythii) and a Trojan origin for the Britons. This latter had probably been developed, perhaps with reference to specific allied *ciuitates* under the Roman Empire. AW

A. Blom, '*Lingua gallica*, *lingua celtica*: Gaulish, Gallo-Latin or Gallo-Romance', *KF* 4 (2009), 7–54.

J. Collis, *The Celts: Origins, Myths, and Inventions* (2003).

T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Language and Society among the Insular Celts, AD 400–1000', in Green, *Celtic World*, 703–36.

cemeteries *See* DEAD, DISPOSAL OF CEMETERIES, GERMANIC AND POST-ROMAN WEST.

cemeteries, Germanic and post-Roman West The excavation and analysis of cemeteries has been a key theme in early medieval archaeology since its origins. The frequent inclusion of distinctively decorated objects in graves meant they were often recognized and reported: the typological analysis and resulting chronologies of these objects long provided the principal means of dating early medieval sites. Systematic study of cemeteries developed from the later 18th century in England and by the mid-19th century in north-west Europe, though earlier antiquarians had catalogued finds from burials accompanied by rich objects such as *Childeric's tomb, discovered at *Tournai in 1653. In the 17th century such finds were mainly exploited for religious or political purposes, for example by promoting *pilgrimage centres (such as *Jouarre and S. Germain-des-Près, France) or supporting dynastic claims to legitimacy of actual or potential rulers. The advent of more scientific recording methods did not bring this political use of cemetery finds to an end, and they continued to be employed throughout the 20th century to underpin ethnic and national histories. Commonly this involved matching characteristic finds to a specific cultural group known from the historical sources (e.g. *Franks, *Saxons, *Visigoths, or Angles) and then associating such objects and their spatial distributions with modern political entities. Since particular categories of material culture were identified with specific cultural groups, objects from graves were also used extensively in attempts to correlate archaeological and historical evidence for the *Barbarain Migrations in the post-Roman West. In addition, scholars deployed cemetery evidence to try and map *conversion from *paganism to Christianity, since many assumed that burials containing grave-goods were those of pagans. This tendency was particularly marked in some regions, for example *Anglo-Saxon England, where the period described in the seminal narrative history of conversion (*Bede's *HE*) coincided with the gradual disappearance of accompanied burials.

Contemporary archaeologists regard such interpretations as excessively simplistic. Later 20th-century developments in archaeological method and theory encouraged a more sophisticated approach to cemeteries. The first major development was processual archaeology from the 1960s onwards, which led to the application of new scientific techniques; the second was the post-processual movement of the 1980s and later, which brought social and anthropological theories to bear on archaeological evidence. The latter helped archaeologists to appreciate that objects such as those in early medieval graves do not map straightforwardly onto past cultural identities, and therefore that artefact distributions cannot be used simply to map the territories or movements of cultural groups or the appearance of particular religions.

Instead, scholars now argue that burial practices provided a range of different ways to express and create specific cultural identities for the 5th and 6th centuries, and that they can be studied from a variety of different viewpoints. Burial provided not only a theatre for mourning, but also a chance to shape social memory as it related to ethnicity, kinship, gender, age, and many other social realities: the objects buried with the dead could be used to create relationships between the living by representing social status (for example, a young male child from an elite family—who could never have fought in battle—buried with a warrior's sword or other equipment). In *Merovingian *Gaul, moreover, the very use of grave-goods appears to have developed

from Late Roman practices and might originally have represented a bid for social legitimacy by barbarian peoples living in the Roman Empire. In addition to examining grave-goods, archaeologists study how social organization might be represented in the spatial layout of burial sites. Examples include communal 'row-grave cemeteries' (widespread north of the Alps in the later 5th and 6th cents.), or smaller clusters of burials which might reflect individual kin groups. The topographical context of burials may provide insights into how early medieval people perceived contemporary geographies or their relationships to past inhabitants (for example when cemeteries were located on boundaries, or when they reused prehistoric burial mounds). Early medieval social identities were not static and cemeteries provide opportunities to analyse change. Later 6th-century graves in both England and northern Gaul, for example, were marked by increasing differentiation between burial assemblages, and the spatial separation of more richly furnished graves from others. Such changes might have served to reinforce the emergence of more marked social hierarchies in this period.

Established scientific techniques enable bioarchaeologists to study aspects of demography and disease. For example, osteoarchaeologists routinely study mortuary remains to identify the age and sex profiles of cemetery populations, but also for evidence of diseases that affect bones and teeth, trauma sustained during life, and even aspects of health care. Developing molecular methods have the potential to revolutionize knowledge about early medieval populations. Analysis of stable isotopes of carbon or nitrogen from skeletons can provide information about an individual's diet as bones developed (specifically levels of fish or meat consumption); isotopes of strontium and oxygen can reflect the surface geology in childhood (and thus have the potential to indicate migrants). Studies of cemeteries in England including *West Heslerton and the later *Bamburgh have begun to show that migration patterns were far more complex than suggested by earlier work on historical documents and artefacts from burials. Though few studies have yet been undertaken, archaeologists have also begun to apply DNA analysis to questions of migration, including studies of both ancient and modern populations. Within specific cemeteries, ancient DNA could also be used to compare the spatial organization and treatment of burials representing members of different families. SCT

B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (2002).
B. Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (2003).
G. Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul* (2009).
H. Hamerow, D. Hinton, and S. Crawford, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (2011).
J. Montgomery, J. Evans, D. Powlesland, and C. Roberts, 'Continuity or Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England? Isotope Evidence for Mobility, Subsistence Practice, and Status at West Heslerton', *AJPhysAnth* 126 (2005), 123–38.
S. Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013).
H. Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (2006).

census The systematic assessment and registration of people and property by the Roman state. *Diocletian reformed the institution to provide the basis for his new tax regime, with a new Empire-wide census probably completed by 296. All evidence suggests that once the Tetrarchic *tax and census registers were established they became fixed, subject to ad hoc local adjustment rather than regular and universal revisions, perhaps until late in the reign of *Heraclius. Territorial losses may have prompted his order (recorded in the 13th-cent. *Synopsis Chronike*, 110, 5–7) that 'all the lands of the Romans' be surveyed and reassessed for *taxation purposes. More frequent censuses followed as part of the fiscal reforms of the later 7th and early 8th centuries.

The *Caliph *'Umar reportedly echoed Heraclius' move in 640, commanding that all living things in his domains be assessed. The Islamic state certainly developed population census and survey practices, drawing on both Roman and Persian traditions; and, indeed, some (but not all) of the western successor kingdoms also adapted the Roman system they inherited. REF

Jones, *LRE* esp. 454–6.
K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.
W. al-Qāḍī, 'Population Census and Land Surveys under the Umayyads', *Der Islam* 83 (2008), 341–416.

Centcelles Fourth-century Roman *villa, 6 km (4 miles) north-west of *Tarragona. A range survives, where the *dome *mosaic over a large room juxtaposes secular and Christian subjects. The lowest register shows a *deer *hunt setting out from a villa, the middle register has Old Testament scenes, familiar from *sarcophagi, referring *typologically to the Resurrection. Above, putti evoking the *Seasons alternate with unidentified enthroned figures with gold and *purple tesserae. Hauschild considered this the mausoleum of the *Emperor *Constans I, who died in Elne (Helena) in 350 on his way to *Spain. Other scholars think it the residence of local officials or *bishops. RJW

J. Arce, *Centcelles: el monumento tardorromano. Iconografía y arquitectura (300–580)* (2002).
K. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (1999), 251–3.

centenarius (military and post-Roman) Term from the Late Roman Empire for the ordinary sub-officer of a military regiment, the leader of a nominal 100-man unit. The term was part of a new system of military ranks developing from the 3rd century. *Vegetius (II, 7 and 13) saw it as a new term for centurion.

It was used in the regional Frankish administration as part of a hierarchy derived from Roman military ranks (*Dux, *Comes, *Tribunus, Centenarius), in which military and administrative functions were combined. Frankish *centenarii* commonly appear as the subordinates of *comites civitatum*, exercising judicial functions and commanding police associations in *cities. The name of their command, *centena*, by the 8th century became territorialized as the common term for subdivisions of counties (**pagus*, **comitatus*). The 'hundred', in parallel to the county, had a long history in the regional administrative terminology of European states thereafter. ACM

A. C. Murray, 'From Roman to Frankish Gaul: "Centenarii" and "Centenae" in the Administration of the Merovingian Kingdom', *Traditio* 44 (1988), 59–100.

centenarius, ducenarius (civil) Originally the designation of equestrian imperial administrators with salaries of 100,000 or 200,000 *sesterces* respectively, the ranks were retained for officials junior to a *vir perfectissimus*, but senior to a *sexagenarius* (*vir egregius*), whether in post, on their retirement, or simply as a *title of honour (*CTh* VIII, 4, 3; XII, 1, 5; and specifically for the Sacrae *Largitiones, *CJust* XII, 23, 7). The heretic Paul of *Samosata was considered arrogant for posing as a *ducenarius* rather than as a *bishop (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 30, 8). OPN

Jones, *LRE* 530.

centenionalis Small *bronze coin introduced in the *coinage reform of AD 348. This reform failed to stabilize the Roman monetary system and the *centenionalis* appears to have been struck only up to 356, in which year the *centenionalis* was also described as a forbidden coin (*CTh* IX, 23, 1). The name cannot securely be attached to any specific denomination of surviving coinage. RRD

Hendy, *Studies.*

cento, Greek A pastiche poetic form, in which lines and phrases are deliberately drawn from an antecedent text and recombined to convey new subject matter. Centos of lines from *Homer on Christian themes composed by *Eudocia Augusta comprise the extant bulk of the genre in *Greek, but a cento from Euripides, the *Christus Patiens* (*Christos Paschon*), attributed to *Gregory of *Nazianzus but of undetermined date and authorship, also survives.

Centos reflect Late Antique authors' deep familiarity and sympathy with poetry from the classical past. Prefaces to their works by Eudocia and (in *Latin) *Ausonius (*Cento Nuptialis*) adumbrate the compositional techniques and aesthetics of the form, which achieves its effect by semantic tension between the original context of the reappropriated verses and their new settings. Centos also provide an important indirect witness to the texts of the classical authors from which they derive. MDU

Eudocia, *Homerocentra* (*CPG* 6025):

ed. A.-L. Rey (annotated with FT, SC 437, 1998).

ed. R. Schembra (with study, CCSG 62, 2007).

ed. M. D. Usher (1999).*Christos Paschon*: ed. A. Tuilier (annotated with FT, SC 149, 1969).

G. Salanitro. 'Osidio Geta e la poesia centonaria', in *ANRW* II.34.3 (1997), 2314–60.

M. D. Usher, *Homeric Stitchings: The Homeric Centos of the Empress Eudocia* (1998).

N. Vakonakis, *Das griechische Drama auf dem Weg nach Byzanz. Der euripideische Cento* Christos Paschon (2011).

cento, Latin Literary form in which an author connects a predecessor's originally discrete lines to create his own new narrative work. Sixteen Latin centos survive from antiquity, all with *Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* as their source texts; the Codex Salmasianus (Paris, BN 10318) contains twelve of them. Authors worked at least largely from memory.

Probably the earliest of the extant Vergilian centos is Hosidius Geta's tragedy *Medea*, preserved in Codex Salmasianus and first mentioned by Tertullian (*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 39, 5). Seven other centos contain mythological narratives, while two deal with the everyday subjects of *bread making and dicing, and two more with weddings, one of them by *Luxorius.

There are also four Christian centos, one of which, the *De Ecclesia*, appears in the Codex Salmasianus. Faltonia Betitia *Proba paraphrased Old and New Testament material in the 694 lines of the *Cento Probae*.

The most notorious cento is *Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis*, an account of a wedding day that concludes with an explicit description of the wedding night. (Petronius' *Satyricon*, 132, 11, where Encolpius describes his *mentula* in a three-line cento, anticipates Ausonius' ribald reuse of Vergil.) Preceding the text is a dedicatory letter in which Ausonius explains the rules for cento composition and describes some of its features. Other ancient statements on the cento come from Tertullian and *Jerome (*ep.* 53.7). SMcG

S. McGill, *Virgil Recomposed: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity* (2005).

G. Salanitro, 'Osidio Geta e la poesia centonaria' *ANRW* II.34.3 (1997), 2314–60.

K. O. Sandnes, *The Gospel 'According to Homer and Virgil'* (2011).

Central Asia (Central Eurasia, Inner Asia) Vast area in the centre of Asia, located between the Russian

steppe, Siberia, *China, *India, and Iran. The core comprises western Turkistan (mod. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) and eastern Turkistan (Xinjiang, China). Most scholars also include northern Afghanistan, which has strong ties with the Turkic world north of the *Oxus. For similar reasons, many include Mongolia (Inner and Outer) and portions of the Russian steppe or northern forest zone where Turco-Mongol peoples have historically lived. The term 'Inner Asia' is sometimes used synonymously with 'Central Asia'; 'Central Eurasia' encompasses not only Central Asia, but also the Caucasus and other areas of the Eurasian continent.

Central Asia is bounded in the west by the Caspian Sea, in the south by the mountain chain extending from the Kopet Dag in northern Iran eastward to the Hindu Kush, Pamirs, Karakorum, and Kunlun ranges, and in the east by the Gansu corridor. To the north stretches the Russian and Mongolian steppe and beyond that, the forested taiga zone, punctuated in the middle by the Altai mountain range. Within Central Asia, major geographical features from west to east include the Transcaspian Ustyurt Plateau, Aral Sea, Qara Qum and Qizil Qum deserts, Tien Shan mountains (dividing West and East Turkistan), *Tarim basin (containing the Taklamakan Desert), and Gobi Desert. This arid region of deserts, high plateaux, steppe, and mountains is characterized by an extreme continental climate. Alpine meltwater feeding rivers like the *Oxus (Amu Darya), Zerafshan, *Jaxartes (Syr Darya), Chu, Ili, and Tarim, supplemented by extensive irrigation, makes limited agriculture possible; major bodies of water include the Aral Sea, Issyk-Köl, and Lake Balkhash.

Historically, the regions south of the Oxus were known as Margiana and *Bactria (or *Tukharistan), both of which variously came under the Persian (and later *Arab) province of *Khorasan. North of the Oxus lay *Transoxiana, divided into the regions of *Khwarezm (Chorasmia), *Sogdiana, *Chaghanian, Khuttal, and Badakhshan; north of these lay *Usrushana, *Farghana, and *Chach (Shash). Prior to the rise of *Islam, Western Central Asia was traditionally influenced more by Persian (and to a lesser extent *Greek) culture, Eastern Central Asia more by Chinese civilization. The *Silk Road *trade network linked the region with China, India, and the Near East, encouraging the spread of commerce, language, literature, and religion. Before the advent of the *Türks, the area was populated mostly by Iranian-speakers, including the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, and *Sogdians in Western Central Asia and the *Khotanese in Eastern Central Asia, along with the non-Iranian *Tokharians.

These Iranian-speakers developed urban literate societies based on agriculture and trade (the Sogdians were the main middle-men on the Silk Road) and skilled in art and architecture. Fertile soil and access to adequate water encouraged settlement in the *Merv oasis and Bactria, along the Oxus, Zerafshan, and Jaxartes rivers, in the Farghana, Chu, and Ili valleys, and in the many oases ringing the Taklamakan Desert. From the mid-6th century on, Turkic influence increased throughout Central Asia, as Turkic groups gained political power, becoming more urbanized and literate and increasingly controlling more of the Silk Road trade; by the Middle Ages, most ruling dynasties were Turkic.

Local forms of *Zoroastrianism traditionally practised by the Iranian-speakers to the south were supplemented by the missionary religions of *Buddhism, Christianity, *Manichaeism, and later Islam. All of these religions also spread to Turkic-speakers in the north, eventually to displace the native Turkic religion centred on the worship of the sky-god Tangri.

In Late Antiquity, various groups gained power in Western Central Asia, including the *Sasanian Shahs of the *Persian Empire (3rd cent.), *Chionites (4th cent.), *Hephthalites (5th cent.), *Türks (6th cent.), and finally the Arabs (7th–8th cent.). First the land south of the Oxus and then Transoxiana (in Arabic, Ma wara' al-nahr) was integrated into the Arab *caliphate. Meanwhile, Eastern Central Asia fell within the Chinese sphere of influence, although direct political control by China fluctuated according to the presence of local polities, such as the Saka kingdom of *Khotan (2nd–7th cent.). Chinese influence in Western Central Asia, rarely more than nominal, ceased completely after the Arab victory at the Battle of *Talas (751).

To the north, pastoral *nomads (Xiongnu, Juan-juan, Türks, *Uighurs, and later Mongols) practised animal husbandry, living in tents and raising livestock; however, when they gained political power, limited urbanism developed, especially under the Türks. The success of steppe nomad polities depended on extensive grazing lands to support their many flocks and herds plus a large, highly skilled, and disciplined cavalry. As Turkic power extended southwards, control of the trade routes also became crucial.

Conflict often occurred between the nomads and the surrounding imperial powers (China, Persia, and later the Arab caliphate), seen by many as an example of the inherent tension between 'steppe and sown'. However, despite the Western and Chinese tendency to despise and fear the barbarian, steppe nomads were typically tolerant of multiple religions and capable of forming multi-ethnic polities ruling over a vast territory for extensive periods of time. MLD

EncIran V/2 *s.v.* Central Asia: iii.
In Pre-Islamic Times, 164–9 (R. N. Frye).
HCCA III.D. Sinor, 'Introduction: The Concept of Inner Asia' and R. N. Taaffe, 'The Geographic Setting', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 1–40.

W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968).
C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (2009).
D. Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, vol. 1 (1998).
R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia* (1996).
L. Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads: A History of Central Asia, 500–1500* (1979).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905).
D. Sinor, *Inner Asia: A Syllabus* (1969).

Cephas Fortress overlooking the River Tigris (mod. Hasankeyf, Turkey). Originally Assyrian, it was fortified by *Constantius II around 349, was the base of Legio II Parthica in the late 4th century (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *or*. 34) and was strengthened by *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed*. II, 4) as part of his overall strengthening of the eastern *frontier. It is probably the 'Sitae', 25 (Roman) miles (35 km) from Tigranocerta of the Peutinger Map, and the 'castron Siton Cifas' of *George of Cyprus. Excavation has uncovered foundations of a Roman gateway south-west of the bridge, a row of shops, a possible guard-house, and some *mosaic fragments. AMC

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 230–9 (mostly medieval) and vol. 4, 368.
A. Uluçam, 'Hasankeyf Kazıları 2004–2008', in *The Ilisu Dam and HEP Project Excavations Season 2004–2008* (Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2013), 377, 432.

Ceramaea, Battle of (AD 747) A significant Roman naval victory won by a fleet commanded by the **strategos* of the *Cibyrrhaeotic *Theme, over an Arab fleet, allegedly of 1,000 *dromons, near the harbour of Ceramaea, in *Cyprus, described by *Theophanes (AM 6238) and the Patriarch *Nicephorus (68). MTGH

G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (1940–52), vol. 1, 291.

ceremony, Roman and post-Roman Ceremonies were conducted throughout Antiquity in a broad variety of domestic, city, military, imperial, royal, and religious contexts. Typical occasions were birthdays, anniversaries, weddings, funerals, arrivals (**adventus*), departures, receptions, translation of *relics, inaugurations, coronations, *victory celebrations, church foundations, and other events. The participants, internal organization, procedures, and location (private house, assembly room, clubhouse, forum, theatre, *circus, temple, church, parade ground, *palace, or *street) all varied with the occasion for the ceremony. Depending on the type of ceremony, a more or less broad spectrum of individuals and groups was actively or passively involved, demonstrating their unity and concord; at the same time, ceremonies were usually marked by rigid social stratification, expressing the internal hierarchy and functional differentiation among the participants.

We are best informed about imperial and royal ceremonies. They have left material evidence of imperial imagery on *coinage and medallions, in *sculpture, *mosaics, and paintings. Literary sources also provide information, particularly *panegyrics and the *De Ceremoniis* of *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, a 10th-century compilation containing instructions for the performance of court ceremonies, written by the officials responsible for them.

Royal ceremonies expressed the general consensus about the monarch's supremacy and legitimacy, demonstrated different grades of proximity to the sovereign, and also served as an opportunity for the ordering of influence and status among the highest strata of society, the *court, the imperial and civic *aristocracy, and the clergy. As can be seen best in surviving Late Antique panegyrical texts, ceremonies provided occasions when high-ranking petitioners could approach the emperor, requesting, for instance, tax relief for their hometowns or similar favours. They also provided an occasion for the announcement of imperial policies and achievements—in suitably high-flown terms. At the same time, imperial and royal ceremony also reinforced the sense that political power was in some way a fact of nature, that the ruler enjoyed a close connection to the divine, mediating between the heavenly and earthly spheres. Ceremony was thus closely connected to **adoratio* of the emperor, which persisted in a secularized form after the end of pagan *imperial cult emperor worship.

The historical development of royal ceremony is in general characterized by strong continuity. Nevertheless, social, cultural, political, and religious changes in Late Antiquity also led to certain transformations, the most prominent being first an increased sense of the sacredness of the imperial office, second the development of its relations with Christianity, and third, especially after the eastern emperors became permanent residents of Constantinople, the development of specific relations with the people and *Senate of their capital city.

Royal ceremony played a central part in the sacralization of the monarchy. This is evident already in the 3rd century, especially under the *Tetrarchy. At receptions and festivities within the palace, the enthroned emperor, clad in ceremonial garb and adorned with *regalia, was greeted with prostration (Gk. *proskynesis*; Lat. *adoratio*) before an orator spoke his *praises in a panegyric. The emperor's visibility was carefully regulated by ceremonial *curtains (*vela*), while undesirable sounds were suppressed by the **silentiarii*. Even victory celebrations came to be conducted in the presence of an emperor seemingly kept aloof from earthly matters.

The process of Christianization reinforced this development insofar as monarchy on earth was

conceived ever more as a representation of the heavenly monarchy of the transcendent Christian God. At the same time, representatives of the increasingly established religion were able to interpret God's will in ways which did not always accord with the emperor's understanding; negotiation was needed for representatives of the Church and the state to know their places. *Leo I in 457 was the first emperor to accept the imperial *crown from the *Patriarch of Constantinople; *Justin I in 517 received it from the Patriarch in the Circus and *Constans II in 641 was crowned in the Church of the *Holy Wisdom.

At the same time that the ceremonies surrounding the emperor were being dovetailed with the expectations of the Church, a symbiosis was emerging between the emperor and the people of Constantinople. The Circus, entered by the people from the city and by the emperor directly from the Great *Palace, was the arena where this relationship was enacted. That relations between emperor and *factions were not a matter of stiff formalities is apparent from the *Acta per *Calopodium* and the *Nika Riot. Ceremony was not mere spectacle; it was a way for the character and presence of political power to be acknowledged and for political realities to be expressed and explored. JW; OPN

A. Alföldi, 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe', *MDAI(R)* 49 (1934), 1–118.

F. A. Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity', *ActaIRNorv* 15 (2001), 27–61.

P. Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi: recherche sur l'exploitation idéologique et littéraire d'un cérémonial dans l'antiquité tardive* (1994).

MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*.

M. McCormick, 'Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies', *JbÖB* 35 (1985), 1–20.

M. Jones and S. McFadden, *Art of Empire: The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple* (2015).

P. van Nuffelen, 'Playing the Ritual Game in Constantinople (379–457)', in Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*, 183–200.

R. Pfeilschifter, *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel: Kommunikation und Konfliktaustrag in einer spätantiken Metropole* (2013).

J. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (1939).

F. Theuws, ed., *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (2000).

K. Trampedach, 'Kaiserwechsel und Krönungsritual im Konstantinopel des 5. bis 6. Jahrhunderts', in M. Steinicke and S. Weinfurter, eds., *Investitur- und Krönungsrituale. Herrschaftseinsetzungen im kulturellen Vergleich* (2005), 275–90.

O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (1938).

Černjachov/Sîntana De Mureş Culture The Russian and Romanian names respectively for the same archaeological system which spread across Wallachia, Moldavia, and large parts of the Ukraine as far as the River Don in the Late Roman and early *Migration periods (3rd to 5th cents.). East of the Don, lower average rainfall makes conventional *farming impossible.

Černjachov is in the Ukraine, near Kiev. Sîntana De Mureş (sometimes Sântana-de-Mureş) is a site in Transylvania. In Romania over 60 sites and cemeteries have been identified and in the former USSR a further 70 cemeteries and around 90 sites have been studied.

The Černjachov/Sîntana De Mureş Culture is commonly regarded as the material culture of the *Goths and believed to incorporate diverse groups and influences. Open settlements are characteristic, but several small fortified sites are known. Many communities made their own *pottery and *iron tools, but specialized manufacturing centres produced grindstones, bone objects, *glass vessels, and *salt. Its populations engaged in mixed farming regimes in sometimes substantial *village communities which clustered along the watercourses and larger rivers of the region. Characteristic finds include *metalwork and other items strongly reminiscent of contemporary Germanic-dominated regions of north-central Europe but combined with large quantities of wheel-turned pottery resembling Roman provincial types (handmade wares predominate in North-Central Europe throughout the Roman period).

*Trade with the Roman world is represented by *wine *amphorae, *jewellery, and other objects. The *amber trade from the Baltic passed through its territory. Distribution of objects in burials suggests a stratified society. In Romania, cemeteries can be very large, with over 500 graves. The site of Bârlat Valea Seacă in Romania has yielded an unusual amount of evidence for specialized workshops that manufactured *combs from *deer antlers, a difficult and time-consuming process that produced objects of great importance in the Černjachov/Sîntana De Mureş Culture, as we know from the frequency with which they were placed in graves.

Before the 1970s, the system was often misdated because its remains threw up much good-quality Roman *silver *coinage of the 2nd century, but M. B. Ščukin showed conclusively that the system's earliest sites date to the later 3rd century AD. Its characteristic remains then spread throughout the region between the Danube and the Don in the early 4th century before disappearing again in the very late 4th and early 5th centuries. This breakthrough resolved earlier controversies over attribution, making it clear that the system's existence correlated closely—both chronologically and geographically—with the rise and fall of Gothic power in the region. There are textual and archaeological reasons to suppose that many other groups continued to occupy this landscape throughout,

but the system was clearly a product of Gothic political domination. PHe; PSW

RGA 2 *s.v.* 'Sântana-de-Mureş-Černjachov-Kultur', 26 (2004), 445–55 (I. Ioniță).
P. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).
Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*.
O. Petrauskas, 'Die Černjachov-Kultur im Schwarzmeergebiet nach dem hunnischen Einfall', in A. Koch, ed., *Attila und die Hunnen* (2007), 159–67.
S. Musteață and A. Popa, 'Antler Manufacturing in the Eastern Carpathian Region in the Time of Sântana de Mureş-Černjachov Culture (Late Roman Period)', in A. Legrand-Pineau, I. Sidéra, N. Buc, E. David, and V. Scheinsohn, eds., *Ancient and Modern Bone Artefacts from America to Russia* (2010), 159–70.

Cethegus (d. after 559) Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus was one of the *Petronii, a *gens* of the senatorial *aristocracy, *consul in 504, and Caput Senatus during *Totila's siege of *Rome in 545. Suspected of conspiring with the *Ostrogoths, he fled Rome and was later among the aristocratic refugees welcomed to *Constantinople by the *Emperor *Justinian I in 547. Here, he urged the emperor to pursue the war in *Italy more vigorously, and participated in the *Three Chapters controversy. By 559 he was in *Sicily, where he remained a significant figure. JJA

PLRE II, Cethegus.
PCBE II/1, Cethegus 1.
A. Momigliano, 'Gli Anicii e la storiografia Latina del VI sec. D.C', in Momigliano, *Secondo contributo*, 231–53.

Chach (Shash, mod. Tashkent) District in *Transoxiana on the *Jaxartes River. According to the Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 30), the cities in Chach were subject to the *Türks, but individually governed. Resistance from Türks to the *Arab invasion delayed full Islamization of the area until the 9th century. After the Battle of *Talas (751), Chach became a base for *ghazi warfare against pagan Türks on the northern steppe and supplied many troops to the armies of the *'Abbasid *caliphate (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 205). Arab and Persian geographers who give an account include Ibn Khurdadhbih (19–20), al-Muqaddasi (238, 246–7), and the *Hudud al-Alam* (118). MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Tashkent (W. Barthold, C. E. Bosworth).
EncIran IV/6 *s.n.* Čač, 604–5 (C. E. Bosworth).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 169–75.
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 480–3.

Chaghanian (Saghanian) District in *Transoxiana located north of *Tirmidh and part of the *Hephthalite Empire, subject to both Chinese and *Buddhist influences. The Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 39) mentions only five monasteries and a few monks. Chaghanians were strong opponents of the *Arab invasion, aiding both *Yazdegerd III (651) and the residents of Tukharistan (652) against the Muslims. The local ruler submitted to *Qutayba b. Muslim in 705 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* II, 165–6), after which the area remained under Arab control. Arab and Persian geographers giving an account include Ibn Khurdadhbih (24), *Hudud al-Alam* (114), al-Muqaddasi (252). MLD

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.n.* Čaghāniyān (B. Spuler).
EncIran IV/6 (1990) *s.n.* Čağānīān, 614–15 (C. E. Bosworth).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 72–4.
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 439–40.

chahar taq New Persian phrase (lit. 'four arches') used as a modern technical term for a design common to Sasanian centralized domed architecture in *fire temples and *palaces. A *chahar taq* consisted of four piers arranged in a square, from which sprang four barrel vaults. These supported squinches, which, in turn, supported the dome. MPC

EncIran IV/6 *s.v.* čahārtāq, i. in pre-Islamic Iran, 634–42 (Huff).

chairs Very little *furniture survives from Late Antiquity. Metal parts and decorative fittings from folding chairs of the 3rd century have been excavated from Hanghaus 2 at *Ephesus and the superb *ivory throne of *Bishop Maximian is preserved at *Ravenna. The masonry bases for the *synthronon occupied by the clergy survive around the *apse of many early Christian *basilicas. An inventory of the 5th/6th century from the little *village church at Ibion in *Egypt lists three wooden *cathedrae*, two *sempsellia* (benches), and two *leather cushions (P.Grenf. II, 111, 34–7).

Most surviving depictions of chairs are of seats of authority. The thrones of the *emperors shown on the *Missorium of Theodosius, Christ's throne in the *mosaic at S.Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, the seat of Christ depicted in S. *Pudenziana at *Rome, and the empty seats of judgement shown in the Neonian *Baptistery in Ravenna are of various designs, but alike in having large cushions and decoration in precious *stones.

In fact chairs (Gk. *thronos*, Lat. and Gk. *cathedra*) were often emblems of authority. Specific thrones were used by the emperor to receive official delegations, in church and at the *circus (e.g. *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 24, 44). A *governor sitting in a *court of law occupied a bench, where local **honorati* sat alongside him (*Libanius, *Oration*, 48, 16), though the seat occupied by Pontius Pilate in the illustrations of the *Rossano

Gospels would leave them little space. A professor of *grammar, *rhetoric, or *philosophy occupied a chair (e.g. *Palladius in *Greek Anthology*, IX, 174, 5; *Ausonius, *Professores*, 9, 1 Green; *Augustine, *Conff.* IX, 2, 4; *Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* II, 11). The throne of S. James the first *Bishop of *Jerusalem was still revered at Jerusalem in the time of *Eusebius (*HE* VII, 19), who also mentions episcopal thrones at *Corinth (IV, 23, 1), Rome (VI, 29, 4), and *Antioch (VII, 30, 9).

To be seated when others were standing was an assertion of superiority. *Constantine I asserted his humility at the *Council of *Nicaea by awaiting the consent of the assembled bishops before he sat down (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 10, 5). At the contentious Church *Council of *Carthage of 1 to 27 June 411, the *Donatist and Catholic bishops refused to sit down so that Marcellinus, the unfortunate imperial commissioner, had himself to stand throughout the proceedings. S.*Augustine of *Canterbury did not rise to greet the seven indigenous British bishops who came to meet him, thereby earning their lasting hostility (Bede, *HE* II, 2). Such matters of *ceremony were not trivial. NFH; OPN

B. Caseau, 'Objects in Churches: The Testimony of Inventories', in Lavan et al., *Objects in Context*, 560–2.

Chalcedon (mod. Kadıköy) *Harbour *city opposite *Constantinople and site of the *martyrium of S. Euphemia, a Christian *virgin allegedly killed during the Great *Persecution. A church was erected over her *relics, which housed a painting of her martyrdom, described by *Asterius of *Amaseia. Pilgrims such as *Egeria (384) and S. *Melania the Younger (436) visited S. Euphemia's shrine. When the Fourth Œcumenical *Council convened in Chalcedon in 451, the saint worked a *miracle. As the city was often plundered following attacks on Constantinople, S. Euphemia's relics were translated into a newly built church on the European side of the *Bosporus. Chalcedon fell to the *Arabs in 674–8 and was utterly destroyed during the Fourth Crusade (1204). KMK

Janin, *CPByz* 147, 237–9, 493–4.
Janin, *Grandscentres*, 30–60.
A. Schneider, 'Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon', in A. Grillmeier, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1: *Der Glaube von Chalkedon* (1951), 291–302.

Chalcedon, Council of Fourth Œcumenical *Council of the Church, held in *Chalcedon (mod. Kadiköy), on the Asia coast opposite *Constantinople in 451. The large council (500–600 *bishops), mostly Eastern, though with two Western bishops and papal legates in attendance, was called by the *Emperor *Marcian, newly appointed as husband of the *Empress *Pulcheria, after the sudden death of *Theodosius II, to settle the long-running controversy over the nature of Christ, and more immediately to overthrow the council called at *Ephesus by Theodosius II in 449, which had upheld *Eutyches, condemned Flavian, *Patriarch of Constantinople, and implicitly rejected the *Tome of *Leo.

The so-called Latrocinium ('Robber Council') of 449 was quickly overthrown, and *Dioscorus, Patriarch of *Alexandria, who had dominated the Latrocinium and refused to accept the authority of the new council, deposed. The council issued a 'Definition', which began by reaffirming the authority of the three previous œcumenical councils, with their *creeds (this is the first mention of the expanded version of the Nicene Creed, affirmed at the First Council of *Constantinople of 381), and upheld the authority of *Cyril of *Alexandria's synodical letters (accepted at the Council of *Ephesus of 431), and the so-called Tome of Leo, written in support of Flavian. It then continued, 'following the Holy Fathers', to affirm that in Christ there are two perfect natures, divine and human, united 'unconfusedly, unchangeably, undividedly, inseparably' in a single person, mentioning the title *Theotokos for the Virgin *Mary (this part of the definition is based on the Formula of Union associated with the First Council of Ephesus of 431). It appears that, at a late stage, at the insistence of the papal legates, mention of a union 'out of' (*ek*) two natures, was altered to 'in' (*en*) two natures, though many Greek manuscripts appear to have kept the original formulation. The definition resulted in a schism in the East between those who maintained that the council had betrayed Cyril in affirming a duality of natures, and those who believed that it had upheld his teaching (*see* MIAPHYSITES). AL

ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* II, 6 vols. (1933–8).
ET (annotated with introd.) R. M. Price and M. Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols. (TTH 45, 2005).
R. M. Price and Mary Whitby, eds., *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils 400–700* (2009).
Grillmeier, I (1979), 692–775.
F. Millar, 'The Acta of the Fifth-Century Councils: A Brief Guide for Historians', in Millar, *Greek Roman Empire*, 235–46.

Chalcis ad Belum Garrison town of the *province of *Syria Coele (Prima) located 25 km (15 miles) south of *Aleppo. Birthplace, *c.*245, of the *philosopher *Iamblichus (*Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 457).

In the Roman period it was part of the defence system of the eastern *frontier and a caravan stop. The term '*Limes* of Chalcis' was first used by *John Malalas in connection with the campaign when *Shapur I captured Chalcis and *Antioch (XII, 26). His notion that the region had been as fortified in the 3rd century as it was in the 6th has been interpreted as an anachronism. The *Lakhimid *Mundhir fought campaigns in the

region in 527 and in 554, when the *Ghassanids killed him. After *Khosrow I demanded a ransom for sparing the city in 540 (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 12, 1–2), *Justinian I ordered the rebuilding of the fortications, starting in *c.*550 (Procopius, *Aed.* II, 11, 1 and 8).

It was occupied during the *Persian invasion and then taken by the Arabs in 636/7. The early Islamic capital of the military district (**jund*) of north Syria called *Qinnasrin was associated with Chalcis ad Belum. A settlement of the early Islamic period was located around the town of Hadir, 4 km (2.5 miles) east of Chalcis. There have been recent excavations at the site.

The city of Qinnasrin should not be confused with the famous *monastery of *Qenneshre next to the Euphrates River, nor with Chalcis ad Libanum (*Anjar). EKK

R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, *Le Limes de Chalcis: organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine* (1945).

M.-O. Rousset (dir.), 'Al-Hadir', *Étude archéologique d'un hameau de Qinnasrin (Syrie du Nord, VIIe–XIIe siècles)* (2012).

Chaldean Oracles Fragmentary text traditionally attributed either to the 2nd-century figure Julian the Chaldaean or his son Julian the Theurgist, which formed one of the foundational texts of later *Neoplatonism. The *Oracles* survive only in fragments, but the work probably originally consisted of a set of oracles spoken by various gods introduced by a dialogue between Julian and the soul of Plato. Later Neoplatonists also cite a commentary on the *Oracles* written by Julian. They contained teachings about gods, daemons (*see* DEMONS AND DAEMONS), the soul, and the cosmos and helped to introduce *theurgy into later Platonism. Although alluded to by *Numenius, the first extended engagement with the text occurs in the 3rd century when *Porphyry wrote a (lost) commentary on it. *Iamblichus, *Proclus, and *Damascius all also commented on it. The text exercised great influence over the *Emperor *Julian. It remained a vital part of Neoplatonic religious life into the 6th century. EW

ed. (with comm. and ET) R. D. Majercik, *The Chaldaean Oracles* (²2013).

ed. (annotated with FT) E. des Places (1971).

P. Athanassiadi, 'The Chaldean Oracles: Theology and Theurgy', in P. Athanassiadi and B. Frede, eds., *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (1999), 149–83.

Chalons-sur-Marne, Battle of *See* CATALAUNIAN PLAINS, BATTLE OF.

Chalon-sur-Saône (*castrum Cabillonense*, dép. Saône-et-Loire, France) A minor Gallo-Roman river town, fortified in the Late Empire, Chalon seems to have grown in significance under the *Burgundians in the late 5th century. It became the principal residence of the *Frankish King *Guntram (561–92), but subsequently declined in importance, despite the continuing activity of its mint. BKY

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 4, Lyon (1987), 65–74.

CAGaule, 71/4 (1994).

M. Kasprzyk, *Les Cités des Eduens et de Chalon durant l'antiquité tardive (v.260–530 env.): contribution à l'étude de l'Antiquité tardive en Gaule centrale* (2005).

Chal Tarkhan Late *Sasanian to early Islamic site in northern Iran. Located 20 km (*c.*12.5 miles) south-east of *Rayy, the site yielded a small *hunting *palace decorated with colourful carved *stucco revetment and wall painting. MPC

EncIran IV/6 (1990) *s.n.* Čāl Tarkān, 654–5 (J. Kröger).

D. Thompson, *Stucco from Chal Tarkhan Eshqabad near Rayy* (1976).

E. F. Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran* (1940).

Chalton Down (Hampshire, England) One of the most extensively excavated early *Anglo-Saxon settlements dating mainly to the 7th century AD, with probable occupation slightly earlier and later. Fifty-seven *timber buildings with earthfast or post-in-trench foundations and four *Grubenhaüser* (*see* SFB, SUNKEN FEATURE BUILDING) were found. Several buildings were associated with enclosures, including one complex forming a courtyard arrangement. Larger buildings were *c.*11 × 6 m (36 × 20 feet), with others more commonly 8.5 m × 5.3 m (28 × 17 feet). At least four phases of occupation could be distinguished. Finds were few, but included *pottery and faunal remains. ARe

P. V. Addyman, D. Leigh, and M. J. Hughes, 'Anglo-Saxon Houses at Chalton, Hampshire', *MedArch* 16 (1972), 13–31.

P. V. Addyman and D. Leigh, 'The Anglo-Saxon Village at Chalton, Hampshire: Second Interim Report', *MedArch* 17 (1973), 1–25.

T. Champion, 'Chalton', *CurrentArch* 59 (1977), 364–9.

Chamavi Germanic people who lived in the lower Rhine area, perhaps as part of the confederation of the *Franks. They expanded their territory from lands east of the river westward across the Rhine, then were driven back by forces under the *Emperor *Julian (*Ammianus, XVII, 8, 5). *Sulpicius Alexander (*apud* *Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 9) described how *Arbogast laid waste their lands east of the Rhine. PSW

RE III, 2 (1899), *s.n.* cols. 2107–8 (Ihm).

chamberlain *See* CUBICULUM.

Champagne (Lat. Campania) Regional unit of the *Merovingian kingdom of *Austrasia, under the authority of a *Dux. It included the *cities of *Reims

and Châlons-sur-Marne. It is first attested under *Lupus in 577, and its *duces* are mentioned sporadically thereafter. MG

F. Cardot, *L'Espace et le pouvoir: étude sur l'Austrasie mérovingienne* (1987).

champlevé An enamelling technique mostly applied on *bronze or *copper objects, where sunken recesses, prepared with an engraving tool, are filled up with *enamel. The technique had its first climax in the north-west Roman *provinces, not coming back into vogue until Carolingian times. AHi

E. Speel, *Dictionary of Enamelling: History and Techniques* (1998).

chang A Persian vertical angular harp, prevalent in *Sasanian royal contexts; depicted in reliefs at *Taq-e Bostan, in *mosaic at *Bishapur, and described as the finest instrument in a work of Middle *Persian literature, *Khosrow ud Redag (King Khosrow and the Page)*, 60–3. AJH

EncIran IV/7 *s.v.* čang, 758–9 (Hosayn-ʿAlī Mallāh).
M. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Les Instruments de musique dans l'art sassanide* (1993), 23–40.

Chang'an Stele *See* XI'AN STELE.

chant Few texts with musical notation survive from earlier than the Middle Ages, but Late Antique Christian writing of many sorts reveals that chant was an important part of the celebration of the *Eucharist and the *Liturgy of the Hours. The earliest surviving notated Christian music is the *Oxyrhynchus Hymn of the late 3rd century. The 42 **Odes of Solomon*, the words of which survive mostly in *Syriac, must also predate the end of the 3rd century.

The Psalms and other portions of the *Bible, together with the ordinary parts of the *Eucharist, the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Alleluia*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*, formed a large part of what was sung. The early 5th-century Armenian *Bible Lectionary of Jerusalem indicates which Psalms were used on specific days, and similar information may be extrapolated from the *sermons of S. *Augustine and others.

In addition, *hymns were not slow to develop. In the *Syriac-speaking world the **madrasha* was familiar by the early 3rd century, and in *Greek the **Phos hilaron* was considered ancient already in the 4th century. *Egeria, a pilgrim probably from *Gaul who visited the Holy Land and *Egypt in 381–4, mentions the singing of hymns in the churches at *Jerusalem and also a large choir of boys: 'their voices are very loud' (24, 5). The Council of *Laodicea in *Anatolia mentions a choir singing from the *ambo. Canon 10 of the Fourth Council of Carthage laid down a formula with which a *cantor should be admitted to his office: 'See that what you sing with your mouth you believe in your heart and that what you believe in your heart you show forth in your works.'

In the course of Late Antiquity, the *Greek *liturgy was enriched by the hymns of *Romanus the Melodist (d. after 555), the *Akathistos Hymn, and the compositions of *Andrew of Crete (d. 740). Roman chant was highly regarded in *Anglo-Saxon England. It was taught in Northumbria by James the Deacon after 633 (*Bede, *HE* II, 20). Later, Bede's *monastery at Wearmouth was instructed in chant by John the Archchanter of S. Peter's, Rome, brought over by Benedict Biscop (*HE* IV, 16), and Putta Bishop of Rochester also worked to spread the Roman method (IV, 2). Later styles of chant as performed in the Middle Ages, about which considerably more is known, reveal particular dialects and musical qualities unique to individual traditions, languages, and churches in both East and West, and it is possible that these might have been present also in Late Antiquity.

Chanting also had a function in theological controversy. In the early 4th century, *Arius wrote work shanties containing doctrinal messages for those who worked in *mills or travelled by land or sea (*Philostorgius, II, 2). The simple accentual quatrains of S. *Ambrose were sung to sustain his congregations when they were occupying the *basilicas which the *empress was trying to confiscate (Augustine, *Conff.* IX, 7, 15). Augustine wrote a lengthy *ABC Against the Donatists* which was clearly intended for popular use. He took a low view of the Donatists' vocal efforts, which he claims sounded like trumpets on a battlefield (*ep.* 55, 18, 34). In 5th-century *Constantinople, *Homoean ('*Arian') and Nicene choirs vied with one another in chanting in the *streets, until the *eunuch cantor of the Nicene choir was hit on the head by a stone and the Homoeans were silenced by imperial order (*Socrates, VI, 8). OPN; MFC

P. Jeffery, 'Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions', in T. F. Kelly, ed., *Chant and its Origins* (2006), 101–12.
J. W. McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (1987).
E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (1961).
W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (1958), 33–83.
D. J. Nodes, 'The Organization of Augustine's *Psalmus contra Partem Donati*', *VigChr* 63 (2009), 390–408.

***charagma* (*kharagma*)** In *Greek, a stamp or brand. Its meaning in Byzantine legal contexts with reference to *money has been contested, especially with reference to *Justinian I's *edict of 559 referring to *gold coins of lighter than standard weight, (*EdJust* 11),

leading to suggestions that it referred to debased or otherwise marked metal. While summarizing previous argument, however, Banaji has demonstrated that it almost certainly indicated coined metal. RRD

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*, 73–5.

Charibert I *Frankish King (561–7), the eldest surviving son of *Chlothar I at his death in 561, when he acquired a kingdom comprising most of western *Gaul, with his capital at *Paris, following the division of the *Merovingian realm with his brothers *Guntram, *Sigibert I, and *Chilperic I. He took several wives, including two sisters, for which he was excommunicated by *Germanus of *Paris, but left no male heir. The subsequent partition of his own kingdom between his brothers occasioned much civil strife. EJ

PLRE IIIA, Charibertus I.

Charibert II *Frankish King (629–32), who allegedly made a bid for the throne on the death of his father *Chlothar II (*Fredegar IV, 56). His brother or half-brother *Dagobert I made him king in *Aquitaine, where Charibert conquered Gascony in 631, but then died, possibly at the hands of Dagobert's followers. HJH

PLRE IIIA, Charibertus 3.
Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 148–9.

Charioteer Papyrus *Papyrus fragment from a codex, found at Antinoe, written not before AD 450, now in the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society, depicting a group of charioteers, dressed in coloured jackets, representing the *circus *factions. The style of illustration, typically Egyptian, is similar to the *Ambrosian *Iliad* fragments. There are parts of a few lines of an unidentified text, written in large, rounded capitals. NAS

E. G. Turner, 'The Charioteers from Antinoe', *JHS* 93 (1973), 192–5.

chariot-racing *See* CIRCUS.

Charles Martel (*c.*688–741) Son of the *Mayor of the *Palace *Pippin II and one Alpaida. Charles was treated as a peripheral member of the Pippinid family and imprisoned after Pippin's death by *Plectrude, his widow. He escaped in 716 during a crisis when the family was nearly driven from power. He then fought his way to the leadership of Francia through a series of military victories, in 724 becoming sole Mayor of the Palace. By 741, when he died, he had ruled for some years without a *Merovingian king, and divided Francia amongst his sons as if he were the ruler. He was, above all, a supremely successful military leader who fought almost every year and lost only one of his many battles. He reduced each of the Frankish regions in turn, placing his own followers in positions of power. He also defeated an *Arab invasion from *Spain in 733, for which he earned a medieval and modern reputation as the saviour of Christendom. He was also accused of stealing church lands to reward his soldiers, leading modern historians at one time to think that in doing so he was the inventor of *'feudalism'. Present opinion recognizes the considerable myths that have grown up around Charles Martel and emphasizes that we know relatively little about him apart from his record of extraordinary military success. PJF

LexMA 5, 954–6 *s.n.* Charles Martel (U. Nonn).
Fouracre, *Charles Martel.*
Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell.*

Charour (*fl. c.*6th cent.) The putative author of a unique *Coptic text lamenting the decline of the Pachomian community. LSBM

ed. (with FT) L. T. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, 2 vols. (CSCO 159, 160; Scr. copt. 23, 24; 1956), vol. 1, 100–4; vol. 2, 100–8.

L. MacCoull, 'The Prophecy of Charour', *OrChrist* 91 (2007), 44–55.

charters, Anglo-Saxon The earliest *Anglo-Saxon charters date from the 7th century; there is some debate about whether their introduction should be associated with S. *Augustine of *Canterbury or *Theodore of *Tarsus. Charters were originally used to record royal grants of land or privileges to the Church and were written in *Latin, usually on single sheets of parchment. They are formal (and formulaic) documents which usually include a proem (an introductory section), a dispositive section outlining the substance of the donation, some information about the boundaries of the land given, a sanction clause, a dating-clause, and a witness-list.

The surviving corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters includes texts which range in date from the latter part of the 7th century through to the Norman Conquest, and contains over 1,000 texts (usually cited by their number in Sawyer's *Catalogue*), approximately 200 of which survive in their original single-sheet form (rather than as later copies). Most of the extant charters were preserved in the archives of religious houses as the title-deeds for estates granted to the community (*bocland*). During the 8th and 9th centuries charters became increasingly formulaic and began to be used also to record grants of land to (and from) lay beneficiaries. From the 9th century the boundaries of the land granted were more routinely recorded in English. Unlike contemporary documents produced on the Continent, Anglo-Saxon charters outline spiritual

consequences rather than monetary fines for those who infringed the terms of the grant. HFF

Texts of Anglo-Saxon charters are edited in the British Academy *Anglo-Saxon Charters* Series known as *The Electronic Sawyer*: http://www.esawyer.org.uk/.

P. Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3/10 (1969), 526–42.

charters, Gallic By far the richest record of charters to survive from the barbarian kingdoms derives from *Merovingian *Gaul. Almost 50 original charters are extant, the earliest written on *papyrus, and those from *c.*660 onwards on parchment. Numerous examples are also preserved in later copies. They survive from the 7th century onwards, although *Gregory of *Tours describes 6th-century kings issuing charters, and some later confirmations of 6th-century grants survive. The charters are crucial sources for all aspects of *Frankish history, including the activities of the *aristocracy, political events, social structure, the nature and extent of *literacy, institutional continuity from the Roman Empire, and dispute settlement.

Most extant charters record donations of land, or grants of *immunity, from kings or high-status individuals to churches, although the Frankish *formulae collections suggest that charters were used extensively at a variety of social levels and for a far greater variety of purposes. Churches alone had the institutional continuity and motive to preserve documents in their favour: all of our original royal charters are from the *archive at *S. Denis, and later collections from churches make up the bulk of the rest.

The language, form, and script of most charters derives from Late Roman bureaucratic practice, although the **placitum*, a form recording disputes settled in the presence of the king, may have developed independently in 7th-century northern France. However, the Merovingian period saw the decline of Roman state organs and archival institutions, such as the **gesta municipalia*. Storage of charters accordingly moved to private archives, the charter form became more personalized, including personal signatures, and single charters came to assume central importance in their own right as proof of ownership. TWGF

Chartae Latinae Antiquiores (*ChLA*), vols. 13–19 (1981–7).

T. Kölzer, *Die Urkunden der Merowinger: Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica*, in MGH DD Mer., 2 vols. (2001).

P. Classen, 'Fortleben und Wandel spätrömischen Urkundenwesens im frühen Mittelalter', in P. Classen, ed., *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (1977), 13–54.

D. Ganz and W. Goffart, 'Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections', *Speculum* 65 (1990), 906–32.

P. Fouracre, 'Placita and the Settlement of Disputes in Later Merovingian Francia', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (1986), 23–43.

charters, Lombard The use of written instruments by *Lombard rulers to record or assign ownership of land is recorded by *Paul the Deacon in his description of *Alboin's *gift by way of a *pracmaticum* to *Felix of Treviso (*History of the Lombards*, II, 12). It continues with the confirmations given to the *monastery of *Bobbio by successive Lombard kings from the early 7th century onwards. About 50 documents survive in all from the 6th and 7th centuries, primarily on *papyrus and mostly from *Ravenna. Lombard material from both royal and ducal writing offices is complemented by so-called 'private' *charters that begin from c.710—notably from *Lucca, *Pisa, and *Milan—and add a further 50 items concerned mainly with the transfer of land and property.

The survival rate of charters extends significantly beyond 750, but those charters that survive from before this date are testament to the importance of written record in Lombard *law—in fact *Rothari's *Edictum* prescribed severe physical *punishment for the forgery of charters (Rothari, 243). Evidence from the 8th century suggests that written charters became essential for *security for those manumitted and that traditional unwritten *manumission custom was insufficient as evidence in cases of dispute. CTH

ed. L. Schiaparelli, *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo* (1929).

N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy c.568–774* (2003).

C. La Rocca, ed., *Italy in the Early Middle Ages* (2002).

charters, Spanish The *Visigothic **Book of Judges* envisages the conduct of business transactions and legal proceedings in writing (e.g. II, 3, 3; II, 4, 3; II, 5, 5), but only slight evidence of this survives from the Visigothic period. For the 6th century, there are medieval copies of a donation of 551 and a *will of 576, both granted by Vincent of Huesca, *deacon and then *priest; the texts correspond with the Roman *law of the *Breviarium of *Alaric* II.

Five original parchment charters have also been preserved from the late 7th and early 8th centuries: a comital mandate, a royal decree, the text of an *oath, a commutation, and a purchase-sale. These can now be complemented by some four dozen fragmentary charters inscribed on slate (the *Visigothic Slates) from rural Avila and Salamanca, datable to the 6th and 7th centuries. Some are as partial as a few words, but they document the application of Visigothic legislative norms and legal formulaic language in even the most remote areas of *Spain. GDB

ChLA 46 (1995), 1398–402.

S. Corcoran, 'The Donation and Will of Vincent of Huesca: Latin Text and English Translation', *AntTard* 11 (2003), 215–21.

Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas: entre el latín y su disgregación. La lengua hablada en Hispania, siglos VI–VIII* (2004).

chartularii Title used for various types of clerk in the imperial *administration. They feature in the staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio, where they ranked above the 'entry-point' rank of **exceptores* (shorthand clerks), and also in the administrative staff of the imperial bedchamber (*Cubiculum). The best-known *chartularius*, *John Lydus, held the post a number of times. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 450, 587–9, 591.

chatrang *See* CHESS AND *WIZĀRIŠN Ī CATRANG UD NIHIŠN Ī NĒW-ARDAŠĪR*.

Chatti Germanic *tribe who lived in modern Hesse (west central Germany). The tribe was formed around 10 BC from Germanic migrant groups from the Rhine and Weser regions as well as Elbe Germanic and *Celtic groups. It is included in the *Verona List (13, 16). In 388, led by a *Frank called Marcomer, the Chatti unsuccessfully resisted a Roman expedition led by *Arbogast across the Rhine *frontier (*Sulpicius Alexander *apud* *Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 9, cf. *Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, I, 232–44). By the time S. *Boniface came to fell their sacred oak in *c.*723, the people of Hesse were called the Hessi. TF; OPN

RGA2 s.v. Chatten, IV (1981), 377–89 (Jungandreas, von Petrikovits, Mildenberger, Neumann).

A. Becker, *Rom und die Chatten* (Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte 88, 1992).

Chelles (Lat. In Cale, dép. Seine-et-Marne, France) Double *monastery on the Marne founded in 658 by Queen *Balthild, widow of *Clovis II, ruled by Abbess Bertila, who came there with nuns from *Jouarre. Previously a *Merovingian *palace (Calae), where *Chilperic I and his wife *Fredegund frequently resided and the king died in 584. The community's members included *Anglo-Saxon and Frankish aristocratic women such as the Northumbrian Princess Hereswith, sister of S. Hild of *Whitby (*Bede, *HE* III, 8 and IV, 23), and Swanahild, second wife of *Charles Martel, and it became a favourite of the Carolingians. *Relics of Balthild and Bertila are preserved in Chelles. RLJ

DHGE 12 (1953), 604–5 (van Doren).

J. Laporte, *Trésors de Chelles: sépultures et reliques de la Reine Bathilde (+ vers 680) et de l'Abbesse Bertille (+ vers 704)* (1991).

Cherson and Tauric Chersonese Cherson was a Greek colony located in western Crimea, near Sevastopol, founded in the 6th century BC. It was incorporated into the Roman *province of Lower *Moesia in the 2nd century AD. Situated strategically in Crimea and along the sea routes of the northern Black Sea, excavations have yielded evidence of *fish salting and manufacturing, as well as an economically integrated agricultural hinterland, with ceramic finds attesting the city's commercial connection to the Mediterranean throughout the 6th and into the 7th century. Archaeological evidence also points to a broad continuity in both the prosperity and urban fabric of the *city, throughout the period, while *Procopius (*Aed.* III, 7, 10) records the restoration of the city's walls during the reign of *Justinian I. In the 7th century, the city also served as the place of banishment for Pope *Martin I and the Emperor *Justinian II. SSF

A. Bortoli and M. Kazanski, 'Kherson and its Region', in A. E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 2 (2002), 659–65.

M. Kazanski and V. Soupault, 'Les Sites archéologiques de l'époque romaine tardive et du haut Moyen-Âge en Crimée (IIIe–VIIe s.): état des recherches (1990–1995)', in M. Kazanski and V. Soupault, eds., *Les Sites archéologiques en Crimée et au Caucase durant l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen-Âge* (2000), 253–93.

Chersonese (Gk. for 'peninsula') The Thracian Chersonese is the Gallipoli (Turkish Gelibolu) Peninsula in modern European Turkey, in Late Roman times in the *province of *Europa, *Dioecesis *Thraciae, and the site of a Byzantine defensive *wall from the 5th century onwards.

The Tauric Chersonese is the Crimean Peninsula on the north shore of the Black Sea and also the site of a Byzantine defensive *wall. The *city of *Cherson, on the south-west coast, has been extensively excavated. Legend suggests that Clement of *Rome died a *martyr in *exile there *c.* AD 100, and *Timothy the Cat, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, was certainly exiled at Cherson from 464 to 475 for resisting the definitions of the *Council of *Chalcedon. *Procopius says that *Justinian I consolidated the Roman alliance with the *Goths of the Crimea and rebuilt the city walls of Cherson (Procopius, *Aed.* III, 7, 10–17). A *silver *reliquary with *silver stamps of Justinian has been excavated from the *altar of a cruciform church in the city. Justinian also opened a mint at Cherson, which operated until the 7th century, apparently producing only *bronze coins, which were distinctive in style and made extensive use of *monograms. Pope *Martin I died in exile at Cherson. In the 8th century it was under *Khazar rule. ABA; RRD; OPN

Thracian Chersonese: *TIB* 6 Thrakien (1991). *Barrington Atlas*, map 23.

Tauric Chersonese: *Barrington Atlas*, map 87 (D. Braund).

M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, 'L'Administration locale de Cherson à l'époque byzantine (IVe–XIIe s.)', in *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 16, 1998), 567–79.
Cherson coins: Grierson, *DOC* 1–2.2.

chess (MP *čatrang*) Board game originally invented in *India. It emerged in its final form, with two sides but without the dice with which it was originally played, in the *Sasanian period. The earliest manual for the game of chess, the **Wizārišn ī Catrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardašīr*, is in Middle *Persian and was composed in the 6th century under *Khosrow I Anoshirvan. The game is likened to a war; by playing it one becomes ready for battle. The earliest surviving chess pieces come from the same era. TD

EncIran V/4 (1991) *s.v.* chess, i. The history of chess in Persia, 393–397 (Bo Utas).
ed. T. Daryaee (with introd., notes, and ET), *On the Explanation of Chess and Backgammon* (2011).

Chester (England) The legionary fortress and associated civilian settlement of Deva Victrix was founded in the 70s AD and occupied beyond the withdrawal of Roman troops in the early 5th century. It remained an important regional centre in post-Roman times using surviving buildings. ACR

D. J. P. Mason, *Roman Chester: City of the Eagles* (2001).

Chester Beatty manuscripts A group of *Greek and *Coptic biblical and extra-biblical *papyri, mostly dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, purchased in 1929/30 by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968) for his private collection of books and manuscripts in Dublin.

They include a 3rd-century Greek copy of the Book of Revelation, a bilingual Greek–Latin glossary on S. Paul, and Greek and Coptic versions (in the Sahidic and sub-Akhmimic dialects) of various books of the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Pauline epistles. Non-biblical works include a 4th/5th-century Greek copy of the Book of Enoch from the Ethiopic *Bible, the *Apocalypse of *Elijah*, the *martyr **Passion* of S. *Phileas of Thmuis, and the Book of Jannes and Jambres. *Manichaean texts include the *Manichaean Psalm Book. Among the most recent identifications are fragments from a late 2nd/3rd-century Coptic codex preserving an early Christian homily (P. Chester Beatty 2026 + P. Crosby-Schøyen 193), and possibly an Eastern lectionary composed in the Pachomian *monastery at *Phbow (mod. Fāw Qiblī) (Phbow has been indicated by J. M. Robertson as the place of provenance of both the Chester Beatty and the *Bodmer manuscripts). MPe

CoptEnc vol. 2 *s.vv.* Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri and Chester Beatty Coptic Papyri, cols. 518a–519a (B. M. Metzger).
ABD I *s.v.* Chester Beatty Papyri, cols. 901–3 (Pietersma).
J. M. Robertson, *The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty and the Bibliothèque Bodmer* (OPIAC 12, 1990).
A. Pietersma and S. Comstock, 'Two More Pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193: A Pachomian Easter Lectionary', *BASP* 28 (2011), 27–46.

Chichek *See* IRENE.

Childebert I King of the *Franks (511–58), one of the four sons of *Clovis I who received a share of the kingdom upon their father's death, with *Paris as his capital. He conspired with his younger brother *Chlothar to kill two of the orphaned children of their brother *Chlodomer. His quarrels with the other *Merovingian kings led at various times to civil war, but he also joined them in extending Frankish power in *Burgundy and southern *Gaul, and in attacking *Italy and *Spain. He brought a *relic of S. *Vincent from Saragossa back from his second expedition to *Spain, and was buried in the church he dedicated to the saint in Paris (now S. Germain-des-Prés). EJ

PLRE II, Childebertus.

Childebert II (570–96) *Frankish King from 575. Son and heir of *Sigibert I, his early years as king were a minority, dominated by governors and *court parties. His mother *Brunhild was not without influence, but this faded with the rising importance of those around *Egidius, *Bishop of *Reims. In 577 he was adopted by his uncle *Guntram and declared an heir as part of the Treaty of Stone Bridge. In 581, under the influence of a new court party, his temporarily childless uncle *Chilperic made him an heir as part of the Treaty of Nogent, directed against Guntram. However, with the mutiny of Childebert's armies against their commanders in 583 and the assassination of Chilperic in 584, relations with Guntram began to improve, and were cemented by the Treaty of *Andelot in 587. In 585 Childebert came of age and his mother Brunhild reasserted her influence. He inherited Guntram's kingdom on the latter's death in 592. On his own death in 596, his kingdom was divided between his sons *Theudebert II and *Theuderic II. The various expeditions of his armies into Italy, linked with imperial *diplomacy and coercion, had mixed results.

In the *letters of *Gregory the Great, he appears incidentally and as a correspondent (*epp.* V, 58–9, 60; VI, 6). He and his mother also figure in the poems of *Venantius Fortunatus, usually as addressees (*Carmina*, X, 7–8; *Appendix Carminibus*, 5, 6; cf. X, 11). His surviving legislation is the *Decretio Childeberti Regis* of 596. The principal sources for his activities are Gregory of *Tours (*HF* V–X) and Fredegar (IV, 5–8 and 15–16). ACM

PLRE IIIA, Childebertus II.*Decretio*, ed. A. Boretius in *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (MGH Capit. vol. 1, 1883), I, no. 7, 15–17.

Childebert III (*c.*678/9–711) *Frankish King from 694. Succeeded his brother *Clovis III as sole ruler during the era of the *Mayor *Pippin II. Said in the **Liber Historiae Francorum* (50) to have been 'a famous and just lord', but often included amongst the *rois fainéants* by subsequent writers. PJF

LexMA 2, 1816–7 *s.n.* Childebert III (U. Nonn).

Childebert the Adopted *Frankish King (?656–62) Identified variously as the son of *Grimoald or of *Sigibert III of *Austrasia, he assumed the Austrasian throne in place of Sigibert's exiled son *Dagobert II, as the nebulous focus of the 'Grimoald coup' (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 43; *Catalogi Regum Francorum Quattuor*, 2 and 3). The precise year and manner of his death are unknown. JHo

LexMA 2, 1817 (U. Nonn).

M. Becher, 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich Grimoalds. Versuch einer Neubewertung', in Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell*, 119–47.

R. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1987), 47–65.

B. Krusch, 'Der Staatsstreich des fränkischen Hausmeiers Grimoald I', in *Historische Aufsätze, Karl Zeumer zum 60. Geburtstag* (1910), 411–38.

Childeric I (d. 481/2) *Frankish King from before 456 and son of Merovech (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 9), from whom the *Merovingian dynasty took its name, and the first Frankish King about whom much is known. Gregory of Tours tells us that he was exiled by the *Franks for sexual misdemeanours, and lived in *Thuringia for eight years (*HF* II, 12). Since he was back in power by 463, he must have become king well before 456. In 463 he fought at the Battle of *Orléans alongside the Roman general *Aegidius (*HF* II, 18), and thereafter became a dominant force in northern Gaul. His young son *Clovis (Chlodovechus) succeeded him (*HF* II, 27).

In 1653 a *tomb was found under the Church of S. Brice in *Tournai, which, together with other valuable items, contained a seal *ring with his portrait and his name and title (in *Latin). This is now generally accepted to be Childeric's tomb. Most of the rich *gold and *garnet *jewellery from the burial was stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris in 1831, but fragments survived, and a good impression can be gained from the illustrated publication of the grave and its contents, by Jacques Chifflet (1655). In 1980s the area around the tomb was excavated by Raymond Brulet, and three pits of (sacrificed?) horses were found, which seems to confirm Gregory's assertion that he was a pagan. EJ

PLRE II, Childericus.

I.E. James, 'Childéric, Syagrius et la disparition du royaume de Soissons', and P. Périn and M. Kazanski, 'Le Mobilier funéraire de la tombe de Childéric I[er]: état de la question et perspectives', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* 3–4 (1988), 9–12 and 13–38.

E. James, *The Franks* (1988), 58–77.

S. Lebecq, in Pohl and Diesenberger, *Integration und Herrschaft*, 119–32.

Childeric II (*c.*655–675) *Frankish King from *c.*662. The youngest son of *Clovis II and *Balthild, he succeeded *Childebert the Adopted as King of *Austrasia (*VBathildis* 5). After the death of his brother *Chlothar III in 673, he was also made ruler of *Neustria-*Burgundy by the opponents of his brother *Theuderic III and the *Mayor *Ebroin (*Fredegar Continuatus, 2), but this reunification of the Frankish kingdom ended when he was assassinated alongside his pregnant queen *Bilichild in 675 (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 45; *Passio Prima Si. *Leudegarii*, 5). JHo

LexMA 2 *s.n.* Childéric II, 1818 (U. Nonn).

Childeric III *Frankish King (743–51). Last king of the *Merovingian dynasty, after a six-year interregnum. He was deposed with the endorsement of Pope *Zacharias and relegated to a *monastery; *Pippin III was anointed king. RVD

LexMA 2 *s.n.* Childéric III, 1818–19 (U. Nonn).

childhood While considered a distinct period of life, childhood was not generally idealized by ancient thinkers in Late Antiquity. Although almost all sources advocated love and care for children (and, to a degree, understanding them as innocents), demographic realities meant that mortality rates for minors were extremely high. Over 50% of funerary *inscriptions in *Rome commemorate children of 15 years of age or younger, a figure that roughly persists into Late Antiquity. Seasonal death rates also disproportionately affected the under-aged: the burial site at Lugnano (24 km/15 miles west of Terni in Umbria) provides an instance of a single, local outbreak of a deadly disease. Like the broader population, most children probably also suffered periodically from malnutrition and other health problems, conditions more critical for those still in the process of physical and mental development.

Disease and other dangers meant that *death was a prominent possibility in childhood. Scholars have therefore debated the extent of emotional investment parents had in newborns and small children. Archaeological data from 47 infant burials at Lugnano suggest that both infants and late-term foetuses merited

commemoration and post-mortem protection. The burials from an early 5th-century regional *epidemic of *malaria also show the persistence of *magic and explicitly *pagan *sacrifices. In *cities, commemoration of children did not change markedly in Late Antiquity: the traditional remembrances of a child's good nature, beauty, and innocence all feature prominently in funerary inscriptions. Christianity added new dimensions to such inscriptions, consistent with its moral values and spiritual expectations, but did not greatly change the sentiments expressed.

Children were typically nursed until the age of 2, usually by wet-nurses, although Christian writers encouraged mothers to breastfeed their children (e.g. *Ambrose, *ep.* 63, 108 and *Prudentius, *Cathemerinon*, VII, 57–8). Infants were baptized in the 3rd and 4th centuries (e.g. *Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 25; *ep.* 64, 2), but adults were hesitant to impose on them at an early age the obligations associated with *baptism (e.g. Tertullian, *On Baptism*, 18): *Augustine's mother, for example, was reluctant to agree to her son's request to be baptized when suffering from a life-threatening illness during his boyhood (*Confessions*, I, 11, 17). In the 5th century, childhood baptism became widespread. It was considered part of a child's spiritual protection, supplementing—and not always replacing—customary formulas (such as are found in *papyri from Late Antique *Egypt) and such protective devices as scarlet armbands, *bells, *amulets, and small Gospel books hung around the neck (*John Chrysostom, *Homily*, 12 = *PG* 61, 105–6 and *Homily*, 19 = *PG* 49, 196).

Once children had reached a certain age, usually 6 or 7, childhood was thought to have begun in earnest. Christian children generally became catechumens and participated in church activities and rituals. For many children, becoming *pueri/puellae* marked the start of formal education. Schooling in the Liberal Arts still formed the basis of *education in the West and the system of *paideia* in the East, and, as the careers of *Ausonius and Augustine indicate, was a powerful engine for social mobility. Learning texts by heart and corporal punishment remained components of the curriculum, especially at an earlier age (e.g. Ausonius, VIII Green = *ep.* 22 Evelyn White). Boys attended formal schools, learning successively their letters, *grammar, and *rhetoric. Girls were generally, although not exclusively, tutored at home. While the place of religious education took greater prominence in the 4th and 5th centuries with Christianization, traditional secular learning remained essentially intact in the West until the 6th century as is apparent, for instance, from *Ennodius, *Paraenesis didascalia*. *Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* (composed in the mid-6th cent.) unified, summarized, and ossified the Christian and secular educational traditions in the West. In the East, the secular tradition, for which the works of *Libanius offer much evidence, never disappeared, as may be seen in the series of scenes in the life of a youth called Kimbros depicted on *mosaics from an unknown site (C. Marinescu et al., in A. Cohen and J. B. Rutter, eds.), and religious education continued alongside it. Christian authors such as *Basil (e.g. his *To Young Men on How to Profit from Classical Greek Literature*) and *Gregory of Nazianzus promoted the virtues of a classical education.

For a youth of a more humble background, childhood and becoming a *iuvenis* meant the beginning of work. There is considerable evidence from inscriptions, Christian and otherwise, to show both boys and girls employed in a variety of work (C. Laes, in C. Laes et al., eds.). Most of these inscriptions mention simple manual labour, including building work, *farming, and *grain transport, but there are also references to more skilled trades. There are also occasional references to children being apprenticed in highly skilled occupations, such as accountancy and work as a scribe. The decline of *slavery towards the end of Late Antiquity probably increased the use of free (albeit poor) child labour.

Attitudes concerning childhood as a concept changed somewhat over the course of Antiquity. Christians believed that children were individuals with eternal souls, and thus merited a new kind of attention and care. But they were still half-formed individuals and needed guidance and correction. Like the entire human race, they were distorted by sin and thus needed moral guidance and the common responsibility of both parents (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* V, 16, 5). Patristic authors offered advice in matters of corporal punishment, *asceticism, the moral complacency of parents, and the perils of religiously mixed marriages. More generally, they encouraged active parental involvement in a child's upbringing.

Government also took an interest in minors and there was a continuation of greater imperial involvement (begun in the 2nd century) in their protection. Preservation of patrimonies (*CTh* II, 16, 2–4), general care for a child's welfare (*CTh* III, 17 and *NovMaj* 6, 1), and even Christian-influenced laws (e.g. protecting the children of apostate parents, *CTh* XVI, 7, 2 and 6) were all considered areas upon which government should regulate.

See also ABORTION AND CONTRACEPTION, INFANTICIDE AND EXPOSURE OF CHILDREN. GSN

J. Leyerle, 'Appealing to Children', *JECS* 5/2 (1997), 243–70.

K. Mustakallio and C. Laes, eds.), *The Dark Side of Childhood* (2011).

G. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition* (2000).

P. R. Paine and G. R. Storey, 'Epidemics, Age at Death, and Mortality in Ancient Rome', 69–85 and B. D. Shaw,

'Seasonal Mortality in Imperial Rome and the Mediterranean: Three Problem Cases', 86–109 of G. R. Storey, ed., *Urbanism in the Preindustrial World: Cross-Cultural Approaches* (2006).
B. D. Shaw, 'Seasons of Death: Aspects of Morality in Imperial Rome', *JRS* 86 (1996), 100–39.
D. Soren, 'Can Archaeologists Excavate Evidence of Malaria?', *World Archaeology* 35/2 (2003), 193–209.
C. Laes et al., eds., *Children and Family in Late Antiquity: Life, Death and Interaction* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 15, 2015).
C. A. Marinescu, S. E. Cox, and R. Wachter, 'Paideia's Children: Childhood Education on a Group of Late Antique Mosaics', P. B. Katz, 'Educating Paula: A Proposed Curriculum for Raising a 4th-Century Christian', and Lisa A. Alberici and Mary Harlow, 'Age and Innocence: Female Transitions to Adulthood in Late Antiquity', in A. Cohen and J. B. Rutter, eds., *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy* (Hesperia Supplement 41, 2007).

Chilperic I *Frankish King (561–84), son of *Chlothar I, grandson of *Clovis I. Initially he inherited a smaller kingdom than his three half-brothers, centred on *Soissons, but acquired additional territory after the death of *Charibert I in 567. He fought repeatedly with *Sigibert I and *Guntram, especially over control of *Tours and *Poitiers, before forging a temporary alliance with his nephew *Childebert II. He negotiated with the *Visigoths in *Spain, and briefly married the Visigothic Princess *Galswintha, who died in suspicious circumstances; his favoured wife was *Fredegund. He sent envoys to the *Emperor *Tiberius II, and exhibited various cultural and theological interests, including the writing of copious religious poetry; one *hymn in honour of S. *Medard survives. In a *panegyric *Venantius Fortunatus praised Chilperic's virtues (*Carmen*, 9, 1), but in reporting his assassination in 584, *Gregory of *Tours comprehensively denigrated him as 'the Nero and Herod of our time', particularly for his treatment of the Church (*HF* VI, 46). The only one of his many sons to survive him was the infant *Chlothar II. RVD; STL

PLRE IIIA, Chilpericus 1.
Ymnus in Solemnitate S. Medardi Episcopi:
ed. K. Strecker in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* MGH Poetae IV, 2 (1914), 455–7.
ed. W. Bulst, *Hymni Latini Antiquissimi lxxv Psalmi iii* (1956), 119.
G. Halsall, 'Nero and Herod? The Death of Chilperic and Gregory's Writing of History', in K. Mitchell and I. Wood, eds., *The World of Gregory of Tours* (2002), 337–50.

Chilperic II *Frankish King (715–21), formerly a monk named Daniel, but supposedly a son of *Childeric II (d. 675). He was promoted as a *Merovingian king by *Neustrian magnates led by *Ragamfred. His regime was defeated by *Charles Martel. RVD

LexMA 2, 1825–6 'Chilpéric II' (U. Nonn).

Chilperic II of Burgundy The son of King Gundioc, he became a king of the *Burgundians *c.*474. He became *Magister Utriusque Militae in 474, under the *Emperor *Julius Nepos, when his brother Gundobad was **patricius* in *Italy; he himself is referred to as *patricius* in the *Life* of S. Lupicinus (one of the *Jura fathers). *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep.* V, 6 and 7) calls him 'our tetrarch', a reference to the division of the Burgundian kingdom with his brothers *Gundobad, *Godegisel, and *Godomar. He seems to have ruled in *Lyons and Geneva. The date of his death is unknown. *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 28) claimed that he was murdered by Gundobad, who afterwards agreed to send Chilperic's daughter *Chlothild to marry *Clovis, King of the *Franks, and that many years later Chlothild encouraged her sons to invade *Burgundy in revenge for Chilperic's death. EJ

PLRE II, Chilpericus II.
R. Kaiser, *Die Burgunder* (2004).

China After the fall of the Han dynasty in AD 220, central China divided—the Three Kingdoms period (200–80). The Jin dynasty (265–420) succeeded in reuniting the country but from about 400 China was again split, this time on north–south lines (the Northern and Southern Dynasties). Many of the rulers of the north were from the steppe and it was under these, such as the Xiongnu Northern Liang (397–439) and the Tuoba Northern Wei (383–535), that people, goods, and ideas were exchanged along land routes secured under the Han. These routes connected China with *Central Asia, and thence to *India, the *Persian Empire, and beyond by land and sea. The rulers of the south also continued *trade and diplomatic contacts through sea and land routes with south and south-east Asia and, indirectly, further afield. Turkic, Iranian, Tibetan, and other peoples ruled kingdoms in what is now north-west China and the Tibetan plateau.

This period is sometimes presented as one of slow development and limited international contacts, in contrast to the succeeding Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties, who reunited central China from 589. However, there is evidence that diplomats, monks, and *merchants continued to use both north and south routes developed since the Han by land and sea. It was during this period that *Buddhism became established in China and hundreds if not thousands of Chinese pilgrims travelled by land and sea to India. These included *Faxian, who went by land, via Central

Asia, and returned by sea, via Sri Lanka. In 429 and 433 Buddhist nuns were taken from Sri Lanka to Guangzhou and travelled on to Nanjing to carry out the ordination of Chinese nuns. By the 4th century there were communities of *Sogdian merchants from Central Asia in major towns along the land routes and, by the 5th century a sizeable community of Arab and Persian merchants in Yangzhou on the Yangzi River, many of whom probably arrived by sea.

The Chinese and *Sasanian *courts had direct contact, the Chinese recording over ten embassies arriving in China in the 5th and 6th centuries. The Sui sent an embassy to the Sasanians and contact was continued under the Tang, with the Sasanians requesting Chinese aid against the *Arabs. Sasanians were given refuge in China after the *Arab conquest. Peroz ruled an area in Sistan (*Sagastan), probably with Chinese support. He visited China around 673, leaving his son as hostage at the Tang court. Persians brought *Zoroastrianism, *'Nestorian' Christianity (the *Church of the East), and *Manichaeism to China in the 6th and 7th centuries, the Sogdians playing an important role in transmission of the last.

There was indirect contact between the Roman Empire and China during this period, but little evidence of direct links. Two Nestorian monks are credited by *Procopius and *Theophanes with smuggling *silk worms out of China in 551 on behalf of *Justinian I. While there is already evidence that silk and the mulberries whose leaves the silk worms feed on were cultivated in the Eastern Roman Empire by the 5th century, and little reason for believing in a Chinese monopoly, demand for Chinese silks continued. In 568–9 a Sogdian embassy brought gifts of silk to Justinian I, starting a relationship whereby the Sogdians traded silk from China and Central Asia, travelling through the Caucasus to bypass Persian and then Arab taxation. One document records the Sogdians being quizzed at *court at *Constantinople about the Central Asian *Hephthalites, intelligence that might have informed Procopius' account.

Chinese histories report the arrival in 643 of an embassy from Fulin, most probably Late Antique *Syria. The 'Western Regions' chapters, a stable part of Chinese dynastic histories during this period, all contain a description of this region, also called Daqin. These briefly described the boundaries, peoples, customs, and goods produced, including storax, valued as a drug in China. Daqin was also the subject of two 8th-century Chinese paintings, no longer extant, and in 719 an embassy from Central Asia presented the Chinese court with a pair of *lions on behalf of the Romans.

Indirect contacts by a combination of land and sea routes are known, through Central Asia by land or from southern China by sea to the ports of India, Persia, and the Red Sea, routes already recorded in the 1st-century *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Goods valued in China included African *ivory, Baltic *amber, and Roman and Persian *glass, as well as many goods ascribed to the Romans, including *dogs, narcissus, coral, and storax. SWh

EncIran V (1991) *s.v.* Chinese–Iranian Relations i. in Pre-Islamic Times, 424–31 (E. G. Pulleybank).
E. de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (2005).
M. E. Lewis, *China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties* (2009).
R. McLaughlin, *Rome and the Distant East* (2010).
E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1985).

China and Central Asia, Christianity in Christians in *Central Asia are first noted by *Bardaisan (d. 222), who mentions them in his *Book of the Laws of Countries* amongst the Kushans in *Bactria (ed. and tr. Drijvers, 60–1). The *Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* (*c.*250) describes how the apostle Aggai evangelized 'Gog and Magog', perhaps referring to the northern steppes (Mai, *SVNC* vol. 10, 8, 174), but this is undoubtedly legendary, along with references to the apostle Thomas evangelizing the Chinese (CSCO 167, Scr. arab. 18; p. 138; CSCO 168, Scr. arab. 19, 140–1). Although other *Syriac-speaking Churches were later involved marginally in Central Asia, the *Church of the East was always the main Christian presence in the area. A formal ecclesiastical hierarchy in Central Asia is evident as early as the Third General Synod of that Church in 424, when the **Synodicon Orientale* refers to *bishops at *Merv and *Herat (ed. and tr. Chabot, 43, 285).

The first group outside the *Persian Empire to be significantly affected by Christianity were the *Hephthalites, who replaced the Kushans in *Bactria by the 5th century. *Cosmas Indicopleustes mentions Christians amongst the 'Bactrians and *Huns' (III, 65–6), around the time when *Patriarch Mar *Aba I (540–52) consecrated a bishop for them, *c.*550 (Bedjan, *Histoire*, 266–9; GT: Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, 217–18). This is not to be confused with the *Armenian missions to the Caucasian Huns described by *Zacharias Rhetor (XII, 7l para. 0). Merv had a *metropolitan by the Seventh General Synod (554), and by the Ninth General Synod (585), Herat had a metropolitan and Badghis, in Hephthalite territory, a bishop (**Synodicon Orientale*, 109, 165, 366, 423).

Christianity continued to spread along the *Silk Road, through *Sogdian and Turkic territory, eventually reaching *China. *Theophylact Simocatta (V, 10, 13–15) describes Turks in the rebel army of *Bahram VI Chobin in 591 who had *crosses *tattooed on their foreheads, the result of advice from Christians to ward off the *plague. The mission of *Aluoben (Alopen) to Xi'an (Chang'an), in China in 635, recorded on the

*Xi'an stele (781), must have passed through Central Asia and may have included Central Asian participants, alongside the Persian Christians who led the mission. Notably, the stela was erected by Yazdbozid, the son of 'Milis, priest from *Balkh' (P. Y. Saeki, *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 68, 11*). As the stele records, Christianity, known as *Jingjiao* (the 'Luminous Religion'), flourished as long as the Chinese rulers of the Tang dynasty remained religiously tolerant. There was apparently a concerted effort to translate Syriac texts and ideas into Chinese, as evidenced by Christian texts discovered at *Dunhuang (P. Y. Saeki, *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 113–314). However, Christians in China probably remained a small minority, consisting mostly of foreigners, such as Persians and Sogdians, as suggested by names on both the Xi'an stele and the recently discovered Luoyang pillar (814/15).

An important figure in the 7th century was Elia, Metropolitan of Merv, who converted a Turkic ruler and his army *c.*644, near either the *Oxus River or the Murghab River, according to the **Chronicle of Khuzestan* (CSCO 1–2, Scr. syr. 1–2, 34–5 (text), 28–9 (tr.)). *Tabari records that Elia subsequently gave *Yazdegerd III, the last Shah of Persia, a proper burial (R. S. Humphreys (ET), *History of al-Tabarī* XV, 89). Unfortunately, Elia's commentaries, *letters, and church history are not extant (Assemani, *BiblOr* III/1, 148). According to Ibn at-Tayyib, a Patriarch Ishoʿyahb, probably *Ishoʿyahb III (650–8), appointed metropolitans for Herat, India, China, and *Samarkand (CSCO 167, Scr. arab. 18, p. 121; CSCO 168, Scr. arab. 19, p. 123), although ʿAbdishoʿ bar Berikha dates these metropolitanates to the patriarchate of Saliba-Zakha (714–28), noting that others ascribe them to Ahai (410–14) and Shila (503–23) (Mai, *SVNC* vol. 10, 141–2, 304). The influence of the Church in Central Asia is evident in a letter by Ishoʿyahb III referring to more than twenty bishops and two metropolitans in the East, probably referring to those beyond the Oxus River (CSCO 11–12, Scr. syr. 11–12, 280 (text), 202 (tr.)).

The *Arab conquest of Central Asia brought Christians there into contact with *Islam. Narshakhi describes how, after an *Arab army under *Qutayba captured *Bukhara in 709, a Christian church in the city was converted into a *mosque (R. N. Frye (ET), *History of Bukhara*, 53). *Melkite Christians deported to Seleucia-*Ctesiphon in 540 were further relocated to Shash (Tashkent) by *Caliph al-Mansur in 762, where they continued to live for several centuries. Meanwhile, the missionary expansion of the Church of the East continued under Patriarch Timothy I (780–823), who describes in his letters the conversion of an unidentified king of the Turks (probably the Qarluq ruler) and his people *c.*782/83, and the planned consecration of a metropolitan for the same Turks, along with the Tibetans, *c.*792/3 (R. Bidawid (FT), *Lettres du Patriarche Nestorien Timothée I*, 117, 124; O. Braun, *OrChrist* 1, 308–11). Around the same time, Timothy refers to the death of the metropolitan of China (CSCO 74, Scr. syr. 30, p. 109; CSCO 75, Scr. syr. 31, p. 72). Christianity later declined in China due to the imperial edict of 845 against foreign religions, and in Central Asia due to the steady advance of Islam, including the Samanid capture of the Qarluq capital Talas in 893 (R. N. Frye (ET), *History of Bukhara*, 86–7). It would only be revived under the Mongols.

Various archaeological sites and artefacts affirm the Christian presence in Central Asia in Late Antiquity, including the Kharoba-Koshuk church in Merv, ossuaries with crosses from Samarkand and Mizdaxkan, a monastic church and Syriac cliff *inscriptions near Urgut, two *silver vessels and a cloth from Sogdiana with Christian themes, an ostracon from *Panjikent, Sogdian coins with crosses on the reverse from around Samarkand and Bokhara, two churches excavated in Aq-Beshim, ostraca with Syriac or *Sogdian inscriptions from *Talas/Taraz, a wall painting with a Christian scene from *Turfan, and crosses found at various locations. Although most of the Christian texts from Turfan date from the medieval period, they nonetheless point to a tradition of using both Syriac and local languages (Pahlavi, Sogdian, *Persian, and *Uighur) in Central Asia, with biblical translations generally made from the *Peshitta. MLD

GEDSH *s.v.* China, Syriac Christianity in, 94–6 (Takahashi).

EncIran V (1991) *s.v.* Christianity, iii. In Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, 530–4 (N. Sims-Williams).

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L. Tang and D. W. Winkler, eds., *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (2013).
E. Tisserant, 'L'Église Nestorienne', *DTC* 11 (1931), 199–218.
D. W. Winkler and L. Tang, eds., *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (2009).

Chindasuinth *Visigothic king (r. 642–53), elected and anointed at the age of 79 after usurping the throne from Tulga (*Fredegar, IV, 82). He secured his rule by executing or exiling hundreds of Visigothic nobles and confiscating their property; in 646, the Seventh *Council of *Toledo made further provision for the severest punishment of rebels. Urged by *Braulio *Bishop of Saragossa (631–51), he had his son *Reccesuinth crowned joint ruler in 649 (Braulio, *epp*. 37–8), and issued *coinage with both of their images. An active legislator, he commissioned the compilation of a law code (the **Book of Judges* or *Leges Visigothorum*) for both Visigoths and Hispano-Romans, which was promulgated by Reccesuinth in 654. He also had literary interests (Braulio, *ep*. 26, 39–41); the *letters exchanged between him and Braulio are replete with rhetorical courtesy (*epp*. 31–3) He sent Taio (Bishop of Saragossa 651–64) to *Rome for works of *Gregory the Great, and patronized the poet *Eugenius II (Bishop of Toledo 646–57), who nonetheless wrote a scathing epitaph of him (*carmen* 25). GDB

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (2004), 81–91.
G. Miles, *Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain* (1952), 348–50.

Chinwad Bridge (MP *Činwad Puhl*) In *Zoroastrianism, the place where the deceased meets the personification of their spiritual attributes (the *dēn*) and their thoughts, words, and deeds are weighed. If the good thoughts outweigh the bad, the *dēn* appears young and beautiful, the bridge widens, and the soul passes on to paradise. If not, the *dēn* appears old and diseased, the bridge narrows, and the soul plummets into hell. POS

EncIran V/6 *s.v.* činwad puhl, 594–5 (A. Tafażżolī).
Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 32–3.

Chionites East Iranian tribe connected with the Kushans, first mentioned by name in *Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the *siege of the Roman fortress-*city of *Amida in 359, where they were serving in the *army of *Shapur II (309–79), led by their King Grumbates. The Chionites may be identical with the *Huns, mentioned in 5th-century *Bactrian documents, where the name Gurambad is also found. In the indigenous post-Sasanian tradition, they were perhaps identified with the Khyons, in the **Avesta* a mythical people who waged war against the Iranians at the time of Zarathustra, but later incorporated into *Sasanian traditional history, where we are told they were chased out of the *Persian Empire by *Khosrow I son of *Qobad I (*r*. 531–79). POS

EncIran V/5 (1991) *s.n.* Chionites, 485–7 (W. Felix).
EncIran XII/2 (2003) *s.n.* Hephthalites, 198–201 (A. D. H. Bivar).
EncIran (2006) *s.n.* Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu) (E. de la Vaissière).

Chios Large east Aegean island, opposite the Çeşme peninsula of western Turkey. Important *tax and *census records survive from the early 4th century. Long a producer of mastic and *wine, Chios benefited from increasing maritime traffic to *Constantinople along the Asia Minor coast. Under *Justinian I, passing Egyptian ships brought date-palm leaves to a *Miaphysite monk to weave his monastic mats (*John of *Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 51). Remains of a *basilica with floor *mosaics in the main harbour town may be from a church of S. Isidore mentioned by *Gregory of *Tours (*Gloria Martyrum*, 101). A small coastal settlement at Emporio to the south includes a three-aisled basilica and hilltop fortress, which was occupied into the late 7th century. MLR

TIB 10, *Aigion Pelagos*, 143–53.
M. Ballance et al., *Excavations in Chios 1952–1955: Byzantine Emporio* (1989).
K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.
A. H. M. Jones, 'Census Records of the Later Roman Empire', *JRS* 43 (1953), 49–64.

Chiragan (dép. Haute-Garonne, France) *Villa of exceptional scale and complexity in *Narbonensis Prima, near Martres-Tolosane, renowned in particular for its collection of reliefs and statuary, largely in local *marble. These include a series of imperial *portraits associated with the *Emperor *Maximian and his family, as well as busts of emperors and others down to the

early 5th century (often with their noses deliberately broken before dumping), representations of the Labours of Hercules and other images of classical *pagan gods, and copies of Greek works. The collection's purpose is unclear but the villa was perhaps the residence of a *governor or high-ranking magistrate. ACR

CAGaule 31/1 (2006).

Balmelle, *Demeures aristocratiques*, no. 28, 367–70.

M. Bergmann, *Chiragan, Aphrodisias, Konstantinopel. Zur mythologischen Skulptur der Spätantike* (1999).

L. M. Stirling, *The Learned Collector* (2004), 49–62.

J.-C. Balty, 'Le Groupe tétrarchique de Chiragan: pour une mise en perspective historique du programme iconographique exceptionnel d'une des villae de Martres-Tolosane (Haute-Garonne)', *CRAIBL* (2008), 597–624.

chlamys A large half-moon cloak (for the shape see *ANRW* II.12.3 (1985), 385–6; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 26) of classical Greek origin equated with, and in Late Antiquity supplanting, the Roman general's *paludamentum*. Often of weft-faced wool twill, sometimes in two layers, it incorporated two tapestry-woven **segmenta* (**tablia*) along the straight edge. Secured on the right shoulder with a crossbow or more elaborate *jewelled brooch, its corners reached the ankles front and back. As the ultimate symbol of military, administrative, and political authority, its quality (*silk on occasion), shade of *dye, and *segmenta* reflected the wearer's status. Senior civilian officials wore white (as in the *mosaic in S. Vitale, *Ravenna) and the *emperor wore *purple. JPW

RE 3/2 (1899), 2342–6 (Amelung).

Chlodio (Clodio, Chlogio) (*fl.* 440s) *Frankish leader who invaded the area around Arras and was defeated by *Aëtius at Vicus Helena (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, V, 211–13). *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 9) calls him a king of the Franks (the first whom he could name), who was based in *Dispargum* (Duisburg?) before he moved to capture *Cambrai from the Romans and then occupied the region as far as the Somme. Rumour had it, concludes Gregory, that Merovech and his son *Childeric I were of his line. *Fredegar and the **Liber Historiae Francorum* add dubious biographical detail, and assign him a twenty-year reign. STL

PLRE II, 'Chlogio', 290–1.

Chlodomer *Frankish King (511–524) The eldest surviving son of *Clovis I and *Chlothild, he inherited a portion of his father's kingdom, with his residence at *Orléans. In 523 he killed the Burgundian King *Sigismund, but died the following year in battle at *Vézeronce against his successor *Godomar. Chlodomer's sons were eliminated from the succession by his brothers. RVD

PLRE II, Chlodomer;

M. Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie', *Francia* 10 (1982), 580–1.

Chlothar I *Frankish King, 511–61. The youngest son of *Clovis I and *Chlothild to inherit a portion of his father's kingdom, with his residence at *Soissons. With his brother *Childebert I he murdered Chlodomer's sons in 524, defeated the *Burgundians in 534, and invaded *Spain in 541; he also fought against Childebert and his nephew *Theudebert I, and killed his rebellious son Chramn. After 558 he reigned as the sole Frankish King. His numerous wives included *Radegund, whom he married after helping *Theuderic conquer *Thuringia in 531. His sons included *Charibert I, *Guntram, *Chilperic I, and *Sigibert I. He was buried at Soissons in the church he had begun to build in honour of S. *Medard. RVD

PLRE II, Chlothacharius.

M. Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie', *Francia* 10 (1982), 582–3.

Chlothar II (584–629) Son of *Chilperic I and his Queen, *Fredegund, and a *Frankish King almost from birth (*Fredegar, IV, 3), although *Gregory of *Tours, the principal source for his early years, in indirectly calling his paternity into question, reflects widespread rumours and the view of the rival *Austrasian court (*HF* VI, 41; VIII, 9 and 31). Chlothar's early years were a minority dominated by his mother (d. 596/7) and other Neustrian nobles and by the interventions of the senior *Merovingian, his uncle *Guntram, who died in 592 (*Fredegar, IV, 14; *HF* VII, 7; VIII, 18 and 42 and 44; X, 11 and 28). His small kingdom was centred on *Rouen, but he made efforts to expand his dominions. *Paris was taken in 596 (Fredegar, IV, 17) and lost in 600 (Fredegar, IV, 26). He met with little success until the deaths of his cousins *Theudebert II in 612 and *Theuderic II in 613, after which he soon took the kingdoms of Austrasia and *Burgundy, brutally executing the dowager Queen *Brunhild, and eliminating by various means Theuderic's sons, the great-grandsons of Brunhild. He now ruled a Frankish kingdom united for the first time since the death of his grandfather *Chlothar I in 561. In 617 he cancelled the *tribute paid by the *Lombards in return for a lump sum. In 622, he appointed his young son *Dagobert to rule the kingdom of Austrasia. With the death of the Burgundian *Mayor of the Palace *Warnachar, he assumed direct rule of Burgundy in 626. All subsequent Merovingian kings traced their descent from Chlothar II (Fredegar, IV, 37–55).

He is the addressee of a *letter from *Gregory the Great (*ep.* XI, 51 of AD 601). Two pieces of significant legislation of his survive: the so-called *Praeceptio* (actually the *Constitutio*) of Chlothar II, possibly

from 613 (although some scholarship has attributed this to Chlothar I); and the *Edict of Paris of 18 October 614. ACM

PLRE III, Chlotharius II.

Chlotharii II praeceptio 584–628 and Chlotharii II edictum anni 614 Oct. 18: ed. A. Boretius in MGH *Capitularia Regum Francorum* I (1883) in MGH Leges, nos. 7 and 8, 11–17.

Chlothar III (*c.*649–73) *Frankish King (657–73), the eldest son of *Clovis II and *Balthild, who inherited the *Neustro-*Burgundian kingdom at his father's death. His mother acted as regent until she was ousted in 664; the *Mayor of the Palace *Ebroin remained a dominant figure throughout his reign (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 44–5). PJF

LexMA 2, 1871–2 'Chlotar III' (U. Nonn).

Chlothild (d. *c.*545) Daughter of *Chilperic II of *Burgundy. After killing Chilperic, his brother, *Gundobad agreed to send her to marry King *Clovis I of the *Franks (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 28), to whom she bore Ingomer (who died in infancy), *Chlodomer, *Childebert I, and *Chlothar I. Although her family were *Homoean ('*Arian') Christians according to *Gregory of *Tours, he portrays her as a major influence on Clovis's conversion to Catholic Christianity. After Clovis's death, Chlothild lived a religious life in the Church of S. *Martin at *Tours (*HF* II, 43), but remained politically active; Gregory claims she inspired her sons to attack Burgundy in 523 to avenge her father (*HF* III, 6 and 1). She was buried in S. Peter's in *Paris (later S. Geneviève), alongside Clovis (*HF* IV, 1). Her *Life* dates from the Carolingian period. EJ

PLRE II, Chrotchildis 1.

Life (*BHL* 1785), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2, 342–8.

ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 38–50.

chorepiscopus (Gk. 'country bishop', 'rural bishop') *Chorepiscopi* emerged in the 3rd century in the eastern part of the Empire. They were numerous in Asia Minor in the 4th century, where in some places they had the authority and functions of a *bishop, but elsewhere were under the direction of the local bishop. The office appears in the 5th century in *Latin-speaking lands, first at the *Council of Riez (439), becoming more common in some regions, especially *Germany, but never becoming universal. *Chorepiscopi* were teachers, supervised *deacons and *priests, and in some places ordained clergy, anointed, administered the sacrament of *Penance, and consecrated churches. MFC

DACL 3, 1 (1913) *s.v.* 'chorévêques', 1423–52 (Leclercq).

RAC 2 (1954) *s.v.* Chorbischof, 1105–14 (Kirsten).

DDC 3 (1942) *s.v.* 'chorévêque', 686–95 (Leclef).

Choricius of Gaza (*fl. c.*525–50) Orator and teacher in *Gaza. He held the publicly funded *chair of *rhetoric in Gaza after his teacher, *Procopius of Gaza. His surviving works include two encomia on *Bishop Marcian, containing substantial descriptions of the churches of S. Sergius and S. Stephen, a double encomium for two local notables, Aratus and Stephanus, and an improvised encomium of the *Dux Palestinae, *Summus. We also have *funeral orations for Marcian's mother Maria, and for Procopius of Gaza, as well as epithalamia and introductory talks (*laliai*).

These epideictic speeches evoke the urban culture of Gaza with its public and private celebrations and reveal the networks that linked intellectuals with representatives of the Church and the secular authorities. They also illustrate the intellectual ambience of the *city and the interaction between school and civic *rhetoric in this period. The use of classical and mythological allusion is carefully modulated to fit the subject of each speech, being frequent in the epithalamia for Christian couples but far more restrained in the speeches for Marcian and his mother. Choricius engaged with popular culture and its critics in his *Defence of the Mimes* which provides a rich array of arguments to counter the frequent criticisms of these comic *actors.

More directly linked to Choricius' teaching activity is his collection of *declamations. The subjects include judicial and deliberative speeches on historical and fictional situations and on themes drawn from *Homer's *Iliad*. Each is prefaced with introductory remarks identifying the issue and the approach taken by the speaker, making them valuable testimony to the practice of declamation in the 6th century. RW

PLRE IIIA, Choricius.

Opera, ed. R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig (1929; repr. 1972).

ET R. J. Penella, ed., *Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity: A Translation of Choricius of Gaza's Preliminary Talks and Declamations* (2009).

C. Saliou, ed., *Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive: archéologie, rhétorique et histoire* (2005).

D. Westberg, *Celebrating with Words: Studies in the Rhetorical Works of the Gaza School* (2010).

chorion (Gk. property, holding, *village in general) In *Egypt, it predominantly denoted a plot of land planted with trees, especially with vines, uninundated and therefore subject to artificial irrigation. After the *Arab conquest, it came to designate, in the abstract, a taxable unit, equivalent on the ground to a village or hamlet. JGK

T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012), 41–4.

Choziba (St George's) *Monastery in the *Judaean Wilderness east of *Jerusalem, consisting of a central

core and hermit cells along Wadi Qelt. Founded by five Syrian hermits, *c.*480 it was developed as a combined **coenobium* and *lavra by John the Egyptian (*BHG* 2186). Dedicated to the *Theotokos, it was named after a saintly monk, George of *Cyprus (*BHG* 669), who lived there in the early 7th century. LDS

TIR Judaea-Palaestina (1994), 104.

Antony of Choziba, *Life of S. George of Choziba* (*BHG* 669); *Miracles of the Holy Virgin at Choziba* (*BHG* 1071).

ed. G. House, *AnBoll* 7 (1888), 95–144, 336–72; *AnBoll* 8 (1889), 209–10.

ET A. N Athanassakis and T. Vivian (1994), repr. in T. Vivian, *Journeying to God: Seven Early Monastic Lives* (1996), 53–105.

J. Patrich, 'The Cells of Choziba, Wadi el-Qilt', in G. B. Bottini et al., eds., *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries. Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo* (1990), 205–25.

A. M. Schneider, 'Das Kloster der Theotokos zu Choziba im Wadi el Kelt', *RQ* 39 (1931), 297–332.

chrenecruda An elaborate ritual for transferring the responsibility for payment of *compensation for a *homicide, described in the *Frankish legal text **Lex Salica*. The ritual involves the throwing of dust gathered from the four corners of a *house. TWGF

E. Goldmann, *Chrenecruda. Studien zum Titel 58 der Lex Salica* (1931).

chrism Though anointing with the oil of chrism may have been used by itself in a rite of initiation in some early Christian churches, in particular in *Gnostic communities, its use in later Late Antiquity was secondary to *baptism with water. It was sometimes applied before baptism (as in the **Apostolic Constitutions* and in *Cyril of *Alexandria) and sometimes afterwards (as in *Cyprian of *Carthage, *Origen, *Athanasius, and *Cyril of *Jerusalem), when it is often associated with the Holy Spirit. MFC

DACL VI/2 (1925) *s.v.* chrême (saint), cols. 2777–91 (F. Cabrol).

S. Brock, 'Anointing in the Syriac Tradition', in M. Dudley and G. Rowell, *The Oil of Gladness: Anointing in the Christian Tradition* (1993), 92–100.

Christ, iconography of The *cross, the *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God), the *hetoimasia* (empty throne), the anchor, and the *fish are symbolic representations found in a wide variety of media from terracotta *lamps to *mosaics. Early images of Christ incarnate are experimental, as Christian patrons portrayed him in various roles. Christ as the *Sun, as Philosopher, as Law Giver, and as *Miracle worker are common in the 3rd and 4th centuries. These portrayals show Christ as an actor in a narrative who can compete with *pagan gods such as Apollo, and perform miraculous feats of healing or offer protection and counsel. Christ is shown with or without a cruciform halo, bearded to indicate an older figure, or beardless to show a youthful god. This experimentation is seen in Christ's *hairstyle which ranges from short to long and curly and in a range of colours from white to red and from blonde to black. Gradually this becomes standardized as the bearded dark-haired Christ with long hair, and a cruciform halo, who remains an actor in his narratives, but is also a more iconic and static figure as the Pantocrator, or Judge. DHV

Age of Spirituality.

Grabar, *Iconography.*

T. Mathews, *Clash of Gods*: *A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (²1999).

Schiller, *Ikonographie.*

Christianity, Aksumite A form of Christianity is attested early in the 4th century, was officially adopted at the capital *c.*340–50, and spread widely through the kingdom by the early 6th century. *Rufinus records that *Frumentius, arriving in *Aksum *c.*320, found Christians among the foreign trading community there (*HE* X, 9–11). *Coinage and *inscriptions of King *Ezana indicate his conversion midway through his reign, but it is clear that the new religion was not widely adopted beyond the capital until 100 to 150 years later. This last development is demonstrable archaeologically and is attributed in Ethiopian tradition to the activities of the *Nine Saints from the Eastern Roman Empire who founded churches and *monasteries, some of which are still in use, in several areas. By the early 6th century, the Aksumite kingdom was thus predominantly Christian through the greater part of its territory. Christianity has been firmly embedded in the highlands of Eritrea and northern *Ethiopia ever since that date, although the area has become increasingly isolated from co-religionists since around the 9th century, and many of its features may be traced back to its Aksumite origins.

*Ge'ez, still in use as the liturgical language, was the principal vernacular of ancient Aksum, but the limited availability of written sources means that continuity can be most clearly demonstrated in matters which relate to buildings and artefacts. *Marble chancel *screens, imported in prefabricated form from the *Constantinople vicinity around the 6th century, were imitated in wood for several centuries afterwards. Characteristic artefacts such as processional *crosses, *baptismal tanks, and vellum manuscripts incorporating canon tables were already in use during Aksumite times. Aksumite churches were *basilican, following an architectural style already present in northern Ethiopia during pre-Christian times, and such churches—both built and rock-hewn—continued to be created and used long

afterwards, being supplanted by the now widespread round churches only around the 14th century. DWP

S. C. Munro-Hay, 'Saintly Shadows', in Raunig and Wenig, *Afrikas Horn*, 137–68.

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 91–102, 126–32.

Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia.*

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 89–143.

C. Haas, 'Mountain Constantines: The Christianization of Aksum and Iberia', *JLA* 1/1 (2008), 101–26.

Christianization *See* CONVERSION AND CHRISTIANIZATION.

Christians, persecution of Until the early 4th century AD, Christians were regularly subjected to local pressure, backed by threats of *torture and execution, to conform to the practice of civic worship which formed the core of public life in the *cities of the Roman Empire. At three times such pressure was universal and directed from the centre by the imperial government, under the *Emperor *Decius (249–51), in 257–9 under the Emperor *Valerian, and during the Great Persecution which began in 303 and lasted till 306 in *Britain, *Gaul, *Spain, and *Africa, but until the *Letter of *Licinius of 313 in *Anatolia and *Oriens (including *Egypt). Thereafter commemoration of the persecutions was integral to the practice of Christianity.

Sources

Most *martyr passions, descriptions of the sufferings of individual Christians, are romanticized accounts written long after persecution was a live threat. The *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* made by *Eusebius of Caesarea is lost. No more than two dozen passions survive which on objective criteria can be said to reflect actual events and contemporary attitudes (Barnes, *Hagiography*, 357–9). There is, however, copious other evidence for the persecutions. An exchange of *letters (X, 96–7) between the Emperor Trajan and Pliny the Younger, governor of *Bithynia in the first decade of the 2nd century, lays down procedure for dealing with Christians. The treatises and over 80 letters of *Cyprian, *Bishop of *Carthage, are vivid evidence of attitudes and events during the Decian and Valerianic persecutions. The *Festal Letter of Easter 306 from *Peter, Patriarch of *Alexandria, provides a (remarkably lenient) tariff for penance for Christians who had lapsed during the Great Persecution. Eusebius preserves contemporary documents from the 1st century onwards and information from the Great Persecution of his own time in his *Church History* (*HE)* and *On the Martyrs of Palestine*. *Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (*Mort.*) describes in vitriolic detail and with the insight of a political insider God's venegeance on emperors who dared to persecute Christians. Further contemporary records of Christian attitudes and pagan motives are furnished by such writers as Justin Martyr, Tertullian (e.g. *To the Martyrs*), and *Origen (e.g. *Preparation for Martyrdom*).

Pagan motives

The initital impetus to make Christians conform was local, as is indicated by the correspondence of Pliny and the letter concerning the *Martyrs of *Lyons (Eusebius, *HE* V, 1–2), and local concerns were apparent as late as the last stages of the Great Persecution. Romans were not particularly intolerant of unusual beliefs or religious practices, though they might find them funny (e.g. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 24–IX, 10). But the only technology which cities had for securing the sustained cooperation of the forces of Nature was to perform the regular round of civic celebrations in honour of their public gods; the anger of the gods if they were ignored might give rise to 'pestilence and droughts, wars, *famines, locusts, mice and hailstorms' (*Arnobius, I, 3).

Christians considered the practice of public religion incompatible with their worship of the entity which had created the entire universe out of nothing. They were prepared to offer *prayer for the emperor's safety (*salus*) and for communal well-being, but were not willing to offer *sacrifice to him or to the communal gods (e.g. Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 37; Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 2). They were persecuted therefore not for what they did but for what they refused to do. It is true that they had occasionally to defend themselves against accusations that Christian worship involved orgies and the eating of babies (e.g. Eusebius, *HE* V, 1, 52; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 3; Minucius Felix, 9 and 28–31), and accusations of immorality were manufactued by pagans as late as 311/13 (Eusebius, *HE* IX, 5), but Pliny had known that such *flagitia cohaerentia* amounted to nothing (*ep.* X, 96, 2 and 7–8). It was because they refused to participate in public worship of the community's divine protectors that Christians were rounded up and brought before the *governor as he made the rounds of his *province trying capital cases. The treatment they then received might depend heavily on the personal predilections of the governor (Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 3–5).

General persecutions

It is unclear why in 250 Decius decided to order that the entire population of the Empire should sacrifice and obtain a **libellus* certifying their compliance. He might have been seeking divine support in the campaign against *Goths and *Carpi (in which he was killed);

whether or not he intended to entrap Christians he certainly did so. *Bishops who suffered imprisonment and death included Babylas of *Antioch, Alexander of *Jerusalem, and Fabian of *Rome (Eusebius, *HE* VI, 39, 1–4). *Dionysius of *Alexandria escaped and Cyprian of Carthage went into the country, from where he continued to direct church affairs. Decius' successor, *Trebonianus Gallus, threatened to sustain the persecution, but it ended with the *accession of Valerian in 253.

However, Valerian came under pressure from his ambitious *Praefectus Praetorio, and in 257 moved to enforce the practice of public worship. Dionysius of Alexandria describes how the judge at his trial pressed him to worship 'the natural gods', because other Christians would follow his lead (*HE* VII, 11). He was sent into *exile, as was Cyprian of Carthage. A year later, an imperial *rescript to the *Senate and *letters to governors initiated further executions, including those of Cyprian and Sixtus (Xystus) II of Rome (Cyprian, *epp*. 80–1). After the Persian capture of Valerian in 260 his son *Gallienus explicitly restored 'freedom of action' and their buildings and cemeteries to Christian churches (Eusebius, *HE* VII, 13).

More information is available about the causes and course of the Great Persecution which began on 23 February 303 and persisted till 306 in the western half of the Empire and, in fits and starts, until 313 in the East. Lactantius describes how the insubordinate Caesar *Galerius was able to bring political pressure to bear on *Diocletian (*Mort*. 9–11). Edicts ordered the destruction of church buildings, the confiscation of scriptures, and the dismissal of Christians from the imperial service, and then the imprisonment of clergy who were to be coerced into sacrificing (*HE* VIII, 2, 4–5; VIII, 5, 1; VIII, 6, 8–10). Lactantius describes the demolition of the church at *Nicomedia (*Mort*. 12), documents in the *Optatan Appendix record the confiscation of Christian books in Africa which gave rise to the *Donatist schism, and two copies of the *report of proceedings in the trial of *Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis, by the *Praefectus Augustalis survive on *papyrus. The Fourth Edict of the persecution issued early in 304 enjoined universal sacrifice (*MartPal* 3, 1; *Mort*. 15, 4). It was not enforced in the West. Indeed, persecution ceased altogether in the West in 306 with the *accession of *Constantine I in Britain, Gaul, and Spain (*Mort*. 24, 9) and the usurpation of *Maxentius at *Rome (Eusebius, *HE* VIII, 14, 1).

Eusebius recounts the trials and martyrdoms which continued in fits and starts in the East, in general in the *Church History* (*HE* VIII) and in the two recensions of his chilling memoir *On the Martyrs of Palestine* which describes their effect on his own comrades and his teacher, the martyr *Pamphilus. In the spring of 311, on his deathbed the Emperor Galerius issued an edict, reproduced in full by Lactantius (*Mort*. 34) and Eusebius (*HE* VIII, 17), stating his motives for starting the persecution and decreeing that there might be Christians once more and that they might assemble in their conventicles. Eusebius evokes the lights in the churches that *Eastertide (*HE* IX, 1). The lull was not to last. From the autumn of 311 onwards *Maximinus Daza resumed persecution in Anatolia and *Oriens. He was responding in part to local pressure, apparent from the *petitions sent to him from places as disparate as Antioch, *Tyre, *Lycia, and *Pisidia (Eusebius, *HE* IX, 2 and 7) and to the *oracles uttered by a statue of Zeus Philios set up at Antioch by *Theotecnus, the city's *Curator Rei Publicae. Peter of Alexandria, the biblical scholar *Lucian of Antioch, and *Methodius, Bishop of Olympus in *Lycia, were all martyred. Persecution ceased only when Maximinus Daza was eliminated by Constantine's ally, the Emperor *Licinius, who issued the Letter of Licinius on 13 June 313 promising the resumption of toleration and the restitution of Christian property (*Mort*., 48; Eusebius, *HE* X, 5, 2–14).

Thenceforth, methodical persecution of Christians ceased in the Roman Empire. The name of only one martyr is known from the reign of Licinius, and the Emperor *Julian (361–3) was too canny to enforce a centrally planned persecution as he knew that martyrdoms simply stiffened Christian resistance. In the late 4th century Basil could look back on the persecutions as 'the good old times when God's churches flourished, rooted in faith, united in love' (*ep*. 164, 1). The persecution of Christians in *Gothic territory in the time of S. *Sabas, in the Persian Empire under *Shapur II, and in *Najran in the early 6th century, however, were to evoke comparable spiritual strength expressed in martyr passions whose literary manner resembled those composed in the Roman Empire.

Christian reaction

From the pagan point of view the persecutions could be deemed successful. Cyprian describes queues snaking up the side of the Capitol at Carthage keen to do their public duty and sacrifice (*De Lapsis*, 8–9, cf. 24–6). Furthermore persecution generated division within the Church between the lapsed and rigorists who resented them, such as the *Novatianists after the Decian Persecution, and after the Great Persecution the Donatists in Africa and the *Meletians in Egypt. Documents generated by bishops regulating reconciliation, such as Cyprian's *On the Lapsed* and Peter of Alexandria's Easter Letter of 306, reveal a broad range of stratagems adopted by Christians to frustrate the authorities, from bribery and feigning an epilectic seizure to sending pagan friends, or even Christian slaves, to sacrifice in their place (Peter, *Canons*, 12 and 5–7). Simply running

away, however, becoming a refugee for Christ, was commended (e.g. *de Lapsis*, 10; Peter, *Canon* 13), not least because Christ himself (Matt. 10: 23) advocated it. But the heroes of the Church were the martyrs, those who were prepared to sustain their witness to Christ despite torture and intimidation up to the point of execution. The terror and trauma of persecution and the spirit of their resistance to it ensured that their stories were told, their *relics venerated, and their sufferings continued to be formative in the development of Christian spirituality. OPN

G. Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society* (2004), 38–59.
G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, and Orthodoxy*, ed. [L.] M. Whitby and J. Streeter (2006).
Barnes, *Hagiography*.
R. Darling Young, *'In Procession before the World': Martyrs' Sacrifices as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity* (Père Marquette Lecture, 2001).
J. B. Rives, 'The Piety of a Persecutor', *JECS* 4/1 (1996), 1–25.
J. B. Rives, 'The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire', *JRS* 89 (1999), 135–54.
Barnes, *CE* 16–65, 148–63.
O. [P.] Nicholson, 'Laws Ending Persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire', in N. Schlager, ed., *Milestone Documents in World History*, vol. 1: *2350 BCE–1058 CE* (2010), 295–307.
D. Vincent Twomey SVD and Mark Humphries, eds., *The Great Persecution: Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference Maynooth 2003* (2009).
O. [P.] Nicholson, 'Flight in Persecution as Imitation of Christ: Lactantius *Divine Institutes* IV, 18, 1–2', *JTS* 40 NS (1989), 48–65.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques*.

Christians, persecution of, Persian Empire Some form of Christian persecution is mentioned in a 3rd-century *inscription erected by the high priest *Kerdir (Kartir), who lists Christianity among foreign religions that he 'smote' and drove from the land under *Bahram II (r. 276–93). It was however under *Shapur II (r. 309–79) that persecutions became violent. The earliest incident was in Shapur's ninth year at Karkā d-Bēṯ Slok (*Kirkuk), but persecutions mostly occurred after 341, caused apparently by the refusal of *Symeon bar Sabba'e, the *metropolitan of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon, to collect a special tax to finance Shapur's offensives against *Constantius II. *Martyr passions describe the persecutions and executions in detail. The cited crime is often collaboration with the Romans. A list of Persian *martyrs is appended at the end of the *Syriac *Martyrology of 411*.

Occasional persecutions happened under *Yazdegerd I (r. 399–421), when in one case, a Christian priest destroyed a *fire temple built next to a church. Further instances occurred under *Bahram V (r. 420–38) and *Yazdegerd II (r. 438–57)—the events from 446 are recorded in the *Acts of Ādur-hormizd and of Anāhīd*. The reign of *Khosrow I (r. 531–79) also witnessed periodic martyrdoms of individuals (though not large-scale persecutions), probably caused by proselytism. This was forbidden and punishable by death according to the treaty of 562, which granted Christians freedom to practise their faith but not to convert others. While the Persian authorities targeted those who stepped outside the normal conventions, in the late period large-scale persecutions were not the norm and the *Catholicus and hierarchy of the *Church of the East were an integral part of the imperial *administration.

The martyr passions which have survived in *Syriac and *Greek (mostly translated into Syriac from Greek), with additional information from *Armenian authors, are of varying historical value: some were written shortly after the events, occasionally by eyewitnesses, others are more or less reliable literary compositions based on tradition. The trials are described in detail and provide information about the workings of the courts at the time, and information about the location of the trials and about the martyrs themselves provides valuable details about administrative history and historical geography. Fragments of *Sogdian translations have been found at *Turfan. POS

EncIran I/4 (1983) *s.v.* Acts of the Persian Martyrs, 430–1 (A. Vööbus).
EncIran IV/2 (1989) *s.v.* Bēt Selōk, 188 (M. Morony).
EncIran V/5 (1991) *s.v.* 'Christianity. iv. Christian Literature in Middle Iranian Languages', 534–5, at 534 b (N. Sims-Williams).
EncIran XV/6 (2011) *s.v.* Kartir, 608–28 at 620 (P. O. Skjærvø).
EncIran s.v. 'martyrs, Christian' (C. Jullien).
EncIran s.v. 'Shapur II' (T. Daryaee).
Martyr passions: ed. (with partial LT) H. Delehaye, *Les Versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II* in PO 2/4 (1907), 401–560.
R. Payne, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity* (TCH 56, 2015).

Christians under Islam The 7th-century *Arab conquests established Muslim hegemony over a majority non-Muslim, mostly Christian, non-Arab population. A significant number of Christians were in close contact with the Muslim Arabs at this early period, joining them as **mawali* ('clients'), either through *conversion, manumission, or association, or interacting directly with them as outsiders. *Arabic-speaking Christians, deserting Byzantine troops and other Christian groups, are said to have joined the conquest *armies and are also mentioned amongst those being assigned allotments in the garrison cities in the conquered areas. *Mawali* were enrolled on the Muslim

military register (*_diwan_) but the extent of their entitlement to military stipends (_'ata'_) is debated in the sources. Others interacted directly with the new rulers because they continued to run the *administration or were involved in trading and other commercial activities in the garrison cities where the Arabian conquerors were overwhelmingly located. Religious leaders, such as patriarchs and *bishops, were involved in the negotiating of peace treaties with the conquerors and many continued to be closely associated with the new rulers' *courts. The vast majority of Christian subjects, however, did not experience any interaction with the Arabs at this time. Although administrative and fiscal changes were introduced, these were executed by the same local officials as had been in charge before the conquests with the occasional presence of Arabian soldiers. Arabian settlement outside the garrison cities remained low until the 8th century, and the estates that had come into the possession of Arabian elites often continued to be managed by local managers.

Relations between Muslim authorities and Christian subjects was governed by the *Qur'ānic *_dhimma_ status. Monotheists were guaranteed personal safety, protection of their property, and freedom to practise their religion in exchange for regular tribute payments (*_jizya_). Land administered by Christians was subject to a higher tax than that in Muslim hands. While documentary sources indicate that these taxes were levied from the beginning of Arabian rule, their religious character is not explicitly expressed and references to religious communities are lacking. Whether out of theological (a pluralist *_umma_ incorporating people of different faiths) or pragmatic (minority rule under continuing military threat) conviction, Arab rule did not, at this period, confront Christian institutions or individual believers negatively in a systematic manner. Muslim rule even seems to have brought some relief to *Miaphysite communities who had suffered Byzantine-sponsored *Melkite persecutions in the immediate pre-Islamic period, while interreligious Christian strife continued at the new rulers' courts.

A range of administrative adjustments and governmental measures at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century reflect a change of policy aimed at more direct managerial involvement and an Islamization and Arabization of rule. Surveys of people, land, and cattle allowed for greater tax yields, as did close observation and control of taxpayers' movements. Resulting economic pressure led to fugitives and an increase in the number of Christians wanting to join the _umma_ through conversion as well as other expressions of financial distress. At the same time, public expressions of Muslim faith appeared on *coinage, in new buildings such as the *Dome of the Rock (completed 691–2) with its famous *inscription addressing Christians directly, and in the documents produced by the chancery which used, it was now decided, only Arabic, at the expense of local administrative languages, and no *crosses or other Christian expressions of faith were allowed. The decision to have Muslim administrators replace Christian ones at the lower levels of the administration reduced opportunities for indigenous Christian elites, who were forced into lower administrative positions or to find alternative careers, for example in the Church and *monasteries. In other cases walls were literally drawn up between religious practitioners. In 706 the decision was made to build a large congregational *mosque on the site of the Church of John the Baptist in *Damascus where up to then Christians and Muslims had been worshipping together. The new *mosque was decorated with *mosaics in Byzantine style but using innovative images without any living creatures depicted. For the first time, monks were taxed and anecdotes about strained relations between the Muslim authorities and religious leaders increase. In the literary domain borders were drawn sharper with Muslim-Arab expressions against assimilation with the subjected population and polemical writings increasing. The Pact of *'Umar, ascribed in the Muslim sources to the time of *Caliph 'Umar I (r. 634–44) and gaining important legal force in the Muslim tradition, seems to have been a product of this period as well, with its impositions of distinct *dress and behaviour in an attempt to keep religious groups clearly separated reflecting in fact a situation of more intense interaction.

While in the public and political arena religious demarcations were more forcefully drawn affecting the lives of individual believers in real ways, religious principles did not dictate the social order. The ecclesiastical claim, from the late 7th century onwards, to legal authority was a response to the existence of a pluralist legal system in which Christians moved between Muslim courts, *bishops' courts, and informal Christian legal arenas. Besides the prohibition against Christian men marrying Muslim women, no restrictions on social contacts existed. Interreligious contacts allowed for exchange of ideas and skills.

In the 8th century Arab permanent settlement outside the garrison cities increased also due to the growing presence of Arabs at lower echelons of the administration. While different areas and communities of the Islamic Empire experienced different settlement patterns and related processes of convergence, this intensified interaction through exchange and intermarriage, eventually led to the more general processes of Arabization and, intensifying over the subsequent centuries, conversion. With more Christians using Arabic, a Christian Arabic intellectual and literary tradition developed from the mid-8th century in which theological and philosophical developments were expressed

and which made important contributions to Islamic culture for the centuries to come. PMS

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* 'Mawla', 824–32 (Crone).
F. M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (2010).
J. J. van Ginkel, H. L. Murre-van den Berg, and T. M. van Lint, *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam* (2005).
S. I. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (2007).
R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others saw it: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (1997).
M. Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence* (2011).
A. Papaconstantinou, 'Between Umma and Dhimma: The Christians of the Middle East under the Umayyads', *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008), 127–56.
P. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (2013).
J. V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (2002).

Christian symbols on coins These began to appear on Roman (and, later, derivative western) *coinage from the 4th century onwards. *Constantine I introduced a *cross on some of his coins but also continued to use pre-Christian symbols. Combinations of pre-Christian and Christian *iconography continued until the 7th century when the cross on steps and later the bust of Christ signalled a clear move towards a visually Christian coinage. Aksumite *coinage replaced pre-Christian iconography with Christian religious symbols from the mid-4th century onwards. RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*.
W. Hahn, 'Symbols of Pagan and Christian Worship on Aksumite Coins', *Nubica et Aethiopica* 4/5 (1994–5), 431–54.

Christmas Early Christian chronographers posited a number of possible dates for the day on which Jesus was born. The first evidence of liturgical celebration of the anniversary on 25 December (a.d. viii Kal. Jan.) is in the **Codex-Calendar of 354* (*Fasti Consulares* and *Depositio Martyrum*).

Christians were concerned with the chronological patterns in world history and they believed in keeping anniversaries acccurately (e.g. *Cyprian, *ep*. 36, 2 on *martyrs' *festivals). There was a common belief that perfect people lived mathematically perfect lives, and using Jewish and Roman calendars it was calculated that either the Crucifixion or the Resurrection took place on 25 March in the equivalent of AD 29 (e.g. Tertullian, *Against the Jews*, 8; *Lactantius, *Mort*. 2). 25 March was therefore identified as the day of Christ's conception (though the liturgical celebration of the Annunciation is known only from the 6th cent.), and the date of 25 December for the anniversary of Christ's birth could be calculated easily from that of his conception (e.g. *Augustine, *De Trinitate*, IV, 5, 9). The probability that this was the process of reasoning is reinforced by the fact that Christians who made their calculations from Greek calendars placed Christ's Passion on 6 April, and so celebrated the *Epiphany (for them the equivalent of Christmas) on 6 January.

The Calendar section of the *Codex-Calendar of 354*, which lists exclusively civic rather than Christian festivals, is the only text to place on 25 December one of the rather numerous civic festivals of the *Sun, the Natalis Invicti, the festival of the Unconquered Sun, celebrated with chariot-racing (*CIL* I/1, 356–7, cf. 409–10). Medieval writers interested in suggesting continuities between pagan and Christian celebrations, in particular a frequently quoted scholiast on the *Syriac writer Bar Salibi (d. 1171), liked to think that the Christian festival simply supplanted the celebration of the Sun. There were certainly 5th-century bishops who felt obliged to remind their people at Christmas to honour not the Sun but the Creator of the Sun (Augustine, *Sermon*, 190; *Leo I, *Sermon* 22, 6). OPN; MFC

A. McGowan, 'How December 25 Became Christmas', *Biblical Archaeology Review* (December 2002).
P. F. Bradshaw and M. E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts, and Seasons, in Early Christianity* (2011), 123–30.
S. K. Roll, *Towards the Origins of Christmas* (1995).
S. Hijmans, 'Sol Invictus, the Winter Solstice and the Origins of Christmas', *Mouseion* 47 = series 3, vol. 3 (2003), 377–98.

Christodorus of Coptos (*fl.* 500) A leading poet of the reign of *Anastasius I. His lost works, mentioned by the **Suda*, included epic **patria* of *Constantinople (in twelve books), of *Thessalonica (in 25), and of Nacle (a *city near Heliopolis in *Egypt), *Miletus, *Tralles, and *Aphrodisias. Also lost is *On the Students of the Great *Proclus* (one verse is quoted by *John Lydus); *Lydiaca*, probably a *patria* for *Lydia; and *Isaurica*, an epic poem on Anastasius' war in *Isauria in the 490s. Surviving works include two funeral *epigrams for John of Epidamnus (*Consul of 467; *Anth. Pal.* VII, 697–8), and an *Ecphrasis of the Statues in the Zeuxippus Baths* in Constantinople (*Anth. Pal.* II), probably delivered at the *Baths themselves. The *Ecphrasis* (in 416 hexameter verses) consists of a series of short epigrams on about 80 *statues. The collection had a prominent Trojan theme and the poem compares Anastasius to Pompey and the poet himself to *Homer. Christodorus' style was influenced by *Nonnus. He should not be confused with another Christodorus from Egyptian *Thebes, also mentioned in the *Suda*, who wrote an *Ixeutica* ('fowling') in verse and a collection of the *miracles of Ss. *Cosmas and Damian. AK

PLRE II, Christodorus, cf. Ioannes 29.
ed. in Jacoby, *FGH* no. 283.
S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (2004).
A. Cameron, 'Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt', *Historia* 14 (1965), 470–509.
A. Kaldellis, 'Christodoros on the Statues of the Zeuxippos Baths: A New Reading of the *Ekphrasis*', *GRBS* 47 (2007), 361–83.
F. Tissoni, *Cristodoro: un'introduzione e un commento* (Hellenica [Alessandria, Italy] 6, 2000).

Chrodoara (d. before 634) Venerated as S. Oda. A member of the *Austrasian *aristocracy, aunt of the *deacon Adalgisel Grimo, and possibly wife of Bodegisel. A carved *sarcophagus found at *Amay in 1977 dates from the elevation of her *relics *c.*730, and bears an *inscription emphasizing her work as a benefactor. A late *Vita* credits her with a particular interest in charitable works (*BHL* 6259–61). ADier

A. Dierkens, ed., *Le Sarcophage de sancta Chrodoara* (*Bulletin du Cercle Archéologique Hesbaye Condroz* 25, 2000–1).
A. Dierkens, 'Chrodoara est-elle d'origine aquitaine?', in E. Bozoky, ed., *Saints d'Aquitaine* (2010), 173–88.

Chromatius of Aquileia (*bishop 388–406/7) Preacher and leader in the northern Italian *city of *Aquileia. Chromatius led an *ascetic group 369–72 which included *Rufinus, *Jerome, Heliodorus, and others 'like a chorus of the blessed' (Jerome, *Chron.* 247f. Helm). As a *priest he spoke at the *Council of Aquileia in 381 in favour of the Nicene position. Jerome credited Chromatius with eliminating the *Arians in the city (*ep.* 7). He mediated in the dispute between Jerome and Rufinus in 401 and funded works for both. His final act seems to have been to advocate on the part of *John Chrysostom in 405, in response to which Chrysostom sent a *letter to Chromatius (*ep.* 155). There survive 45 *sermons, misidentified until the mid-20th century, and a partial commentary on S. Matthew's Gospel. The sermons confirm the image of Chromatius as leader of the city in the face of growing threats, especially after the siege by *Alaric in 402 (*Sermon* 16). RJM

PCBE II, Chromatius.
CPL 217–19:
ed. R. Étaix and J. Lemarié (CCSL, 9A, 1974 and 1977).
R. Étaix, 'Nouvelle Édition des sermons XXI–XXII de saint Chromace d'Aquilée', *RevBén* 92 (1982), 105–10.
ed. (with FT) J. Lemarié, *Sermons* (SC 154 and 164, 1969–71).
P. Beatrice and A. Peršič, eds., *Chromatius of Aquileia and his Age* (2011).
R. McEachnie, 'A History of Heresy Past: The Sermons of Chromatius of Aquileia, 388–407', *Chuch History* 83 (2014), 273–96.
S. Piussi, ed., *Cromazio di Aquileia: al crocevia di genti e religioni* (2008).
C. Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme: Aquileé du IIIe eu Vie siècle* (BEFAR 324, 2005).

***Chronica Theodericana* (*Anonymus Valesianus II*)** Modern title for anonymous extracts preserved in a single 9th-century manuscript (Cod. Berol. Phillipps 1885) which provide valuable information on the years from the elevation of *Julius Nepos as *emperor in the West (474) to the death of the *Gothic *King *Theoderic (526). The excerpts focus on Theoderic's rule which is divided into 30 good years (chs. 36–78) followed by three bad years (chs. 79–96), calculating from 493 when his rule in *Italy was recognized by the *Emperor *Anastasius I. Attention is also paid to contemporary events in the East. Sources used include *Eugippius' *Life of *Severinus*, local *Ravenna annals, and oral accounts. Because the author was a *Homoousian ('Catholic'), a Roman supporter of Pope *Symmachus, wrote in Ravenna in the 530s/540s, and was conscious of the connection of East and West, he is sometimes identified with *Maximian, *Bishop of Ravenna (546–53). However, the manuscript heading *ex libris chronicorum inter cetera* implies multiple original sources rather than a single one. BC

ed. J. Moreau and V. Velkov, *Excerpta Valesiana* (1968).
ed. (with comm.) W. Bracke, *L'Anonymus Valesianus II, ch. 79–96* (1992).
ed. (with introd., GT, and comm.) I. König, *Aus der Zeit Theoderichs des Grossen* (1997).
ET (with text) in ed. J. C. Rolfe Ammianus Marcellinus, vol. 3 (LCL 331, 1939).
S. J. B. Barnish, *Latomus* 42 (1983), 572–96.
A. Goltz, *Barbar—König—Tyrann. Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts* (2008), 476–526.

Chronica urbis Romae *See* BREVIARIUM VINDOBONENSE, CODEX-CALENDAR OF 354.

Chronicle, Maronite Anonymous *Syriac record written shortly after 664, covering the period between the end of the reign of Alexander the Great and the year 664. The author, a *Maronite living in *Palestine, witnessed *Arab–Byzantine battles (siding with the latter). He saw also the *Arab civil war between *ʿAli (murdered in 661 'while praying in *Hira') and *Muʿawiya (d. 680, siding with the latter). He records also the tense relations between various Christian communities and the *'Umayyad Caliph Muʿawiya. AHa

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 135–9.
ed. (with LT) E. W. Brooks, J. B. Chabot, and I. Guidi, *Chronica Minora* (CSCO 3–4, Scr. syr. 3–4; 1903–7), 43–74 (text), 37–57 (tr.).
ET Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *West Syrian Chronicles*, 30–5.

Chronicle of 452 *See* CHRONICLES, GALLIC.

Chronicle of 511 *See* CHRONICLES, GALLIC.

Chronicle of Arbela A history of *Syriac Christianity in *Adiabene under the Parthians and *Sasanians (ms. Berlin Or. fol. 3126). A. Mingana (1907), its first editor, attributed the *Chronicle* to a 6th-century author, Meshiha-Zeka ('Christ has conquered'), writing to a friend called Pinhes. The work presents in chronological order short narratives concerning the *bishops of *Arbela (mod. Erbil), covering a period from the 2nd to the beginning of the 6th century, as a catalogue of the bishops of the see of Arbela. The *Chronicle* claims that there were already seventeen Christian bishops in the *Persian Empire at the time of the rise of the *Sasanian dynasty in the 220s.

Since the study by P. Peeters (1925) and the analysis of J. M. Fiey (1967), who considered that the *Chronicle* was a forgery by Mingana and thus historically unreliable, scholars have been divided on its authenticity. Some ancient sources were undoubtedly used in this document. CJ

ed. (with FT) A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, vol. 1: *Mšiha-Zkha (Catalogue de'Ebēdjesu), Histoire de l'Église d'Adiabène sous les Parthes et les Sassanides* (1907–8), 1–156.

ed. (with GT) P. Kawerau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (CSCO 467–468, Scr. syr. 199–200, 1985); cf. review by J. M. Fiey, 82/1 (1987), 544–8 and Kawerau's response, *RevHistEccl* 83/2 (1988), 338–40.

GT (with study) E. Sachau, 'Die Chronik von Arbela. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des ältesten Christentums im Orient' (Abh. [Berl.] 6. 1915).

IT I. Ramelli, *Il Chronicon di Arbela* (2002), cf. review by E. G. Mathews, *BMCR* 2003.11.01.

P. Peeters, 'Le Passionnaire d'Adiabène', *AnBoll* 43 (1925), 261–304.

J. M. Fiey, 'Auteur et date de la chronique d'Arbèles', *OrSyr* 12 (1967), 265–302.

E. Kettenhofen, 'Die Chronik von Arbela in der Sicht der Althistorie', *Simblos* 1 (1995), 287–319.

C. Jullien and F. Jullien, 'La Chronique d'Arbèles: propositions pour la fin d'une controverse', *OrChrist* 85 (2001), 41–83.

Chronicle of Edessa (ms. title: *Stories of Events in Brief*) An important source for the history of the *city of *Edessa from the year 133/2 BC (A.Gr. 180) i.e. the beginning of the kingdom of *Osrhoene, until AD 540. It systematically notes the floods of the River Daysan and provides data on the succession of the *bishops of the *city, the construction of churches, and other local matters. It was based on the royal and episcopal *archives of Edessa, completed with information on other regions of *Syria and *Mesopotamia and on the religious history of the Roman Empire. The extant chronicle is an abbreviated version, edited in the 6th century, surviving in *Syriac in a single manuscript (Vat. Syr. 163), of a more extensive text, not preserved, the *Original Chronicle of Edessa*, excerpts of which can also be found in other *Syriac *chronicles. WW

GEDSH s.v. Chronicle of Edessa, 97–8 (Van Rompay).

ed. (with LT) I. Guidi, *Chronica minora*, 1 (CSCO 1–2, Scr. syr. 1–2 (1903), 1–13: text; 1–11: tr.).

ed. (with GT and comm.) L. Hallier (TU 9/2; 1892).

ET B. H. Cowper, 'The Chronicle of Edessa', *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, new [=4th] ser., 5/9 (1864), 28–45.

W. Witakowski, 'Chronicles of Edessa', *Orientalia Suecana* 33–5 (1984–6), 487–98.

Chronicle of Khuzestan Important 7th-century east *Syrian chronicle, written in *Syriac, also known as the *Guidi Anonymous* after its original editor. It begins with the reign of the *Sasanian King *Hormizd IV (579–89) and ends with the early *Arab conquest. The title 'Episodes taken from Ecclesiastical and Secular Histories' given in the manuscript (Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery 509; formerly Alqosh ms 169) suggests that the text consists of brief extracts from a larger work. They furnish a chronological account of the main events in the *Church of the East, as well as the lives of the *patriarchs, prominent figures, and scholars.

The *Chronicle* concludes with an appendix probably taken from another author. It relates the arrival of the Arabs and the defeat and death of *Heraclius, and gives additional hagiographical details and information on the founders and architectural features of important cities. In contrast to the first part, the second is much more detailed. Its well-informed author must have been a *bishop or a *metropolitan who lived in the years when Isho'yahb III was *catholicus (r. 649–59). Pierre Nautin proposed that he should be identified with Elias of *Merv who is known to have written *Ecclesiastica* (**Chronicle of Seert*, *PO* 13, 513), but this is uncertain. FJ

EncIran XI/4 (2002) *s.v.* Guidi's Chronicle, 383 (S. P. Brock).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 182–9.

ed. Th. Nöldeke (with GT), *Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik, übersetzt und commentiert* (Sb Wien 128/9, 1893), 1–48.

ed. (with LT) I. Guidi, 'Chronicon anonymum', *Chronica Minora*, I (CSCO 1–2, Scr. syr. 1–2, 1903), 15–39 (text), 15–32 (LT).

ET of first part in Greatrex and Lieu, 229–37, 315–19.

FT F. Jullien, 'La Chronique du Huzistān', in Ph. Gignoux, R. Gyselen, C. Jullien, and F. Jullien, eds., *Trésors d'Orient: mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen* (*Studia Iranica* 42, 2009), 159–86.

P. Nautin, 'L'Auteur de la Chronique Anonyme de Guidi: Élie de Merw', *RevHistRel* 199 (1982), 303–14.

Chronicle of Monemvasia Document important (and controversial) for the history of *Slavic and *Avar settlement in the Peloponnese between the 6th and the 9th centuries. Although widely used for the early history of the Slavs, the *Chronicle*'s authorship, date of composition, and basic historicity are much debated. Four versions with substantial differences exist. ABA

ed. I. Dujčev (annotated with introd. and IT), *Cronaca di Monemvasia* (1976).

E. Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Eine historisch-topographische Studie* (Denkschrift Wien, 2011).

P. Charanis, 'The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece', *DOP* 5 (1950), 141–66.

P. Lemerle, 'La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie: le contexte historique et légendaire', *REB* 21 (1963), 5–49.

Chronicle of Seert Anonymous ecclesiastical history in *Arabic lacking its first and last parts. It survives in a single manuscript found in Seert (mod. Siirt, south-east Turkey), which accounts for its conventional title. The chronicle in its current condition covers the period from 252, during the reign of the Roman *Emperor *Trebonianus Gallus, to 650, the era of the monastic writer *Sahdona. Coverage of the years 422–88 is missing. It is a major source for Christianity in the early and late *Sasanian periods and in the first centuries of *Islam in the Eastern Roman Empire, *Arabia, and Asia. The biographies of such ecclesiastical leaders as *Ishoʿyab II (628–45) who witnessed the advent of *Islam shed much light on both political and church affairs. The fact that the Arabic language of the chronicle is heavily influenced by *Syriac indicates the author's extensive reliance on *Syriac sources. It has been argued that an Arabic *Abridged Ecclesiastical History* (*Mukhtasar al-akhbar al-bi iyya*) published by B. Haddad in 2000 from a Baghdad manuscript of 1137 might be the missing first part of the *Chronicle*, but this is unlikely as the two texts have substantially discrepant accounts of the same events, which suggests that they relied on different sources. AHa

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 443–6.

ed. A. Scher (with FT), *Histoire Nestorienne inédite* (*Chronique de Séert*), PO 4/3 (1907), 213–313; PO 5/2 (1908), 217–344; PO 7/2 (1909), 95–203; PO 13/4 (1910), 435–639.

Wood, *Chronicle of Seert*.

Chronicle of Zuqnin Universal chronicle written in *Syriac in 775–6 by a monk of the *Monastery of Zuqnin north of *Amida (mod. Diyarbakır), formerly misnamed the *Chronicle of Pseudo-*Dionysius of Tel Mahre*. Conveniently divided into four parts, the first three compile early sources while the fourth is largely the author's own contribution. Part I draws on *Eusebius' *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II the entire *chronicle known as the *Chronicle of *Joshua the Stylite*, and Part III the third part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of *John of *Ephesus. Part IV, which deals with the 7th and 8th centuries, discusses at length the harsh economic policy of the *Abbasids in Upper *Syria (particularly between 770 and 775), Arab–Byzantine warfare, conflicts within the *Syriac Orthodox Church, and mass conversions to *Islam. In writing, the author borrows ideas, expressions, and themes from John of Ephesus and the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite. AHa

GEDSH s.n. Zuqnin, Chronicle of, p. 450. (Harrak).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 409–11.

Parts I and II: ed. (with LT) J.-B. Chabot, *Chronicon Anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum* (CSCO 91 and 104, Scr. syr. 43, 53, 1927–33).

Parts III and IV: ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum* (CSCO 121, Scr. syr. 66, 1949); FT R. Hespel (CSCO 507, Scr. syr. 213, 1989).

ET (Parts III and IV): A. Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnin 488–775* (Medieval Sources in Translation 36, 1999).

ET (Part II, annotated) F. R. Trombley and J. W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* (TTH 32, 2000).

ET (Part III, annotated) W. Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: Chronicle Known Also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin Part III* (TTH 22, 1996).

ET (Part IV selection with notes) Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *Seventh Century Chronicles*, 53–70.

A. Harrak, 'La Victoire arabo-musulmane selon le chroniquer de Zuqnin (VIIIe siècle)', in Debié, *L'Historiographie syriaque*, 89–105.

W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: A Study in the History of Historiography* (1987).

chronicles, Gallic The *Gallic Chronicle of 452* is an anonymous continuation of *Jerome's *Chronici Canones*, written in Valence or *Marseilles. It is a pessimistic account of the collapse of *Gaul and the entire Roman Empire in the face of *barbarian invasion and the spread of *heresy. The *Gallic Chronicle of 511* is an epitome of an anonymous continuation of Jerome (surviving with it as an epitome), probably written in *Arles.

See also PROSPER OF AQUITAINE; *CONSULARIA HAFNIENSIA*. RWB

ed. (with introd.) R. W. Burgess in R. W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (2001), 52–100.

ed. T. Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9; 1892), 632–6.

ET A. C. Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (2000), 76–85, 98–100.

S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (1990), 136–92.

O. Holder-Egger, *Über die Weltchronik des sogenannten Severus Sulpitius und südgallischen Annalen des fünften Jahrhunderts* (1875).

Chronicles, Short Greek Modern name for a wide range of chronicle snippets and annotations contained in later Byzantine or post-Byzantine manuscripts scattered across several collections. They date events by day and month as well as by year or *indiction which explains their value to modern Byzantine historians. Almost all cover events in the latter centuries of Byzantine history and were written after the events they record. Very few document events within the timespan of Late Antiquity. BC

ed. (with ET and comm.) P. Schreiner, *Chronica Byzantina Breviora* (CFHB 12), vol. 1 (texts, 1975), vol. 2 (comm., 1977), vol. 3 (ET, 1979).

chronicles, Spanish In the late 5th century *Hydatius, *Bishop of Lemica in *Gallaecia, continued *Jerome's *Latin translation and continuation of *Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Scholars have often commented on the apocalyptic character of the text and its focus on *Spain, both of which may reflect the breakdown of Roman power.

The *Chronicle of Saragossa*, now known as the *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, survives as marginal annotations to the 6th-century *Chronicle* of the African *Victor Tonnensis, Bishop of Tunnuna, and covers events in northeast Spain. *John of Biclar, Bishop of *Gerunda, continued Victor down to the conversion of the *Visigoths to Catholicism in 589, innovating by presenting parallel accounts of Visigothic and Byzantine history.

*Isidore, Bishop of *Seville, wrote two redactions of his *Greater Chronicle* and included an epitomized version in his *Etymologies*. All of Isidore's chronicles epitomized Jerome and his continuators severely.

The *Chronicle of 741* and the *Chronicle of 754* (formerly referred to as the *Chronica Byzantino-Arabica* or *Chronica Muzarabica*) both continue John of Biclar and incorporate information derived from Isidore's *History of the Goths*, adding new material on the *Arab conquest of Spain in the early 8th century. JWo

ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* II (MGH Auct. Ant. 11).

ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *Tunnunensis Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon, with An Historical Commentary on the Consularia Caesaraugustana and Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon by Roger Collins* (CCSL 173A, 2001).

Crónica Mozarabe de 754, ed. and tr. J. E. Lopez Pereira (1980); ET K. B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Medieval Spain* (²1999).

J. N. Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', *Settimane di Studio* 17 (1970), 261–311.

P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (1993).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 422–7.

R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 711–797* (1989).

chronicles, Syriac Some *Syriac chronicles have a local focus. Those originating in Roman territory include the text known as the *Chronicle* of *Joshua the Stylite, written shortly after 506, preserved as the second part of the **Chronicle of Zuqnin* (775/6). The **Chronicle of Edessa* was written slightly after 532 using the royal *archives of the city. Stemming from the area of the *Persian Empire, the **Chronicle of Arbela* is said to be of the 6th century and concentrates on Christianity in *Mesopotamia, while the brief **Chronicle of Khuzestan* (also called the *Guidi Anonymous*) covers the end of the *Sasanian period, the beginning of *Islam, and the impact of these important events on *Mesopotamia.

World chronicles include the *Chronicle* of *Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) which continues the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius of *Caesarea. Anonymous chronicles dated between the 8th and 10th centuries tend to end their world coverage with a record of recent local history. This is the case of the *Liber Calipharum*, also called the *Chronicle of 724*, which ends with a list of *'Umayyad *caliphs and the exact duration of their reigns without naming the contemporary Byzantine *emperors. The universal **Chronicle of Zuqnin* ends with a lengthy discussion of *'Abbasid economic policy in northern *Syria between 767 and 775; it was formerly erroneously known as the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-*Dionysius of Tel Mahre.

The *Chronicle of 819* covers secular and religious affairs from Christ to 819, the year in which Dionysius of Tel-Mahre (d. 845) was consecrated Patriarch of the *Syrian Orthodox Church. It relies on the *Chronicle of Edessa* for the early period and draws extensively for the 7th and 8th centuries on the *archives of the *Monastery of Mar *Gabriel at Qartmin on the *Tur 'Abdin, ending with a discussion of political events between 762 and 819 relevant to the Church. It lists 'Abbasid caliphs and *Syriac Orthodox *patriarchs, but not their Byzantine contemporaries.

The *Chronicle of 846* covers history from the biblical Jacob to the year 846. It focuses on ecclesiastical history in the 5th and 6th centuries, using *John of *Ephesus, *Zacharias Rhetor, *Jacob of Edessa, and the Teaching of *Addai as sources. For the period between the 7th and 8th centuries it draws extensively on the *Chronicle of 819*; for the years between 679 and 784, both ecclesiastical affairs and political events in the Arab and Byzantine worlds are discussed. The chronicle ends with lists of *caliphs and patriarchs between 784 and 846.

The 11th century witnessed the rise of voluminous universal chronicles in which secular and ecclesiastical affairs are treated separately, while local events are set

within international contexts. This is the case with the *Chronicle* of *Michael the Elder (Michael the Syrian, d. 1199), the *Chronicle of 1234*, and that of *Bar 'Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus, d. 1286). The *Chronicle of 1234*, which begins with the Creation and ends shortly after 1234, includes events of the early 13th century, thus bringing up to date the *Chronicle* of Michael the Elder; it quotes extensively from the now lost *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tel-Mahre.

See also BAR 'EBROYO; *CHRONICLE OF ARBELA*; *CHRONICLE OF EDESSA*; *CHRONICLE OF KHUZESTAN*; *CHRONICLE OF SEERT*; *CHRONICLE OF ZUQNIN*; DIONYSIUS OF TEL-MAHRE; JACOB OF EDESSA; JOSHUA THE STYLITE; *MARONITE CHRONICLE*; MICHAEL THE ELDER. AHa

GEDSH s.v. chronicles, Syriac, 98–9 (Harrak); *s.v.* historiography, Syriac, 199–203 (Witakowski).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, chs. 4, 5, and 10, esp. 419–21 (on *Chronicles of 819* and *846*).

ed. (with LT) E. W. Brooks, I. Guidi, and J.-B. Chabot, *Chronica Minora* (CSCO 1–6, Scr. syr 1–6; 1903–7).

ed. (with LT) J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christum 1234 Pertinens* (CSCO 81–2, Scr. syr. 36–7, 1916–20), including ed. A. Barsaum, *Chronicle of 819*, 3–22.

ET of the West Syrian Chronicles Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland. *West Syrian Chronicles* including the *Liber Calipharum* (*Chronicle of 724*), 49–50; *Chronicles of 819* and *846*, 75–84.

S. P. Brock, 'Syriac Historical Writing', in Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (1992).

W. Witakowski, 'The Chronicle of Eusebius: Its Type and Continuation in Syriac Historiography', *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000), 419–37.

Debié, *L'Historiographie syriaque.*

Chronicon Altinate and *Chronicon Gradense*

A pair of medieval chronicles containing a medley of material, much of it mythical, concerning the origins and history of Venice and the fate of *Aquileia and *Grado. Some scholars consider the *Chronicon Gradense*, which survives in an 11th-century manuscript, to be part of an early recension of the *Chronicon Altinate*. The three 13th-century manuscripts of the *Chronicon Altinate* preserve contrasting texts, but the most recent Patriarch of Venice they all name was elected in 1201. A catalogue of Roman *emperors from Julius Caesar to the 13th century closes the *Chronicon Altinate*. The section of the list starting with *Constantine I specifies the emperors' places of burial and derives from a *Greek original. OPN

ed. R. Cessi, *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 73, 1933).

Chronicon Gradense, ed. G. H. Pertz, in MGH SS 7 (1846), 39–45.

Chronicon Venetum (vulgo *Altinate*), ed. H. Simonsfeld, MGH SS 14 (1883), 5–69.

Chronicon Paschale (*Chronicon Alexandrinum*)

Title of an anonymous chronicle written in the 630s and preserved in a single incomplete 11th-century Paris manuscript (Cod.Par.gr.1941). It runs from Creation to the restoration to *Jerusalem of the True *Cross on 21 March 630 (though the manuscript is preserved only until 628). It may be the work of two authors before and after the 560s. The *Chronicle* was written in *Greek at *Constantinople, possibly at the instigation of *Patriarch Sergius, and falls into two parts: (1) the period from Creation (dated to 21 March 5509 BC) with a focus on demonstrating the chronological centrality of Christ's incarnation and (2) the period from the *Emperor *Diocletian to 630. From 534 to 601 the *Chronicle* provides little information other than marking annual dates, but for contemporary history it is fuller and preserves important documents such as the letter from the Persian King *Qobad II to the Emperor *Heraclius in 628. The *Chronicle* made good use of earlier works such as that of *John Malalas. A detailed prologue situates the author's preferred chronology within differing current methods for calculating *Easter (putting Christ's Passion at 23 March 5540 AM). Recent research has revealed the value of its information for both chronology (Mosshammer) and 7th-century history (Howard-Johnston). The *Chronicon Paschale* is cited in *ODLA* by the equivalent AD dates in the chronicle. BC

ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols. (CSHB 1832).

ET (with comm.) L. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD* (TTH 7, 1989).

J. Beaucamp et al., 'Temps et histoire 1: le prologue de la Chronique pascale', *TM* 7 (1979), 223–301.

A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (2008), 278–318.

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 37–59.

Chronographia Golenischevensis

An illustrated chronograph of the second or third quarter of the 6th century, which survives on a collection of broken *papyrus fragments of the third quarter of the 6th century that have been restored as seven folios of a work closely related to the *Greek original of the **Chronographia Scaligeriana*, with the addition of depictions of the Roman months and a synchronistic list of Hebrew, Egyptian, and Athenian months, and illustrated descriptions of Jewish prophets. They are now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. It is best known for its entry on the destruction of the *Serapeum at *Alexandria, illustrated by an unframed depiction of *Theophilus, *Patriarch of Alexandria, standing on the Serapeum. It dates this event to 392, but unfortunately this date has no authority. RWB; NAS

ed. (with study) A. Bauer and J. Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik. Text und Miniaturen eines griechischen*

Papyrus der Sammlung W. Goleniščev (Denkschr. Wien 51/2, 1905).
ed. Burgess and Kulikowski (with annotated ET and study), *Mosaics of Time*, 2.
R. W. Burgess and Jitse H. F. Dijkstra. 'The "Alexandrian World Chronicle", its Consularia and the Date of the Destruction of the Serapeum (with an Appendix on the List of Praefecti Augustales)'. *Millennium* 10 (2013), 39–113.

Chronographia Scaligeriana Chronicle also known, in its *Latin form, as *Barbarus Scaligeri* and *Excerpta Latina Barbari*. A Latin translation, made in Corbie in the 780s, of an illustrated *Greek chronograph compiled probably in *Alexandria early in the reign of *Justinian I which had belonged to George, *Bishop of *Amiens and *Ostia (*c.*767–798). It was made up of three different sections, themselves compilations, namely:

1. a recension of the *Συναγωγὴ χρόνων* (**Liber Generationis*) of AD 235;
2. a collection of regnal lists culled chiefly from the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus of AD 221 and
3. a heavily augmented Greek translation of an early recension of the Latin **Consularia Vindobonensia Posteriora*.

The original illustrations were never copied into the spaces left for them in the Latin translation. The Greek original (of which a single leaf survives as P. Berol.13296) is closely related to the **Chronographia Golenischevensis*. The sole manuscript of the Latin is Paris BN lat. 4884 and the modern name derives from its first editor, Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609). RWB; PNB

ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum libri duo 1: Eusebi Chronicorum liber prior* (1875), Appendix VI, 177–239.
ed. C. Frick, *Chronica Minora* 1 (1892), 184–371.
ed. Burgess-Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time* 2 (with annotated ET/study, section three only).
R. W. Burgess, 'The Date, Purpose, and Historical Context of the Original Greek and the Latin Translation of the So-Called *Excerpta Latina Barbari*', *Traditio* 68 (2013), 1–56.
C. Frick, *Chronica Minora* 1 (1892), lxxxiii–ccx, ccxxi–ccxxii.

chronography and millenarianism Christian chronography had its roots in the Hellenistic attempts to write universal history and the efforts of the apologists to establish the priority, in time and so authority, of Moses over the significant figures of Hellenic culture. The chronographers found in the latter a series of ready-made synchronisms requiring integration and finally offered the former a framework of unimpeachable reliability, the *Bible.

The first comprehensive Christian chronography to appear was the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus in 221. In addition to establishing a system of synchronisms, this work had an eschatological concern and a millenarian structure. Working from the biblical assertion that 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day' (Ps. 84 (83): 10; 90 (89): 4; 2 Pet. 3: 8) and the six days of creation, the world was expected to last 6,000 years and the Incarnation was dated to 25 March (also the date of creation) in the 5501st year from Adam (= 1 BC) and the Resurrection to 25 March, 5532 years from Adam (= AD 31); these are the dates from Adam as reconstituted by Mosshammer, but they have traditionally been, and still are, presented as 5500 and 5531 respectively.

Africanus seems to have popularized, not originated, the system of millennial days, since it already appears *c.*204 in *Hippolytus of *Rome's *Commentary on Daniel*. A chronicle from Creation to AD 235 is traditionally attributed, perhaps correctly, to Hippolytus himself; it seems to be a reaction to Africanus which lays greater stress on salvation history than scientific chronography. These 3rd-century writers setting the life of Christ in the middle of the sixth millennial day pushed the End of Time back from an imminent tomorrow to a safely distant future (cf. *Lactantius, *Institutes*, VII, 25, 3–8).

The great milestone in Christian chronography was the publication, shortly before the end of the 3rd century, of the first edition of the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius of *Caesarea. Eusebius was wary of millennial speculation and aware of the inconsistencies in the lengths of the OT patriarchs' lives given in the different versions of Genesis. His *Chronicle*, therefore, eschewed any millennialism and began its chronography with Abraham, not Adam. Eusebius' Greek *Chronicle* is lost, but the fact that it can be more or less reconstructed from translations and excerpts is a testament to its popularity and widespread influence. The *Chronicle* comprised two parts; the first, entitled the *Chronography* (which survives only in an *Armenian translation), was a compilation of the raw material for the second, in the form of king-lists and chronological data from various nations, Barbarian, Greek, and Roman. The second part, the *Canons*, laid out the king-lists in parallel columns along with a running calculation of years from the birth of Abraham and, eventually, Olympiad years. The spaces between the columns, the *spatium historicum*, were interspersed with notices of historical events.

Little survives of the chronographic work in the interval between the early 4th century and the 6th century, but there is evidence of developments. In the early 5th century, two monks of *Alexandria, Panodorus and Annianus, each critically revised Eusebius' *Chronicle*, extending the chronology back to Adam, integrating Egyptian and Babylonian material, and

reinstating a millennial structure. Another Alexandrian chronicle of about the same date, the basis of what survives as the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (*Barbarus Scaligeri*), suggests that at least beginning from Adam and some millennial speculation became the norm in the genre again, and that the complex and costly tabular form of Eusebius' *Canons* was swiftly abandoned. *John Malalas introduced a new millennial system into his world chronicle which set the Crucifixion in the year 6000 from Creation, probably in reaction to millennialist anxieties; it did not win a following. The **Chronicon Paschale* presented complex chronological data and calculations from Creation in order to verify the date of *Easter.

*Jerome translated Eusebius' *Canons* (without the *Chronography*) into *Latin in 380/1, and this formed the basis of most chronographic work in the West. *Augustine (*City of God*, XXII, 30) accepted the idea of six periods of world history reflecting the six days of creation, but divided them by epochal events and generations, not into thousand-year periods. *Isidore of Seville combined Jerome's version of Eusebian chronography, in a simplified and abbreviated form, and Augustine's six ages in his *Chronica Maiora* and *Chronica Minora* (*Etymologiae*, V, 38, 39). In the *De Temporibus* (703) and *De Temporum Ratione* (725) Bede accepted the six ages, but revised the received chronographic scheme (derived from the LXX) on the basis of the Vulgate and arrived at an interval of 3,952 years from Creation to the Incarnation. The ensuing charge of *heresy indicates the prevalent investment in the received system. BMG

W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (DOS 26, 1989).
R. W. Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography* (1999).
B. Croke, 'The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle', in B. Croke and A. Emmett, eds., *History and Historians in Late Antiquity* (1983), 116–31.
V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Bibliothèque byzantine, 1958).
M. Wallraff, ed., *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik* (*TU* 157, 2006), particularly A. Mosshammer, 'The Christian Era of Julius Africanus', 83–112.

Chrysanthius (*c.* 310–*c.*390) *Philosopher from *Sardis who studied under *Aedesius at *Pergamum and taught philosophy to the future *Emperor *Julian, who appointed him and his wife to the provincial *priesthood of *Lydia. He later taught both *grammar and philosophy to *Eunapius and is a central figure in Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists*. EW

PLRE I, Chrysanthius.

Chrysaphius Chrysaphius Ztummas, as *Spatharius Sacri *Cubiculi, was a powerful court *eunuch in the last decade of the reign of *Theodosius II. He schemed against others (including *Cyrus, *Pulcheria, and *Eudocia) to promote his own interests, whether political or financial. After advocating a policy of appeasement towards the *Huns, he tried, unsuccessfully, to have *Attila assassinated. He was a friend of *Eutyches, supported the *Miaphysites and advised Theodosius to convene the 'Robber Council' of *Ephesus of 449. He supported the Green *Faction. He was executed soon after Theodosius' death at the behest of Pulcheria or the new *Emperor *Marcian. SFT

PLRE II, Chrysaphius.
Millar, *Greek Roman Empire*, 192–4.

chrysargyron *See* COLLATIO LUSTRALIS.

Chrysopolis (opposite *Constantinople; mod. Üsküdar (Scutari)) City north of *Chalcedon on the Asian side of the *Bosporus and a principal crossing point. In 324 *Constantine decisively defeated *Licinius in a battle near Chrysopolis (**Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 27, cf. *Zosimus, II, 26). It was in the path of the Persian *army which besieged Constantinople in 626. Rebels threatening Constantinople often occupied it, as in 668 when soldiers of the *Anatolic *Theme demanded that *Constantine IV crown his brothers as co-emperors. Its *monastery of the *Theotokos, founded in 594 by *Philippicus, brother-in-law of Emperor *Maurice, was described by the *Patriarch *Nicephorus (40–1) as 'beautiful and venerable'. JPH; OPN

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 24–5.
Janin, *CPByz* 494–5.

Chrysopolis (Struma Delta) *See* AMPHIPOLIS.

church architecture There is little reliable evidence for the buildings in which Christians worshipped prior to the Great *Persecution and the reign of *Constantine I in the early 4th century. Places of worship must have existed, as a *rescript of the *Emperor *Gallienus specifically permitted Christians to own them (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 13). The *church orders are cumulative documents rewritten and brought up to date at various times, and passing references in texts such as the apocryphal *Acts of Ss. Paul and Thecla* provide little information about 'house churches'. Stray facts are helpful, such as that at the start of the Great Persecution, the Church of *Nicomedia could be destroyed in a single morning without the use of fire (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 12, 2–5).

Physical evidence is equally sparse. The only securely dated pre-Constantinian church building to survive complete is that at the *frontier fortress-city of *Dura Europus, a site abandoned to the sands of the Syrian Desert after capture by the Persians in 256. This building was a *house built in *c.*232 around a central courtyard,

adapted for use as a church in *c.*242 and identifiable as such by the wall paintings in the *baptistery in the western corner of the building. The rooms on the eastern side of the courtyard were combined to provide a single hall for worship, which had a raised platform and a table against its north-east wall and seating alongside; the hall would have held about 75 people. It was therefore smaller than the *synagogue nearby.

Monumental churches were erected immediately following the Great Persecution. Eusebius of Caesarea preached the *sermon at the dedication of the cathedral at *Tyre in which the grandeur of the *ecphrasis eclipses the architectural detail (*HE* X, 4). Constantine endowed the *Lateran Basilica at *Rome (also called the Constantinian Basilica) soon after his victory over *Maxentius in 312. This, the cathedral of Rome, was planned as a *basilica, a rectangular building with internal colonnades and an internally semicircular *apse at one end.

What modern scholars call the basilica layout became the commonest plan for Christian churches in Late Antiquity (the term 'basilica' was more loosely applied in Late Antiquity itself). It owed absolutely nothing to the design of pagan civic *temples which were not halls for congregational worship, but the home of the god and his *image; people might gather in the courtyard before its doors. The antecedents of the Christian basilica lay in the civic basilica, a type of hall used for various purposes in the life of a *city, in particular as law courts (as in the Basilica Nova finished by Constantine at Rome) or as an imperial audience hall (as in Constantine's basilica at *Trier).

The general layout (though not the decoration) of a substantial urban Christian basilica is well represented by the 5th-century Acheiropoietos Basilica in *Thessalonica. In a Christian basilica the *altar stood in the chord of the apse. Seating for the clergy, the *synthronon, was provided in the semicircle of the apse, and the people, separated by sex, stood in the nave. In a cathedral the centre of the synthronon was occupied by the throne of the *bishop, on which he would sit to preach. In grand churches the altar might be covered by a canopy or *fastigium*, like the one stolen from the Lateran during the *sack of Rome in 410 (**Liber Pontificalis*, 46, 4). In such places there would also be an *ambo, from which *cantors might sing and the *deacon chant the Gospel. There were local variations on this plan. There were double-aisled basilicas, such as the mid-5th-century Church of S. *Demetrius at Thessalonica. In *Africa large churches sometimes had two apses, as at *Bulla Regia, where the subsidiary apse housed the font. There were often galleries over the aisles, as in *Justinian I's church of S. John at *Ephesus, where clandestine *Miaphysite ordinations were carried out in the mid-6th century by *Jacob Burd'oyo. The *village churches of Arnas and Kefr Zeh on the *Tur 'Abdin plateau near the Persian *frontier, though basilical in outline, have no colonnades. In *Anatolia apses were often polygonal on the outside whereas in *Greece they were more often semicircular. In time subsidiary apses, sometimes called pastophoria, came commonly to flank the main apse, the *prothesis to house the bread and wine to be offered at the *Eucharist, and the *diaconicon to be occupied by the *deacons. Large churches were often surrounded by courtyards and subsidiary buildings providing accomodation, and sometimes *baths, for the clergy, for pilgrims, and for other visitors,

Early Christian *architects also experimented with other designs. The Golden Church built by Constantine at *Antioch (*Jerome, *Chron.* 235g Helm) is the first known to have been an *octagon, and others followed, including the Church of Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus built by Justinian I at Constantinople and the Church of S. Vitale at *Ravenna. Some experiments were prompted by the need to provide appropriate surroundings for particular shrines and to accommodate pilgrims. The most striking of such shrines is the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem founded by Constantine I, where a circular building covering the Tomb of Christ was separated by a courtyard from the apse of a large congregational basilica. At the Vatican, by contrast, the standard basilica plan was simply adapted by the addition of transepts at the ends of the aisles presumably to aid the flow of visitors around the tomb of S. Peter. Cruciform plans were also sometimes adopted, as at the shrine of S. Babylas, bishop and *martyr of the persecution under *Decius, which was built *c.*379 at Kausiye (Kaoussieh) outside Antioch, or the remarkable edifice of AD 492 at *Qalat Seman, where the pillar of S. *Symeon Stylites the Older occupied the centre of the crossing and the *foliage carved on the *capitals of the columns surrounding it was represented as if its leaves were being blown about by the up-draught.

One particular set of experiments, the domed basilica, led to a lasting development. At the cathedral dedicated to the *martyred *military saints Sergius, Bacchus, and Leontius (*IGLS* 9125) at *Bosra of *Arabia in 512/13 a *dome was placed over the nave of an externally relatively square basilica. A similar layout was employed, using a smaller octagonal dome, at the cathedral at *Mren in *Armenia and at the *Thousand and One Churches in central Anatolia, and, using a square pyramidal dome, at the monastic Church of al 'Adhra at Hah (Bağlarbaşı) on the Tur 'Abdin. The immediate result of experimenting with domes was the mathematical masterpiece which is the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in Constantinople; its long-term consequence was the cross-in-square design which was the normal plan for most Byzantine churches in the Middle Ages.

From the time of Dura Europus onwards there were wall paintings in churches (though at Dura Europus only those from the baptistery survive). Decoration might be very elaborate. The canopy carried off from the Lateran by the barbarians in 410 weighed 2,205 Roman pounds of burnished *silver and had 5-foot statues of the Saviour front and back, as well as statues of the Twelve Apostles each 5 Roman feet high and weighing 90 lb of silver and four angels of similar dimensions (*Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 9). Where it could be afforded, *marble was used for floors and wall revetment and was admired both for itself (*Paul the *Silentiary was a great connoisseur of rare marbles) and because it reflected *light into an interior. Wall paintings, such as those at *Bawit and the *White Monastery in *Egypt, and wall *mosaics were not manufactured in studios; they were applied directly to the wall. Sometimes they seem to use *perspective devices to suggest the real presence of the figures they depict, projected outwards from the wall into the interior of the building. The detail of the *liturgy and *prayer offered in these chuches is difficult to correlate with their architecture, but *Procopius expressed, in a characteristically abstract fashion, the experience of the person who goes to the Church of the Holy Wisdom to pray: 'his mind is lifted up towards God and exalted, sensing that He cannot be far away'. And this, Procopius insists, is no first fine careless rapture, it is an experience which recurs on each successive visit (*Aed.* I, 1, 61–2). OPN; EL

A. Grabar, *Le Premier Art chrétien* (1966).
R. Krautheimer, *ECBArchitecture.*
Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie.*
Mathews, *Early Churches.*
Mango, *Art*, 3–143.
C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (1978), 7–107.
N. Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (2014).
J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica', *PBSR* 22 (1954), 69–90.
M. L. White, *Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (1990).

Church of the East The name taken by the Christian Church in the *Persian Empire. The largest of the present descendants of this Church is the 'Assyrian Church of the East', and a smaller body called the 'Ancient Church of the East'.

The Persian *bishops styled themselves 'of the East' in the documents of their first *council in 410, consciously falling into line with the Church of the 'West', that is, of the Roman Empire. The implicit idea that the Persian Church was a satellite of the Western Church made it politically suspect to the Persian authorities during times of *Persian–Roman wars and tension; this was a factor in outbreaks of persecution of *Christians from the 4th century down to the end of the *Sasanian era.

A different idea, that the *Catholicus of Seleucia-*Ctesiphon was one of the five historic and original *patriarchs of the Church along with *Rome, *Constantinople, *Antioch, and *Alexandria, was propounded by the bishops at a synod in 585 (canon 29). Later, Catholicus Timothy I (d. 823; *ep.* 26) added the claim that the patriarchate of the East had primacy over the others—an idea that had extra purchase when the Church of the East included vast provinces as far eastward as *China.

By the 7th century Christians in Persia were divided confessionally, the *Syrian Orthodox having established a bishopric in *Takrit in 629, whose holder was termed *Maphrian. In *Syriac sources, however, the terms 'East' and 'Eastern' remain attached to the older Persian Church; the Syrian Orthodox are 'West Syrian'. The name 'Nestorian' for the Church of the East, based on its Christology, is of doubtful accuracy and is rejected by the Church today.

See also PERSIAN EMPIRE, CHRISTIANS IN. JFC

GEDSH s.v. Church of the East, 99–100 (Brock and Coakley).
Ch. Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (2008).
W. Baum and D. W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (2003).
Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale.*

church orders Early Christian writings which outline basic Christian teaching and the ordering of church life. They are often attributed to the Apostles (e.g. the **Didascalia Apostolorum*). The **Testamentum Domini Nostri* claims to be the teaching which Jesus himself gave after the Resurrection. Attribution to Jesus himself and to his immediate apostles and followers gave authority to their instructions and articulated the sense that the oral teaching of the Church was inherited from Christ through the Apostles.

The language and literary qualities of church orders indicate that they were all certainly written later than the apostolic age. Their true provenance can be determined only from internal allusions. Like the New Testament, most church orders seem to have been written in *Greek, though some survive only in *Syriac, *Coptic, and *Latin translations. Except for the **Apostolic Constitutions*, most of these texts, including **Apostolic Church Order*, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, *Apostolic Constitutions*, *Didache*, and *Testamentum Domini Nostri*, have been known to Western scholarship only since the 19th century. Many theories have been advanced concerning their dating and order, the redaction of individual texts,

and the relation of texts to one another. What does appear clear is that these were 'working texts'; and so were in many cases 'brought up to date' to make them useful for successive generations. This makes assigning dates problematical. While no sure consensus about the historical evolution and relationships of the church orders to one another has emerged, there is general agreement that *Didache* and *Apostolic Tradition* were the two earliest of the extant church orders, and that the other church orders had one or both of these at hand when new orders were composed.

Church orders vary in length and content, but they are generally concerned with discipline and morality, *liturgy, ministry, church organization, and the qualities and duties of Christian leaders. The *Testamentum Domini Nostri* puts these matters into perspective by opening with a prophecy concerning the End Times. These texts are important for what they reveal about worship and Christian life in the period between the New Testament and the 4th century. P. F. Bradshaw argues that they were 'living literature', prescribing, among other ingredients, ritual practice for communities at *prayer. There is, however, also the problem similar to that encountered by historians dealing with other prescriptive texts such as imperial legislation, that church orders may, to different degrees, reflect not only what was actually happening in Christian worship in the communities where they were written, but what those who wrote them wanted to be happening. MFC

P. F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (²2002), 73–97.

J. Mühlsteiger, *Kirchenordnungen. Anfänge kirchlicher Rechtsbildung* (Kanonistische Studien und Texte 50, 2006).

B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen* (1992).

Cibalae (mod. Vinkovci, Croatia) *City of *Pannonia Secunda, on the *Via Militaris, and on a tributary of the River Save. It became a *colonia* in the early 3rd century AD. Copious evidence of prosperity in the 4th century includes *baths, a luxurious town-house with coins of 364/92, a *glass-kiln, and the *Cibalae Treasure. Graves north and south of the city contained 4th-century Zwiebelkopf ('onion-head') *fibulae and bone *combs.

The first battle of the *Cibalensean War between *Constantine I and *Licinius was fought on 8 October 316 at Cibalae. In 351 *Constantius II fortified it against the *usurper *Magnentius (*Zosimus II, 48–9).

*Valentinian I was born at Cibalae (*Ammianus, XXX, 7, 2; Zosimus, III, 36), a fact noted by the *martyr passion of S. Pollio (*BHL* 6869), composed for liturgical use no earlier than the late 4th century. The *Passio* of S. Pollio has much in common with the *Passio* of S. Irenaeus of *Sirmium (*BHL* 4466); it mentions no *relics, but Christian funerary remains at Kamenica one Roman mile outside Cibalae are suggestive of a shrine.

*Gepid graves of the 6th century have been found in the city's Late Roman *decumanus*, and Cibalae's eastern and central parts appear to have been abandoned in the late 6th century. OPN

A. Rapan Papeša, 'Topography of Cibalae in Late Antiquity', *Opuscula Archaeologica* (Zagreb) 35 (2011), 189–223.

H. Tamas, '"Eloquia divina populis legere": Bible, Apologetics and Asceticism in the *Passio Pollionis*', in Gemeinhardt and Leemans, eds., *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300–450 AD)*, 179–200.

Cibalae (Vinkovci) Treasure A hoard of over 30 kg (nearly 5 stone) of *silver plate, buried *c.*400, discovered during archaeological investigations at Vinkovci, Croatia (*Cibalae, *Pannonia Secunda), in 2012. It includes platters, bowls, ewers, tableware, and some toilet items (casket, *mirror). Most pieces are plain but decoration includes a horseman spearing a *lion; and a shepherd with his flock. RHob

Cibalensean War In 316 *Constantine I attacked his brother-in-law *Licinius, defeated him on 8 October at *Cibalae in *Pannonia Secunda, and pushed east through *Serdica, finally defeating Licinius at the Campus Ardiensis in *Thrace. In the peace agreed on 1 March 317, Constantine's sons *Crispus and the infant *Constantine II and Licinius' infant son *Licinius became *Caesars, and Constantine came to control everything west of the *Dioecesis *Thraciae. Licinius' co-emperor *Valens was deposed and then executed (**Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 13–20; *Zosimus, II, 18–20), and a *philosopher at Licinius' court had an uncomfortable journey back to *Nicomedia (Ps.-*Julian the Apostate, *epp.* to *Iamblichus, 416C–420A; 438D–440A, 448D–449D). In 321 the two *emperors appointed different *consuls. Constantine renewed his attack, successfully, in 324. OPN

Barnes, *Constantine*, 100–4.

Cibyrrhaeotic Theme Naval element in the *Theme system. The Cibyrrhaeots are first mentioned in 698/9 (*Theophanes, AM 6190) when an army returning from trying to counter the *Arab conquest of *Africa acclaimed Apsimar, Droungarios of the Cibyrrhaeots, as the *Emperor *Tiberius III. In the 8th century they protected the south coast of *Anatolia, much of it depopulated following the *Arab conquests. OPN

P. A. Yannopoulos, 'Cibyrra et Cibyrréotes', *Byzantion* 61 (1991), 520–9.

Çiftlik Large three-aisled *basilica (*c.*500 m²/ 5,380 square feet) on the Black Sea coast south of *Sinope,

with lavish geometric *mosaics in nave and *narthex. It was probably a monastic foundation associated with a rural estate of the late 4th century AD. PJT

S. Hill, 'Rescue Excavations at Çiftlik (Sinop)', in R. Matthews, ed., *Ancient Anatolia* (1998), 285–300.

Cilician Gates The main pass through the Taurus Mountains at an altitude of *c.*1,000 m (3,000 feet) on the military *road, the *Pilgrims' Road linking *Constantinople to *Antioch. This route was suitable for wagons and other *vehicles. The pass was used for Roman campaigns against the *Persian Empire, and was also the main land route for pilgrims from Europe to the Holy Land, such as the *Bordeaux Pilgrim and *Egeria. HE

TIB 2 (1981) Kappadokien, 263–4.

Cilicia Prima and Secunda *Provinces of south-east *Anatolia in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens. The single province of Cilicia created by Vespasian in AD 72 was split by the time of the *Verona List into *Isauria in the West and *Cilicia both within the *Dioecesis of Oriens. By the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum* Cilicia had been further subdivided into Cilicia Prima, governed by a *Consularis from *Tarsus, and Cilicia Secunda, governed by a *Praeses from *Anazarbus (*or.* I, 62 and 94; II, 12 and 23; cf. *John Malalas XIV, 24), both with military forces under the *Comes Orientis (*or.* XXII, 22 and 30). The *Notitia* also notes state factories (**fabricae*) manufacturing lances at *Irenopolis (*or.* XI, 25). *Inscriptions from *Corycus attest to large numbers of artisans.

The craggy, mountainous portion of Cilicia to the west was originally called Cilicia Tracheia (Gk. Rough Cilicia) and included many hidden ports. The flatter eastern portion was called Cilicia Pedias and was a fertile area for growing *grain, *wine, and *olive oil, 'a land abounding in products of every kind' (*Ammianus, XIV, 8, 1). The Taurus Mountains lie to the north, Mount Amanus to the east, and the Mediterranean Sea to the south. The highlanders of Isauria were a threat to the coastal communities in the mid-4th century (Ammianus, XIV, 2) and in the time of the *Suda the area retained a reputation for violence: 'the three kappas are the worst—Kappadokia, Krete, and Kilikia' (*s.v.* *Κάππα διπλοῦν*).

Cilicia was evangelized early, and *Constantine I particularly selected the shrine of Aesculapius at *Aegae for closure. Numerous *bishops from the region attended the *Council of *Nicaea in 325. The theologians *Diodore of *Tarsus (bp. 378–*c.*392) and Theodore of *Mopsuestia (d. 428) had close links with *Antioch. Some *temples were converted into churches (Bayliss), and many more churches, such as the grand *pilgrimage shrine of S. *Thecla, were built afresh. Some had floor *mosaics dating from the 5th–6th centuries evoking the *Earthly Paradise; one such mosaic, found at Adana in 2016, has *inscriptions in *Armenian and quotes a passage from Isaiah (65: 25) about the lion lying down with the lamb.

The *Pilgrims' Road linking *Constantinople to the *Holy Land and the Eastern *frontier passed through the Cilician Gates. *Shapur I came from the east to invade the province in AD 260 and *Constantius II died at Mopsucrene while on his way north-west to confront the usurpation of *Julian in 361. Julian himself was buried at Tarsus. Following the *Persian invasion of the early 7th century, and a Roman defeat near the Cilician Gates in 613, the Persians controlled Cilicia (*Sebeos, 115, *VTheod Syk*, 166) and, although the Romans were able to retain *Seleucia ad Calycadnum at least till 617, Persian naval forces were able to use the *harbours of Cilicia as bases to extend their aggression along the Anatolian coastline. Excavations at the port-city of *Anamur suggest a revival of prosperity after 620, following earthquake damage in 580.

Following the *Arab conquest of *Syria, the Emperor *Heraclius withdrew to the north-west and the East Roman authorities appear to have followed a scorched earth policy in Cilicia. Tarsus was held by the Arabs as early as 646 and Arab *fleets wintered in Cilicia in 672/3, prior to the first *Siege of *Constantinople. *Theophanes records repeated Arab incursions in 703/4 (AM 6195), 704/5 (AM 6196), 709/10 (AM 6201), when they actually penetrated the Cilician Gates and attacked *Tyana, 711/12 (AM 6203), and 715/16 (AM 6208) when Maslama wintered in Cilicia. During the 8th century the Roman authority for the area was theoretically the *Cibyrrhaeotic Theme, but under the *Abbasids, Tarsus and other Cilician fortresses were bases for Arab raiding onto the central Anatolian plateau. SEB; OPN

TIB 5 (1990).

B. Shaw, 'Bandit Highland and Lowland Peace: The Mountains of Isauria-Cilicia', *JESHO* 33/2 (1990), 199–233.

R. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion* (BAR IntSer 1281, 2004).

C. E. Bosworth, 'The City of Tarsus and the Arab–Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle 'Abbāsid Times', *Oriens* 33 (1992), 268–9.

Cimitile *Basilica complex established during the 4th century in a necropolis (*coemeterium*) outside Nola (*Campania); now within the Comune di Cimitile. Though primarily associated with the *patronage of *Paulinus of Nola and his wife Therasia, development of this *pilgrimage site around the *tomb of S. *Felix pre-dated and survived Paulinus' residence of 395–431. Restored after archaeological work initiated in the late 20th century, the site now presents an exemplary cult centre built up in Late Antiquity around the tomb of a hero of the age of *persecution.

As well as outstanding representatives of ecclesiastical architecture the site preserves several precious

examples of 3rd-century Christian figural art. The detailed writings of Paulinus encourage comparison of literary description with physical remains. Phases of development are relatively clear: a mid-4th-century apsidal structure over the tomb of Felix was expanded with a basilica annexe in the later 4th century. Paulinus added a second three-aisled basilica (*nova*), an atrium with fountains, hospices, and residential buildings to accommodate his ascetic community and the crowds attending Felix's January festival. Despite subsequent depredations and flooding, building continued through the 6th century with a *mosaic-decorated *aedicula* over the tombs of Ss. Felix and Paulinus, a grand *apse, and additional basilica structures. DET

T. Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola* (2004).

G. Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, *Descriptions monumentales et discours sur l'édification chez Paulin de Nole* (2004).

D. [E.] Trout, 'Cimitile, Nola, and the Transformation of the City in Late Antiquity', in M. de Matteis and C. Ebanista, eds., *Il complesso basilicale di Cimitile* (2008).

cingulum *See* BELTS AND BELT BUCKLES.

Circesium (mod. al-Busayra, Syria) Roman *frontier fortress at the south-east corner of the *province of *Oshroene, at the confluence of the Middle Euphrates and the River Khabur (Abora). According to *Ammianus, the site was small and insecure until *Diocletian extended and reinforced it with walls and towers and gave it civic status (XXIII, 5, 1–2). In 363, *Julian passed through with his army while advancing into Persian territory. Circesium is listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*or*. 35, 24) as the base of Legio IV Parthica, which was probably the original garrison under the *Tetrarchy subsequently transferred to *Aleppo (Beroea) (*Theophylact Simocatta, II, 6, 9).

*Justinian I exiled *Bishop Nonnus in 518 for his *Miaphysite sympathies. He also repaired the fortifications and *baths damaged by the river, transferred the seat of the *Dux, and added a unit to the local garrison (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 6, 1–11). These defensive measures successfully discouraged *Khosrow I from attacking Circesium in 540. In 580, *Maurice chose Circesium as his base for invading the *Persian Empire (Theophylact, III, 17, 5; *Evagrius, *HE* VI, 17; *Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *HE* 18, 20). During the *Arab conquest of Roman *Mesopotamia, the city changed hands twice before being finally captured in 690/1 during the reign of the *Caliph *Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. The Arab geographers Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal in the 10th century describe Circesium (Qarqīsīā) as a thriving city with gardens, fruit trees, and fields of grain. The course of the river has changed since Late Antiquity. BH

DHGE 12 *s.n.* Circesium, cols. 836–7 (R. Janin).

EncIran V/6 (1991) *s.n.* Circesium, 595–6 (J. Wieshofer).

RE XI/1 (1921) *s.n.* Kirkēsion, cols. 505–7 (F. Weissbach).

A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates: A Topographical Itinerary* (1927), 334–7.

Kettenhofen, *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.* (1982).

Michael Whitby, 'Procopius and the Development of Roman Defences in Upper Mesopotamia', in Freeman and Kennedy, eds., *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, vol. 2, 737–83.

Whitby, *Maurice.*

N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria* (2000), 292–3.

A. Lewin, 'The New Frontiers of Late Antiquity in the Near East: From Diocletian to Justinian', in Hekster and Kaizer, eds., *Frontiers in the Roman World*, 233–63.

Circumcellions Groups associated with the *Donatists in *Africa in the 4th century, mentioned first by *Optatus of *Milevis (writing about events in the 340s), discussed by both *Augustine and *Possidius, and listed as an *ordo* in *CTh* XVI, 5, 52. Their exact identity has long been disputed. Although associated with the Donatists, it is unclear how much coordination existed between the two groups, as many Donatist clergy did not approve of Circumcellion actions. The word Circumcellion, given pejoratively, indicates that they congregated around (*circum*) places used for storing food, specifically *wine (*cellae*). They preferred to call themselves *Agonistici* (fighters) and probably worked as seasonal agricultural labourers. Known for their slogan '*Laudes Deo*' (Praises to God), the Circumcellions armed themselves with wooden clubs and attacked property (mostly Catholic churches) as well as people (creditors, landowners, and Catholic clergy, especially clerics who had converted from Donatism to Catholicism). It is claimed that they sought *martyrdom through *suicide, their preferred methods being precipitation, drowning, and self-immolation. The actual degree to which they harmed themselves and others must be determined through careful analysis of hostile sources. Their attacks, it seems, were more often designed to intimidate than to kill. ETH

Shaw, *Sacred Violence.*

circus An urban structure used to stage chariot races, also called a hippodrome. From the 4th to the 6th centuries, the social significance of circuses increased, until they became the primary site of popular interaction with representatives of imperial authority.

Distribution and maintenance

The prototypical circus was the Circus Maximus in *Rome, which served as the model for provincial

circuses in the early and middle Empire. Under the *Tetrarchy, circuses were frequently constructed alongside *palaces. These include the Circus of *Maxentius near Rome, and the imperial complexes in *Antioch, *Nicomedia, *Sirmium, *Thessalonica, and *Trier. Although later sources attribute the construction of the circus of *Constantinople to Septimius Severus, it should be considered as an integral component of the palatial complex constructed under *Constantine I.

The earliest evidence for circuses in some cities in the East (*Apamea, *Edessa, *Gaza) dates to the 5th and 6th centuries, indicating increased distribution of circuses in Late Antiquity. Eastern circuses were maintained well into the 6th century and racing at *Alexandria probably continued into the early 7th century. Despite scattered evidence for continued racing in the provinces in later centuries (as recorded for 8th-cent. *Sicily in the *Life of Leo of Catania*), the circus at Constantinople was primarily responsible for maintaining Late Roman traditions of chariot racing into the Middle Ages.

Architecture and decoration

The following account is based on the partially preserved and well-documented circus at Constantinople, which shares much in common with the standard circus type of the High Empire. The circus took the form of a long narrow ellipse, with banks of seating for spectators on the long east and west sides and the rounded south end (*sphendone*), and the starting gates (*carceres*) at the north end. A long, high barrier (*euripos* or *spina*) with turning posts at each end, around which the chariots raced, stood in the middle. The imperial box (*kathisma*) was located roughly halfway along the eastern bank of seats.

The circus at Constantinople accommodated roughly 30,000 spectators. By the 6th century at the latest, partisans of the circus *factions sat in designated areas (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 24). Although nothing of the *carceres* in Constantinople is preserved, textual evidence shows that they were two-tiered, with the first storey consisting of twelve gates, and the second storey occupied by changing rooms for the charioteers. The gates were crowned by four *bronze *horses (probably the ones now in Venice).

The *euripos* of a standard Roman circus consisted of a row of water-filled basins decorated by statues and punctuated by gaps in which major monuments stood. Three monuments of the Constantinople *euripos* remain in situ: the Egyptian *obelisk, the masonry obelisk, and the Serpent Column. The northern and southern limits of the *euripos* were marked by the turning posts of the Blue and Green Factions, respectively, and were decorated by their *victory monuments. The bases of two monuments to the charioteer *Porphyrius are preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The imperial box (*kathisma*) was connected to the Great Palace of the *emperors by a spiral staircase (*kochlias*), and contained multiple balconies and terraces, a changing room, and a dining room. On the base of the Egyptian obelisk are depictions of the Emperor *Theodosius I and his retinue observing the races from the *kathisma*.

Races

Races were grouped in meets that occurred over the course of a single day or multiple days. A programme from 6th-century *Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 2707) outlines a day of six races punctuated by other entertainments (dancers, mimes, a gazelle pursued by hounds). To mark the start of a race, a magistrate dropped a cloth (the *mappa*), and the gates were opened. Simultaneous opening of the gates may have been assured by a mechanical device. A standard race consisted of seven laps. A white line drawn across the surface of the track marked the finishing-line. The winning charioteer took a victory lap and was awarded a palm frond and crown. The base of the Egyptian obelisk depicts the emperor conferring the crown.

Chariot racing was organized by four professional organizations, or *factions, of which the Blues and Greens held first rank, the Reds and Whites second. Individual charioteers might race for multiple factions over the course of their career. Thus Porphyrius, the most famous of all Late Roman sportsmen, won victories for both the Blues and the Greens.

Significance

In the earlier Empire, races were staged by private *agonothetes*. In the Late Empire they were a public benefit. By the 6th century races were the primary public entertainment, displacing *gladiators and **venationes*. The circus was the place where the emperor and the people most frequently encountered one another. There were standardized *acclamations led by the partisans of the factions, and also the airing of grievances to a representative of imperial authority, as represented by the so-called *Acta per *Calopodium*. Monuments in the circus could also inspire vigorous criticism of the reigning emperor (*Anth. Pal.* XI, 270–1; *John Lydus, *Mag.* III, 46).

The centrality of the races to Late Roman political life is reflected in the conceit of the circus as a microcosm, according to which e.g. the twelve gates of the *carceres* correspond to the months and the signs of the *Zodiac, the seven laps to the planets, the four factions to the elements, and so on (*AnthLat* I, 197 R = 188 SB). While in *panegyric the conceit may serve as a metaphor for harmony in a well-ruled state (*Corippus, *In Laudem Justini Augusti*, I, 314–44), in other contexts it

may represent the strife at the heart of political life (*John Malalas, VII, 4–5). BWA

Cameron, *Circus Factions*.
Cameron, *Porphyrius*.
G. Dagron, *L'Hippodrome de Constantinople: jeux, peuple et politique* (2011).
Dagron, *Naissance*, 320–64.
G. Dagron, 'L'Organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des Cérémonies*', *TM* 13 (2000), 1–200.
J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (1986).
M. Meier, 'Die Abschaffung der *venationes* durch Anatasios im Jahr 499 und die "kosmische" Bedeutung des Hippodroms', in H. Beck and H.-U. Wiemer, eds., *Feiern und Erinnern: Geschichtsbilder im Spiegel antiker Feste* (2009), 203–32.
B. Pitarakis and E. İsin, eds., *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: istanbul'un tarih sahnesi—Hippodrome/Atmeydani: A Stage for Istanbul's History*, 2 vols. (2010).
G. Vespignani, *Il Circo di Costantinopoli nuova Roma* (2001).

circus factions *See* FACTIONS.

Cirta (Constantina) *Colonia*, capital of *Numidia, modern Constantine, Algeria. Situated on a steep hill surrounded by gorges, the *city was of great strategic importance. Cirta was devastated when the troops of the usurper *Domitius Alexander who had withdrawn there were defeated by *Maxentius' *Praefectus Praetorio Rufius Volusianus in 310 (*Zosimus, II, 12). After 312, *Constantine I rebuilt Cirta with generous imperial funds, and changed its name to Constantina. The *Donatist Bishop Silvanus of Cirta was investigated by the *Consularis Domitius *Zenophilus in 320, having been accused of handing over scriptures to the pagan authorities during the Great *Persecution. The *reports of these proceedings transmitted in the **Optatan Appendix* afford insight into the *city council and clergy of Cirta in the early 4th century. A Mithraic cave was equipped for worship at Cirta in the mid-4th century. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 383–99.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 275–9.
Y. Aibeche, 'De Cirta à Constantine: Repères et Histoire', in C. Briand-Ponsart, ed., *Identités et cultures dans l'Algérie antique* (Publications de l'Université de Rouen 377, 2005), 23–34.
Y. Duval, 'La Clergé de Cirta au début du IVe siècle: notes de prosopographie et d'histoire', in J.-M. Lassère and Chr. Hamdoune, eds., *Ubique amici: mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Lassère* (2001), 309–40.
Y. Duval, 'Le Gouverneur de Numidie en sa capitale: le lieu et les acteurs du procès de l'évêque de Cirta en 320', *AntTard* 6 (1998), 193–207.

cisterns and nymphaea Closed cisterns and open reservoirs were receptacles for water storage, lined with plaster or mortar to ensure water retention and potability. Water storage was constructed at domestic, neighbourhood, or municipal scales, supplied by rainwater collection systems, *aqueducts, or direct spring-captures. Immense hypostyle cisterns with vaults proliferated throughout the Late Roman and Islamic world, where water storage became the object of high-level *patronage and *panegyric, celebrated in literary *ecphrasis (e.g. *Procopius, *Aed.* I, 11) and commemorated by *inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* 27, 1015). At *Constantinople the largest cisterns (the *Mocius Cistern held *c.*200 million litres/44 million imperial gallons) were back-ups to the municipal supply and sources for irrigation. In the *provinces, cisterns were often inserted into pre-existing urban monuments, as for example in the foundations of a *temple at *Philippi, or at *Thessalonica, where pipes coming from the Church of S. *Demetrius (formerly the site of a Roman *bath) supplied cisterns built into a cryptoporticus below the Agora, and thence fed a fountain associated with the medical saints Ss. *Cosmas and Damian. Churches became increasingly noticeable sponsors of water storage (*SEG* 48, 1867) and places for its consumption whether in *baths (*SEG* 7, 871) or at fountains (*SEG* 49, 717). Miraculous wells, springs, and fountains (Gk. *hagiasma*) became centres for the veneration of the Virgin *Mary (e.g. *Blachernae) and saints (e.g. S. Michael at *Germia). JTP

Crow et al., *Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople*.
Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 68–71.
J. Richard, *Water for the City, Fountains for the People* (2012).
A. M. Talbot, tr., 'Anonymous Miracle Tales of the Pege', in A. M. Talbot and S. F. Johnson, *Miracle Tales from Byzantium* (2012), 203–98.

Citharizon Fortress in the region of Asthianene near the eastern *frontier, an Armenian satrapy consolidated by *Justinian I into the *province of *Armenia Quarta. It was constructed by either *Anastasius I or Justinian I. Justinian stationed one *Dux at Citharizon and a second at *Martyropolis (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 3, 7–8). Howard-Johnston places Citharizon at 38° 51′ 50″ N, 40° 31′ 55″ E, on a low hill commanding the eastern approaches to the Bingöl Plain. AMC

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 424–5.
J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'Procopius, Roman Defences North of the Taurus and the New Fortress of Citharizon', in French and Lightfoot, *Eastern Frontier*, 203–29.

cities, Persian and Armenian There is evidence for Persian and Armenian cities from both archaeology and *inscriptions, as well as through their mint signatures and in written sources. Iranian urban planning was affected, often dramatically, by Seleucid city foundations, which permanently shifted Iranian urbanism

away from the diffuse model of the Achaemenid period to dense walled settlements, though in the *Sasanian period rural estates (**dastgirds*) were still an important complement to the cities and were independent settlements in their own right.

Large cities were primarily royal creations intended as places of *trade and industry to generate income for the King of Kings so that he could maintain his independence of the noble houses. Many served as royal residences and as monuments to royal achievements, like *Khosrow I's own *Weh-andīōg-husraw (*see* KHOKE) and the Better-Antioch-of-Shapur near *Susa (MP Weh-Andiōg-Šābuhr), which was founded by *Shapur I after his capture of *Antioch in 256 and built using prisoners of war he brought back to *Khuzestan from *Syria.

*Armenia did not experience Seleucid colonization, but in the period following the dissolution of the Seleucid Empire, cities like Tigranocerta-*Arzen were implanted by the royal will of the Armenian Artaxiad dynasty, and these affected later settlement patterns. Armenia did not experience the same level of urbanization as Iran, but some of the earlier Artaxiad foundations, such as Artashat, continued in use in Late Antiquity.

Late Antique cities in Iran and Armenia were often built on or near very ancient settlements, like *Ardashir I's and Khosrow I's foundations near the old Seleucid and Arsacid cities of Seleucia-*Ctesiphon. Many retained their original Semitic, Elamite, or Iranian names (e.g. MP *Hamadan cf. Elamite Akmadana, OP Hagmatāna). Some, like *Susa (Elamite Šušan, OP Čūšā), the Sasanians refounded and endowed with a new name (MP Šūš ī ēr-kar, 'Susa made Iranian'). Others, such as Ardaxshir-Xwarrah (mod. *Firuzabad), *Bishapur (MP Bīšābuhr), and *Gondeshapur, were genuinely new foundations.

Cities may be differentiated from towns and *villages not merely on the basis of size and *population, but principally on the basis of administrative criteria. Imperial, religious, and provincial institutions, with their rulers, ministers, bureaucracies, and officials (judges, *Zoroastrian clergy, the Jewish *exilarch, and *bishops of the *Church of the East), were generally located in cities. Mints, unless they were mobile, were also sited in cities. Consequently, the built environment of the city included both religious and secular buildings on a scale not normally encountered in the countryside (with some exceptions like *Takht-e Soleyman, MP Ādur-ī Gušnasp). Cities were nodal points in commercial networks and housed traders as well as artisans. Many cities in the Sasanian Empire and Armenia continued to be occupied after the *Arab conquest, albeit often under new names, though others were founded in parallel or several miles away from a former Sasanian metropolis (e.g. Baghdad). DTP; MPC

ed. T. Daryaee (with ET), *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History* (Bibliotheca Iranica (Intellectual Traditions series) 7, 2002).
Gyselen, *Géographie administrative*.
H. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (tr. from the 2nd revised edn. by N. G. Garsoian, 1965).
J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i, mit historisch-kritischem Kommentar und historischen und topographischen Excursen*, 2 vols. (1901).
ed J. Marquart (with ET), *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, ed. G. Messina (Analecta orientalia 3, 1931).
N. Pigulevskaja, *Les Villes de l'État iranien aux époques parthe et sassanide: contribution à l'histoire sociale de la Basse Antiquité* (Documents au Moyen Âge 6, 1963).
Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*.

cities, Roman Cities in the Later Roman Empire continued to play the same essential role they had played throughout the Roman period. They were the basic building-blocks of the *administration: every part of the Empire fell within the territory (Lat. *territorium*) of a *civitas* (in the Latin West) or *polis* (in the Greek East), an administrative district controlled from a central city which gave the *civitas* its name. Administration within each *civitas*, including the all-important raising of *taxation, was the responsibility of a *city council made up of the local landed *aristocracy, known as the *curia* in the West and *boulē* in the East. Cities also served as the principal residence, and a prime focus of allegiance, for the landowners, and as centres of production and exchange, from a local level (with peasants bringing their goods for sale to each city's forum) to the world of international commerce—port-cities like *Marseilles, *Ostia, and *Alexandria saw a constant flow of *merchants and exotic goods. Some parts of the Empire were dominated by cities whose foundation long pre-dated Roman rule, as in *Greece and *Anatolia; in others the urban network was much more recent, as in the *Balkans, where a number of important cities were founded as late as the *Tetrarchy. In some regions there was a dense concentration of *civitates*, ruled from a large number of very small centres, as in central North *Africa; in other areas, like *Britain, the *civitates* were far fewer in number and more scattered. But everywhere the *civitas* or *polis* was the basis of Roman administration and 'civilized' life.

In Late Antiquity, cities underwent considerable change. Because of the nature of our sources, we are particularly well informed about the changes that affected secular politics, and those brought about by the rise of the Christian Church. The political and military settlement under *Diocletian and *Constantine I which brought an end to the Third Century *Crisis laid the weight of imperial power much more heavily on the cities

and their civic elites than had previously been the case. The burden of taxation was considerably increased (and members of the local *curia* were held personally responsible for any shortfalls), and the number of imperially appointed *governors of *provinces was also increased, so that cities and their local administration were now much more closely controlled. The office of *Curator Rei Publicae (Gk. *Logistes*) became an important link between individual cities and the central government. The result was the end of the golden age of civic autonomy: in the 4th century, aristocrats no longer vied for local civic office, but sought to avoid it, and aspired instead to succeed within imperial service, which was both more profitable and more prestigious and from which they would emerge as **honorati*. The decline, and eventual demise, of city councils did not however mean the end of the role of cities within secular administration; in the barbarian kingdoms of the West, for instance, royal appointees with the rank of **comes* replaced the councils in taking responsibility for raising taxes and for dispensing justice.

We are also well informed about the slow process of the Christianization of cities. Each *civitas* and *polis* constituted an ecclesiastical *diocese, ruled by a *bishop, since the boundaries of church jurisdictions followed exactly those of the established geographical pattern set by the secular administration, and during this period, before a network of rural parishes was instituted, the urban Church was even more important than it was later. For instance, aristocrats dwelling in the countryside were expected to come into the cities for the major *festivals of the Church, in order to celebrate them with the bishop in his cathedral. During the 4th to 6th centuries the wealth, prestige, and power of bishops steadily increased, primarily through a steady flow of gifts to the Church. By the 6th century, or even earlier, in both East and West the bishop often served as an effective counterpoint (and occasional rival) to the secular administration within a city, while in the physical landscape churches, including the cathedral, where the bishop had his *chair, came to replace the traditional secular public buildings of Roman times as the dominant features of the cityscape. In many cities, particularly in the West, inside the walls was a cathedral and a network of smaller churches and urban *monasteries, while outside there was a ring of *cemetery churches built over the tombs of *martyrs. In the case of some important shrines, like those of S. Peter at *Rome, S. *Alban at S. Albans, and S. *Martin at *Tours, these shrines were so important that they changed the topography of their cities, by drawing wealth and population out of the original inhabited areas and into the former extramural cemeteries.

Another feature of Late Roman times was the ever-increasing importance to urban life of *city gates and walls, as the Empire faced growing military threats, both internal and external. The poorly defended, or undefended, cities of the early imperial period were fortified anew, often with an impressive circuit of towers, built to house the *artillery pieces that had come to play a central role in *siege warfare. The walls of Rome, built between the late 3rd and the early 5th centuries, and those of *Constantinople, of the early 5th, are the most impressive *fortifications of all Antiquity and some of the most impressive of all time. At a provincial level, the nature of city fortifications varied, both geographically and through time: for instance, in the late 3rd century most of the cities of *Gaul were given very short walled circuits that excluded much of the previous habitation, while contemporary walls in *Italy were much longer. By the 7th century, urban defence in Anatolia was characterized by the fortification of the ancient acropolis, abandoning the much more extensive low-lying city walls of earlier centuries.

Whether or not cities flourished, economically and demographically, varied enormously, according to their function and to the precise chronological period under consideration. Winning cities of the 4th century were provincial capitals, and, above all, major imperial residences such as *Trier, *Milan, and *Antioch. In the 5th century many cities in the West entered a period of decline (dramatic in places like Britain; much slower elsewhere), but some cities continued to flourish into the 6th century—for instance, Marseilles and *Ravenna, the one for economic reasons (replacing *Arles as the primary port of Mediterranean Gaul), the other because it served as the principal imperial and royal residence in Italy. In the East, many cities, for instance *Ephesus and *Aphrodisias, remained large and prosperous into the 6th century; Constantinople continued to grow in wealth and splendour until at least the early 6th century. Whether urban decline began in the East before 600 is still a subject of dispute; but there is no doubt that it occurred dramatically in the 7th century, except in the *Arab-controlled Levant. By 700, many cities of the Empire had wholly disappeared, and the vast majority of those that remained were much smaller and much less impressive than they had been in the 3rd century. BW-P

J. S. Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (1996), 1–49.
H. W. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2015).
C. Leppelley, *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, 2 vols. (1981).
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001).

cities in post-Roman Western Europe Nowhere in the West did cities flourish in the post-Roman

period, but their fate varied regionally, depending on local circumstances. The most extreme case was *Britain, where urban life effectively disappeared during the 5th century. This was because power was now exercised from rural halls (in *Anglo-Saxon areas) or Iron Age hill forts (in the British kingdoms), because the organized Church ceased to exist under the Anglo-Saxons and became focused on rural *monasteries in the British west, and because specialized production and exchange became severely attenuated. Only in a few places, like *Canterbury, did a memory of the city's former role persist, and with it some scattered settlement—but nowhere have levels of settlement been found that can be compared to those of Roman times. In continental Europe, the Roman cities survived somewhat better, sustained by their continued use as centres of secular administration, and, above all, by the network of urban bishoprics and saints' shrines established in the 4th century, which survived relatively unscathed the shocks of the 5th and 6th centuries. Cities like *Tours shrank considerably in size, but continued to play an important part, focused increasingly on the *bishop and his cathedral and on the great extramural shrine of S. *Martin of Tours.

*Italy was probably the region where the largest number of cities survived, particularly in the Po plain. The new Germanic rulers of Italy, first the *Ostrogoths and then the *Lombards, ruled their kingdoms from *palaces in cities, and established a network of **duces* (dukes) and **comites* (counts) who were also based in cities, and bishops and the Church never left the impressive cathedrals built in the 4th and 5th centuries. There is even good evidence that the Lombard landed *aristocracy maintained urban residences, just as the Roman aristocracy had done in the past. But even in northern Italy there were cities that completely disappeared, for instance along the Adriatic coast, and recent archaeological work has shown that in those towns which survived the population could drop dramatically, leaving isolated pockets of settlement in what had once been a fully inhabited townscape.

Within what is generally a story of shrinking urban prosperity and size, and of a number of cities ceasing to exist at all, there are a few exceptions. In *Spain, the *Visigothic King *Leovigild established a new city in 578 at *Reccopolis, naming it after one of his sons—it is small by Roman standards, but it was even supplied with an *aqueduct (and therefore presumably with *baths). In 6th-century *Gaul, continuing demand for Mediterranean goods maintained a flourishing commercial centre at *Marseilles which expanded beyond its Roman walls. But it is only in the 8th century that clear and more generalized signs of urban expansion can be detected, with wholly new coastal centres, like *Hamwic (Saxon Southampton), *Quentovic (near mod. Étaples), and *Venice appearing as significant centres of trade and population.

Within the cities that survived there was some continuity but also considerable change. Some elements of Late Roman life persisted well into the medieval period and beyond; these included city walls that had been built or greatly strengthened in the face of the crises of the 3rd and 5th centuries. They were such solid structures that they continued to shape the topography of the settlements within them; indeed in many cases they continued to do so for centuries afterwards. Of the changes that occurred, many had begun in the Late Roman period: in particular the gradual Christianization of the townscape, with the abandonment and demolition of *pagan *temples, the building of a great church in each city (the cathedral), and the steady establishment of other ecclesiastical foundations. This process continued into post-Roman times, with aristocratic founders building small churches and monasteries. Also well on the way before the end of imperial rule was the steady demise of the traditional secular buildings that had filled cities of the Roman period: the theatres, amphitheatres, public baths, council halls, porticoed *forums, and colonnaded *streets. Some effort was put into maintaining this heritage, for instance in early 6th-century Ostrogothic Italy; but by AD 600 very little survived in other than a ruinous state—amphitheatres, for instance, were beginning to be colonized for housing (as at *Lucca and Nîmes), and huge numbers of public buildings were demolished in order to reuse their *marble in churches.

One result of the demise of traditional buildings and the rise of Christian ones was a change in the topography of cities. In the Roman period, most cities had had a clear centre, the forum, generally in the precise middle of the town, at or near where the *decumanus maximus* crossed the *cardo maximus*: here was the main *temple (the *Capitolium*), the political heart of the city (the council building, or *curia*), the economic focus (with market buildings and the stalls of traders on the forum square), and the most spectacular buildings, surrounded by honorific statues and other monuments. The demise of this traditional centre led to a much more fragmented cityscape, with the cathedral very rarely close to the forum square, and the principal religious focus often an extramural church over a *martyr's grave as with the grave of S. Peter in the Vatican cemetery at *Rome. BW-P

Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 591–692 (ch. 10 'Cities').

city chronicles 'City chronicles' are said to be accounts of imperial and local events that were officially compiled, *archived, and published or inscribed in all or most major imperial centres, and were then used as historical sources by chroniclers. There is, however, no

ancient evidence for such compilations, save for common entries referring to imperial and local events in a variety of extant Late Antique *chronicles and **consularia*, from which the existence of an entire genre, 'city chronicles', has been extrapolated. RWB

Brian Croke, 'City Chronicles of Late Antiquity', in Graeme Clarke et al., eds., *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (1990), 165–203.

B. Croke, 'Chronicles, Annals and "Consular Annals" in Late Antiquity', *Chiron* 31 (2001), 291–331

S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (ARCA 27, 1990), 32–46.

R. W. Burgess, *The* Chronicle *of Hydatius and the* Consularia Constantinopolitana (1993), 180–6.

Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 1, 137–72 and Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2.

city councils and councillors A city council (Lat. **curia*, *ordo*; Gk. *boule*) was the local ruling body, not only of each city, but of the territory (*territorium*) that surrounded it. Collectively, the city and its territory made up a *civitas* (plur. *civitates*). Each imperial *province contained a number of *civitates*. A city councillor (Lat *curialis*; **decurio*, Gk. *bouletes*) was therefore a member of the local governing order which composed the local civic *aristocracy. The most prominent councillors were also members of their provincial assembly (**conventus provinciae*).

Membership of city councils was largely by co-option. A local property qualification, measured by landownership, was normal (e.g. *CTh* XII, 1, 33; 52–3; 72; 96; 115; 133; 140). The property qualification was not necessarily high; Patricius the father of *Augustine of Hippo was a *curialis* of *Thagaste, but a *patron paid for his son's higher education (*Conff.* II, 3,5; *Contra Academicos* II, 2, 3). Those obliged to serve were economically independent freeholders. Quantification is not straightforward but estimates are possible: there were probably close to 140,000 aristocratic families across the Empire in the 4th century, and probably under 2,000 *civitates*, with a typical group of councillors probably numbering around 65–75.

Councillors were liable for **munera*, supporting the administration of the city, for instance supervision of bakeries, the heating of public *baths, the oversight of tax-gathering, and the maintenance of public order. Even in the High Empire they were not permitted to try cases where the penalty might be capital punishment (e.g. *Eusebius, *HE* V, 1, recording events at *Lyons in AD 177). More senior councillors held higher offices. At least in theory, a city with the rank of *colonia* (as opposed to *municipium* etc.) replicated the pattern of public institutions of the city of *Rome itself; *coloniae* were more common in the West (especially *Africa) than in the East, though eastern examples included *Antioch of *Pisidia and Ancyra (*Ankara). A traditional Western structure (though not universal) was for two *quaestors to oversee civic finances, two aediles to oversee public services and buildings, and two *duoviri* to oversee local justice and the public games. Eastern provinces combined Hellenic and Roman practices: a single president was more typical, and other officials (e.g. gymnasiarch) were often present.

Imperial influence was particularly marked in *Egypt, which had mostly been without councils until they were widely introduced under Septimius Severus. Evidence from *papyri suggests a significant imperial intervention under *Diocletian, in which positions were abolished, others regulated, and the financial autonomy of councils reduced.

In the late 3rd and early 4th centuries, evolution was pronounced. A senior tier of councillors, the **principales*, probably drawn largely from those who had completed the major civic offices, had come to act as a buffer between the council and external powers—namely, the *conventus provinciae* and the **officium* of the provincial *governor. In addition the *Curator Rei Publicae or Curator Civitatis, and latterly the *Defensor Civitatis, emerged as local figureheads subject to imperial ratification. These officials had wide financial and judicial oversight.

In the late 3rd century, especially under the *Tetrarchy, a career imperial bureaucracy developed; *Lactantius complained that there were more men in receipt of public funds than there were contributing to them (*Mort.* 7, 3; *see* ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN CENTRAL CIVIL; CIVIL SERVICE, IMPERIAL). This offered increased opportunities for individual aristocrats to seek advancement beyond their local council. Imperial service frequently led to exemption from council duties, though not from membership per se and it was not normally inheritable. In addition, there were attempts by councillors to secure illegal exemptions through the purchase of imperial honours (e.g. *CTh* XII, 1, 65; XII, 1, 71).

An older tradition of scholarship tended to argue that councillors were increasingly marginalized, suggesting that they were in decline numerically and economically from the 4th century onwards. More recent research has tended to highlight the survival of councils into the 6th and even the 7th century (e.g. *Ravenna in 625: P. Ital. 21); and has observed also the continuity between wealthier councillors and the 'notables' (mostly recipients of imperial honours, **honorati*) who came to dominate local public life by the 5th century. The disappearance of councils was therefore often slower and more organic than was formerly supposed. AGS

Jones, *LRE* ch. 19.

A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology 11, 1971).

A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin* (TM monographies 13, 2002).
J. A. O. Larsen, 'The Position of Provincial Assemblies in the Government and Society of the Late Roman Empire', *CP* 29 (1934), 209–20.
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001).
F. Millar, 'Empire and City, Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status', *JRS* 73 (1983), 76–96.
A. Skinner, 'Political Mobility in the Later Roman Empire', *P&P* 218 (2013), 17–53.
M. Whittow, 'Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City: A Continuous History', *P&P* 129 (1990), 3–29.

city gates and walls Late antiquity witnessed the construction of some of the grandest and most enduring city walls and gates to survive from the ancient world. As *cities and military fortresses responded to the greater insecurity of the age, gates acquired a greater significance as boundary places for display and control, while also providing the setting for such *ceremonies as **adventus* (as illustrated on the largest medallion of the *Arras hoard), and retaining the function that they had had in Near Eastern cities since at least the time of the Psalms as a place for casual social gathering.

The most remarkable examples survive from *Constantinople matched closely by the fortifications of *Rome of the reign of *Honorius. The greatest gate was the Golden Gate at Constantinople built under *Theodosius I, a preliminary component in the plan for the new land walls completed under his grandson *Theodosius II. Retaining the triple *arch design established from triumphal arches in Rome and elsewhere, the *marble-clad gate combined a monumental entrance flanked by huge rectangular towers discreetly decorated with *sculpture and moulding. In Rome the Honorian gates replicate the ashlar cladding but are all single portals, although Christian symbols are more prominent (and may have had an apotropaic function, like the copies of Christ's *Letter to *Abgar carved on the walls of Late Roman *Edessa). An idea of the scale and decoration of the earlier gates at Constantinople is indicated from other gates in the *Balkans surviving from the *Tetrarchy, notably those at *Split, *Gamzigrad, and Hisar in Bulgaria. A feature of 3rd-/4th-century gates is the frequent use of decorative niches found especially on the military gates of the lower Danube *frontier at Tropaeum Traiani and also at the new fortress city of *Amida in *Mesopotamia.

Indeed the grandest gates often come from frontier zones, and by contrast entrances at the new urban *fortifications of *Anatolia are less imposing. The north gate of *Sergiopolis-Rusafa represents the most architecturally complex gate from the early 6th century. This is a triple arch preceded by a forecourt and decorated with luxuriant mouldings and *capitals. In these cases display triumphed over military necessity, as gateways were also the setting of *acclamations for the builder and *emperor. In the following century the need for greater security demanded increased protection, although display is still apparent at *Ephesus and *Ankara in the later 7th century. JCr

S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent* (2010).
J. Crow, 'Amida and Tropeum Traiani: A Comparison of Two Late Antique Frontier Cities', in A. Poulter, ed., *The Transition to Late Antiquity* (2007), 435–55.

Cividale del Friuli (Roman Forum Julii) *City north of *Aquileia in the *Friuli region of north-east *Italy which became prominent when *Gisulf made it the seat of a *Lombard *Dux from 569 (*Paul the Deacon, *HL* II, 9). Only patches of the city's Roman configuration are known; archaeological analyses indicate a Late Roman (4th/5th-century) reinforcement to the earlier *colonia* wall which enclosed an oval settlement, flanking the Tagliamento River, as Cividale was charged with controlling the Alpine crossings.

The Lombard takeover is marked by new *burial rites such as weapon burials in both old and new *cemeteries ('Roman' cemeteries include S. Giovanni-Cella to the north of the town; 'Lombard' cemeteries include 'Pertica', 'Gallo', and 'Ferrovia' to the west). Various 7th-century intramural burials, some high status (e.g. the 'Tomb of Gisulf'), are known. The finds are displayed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

The *Avars sacked Cividale in 610 (*HL* IV, 37), but ecclesiastical, monastic, and artistic remains survive from 8th-century Cividale. Most prominent structurally is the Tempietto/Oratory of S. Maria in Valle, east of the episcopal/patriarchal *palace, beneath the Palazzo dei Provveditori. This features *stucco, sculpted, and painted works of *c.*760; notably the Altar of the *Dux *Ratchis, of *c.* AD 740, whose main face depicts a beardless Christ girded by muscular *angels, and the *marble baptismal font and canopy associated with Callistus (737–56), the first *Patriarch of Aquileia to be settled at Cividale (*HL* VI, 51). NJC

The regional journal is entitled *Forum Iulii.*
M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (1981), 19–31.
S. Tavano, *Il Tempietto longobardo di Cividale* (1990).
I. Ahumada Silva, 'Necropoli longobarde a Cividale ed in Friuli', in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI–X): atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Cividale del Friuli-Bottenico di Moimacco 24–29 settembre 1999)* (2001), 321–56.
G. P. Brogiolo, 'Urbanistica di Cividale longobarda', in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI–X): atti del XIV*

Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo (2001), 357–85.
S. Colussa, *Cividale del Friuli: l'impianto urbano di* Forum Iulii *in epoca romana. Carta archeologica* (Journal of Ancient Topography Supplement V, 2010).

civil service, imperial The present entry considers service in the imperial civil *administration as an occupation, including entry qualifications, career progression, and compensation and the way these characteristics developed over time. For an outline of administrative departments and functions, *see* ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN CENTRAL CIVIL and *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM*.

Large-scale expansion in the Roman imperial bureaucracy is now known to have pre-dated the *Tetrarchy, notwithstanding *Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 7, which lambasts *Diocletian on this score. The expansion was initially associated with an increase of military *administration, particularly during the 3rd century. A tendency for administrative careers to become separate from combat and other field careers had the effect that by the later 3rd and early 4th centuries, a substantial civil service had emerged. For this reason, although the civil service continued to be referred to as a *militia, it was effectively distinct from the military *administration. The **Theodosian Code* reflects this separation; its Book VIII, Titles 1–11, in particular, is focused on the civil service.

As a result, some modern scholars have thought that a distinct *noblesse de robe*—a nobility of imperial servants—emerged from the time of the Tetrarchy and *Constantine I. But although the award of honours and titles in return for imperial service was a signal feature of the Late Empire, it is not entirely clear that this nobility formed a distinct social group. It is probable that most civil servants were long recruited from landed families in the *provinces, and that holding office in the imperial civil service was in practice not particularly hereditary till much later (*see* ARISTOCRACY, CIVIC; ARISTOCRACY, IMPERIAL). Variation over time is certain. The 6th-century bureaucracy at *Constantinople might more readily be considered a distinct *noblesse de robe*. Still later, following the losses of provincial territory to the *Arab conquests in the 7th century, a palace-dominated 'mandarinate' could be said to have emerged.

The monopolizing of the imperial civil service by aristocrats of one degree or another was largely ensured by the entry qualifications and the requirements of career progression. These tended to presuppose an education in the liberal arts, with a particular focus on *rhetoric and sometimes *law. This implied an education of a kind that was difficult for plebeian families to obtain. In the eastern provinces, well into the 5th century, there was the added demand of learning *Latin as a language of government. Rather idiosyncratically, one suspects, *John Lydus later complained that Latin had fallen out of use (*Mag*. II, 12; III, 42, 68).

The service was hierarchical. At each level of local administration the *governor of a province, the *Vicarius of a **dioecesis*, and the *Praefectus Praetorio had an **officium* with a core of principal officers, supported by assistants (**adjutor*) and a body of middle-ranking administrative staff (**chartularii*). Below them were junior administrators (**exceptores*) as well as teams of enforcers (bailiffs, guards, and torturers). In the departments of the central (palatine) administration, the situation was more complex, as grading structures varied between departments. For example **agentes in rebus* were graded by analogy with non-commissioned army officers, whereas the staff of the Sacra *Scrinia, and the two financial ministries, the *Res Privata and the Sacrae *Largitiones, had their own distinctive structures.

Positions and advancement could be secured by various means. *Letters of recommendation, followed by an audience, are abundantly attested in the 4th century, as in the numerous letters of *Libanius and *Symmachus. These, though, were not the exclusive means, as there was also a rise in the authorized sale of offices (e.g. *CJust* XII, 19, 7 of AD 443/4). There was a marked tendency for senior positions in an *officium* to be held on a short tenure—often just one year. Promotion was therefore constantly occurring. It could be achieved through personal merit (**meritum*) but also through *patronage (*see SUFFRAGIUM*). These were not necessarily mutually exclusive, and, in all cases, the influence of those recommending candidates was likely to have been significant. Advancement by seniority also occurred but should not be overestimated. A limiting feature was the recurrent tendency of emperors to prohibit or restrict movement between departments.

Remuneration naturally varied. On the staff of provincial governors, salaries appear to have averaged between 1½ and 5 **solidi* per person per year—though one must allow for differentials between grades in any given case. Conversely, a senior aide (the *Cancellarius) to a *Praefectus Praetorio might earn a *solidus* per day (John Lydus, *Mag*. III, 36–7). For some staff, there were opportunities to supplement this income through fees (**sportulae*) charged to litigants, which might secure an official as much as 1,000 *solidi* in a year. On retirement, officials could also receive a large cash settlement and a fee from a new junior entrant to the *officium* as well as honours and privileges. Conversely, the initial purchase of office could be expensive, with often modest compensation in the early years of service.

The Late Roman civil service operated in ways alien to many modern expectations, but such central features as purchase and patronage would have been immediately recognizable in 18th-century England. The possibility

that it was actually effective therefore remains a persistent point of interest for modern historians. AGS

Jones, *LRE*, chs. 12 and 16.
A. Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia nel basso impero* (1977).
A. H. M. Jones, 'The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)', *JRS* 39 (1949), 38–55.
A. Skinner, 'Political Mobility in the Later Roman Empire', *P&P* 218 (2013), 17–53.
B. Palme, 'Die Officia der Statthalter in der Spätantike. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 85–133.
Brown, *Religion and Society*, 46–73.
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (2004).
J. Nelis-Clément, *Les beneficiarii: militaires et administrateurs au service de l'empire (Ier s.a.C.–VIe s.p.C)* (2000).
P. Heather, 'New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial *Élite* in the Eastern Mediterranean', in Magdalino, *New Constantines*.
P. Petit, *Les Fonctionnaires dans l'œuvre de Libanius: analyse prosopographique* (1994).

clarissimus *See* TITLES OF HONOUR, ROMAN.

Claros *Temple of Apollo on the coast of *Anatolia near the *city of Colophon housing an *oracle as important in Antiquity as *Dephi and *Didyma. In the sanctuary 431 *inscriptions record the visits of deputations up to the early 3rd century AD. Dedications to 'the gods and goddesses in accordance with the understanding of the Clarian oracle of Apollo' are known from places as distant as *Caesarea of *Mauretania (*ILS* 3230) and Housesteads on *Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 1579).

The temple itself has yielded no texts of the oracle's utterances, but they have been found as far away as *Gaul. An inscription from *Hierapolis of *Phrygia offers advice on countering an *epidemic in the city in AD 166. Other utterances are more theological. They include a long henotheistic text engraved in full on an *altar built into the city walls at Oenoanda of *Lycia, excerpted selectively by *Lactantius as a testimony to the original universality of belief in the unity of God (*Inst.* I, 7, 1) and quoted again by the *Tübingen *Theosophy* (13). The religious antiquarian *Cornelius Labeo wrote a (lost) book *On the Oracle of Clarian Apollo* (*Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 18, 21) and it is likely that his approximate contemporary the *Neoplatonist polymath *Porphyry included texts from Claros in his (now fragmentary) collection of *Philosophy from Oracles*. OPN

J.-Ch. Moretti, ed., *Le Sanctuaire de Claros et son oracle: actes du colloque international de Lyon, 13–14 janvier 2012* (2014). Regular reports on the excavations are published in *Anatolia Antiqua*. by J.-Ch. Moretti of the Institut de Recherche sur l'Architecture Antique (Antenne de Lyon).
A. Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon: pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive* (RGRW 156, 2005).
L. Robert, 'Un oracle gravé à Oenoanda', *CRAI* (1971), 597–619, reprinted in his *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 5 (1989), 617–39.

classicism Modern concept used to describe a style in the fine arts which uses the formal language of the Graeco-Roman past, considered as a model aesthetically, and even ethically for the values it encodes (such as rationality and clarity). 'Classical' art is characterized by a fondness for three-dimensional images, the 'naturalistic' (if often highly idealized) treatment of organic forms, and the creation of spatial illusion in two-dimensional media.

New *aesthetic values (influenced by political, religious, and social change) emerged in Late Antiquity, favouring elements like *frontality and vertical composition. The word *modernus*, first used in Late Antique *Latin to denote contemporaneity, expresses the self-consciousness of the period and its distance from earlier Roman times. However, the classical heritage remained alive as an undercurrent throughout the period and periodically emerged in the fine arts to constitute what modern scholarship has sometimes characterized as artistic 'renaissances'.

For instance, after the period of the *Tetrarchs, when *sculpture had been characterized by squat proportions and the heavy use of the drill, the imperial *portraits of *Constantine I (306–37), with their idealized features, youthful smoothness, and long hair, echoed the portraits of the first *emperor, Augustus, while the female portraiture of the period readopted *hair styles of the 2nd century.

Stylistic classicism was, however, seldom straightforward. The plastic arts of the *Theodosian period (late 4th–earlier 5th century) are 'classical' in their fine proportions and in the coherent display of garments and the underlying body, both in large-scale sculpture, and in small-scale work (such as the *Missorium of Theodosius, or the *ivory *diptychs). However, the concept of a *Theodosian 'renaissance' conceals the fact that such phenomena went hand in hand with 'modern' art forms, like frontality or the paratactical sequence of figures (both seen on the *obelisk base of *Theodosius I in *Constantinople).

A major feature of classical art, portrait sculpture, had virtually ceased by the mid-6th century; but in other media classical forms appear through the 6th century and even into the 7th: for instance, the heavily 'classicizing' floor *mosaics of the *Great Palace of Constantinople are now reliably dated to the earlier 6th century, while in *silver work (which can be dated by *silver stamps) classicism is a feature of the early 7th century (as in the David Plates from the *Cyprus Treasures of the time of *Heraclius). UG

B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Renaissance in the Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-Called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense University Classical Studies, 18, 1993).

E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* (1977).

Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) (b. *c.*370) *Epic and panegyrical poet. A native of *Alexandria whose first language was no doubt *Greek (and of whose compositions in Greek a fragmentary *Gigantomachia* survives), Claudian nonetheless made his fortune in *Italy as the *court poet and chief propagandist of *Stilicho. He may have won fame and connections as a professional 'wandering poet' even before he arrived in *Rome *c.*394, and, certainly, his talents soon won him entry to the highest ranks of society in the Western Empire. He made his mark in *Latin with a glittering poem of *praise for the joint *consulship in 395 of Anicius Olybrius and Anicius Probinus, the young sons of *Petronius Probus, doyen of the Christian senatorial *aristocracy. He passed almost immediately into the circle of Stilicho at the court in *Milan, celebrating the third consulship of the child-Emperor *Honorius the following year. His services were amply rewarded: he received the *title of *vir clarissimus*, appointment to the position of Tribunus et Notarius, an introduction to a rich bride arranged by Stilicho's wife *Serena, and the singular honour of a statue in *bronze erected in the Forum of Trajan (*CIL* VI, 1710). *Orosius (VII, 35) and *Augustine (*Civ. Dei* V, 26) denounce him as a *pagan, but they may have been misled by the conservative and classicizing character of his poetry, which remains loyal to the divine machinery and belief in Rome's destiny made sacrosanct by *Vergil's *Aeneid*. Whatever his personal religious belief, he was evidently acceptable to the devout house of *Theodosius and wrote both a *hymn *De Salvatore* (*Carmina Minora*, 32) and a poem on the Phoenix, a traditional theme found in, for example, Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 15. 391–407), but also one understood since Clement of Rome as Christian *allegory (*Carmina Minora*, 27). Since his last datable poem was written to commemorate Honorius' sixth consulship in January 404, and there is no indication that he celebrated Stilicho's second consulship (405) or his victory over *Radagausius (406), it is likely that he died in 404.

The bulk of the poetry preserved for us is politically charged, and provides rich, if tendentious, evidence for the dynastic ambitions of Stilicho, for his machinations against the ministers of Honorius' brother, the Eastern Emperor *Arcadius, and for his campaigns against the *Goths under *Alaric. They include *panegyrics on the third, fourth, and sixth consulships of Honorius (396, 398, 404), as well as on those of the eminent bureaucrat and scholar Mallius *Theodorus (399) and of Stilicho himself, in three books (400), along with epics on Stilicho's suppression of the revolt of *Gildo, *Comes Africae (*De Bello Gildonico*, 398), and his war against Alaric in northern Italy (*De Bello Getico*, 402), while the *invectives *In Rufinum* (396–7) and *In Eutropium* (399) set out Stilicho's case against the *Praefectus Praetorio *Rufinus and the *eunuch consul *Eutropius, his political opponents in the court of *Constantinople. An *Epithalamium* and a collection of *Fescennina* celebrate the marriage of Honorius to Stilicho's daughter Maria in 398. Also preserved is a miscellany of poems on various subjects that collectively stands in contrast to the ceremonial and epic poetry: many take the form of verse epistles, epigrams, and idylls, while those that are openly encomiastic, most notably the *Laus Serenae* (*Carmina Minora*, 30), are nonetheless more informal in tone than the great set-pieces written for public consumption. Transmitted separately is an unfinished epic in three books, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, of uncertain date but tentatively associated by some with documented shortages in the *grain supply in 395–7.

Claudian's mastery of classical Latin poetic idiom and metre, along with his deep familiarity with the canonical poets of the Empire, command respect. So too does his flexibility in adapting the literary tradition to his sometimes unpromising subject matter. The panegyrics and epics are suffused with the patriotic language and ideals of Vergilian epic, while Lucan's grim poem of civil war is employed to give colour to the treacherous designs of Stilicho's enemies against the unity and peace of the Empire. In *De Raptu Proserpinae*, on the other hand, the influence of Ovid and Statius can be felt in the brilliant tableaux of the underworld, the emotional speeches of Ceres and her daughter, and the occasional whimsy and humour with which the myth and its long literary history are treated. Juvenal, another author widely read in the 4th century, so *Ammianus Marcellinus claimed (XXVIII, 4, 14), has been adapted with spirit and ingenuity in the bitter satire of the invectives. In his turn Claudian served as a useful model for *Sidonius Apollinaris and *Corippus, and his celebrated paean to *Rome at *Stil.* 3. 130–73 and description of the *City's monuments in *VI Con. Hon.* celebrated the idea of *Rome as *Roma Aeterna*. MJD

PLRE II, Claudianus 4.

HLL section 623.

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Claudianus Mamertus (*c.*425–471/4) Christian *philosopher and *priest at *Vienne whose extant writings are the *De Statu Animae* (*c.*470) and two *letters: one to *Sidonius Apollinaris (Sidonius, *ep.* 4, 2); another to the *rhetor Sapaudus. Educated in literature and rhetoric, Claudianus apparently also studied under *Eucherius, *Bishop of *Lyons (434–*c.*449). He became a monk then priest at Vienne, where he shared the labours of his brother, Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne (*c.*463–*c.*474). He was a friend and correspondent of Sidonius (*ep.* 4, 3), to whom he dedicated his *De Statu Animae*, and similarly exemplifies the precious state of letters and learning in later 5th-century *Gaul. At Vienne, he presided over a philosophical salon that attracted educated Christian laymen as well as clerics. Sidonius praises his erudition and style along with his command of *Greek as well as *Latin literature (*epp.* 4, 11; 5, 2). The extent of Claudianus' direct knowledge of Greek writers remains unclear, but he commanded a wide range of classical Latin authors as well as *Hilary, *Ambrose, *Jerome, and especially *Augustine, by whom he was profoundly influenced. His debate with *Faustus of Riez over the nature of the soul highlights the serious philosophical engagement that distinguishes him among his contemporaries. Against Faustus' assertion (following *John Cassian) of the soul's corporeal nature (Faustus, *ep.* 3), the *De Statu Animae* argued, somewhat polemically, for the soul's incorporeality. Claudianus' counter-attack drew upon a mixture of *Pythagorean and *Neoplatonic doctrines, filtered through Augustine and, either directly or indirectly, *Porphyry as well as biblical and Christian writers. Also at issue was an alternative to Faustus' explanation of the generation of the Son from the Father, part of Faustus's broader defence of Trinitarian doctrine. Sidonius' *ep.* 4, 11, an obituary, includes Claudianus' metrical *epitaph. DET

PCBE IV/2, Claudianus 1.
HLL, section 767.
CPL 983–4, ed A. Engelbrecht (CSEL 11, 1885).
E. Fortin, *Christianisme et culture philosophique au cinquième siècle* (1959).
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Claudius II Gothicus *Augustus 268–70. M. Aurelius Claudius Gothicus, sometimes M. Valerius Claudius Gothicus, an army officer at *Pavia (Ticinum), was acclaimed *emperor on the assassination of *Gallienus (*Aurelius Victor, 33, 28; *Zosimus, I, 41). Having entered on his consulate at *Rome, Claudius proceeded to the *Balkans and won a crushing victory over *Gothic invaders at *Niš (Naissus) in 269. He moved westwards to *Sirmium where, in August 270, he died of disease (*Zosimus, I, 46). The *Senate accorded him a *gold statue on the Capitol (*Eutropius, IX, 11; *Jerome, *Chron.* 221k Helm). He was succeeded briefly by his brother *Quintillus, and then by *Aurelian, one of the officers who had plotted against Gallienus.

Claudius' reputation as a hero was invoked two generations later. In 310, *Constantine I disposed of his father-in-law the retired *Augustus *Maximian. Publicists promoted the claim that Constantine's imperial connection pre-dated the *Tetrarchy, that Constantine was actually descended from Claudius, 'the first to re-establish the dissolved and lost *disciplina* of Roman rule' (*PanLat* VI [VII], 2, 2). OPN

PLRE I, Claudius 11.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 264–8, 352–3.

CAH XII (2005), 48–50 (J. Drinkwater).
R. Syme, 'The Ancestry of Constantine', in J. von Straub, ed.)., *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* (1974), 237–53.

clausula *See* PROSE RHYTHM, LATIN.

clavus One of a pair of *purple vertical stripes, running from shoulder to hem, that formed the typical decoration of the Roman tunic. Wide *clavi* (*clavi lati*) were distinctive of *senatorial rank. While the *clavi* continue to appear in representations of saintly male figures throughout Late Antiquity, in actual practice they had been gradually replaced by shorter and more ornate shoulder bands reaching down to the breast or waist. MGP

G. Fabre, 'Recherches sur l'origine des ornements vestimentaires du Bas-Empire', *Karthago* 16 (1973), 107–28.

cleanliness *See* SANITATION AND HYGIENE.

Clermont (*civitas Arvernorum*: dép. Puy-de-Dôme, France) Joined with Montferrand in the 17th century, and now forms part of Clermont-Ferrand. Clermont was the *civitas*-capital of the *Auvergne. Its Late Antique history is better known than that of most Late Roman towns in Gaul, particularly because of its association with two well-known writers: *Sidonius Apollinaris became its *bishop in 470, and *Gregory of *Tours was born there in *c.*539. Sidonius tells of the *Visigothic attempts to capture the town between 471 and 475, and of the heroic attempts of *Ecdicius to defend it. Gregory recounts many stories of its early Church, and reports the traumatic events of 523/4, when the area was devastated by King *Theuderic I of the *Franks in reprisal for an attempt by some local aristocrats to switch their allegiance to *Childebert I. Between the mid-520s and 551, Gregory's uncle *Gallus was bishop. Thereafter there was a damaging dispute between Cato and Cautinus over the bishopric, which Gregory describes in some detail, before the contested accession to the see of his friend and mentor *Avitus; the *Passio* of S. *Praejectus (*BHL* 6916) and the *Life* of S. *Bonitus (*BHL* 1418) show that similar conflicts within the Church of Clermont were still recurring in the later 7th century. The relative profusion of sources means that the gradual accumulation of churches and *monasteries in and around Clermont is unusually well documented. Gregory in particular mentions several of them, including the cathedral built over part of the *forum complex by Namatius in the 5th century (described at *HF* II, 16), as well as a *synagogue. The archaeology of the Late Antique city is limited by comparison, but its exiguous wall-circuit, enclosing barely 3 ha (7 acres), should probably be dated to the early 5th century. EJ; STL

CAGaule, 63/1 (1994).
Topographie chrétienne, vol. 6 (1989), 27–40; 16/1 (2014), 81–6.
I. Wood, in Wormald, *Ideal and Reality*, 34–57.

Cleveland Marbles Eleven statuettes of Docimian *marble, in Cleveland, Ohio since 1965. They are probably of the later 3rd century and comprise four representations of the prophet Jonah, and one *Good Shepherd, together forming the most conspicuous known set of sculpture with a Christian subject from the era prior to *Constantine I. UG

E. Kitzinger, 'The Cleveland Marbles', *IntCongChrArch* IX, Roma, 21–7 settembre 1975 (Città del Vaticano, 1978), 653–75.

clibanarii Term used to describe heavily armoured *cavalrymen, sometimes on armoured *horses. It is derived from *clibanus*, *Latin for cooking pot, a reference to the effects of heat on heavily armoured troops. Often used as a synonym for *cataphract; distinctions between the two terms often appear arbitrary. HE

client kingdoms States on the edge of the Roman and *Persian Empires which received financial or military support in return for pursuing military, *trade, or diplomatic policies that served imperial interests. The Romans and Persians competed for influence over several smaller kingdoms, such as *Armenia or *Lazica, or tribes, such as the *Jafnid, *Nasrid, and *Hujrid *Arabs, which occupied territory between their empires. In addition, each empire sought to control new kingdoms established on their *frontiers or even on former territories, such as the *Visigoths, *Vandals, *Sueves, *Burgundians, *Franks, *Ostrogoths *Alans, *Huns, *Hephthalites, or *Kidarites. Rome and Persia's struggles to gain control over client states focused on regions that were important strategically, like the *Caucasus, or commercially, such as the Red Sea for the Indian Ocean trade or *Central Asia for the *silk trade.

Relations between the empires and their client kingdoms could change markedly with the fortunes of each. The early Persian Empire eventually replaced all client kings with members of the *Sasanian family. Later, these were replaced with a governor (*marzban). Kingdoms such as Armenia in particularly strategic areas might be partitioned into *provinces. As the western half of the Roman Empire fragmented into autonomous kingdoms, the Eastern Empire attempted to co-opt the new Germanic kingdoms.

Along with financial support, Rome and Persia gave client kings *gifts, money, and court *titles; *conversion to (or apostasy from) Christianity or *Zoroastrianism was also an element in *diplomacy. *Regalia, such as the cloaks granted to Armenian satraps by Roman emperors before *Justinian I, symbolized political

realities (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 1, 16–23). The right to provide the King of the Laz with his insignia (*ta symbola*) was explicitly defined in treaties between the Romans and Persians (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 14, Müller, *FHG* IV, 189). When *Tsathes, the King of Lazica, submitted to *Justin I, he was baptized, given a court title, and invested with a Roman-style *chlamys but retained his Persian-style **tzangia* or red boots (*Theophanes, AM 6015; cf. **ChronPasch* AD 512 and *Malalas, XVII, 9). The ability to give gifts to those perceived as clients was also disputed, as it was understood that this was a mark of independent *diplomacy (*Menander Protector, fr. VI, 1, 515–44).

Although Rome and Persia attempted to portray powerful nomadic empires, such as the Huns, Hephthalites, or *Türks, as clients, the Romans and Persians were on occasion arguably reduced to tributary status themselves. For example, in the 5th century the Huns extracted huge indemnity payments from the Romans, reaching a peak under *Attila; the Romans made Attila a *Magister Militum and portrayed the payments not as *tribute but as 'military provisions' (*Priscus fr. II, 35–8; IX, 3, 1–10; XI, 2, 627). MPC

M. Canepa, 'Distant Displays of Power', *AO* 38 (2010), 121–54.
E. Chrysos, 'The Title *Basileus* in Early Byzantine International Relations', *DOP* 32 (1978), 29–75.
M. Whitby, 'The Balkans and Greece 420–602', in *CAH* XIV (2000), 701–30.
J.-J. Aillagon, ed., *Rome and the Barbarians* (2008).

clientship *See* PATRONAGE.

climate and climate change Climate has been studied primarily from a scientific perspective using proxy data, such as pollen, stable isotopes derived from polar ice cores, and geological data. Both long-term trends and short-term oscillations and variations have been detected in a variety of records including ice cores, tree-rings (dendrochronology), pollen, lake sediments, speleotherms (stalactites, stalagmites), and mollusc shells. Recent public concern about global warming has led to heightened interest in reconstructing past environments, including that of the Late Antique Mediterranean.

Global climate has been generally stable over the course of the Holocene (the current geological period which began about 11,700 years ago). Long-term climate trends depend on solar activity. Short-term climate oscillations often depend on the Sun (e.g. sunspot activity) and its effects on ocean currents and atmospheric temperatures. Volcanic events have also been linked to short-term climate change. The evidence at present only rarely permits the observation of short-term climate impact and charting local or regional change remains challenging.

Cyclical and anomalous climatic events have affected historical time. Beginning around 400 BC, lower temperatures and a wetter environment define the Sub-Atlantic Period marked in Europe by the expansion of beech forest. This long-term cooling trend was interrupted by the so-called Roman Warm Period (RWP) or Roman Climatic Optimum beginning *c.*280 BC and ending no later than AD 300–500. The RWP was the warmest climate phase of the late Holocene. During the RWP, average annual temperatures were as warm as, or even warmer than, those of the present and may have been as much as one degree Celsius higher than at present. Warmer temperatures allowed for longer growing seasons in northern latitudes, especially in *Gaul, the Rhineland, and in the British Isles.

At the end of Late Antiquity, temperatures around the world decreased. These centuries of global cooling, which spanned AD 500–800, have been referred to as the *Migration Period Pessimum (MPP), the Dark Ages Cold Period, or the Vandal Minimum Period (VMP). As the warmer climate of the RWP meant slightly longer growing seasons and better summer growing conditions for plants in the northern latitudes and uplands of the Roman Empire, the MPP reversed these conditions; pollen data from northern Europe indicate that forests retreated in some regions even though human pressure on these landscapes had diminished.

Multiple types of proxy data indicate that the MPP witnessed a period of especially cool temperatures in the mid-6th century. In this instance low temperatures may be linked to volcanic-forcing, related to increased activity. The so-called *Dust Veil of 536 produced an atmospheric haze which obscured the Sun and had dramatic impacts on the climate. Global tree-ring data indicate that plant photosynthesis was greatly reduced and crops probably diminished in many areas. The AD 536 event was probably caused by one or more volcanic eruptions—Ilopango (El Salvador) or proto-Krakatoa (Indonesia) have been suggested—as well as by possible impacts from meteorites or a *comet. The resultant conditions of the 'Year Without Summer' are described by *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, XII, 25; ET: Barnish (1992), 179–80): the Sun was cast blue and the full moon was dimmed, the summer was one of frost and drought, and crops perished. Tree-ring evidence suggests that unseasonal cold lasted from 536 to 545 and possibly as late as 550 in some places.

Millennial-scale precipitation trends in the Mediterranean Basin were largely functions of the interaction of the jet stream and sea surface temperatures in the North Atlantic which influenced storm tracks

over Europe and *Anatolia. In the climate record these periodic oscillations are expressed in a seesaw pattern: *Spain and the south-east Mediterranean experienced similar long-term fluctuations in precipitation in reverse to trends over the lands of the Central Mediterranean Basin and Anatolia. These long-term patterns affected the weather in the Late Antique Mediterranean, Spain, and Late Antique *Palestine (mod. Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Territories), and southern Anatolia gradually became cooler and drier after AD 500. At the same time the lands of the Central Mediterranean Basin and Anatolia experienced cooler and wetter weather. Climate change may have been influential in the end of the intensive farming regime in Anatolia known as the Beyşehir Occupation Phase which largely coincided with the peak period of Late Antique urbanism.

Scholars remain divided as to the level of agency to attribute to climate when assessing the transformations of Late Antiquity. Historians and classicists tend to be conservative in their views and often favour anthropogenically driven models of change, whereas archaeologists and climatologists generally view environmental phenomena as more important. On the whole, while present evidence suggests an inhospitable climate at the end of Late Antiquity, the precise effects of this remain under debate. MD

M. McCormick et al., 'Climate Change during and after the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the Past from Scientific and Historical Evidence', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43/2 (Autumn 2012), 16–220.

B. Gräslund and N. Price, 'Twilight of the Gods? The "Dust Veil Event" of AD 536 in Critical Perspective', *Antiquity* 86 (2012), 428–33.

climes, Greek and Roman A clime (Gk. *κλίμα*, Lat. *clima*) is a belt on the Earth that straddles a circle of constant geographical latitude. The clime is usually identified by the length of the longest day of the year, expressed in equinoctial hours (i.e. the modern hour). Thus, *Rome was sometimes said to be in the clime of fourteen hours. This was one of three common ways of specifying latitude. The others are the length of the noon shadow on the day of equinox and the altitude of the celestial pole (in degrees). In non-technical writing, it was often held that there are seven climes.

Eratosthenes and Hipparchus both listed places that lie on circles of constant latitude. Building on their work, Strabo (*Geography*, II, 5, 34–6) described the climes from 13 to 17 hours, generally by half-hour steps, with the latitude expressed in terms of the equinoctial shadow. The fullest extant treatment is in the astronomical and geographical works of *Ptolemy. In Ptolemy's table of ascensions (*Almagest* II, 13), the climes are listed as

12 hours	Equator	0° 00′
12½	Avalite Gulf	8 25
13	Meroe	16 27
13½	Syene	23 51
14	Lower Egypt	30 22
14½	Rhodes	36 00
15	Hellespont	40 56
15½	Middle of Pontus	45 01
16	Mouths of Borysthenes	48 32
16½	Southernmost Britain	51 30
17	Mouths of Tanais	54 01

But in other tables (*Almagest*, II, 13) Ptolemy pares this down to seven climes from Meroe to the Borysthenes by half-hour intervals. In his *Geography* and in *Almagest*, II, 6, he describes many more.

*Pliny's list of climes (*Natural History*, VI, 39, 211–20) helped popularize the subject in the Roman world. Pliny discusses seven climes with day lengths ranging from 14 to 15.6 hours, which he attributes to the ancients, but says that recent writers have added others. *Martianus Capella (VIII, 876) lists eight climes, with the northernmost eighth passing above Lake Maeotis (Sea of Azov) and below the Riphean Mountains. In the early 7th century, *Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, III, 42, 4) listed seven, from Meroe to the Borysthenes, with place associations that descended ultimately from Ptolemy. JCE

O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (1975), 43–5, 333–6, 725–33.

climes, Persian In *Zoroastrian cosmogony the earth is divided into seven climes (Pahl. *būm ī haft kišwar*) separated by waters, forests, and mountains (**Bundahišn*, 8, 5), with Ērānwēz, the mythical homeland of the Iranians, being located in the central clime, Xwanirah. Passage between the climes is only possible through the guidance of the gods or *demons (**Menog-e Xrad*, 9, 5). In Zoroastrian eschatology we find references to seven 'renovation-makers' (Pahlavi *frašgird-kardār*)—including the final revitalizer *Sosyans, located in Xwanirah—who each inhabit a clime respectively (**Dadestan-e Denig*, 35, 4–5). Xwanirah, the birthplace of the heroes of old and of the 'Good Religion' (i.e. Zoroastrianism, Pahlavi: *weh-dēn*) prior to its spread, is the most important clime and thus, *Ahriman produces more evil there in order to attempt to subdue it. YSDV

EncIran V/7 (1992) *s.n.* 713 (A. Tafażżolī).

clipping of coins The illegal practice of removing from the edges of coins a small quantity of metal mostly

practised on *gold and *silver, which afforded greater profit, even if it was difficult to obtain an appreciable quantity of metal because gold circulated by weight. The practice is attested by *John Chrysostom (*On the Epistle to the Galatians*, 1, 6). Clipped gold and silver coins have been found all over the Roman Empire, from *Britain to *Egypt. The *Sententiae* of *Paul (V, 25, 1) delineated penalties differentiated according to the social status of the criminal, but a law of AD 343 (*CTh* IX, 22, 1) applied the death penalty. FC

A. M. Burnett, 'Clipped Siliquae and the End of Roman Britain', *Britannia* 15 (1984), 163–8.

P. S. W. Guest, *The Late Roman Gold and Silver Coins from the Hoxne Treasure* (2005).

B. Penna, *Βυζαντινο νομισμα και παραχαρακτες*, in S. N. Troianos, ed., *Εγκλημα και τιμωρια στο Βυζαντιο* (2001), 273–94.

Clitunno, Tempietto del *See* SPOLETO.

cloisonné A technique by which a network of raised cells is soldered on a base metal plate (mostly *gold, *silver, or gilded *bronze) and filled with *enamel, cut *glass, or precious *stones. While in the Eastern Roman Empire cloisonné enamelling emerged as a complex figural art, in *Merovingian Europe garnet cloisonné was popular. For this the cut and polished flat garnet plates were placed over a bedding paste, backed by a light-reflecting patterned gold foil, and set into cells forming complex patterns. AHi

B. Arrhenius, *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery: Emergence and Social Implications* (1985).

E. Speel, *Dictionary of Enamelling: History and Techniques* (1998).

cloth *See* TEXTILES AND TEXTILE MANUFACTURE.

Clovis I (Chlodovech, Chlodwig, Ludovicus) (*c.*466–511) *Frankish King (481–511) Clovis was the son of *Childeric I and Basina of *Thuringia, and a member of the *Merovingian dynasty of Frankish kings. In 481, he succeeded his father as King of the Salian Franks in an area between the lower Rhine and the Scheldt, roughly corresponding to the Late Roman *province of *Belgica Secunda, where Childeric and Clovis were probably recognized by the Roman Empire as military commanders subordinate to the *Magister Militum. Clovis spent much of his reign expanding his territory, latterly at the expense of other Frankish leaders whom he eliminated, including *Ragnachar of *Cambrai, *Sigibert of *Cologne, and Chararic, but initially by defeating various non-Frankish rivals for power in Gaul. At the Battle of *Soissons in 486, he defeated *Syagrius, son of *Aegidius, whom *Gregory of *Tours styled 'King of the Romans', and expanded his power in northern *Gaul. He subsequently fought with the *Thuringians and the *Burgundians, though both groups remained independent until after his death. His sister Audofled had married *Theoderic, the *Ostrogothic King of *Italy, whose diplomatic efforts to prevent war between his kinsmen Clovis and *Alaric II, King of the *Visigoths, proved unavailing. In 507 Clovis defeated and killed Alaric II in battle, extending Frankish power south of the Loire into *Aquitaine. Theoderic soon intervened to limit the southward expansion of the Franks and their Burgundian allies, but Clovis returned to *Tours in triumph, and received some form of imperial recognition from the *Emperor *Anastasius I. At his death in 511, his much-expanded kingdom was divided among his four sons: *Theuderic I, *Chlodomer, *Childebert I, and *Clothar I, setting a precedent for future divisions of the Frankish kingdom between multiple rulers.

In addition to extending his realm, Clovis consolidated his power through *law. In the secular sphere, he may have presided over the first codification of Salic law into the **Lex Salica* or *Pactus Legis Salicae*; while this text is not precisely datable, it was certainly codified before the year 507. In the religious sphere, he summoned the first *Council of *Orléans in 511, shortly before his death. This church council reformed and standardized religious practice throughout his kingdom, and strengthened ties between the Gallo-Roman *bishops and the king. He also made *Paris his capital and was buried there in the Church of the Holy Apostles, which he had founded, and which subsequently became S. Geneviève.

At an unknown date, Clovis married Chlothild, niece of the Burgundian King *Gundobad, who had killed her father *Chilperic II. Chlothild was a Catholic, and according to Gregory of Tours, she made determined efforts to convert her husband, only for their first son to die shortly after his *baptism. Ultimately, Gregory relates how during a battle against the *Alamans, Clovis promised God that he would convert in exchange for *victory. After winning the battle, Clovis was baptized in the Catholic faith by *Remigius, Bishop of *Reims, on *Christmas Day, leading to the *conversion of the Franks as a whole. Two controversies surround Clovis' conversion: the year in which it occurred, and the faith from which he converted. The traditional interpretation, derived from Gregory of Tours's account, suggests that he converted directly from *paganism to Catholicism in or soon after 496, and that combating *Homoean ('*Arian') *heresy was part of Clovis' rationale for his war against the Visigoths. An alternative interpretation, based primarily around a *letter of *Avitus of *Vienne (*ep.* 46), suggests that Clovis may have initially flirted with

Homoean ('Arian') Christianity, and that his *baptism as a Catholic took place as late as 508, after his victory at *Vouillé. It is unlikely, in any event, that religious differences played a significant part in Clovis' dealings with rival barbarian kingdoms. EMB

PLRE II, Chlodovechus.

I. Wood, 'Gregory of Tours and Clovis', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985), 249–72.

M. Spencer, 'Dating the Baptism of Clovis, 1886–1993', *EME* 3 (1994), 97–116.

W. Daly, 'Clovis: How Barbaric, How Pagan?', *Speculum* 69 (1994), 619–64.

M. Rouche, ed., *Clovis, histoire et mémoire: actes du colloque interational d'histoire re Reims*, 2 vols. (1997).

D. R. Shanzer, 'Dating the Baptism of Clovis: The Bishop of Vienne vs. the Bishop of Tours', *EME* 7 (1998), 29–57.

E. Renard, 'Le *Pactus Legis Salicae*, reglement militaire romain ou code de lois compilé sous Clovis?', *BEC* 167 (2009), 321–52.

Clovis II (633–57) *Frankish King from 639. The son of *Dagobert I and Nantechild, he became King of *Neustria and *Burgundy in infancy in 639 and remained for much of his reign under the influence of his mother and *court officials such as *Erchinoald (*Fredegar Continuatus, 1), who promoted his *marriage to *Balthild (*VBalthildis* 3). He left three sons: *Chlothar III, *Theuderic III, and *Childeric II (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 42–4). JHo

PLRE IIIA, Chlodoveus (Clovis II).

Clovis III (*c.*677–694/5) *Frankish King from 690/1. Succeeded his father *Theuderic III as sole king, under the domination of the *Mayor of the Palace *Pippin II (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 49; Fredegar Continuatus, 6. JHo

LexMA 2, 1869 'Chlodwig III' (U. Nonn).

Clunia Large Roman *city in northern *Spain which was until the administrative reforms under the *Tetrarchy the capital of a **conventus* in the northern plateau of Spain. Clunia lost this status and consequently declined in size and importance. It was not immediately abandoned, but many public buildings were converted to different uses, including a *temple which was turned into *houses and a *bath made into a *pottery workshop. A *cemetery used from the 5th into the 7th century has been excavated in the *forum. EMB

A. Cepas, 'The Ending of the Roman City: The Case of Clunia in the Northern Plateau of Spain', in W. Davies, G. Halsall, and A. Reynolds, eds., *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300* (2007), 187–207.

Clysma Capital of a *nome, with a *harbour on the Gulf of Suez and, with *Aila, the most important *harbour on the northern part of the Red Sea in Late Antiquity. The harbour was connected to the *Nile by Trajan's canal to *Babylon (mod. Cairo). Clysma rose to prominence after the 4th century, perhaps in correlation with the disruption of the route which carried Indian Ocean goods to *Coptos overland by way of *Myos Hormos and *Berenice. *Papyri of the 4th and 5th centuries refer to villagers cleaning the canal, perhaps in connection with revitalized activities at the harbour. The pilgrim *Egeria knew it as the place where the Children of Israel crossed the Red Sea. Under *Anastasius I, a *commercius* controlled foreign *trade at Clysma. Clysma's commercial importance increased under *Justin I and *Justinian I, and the *Martyrium of *Arethas* (*c.*530) mentions that Clysma could send twenty ships to assist a Roman-backed Aksumite military expedition. KS

Copt Enc vol. 2 *s.n.* Clysma cols. 565a–565b (R.-G. Coquin and M. Martin).

P. Mayerson, 'The Port of Clysma (Suez) in Transition from Roman to Arab Rule', *JNES* 55/2 (1996), 119–26.

CN Value mark on 6th-century silver coins from *Italy, sometimes termed **siliqua* but of unknown name. CN, representing 250, gives the value of the coin in **nummi*. These coins appear to have been ceremonial issues restricted to the West. RRD

DOC 1.

Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*.

Codex Amiatinus and related leaves Three complete *Vulgate Bibles, in uncial *script, were produced under *Abbot Ceolfrith (688–716) at *Wearmouth-Jarrow (*Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 15). One, a gift for *Rome, is now in Florence (ms. Amiatino 1). Other related leaves are in the British Library: the Middleton Leaves (Addit. 45025), Greenwell Leaf (Addit. 37777), and Bankes Leaf (Loan ms. 81). NAS

CLA II, 177; III, 299; *Add.* p. 351.

M. B. Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow* (Jarrow Lecture, 1982).

R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 15, 1995).

Codex Argenteus The 'silver book' is one of the earliest and most important *purple codices of Late Antiquity. Now in Uppsala University Library (with a further fragment bearing the final words of S. Mark's Gospel, found in 1970 in a *reliquary in Speyer), this Gospel book was penned in *silver uncial *script on purple pages, in a treasure binding. It was probably made for the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic in *Ravenna or *Brescia and contains the Gospels in the 4th-century translation of the *Bible into the Gothic language and alphabet, attributed to *Ulfilas, missionary

from *Constantinople to the *Homoean ('*Arian') Goths of *Moesia (modern Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Romania). The decoration consists of a few large, framed initials and, at the bottom of each page, a silver architectural arcade enclosing the *monograms of the Four Evangelists. One hundred and eighty-seven of the original 336 leaves were preserved at the former Benedictine abbey of Werden (near Essen, Rhineland); it has been in Uppsala since 1669. MPB

Codex argenteus Upsalensis jussu Senatus Universitatis phototypice editus (1927).

M. P. Brown, ed., *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000*, exhibition catalogue, Freer and Sackler Museum (Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC, 2006).

Codex-Calendar of 354 The *Chronograph of 354*, as it is more appropriately termed, is a copiously illustrated compendium of dates and other information put together in 353/4 by the calligrapher Furius Dionysius *Filocalus for a Roman *senator called Valentinus. It survives in whole or in part in various manuscript copies ranging in date from Carolingian times to the 17th century.

The manuscript tradition is complex and it would appear that a number of documents have accrued to it which did not form part of the original compilation. The most important of these additions are the **Liber Generationis*, the **Breviarium Vindobonense* (called in Mommsen's edition the *Chronica Urbis Romae*), the **Consularia Vindobonensia Priora*, and the **Notitia XIV Regionum Urbis*.

The *Chronograph* was originally composed of an illustrated section which comprised the following: a dedication to Valentinus, *personifications of the *cities of *Rome, *Constantinople, *Alexandria, and *Trier, an imperial dedication and a table of anniversaries of imperial *accessions (*Natales Caesarum*), seven tables for the days of the week with their ruling planets and their effect on human affairs (*Imagines Planetarum VII*), three lists of the signs of the *Zodiac and their astrological effect (*Effectus XII Signorum*), an illustrated monthly Calendar, and portraits of the *consuls of 354 (*Constantius II and *Gallus Caesar).

This was followed by an unillustrated section, containing a list of *consuls from AUC 254 (= 509 BC) to AD 354 (*Fasti Consulares*), a list of the dates of *Easter from 312, subsequently extended into the early 5th century (*Cyclus Paschalis*), a list of those who had held office as *Praefectus Urbi at Rome from 254 to 354, a list of the burial places of recent *bishops of Rome (*Depositio Episcoporum*) organized by the anniversary of their deaths and starting on 27 December, a list of Christian *martyrs and Christian festivals similarly organized and starting with 25 December (*Depositio Martyrum*), and a chronological list of bishops of Rome from S. Peter to *Liberius (352–66) (*Episcopi Romani*, the so-called Liberian Catalogue).

The text was not composed expressly for the *Chronograph*. The *Depositio Episcoporum* was derived from an original compiled in 336, as the latest bishop listed according to the anniversary of his death (*Sylvester) died on the last day of 335, but two subsequent bishops (one of whom died in 336) have been added at the end to bring the list down to 352.

The *Chronograph* contains valuable information. The *Fasti Consulares* is one of the two most complete lists of consuls and their dates (the other being the **Descriptio Consulum*). The table of dates of Easter covers the years 312–411, using a 532 cycle comparable to that of *Victorius of *Aquitaine. The list of Prefects of the City is complete from 254 to 354. The *Depositio Martyrum* and the *Fasti Consulares* are the earliest texts to mark 25 December as the anniversary of the birth of Christ, and also contain the names of such martyrs as S. Agnes, S. Sebastian, and S. *Lawrence, who are likely to be historical even though their surviving *martyr passions are fictional. The compiler of the Liberian Catalogue drew on the same material later used by the early 6th-century **Liber Pontificalis*. The whole is more than a miscellany; it illustrates the Late Roman preoccupation with associating together human events and the mathematics of chronology in a way which gave rise to the science of computus. OPN; NAS

HLL 5, section 531.2. Text: ed. T. Mommsen, 'Chronographus Anni CCCLIIII', in *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9, 1892).

Illustrations: H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354: étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (1953).

Salzman, *On Roman Time*.

R. W. Burgess, 'The Chronograph of 354: Its Manuscripts, Contents, and History', *JLA* 5 (2012), 345–96.

codicilli Certificates of appointment for the highest-ranking civil and military posts, or their honorary equivalents, signed by the *emperor (cf. **probatoria* issued to the imperial *civil service). The term (Lat. 'little books') refers both to the document (*scriptura*) and the *diptych that formed its presentation case. CMK

Berger, *Insignia*, 175–83.

Alan Cameron, 'The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 103 (2013), 174–207, at 175-9.

Codinus *See* PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

coemptio (Gk. *synônê*) Refundable requisition or forced sale, specifically *taxation in kind. *Coemptio* developed as the counterpart to the monetary commutation (**adaeratio*) of **annona*. It constituted a form of fiscal levy, inasmuch as the state fixed the amount refunded of *grain or other foodstuff. This was helpful to the state when it needed to supply an *army in a

particular region. It was applied at a rate that was probably advantageous to the state, or at least at a rate that offset the effect of any rise in prices in regional markets. The basic function of *coemptio* in the Late Roman period was to enable the state to obtain supplies directly when it needed to do so, without recourse to market exchange. By contrast, the development of *coemptio* in the 6th and 7th centuries in the Byzantine East is debated; it may have preserved its original character as an exceptional levy or it may have been transformed into a periodical tax obligation. PT

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert* (2002).
J. Haldon, 'Synônê: Re-considering a Problematic Term of the Middle Byzantine Fiscal Administration', *BMGS* 18 (1994), 116–53.
E. Lo Cascio, 'Meccanismi aderativi e politica tributaria nel IV secolo: da Mickwitz a Mazzarino e oltre', in M. Kajava, ed., *Gunnar Mickwitz nella storiografia europea tra le due guerre* (2007), 85–98.
D. Vera, 'Dalla liturgia al contratto: Cassiodoro, Variae X, 28 e il tramonto della città curiale', in I. M. Viso and P. C. Diaz, eds., *Between Taxation and Rent: Fiscal Problems from Early Antiquity to Early Middle Ages* (2010), 51–70.

coenobium (from Gk. *koinos* = common and *bios* = life) A *monastery with a communal life and a rule, like that of *Pachomius, in contrast to the looser organization of a *lavra, or the solitary life of an *anachoretes*. OPN

Chitty, *Desert a City*, 11, 20–7.
Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 115–16.

cohortales Generic term for staff in the provincial *administration, responsible for assisting a provincial *governor with legal and financial matters. Numbers varied by *province, but 100 appears to be a common number. They were paid at similar rates to soldiers, though often had the ability to extract additional fees for their services. Like soldiers, they were theoretically hereditary, though numerous laws show that many evaded or ignored this requirement. Others were attracted to service as *cohortales* as this was felt to be less onerous than serving as a **decurio* on a *city council and also because *cohortales* were exempt from military service. *See also* ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN PROVINCIAL. HE

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*.

Coimbra *See* CONIMBRIGA AND AEMINIUM.

coinage, Aksumite The kingdom of Aksum issued its own coinage in *gold, *silver, and *copper alloy from the late 3rd to the mid-7th centuries AD. For the greater part of this period, the designs on issues in silver and copper were emphasized by selective gilding. Estimates for the date of the first issues, under King Endybis, range between 270 and 290. All inscriptions were initially in *Greek, although under the kings WZB and MHDYS unvocalized *Ge'ez was employed. From the early 6th-century reign of *Kaleb, Ge'ez was used on the locally circulating silver and copper, with Greek continuing on the internationally circulating gold. The coins provide evidence of a broadly agreed sequence of rulers until Kaleb, but evidence for subsequent reigns is disputed. Initially, both obverse and reverse showed the king's portrait; this continued on the gold throughout the series, but distinct reverse types were employed on silver and copper from the 4th century. Use of the royal portrait on both sides of the coins may have been inspired by southern *Arabian usage, although the weight-standard of the gold seems to have been based on that prevailing in the Roman Empire. Aksumite religion was almost invariably indicated by a symbol—crescent-and-disc initially, the cross after *Ezana's adoption of *Christianity—above the royal portrait. DWP

S. C. Munro-Hay and B. Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage* (1995).
W. Hahn, 'Aksumite Numismatics: A Critical Survey of Recent Research', *RevNum* 155 (2000), 281–311.
W. Hahn, 'The Sequence and Chronology of the Late Aksumite Coin Types Reconsidered', *JnlOrNumSoc* 205 (2010), 5–21.
W. Hahn and V. West, *Sylloge of Aksumite coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (2016).
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 181–93.

coinage, Anglo-Saxon The *Anglo-Saxons reintroduced monetary circulation and minting into post-Roman *Britain on the model of the Merovingian *coinage. Merovingian coins were already circulating in Britain from the 6th century onwards. From the 7th century the Anglo-Saxons minted their own **tremisses* (often called **thrymsas*, but more probably corresponding to the Old English *shelling*, of which the *thrymsas* represented one-third). They minted, on Merovingian standards of weight and fineness, very few **solidi*. Their design was also inspired by Merovingian productions. As in *Gaul, the fineness dropped constantly till in the last quarter of the 7th century the gold coinage was replaced by *silver.

Silver pennies (often inappropriately described as **sceattas*), again similar in weight and dimensions to Merovingian **denarii*, were then minted in much larger quantities than the previous gold coins, and in the 8th century coin production extended from south-east England northwards and westwards. After a brief interruption around the mid-8th century, coinage was revived by King Offa of Mercia, with broader and

thinner pennies influenced by the coins of the Merovingian *Pippin III. Most coins are uninscribed or imitate the legends of their models. Another group is inscribed with unknown words, sometimes using *runes, or with the names of the moneyer, of the mint, of the *bishop. Only a few bear regal names (such as those of Eadbald of Kent on gold, and Aldfrith of Northumbria and Offa on silver). In the 8th century Northumbria developed a regal coinage. FC

T. Abramson, *Sceatta List* (2012).
D. Chick, *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries* (2007).
A. Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* (2003).
P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).
D. M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 3 vols. (1993–4).
G. Williams, 'The Circulation and Function of Coinage in Conversion-Period England, c.AD 580–675', in B. Cook and G. Williams, eds., *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c.500–1250: Essays in Honour of M. Archibald* (2006), 145–92.

coinage, barbarian *See* COINAGE, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN.

coinage, Burgundian The *Burgundians started minting **solidi* at the end of the 5th century, under *Gundobad (whose *monogram was added to the coins) and probably also under *Godegisel. Earlier productions are possible but not surely identified. The Burgundians minted *pseudo-imperial *gold coins in the names of *Valentinian III, *Anastasius I, *Justin I, and *Justinian I, two denominations of *silver coins, and one of divisional similar to Roman AE4. Mints have been identified at *Lyons, *Chalon-sur-Saône, and Geneva. Minting ceased with the conquest of the kingdom by the *Franks in 532. Coin circulation in the kingdom was regulated by *Constitutiones Extravagantes*, 21, 7 (MGH LL nat. Germ. 2, 1 [1892], 120–1) This identified four kinds of coin minted with less pure gold which could be accepted only for the quantity of metal contained in them. The identification of these coins is somewhat problematic. FC

RIC X.
P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).
J. Lafaurie, 'Solidi à la titulature d'Anastase attribuables aux Burgondes', in *BSFN* 43 (1988), 480–2.
W. A. Oddy, 'The *Moneta Genavensis* and the *Lex Burgundionum*', in *RevNum*, série 6, vol. 22 (1980), 131–5.

coinage, civic In the Eastern Roman Empire many *cities produced their own *coinages for local circulation. This was a continuation of the tradition practised by cities since Hellenistic times and earlier. Most of these coinages were of base metal (copper, *bronze, or brass), but a few were of *silver or debased silver. The Severan period in the early 3rd century witnessed the greatest number of civic communities issuing their own coins. It is thought that *debasement of imperial silver coinage in the mid-3rd century made civic coinage unprofitable to produce, because the number of cities making such coins declined rapidly during this period. The last civic coinage was issued at *Perge in *Pamphylia for the *Emperor *Tacitus (AD 275–6). KETB

K. Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins: An Introduction to the Greek Imperials* (1988).
K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East, A.D. 180–275* (TCH 12, 1987).

coinage, Frisian *Frisia was a region whose importance in international *trade increased dramatically in the 6th century, as it became a crossroads for routes connecting the Atlantic coasts, Scandinavia, the Rhône Valley and the Mediterranean, and *Constantinople. Coins of different provenances were circulating here, as demonstrated by the local *hoards.

Coins were minted locally in many 'irregular' mints, which adopted forms similar to the *Merovingian 'moneyers' coinage'. *Dorestad, the main commercial centre and mint of the region, was for long periods under *Merovingian control, and the moneyers Rimoaldus and Madelinus from Maastricht were active there. The productions of Madelinus served also as models for the 'Frisian imitations', and so were coins which were seem to have been minted further north and themselves also often imitated Merovingian productions.

Uninscribed *silver **sceattas* were also minted In Frisia. In the third quarter of the 7th century these probably came to be a substitute for *gold coins and, at least to start with, they continued the designs of the coins of the moneyer Madelinus. FC

P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).
W. Op den Velde and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Monetary Economy of the Netherlands, *c.*690–*c.*715 and the Trade with England: A Study of the Sceattas of Series D', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 90 (2003), 1–211.
A. Pol, 'A New Sceat of the Dorestat/Madelinus-Type', *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage* 1 (2008), 119–22.

coinage, Islamic Early Islamic coins used pre-Islamic numismatic terminology and iconography. The *Arabic for *gold, *silver, and *copper coins is, respectively, **dinar* (Lat. *denarius*), **dirham* (Gk. *drachma*), and *fils* (Lat. *folles*). No coins minted by *Muhammad or the first two *caliphs survive, and between 652 (the earliest extant coins bearing marks attributable to the *caliphate) and 691, *dinars* and *fils*

retained Byzantine imperial *insignia and the *Cross, while *dirhams* retained images of the *Sasanian Shah's bust and the *Zoroastrian *fire altar. These 'Arab-Byzantine' and 'Arab-Sasanian' coins are identifiable as 'Islamic' only by their *inscriptions: first, one- or two-word Arabic phrases such as *jayyid* ('valid tender'), or *bism-Allah* ('in the name of God'); in 661 the caliph's name appears on some *dirhams* (in *Pahlavi, not Arabic); between 681 and 696 further Muslim pious inscriptions were added. In 691/2 an Arab-Sasanian coin of the governor of *Sistan, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir, replaced the usual image of the fire altar with text reciting the Muslim profession of faith, though in Pahlavi, not Arabic (Mochiri, 169). It anticipated the major innovations of the Caliph *'Abd al-Malik in *Damascus.

In 691, following the Second **Fitna* (*Arab Civil War), 'Abd al-Malik began some unprecedented experiments, replacing the fire altar on Arab-Sasanian *dirham*s first with an image of a standing swordsman (perhaps the caliph), then a spear (*'anaza*) and prayer-niche (**mihrab*) (possibly an arch) (Treadwell, 13–15, 19–21). On Arab-Byzantine *dinars*, he effaced the Cross and replaced Byzantine imperial *portraits with the standing swordsman. In 696, he made final, comprehensive changes, issuing coinage stamped only with circular and horizontal bands of Arabic text recording the mint, date, and pious Muslim formulae. 'Abd al-Malik's aniconic design was a radical and complete Arabization and standardization: he minted these coins in all provinces of the caliphate and created a standard for Islamic coinage—subsequent *Umayyad and *Abbasid issues perpetuated the text-only format.

High-quality Abbasid *dinar*s spread widely in Late Antiquity; even Offa, King of Mercia (r. 757–96) in central England, struck (poorer-quality) imitations of the *dinar*s of al-Mansur with a passable rendering of the Arabic inscriptions, demonstrating the value ascribed to Abbasid coinage in distant England. PAW

M. L. Bates, 'History, Geography and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage', *Revue suisse de numismatique* 65 (1986), 231–62.

P. Grierson, 'The Monetary Reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik', *JESHO* 3 (1960), 241–64.

M. I. Mochiri, 'The Pahlavi Forerunner of the Umayyad Reformed Coinage', *JRAS* (1981), 168–72.

W. L. Treadwell, '"Mihrab and ʿanaza" or "sacrum and spear"?', *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), 1–28.

coinage, Lombard The *Lombards started minting shortly after the invasion of *Italy (AD 568). Earlier coin productions cannot be identified with certainty. At first they minted only *gold in the form of *pseudo-imperial coins (almost entirely **tremisses*), on the weight standard of the Eastern Roman Empire and with a high degree of fineness. Starting with *Cunincpert (AD 688–700) a regal gold coinage was inaugurated, which continued till the Carolingian invasion, showing a constant reduction in fineness.

A regal *silver coinage was also developed in parallel. This was introduced under *Perctarit (AD 672–88); it was minted probably in small quantities and production was interrupted around 730. Gold was minted additionally in Tuscany in the form of an autonomous municipal coinage bearing the name of the town, starting *c.* AD 700. Under Gisulf I (689–706), the Duchy of *Benevento also started to mint pseudo-imperial gold coins showing the *monogram of the *Dux; Grimoald III (788–806) added his full name to the coins and introduced a silver **denarius*, minted, though not continuously, till the mid-9th century AD. The principality of Salerno also minted *solidi* and *denarii* in the 9th century. FC

E. Bernareggi, *Moneta Langobardorum*, tr. Paolo Visonà (1989; Italian original 1983).

F. Carlà, 'The End of Roman Gold Coinage and the Disintegration of a Monetary Area', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 56 (2010), 103–72.

P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).

A. Rovelli, 'Some Considerations on the Coinage of Lombard and Carolingian Italy', in I. L. Hansen and C. Wickham, eds., *The Long Eighth Century* (2000), 195–223.

coinage, Merovingian Since their settlement on the territory of *Gaul the *Merovingians started minting coins. As in other *successor states, *gold was initially minted as *pseudo-imperial coins (mostly **tremisses*), though *silver and *bronze coins sporadically bear the name of the kings. The coins show heterogeneity in style, which hints at a multiplicity of mints; this was characteristic of later Merovingian coinage. Weight, iconography, and fineness are homogeneous, and hint at centralized control.

A national coinage first developed under *Theudebert I, around 539. In different towns gold coins were minted in the name of the king, an innovation which scandalized the East Roman historian *Procopius (*Gothic*, III, 33). This innovation did not have further success, and national coinage was developed only with *Sigibert I (after 561), while the Provençal area went on minting pseudo-imperial coins (known as 'quasi-imperial') till the early 7th century. National coins seldom bear the name of the king. They mostly have a record of the locations (*c.*800) where the coins were minted and of the moneyer (*monetarius*), presumably an official controlling the production. They more seldom indicate the institution (e.g. *racio fisci*) responsible for the minting.

Nevertheless regularities in weight and fineness hint at centralized control. A reform was consistently

introduced *c.*585 raising the fineness to *c.*95% and changing the weight standard to a *tremissis* of 7 **siliquae*. Fineness declines progressively later, reaching *c.*50% around the middle of the 7th century. After this the gold coinage was abandoned and replaced by the silver coinage typical of the Carolingian period. FC

G. Depeyrot, *Le Numéraire mérovingien: l'âge de l'or*, 4 vols. (1998).

P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).

coinage, Ostrogothic After their conquest of *Italy, the Ostrogoths, like *Odoacer before them, continued to mint *gold, *silver, and divisional coins in *Rome, *Ravenna, and, in their earlier years, in *Milan. During the *Byzantine invasion Ticinum (*Pavia) had a mint, and silver was minted in *Sirmium.

The gold coinage consisted of *pseudo-imperial coins. One medallion with the portrait and titulature of *Theoderic constitutes no exception since it was minted for a special distribution and was not a normal coin. Silver was mostly minted as half- or quarter-*siliqua*. The divisional coinage was reformed at the end of the 5th century to a system analogous to the reformed *Vandal and East Roman systems, with pieces valued at 40, 20, 15, 10, 5, and 2.5 **nummi*.

*Cassiodorus' *Variae* contain considerable information about coins and their circulation. The supervision of minting was still in the hands of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum (*Variae*, 6, 7), while *Variae*, 7, 32 is the *formula for the superintendent of a mint (maybe with the title of *Procurator). FC

E. A. Arslan, 'Dalla classicità al Medioevo: la moneta degli Ostrogoti', in *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 33 (2004), 429–62.

P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).

F. F. Kraus, *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien* (1928).

S. Suchodolski, 'Remarques sur les monnaies des Ostrogoths', in *RivItNum* 91 (1989), 151–80.

coinage, Persian *Sasanian coinage was produced throughout the *Persian Empire in mints which were apparently tightly controlled. Coins form a crucial primary source for Sasanian monetary, economic, political, and art history.

The primary denomination of Sasanian coinage was the *silver drachm, inherited from the Parthians, though *Ardashir I increased the weight from 3.7 g to 4.2 g. Most rulers produced fractional silver and *copper coinage. Small numbers of prestige *gold issues were produced for purposes of publicity and to compete with *Roman and Kushan gold. The use made of Sasanian coinage as *money within the empire is unclear, except for limited textual evidence for the payment of taxes in coin.

Iconographically, Sasanian coinage remained very consistent from the 3rd to the 7th centuries, though in point of style its portraits and reverses become progressively stylized. Coins usually bore the royal portrait on the obverse and a *fire altar with two attendants on the reverse, Sasanian coins contained multiple rims, and late Sasanian coins characteristically included astral symbols outside the rims. Legends were in Pahlavi. They include the name and titles of the King of Kings on the obverse and on the reverse the phrase 'fire of (name of king)' and, at times, a slogan. Minting location is occasionally indicated. Each king adopted a personal *crown with divine and astral symbols. These were, by and large, unique to him. Exceptions are in cases of an initial co-regency (e.g. Ardashir I and *Shapur I) and in the late Sasanian period when crowns become very stylized and often similar. If a king suffered a serious defeat, he might adopt a new crown (e.g. *Narseh).

Sasanian coinage was used extensively in *trade, especially with *Central Asia and *China, and it formed a model for types struck in areas adjacent to the Persian Empire, such as those ruled by the *Hephthalites and *Kidarites. After the *Arab conquest, in areas of the early *Umayyad *caliphate formed from the heartlands of the Sasanian Empire Arab-Sasanian issues imitated Sasanian design but with *Arabic legends, until the coinage reform of *'Abd al-Malik in the 690s created a new, aniconic Muslim coinage. The form of the Islamic silver *dirham nonetheless owed its distinctive silver fabric and wide flan to Sasanian minting techniques. The primary work of reference for Sasanian coins is the *Sylloge nummorum Sasanidarum*, whose volumes are organized by individual coin collections. RRD; MPC

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Sasanian Coinage (N. Schindel).

M. Alram and R. Gyselen, *Sylloge nummorum Sasanidarum: Paris–Berlin–Wien* (2003–12).

R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, tr. from German by P. Severin (1971).

N. Schindel, 'Sasanian Coinage', in D. T. Potts, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (2013), 814–39.

coinage, Roman and post-Roman The coined metals which circulated legally within the Roman state, and the coinage issued by successor powers of Rome in parts of the West, based on Roman models, were a multi-metallic system with interrelated precious and base metal denominations.

Roman coinage was issued by multiple mints throughout the Empire, with stringent control maintained over the production of precious metal coinage, which was regarded as a state prerogative. In addition to

functioning as an economic medium, Roman coinage was a vehicle for state representation. Late Antiquity most strikingly witnessed a move away from naturalistic imperial *portraiture, though the imperial portrait and the *emperor's name remained a standard and significant part of *gold and *silver coin designs. Roman coinage also frequently bore *personifications of cities, depictions of military figures, and, from *Constantine I, some *Christian symbols.

Throughout Late Antiquity Roman coinage was plagued by *debasement and *inflation, precipitating periodic reform. It is consequently characterized by enormous complexity, often reflecting a real lack of systematization at the point of production. Civil wars and revolt by *usurpers in Late Antiquity contributed to monetary irregularity, as competing parties frequently issued currency simultaneously. Nevertheless, significant trends in precious- and base-metal coinage in this period paved the way for subsequent post-Roman minting.

In precious-metal coinage, gold replaced silver as the dominant metal in the Roman monetary system. The silver **denarius* had been at the heart of classical Roman coinage. From the 2nd century AD onwards severe debasement and weight reduction reduced its value and reliability. Attempts to stabilize the silver coinage proved unsuccessful. *Diocletian's coinage reform of AD 294 included a silver denomination but focused on a new gold coin, the **solidus*. In response to continued instability, *Constantine I reformed the Roman coinage again in 312. The weight of the *solidus* was reduced but it was retained as the standard precious-metal denomination. From this point, silver coinage would play only a sporadic and subsidiary role in what was effectively a bi-metallic gold-*bronze Roman coinage.

Roman base-metal coinage in Late Antiquity poses severe challenges for numismatists as erratic weights and (often) crude minting defy classification into a clearly demarcated denomination system. In the East Roman Empire the problem of the copper coinage was resolved by the coinage reform of *Anastasius I in AD 498. Widely considered the beginning of a distinctively Byzantine coinage, this reform stabilized the relationship of the gold coinage (centred on the Constantinian-weight *solidus*) with the copper **nummus*, the lowest denomination and theoretical unit of account. The 40-*nummi* coin, or **follis*, became the dominant low-denomination coin in what remained a highly monetized Late Roman economy.

In those areas of the West which came under the authority of non-Roman rulers in Late Antiquity, post-Roman coinages were produced following to differing degrees Roman monetary practice. Post-Roman coinages initially adopted the previously Roman prerogative of minting gold. The sole right of the Roman emperor to be depicted on gold coinage was asserted fiercely though ineffectively by *Procopius when the *Merovingian king *Theudebert I of Francia issued his own s*olidi* in 534 (**Gothic*, VII, 33), reflecting the importance of minting gold coinage as a prestige activity representative of government privilege inherited from Roman coinage. Subsequently, however, there was a gradual shift towards silver as the dominant precious-metal coinage in the Late Antique West. While the design and weight standard of gold coinage in the post-Roman West represented a clear continuity with Roman coinage, the generally lower volume of base-metal issues and the diverse levels and forms of state control over minting are clear discontinuities. RRD

C. H. V. Sutherland, R. A. G. Carson, et al., eds., *Roman Imperial Coinage* (1923–).
A. Burnett, *Coins in the Roman World* (1987).
R. A. G. Carson, G. P. V. Hill, and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (1989).
R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (1994).
K. Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Empire* (1986).
P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (1982).
P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).
K. W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (1996).
W. V. Harris, ed., *The Monetary Systems of the Greeks and Romans* (2008).
A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P. A. Brunt (1974).
D. Sears, *Roman Coins and their Values III: The Accession of Maximinus to the Death of Carinus A.D. 235–285* (2005).
D. Sears, *Roman Coins and their Values: Tetrarchies and the Rise of the House of Constantine: The Collapse of Paganism and the Triumph of Christianity, Diocletian to Constantine, A. D. 284–337* (2010).

coinage, Suebian The *Suebes minted *gold, *silver, and *bronze coins. Gold was minted at first as *pseudo-imperial coins. The chronology is difficult to define: pieces in the name of *Honorius could have been minted *c.*450, at a time of tension with *Valentinian III, recalling the *emperor who granted the treaty of AD 418. Only in the last years of the kingdom did a national production show the name of the place of minting. The name and portrait of the last king before the *Visigothic conquest, Audeca, also appears on one **tremissis*. Silver coins are known from the mid-5th century onwards, and they indeed bear the name of the dead Emperor Honorius on the *recto*, explicitly mentioning the King *Rechiarius on the *verso* (*iussu Rechiari regis*): this is the first monetary production mentioning the name of the local king; this would not have been acceptable on gold. Suebian coins were not abundant and are very irregular in weight and fineness. FC

P. Grierson, 'A Tremissis of the Suevic King Audeca (584–585)', in *Estudos di Castelo Branco*, II/6 (1962), 27–32.
P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).

coinage, Vandal The *Vandal Kingdom was the only Roman-Germanic kingdom which minted no *gold, though gold coins from other regions circulated and were used as a unit of account, as demonstrated by the *Albertini Tablets. After some sporadic production under *Geiseric, which followed on from minting by *Boniface, the last *Comes Africae, the Vandals started producing *silver coins in three denominations (seldom 100 **denarii*, regularly 50 and 25 *denarii*) systematically under *Gunthamund. Divisonal coins were also minted, and it was probable that the **follis*, with a value of 42 **nummi* and submultiples of 21, 12, and 4 *nummi*, was first introduced in late 5th-century *Africa; this reform was later adopted also in *Ostrogothic *Italy and in the Eastern Roman Empire. This introduction of the *follis* led to an extensive countermarking of older coins with the values 83 and 42. Such countermarked coins, like all Vandalic coins, were widely circulated around the Mediterranean, thus demonstrating the vitality of the kingdom's *trade. The copper coinage was minted by the royal administration, but was organized on a local level as 'municipal coinage'. FC

D. Castrizio, 'Per una rilettura del sistema monetario vandalo (note preliminari)', in M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri, and C. Vismara, eds., *L'Africa Romana* XV (2004), 741–55.
P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).
C. Morrisson, 'La Diffusion de la monnaie de Carthage hors d'Afrique du V^e^ au VII^e^ siècle', in S. Lancel, ed., *Numismatique, langues, écritures et arts du livre, spécificité des arts figurés* (1999), 109–18.
C. Morrisson, 'Caratteristiche ed uso della moneta protovandalica e vandalica', in P. Delogu, ed., *Le invasioni barbariche nel meridione dell'Impero: Visigoti, Vandali, Ostrogoti* (2001), 151–80.

coinage, Visigothic The *Visigoths started minting in *Gaul shortly after the treaty of AD 418, producing *pseudo-imperial *gold **solidi*. This production continued in Spain, till under *Leovigild and *Hermenegild (*c.* AD 580), it gave way to a national gold coinage. From then on, Visigothic gold coins, which went on being minted till the *Arab conquest of Spain, show a constant reduction in fineness. Their weight standard had always been that of the Eastern Roman Empire (with the exception of the period between *Alaric II and Leovigild, when the 'Germanic' standard of 21 **siliquae* was adopted) but this standard seems to disappear at the beginning of the 8th century.

Alongside gold the Visigoths also minted copper: these extremely small coins have been identified only since the 1990s. The number of mints, from Leovigild onwards at least, was extremely high (more than 80 are attested): at least part of this production was probably organized privately. Nonetheless there was a strong central control on coin production, as revealed by legislation concerning *counterfeits and circulation of coins. FC

RIC X.

M. Crusafont i Sabater, *El sistema monetario visigoto: cobre y oro* (1994).
P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986).

coinage legislation The production and circulation of *coinage was regulated in the Late Antique world through *laws, some of which survive in the **Theodosian Code* (mostly titles IX, 21; IX, 22; IX, 23) and in *Justinian's *Code* (mostly title IX, 24). Further texts are contained in the **Sententiae* of Paul (V, 25).

Laws regulated the problem of *counterfeit coinage. Earlier laws, since the time of Sulla, had dealt with counterfeiting. After the end of provincial and civic *coinages in the late 3rd century, minting of coins was reserved to the imperial mints, with the possible exception of authorized persons permitted to produce divisional coinage through casting. A law of 326 (*CTh* IX, 21, 3) punished only false casting (*falsa fusio*); by a law of 371 (*CTh* XI, 21, 1) the practice was certainly forbidden to everyone, and a further law of 393 (*CTh* IX, 21, 10) explicitly repeals any possible earlier imperial permission to engage in it. The presence of the imperial portrait on the coins is probably at the root of the identification of this kind of crime with *maiestas* (*treason), as enacted in 389 (*CTh* IX, 21, 9). Penalties changed through time: *Constantine I established the death penalty, at least for counterfeiting *gold coins (*CTh* IX, 21, 1), In the Roman-Germanic kingdoms and in the Eastern Roman Empire the punishment was the amputation of a hand. Punishments are laid down also for the persons on whose property forgeries were made.

'Free coinage', i.e. opportunities for private persons to bring their own gold bullion to a public mint and have it transformed into coinage, was legal at some periods. A law of 369 (*CTh* IX, 21, 7) forbids the practice, while a law of 374 (*CTh* IX, 21, 8) permits it, on payment of one-sixth of the sum minted.

There was also legislation concerned with tampering with legal coins, especially by *clipping. In 317 *Constantine enacted that this also should be punished with the death penalty (*CTh* IX, 22, 1). Another form of tampering with legal currency was melting down coins, in order to separate out the *silver in them; in times of *inflation and of an increase of the value of silver, this could be lucrative. A law of 349 (*CTh* IX, 21,

6) asserts that this abuse is prevalent for the *maiorinam pecuniam* (the larger divisional coins), and establishes the death penalty as its punishment.

The circulation of coinage was also regulated by laws, which are often difficult to understand, as the terms used in them can no longer be connected with specific coins. Gold coinage had to be accepted in payment, so long as it bore the portrait of a recognized *emperor and was of full weight (*CTh* IX, 22, 1; NovVal. 16). A law of 352 (*CTh* IX, 23, 1) forbids, under penalty of death, the melting down of legal currency, and also its export. It establishes a limit of 1,000 **folles* which *merchants could take with them outside the Empire, under penalty of *exile, and it explicitly underlines that legal currency cannot therefore be an object of commerce, of sale, or of purchase, and that forbidden currency, i.e. currency which has undergone *demonetization, may not be used.

Demonetization of the coin called the **decargyrum* was ordered in 395 (*CTh* IX, 23, 2). The activities of money changers were regulated by law; in particular there were regulations concerning the change of gold coinage into divisional coins (*Symmachus, *Relatio*, 29; *NovVal* 16). A series of laws (*NovVal* 16, *Nov Maj* 7, 15, and *NovJust* 128, 5) also established an official system of weights to check regular gold coins.

Further laws defined, in relation to gold, the value of particular emissions which were to be accepted at a lower value because of their metal content (*Nov Maj* 7, 14). Only with the birth of national coinages in the barbarian kingdoms of Western Europe were these forbidden on imperial territory, as is made clear by *Gregory I the Great (*Reg. Ep.* 6, 10). Roman-Germanic kingdoms also generated considerable legislation concerned with the problems of coinage and counterfeiting (e.g. **Book of the Judges*, VII, 6, 2) and the acceptance of gold coinage of lower fineness (**Lex Burgundiorum*, 21, 7). FC

Hendy, *Studies*, ch. 6.

F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda Antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (2009).

P. Grierson, 'The Roman Law of Counterfeiting', in R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland, eds., *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (1956), 240–61.

J. Heinrichs, 'Münzverbote in der römischen Kaiserzeit?', in R. Haensch and J. Heinrichs, eds., *Herrschen und Verwalten. Der Alltag der römischen Administration in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (2007), 80–116.

R. S. Lopez, 'Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century and its Reception by the Germans and the Arabs', *Byzantion* 16 (1942–3), 445–61.

U. Monneret de Villard, 'La monetazione nell'Italia barbarica. Parte II: La legislazione monetaria', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 33 (1920), 169–232.

M. C. Monopoli, 'Lotta alle frodi monetarie e alla corruzione in età valentinianea', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 99 (1998), 251–68.

D. Vera, 'I nummularii di Roma e la politica monetaria nel IV secolo d.C., Per una interpretazione di Simmaco, Relatio 29', *Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino: classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 108 (1974), 403–38.

coins, metal content of Three main metals were used for *coinage in Late Antiquity: *gold; *silver; and copper. In general the gold was carefully refined and was of a high standard of purity. However, from about the time of Severus Alexander (AD 222–35) Roman imperial gold coins appear not to adhere to any consistent weight standard. During the third quarter of the 3rd century (approximately AD 253 to 274) there are also signs of *debasement of gold by alloying with silver. From AD 274 the quality of the gold coinage was restored, and *Constantine I's introduction of a new denomination, the **solidus*, in AD 309, saw the weight standard stabilize at 72 to the pound, and it remained at this weight throughout Late Antiquity. However, in the middle of the 4th century *solidi* are found alloyed with silver. To what extent this episode, or the 3rd-century one, represents deliberate debasement is hard to say. Silver naturally occurs alloyed with gold and the 'debasements' may be the result of careless refining. However, *Valentinian I (AD 364–75) insisted that *solidi* be refined to a high standard; from this point on they are consistently of high quality and generally marked *OB (*obryzum*, 'pure gold').

The silver coinage suffered severe debasement by alloying with copper in the 3rd century. *Aurelian's reform of AD 274 fixed the silver content at about 5% fine. Such base alloys are generally termed *billon* rather than silver. Attempts to introduce a new silver coinage at the end of the 3rd century were not very successful, and for most of the first half of the 4th century the coinage of the Roman world was composed mainly of gold and billon. In the 350s silver coinage began to be coined in quantity once again. Whether silver coins had a fixed relationship to gold is debatable; their value may have floated on the market. From Valentinian I the silver coinage was guaranteed high purity and was marked *PS (*pusulatum*, 'purified'). From the early 5th century the quantity of silver produced declined, and coinage in this metal is generally uncommon afterwards.

During the 3rd century the traditional copper and copper alloy coinages of the early Empire ceased to be produced. For much of the time during the 3rd and first part of the 4th century, small change was supplied by the billon coinage. After AD 348 a series of copper, or copper alloy, denominations were introduced alongside billon issues, and by the time of Valentinian I billon coinage was eliminated altogether, in favour of copper or copper alloy, usually *bronze (an alloy of copper and *tin, often with lead added). KETB

W. E. Metcalf, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (2012).
R. Bland, 'The Development of Gold and Silver Denominations, AD 193–253', in C. E. King and D. Wigg, eds., *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World: The Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 25–27.3.1993* (Berlin, 1996), 63–100.

Colchester (England) The Roman *colonia* of Camulodunum (founded *c.* AD 49) housed a *mint for the usurpers *Carausius and *Allectus between 287 and 296 (mint mark usually CL). A possible church (Butt Road building) functioned in the 4th and early 5th centuries. Timber buildings indicate 5th- and 6th-century occupation but the nature of this early post-Roman settlement remains unclear. ACR; RRD

P. Crummy, *City of Victory: The Story of Colchester—Britain's First Roman Town* (1997).
N. Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus* (1977).

Collatio Legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum (*A Comparison of Roman and Mosaic Laws*) Anonymous 4th-century *Latin work, more correctly referred to by its transmitted manuscript title: *Lex Dei quam praecepit dominus ad Moysen* (*The Law of God, which the Lord Commanded to Moses*). As it survives, it consists of sixteen titles, each opening with an Old Testament prescription attributed to Moses (from the Torah/Pentateuch), with which Roman legal rules are then shown to be in accord. The structure partly mirrors the second half of the Ten Commandments and treats of matters mostly criminal, but some civil. These topics are, in sequence, *homicide, assault, cruelty to slaves, *adultery, *homosexuality, incest, *theft, false witness, witness by family members, deposit, cattle-rustling, arson, removing boundary markers, kidnapping, sorcery, and intestate *succession. The biblical quotations are close to Vetus Latina rather than Vulgate versions of the Latin *Bible. The Roman legal materials are taken from the writings of the five jurists later canonized in *Theodosius II's *'Law of Citations' (Papinian, Paul, Gaius, Ulpian, Modestinus) and the *Gregorian and *Hermogenian Codes, and a single law of *Theodosius I from 390 (*Coll.* 5, 3; cf. *CTh* IX, 7, 3). Probably written in *Rome, the work's nature and purpose is very divergently interpreted by scholars, who dispute its date (either early 4th century with later editing, or *c.*390, or after) and its author's identity (Jewish or Christian). It preserves the Tetrarchic *Manichaean Law and the Tetrachic *Marriage Edict. SJJC

ed. in *FIRA* II, 544–89.
R. M. Frakes, *Compiling the 'Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum' in Late Antiquity* (2011).
L. V. Rutgers, *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora* (1995), 210–59.

collatio lustralis (Gk. *Χρυσάργυρον*) Tax, instituted by *Constantine I and collected every four years (*lustrum*) from *merchants and traders. *Anastasius I abolished it in the East in 498; *Joshua the Stylite (31) describes the week's *festival at *Edessa celebrating its abolition. It was payable in both *gold and *silver, but nearly all laws after 372 mention payment only in gold (*CTh* XIII, 1). This tax was levied upon individual tradesmen, including all craftsmen, market gardeners, fishermen, *merchants, and prostitutes, irrespective of income or the level of trade engaged in; it was in no way a sales tax. Those in the imperial *administration, those selling the produce of their own land, and certain clerics were exempt. Representatives from each particular trade were responsible for tax collection and the management of exemptions on a local level. It is not clear what proportion of state revenue this tax raised, although according to several ancient authors, the tax was an enormous burden on those subject to it (*Libanius, *Oration*, 46, 22; *Zosimus, II, 38; *Evagrius, *HE* III, 39). The proceeds paid for provisions for the troops and other public expenditure. AAB

Jones, *LRE* 431–2.
Delmaire, *Largesses.*

Collectio Avellana Scholarly name given to an assemblage of nearly 250 documents (mostly *letters) concerning the relationship between Roman *bishops, their ecclesiastical peers, and lay authorities between the 4th and 6th centuries. Probably gathered into its current form shortly after the death of Pope *Vigilius (554), the collection is an important instance of attempts by Roman partisans to put together a distinctive history of the see of *Rome characterized by editorial decisions to include and exclude individual documents. The sympathies of the *Collectio Avellana* editor(s) are evident when compared with papal biographies (e.g. that of *Damasus) contained in the **Liber Pontificalis*, a document that began to take shape at roughly the same time. Both collections are now seen as revealing the partisan nature of Roman ecclesiastical politics in the period and as disproving the narrative, perpetuated by papal figures and their supporters, that Roman bishops were understood by clerics and the laity alike to enjoy wide authority in ecclesiastical matters. Pioneering technical work on the two surviving 11th-century manuscripts was done in the 19th century, culminating in O. Günther's critical edition. Günther challenged the view, then prevalent, that the collection was a miscellany, believing instead that there was a logic to the editorial decisions. Blair-Dixon advances this theory significantly by arguing that the editor was motivated by the conflict between *Justinian I and Vigilius and thus assembled those texts that would most concretely justify a specific view of papal authority

vis-à-vis the Roman government. That objective, however, did not necessitate a sanitizing of previous papal improprieties, especially if the guilty pontiff had been complicit with the imperial government. GED

ed. O. Günther, 2 vols. (CSEL 35, 1895–8).

A new edition with ET and monograph is being prepared by La Banda Avellana, based at Loyola University in Chicago, who promise publication of papers from their conferences of 2011 and 2013.

K. Blair-Dixon, 'Memory and Authority in Sixth-Century Rome: The *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Collectio Avellana*', in K. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds., *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (2007).

Collectio Hispana Collection of *canon law of the 7th century in three recensions: the *Isidoriana* (633/6, possibly composed by *Isidore of *Seville), now lost, and two derivations, the *Juliana* (*c.*681), and the *Vulgata* (*c.*694). Its final form, containing canons from 66 *councils and 103 decretals, was widely disseminated and considered authoritative in Western Europe until the Gregorian reforms of the 11th century. As reconstructed, the *Isidoriana* contained decretals from *Damasus to *Gregory I, canons from *councils of the Church in the Greek East, in *Africa, and in *Gaul, and the records of councils in *Spain arranged chronologically by *city from *Elvira (300/6) to *Toledo IV (633). The *Juliana* and *Vulgata* added subsequent Spanish councils to Toledo XVII (694), and some supplementary documents pertaining to previous councils. Later 7th-century editors assembled thematically organized versions, such as the *Excerpta Canonum* (656/6), which contained summaries of each canon, and was appended to the chronological version in some manuscripts. The collection does not include all Spanish provincial councils of the period. RLS

CPL 1790:

ed. G Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez, *La colección canonica hispana*, vols. 2–6 (MHS, Serie Canónica, 2–6, 1975–2002).

SpT J. Vives, *Concilios hispano-romanos y visigodos* (1963).

J. Gaudemet, *Les Sources du droit de l'eglise en occident du IIe au VIIe siècle* (1985).

G. Martínez Díez, *La colección canonica hispana*, vol. 1: *Estudio* (1966).

F. Rodríguez, 'Los antiguos concilios españoles y la edición crítica de la colección "Hispana"', *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (1980), 3–13.

Collectio Vetus Gallica The oldest and most important systematic *canon law collection from *Merovingian *Gaul. It was composed in *Lyons sometime between 585 and 626/7, possibly at the instigation of Bishop Aetherius of Lyons (d. 602), and revised and brought up to date in *Autun towards the end of the 7th century, most probably under the supervision of Bishop *Leodegar of Autun, and subsequently at *Corbie in the second quarter of the 8th century. This collection of more than 400 canons (arranged in more than 60 chapters), consists mainly of canons drawn from the decrees of the first œcumenical *councils of the Church and the 6th-century Merovingian councils. The *Collectio Vetus Gallica* was extensively used by legislators and churchmen throughout the Carolingian period. YH

ed. H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des Fränkischen Gallien* (1975).

H. Mordek, 'Kanonistische Aktivität in Gallien in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts. Eine Skizze', *Francia* 2 (1974), 19–25.

R. McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Canon Law in the Frankish Kingdoms before 789: The Manuscript Evidence', *JTS* 36 (1985), 97–117.

R. Meens, 'The Uses of the Old Testament in Early Medieval Canon Law: The *Collectio Vetus Gallica* and the *Collectio Hibernensis*', in Y. Hen and M. Innes, eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (2001), 67–77.

collegia *See* GUILDS.

collegiati *See* GUILDS.

Colluthus, S. Christian venerated as a *martyr, placed by the *Syriac **Martyrology of 411* at *Alexandria, but by *Palladius (*Lausiac History*, 60) at *Antinoopolis, which was, according to the hagiographical tradition, his native place. Colluthus is said to have renounced all riches and worked for the *poor and sick, and was famous for healing any type of illness without pay, but suffered martyrdom at the hands of *Satrius Ar(r)ianus on 24 Pashons (19 May). His *hagiographic corpus consists of two versions of his martyr legend, two different encomia, and various *miracles. It refers to two sanctuaries where his miracles take place, one in Antinoopolis, the other in Pneueit, in the district of Achmim. GS

BHO 206–8:

ed. Reymond and Barns (with ET), *Four Martyrdoms.*

ed. (with ET and comm.) S. E. Thompson, 'Encomion on St. Coluthus (*M591*, fols. 94r–121v) Attributed to Isaac of Antinoe', in L. Depuydt, ed., *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library: Five Coptic Homilies Attributed to Anastasius of Euchaita, Epiphanius of Salamis, Isaac of Antinoe, Severian of Gabala, and Theopempus of Antioch*, 2 vols. (CSCO 544, 545; Scr. copt. 47, 48; 1993).

G. Schenke, *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des Heiligen Kolluthos, Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler* (CSCO 650, Sub. 132, 2012).

Colluthus of Lycopolis (*fl.* late 5th–early 6th cent.) *Epic poet from the Thebaid in *Egypt. Along with an unknown number of encomia, he wrote (according to the **Suda*) a poem on the Calydonian Boar hunt in six books, and an epic poem on the Persian Wars (*Persica*), which probably dealt with the campaign of *Anastasius I against the Persians in AD 502–6. Only one work survives: the *Abduction of Helen*. This miniature epic (in 394 lines) tells part of the story told in the *Cypria*: the judgement of Paris, beginning with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and concluding with the elopement of Helen and Paris and their arrival in Troy. The debt to Homer is obvious, but linguistically the work owes much to *Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and contains clear traces of Hellenistic scholarly sophistication. RECS

PLRE II, Colluthus.

ed. (with comm. and IT) E. Livrea (1968).

ET A. W. Mair in *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (LCL 219, 1928), 535–71.

colobium An ample tunic, usually made of linen, either sleeveless or with short sleeves. It was considered appropriate attire for *Constantinopolitan *senators within the *City (*CTh* XIV, 10, 1 of 382). It also formed part of the dress of *Egyptian monks. In early artistic representations of the Crucifixion, Christ wears a *purple *colobium* with golden **clavi* (e.g. on the lid of a *reliquary formerly in the Treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum, Vatican). MGP

M. Mossakowska-Gaubert, 'Tuniques à manches courtes et sans manches dans l'habit monastique égyptien (IVe–début VIIe siècle)', *AntTard* 12 (2004), 153–67, at 157–61.

M. Bagnoli et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (2010), 36–7.

Cologne (*metropolis civitas Agrippinensium, id est Colonia*: Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany) Capital *city of the Roman *province of *Germania Secunda. Cologne was an important military and economic centre on the Rhine *frontier, renowned especially for its *glass production. Several *emperors were temporarily resident there, and its Praetorium, rebuilt in the later 4th century, served as a regular base for imperial generals, one of whom, *Silvanus, launched a failed usurpation attempt in 355. The *Franks took the city soon afterwards, but were expelled by the *Caesar *Julian. However, barbarian incursions intensified after the breaching of the frontier in 406/7, and by *c.*450 Cologne had fallen under the control of Franks known as Ripuarii who used the city as their capital. After their King, *Sigibert the Lame, was defeated by *Clovis I in the early 6th century, Cologne became an important *Merovingian centre.

In 1959, two high-status burials of a woman and a boy, dating from 525/50, were discovered beneath Cologne cathedral. They contained an impressive array of grave-goods, including *gold *jewellery, fine weaponry, and child-sized wooden furniture.

Cologne's first *bishop is attested in 313, though a lengthy lacuna in its bishop-list extends through the 5th and early 6th centuries. The city's early Christian sites included the bishop's church, probably on the site of the present cathedral, and the churches known today as S. Gereon, S. Ursula, and S. Severin. CRD

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Köln, XVII (2001), 88–102 (W. Eck et al.).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 12 (2002), 25–69.

W. Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit. Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum* (2004).

Ewig, *SFG* 2, 91–153.

S. Schütte, 'Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne', in G. Ausenda, ed., *After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians* (1995), 163–8.

colonnade *See* STREET.

colonus A *colonus* in Late Roman law and society was a farmer. Those holding such status comprised both those who worked their own property subject to imperial *taxation, as well as those who worked land owned by others either as tenants or as agricultural labourers. Those *coloni* who worked for others acquired the status of *coloni *adscripticii* if they agreed to their employer paying directly to the imperial authorities those taxes for which they were liable, in which case they and their children were legally tied to remain resident on the employer's property. PS

P. Lemerle, *An Agrarian History of Byzantium* (1979).

Columba of Iona, S. One of *Ireland's leading saints. Columba or Colum Cille ('dove of the church') was born *c.*520 into the powerful north-western dynasty Cenél Conaill. He founded the monasteries of Derry, Durrow, and *Iona. Iona, established in 563 (565 according to *Bede *HE* III, 4), was in the kingdom of Dál Riata in the western isles of Scotland. Although a later tale claims that Columba was deliberately exiled from Ireland, he probably established Iona in the context of the monastic movement that swept through Ireland during the 6th century. His life, a classic example of Latin *hagiography composed by *Adomnán, ninth Abbot of Iona (d. 704), depicts him as a great abbot who followed an austere lifestyle dedicated to learning and to missionary work especially among the *Picts. He was reputedly versed in native poetry and in the works of *John Cassian and *Basil of *Caesarea. He died in 597. EB

ed. (with ET) A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford Mediaeval Texts, ²1991).

ET R. Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of Columba* (1995).
C. Bourke, ed., *Studies in the Cult of Saint Columba* (1997).
M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (²1996).

Columbanus, S. (d. *c.*615) Irish monk, missionary, and scholar, trained in Bangor, founder of *Luxeuil, Annegray, and Fontaines in the Vosges, and *Bobbio in north *Italy. Columbanus arrived in *Gaul *c.*590. His first foundations were sponsored by *Childebert II and *Brunhild and gained support from numerous members of the Frankish nobility. After a conflict with *Theuderic II and Brunhild he was exiled, travelled through the kingdoms of *Clothar II and *Theudebert II, and died shortly after the foundation of Bobbio, which was supported by the *Lombard King *Agilulf. Luxeuil became after Columbanus' death the centre of a network of *monasteries that followed his Rule. He is credited with introducing Irish monastic practices, especially the use of penitentials, on the Continent. His uncompromising position in the controversy about the date of *Easter was abandoned by his successors. Six *letters, thirteen *sermons, two monastic rules, a penitential, and a number of poems and short ascetic treatises survive. ADi

Opera (*CPL* 1104–17), ed. G. S. M. Walker (with ET) (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2. 1957).
*Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* (*BHL* 1898), ed. B. Krusch, *Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis* (MGH SS. rer. Germ. 37, 1905).
VColumbani: ET (annotated) I. Wood and A. O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast* (TTH 64, 2017).
A. Diem, 'Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59.
M. Lapidge, ed., *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings* (Studies in Celtic History 17, 1997).

Comacchio (Lat. Comiaclum) Town 25 km (15 miles) north of *Ravenna, near the Po delta. Recent archaeology has revealed a trading and productive centre of the later 7th century, exploiting the islands and dunes in a complex lagoon, with *glass- and *metalwork shops, pile-built structures and wharves, and two *monasteries, a *cemetery, and a cathedral of the 8th century. A treaty of AD 715/730 with the *Lombards refers to *tolls due from residents and *merchants on the Po. Reference to the inhabitants as *milites* may signify that they were occasionally employed by the Byzantines in naval actions. NJC

L. M. Hartmann, 'Comacchio und der Po-handel', *Zur Wirtschaftgeschichte Italiens in frühen Mittelalter. Analekten* (1904), 74–91.
Gelichi and Hodges, *From One Sea to Another*.

combs During Late Antiquity and the period of the *Barbarian Migrations, combs made of bone and especially of antler are common in graves and on production sites throughout Northern and Central Europe. They attest to a concern for personal appearance, and their association with funerary rituals suggests symbolic or magical significance. This is exemplified by the 7th-century *Niederdollendorf Stone, a gravestone found in the Rhineland, on which a sword-equipped warrior is depicted combing his hair. PSW

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 82–5.
K. Böhner, 'Der fränkische Grabstein von Niederdollendorf', *Germania* 44 (1966), 63–75.
H. Williams, 'Material Culture as Memory: Combs and Cremation in Early Medieval Britain', *EME* 12 (2003), 89–128.

Comentiolus (*fl.* 582–602) *Scribo (583), *Dux or *Comes Rei Militaris (584), *Magister Militum Praesentalis (585), Magister Militum in *Spain (589), Magister Militum in *Oriens (589–91), Magister Militum in (?) *Thracia (598–601). A close associate of the Emperor *Maurice, he served throughout the Empire, though chiefly in the Balkans, before being executed by *Phocas in 602 following Maurice's overthrow. *Theophylact Simocatta portrays him as an ineffective commander who often shirked his duties. GBG

PLRE III, Comentiolus 1.
Whitby, *Maurice*, 98–104.

***comes*, post-Roman** General term for a royal courtier, common in the *Burgundian, *Frankish, *Ostrogothic, and *Visigothic kingdoms; in the Frankish kingdom, synonymous with *grafio*. Some *comites* held more specific titles, e.g. *Comes Stabuli, indicating offices with particular spheres of activity, but all *comites* acted on behalf of the king in a wide range of functions. *Comites* were involved in the making of law, e.g. the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (**Breviarium of *Alaric*) and the Burgundian *Liber Consitutionum* (**Lex Burgundionum*), and in its administration, in the administration of *taxation, and in military leadership. In the Burgundian kingdom, Burgundian and Roman *comites* were paired for the administration of justice, reflecting an early stage in the assimilation of the two groups and the need to maintain the equitable sharing of resources between the groups established at the Burgundian settlement.

Comites were also placed in charge of specific towns, as *comites civitatum*, where they were the king's representatives and administrators across the range of government business, and acted as the main judges for cases which were not resolved by local, often extra-judicial, means. The position does not appear to have

been known in the Roman *provinces. Its functions probably replaced some of those of the provincial *governor, or the *Curator Rei Publicae or *Defensor Civitatis. The relatively small size of barbarian kingdoms when compared to the Roman Empire enabled such local officials to remain part of the royal court. PSB

LexMA s.v. comites, vol. 3, 70–6 (G. Wirth et al.).

P. S. Barnwell, *Emperor, Prefects and Kings* (1992).

P. S. Barnwell, *Kings, Courtiers and Imperium* (1997).

D. Claude, 'Untersuchungen zu frühfränkischen Comitat', *ZRG (GA)* 81 (1964), 1–79.

***comes*, Roman** Although often translated as 'count', the root meaning of *comes* is 'companion', an allusion to proximity to the *emperor. As such it was a term which had long been used informally to refer to those who accompanied the emperor when travelling. In Late Antiquity, however, it became a formal title for a range of offices associated with the imperial *court, most prominently the financial officials known as the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum and *Comes Rei Privatae.

A specifically military usage also emerged (Comes Rei Militaris), referring to officers commanding detachments of the *field army. The title was also used for the commander of the coastal defences of the English Channel, the *Saxon Shore (Comes Litoris Saxonici), and in other military contexts (e.g. *Comes Domesticorum, Comes *Excubitorum).

In addition to these functional designations, the term was employed to denote an honorific rank. This was granted, initially by *Constantine I, to leading *senators and officials as a reward for service. By the end of the 4th century, however, it had been distributed so widely that it had become devalued, except for those assigned to the highest of its three grades.

The title had an afterlife in the western *successor states, most commonly in the title Comes Civitatis, held by officials in the *Ostrogothic and *Visigothic kingdoms with responsibility for resolving disputes between *Goths living in the territory of their *city. In the *Frankish kingdoms, officials with this title had a wider remit, overseeing justice, tax collection, and the military levy. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 104–5, 257–62, 526.

Comes Commerciorum Title of imperial officials responsible for collection of *tolls on foreign *trade. Three are listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* under the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum in the East, with responsibility for trade throughout the East and *Egypt, the lower Danube and Black Sea, and *Illyricum. Their title had changed to *commerciarii* by the late 5th century. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 826.

Comes Domesticorum Commander of the **protectores domestici* and member of the *emperor's *Consistorium. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (13 [*occ.*], 14 [*or.*]) shows the post split into separate infantry (Comes Domesticorum Peditum) and cavalry (Equitum) commands. The Comes could be promoted directly to *Magister Militum. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 372 and 636.

Gavin Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (2008), 119–22.

Comes Domorum Official in charge of *imperial estates, subordinate to the *Comes Rei Privatae. May be identical with Comes Domorum per Cappadociam (in charge of the *Domus Divina per Cappadociam) subordinate from late 4th century to the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi. CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 220–3.

Kaplan, *Propriétés*, 10–16.

Comes Orientis Title of the *Vicarius of the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, with headquarters at *Antioch. Replacing the Vicarius Orientis (last attested in 325), this post is probably the only permanent survival of *Constantine I's *comites provinciarum*. In 535/6 *Justinian I merged the office of the *Consularis of *Syria Prima with that of the Comes Orientis (*NovJust* 8, 5) but in 542 the Comes is once more exerting authority over neighbouring *provinces (*NovJust* 157). CMK; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 105; 281; 374.

G. Downey, *A Study of the Comites Orientis and the Consulares Syriae* (diss. Princeton, 1939).

Comes Rei Privatae Powerful palatine official heading the *Res Privata, responsible for the administration and revenues of state-owned property. Member of the *Consistorium with *rank of **illustris* (at least by the 380s). The post had been suppressed by the end of the 6th century, and its main duties subsumed by the *Sacellarius. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 411–27.

Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, 32–48.

Delmaire, *Largesses*, esp. 25–124.

Comes Sacrae Vestis Official responsible for the imperial wardrobe (Vestis Sacra) housing vestments, *regalia, crown jewels. The Comes was a *eunuch (**castrensis*) from the imperial household (*Cubiculum). Sourcing and supply were the responsibility of the Vestiarium, under the control of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 464–70.

Comes Sacrarum Largitionum Powerful palatine official heading the Sacrae *Largitiones, responsible (alongside the *Praefectus Praetorio) for *taxation and revenue. Member of the *Consistorium with the *rank of **illustris* (at least by the 380s). The post was suppressed in the early 7th century, and its main duties transferred to the *Sacellarius and Logothetes. CMK

Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, 18–27, 498–510.

Delmaire, *Largesses*, esp. 25–124.

Comes Stabuli Officer at the imperial *court, formerly entitled the *Tribunus Stabuli. *Stilicho is apparently the first so attested (*CIL* VI, 1731), and later Comites Stabuli include *Aëtius and *Ariobindus Dagalaiphus.

The title was used in *Merovingian *Gaul, for the courtier in charge of the king's *horses. Loyalty was a prerequisite, since the king entrusted his person to his horse, and several Comites were deployed as ambassadors or on delicate missions. PSB

Jones, *LRE* 625–6 and 1148.

P. S. Barnwell, *Emperor, Prefects and Kings* (1992).

P. S. Barnwell, *Kings, Courtiers and Imperium* (1997).

comets The common Greek terms are κομήτης ('long-haired') and πωγωνίας ('bearded') star (ἀστήρ). Aristotle (*Meteorology*, 344a23–4) uses the former for roundish objects and the latter for elongated ones. In Latin, the Greek loanword *cometes* is common, as is *sidus crinitum* (or *stella crinita*), 'hairy star'. Both λαμπάς and *fax*, 'torch', occur; but it is not always evident whether a torch is a comet or a shooting star, so this must be decided by context. *Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, II, 22, 89–90) distinguishes about a dozen different types.

Opinions differed about whether comets were celestial or atmospheric entities, but they were often considered portents of war, *plague, death of a ruler, etc. (*Isidore of *Seville, *Etymologiae*, III, 71, 16–17) or merely of dry, windy conditions (Aristotle, *Meteorology*, 344b28; *Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, II, 13, 102). Although some pre-Socratics had considered comets to be planets, or the conjunctions of planets, Aristotle held that they resulted from the combustion of the hot, dry exhalation from the Earth, and so discussed them in the *Meteorology* rather than in *On the Heavens*. Posidonius (frs. 131a, 131b) similarly held that comets are formed when a dense portion of air is shot into the ether, which carries it around. The most detailed ancient argument in favour of comets being eternal celestial objects is given by Seneca (*Quaestiones Naturales*, VII, 22–30).

Babylonian records include sightings of comets, which are relatively common from the middle of the 3rd century BC onward. Greek and Roman observations of comets are usually rather vague about the position in the night sky where the comet was seen. By contrast, Chinese records are richer and more precise. This difference in treatment perhaps reflects the mainstream Graeco-Roman view that they are transitory, non-celestial things and the Chinese view of them as 'guest stars'.

Several Late Antique authors were less interested in the physical causes of comets than in their signifiance and effect. *Servius, commenting on *Vergil's allusion to comets in *Aeneid*, X, 272–3, notes that the Stoics had identified 32 different types of comet whose names and effects were enumerated by *Avienius. He cites the pseudonymous astrologer Petosiris and the work on comets of Campestris (or Campester), a *Latin author of the 2nd/4th century AD, who is also cited in the discussion of comets in the *De Ostentis* (10–15) of the 6th-century scholar *John Lydus. The Christian author *Lactantius foretells that the Second Coming of Christ in the middle of the Easter Vigil will be preceded by a 'sword falling from heaven' (*Inst*. VII, 19, 4; cf. for a comet as a sword Josephus, *Jewish War*, VI, 5, 3) and the Christian poet *Commodian tells of a 'fiery chariot and a firebrand streaming in the stars to forewarn the peoples of the fire' (903). JCE

G. W. Kronk, *Cometography: A Catalogue of Comets*, vol. 1: *Ancient–1799* (1999).

J. T. Ramsey, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greco-Roman Comets from 500 B.C. to A.D. 400*. Special issue of *Syllecta Classica* 17 (2006).

F. R. Stephenson, K. K. C. Yau, and H. Hunger, 'Records of Halley's Comet on Babylonian Tablets', *Nature* 314 (1985), 587–92.

Ho Peng Yoke, 'Ancient and Mediaeval Observations of Comets and Novae in Chinese Sources', *Vistas in Astronomy* 5 (1962), 127–225.

D. J. Schove and A. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets AD 1–1000* (1984).

comitatenses First attested during *Constantine I's reign (*CTh* VII, 20, 4 [325]), the term designated military units serving in the central *field army, as distinct from those units assigned to frontier *provinces (subsequently known as **limitanei*). The term had its origin in these units 'accompanying' the emperor, although the development of multiple field armies during the 4th century diluted its significance and led to the emergence of an elite category of unit, the **palatini*. Field army units generally enjoyed higher status and rewards than *limitanei*. The **Notitia Dignitatum* includes chapters listing the individual units in the field *armies of the late 4th and early 5th century. In addition to infantry *legions (often descendants of legions of old, albeit significantly smaller in size), they comprised *cavalry **vexillationes* and a new type of *infantry unit, the **auxilia*. Units of *limitanei* temporarily reassigned to a field army were referred to as pseudo-*comitatenses*. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 607–86.

Comitatensian Mint Late Roman mint attached to the imperial *court, producing precious metal *coinage. During the late 3rd and early 4th centuries minting personnel appear to have been part of the imperial retinue (*see* COMITATUS) and where possible to have used existing minting facilities to issue precious-metal *coinage from wherever the court might be. This appears to have arisen from the mobility of the imperial courts under the *Tetrarchy and the dynasty of *Constantine I, from the increasing centralization of precious-metal bullion in the court treasury, and from the need of the court for coinage. From the mid-4th century, increasingly settled imperial capitals reduced the role of the Comitatensian Mint. RRD

Hendy, *Studies*, 386–98.
RIC VI, VII.

Comitatus The immediate entourage of the *emperor including both military and civilian officials who travelled with him (cf. *CIL* III, 6196). Within this mobile entourage, the soldiers were called **comitatenses* and the personal bodyguard the *Scholae Palatinae.

The imperial *court in the 3rd and 4th centuries was constantly mobile, largely thanks to the military demands placed on emperors, which drew them to the *frontiers to campaign; in the 3rd and 4th centuries only *Gallienus (from choice) and *Maxentius (from necessity) spent long periods at *Rome. When the emperor arrived at a new *city, he was ritually ushered in, along with his Comitatus, with an **adventus*. The billeting of the Comitatus could be a burden on local people. The Comitatus developed for each emperor of the *Tetrarchy were elaborated upon by later emperors. It is important in indicating a break with the traditional model of legionary organization within the Empire (Potter, *Companion*, 165). If necessary, a prefect could command the *comitatenses* (e.g. *Zosimus, II, 14, 2).

There were a number of important *Scrinia (departments) within the Comitatus, which included the *Comitatensian Mint and secretaries who dispensed imperial *letters and *constitutions. These departments underwent a shift in leadership in particular in the 330s under *Constantine I. They continued when the East Roman *court ceased to be mobile and settled down permanently at *Constantinople from the late 4th century onwards. SEB

Jones, *LRE* 52, 366–410.
H. Elton, 'The Transformation in Government under Diocletian and Constantine', in Potter, *Companion*, 193–205.
K. L. Noethlichs, 'Strukturen und Funktionen des spätantiken Kaiserhofes', in A. Winterling, ed., *Comitatus. Beiträge zur Erforschung des spätantiken Kaiserhofes* (1998), 13–49.

comitatus (barbarian) Term used by Tacitus (*Germania*, 13–14) to denote bands of Germanic warriors whose allegiance to their lord (*princeps*) made his protection their most sacred obligation (*sacramentum*), ascribing to his glory their martial deeds and receiving in return their warhorse, their 'gory and victorious' weaponry, and copious, if crude, banquets. Scholarship of the 19th and early 20th centuries considered relations of this type characteristic of all Germanic barbarian *aristocracies, as late as **Beowulf* and the Battle of Maldon of August 991. Although the existence of such lord–retainer relations is evident from both written and archaeological evidence, the characteristics of the *comitatus* as described by Tacitus cannot be assumed to have been universal among ancient Germanic peoples. AR

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Gefolgschaft, X (1998), 533–55 (Landolt, Timpe, Steuer).
S. Fanning, 'Tacitus, "Beowulf" and the "Comitatus"', *Haskins Society Journal* 9 (1997, publ. 2001), 17–38.
J. Bazelmans, *By Weapons Made Worthy: Lords, Retainers and their Relationship in Beowulf* (1999).

Commentariensis Senior officer in the **officium* of a *Praefectus Praetorio, *Vicarius, or provincial *governor. He led a department concerned with criminal trials, providing a secretariat in the criminal court, and overseeing prisoners, guards, and torturers. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 587, 592–3.

commerce *See* TRADE.

Commodian *Latin poet, of uncertain date and origin. Scholars have argued for the mid-3rd and the mid-5th centuries, with recent critical opinion inclining to the earlier date. Various parallels with the writings of S. *Cyprian suggest an *African provenance for his poems, but other references imply a special knowledge of *Syria. His *Instructiones* contains two books, 80 poems in all, the first addressed to *pagans, Judaizing pagans, and *Jews, the second to Christians, with particular poems addressed to various groups in the Church. The poems are apologetic and protreptic in nature, and each book concludes with powerful eschatological language. Most poems are *acrostics: the first words of each line spell out the titles to the poems. The *Carmen apologeticum*, the title normally given to Commodian's other poem, is strongly protreptic in nature, addressed to Jews and pagans, beginning with an account of biblical history and the coming of salvation and concluding with a detailed account of the End of the World. Both poems imitate the classical hexameter, but without regard to quantities. MJR

HLL 4, section 498.
CPL 1470–1:
ed. J. Martin (CCSL 128, 1960), 1–113, 197–267.
ed. J.-M. Poinsotte (annotated with FT), *Instructions* (2009).
Fontaine, *Naissance*, 39–52.

Companions of the Prophet Also known as the *Saḥaba*, were the earliest converts to and adherents of Islam. This included both family members and friends of *Muhammad. The definition of the term 'Companion' varied, sometimes ranging from those who were close to and had spent extensive time with Muhammad to anyone who had even minimal contact with him. The Companions were significant for the Islamic tradition as they related the sayings and deeds of Muhammad, a major source, alongside the *Qur'ān, for the development and articulation of *Sunni *law.

In the competition which erupted after Muhammad's death, disagreements about which of his Companions would succeed as leader of the community would crystallize into the Sunni/*Shi'i divide. Sunnis eventually adopted a position whereby they agreed to the righteousness of all the Companions. Shi'is adopted a range of narrower views, from accepting a small number of the Companions to rejecting most of them and deeming only Muhammad's cousin *'Ali and the latter's descendants proper leaders of the Muslim Community. NK

J. Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhari and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunni Hadith Canon* (2007).
S. C. Lucas, *Constructive Critics, Hadith Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam: The Legacy of the Generation of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ma'īn, and Ibn Ḥanbal* (2004).
W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1997).

compensation An injured Roman could, in later Antiquity, claim consequential damage as well as loss of profit suffered as a result of the damage or destruction of his property by using the *actio legis Aquiliae* (*InstJust* 4, 3; *Dig*. 9, 2; *CJust* III, 35). In the case of personal injuries, medical expenses and loss of financial income could be claimed, but no compensation.

Title 62 of the **Lex Salica*, written during the reign of the *Merovingian King *Clovis (*c.*466–511), placed a value (*wergeld*) on every human being and piece of property. If a person was killed, intentionally or accidentally, the guilty party had to pay a *wergeld* as restitution to the victim's family or the owner of the property. If payment was not made, a blood *feud would ensue. RvdB

R. H. C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe* (3rd edn. rev. R. I. Moore and J. Huntington, 2006).
R. Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (1996).

compulsores Officials from the *Res Privata, Sacrae *Largitiones, and financial staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio sent to *provinces to enforce the collection of *taxation. Like **canonicarii*, they were subject to imperial regulation to prevent profiteering (*CTh* I, 16, 11; *NovMaj* 2, 2; 7, 14; *CJust* X, 19, 9). CMK

RE III (1899) *s.v.* Canonicarius, cols. 1488–90 (Seeck).
Jones, *LRE* 450–1, 457, 468, 589.

Concesti Treasure Collection (now in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg) of *Hun *gold and Roman *silver, including an *amphora bearing *Dionysiac and *hunting scenes and a helmet, dated *c.* AD 400. Discovered near Concesti by the River Prut, Romania, in 1812, it probably constitutes the burial goods of an *Ostrogothic prince. HAHC

M. Kazanski, 'The Sedentary Elite in the "Empire" of the Huns and its Impact on Material Civilisation in Southern Russia during the Early Middle Ages (5th–7th Centuries AD)', in Chapman and Dolukhanov, eds., *Cultural Transformations*, 213–35.
Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, 123–37.

Concordia *City in *Venetia et Histria near modern Portogruaro in the Veneto, approximately 40 km (25 miles) east of *Aquileia. Concordia housed imperial **fabricae* for arrow production, the importance of which may explain attacks by *Alaric in 408 (*Zosimus, V, 37) and *Attila in 452 (*Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, XIV, 9–11). *Lombards captured the city in 614. The military importance of the city elides with its religious history: the extant Trichora Martyrium of *c.* AD 350) was apparently dedicated to soldier *martyrs of the Great *Persecution (*BHL* 2303, cf. Delehaye, *Origines*, 332–3). This site became part of a more extensive Christian burial complex, with the addition of the Basilica Apostolorum in 489 to accommodate a small host of *relics (*Chromatius, *Sermo*, XXVI, 1). The complex was destroyed in the late 6th century. MSB

P. Croce da Villa, 'Evoluzione dell'impianto urbano dell'antica Concordia: la forma Urbis dal I sec. a.C. al VII sec. d.C.', in *Concordia: Tremila Anni* (2001), 125–45.

concubine A woman taken as a mistress to avoid producing legitimate offspring. Roman concubinage was a monogamous union typically lasting for years. Affluent young males often kept a concubine until they married a woman of their own social standing (e.g. *Augustine, *Confessions*, IV, 2, 2; VI, 12, 21–VI, 15, 25). Concubines were typically slaves or freedwomen, while freeborn women are rarely attested. The Church disapproved of concubinage but could not stop it. Many Christian authors advised that young men should reject the lowborn concubine rather than marry her. Some men wanted to leave property to their concubine and illegitimate offspring, but this was considered immoral and was legally restricted, especially by *Constantine I (*CTh* IV, 6). *Justinian I improved the position of concubines and their children. In the post-Roman West, concubinage continued to flourish. Compulsory celibacy created concerns about clerical concubinage in the 6th century. AAr

Arjava, *Women and Law*, 205–18.
Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, 150–4, 166–76.

conductor In Roman *law, one who lets movable or immovable property from a so-called *locator*; also one hired to perform a task when the property of the hirer is involved. Liability for damaged property was uncertain, as is evidenced by extensive legal writings on the matter (**Digest*, XIX, 2; *CJust* IV, 65). AAB

confederations *See* TRIBES AND CONFEDERATIONS, GERMANIC BARBARIANS AND 4843 TRIBES AND CONFEDERATIONS, CENTRAL ASIA.

congiaria Imperial monetary *donative, recorded up to 354. Roman *coinage commemorated *congiaria* up to the 2nd century and thereafter bore the more general term *liberalitas*. RRD

CAH XII (2005), 352, 362, 411.

R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (1994).

C. Noreña, 'The Communication of the Emperor's Virtues', *JRS* 91 (2001), 149–68.

Conimbriga and Aeminium (mod. Coimbra, Portugal) Conimbriga was a Celtic settlement and Roman *city in the *province of *Lusitania. It is notable for its archaeology, with a large *forum, and well-preserved Late Roman *city walls from the mid-3rd to 5th century. The aristocratic family Cantaber lived there. It was conquered by the *Suebes in 464/5 and sacked comprehensively in 466/7. *Bishop Possidonius moved from Conimbriga to nearby Aeminium with the remaining population in *c.*589, taking the city name with him. Aeminium, a Roman foundation under Augustus, is also archaeologically notable, with a cryptoporticus beneath the Museu Machado de Castro, and Late Roman walls. C. Servius Lupus, builder of the *lighthouse of *Corunna, came from there. GDB

PECS s.v. Aeminium (Coimbra) Beira Litoral, Portugal (J. Alarcâo).

Conon General dispatched from *Constantinople in 537 with reinforcements to *Belisarius in *Italy. He later commanded in Ancona, *Naples, and *Rome, where his soldiers killed him for embezzling supplies (548). PNB

PRLE III, Conon 1.

consecratio When an *emperor died he was traditionally accorded *consecratio*, a *temple and cult separate from his grave site. Under the *Tetrarchy these distinctions began to merge. The emperors of the Tetrarchy claimed while still alive a relationship with the gods (especially Jupiter and Hercules) conceptually similar to that of deified emperors (*divi*). Consecration thus became an extension of the virtual divinity the emperor had exhibited even while alive. The imperial grave site became the focus of reverence toward the deceased and affirmation of his (and his successor's) legitimacy.

*Constantine I was buried at the Holy Apostles in *Constantinople, a building architecturally reminiscent of an imperial mausoleum. He was depicted on coins (e.g. *RIC* VIII *Antioch 37) ascending to heaven in a chariot (formerly that of the *Sun) met by the *Hand of God. The *consecratio* accorded to him appears analogous to the honour accorded *martyrs; the emperor could be conceived of as ascending to heaven after death, so bridging the distance between traditional *consecratio* and Christian theology, while also being involved in the processes of Christian *liturgy and *prayer; his mausoleum was equipped with facilities for 'divine rites and mystic liturgies' appropriate to a building dedicated to Christ's Apostles (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 68–73).

Such redirection of pagan *consecratio* imagery was avoided in official art after Constantine, and tensions between Christian beliefs and inherited political imagery were resolved in favour of the former. The idea of the emperor's ascent remained, but even for a pagan such as the poet *Claudian the heaven to which *Theodosius I ascended in his poem *On the Third Consulship of Honorius* (163–84) was one depopulated of the gods who would have been an earlier emperor's celestial companions; the mythology had been secularized. *Ambrose, *Bishop of *Milan, preaching Theodosius' funeral *sermon, could be more explicit: a host of *angels leads the emperor on, a crowd of saints follows him. As for the people of Milan where Theodosius was being buried, 'clearly you are blessed, you who receive one living in paradise, you who will hold, in the venerable dwelling-place of his body when it is buried, one who lives in that city which is above' (*On the Death of Theodosius*, 56). JND

Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume*, 153–212.

MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 93–158.

Consentius Gallo-Roman nobleman. As a young *tribunus, he carried messages between *Valentinian III and *Theodosius II, but made no profit from office. In 455/6 he was *Avitus' *Curopalates. After 462/6 he enjoyed literary **otium* on his seaside estate near *Narbo, receiving a long poem from *Sidonius Apollinaris (*carmen* 23) and later a *letter (VIII, 4). He wrote poetry, knew about theatrical performance, was a gentleman jockey in chariots, and once won. OPN

PLRE II, Consentius 2.

Consistorium Fixed imperial advisory council whose members, called *Comites Consistoriani, stood (Lat. *consistere*) while in the *emperor's presence. Until the *Tetrarchy the analogous body was called the Consilium Principis. *Constantine I appointed permanent

members. They often met at the Consistorium in the Great *Palace at *Constantinople, built by Constantine and described by *Corippus (*In Laudem Justini Minoris*, 3, 191–9). From at least the reign of *Constantius II, the Consistorium was the principal forum for debating legislation, and perhaps a place where frank speech with the emperor could take place (Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 66). Laws carried the names of emperors, but *consistoriani* greatly shaped and influenced Late Roman legislation (Bury, *Theodosius to Justinian*, I, 23). The *Magister Officiorum, *Comes Rerum Privatarum, the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, and the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, among other senior officials, belonged to the Consistorium. It often received envoys (*Ammianus, XXVIII, 1, 24–5), and could also function as a supreme court, where accusations such as *treason were tried. The emperor presided over its meetings, called a **silentium*. Its power and influence waned after the reign of *Justinian I, who ended its function as an advisory body. SEB

F. Amarelli, 'Esercizio del potere e ricorso alla prassi della consultazione nella tarda antichità: alle origini del consistorium', *Koinonia* 28/9 (2004–5), 13–20.

Harries, *Law and Empire*, 38–43.

J. B. Bury, *Theodosius to Justinian*, 1 (1923), 22–4.

consolation Rhetorical genre and philosophical argument designed to alleviate grief and comfort the bereaved.

Greek consolation

The ancient Greek practice of writing consolatory speeches was taught in the *rhetorical *schools of Late Antiquity, as demonstrated by the prescriptions of rhetorical handbooks (*Menander Rhetor, *Treatise*, II, 413, 5–414, 30). Consolation could be delivered in the form of a speech (especially a *funeral oration), a treatise, or a *letter. Christian consolation altered the themes and dynamics of secular consolation: *death was no longer the final frontier, and the hope of a life beyond and of salvation was proffered to instruct as well as to comfort. Funeral orations like that delivered by *Gregory of *Nazianzus on *Basil of *Caesarea (*Oration*, 43) and letters like those by Basil of Caesarea to the parents of a dead youth (*epp*. 5 and 6) deployed the techniques of consolatory literature by offering solace for grief at the same time as advising restraint in its exercise.

Latin consolation

Works by Cicero and Seneca were shaped by Ancient Greek consolations and these were in turn influential in Late Antiquity. *Lactantius quotes the consolation Cicero wrote for himself on the death of his daughter. Latin Christian consolation took several literary forms, from *Cyprian's treatise *On Mortality* (addressing a congregation facing *persecution and *plague), to *Ambrose's *funeral orations on the *emperors *Valentinian II and *Theodosius I and on his brother, *Jerome's prose letter to a friend (*ep*. 60), and prose and verse works by *Paulinus of Nola (*Carmen*, 31 and *ep*. 13). It made heavy use of biblical imagery and elaborated on theological ideas of salvation and resurrection. However, *Boethius' influential *Consolation of Philosophy*, written while the author was in *prison, makes little explicit reference to Christian doctrine. In it, the author converses with a female *personification of *Philosophy who offers consoling wisdom about divine providence, theodicy, and fortune. SJL-R

GREEK

T. de Bruyn, 'Philosophical Counsel Versus Customary Lament in Fourth-Century Christian Responses to Death', in W. Braun, ed., *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Christianities* (2005), 161–86.

R. C. Gregg, *Consolation Philosophy: Greek and Christian Paideia in Basil and the Two Gregories* (1975).

LATIN

P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (1967).

H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (1981).

C. Favez, *La Consolation latine chrétienne* (1937).

M. Fern, *The Latin Consolatio as a Literary Type* (1941).

J. D. Scourfield, *Consoling Heliodorus: Commentary on Jerome Letter 60* (1993).

Constans I Caesar from 333 and Augustus 337–51. Youngest son of *Constantine I and *Fausta, born in the early 320s. He was appointed *Caesar on 25 December 333 and became *Augustus with his brothers *Constantine II and *Constantius II after their father's death in 337. He was assigned *Italy, *Africa, and *Illyricum. In 340 he gained control of the western half of the Empire after Constantine II was killed while invading Italy. Relations between Constans and Constantius II could also be marked by tension; for instance in the mid-340s Constans commanded Constantius to restore the Nicene *Athanasius as *Patriarch of *Alexandria. However, a *panegyric by *Libanius (*Oration* 59), from the 340s (possibly 348/9), celebrated the unity of the two brothers. Constans's reign was marked by campaigns against *Sarmatians and *Franks, and a brief visit to *Britain in 343.

Before his father's death, Constans was engaged to Olympias, daughter of the *Praefectus Praetorio Ablabius, but did not marry her. He was allegedly attracted to young men, but this may be hostile propaganda associated with his overthrow by *Magnentius in 350, when Constans was killed in the town of Helena (Elne) in Gaul, and was possibly buried at *Centcelles. SFT

PLRE I, Constans 3.
NEDC 45.
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 63–70 and 224–6.

Constans II (630–68/9) Emperor 641–68/9. Baptized as Heraclius and proclaimed as Constantinus but known as Constans II, he was the son of *Constantine III and grandson of *Heraclius. Constans became sole emperor in 641 after the deposition of *Heraclonas by the general *Valentinus, who would dominate the first years of Constans's reign until he was lynched in 644/5.

The predominant challenge of Constans's reign was the *Arab threat. *Egypt was surrendered in 642, and *Africa, *Armenia, and the *frontier in *Anatolia suffered intensifying raids. Constans adopted a belligerent policy and developed Roman naval power, leading to the temporary recapture of *Alexandria in 645/6. However, the Arabs, particularly under the leadership of *Mu'awiya, constructed their own fleet, striking *Cyprus in 649. In 653 Constans personally led an expedition into Armenia, advancing as far as *Dvin and temporarily restoring communion with the Armenian episcopate. However, Mu'awiya then launched a massive attack by land and sea. Hurriedly returning, Constans led the Roman *fleet to a decisive defeat at the bay of *Phoenix off the coast of *Lycia in *c.*655 and was almost captured. Seeming imperial defeat was averted through storms, through Roman attacks which ravaged the Arab fleet, and because of the outbreak in 656 of the First *Arab Civil War.

This vital breathing space was probably when the *Theme system was instituted. Constans also began a series of campaigns to reassert Roman authority and garner resources for the eventual resumption of war with the Arabs. In 658 Constans campaigned against the *Slavs, and then in 660 led a progress through Transcaucasia resulting in the submission of the local notables. In 662–3 Constans crossed to *Italy and attacked the *Lombards, forcing some form of accommodation. Also in 663 Constans became the last Roman emperor to visit *Rome, where he is accused of pillaging *bronze from monuments to turn into *coinage (**Liber Pontificalis*, 78). Then in the autumn of 663 Constans established himself at *Syracuse in *Sicily, where he would remain for the rest of his reign.

Constans inherited the *Monothelete Christological policy of *Heraclius and increasing dissent from it in the West. In an attempt to reach compromise, Constans issued the **Typos* in 648 banning discussion of the subject. Pope *Martin I, encouraged by *Maximus Confessor, refused to comply, and convened the *Lateran Council of 649 which condemned Monotheletism. Affronted, Constans had Martin and Maximus arrested, tried for *treason, and eventually mutilated and *exiled.

Arab raids restarted in 662, and Constans's increasingly unpopular rule generated a string of rebellions and conspiracies. Eventually, in either 668 or 669 he was assassinated in a *bathhouse in Syracuse, and *Mezezius the *Comes of the *Opsikion was proclaimed emperor.
MTGH

PBE, Konstans I.
PmbZ, 3691.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 53–63.
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 474–91.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, III.

Constanța *See* TOMIS.

Constantia Half-sister of *Constantine I, whose dynastic alliance with *Licinius was inaugurated by her marriage at *Milan in January 313. Their son was *Licinius Caesar. The *letter (*CPG* 3503) allegedly written to her by *Eusebius of *Caesarea concerning the legitimacy of images is of disputed authenticity.
OPN

PLRE I, Constantia 1.
NEDC 37, 44.
CPG 3503: ed. (annotated with GT) A. von Stockhausen, *Einige Anmerkungen zur Epistula ad Constantiam des Euseb von Caesarea*, in T. Krannich, C. Schubert, and C. Sode, *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 15, 2002), 92–112.
ET Mango, *Art*, 16–18.

Constantia (Cyprus) *See* SALAMIS.

Constantianus General in *Dalmatia (536–40), *Italy (540–4), against the *Gepids and *Heruli (549), and *Slavs (551). He was **patricius* (562) and a trusted counsellor to *Justinian I.
PNB
PLRE III, Constantianus 2.

Constantia-Tella (Tella de Mauzelat, mod. Viranşehir, Turkey) City strategically located between *Edessa and *Dara, headquarters of the *Dux Mesopotamiae in 363–527 and 532–40 and a bishopric of *Osrhoene. It was rebuilt by *Constantine I to replace Tetrarchic Maximianoupolis (*John Malalas, XIII, 12). *Justinian I raised the height of the circuit wall and made it stronger by inserting new towers and changing the material in some places. He also diverted the stream which ran outside the city and built fountains in side it (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 5).

Parts of the city walls and towers, a warehouse with transverse arches, scattered architectural fragments, and some *inscriptions have survived. Other inscriptions and a tetrapylon recorded in the past have disappeared. Further archaeological fragments from the city have been gathered in the nearby village of Oğlakçı.

Constantia was the see of *John of Tella and the birthplace of *Jacob Burd'oyo, both instrumental in

the establishment of the separate *Miaphysite *Syriac Orthodox Church. Jacob died in *Egypt and his *relics were brought back to Tella to his *monastery (Phesiltha) in 622. The monumental octagonal church photographed by Gertrude Bell 1 km (0.6 miles) west of the city walls may have been built for him. Only one pier of this church now survives. The Tektek mountains south of Constantia also contain Late Antique remains which have not been studied. EKK

Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*, 154–7.
Greatrex and Lieu.
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 191–3.
E. Keser-Kayaalp, 'A Newly Discovered Rock-Cut Complex: Monastery of Phesīlthā?', *IstMitt* 58 (2008), 261–83.

Constantina (d. 354) Augusta. Daughter of *Constantine I and *Fausta, married to her kinsman *Hannibalianus (murdered 337) and later to *Gallus Caesar (executed 354). She founded the Church of S. *Agnes on the Via Nomentana at *Rome where she was buried. OPN

PLRE I, Constantina 2.
PCBE II/1 Constantina 1.
NEDC 43.

Constantina Augusta 582–602. *Aelia Constantina, daughter of *Tiberius II, wife of *Maurice, and correspondent of *Gregory the Great. When *Phocas rebelled in 602, she, Maurice, and their nine children were captured; Maurice and their sons were killed. Constantina plotted with the **patricius* *Germanus, father-in-law of her son *Theodosius, to overthrow Phocas. She and her daughters were beheaded at *Chalcedon and buried with Maurice at the *monastery of *S. Mamas (Nea Metanoia). OPN

PLRE III, Constantina 1.
Whitby, *Maurice*, 7, 14, 18, 25.

Constantine As *Comes in charge of *Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) in 502, he surrendered the *city to the Persian invaders, defected, and led Persian troops against *Areobindus in 503. In 504 he resumed Roman allegiance (with both the wives given him by the Persians). *Anastasius I had him ordained and told him to eschew politics. OPN

PLRE II, Constantinus 14.
Greatrex, *RPW* 79–80, 112.

Constantine (Algeria) *See* CIRTA.

Constantine, legends of Mythmaking about *Constantine I started early, with the *Life of Constantine* of *Eusebius of *Caesarea. Although an important historical source for Constantine, it also represents him as an ideal ruler. *Socrates (*HE* 1, 1, 2) criticized Eusebius for being keener to eulogize Constantine than to produce an accurate narrative. Memories of the historical Constantine were already diminishing two generations after his death (*John Chrysostom; *PG* 49, 216).

Fading knowledge of Constantine's reign permitted the growth of the myths in the *Actus Sylvestri*. The original *Latin *Actus Sylvestri* probably originated in *Rome in the 5th century; it was popular in the Middle Ages. Its main components are Constantine's vision of Ss. Peter and Paul, his conversion and *baptism by *Sylvester (*Bishop of Rome), his cure from leprosy, the building of the *Lateran Basilica, *Helena's conversion to Christianity, and her discovery of the True *Cross. The *Actus Sylvestri* is the Latin response to the Greek tradition, and to the negative pagan tradition represented by *Julian, *Eunapius, and *Zosimus. In the 6th century, the story about Constantine's baptism was also known in the East; a *mosaic in the Church of *S. *Polyeuctus in *Constantinople refers to it and it became an important element in the Byzantine Lives of Constantine.

The *Constitutum Constantini* or *Donation of Constantine* is an 8th-century quasi-juridical confection closely related to the *Actus Sylvestri*. It narrates how Constantine presented Sylvester with secular rule over Rome and the Western Empire, made the emperor subservient to Rome's bishop, and gave the See of *Rome supremacy over all other sees. Although its genuineness was already contested in the 12th century, it was conclusively exposed as a forgery by Lorenzo Valla in the 15th century.

Libellus de Constantino Magno Eiusque Matre Helena, a late medieval text by an unknown author, is a unique biographical legend about Constantine and Helena. It tells how Helena went from *Trier to Rome, and was raped by Constantius resulting in the birth of Constantine whom Helena brought up secretly. Constantine was kidnapped by two *merchants because of his royal *physiognomy. The merchants presented him to the emperor, Constantine married the emperor's daughter, and the couple lived with Helena in Rome. Later Constantius recognized Constantine as his son, Constantine and his wife became heirs to the Greek and Roman Empires, and Constantius and Helena were united. There are references to Constantine's baptism by Sylvester, Helena's journey to *Jerusalem, and her discovery of the True Cross.

Byzantine Lives

In the Eastern Church Constantine was venerated as *isapostolos*, or the Thirteenth Apostle, and a saint, often together with Helena; their joint saint's day was 21 May. Details about his life were included in menologia, in particular the **Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Some 35 *vitae* are catalogued in the *Bibliotheca*

Hagiographica Graeca; the best known were composed in the 9th–11th centuries. The published *vitae* are named after their principal editors: Winkelmann-*Vita* (*BHG* 365z, 366, 366a), Guidi-*Vita* (*BHG* 364), Opitz-*Vita* (*BHG* 365), Halkin-*Vita* (*BHG* 365n), Gedeon-*Vita* (*BHG* 363). The *vitae* have the following format: parentage and birth of Constantine, upbringing at imperial court, flight to Constantius in England, wars against barbarians and *Maxentius, *Constantine's Vision of the Cross, his baptism in Rome, his war against *Licinius and expeditions against the Persians, the foundation of Constantinople, discovery of the Cross by Helena, the *Council of *Nicaea, and his death. Apart from Helena, the Christian *eunuch Euphratas plays an important role in some of the *Lives*: it is he who advises Constantine to adopt Christianity, was the architect of the sewer-system of Constantinople, and tricked the *senators of Rome into settling in Constantinople.

Both in the western and eastern tradition, myths about Constantine also occur in other legendary cycles and narratives such as the Helena cycle, the Constantia cycle, and narratives about British saints.

From the 7th century onwards Constantine gradually became a model for Byzantine emperors and western medieval rulers. The legendary material clearly pictures Constantine as the ideal and exemplary Christian emperor. HJWD

ed. (with GT and comm.) P. Dräger, *Historie über Herkunft und Jugend Constantins des Grossen und seine Mutter Helena. Von einem unbekannten Verfasser* (²2010).

Donation of Constantine, ed. (with ET and study) in G. W. Bowersock in *Lorenzo Valla*: *On the Donation of Constantine* (2007).

G. L. Fowden, 'The Last Days of Constantine: Oppositional Versions and their Influence', *JRS* 84 (1994), 146–70.

A. Kazhdan, 'Constantin imaginaire': Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great', *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 196–250.

S. N. C. Lieu, 'From History to Legend and Legend to History: The Medieval and Byzantine Transformation of Constantine's *Vita*', in S. N. C. Lieu and D. Montserrat, eds., *Constantine: History, Hagiography and Legend* (1998), 136–76.

A. Linder, 'The Myth of Constantine the Great in the West: Sources and Hagiographic Commemoration', *Studi Medievali* serie terza 16 (1975), 43–95.

P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (1994).

F. Paschoud, 'Zosime 2,29 et la version païenne de la conversion de Constantin', *Historia* 20 (1971), 334–53; repr. in F. Paschoud, *Cinq Études sur Zosime* (1975), 24–62.

R. Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (2011).

***Constantine, Life of* (Cod. Angelicus 22)** A later Byzantine life of the *Emperor *Constantine I, named the Opitz Life because it was first edited in 1934 by Hans-Georg Opitz, from a 10th/11th-century Vatican manuscript (Cod. Angelicus 22, fols. 1–54) now complemented by more recently discovered fragments in the 13th-century Codex Sabbaiticus gr.366, fols. 9–22. It begins in 311 at *Rome, is well informed, and is based on identifiable sources and also an anonymous *Arian Historiographer. It was used by the church historian *Philostorgius. BC

BHG 365:

ed. H.-G. Opitz, 'Die Vita Constantini des Codex Angelicus 22', *Byzantion* 9 (1934), 535–95 (at 545–90).

Bidez and Winkelmann, *Philostorgius* (GCS ³1995), 178–83.

F. Halkin, 'L'Empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas', *AnBoll* 78 (1960), 5–17.

ET (complete) F. Beetham, 'A Byzantine Life of Constantine (*BHG* 365—commonly known as the Opitz-Vita)', in R. Alston and S. Lieu, eds., *Aspects of the Roman East: Papers in Honour of Professor Fergus Millar FBA* (2007), 174–230.

ET (partial) P. Amidon, *Philostorgius Church History* (2007), 187–92.

Lieu and Montserrat, 103–4.

Constantine, Vision of Cross of In *Eusebius' narrative of *Constantine I's campaign against *Maxentius in 312, the *emperor and his *army see a *cross in the *sky shortly before noon. Constantine subsequently *dreams he should make a Christian military standard called the *labarum (*VCon* I, 26–32). Eusebius says Constantine told him the story himself, speaking on *oath. *Lactantius' account of the same campaign (*Mort.* 44) has Constantine dreaming he was commanded to mark his soldiers' shields with the 'heavenly sign of God'. Some scholars conflate these events with a vision of Apollo which a panegyrist in 310 says Constantine saw in *Gaul (*PanLat* VI (VII), 21, 4–7). Others detect an assurance of Christian eschatological hope. *Rufinus, 90 years later, is the first to call it a *conversion experience (*HE* IX, 9); such interpretations lived long in legend (*see* CONSTANTINE, LEGENDS OF). OPN

Barnes, *Constantine*, 74–80.

O. [P.] Nicholson, 'Constantine's Vision of the Cross', *Vig-Christ* 54/3 (2000), 309–23.

P. Weiss (tr. A. Birley), 'The Vision of Constantine', *JRA* 16 (2003), 237–59.

Constantine I the Great (*emperor 306–37) The first Christian Roman emperor and one of the decisive figures of Western history.

Early life, rise to power, and supreme rule

Constantine was born in 272/3 at Naissus (*Niš) in the *Balkans. His father *Constantius I rose to become a *Caesar in *Diocletian's *Tetrarchy, although Constantine's mother *Helena was apparently of humbler birth.

Constantius became *Augustus on the abdication of Diocletian and *Maximian on 1 May 305, but died at *York on 25 July 306. Constantine was with his father when he died and was promptly hailed as emperor by Constantius' *army.

Constantine's authority during the six years of civil war and internal tension which followed was initially restricted to *Gaul, *Britain, and *Spain. However, on 28 October 312, having marched through northern Italy, Constantine defeated his western rival *Maxentius outside Rome at the Battle of the *Milvian Bridge and took possession also of *Italy and *Africa. The following February Constantine's sister was married to *Licinius, the emperor at that time in charge of the *Balkans. The alliance freed Licinius' to attack and defeat his eastern rival *Maximinus Daza, so that by the end of that summer Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East were the only emperors left.

The alliance with Licinius was not secure. In 316 Constantine attacked his colleague, marching across the *Balkans and winning a battle at *Cibalae. However, the *Cibalensean War was not decisive, and on 1 March 317 the two emperors made peace; they proclaimed as their Caesars Constantine's adult son *Crispus and Licinius' baby boy, also called *Licinius, and Constantine took possession of all Licinius' European territories except *Thrace.

The peace did not last. In 321 the two emperors refused to recognize each other's nominees for the *consulship and in 324 Constantine attacked again. This time he led an army across Thrace while his son Crispus commanded a *fleet which defeated Licinius' admiral at the Dardanelles, so making decisive Constantine's victory at the Battle of *Chrysopolis on the Asian side of the Sea of *Marmara on 18 September. Constantine received Licinius' surrender the following day at *Nicomedia of *Bithynia. The following 8 November he founded *Constantinople and proclaimed as a Caesar his son *Constantius II (then aged 7).

Constantine had four sons, but in 326 his eldest son *Crispus by his first wife *Minervina was executed for obscure reasons. Constantine's second wife *Fausta was killed at around the same time. On Constantine's death in 337 the empire was divided among his three sons by Fausta: *Constantine II, *Constantius II, and *Constans.

Relations with Christians

When Constantine became an emperor in 306, the Great *Persecution had been in progress for over three years. *Lactantius clearly states that Constantine's first act upon becoming an emperor was to suspend the Great Persecution in the territories which he controlled (*Mort.* 24, 9). Evidence about any earlier associations Constantine may have had with Christianity is tenuous and circumstantial. It may be that his mother Helena had Christian connections before the Great Persecution, but definite evidence of her Christian piety all dates from after 324. Constantine chose the Christian apologist Lactantius as tutor to the ill-fated Crispus, so it may be that Constantine and Lactantius had been acquainted at Nicomedia before the persecutions when Constantine was a young officer at Diocletian's *court. The author of a *panegyric reports that in 310 Constantine had a religious vision of the *Sun (*PanLat.* VII (VI), 21), but the significance of this is unclear. In 312, during the Milvian Bridge campaign, occurred the famous Vision of the Cross; although neither of the two contemporary Christian sources who report this event calls it a *conversion, it was clearly a religious experience, and no doubt the victory over Maxentius in the ensuing battle confirmed Constantine's sense that he and the Christian God were fighting on the same side.

Certainly from this point onwards it is possible to see Constantine's involvement in Christian affairs. In the summer of 313, after Licinius had defeated Maximinus Daza, Licinius issued instructions to provincial governors in the East, the *Letter of Licinius, effectively bringing to an end the persecution of the Christians; the terms had been agreed between Licinius and Constantine earlier in the year (Lactantius, *Mort.* 48, 2–12; Eusebius, *HE* X, 5, 2–14).

At the same time Constantine funded the foundation of the cathedral of *Rome, the Constantinian *Basilica, now S. John Lateran (**Liber Pontificalis*, 39). Christian property lost during the Great Persecution was restored (*Letter to Anullinus*, in Eusebius, *HE* X, 5), the imperial treasury was opened to bishops (*Letter to Caecilian*, in Eusebius, *HE* X, 6), and Constantine legalized the Church's right to receive bequests (*CTh* XVI, 2, 4 of 321). Bishops gained additional legal privileges over the manumission of slaves and enlarged powers of mediation in *bishops' courts (*episcopalis audientia*), while clergy received exemption from curial duties (*Letter to Anullinus*, in Eusebius, *HE* X, 7).

Constantine also tried to resolve the *Donatist Controversy in *Africa, a conflict arising from disagreement about the conduct of bishops during the Great Persecution. In 314 he took the step, unprecedented for an emperor, of summoning a council and making the *Cursus Publicus available to the bishops who travelled to *Arles to attend it. Constantine compared the council's judgement to that of God (*Letter to the Bishops*, in *Optatan Appendix*, 5), but was unable to enforce the verdict against the Donatists. Resolution was not achieved for another century.

Later, when he came to the East in 324, Constantine discovered deeper divisions afflicting the eastern Church, where the doctrinal debates now known as the '*Arian Controversy' were already raging. Initially,

Constantine expressed the hope that the 'trivial' and 'unworthy' questions in dispute could be settled amicably (*Letter to Alexander and Arius*, in Eusebius, *VCon* 2, 64–72). Once he recognized the significance of the debates, Constantine summoned what became the first œcumenical *council to *Nicaea in May–July 325. The largest Christian gathering yet held, the Council of Nicaea also witnessed his Vicennalia (20th *anniversary) celebrations, which Eusebius compared to 'an imaginary representation of the kingdom of Christ'. After the final session he invited the bishops to dine at the *palace (*VCon* III, 15). The composition of the original Nicene Creed unfortunately failed to resolve all the questions at issue. Over the following decade Constantine exiled several leading bishops, including *Eusebius of Nicomedia and *Athanasius of *Alexandria, but his quest for harmony was again in vain and the questions involved did not reach a lasting resolution till the Council of *Constantinople in 381.

In the following year his mother Helena visited the *Holy Land where she founded churches at *Bethlehem, where Jesus was born, and on the Mount of Olives, where he gave his last teaching and ascended into heaven. Around the same time Constantine ordered the destruction of the principal pagan *temple at *Jerusalem. The demolition crew discovered the Tomb of Christ, the scene of the Resurrection, and Constantine promptly ordered that a church should be built over the place; the building work was seen by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 and the church was ready for consecration in 336.

It was probably during the *Easter vigil at Nicomedia in 325 that Constantine delivered to the Christians at his *court the lengthy address known as the *Oration to the Holy Assembly* (*Oratio ad Sanctos*). The speech starts by celebrating the resurrection of Christ and places it in a philosophical context. It goes on to place the Christian mission into a broader hisorical context, in a way which would have seemed familiar to any reader of Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*—and incidentally is the first Christian utterance to interpret *Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* as a prophecy of the birth of Christ. It ends with an extensive exposition of the notion that the Christian God punishes persecuting emperors—precisely the argument of Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*. The whole is suffused with the conviction not only that Constantine has the support of the Christian God, but that he is actually doing God's work. The same conviction is advanced in surviving *letters written by the emperor and preserved in full by Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, notably a general letter to the provincials of *Palestine (*Letter to the Provincials of Palestnie*, in *VCon* II, 24, 42) and diplomatic letters to the King of Persia, the youthful *Shapur II, to whose care he commends the Christians of the *Persian Empire (Personal Letter to the King of Persia in *VCon* IV, 8–13). It is true that Constantine did not himself receive *baptism until he was in his last illness, but this was not at all unusual for potential Christians who held public positions of responsibility and did not wish to be subject to the regime of *penance as it was administered in the 4th century. Constantine's sense of mission is palpable: 'The Supreme . . . examined my service and approved it as fit for own purposes' (*VCon* II, 28, 2).

Constantine and traditional religion

What is remarkable about Constantine's policy towards Christians is the complete reversal of fortune which it represents. A religion which the previous regime had tried to repress suddenly received unprecedented favour. It is the first step which counts.

It did not, of course, mean that all practice which might be deemed pagan disappeared immediately. At some point Constantine made a law against *sacrifice. The law itself is lost but it is cited in a law of 341 made by his son Constans I (*CTh* XVI, 10, 2). Temple treasures were confiscated including *bronze from their *roofs (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 54) Some temples were destroyed, including that at Jerusalem and others at *Aphaca (the birthplace of Adonis), of Aesculapius at *Aegae of *Cilicia and at *Heliopolis (Baalbek), still a stronghold of paganism in the 6th century (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 55–8). Others were not: 'let them keep if they wish their sanctuaries of falsehood' (*Letter to the Eastern Provincials*, in *VCon* II, 56, 2).

Mars and Hercules appear occasionally on Constantine's coins as late as 320/1, as does the *Sun, but Christians were quite capable of appropriating the Sun as symbolic of their Most High God. When Constantine declared Sunday to be a day of rest in 321 he hailed the Dies Solis, the day of the sun (*CTh II*, 8, 1) and permitted Christian soldiers to attend church while commanding non-Christian soldiers to attend a religious parade where a monotheistic prayer was recited (Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 18–20).

His non-Christian subjects reacted in various ways. The pagan poet *Palladas was not afraid to express his disgust. The Roman *Senate was more circumspect. The *Arch of Constantine, which they erected in 315 next to the Colosseum, attributed Constantine's success to 'the inspiration of the divinity (*instinctu divinitatis*)', a careful phrase acceptable to Christians and pagans alike. Even the *imperial cult survived in a modified form. One of Constantine's sons approved a *petition from *Hispellum in Umbria for a temple and *priesthood honouring the imperial family, although he insisted that the temple 'must not be defiled by the evils of any contagious superstition' (*CIL* IX, 5265). Constantine did not mince words when expressing his disgust at the pollution caused by pagan practice but if Eusebius truly thought

the emperor encouraged the building of churches because soon 'almost everybody would in future belong to God, once the polytheistic madness had been removed', Eusebius was an optimist (*VCon* II, 45).

Secular matters

The impact of Constantine went far beyond religion. He replaced the Tetrarchic system from which he had emerged, and reunited the Roman world under a single ruler, while recognizing that it was necessary to have cooperation between those responsible for defence of the three principal *frontiers, on the Rhine, on the Danube, and in the East. He was in fact fortunate that following on the cracking victory of *Galerius of 298 all was quiet on the eastern front until the final year of his reign. He campaigned, however, against the *Sarmatians on the Danube frontier.

The political and economic reforms initiated under the Tetrarchy were completed, fulfilling the transition from the Third Century *Crisis to the more stable conditions of the 4th century. Constantine introduced the **solidus* as the dominant *gold unit of the late Roman economy.

Above all, Constantine is associated with Constantinople. Work began at the site of the ancient city of Byzantium shortly after Constantine's conquest of the east, and the new city was consecrated on 11 May 330. The urban layout resembled other Tetrarchic cities like Trier and Nicomedia, but Constantinople swiftly surpassed those rivals and acquired the title 'New Rome'. Its geographic location as an administrative and economic centre and its defensive strength made Constantinople the greatest city of the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empire.

In his last years, Constantine came into conflict with *Sasanian Persia. Constantine was preparing for war in 337 when his final illness struck. According to Eusebius, the emperor desired to be baptized in the River Jordan but was unable to complete the journey and so received baptism in Nicomedia. Constantine died at Pentecost, on 22 May 337, and was buried in his mausoleum church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (*VCon* IV, 61–73). DMG; OPN

SOURCES

More of Constantine's personal utterances survive than is known from almost any other Roman emperor. His Easter sermon the *Oration to the Holy Assembly* is preserved among the works of Eusebius, and is in need of re-editing:

ed I. A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*, I (GCS 7, 1902), 151–92.

ET M. J. Edwards in his *Constantine and Christendom* (TTH 39, 2004), 1–62.

Many of Constantine's letters survive, preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea (*HE* X and *VCon*) and in the *Optatan Appendix*, 3, 5–7, 9–10.

For the years up to 313, Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, written in 313/15, provides essential detail. The dedications of the second edition of his *Divine Institutes* reflect his estimate of the emperor, and his other works give insight into the Christianity of Constantine's circle.

Eusebius's *Church History* (*HE*) provides the impressions of a provincial bishop, frequently revised by the author, up to 325.

Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* is a panegyrical biography by a man who had met Constantine and corresponded with him but was not an intimate. It was long regarded with suspicion particularly by H. Grégoire and others, as Constantine is, after all, the subject of considerable later fiction. However, the publication in 1954 of a papyrus of one of the imperial letters preserved in the *Life* has caused opinions to be revised.

ed. F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius. Über das Leben des Kaiser Konstantins*: *Eusebius Werke*, I, 1 (GCS 57, rev. edn. 1991).

ET (with introd. and comm.) Averil Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (1999).

A. H. M. Jones and T. C. Skeat, 'Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*', *JEH* 5 (1954), 196–200.

Eusebius' *Panegyric of Constantine* and Speech on the Holy Sepulchre:

ed. I. A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*, I (GCS 7, 1902), 193–259.

ET (annotated) H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius Tricennial Orations* (University of California Publications, Classical Studies 15, 1976).

T. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus. Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung* (Historia Einzelschrift 64, 1990) collects references to other sources, particularly inscriptions.

RIC VII covers Constantine's coinage.

PLRE I, Constantinus 4.

NEDC analyses the sources (39–43) and catalogues Constantine's movements (68–80).

STUDIES

The bibliography on Constantine is enormous and space is available only for more recent work.

T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981) marked a watershed in the empirical study of Constantine, as it was based on a close reading of the sources. References to Barnes's subsequent work, and a useful summary of earlier historiography, may be found in:

T. D. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (2011).

P. Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (2009) is a recent biography.

Among works concerned with specific aspects may be noted the following:

John Noel Dillon, *The Justice of Constantine: Law, Communication, and Control* (2012) is concerned with law and administration.

H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (2000) considers Constantine and the Church.
N. Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (rev. edn. 2012) collects essays on a range of topics.
R. Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (2007) uses two inscriptions to consider the impact of Constantine on those he ruled.
J. Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (2011) is good on the physical evidence for Constantine.
E. Hartley, J. Hawkes, M. Henig, with F. Mee, eds., *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor* (2006) is an exhibition catalogue with helpful essays.

Constantine I the Great in art Constantine's earliest coin portraits were still in the style favoured by the *Tetrarchs (square head, thick neck, stubble, short-cropped hair, furrowed brow). By 306, however, the *Trier mint was using a clean-shaven boyish portrait with the dynasty's hooked nose; this became more manly from 310, as may be seen in *sculpture on the reworked heads of the *Arch of Constantine (dedicated 315).

After 312, a *marble colossus was recut to represent Constantine in the manner of Jupiter and displayed in the *Basilica Nova (the Basilica of *Maxentius or of Constantine) at *Rome. Coins after 324 showed Constantine with diadem and head tilted heavenward; on those from 330, his face was fleshier, his locks extending down his neck, ending in tight curls. Constantine (or *Constantius II) appears thus in a *bronze head from a monumental statue now in the Capitoline Museums. Other important depictions include the Ada *Cameo, the Great Cameo formerly in Utrecht now in Leiden, and the lost radiate statue in the Forum of Constantine at *Constantinople. JB

Bardill, *Constantine*, 11–27, 34–6, 203–17, 227–30.
D. H. Wright, 'The True Face of Constantine the Great', *DOP* 41 (1987), 493–507.
R. R. R. Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century', *JRS* 87 (1997), 170–202.
O. [P.] Nicholson, '*Caelum potius intuemini*: Lactantius and a Statue of Constantine', *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001), 177–96.

Constantine II (316–40) *Caesar from 317, then *Augustus 337–40. Son of *Constantine I and *Fausta, born in 316 (suggestions that he was born in 317 and his mother was a *concubine are generally rejected). He became Caesar on 1 March 317, following the *Cibalensean War. After the execution of his half-brother *Crispus in 326 Constantine was his father's eldest surviving son and heir. Despite his youth Constantine was assigned administrative and military duties during his father's reign (e.g. he was associated with campaigns against *Sarmatians and *Alamans). He was married before 335; his wife's name is unknown. After his father's death in 337, Constantine became Augustus, sharing the Empire with his brothers *Constantius II and *Constans I. Based in *Trier (where he had been installed since 328) he ruled *Gaul, *Britain, and *Spain. He was killed in 340 in *Italy, near *Aquileia, in a conflict with his brother Constans. SFT

PLRE I, Constantinus 3.
NEDC 44–5 and 84–5.
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 218 (movements).

Constantine III (d. 411) Flavius Claudius Constantinus was *Augustus 407–11. In spring 407, following the barbarian crossing of the Rhine, Constantine, a common soldier, was proclaimed *Augustus by the *army in *Britain, supposedly because of his auspicious name (*Orosius, VII, 40; *Zosimus, VI, 2–6 and 13). He immediately took many troops to *Gaul, where he regained the Rhine *frontier and occupied Gaul and *Spain. Establishing his residence at *Arles, the seat of the *Praefectus Praetorio of Gaul, he made his son Constans joint Augustus. In 409, promising help against *Alaric the *Visigoth, he was recognized by the *Emperor *Honorius. But in the same year Britain revolted and Constantine's *Magister Militum in Spain, *Gerontius, proclaimed as Augustus his client *Maximus (*Olympiodorus, fr. 16, Orosius, VII, 42, *Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 9). In 411, Honorius' general Constantius (later *Constantius III) invaded Gaul and besieged Constantine in Arles. The general Edobichus tried to relieve the siege but was defeated and killed and the usurper *Jovinus was then proclaimed at *Mainz, so Constantine had himself ordained as a *priest and surrendered to Honorius' general Constantius. Ordination did not prevent Constantine from being beheaded soon afterward. RWM

PLRE II, Constantinus 21.
M. Kulikowski, 'Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain', *Britannia* 31 (2000), 325–45.
J. F. Drinkwater, 'The Usurpers Constantine III (407–411) and Jovinus (411–413)', *Britannia* 29 (1998), 269–98.
J. F. Matthews, 'Macsen, Maximus, and Constantine', *Welsh Historical Review* 11 (1983), 431–46.
C. E. Stevens, 'Marcus, Gratian, Constantine', *Athenaeum* 35 (1957), 316–47.

Constantine III (612–41) Emperor 641. Son of *Heraclius I by his first wife *Eudocia. Constantine was created *Augustus while still a baby, on 22 January 613. In 629/30 Constantine married the daughter of the general *Nicetas, and their son was *Constans II. On Heraclius' death in January/February 641, Constantine became senior emperor, with his half-brother

*Heraclonas junior Augustus. However, after only four months he fell ill and died, rumour declaring he was poisoned by his stepmother *Martina. MTGH

PLRE III, Heraclius Constantinus 38.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 51–2.
Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 73, 265–8.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, II, 175–85.

Constantine IV Pogonates (*c.*650–85) *Emperor 668–85. Crowned co-emperor by his father *Constans II in 654, Constantine remained in *Constantinople during Constans II's western campaigns, becoming senior emperor in 668/9 following Constans II's assassination, with his brothers *Heraclius II (*Heraclonas) and Tiberius as junior emperors.

Constantine immediately sailed to *Sicily to crush the *usurper Mezezius. Having successfully reasserted control over Roman forces in the West, Constantine hurried back to Constantinople, for *Mu'awiya had launched an all-out attack on the Empire. In most accounts the centrepiece of this assault was a sea blockade and *siege of Constantinople between 674–8, finally broken by the Roman *fleet and the first recorded use of the secret weapon *Greek Fire. However, Howard-Johnston has argued that there was no siege, but rather a decisive Roman naval victory in 674. This combined with the insurgency of the Mardaites in *Syria and Palestine forced Mu'awiya to agree a peace treaty and the payment of a limited *tribute. Whatever the precise chronology, the empire won a significant victory, and imperial prestige was enhanced.

Victory permitted resources to be committed in the *Balkans, where a *Slav siege of *Thessalonica was lifted and the *Avars recognized Roman supremacy. However, *Bulgar migration into *Thrace threatened the Empire's tenuous position, leading to the dispatch of an imperial fleet to the mouth of the Danube in 680. This was defeated in a surprise attack, which forced Constantine to recognize the Bulgar occupation in a treaty in 681.

Meanwhile, at the Sixth Ecumenical *Council, convened at Constantinople between 3 November 680 and 16 September 681, Constantine abandoned *Monothelete Christology. This restored doctrinal unity with the West, and tacitly acknowledged the fact that after the *Arab conquests the pacification of *Miaphysites was less important than supporting Chalcedonians in the provinces that remained.

In 681/2 Constantine, despite opposition from the soldiers of the *Anatolic Theme, deposed and mutilated his brothers, in order to secure his own position and that of his son *Justinian II. Constantine died, possibly of dysentery, in July or September 685. MTGH

PBE Konstantinos 2.
PmbZ Konstantinos 3702.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 63–70.
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 302–10, 488–95.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, IV.

Constantine V Copronymus (718–75) *Emperor 741–75. Constantine was crowned co-emperor in 720 by his father *Leo III. The nickname 'Copronymus', dung-named, stems from a polemical account of Constantine befouling his baptismal *font, and evinces the distorting opprobrium heaped upon Constantine in the sources opposed to his supposed *Iconoclast policies.

Following Leo's death in 741, Constantine faced civil war against his brother-in-law *Artavasdus, then **strategos* of the *Opsikion theme, who provided the guard for *Constantinople. Artavasdus seized the capital, while Constantine fled to the *Anatolic theme. Eventually Constantine defeated Artavasdus, and in 742/3 besieged and then stormed Constantinople. Artavasdus and his sons were captured, blinded, and banished to a *monastery.

Secure on the throne, Constantine undertook a series of administrative and military reforms. In particular, the overly powerful Opsikion theme was broken up, and a new elite force loyal to the emperor, called the **tagmata*, was created at Constantinople.

Taking advantage of the *Arab civil war in the *Caliphate, Constantine raided *Armenia and *Syria in the 740s–50s, garnering prestige for himself, and transferring people to depopulated *Thrace. This created a buffer zone in the East and helped to stabilize the Arab–Byzantine *frontier, while strengthening imperial control in the Balkans. However, this led to renewed conflict with the *Bulgars. From 759 to 775 Constantine led nine expeditions into Bulgar territory, successfully reaffirming imperial domination in the south and central *Balkans. However, in the West setbacks occurred: the exarchate of *Ravenna fell in 751 and popes increasingly allied themselves with the Carolingian *Franks.

Security, and the cessation of the *plague after 746/7, led to economic and demographic recovery. Constantine was also able to undertake significant renewal of Constantinople's urban infrastructure, including rebuilding the *Aqueduct of *Valens and the Church of the *Holy Peace.

Constantine is most remembered for his role in *Iconoclasm. Although recent work has significantly downplayed the significance and extent of imperial policy, Constantine did lead a theological campaign which appealed to preceding Christological controversies to denounce the creation of *icons. His ideas were formally endorsed at the Council of Hiereia in 754. However, it is doubtful whether there was any great campaign of *icon destruction, or much persecution. More positively, Constantine promoted the *Eucharist and the *Cross as the true symbols of Christianity.

Constantine married three times and had numerous sons, the eldest of whom was Leo IV, who was born in 750, crowned in 751, and succeeded in 775. MTGH

PBE Konstantinos 7.
PmbZ Konstantinos 3703.
Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 156–247.
Gero, *Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V.*
Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians.*
Rochow, *Kaiser Konstantin V.*
Speck, *Artabasdos*.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, emperor 905-50 *See* EXCERPTA.

Constantine of Lycopolis (Asyut) Bishop of *Lycopolis (late 6th/early 7th cents.). A Sahidic recension of the Arabic *Synaxarion* preserves a tradition that Constantine was consecrated by *Patriarch *Damianus (r. 569–605), who also appointed him as patriarchal vicar for all of Upper *Egypt. Constantine composed several encomia on *martyrs (two on S. John of Heraclea, two on S. Claudius of *Antioch, one on S. *George, one on S. Isidorus), and one extant homily 'On the Fallen Soul and its Exit from This World'. CJH

CoptEnc 590b–593b.
HistCoptPatr (PO 2/1), 14.
R.-G. Coquin, 'Saint Constantin, eveque d'Asyut', *StudOrChristColl* 16 (1981), 151–70.
G. Garitte, *Scripta disiecta 1941–1977*, 2 vols. (PIOL 21–2, 1980), vol. 1, 119–36.

Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey, Graeco-Roman Byzantium) Principal *city of the Eastern Roman Empire. Following its foundation by *Constantine I in 324 on the site of the small city of Byzantium, Constantinople expanded rapidly. One reason for the growth in population was the frequent presence of the imperial *court. During the 4th century the rulers of the eastern half of the *Empire often resided in Constantinople and lived there permanently from the time of *Arcadius (395–408) to that of *Heraclius (610–41). About 20,000 people may have been living in Byzantium in 324; by the mid-5th century Constantinople probably had a population of about 375,000. *Zosimus, no admirer of Constantine (II, 35; cf. II, 30–2) complained that the *streets had become dangerous to walk in because of the sheer number of people and animals, and that the buildings were clustered much too closely together. Land had to be reclaimed from the sea to provide further building space.

Food and water supply

The rapid growth placed great strain on the city's ability to sustain its population. Its hinterland was not particularly productive agricultural land; *grain was imported from *Egypt and from 332 onwards a free *grain dole was instituted, like that at *Rome. This had the effect of placing the imperial *administration directly in charge of the city's grain supply, so freeing the *emperor from manipulation by local landowners of the sort which *Julian encountered at *Antioch in 362. To provide the necessary volume of grain, between 2,400 and 3,600 vessels had to arrive in the city every year, far more than the existing *harbours on the Golden Horn, the city's northern shore, could accommodate. New harbours were constructed on the city's southern shore, like that of Julian in 362.

Water was a greater problem because Byzantium had only one natural source of fresh water, the small River Lycus, which in any case tended to dry up for six months of the year. There was only one *aqueduct, dating from the reign of Hadrian, to bring in water from further afield. A new network of *aqueducts had to be constructed stretching 100 km (60 miles) inland, which delivered water to the Nymphaeum Maius reservoir. The vulnerability of the system became apparent after the Battle of *Adrianople in 378 because aqueducts could easily be cut if an enemy force controlled *Thrace. Three immense open-air *cisterns were built with a combined capacity of 1,000,000 litres (220,000 imperial gallons) to provide an uninterrupted supply.

Local government

Constantine founded a *Senate for his new city (*Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 6, 30; cf. *Sozomen, II, 3, 6), but it was his son *Constantius II who provided Constantinople with a lasting system of local government. A *Proconsul of Constantinople is first attested in 342, and in 359 Constantius appointed the first *Praefectus Urbi for the city, an office conceived of as parallel to the *Praefectus Urbi at Rome (*Socrates, II, 41; Sozomen, IV, 23, 3). He also put the *Senate of Constantinople on a formal footing. and by the time of his death it numbered, according to *Themistius, fewer than 300 men (*Oration*, 34, 13).

The Senate of Constantinople differed from that at Rome, which had at its core the 'Romans of Rome', men such as *Symmachus and *Praetextatus. It differed also from a normal *city council, comprised of the local landowners, all the men of the city who had a certain property qualification. Especially after the late 4th century, when the *court settled permanently in Constantinople and stored their *archives in watertight rooms under the seating of the Hippodrome (*Circus), the Senate came to be composed of those in the senior ranks of the central imperial *administration. The notables who were influential in the local affairs of 4th- and 5th-century Constantinople came from the court, men like the *patrons of S. *Daniel the *Stylite, Marcus the

silentarius, Gelanius the chamberlain, *Cyrus the Praefectus Urbi and *Praefectus Praetorio. Men like Cyrus rose to be senators by achieving high office in the imperial administration; they might own land along the *Bosporus, as Gelanius did, but they owed their positions to their service at court. Together with the *army and the people assembled in the Hippodrome the Senate took part in dramatic political decisions, such as the *acclamation as emperor of *Justin I, and in formal *ceremonies. But they were also responsible, alongside the Praefectus Urbi appointed by the emperor, for the mundane regulation of local government.

Monumental architecture

The defensive walls built by Constantine for his new city enclosed an area much greater than the former small city of Byzantium; the imperial mausoleum at the Church of the *Holy Apostles (on the site of the present Fatih Camii) was inside their circuit. The two principal *roads passed through the walls, that coming from *Adrianople and the north-west, and, coming from due west and *Selymbria, the *Via Egnatia, the processional way which passed through the Golden Gate at the *Hebdomon. The two main roads met inside the city west of the Forum of Constantine, a large circular square with at its centre a *porphyry column (now Çemberlitaş) bearing a statue of Constantine himself, which Constantine contructed immediately outside the former walls of Byzantium. This led down to the *Augustaeum, the square flanked by the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom (consecrated in 360), the Senate House, and the entrance to the *Great Palace, over the principal gateway of which was a painting of Constantine with the sign of the Saviour behind his head trampling on a dragon (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 3). The Great Palace was directly connected by a spiral staircase to the imperial box (the *kathisma*) located opposite the finishing line in the Circus (Hippodrome). The layout of palace and circus was designed for the performance of impressive *ceremonies and owed much to the urban plans developed under the *Tetrarchy in such cities as *Trier and *Thessalonica (and probably *Nicomedia).

Constantine also beautified Constantinople with works of art brought from elsewhere in the Empire, 'stripping bare almost all the cities' (*Jerome, *Chron* 232g Helm). The central reservation of the Hippodrome was embellished with *sculpture brought from all over the Mediterranean world, including the Serpent Column from *Delphi, cast in *bronze in the 5th century BC. The Senate House was decorated with statues of the Muses brought from Mount Helicon; before its doors stood the statue of Zeus from *Dodona and Athena from the island of Lindos. Over 80 assorted statues adorned the rebuilt *Baths of Zeuxippus. These sculptures were all divorced from their original civic and religious contexts and functions, and were exhibited purely as works of art.

*Theodosius I further enhanced Constantinople as a setting for imperial ceremony. Between about 386 and 393 the Forum of Theodosius, previously the Forum Tauri (mod. Beyazit Square), Constantinople's largest public square, was laid out on land between the walls of ancient Byzantium and those constructed by Constantine. It centred on the tall column of Theodosius and featured a triumphal *arch and an equestrian statue. Constantine's successors also continued to decorate Constantinople with works of art brought from elsewhere in the Empire. An 800-ton *obelisk of Pharaoh Thutmose III (1549–1503 BC) from Egyptian *Thebes and a *bronze statue of Hercules by Lysippus from Rome were placed in the Hippodrome. With the permanent presence of the court came further grand buildings and public works to reflect the city's new importance. The Forum of Arcadius, built from 404, was adorned with a column similar to that in the Forum of Theodosius. The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* compiled around AD 425 catalogues the buildings in the city's fourteen regions.

Temples, churches, and monasteries

Three civic temples on the Acropolis of the old city of Byzantium were destroyed under Theodosius I (*John Malalas, XIII, 39); the site of the Temple of the *Sun became a courtyard, that of Artemis was made a gambling den still known in the 6th century as 'The Temple', and that of Aphrodite the site of the carriage house for the Praefectus Praetorio, with free lodgings for penniless prostitutes nearby. The only person ever known to have offered a pagan *sacrifice at the Temple of the Fortune of the City mentioned by Zosimus (II, 31, 2–3) is the Emperor Julian (Sozomen, V, 4, 8).

Constantine built *martyria for S. Acacius and for the local *martyr S. *Mocius, on the anniversary of whose execution, 11 May, he chose to dedicate the city. The *Notitia* lists only fourteen churches in the city of Constantinople. Two of these were the large imperial basilicas of the *Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia), completed and consecrated in 360 and rebuilt at the beginning of the 4th century, and the Church of the Holy Apostles which had been the burial place of most emperors since Constantine. This number expanded rapidly during the 5th century with the encouragement of the *Empress *Pulcheria. In his *Buildings*, *Procopius mentions 33 churches built, embellished, or repaired through the efforts of *Justinian I (527–65).

At the same time the importance of Constantinople increased in the Church at large. *Bishops came to the city for three Œcumenical *Councils; the first Council

of *Constantinople in 381 convened by Theodosius I, the second in 553 convened by *Justinian I, and the third in 680–1 convened by *Constantine IV. The first Council of Constantinople gave the Patriarch of *Constantinople, because the city was New Rome, precedence immediately following that of *Rome (*Sozomen, VII, 9, 2–3) and Canon 28 of the Council of *Chalcedon confirmed this honour.

Monks began coming to the city and its environs in the late 4th century; S. *Isaac the Monk is said to have been the first, and Ss. *Alexander the Sleepless (d. 430) and *Daniel the Stylite (d. 493) were famous *holy men of the next century. By the mid-6th century, there were also some 80 *monasteries in the city. Some of these had formed spontaneously around individual holy men and their disciples, others had been established as formal institutions by a private *patron, such as the **patricius* Studius who set up his Monastery of *S. John the Baptist (mod. Imrahor Camii) in 463 or *Anicia Juliana who built her enormous Church of S. *Polyeuctus in 524–7. It was partly in this tradition that the *Empress *Theodora gave shelter to monks who shared her *Miaphysite sympathies.

Defence

Following the Sack of *Rome in 410, greater thought was given to the defence of Constantinople. The geography of the site on a narrow promontory with sheltered harbours made it easily defensible on three sides. The current in the southern Bosporus was also a defensive advantage; running at three to four knots or more, it made it very difficult to bring *ships close inshore to mount a naval assault. Successive rulers built on these advantages. Constantine provided a set of defensive walls across the promontory and in 378 these were enough to deter the victorious *Goths from following up their victory at Adrianople with an attack on the city. By the early 5th century, however, settlement had spread out far beyond the limits of the original fortifications. In 413 *Anthemius who was acting as regent for the young *Theodosius II ordered the construction of a new set of walls that stretched 7 km (nearly 5 miles) across the peninsula and incorporated a considerable new area into the city. Walls along the seaward sides were added in 439 and the Land Walls were reinforced by an outer wall and moat in 447. Three-tier defences therefore enabled Constantinople to survive the determined *sieges of the *Avars and Persians in 626, and of the *Arabs in 674–8 and 717–18.

Fire, earthquakes, and civil unrest

For much of the period, however, external attacks were a lesser danger than natural catastrophes. As buildings were packed ever closer together, accidental fires were a constant hazard during the summer months. The first serious fire, recorded by *Marcellinus Comes, devastated the area alongside the Golden Horn in August 433. In September 464 a fire which broke out in one of the dockyards of the Golden Horn damaged eight of the city's fourteen regions.

Situated close to the North Anatolian fault, Constantinople experienced regular *earthquakes. In 396 an earthquake had emperor and people praying together in public. A series of tremors over four months during 437 forced thousands to flee the city for the safety of suburban Hebdomon. A single long earthquake in 480 brought down the statue on the Column of Theodosius, as well as levelling many houses, porticoes, and churches. Liturgical commemorations of the city's deliverance from these earthquakes subsequently entered the civic religious calendar.

Outbreaks of civil unrest among Constantinople's tightly packed and volatile population were equally destructive. The Hippodrome could hold 100,000 people, and especially after the emperor and court settled permanently in Constantinople, it became a political meeting ground as much as a place of entertainment, as is apparent in the dialogue between the factions and the emperor's spokesman in the *Acta per *Calopodium*. This meant that the chariot races in the Hippodrome were often a flash point where the rivalry between the Blue and Green *factions would spill over into violence. In 498, a riot led by the Greens caused considerable damage to the stadium and the area round about. The *Nika Riot of 532, when the Blues and Greens made common cause, was perhaps the most devastating of these popular uprisings.

Reconstruction under Justinian

Constantinople's buildings, infrastructure, and monuments received significant restoration and embellishment during the reign of Justinian I, following damage caused by an earthquake in 526 and the Nika Riot of 532. The *Buildings* of *Procopius, written to *praise the emperor, provide a voluble record of these improvements. The Church of the Holy Wisdom had been severely damaged in 532 and was replaced by a radical design with a *dome 55 m (180 feet) high. Although damaged by an earthquake in 558, the building has stood ever since. The Church of the Holy Apostles and numerous other churches which had not been damaged in the disturbance were rebuilt anyway; many of Justinian's churches boasted domes, the churches of Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus and the Church of the *Holy Peace (Hagia Eirene) being two surviving examples. The Senate House and the portico around the Augusteum were reconstructed. A column was erected in the Augusteum, topped by an equestrian statue

of Justinian himself. The Bronze Gate (the Chalke Gate) of the Great Palace was rebuilt and provided with *mosaics depicting Justinian, his wife Theodora, and his generals' victories over the *Vandals and *Ostrogoths. Justinian also made earnest efforts to improve the water and *food supply. Several new cisterns were constructed, underground rather than in the open air, greatly increasing the amount of water that could be stored. A vast granary was built on the island of *Tenedos so that grain ships could deposit their cargoes there when adverse wind conditions made it impossible for them to pass through the Dardanelles (Procopius, *Aed.* V, 1, 7–16).

The problems of food and water supply were never completely overcome: there was a severe grain shortage in May 555 and a drought in November 562. Constantinople's population began to decline during the 6th century. In the spring of 542, the Justinianic *Plague arrived in the city from *Egypt and took a severe toll on the urban population. The *epidemic subsided the following year but further outbreaks followed in 558, 573, and 599 culminating in another major outbreak in 747.

With the loss of Egypt in the early 7th century the grain dole ended and the population began to decrease. After 600 no monumental building was undertaken till the closing years of the 8th century. In 626 Avar and Persian armies cooperated to besiege the city and it was saved, so it was believed, by the intervention of the Virgin *Mary. Half a century later in 674–8 came the first Arab sieges and in 714 the Emperor *Anastasius II, foreseeing the siege which was to transpire two years later, ordered out of the city all those who could not lay up supplies for three years. Only in the 9th century did Constantinople's population start to grow once more and new building resume. JPH; OPN

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Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*.

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HISTORY OF THE CITY

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R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (1983).

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G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: études sur le recueil des Patria* (1984).

J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (1918).

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of *Constantine I dedicated *Constantinople to the God of the *martyrs (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 48, 1) and provided the city with *martyria of S. Acacius and of the local martyr S. *Mocius, as well as the Church of S. Michael at *Sosthenion on the *Bosporus (*Sozomen, II, 3) the city's first cathedral, (Hagia Eirene: *Socrates, I, 16 and 37; II, 6), and the imperial mausoleum at the *Holy Apostles. His son *Constantius II attended the consecration of the first Church of the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) in 360. Later legend, especially as represented by the **Patria* of Constantinople, was to augment substantially the list of supposed Constantinian foundations.

The city was soon fortified by powerful *relics, including those of Ss. Andrew the Apostle, Luke, and Timothy, the prophet Samuel, and in the mid-5th century S. *John Chrysostom. Monks began to appear in the late 4th century with S. *Isaac the Monk and spread swiftly up and down the Bosporus, transforming its sacred landscape, so that by the mid-5th century an aspiring *ascetic might deem the city 'a second Jerusalem' (*VDanStyl* 10). For all that, the **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* composed in *c.*425 enumerates only fourteen churches in the city. This number had increased to over 30 by the mid-6th century if Procopius' *Buildings* are any indication. OPN

Matthews, *Churches of Istanbul*, is a photographic record.

Janin, *ÉglisesCP*, is a comprehensive record for the City.

Janin, *Grandscentres*, covers the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus.

Dagron, *Naissance*, 391–409 separates fact from fiction.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Balaban Ağa Mescidi A 5th-century, *brick-built, vaulted rotunda (diameter: 10.5 m (35 feet)), 400 m (1,300 feet) north-west of the Forum Tauri, of uncertain original function, now demolished. Inside, six niches with windows opened from a central hexagonal space. JB

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 98–9.

Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 25–7.

Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 70–2, 110–11, pl. XII.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Beyazıt, Basilica A The southernmost of three churches found north of the Mese, *c.*200 m (660 feet) west of the Forum Tauri. It is possibly of the early 6th century. JB

Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 28–33.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 67–73.
Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 131–2.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Beyazıt, Basilica B The north-eastern of three churches found north of the Mese, *c.*200 m (660 feet) west of the Forum Tauri, probably to be identified with the Theotokos of the Diakonissa, built *c.*597/8. JB

Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 28–33.
Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 174–5 (Theotokos of the Diakonissa).
Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 131–4.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Holy Apostles, Church of the On the northern branch of the Mese, inside *Constantine I's fortification *walls, its precise location, near the present Fatih Mosque, is uncertain. It was possibly built by *Constantine I as his burial place; alternatively, Constantine may have been buried in a typical domed mausoleum to which *Constantius II attached the church. A third possibility is that Constantine built both a mausoleum and the adjacent church. In 359, mausoleum, church, or both became unsafe and Constantine's body was moved to the Church of S. *Acacius. It was returned before 361, when *Constantius II was buried alongside his father. Constantius apparently changed the burial scheme, since we do not hear again of the twelve empty tombs (*thekai*) of the Apostles that had surrounded Constantine's *sarcophagus. Indeed, on 1 July 356 relics of S. Timothy were buried at the Holy Apostles, not in a *theke* but below the *altar, and relics of Ss. Andrew and Luke joined them in 357. In 370, the church was dedicated (or rededicated); we know it had a cruciform plan. *Justinian I rebuilt it, again on a cruciform plan, rededicating it on 28 June 550. He added another mausoleum which was to serve him and later emperors up to Theophilus. JB

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 41–50.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, 404–11.
Bardill, *Constantine*, 367–84.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Holy Peace, Church of the (Hagia Eirene) Large church, located north of the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom, ascribed by the 5th-century church historian *Socrates to *Constantine I; the ascription is not improbable since the **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, which locates it in Region II, describes it as the 'Old Church' (*ecclesia antiqua*). The dedication suggests commemoration of the peace established by imperial *victory. It apparently served as *Constantinople's cathedral until *Constantius II built the Holy Wisdom, and also during the rebuilding of the Holy Wisdom, after the fire there in 404. Hagia Eirene was destroyed during the *Nika Riot of 532 and rebuilt by *Justinian I as a domed *basilica. Another fire in 564 consumed the atrium and part of the *narthex. An *earthquake in 740 apparently damaged the upper storey and *dome, and rebuilding occurred after 753. Excavations on the south flank have exposed a stair ramp that gave access to the gallery. Used as an armoury after the Ottoman conquest, the church survives as Aya İrini.

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 103–6.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 112–17.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 77–88.
U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Isdtanbul. Untersuchungen zur Architektur* (IstMitt Beiheft 18, 1977).
U. Peschlow, 'Die Baugeschichte der Irenenkirche in Istanbul neu betrachtet', in C. L. Striker, ed., *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (1996), 133–6.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Holy Wisdom, Church of the Great Church of Constantinople, and seat of the *Patriarch of Constantinople. The reconstruction of Hagia Sophia was the centrepiece of Justinian I's architectural *patronage.

Although medieval authors attributed to *Constantine I the construction of the first Church of the Holy Wisdom, the earliest source (*Socrates, *HE* II, 16) credits *Constantius II, and it was in his reign that the church was consecrated in 360. After the expulsion of the Patriarch *John Chrysostom in 404, the patriarch's partisans set fire to the church. It was back in use by 406, but not rededicated until 415. While some early sources refer simply to the 'Great Church', Socrates already names it 'Sophia'; the reference is probably to the Wisdom of God. Of the earlier structures, only the Sceuophylacium (treasury) remains. Severely damaged in the *Nika Riot of 532, the original *basilica was completely rebuilt, although excavation has revealed portions of its west end and retrieved substantial amounts of architectural *sculpture.

Justinian's new church was designed by *Anthemius of *Tralles and *Isidore of *Miletus (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 1, 24), and the project was supervised by Phocas, the *Praefectus Praetorio (*John Lydus, *Mag.* III, 76). The building, consecrated in 537, represents a radical experiment never imitated by later Byzantine architects. Its design collapses the standard distinction between 'basilicas' and 'centrally planned churches', and can be understood both as a three-aisled basilica with a single *apse and as a double shell centred upon the massive *dome. Structurally the church is anchored by its four massive pillars, which are concealed by the thin walls

that divide nave from aisles, and which support the arches upon which the base of the dome rests. Procopius analysed the space as an exercise in abstract *mathematics, a harmonious essay in solid *geometry (*Aed.* I, 1, 31–48). A **kontakion* by *Romanus the Melodist asserts that the church 'imitated heaven', while an anonymous 6th-century *kontakion* describes it as an 'all-holy Tabernacle' for the Christians. Romanus also contrasted the speedily rebuilt Hagia Sophia with the Temple in *Jerusalem, which still lay in ruins.

The ambitious first dome of Hagia Sophia collapsed in 558, and was reconstructed in more judicious fashion, thereby losing, according to *Agathias, something of its power to instil wonder (*Histories*, V, 9, 5). Shortly after the rededication of 562, *Paul the *Silentiary composed a verse *ecphrasis that celebrates the material splendour of the interior, and a second poem describing the *ambo. The original decoration of the church was mostly aniconic, and depended for its effect on skilfully cut *mirror revetments, intricately carved basket *capitals and entablatures, and ornamental *mosaics possibly of Persian inspiration. Holy figures did appear on the chancel *screen and *altar cloth. The *monograms of Justinian and *Theodora were emblazoned upon the capitals and chancel screen.

Situated just north of the Augustaeum, where an equestrian statue of Justinian crowned a lofty column, and offering access to the imperial Great *Palace through its eastern end, Hagia Sophia stood at the centre of religious and civic ceremony alike. Indeed, its centrality helped to efface the distinction between the two. The church already figures in the 5th-century *ceremony related to the *accession of *Leo I, during which the *emperor removed his *crown in the narthex, presented *gifts at the altar, and heard a reading from the Gospels, before the patriarch restored his crown and he went out to the palace (*De Ceremoniis*, I, 91). In Justinian's church, the eastern end of the south aisle formed the imperial compartment, which the emperor left to participate in the Lesser Entrance, the Great Entrance, and the *Kiss of Peace. Traces of these rites and of the original liturgical furnishings are preserved in the multi-colored *marble inlays that articulate the nave pavement. BWA

A. Kaldellis, 'The Making of Hagia Sophia and the Last Pagans of New Rome', *JLA* 6 (2013), 347–66.

Krautheimer, *ECBArchitecture*, 205–19.

R. J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (1988).

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N. Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (2014).

R. H. W. Stichel, 'Die Hagia Sophia Justinians, ihre liturgische Einrichtung und der zeremonielle Auftritt des frühbyzantinischen Kaisers', in F. Daim and J. Drauschke, eds., *Byzanz—das Römerreich im Mittelater.* Teil 2,1: *Schauplätze* (2011), 25–57.

H. G. Thümmel, 'Hagia Sophia', in H. Köpstein, ed., *Besonderheiten der byzantinischen Feudalentwicklung* (1983), 119–25.

R. M. Taylor, 'A Literary and Structural Analysis of the First Dome on Justinian's Hagia Sophia, Constantinople', *JSAH* 55/1 (March 1996), 66–78.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Hospice of Samson Charitable institution (*xenodocheion*) for the care of the sick at *Constantinople, probably between the churches of the *Holy Wisdom and the *Holy Peace. It was burnt with its residents in the *Nika Riot and rebuilt on a grand scale by *Justinian I (*NovJust* 59; *Procopius, *Aed*. I, 2 14–16;. *Theophanes AM 6024). Menas, Steward of the Hospice, became *Patriarch of *Constantinople in 537 (*Malalas, XVIII, 83). It was burnt again in 563 and again rebuilt (Theophanes AM 6056). OPN

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 561–2.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Acacius, Church of Presumably founded by *Constantine I, whose body was moved in 359 from the *Holy Apostles to the church in which the body of S. Acacius lay. Located in Region X, near the Golden Horn, it was rebuilt by *Justinian I. It is distinct from the shrine at the walnut tree where S. Acacius was believed to have been hanged. JB

Janin, *ÉglisesCP*, 13–15.

A. Berger, 'Mokios und Konstantin der Große. Zu den Anfängen des Märtyrerkults in Konstantinopel', in *Antecessor: Fs Spyros N. Troianos*, 165–85.

J. Wortley, 'The Byzantine Component of the Relic-hoard of Constantinople', GRBS 40 (2001), 357–63.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Sancaktar Hayreddin Mescidi Ruins of a church in the Psamathia quarter, variously dated to the 4th and 14th centuries, externally an octagon, internally a Greek cross. OPN

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 194–5.

Matthews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 231–6.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Andrew in Krisei, Church of A small three-aisled domed *basilica in Psamathia with three *apses and two *narthexes of various dates, incorporating Late Antique coloured *marble columns and impost *capitals. It was associated with S. Andrew of Crete, a martyr in 766 under *Iconoclasm, and has been the Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii since 1486/91. This may be the site of a

church dedicated to S. Andrew founded by *Arcadia, sister of *Theodosius II (*ChronPasch* ad ann. 396) and a *monastery of S. Andrew near the Gate of Saturninus (where the Mese passed through the Constantinian walls) whose abbot attended the councils of *Constantinople of 518 and 536. It should not be confused with Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, a former medieval church near *Blachernae. OPN

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 28–31.
R. Janin, 'Monastères byzantins: les couvents secondaires de Psamathia', *Échos d'Orient* 32 (1933), 326–31.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 172–6.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 3–14.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Euphemia in the Hippodrome, Church of Established north-west of the *Hippodrome in the former palace of the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Antiochus when *relics of S. Euphemia arrived from *Chalcedon in 680 or 796. The eastern niche of the palace's hexagonal, presumably domed, hall acquired a *synthronon and sanctuary furnishings incorporating much reused *sculpture; four mausolea were attached to its exterior. JB

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 120–4.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 122–5.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 123–7.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 61–7.
Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 56–60, 107–9.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi Small octagonal building with a cistern, near the *Aqueduct of *Valens, possibly 6th century, possibly a *baptistery resembling in plan that at the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. OPN

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 202–3.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 315–18.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Irene at Pera, Church of (Gk. 'tôn Sykôn') A church in *Sycae/Pera deemed already ancient in the mid-6th century when large-scale renovations were carried out by *Justinian I in AD 551. According to *Procopius, *relics of the *Forty Martyrs were discovered there (*Aed.* I, 7). KMK

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 108–9.
A. Berger, *Konstantinopel. Geschichte, Topographie, Religion* (2011), 93.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. John Prodromos (the Forerunner) in the Hebdomon, Church of Church built by *Theodosius I in 391 in the *Constantinople suburb called *Hebdomon (mod. Bakırköy) to house S. John the Baptist's head found at *Cyzicus. The church was rebuilt by *Justinian I shortly before *Procopius mentioned it (*Aed.* I, 8). Described by the *Patria of Constantinople as 'rounded and possessing apses', it has been identified with the remains of an octagonal church excavated in 1921–3, which was destroyed in 1965. In addition to the *apse, the foundations of six piers survived. The construction technique and the sculptural style were consistent with a 6th-century date. The church was close to an imperial *palace (Jucundianae) and to the Campus. *Emperors might pray there before setting out for, and upon returning from, war. JB

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 413–15.
Matthews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 140–2.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 55–61.
Mango, *Studies*, study XIV, 390–1.
W. Kleiss, 'Bemerkungen zur Kirche Johannis des Täufers in Istanbul-Bakırköy (Hebdomon)', in *Mansel'e Armağan, Mélanges Mansel* 1 (1974), 207–19.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. John the Baptist of Studius (Stoudios), Church and Monastery of Located outside the walls of *Constantine I, south of the road leading to the Golden Gate. This topographical evidence allows it to be identified with the *basilica converted into the İmrahor mosque in the 16th century. Studius built the church shortly before becoming *consul in 454 (*Anth. Pal.* I. 4); *brickstamps suggest a date *c.*450. The associated *monastery may not have been established until *c.*460. The church, 26.3 m (87 feet) wide, was a galleried basilica with single aisles, *synthronon, small cruciform crypt, and narthex with Corinithian portico. Excavations in 1979 revealed the foundations of a staircase tower south of the narthex. Partly below the church's south wall, and on a different alignement, is a *cistern with chapel substructures attached. Excavations in 1907–9 revealed evidence of cloisters south and east of the cistern. JB

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 147–52.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 19–27.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 143–58.
Mango, *Studies*, Study XII.
U. Peschlow, 'Die Johanneskirche des Studios in Istanbul. Bericht über die Jüngsten Untersuchsergebnisse', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantistik* 32/4 (1982), 429–34.
Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 60–1, 109.
PLRE II, Studius.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Menas, Church of A 5th-century church on the old Acropolis (mod. Seraglio Point, Saray Burnu) that replaced the former *city of Byzantium's *Temple of Poseidon, an important landmark for sailors. *Alexander the Sleepless established a *monastery nearby in *c.*420. KMK

Janin, *ÉglisesCP*, 333–5.
Dagron, *Naissance*, 376.
A. Berger, *Konstantinopel Geschichte, Topographie, Religion* (2011), 81.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Menas in Psamathia An extensive arcaded substructure, apparently of the 5th century, exists beneath the 19th-century Greek church of S. Menas in the south-west of *Constantinople. It has not been securely identified with any known Late Antique church, and the dedication is recent. OPN

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 279, 407 (Ss. Carpus and Papylus).
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 206–8.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 186–7.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Polyeuctus, Church of A 5th/6th-century *basilica in *Constantinople located in the quarter of Constantianae on the Mese between the Church of the *Holy Apostles and the Forum Tauri (close to the Şehzade Mosque and the Atatürk Bulvarı in the modern Saraçhane quarter). The first church was built in the early 5th century by the *Empress *Eudocia, perhaps to house *relics of S. Stephen, but it eventually received its **patrocinium* from S. Polyeuctus, a *military saint from *Melitene. In 524–7, the aristocratic matron *Anicia Juliana invested considerable funds in having the church completely renewed. Contemporary literary sources say the building rivalled not only those erected by the *Emperors *Justin I and *Justinian I, but also Solomon's Temple, whose measurements (recorded in Ezekiel 40–1) it reproduced. The extraordinarily rich architectural *sculpture and interior decoration carved from *Proconnesian *marble display deeply undercut ornament. A poem was inscribed on the building's inner entablature; parts of the *inscription were found during excavations in the 1960s and could be identified with a 76-line *epigram quoted in the *Palatine Anthology* (1, 10), praising Anicia Juliana for surpassing Solomon and providing a description of the building; it is therefore the most important source for reconstructing lost parts of the church, e.g. its golden ceiling and *dome, which probably was a prototype for the roofing of Justinian's Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom. *Gregory of Tours knew of the church's magnificence, and of the patron saint's reputation for punishing perjury (*Gloria Martyrum*, 102). Literary sources attest the church until the 11th century, when it decayed and its decoration was reused elsewhere in the City (Pantokrator Monastery). After the Fourth Crusade (1204) several pieces (e.g. the so-called Pilastri Acritani) were brought to Venice to be reused as *spolia in S. Mark's Basilica. The excavated parts of the architectural sculpture are now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. KMK

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 190–2.
Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 405–6.
C. Mango and I. Sevčenko, 'Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople', *DOP* 15 (1961), 243–7.
C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia: Umbildung und Auflösung antiker Formen, Entstehen des Kämpferkapitells* (Abh. (Bayr.) NF 92, 1984).
R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol 1: *The Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Molluscs*; vol. 2: *The Pottery* by J. W. Hayes (1986).
R. M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul* (1989).
P. Magdalino, 'Aristocratic Oikoi in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople', in N. Necipoğlu, ed., *Byzantine Constantinople* (2001), 53–69.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, S. Saviour in Chora Church originally outside the Constantinian walls integrated into the city after the completion of the Theodosian walls in the 5th century. Nothing remains of the Late Antique building as the current church was rebuilt by donors in the 11th and 14th centuries. KMK

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 531–8.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Ss. Carpus and Papylus, Martyrium of The **Patria* of *Constantinople mention a *martyrium of Ss. Carpus and Papylus. This has at times been identified with a structure of uncertain date and function found below the 19th-century Church of S. Menas in Psamathia. OPN

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 279, 407.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 186–7.
Matthews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 206–7.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Ss. Sergius and Bacchus, Church of Begun probably after 532 by Justinian I and *Theodora in the Palace of Hormisdas, where they had lived before assuming the *purple. It was completed by 536 and survives as Küçük Ayasofya Camii. The quadrangle of the exterior walls surrounds eight piers standing at the corners of an octagon. These support eight arches from which springs a sixteen-sided *dome containing eight windows. At ground- and gallery-level, two columns stand between adjacent piers, those at ground-level crowned by melon *capitals, those at gallery-level by Ionic impost capitals. On alternate sides of the octagon the columns stand behind the piers to form a semicircular niche (*exedra) topped by a semi-dome. The ground-floor columns carry a horizontal entablature carved with eleven verses in *Greek mentioning Justinian, Theodora, and S. Sergius, but not S. Bacchus. The extant dome may be a later

repair, the original having been raised on an octagonal drum, as at San Vitale in *Ravenna. On the church's flank stood Justinian's *basilica of Ss. Peter and Paul, built *c.*519 (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 4, 1–8). By 536, both churches formed a single *monastery ruled by the same abbot. JB

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 451–4.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 177–83.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 42–51.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 242–59.
J. Bardill, 'The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees', *DOP* 54 (2000), 1–11.
J. Bardill, 'The Date, Dedication and Design of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople', JLA 10/ 1 (2017), 62–130.
B. Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus', *DOP* 60 (2006), 25–63.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Theotokos in the Chalkoprateion, Church of (Virgin in the Coppermarket) Ascribed to the *Empress *Verina (*NovJust* 3, 1) and perhaps built *c.*474–8, this twin-aisled, galleried *basilica with *narthex and atrium housed the Virgin *Mary's girdle. The *apse, crypt, and part of the north wall survive, west of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. Although similar in proportions to *S. John the Baptist of Studius, it was significantly larger, being 31 m (102 feet) wide. It was repaired by *Justin II, who also built a chapel of S. James, whose substructures survive north of the atrium. Basil I added a *dome to the basilica. JB

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 237–42.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 28–33.
C.C. Hennessey, 'The Chapel of Saint Jacob at the Church of Theotokos Chalkoprateia in Istanbul' in J. Curtis, R. Matthews, et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2 (2012), 351–66.
Mango, *Studies*, article XVI, 369–72.
C. Mango, 'The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople', *IntCongChrArch* (*StudAntCrist* 54/(1998), 65 with n. 21.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon, 76–8 s.n.* Acem Ağa Mescidi.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 319–21.
S. J. Shoemaker, 'The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest Life of the Virgin and Constantinople's Marian Relics', *DOP* 62 (2010) 53–74.

Constantinople, churches and monasteries of, Topkapı Sarayı Basilica Church, apparently 5th century, *c.*19 m (62 feet) wide, with misaligned atrium, excavated on the ancient acropolis at *Constantinople, outside the entrance to the Third Court of the Ottoman Topkapı Palace. It has not been identified with any building known from texts. JB

Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 74–5.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 33–8.
Mathews, *Churches of Istanbul*, 383–5.

Constantinople, Councils of It was common at *Constantinople for 'home' synods to be summoned by the *bishop of the *City, and attended by whatever bishops were available. Distinct from these are the following Œcumenical Councils of Constantinople, summoned by the *emperor.

Constantinople I (381) was summoned by *Theodosius I to confirm his re-establishment of Nicene orthodoxy as the faith of the Empire. A substantially revised version of the Nicene *Creed was attributed to this council by the Council of *Chalcedon (451), and this is the version of the creed still used by Christians. It goes back to the time of the council and may well have played some part in its proceedings, but it does not appear that the council formally adopted it.

Constantinople II (553) was summoned by *Justinian I to confirm his own edicts against the *Three Chapters, that is, the person and writings of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia (d. 428), and the writings critical of *Cyril of *Alexandria and the First Council of *Ephesus (431) by *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus and *Ibas of *Edessa (d. 458). These writings were criticized for supporting the *heresy of *Nestorianism. Their condemnation was intended to demonstrate to the critics of Chalcedon that the imperial Church, which upheld Chalcedon, was not Nestorian. Pope *Vigilius, at this date resident in Constantinople, was summoned to the council, but refused to attend and protested against its proceedings. After the council he was held prisoner, and after six months capitulated, confirming the council's decrees.

The Council of Constantinople of 662 was summoned by *Constans II to condemn the champions of dyotheletism (the doctrine of two wills in Christ), including *Maximus the Confessor and the deceased *Sophronius of *Jerusalem (d. 638) and Pope *Martin I (d. 655). From 680, when Constantinople changed its stance, memory of this council was suppressed and its ecumenical status denied.

Constantinople III was held in 680–1. From 633 till 680 the *court and *Patriarchate of Constantinople maintained a policy of encouraging, but never formally defining, the doctrine of one will in Christ (*Monotheletism), as a way of placating non-Chalcedonians (*Miaphysites). Most of the popes of this period, however, interpreted this stance as a formal adoption of heresy. In 680, however, when it appeared more important to please the papacy than the non-Chalcedonians of *Syria and *Egypt (provinces now lost to the Empire), the Emperor *Constantine IV adopted the Roman position, and with the help of Roman delegates

secured from the council a decree formally defining two operations and two wills in Christ. RMP

No acts for 381 or 662 survive.

The acts of the council of 553 (*CPG* 9336–62) are published in *ACO* IV/1 (1971) and those of 680–1 (*CPG* 9420–37) in *ACO* Series 2, II/2 (2 parts, 1990 and 1992).

ET (annotated) R. Price, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553*, 2 vols. (TTH 51, 2009).

ET (annotated) R. M. Price and M. Jankowiak, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 680–1*, 2 vols. (TTH forthcoming).

Constantinople, food supply of The supply of *Constantinople with staple foodstuffs was put in place in 332 when *Constantine I granted some 80,000 free *bread rations to the city's inhabitants, a quantity that could feed a population of around 300,000, a number which surpassed Constantinople's population at the time. Though we are better informed about the provision of free *grain, similar arrangements seemed to have been in place for *olive oil, *wine, and perhaps *meat. The baked bread was handed out to those entitled to receive it in various enclosed buildings (*gradus*) throughout the *City. The right to free bread was linked to owning a *house in the City irrespective of economic standing; recipients were recorded in lists and received tokens with which they could collect their bread rations.

Grain came almost exclusively from *Egypt until the early 7th century; thereafter mostly from *Sicily. It seems that the core number of rations was augmented under *Theodosius I, but remained stable thereafter. The city population grew in the 5th and 6th centuries, so there were many who had no entitlement to free bread. These individuals could purchase bread at prices that were controlled and subsidized by the state. Fresh *vegetables were cultivated both within and at a short distance from the city walls. DSt

Dagron, *Naissance*.

Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and its Hinterland*.

J. Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (Collection de l'école française de Rome, 1990).

Sirks, *Food for Rome*.

Constantinople, foundation of *Constantine I founded *Constantinople on 8 November 324, weeks after overthrowing his eastern colleague the *Emperor *Licinius, and dedicated it on 11 May 330, the anniversary of the execution of S. *Mocius, a local *martyr of the Great *Persecution.

The *city of Byzantium had occupied the promontory south of the Golden Horn at the southern end of *Bosporus since the 7th century BC. Its situation is described by a Greek geographer of the Early Roman Empire, Dionysius of Byzantium. Though the city was well sited to control seaborne contacts between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and (a more immediate concern in the 4th century) the movement of troops between the *Balkans and *Anatolia, it had never been a large place, not least because it was difficult to provision with food and water. From 332 onwards Constantine provided food and at the same time assured his political control of the city by having tax *grain brought in annually from *Egypt by the *grain fleet.

Constantinople was not intended by Constantine as a permanent residence—emperors came to live there permanently only at the very end of the 4th century, during the reign of the Emperor *Arcadius. Like his predecessors during the *Tetrarchy, Constantine was regularly in motion between the Empire's *frontiers, and between cities within easy reach of such frontiers, such as *Trier, *Milan, *Serdica, and *Antioch. The Tetrarchic residence closest to Constantinople was *Nicomedia of *Bithynia, which *Diocletian had hoped to transform into a second Rome (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 7, 10). Constantine had a similar ambition for his new city; a Senate House was built near the Great *Palace and the local *council was absorbed into a new 'Senate of Constantine', whose members also included *senators, senior figures in the imperial *administration adlected by the emperor himself.

The city was provided with appropriately imperial monuments. An oval Forum of Constantine was built with a *porphyry column bearing a statue of the emperor at its centre, so moving the city's ceremonial centre away from the old Acropolis of Byzantium and its civic *temples (in the grounds of the Ottoman Topkapı Palace). Grand houses and a reappointed thermal establishment, the Baths of Zeuxippus, lined the processional *street leading down from the Forum of Constantine to the Augusteum, which was flanked by the Senate House, decorated with statues of the Muses brought in from Mount Helicon, and by two temples. One of these temples contained an antique statue of the Mother of the Gods, brought over from *Cyzicus but altered so that the goddess was no longer taming *lions but seemed to be guarding the City by her *prayers (*Zosimus, II, 31). The other held a *personification of the *Fortuna of Rome, a class of monument whose presence many 4th-century Christians were prepared to countenance even in cities where they had gained the upper hand.

Constantine also rebuilt the city's *circus and decorated its central reservation (*spina*) with famous works of art, many of them pagan *sculptures, brought from cities all around the Empire, divorced from their cultic context and displayed as objects for aesthetic admiration. The seats of the circus could be reached from the city, but, as with the circuses in earlier Tetrarchic cities, the imperial box (approximately on the site of the modern Blue Mosque) could be reached directly from the emperor's palace.

Constantine dedicated Constantinople to the God of the *martyrs (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 48, 1). The Church of the *Holy Wisdom was planned, though it was not completed and consecrated until 360. The highest point of the palace was decorated with a jewelled *cross (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 49), and the emperor's tomb was surrounded by twelve cenotaphs, one for each of the Holy Apostles.

In time, legend came to encrust understanding of the circumstances of the foundation of the city. On the one hand, learned Byzantines such as the 6th-century historian *Hesychius Illustris liked to posit a continuity between their city and all that was best in the classical past. On the other hand the origins of institutions and calendar customs characteristic of the God-protected city of the Christian Middle Ages were ascribed to Constantine. *Festivals, especially imperial festivals (e.g. *John Malalas, XIII, 8, 322), did indeed become integral to the public life of Constantinople, but unlike any earlier city in the Roman Empire, Constantine's foundation dared to risk living without a calendar of what Eusebius referred to as 'feasts of demons' (*VCon* III, 48, 2). OPN

Barnes, *Constantine*, 126–31.
Dagron, *Naissance.*
C. Mango, *Le Développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (³2004).
P. Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (2009), ch. 8.
O. Nicholson, 'Constantinople: Christian Community, Christian Landscape', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 45–83.
G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: études sur le recueil des Patria* (1984).

Constantinople, Great Palace of The Great Palace was located at the southern part of the promontory immediately east of the Hippodrome (*Circus). The two structures were built together to provide an imperial residence with an adjacent public space where the *emperor could participate in public spectacles, as shown on the base of the surviving *obelisk of *Theodosius I. This arrangement imitates the relation of the imperial *palaces on the Palatine Hill in *Rome overlooking the Circus Maximus, and also *Galerius' palace and hippodrome at *Thessalonica. Unlike that at Rome, the new imperial palace at Constantinople was not centrally located. In part this reflects the axial character of the new city's design, but it also ensured that the palace and its *gardens would benefit from maritime views across the Sea of *Marmara towards *Bithynia.

Only fragments of the palace survive, and the original core, the Daphne (the private imperial quarters) and other structures, lies beneath the Sultan Ahmet Camii (Blue Mosque). A great fire before the First World War revealed the underlying terraces which were constructed to accommodate the expanding palace. These terraces extend across the eastern flank of the hillside and define a series of levels rising to the original palace and the Hippodrome. One of the best-known structures, the Apsed Hall (Mosaic Museum) with its spectacular floor *mosaics, probably dates to *c.*580 showing how the palace continued to evolve up to the 7th century. Many of the other known structures survive only as foundations and huge vaulted basements, not dissimilar to the surviving remains of *Diocletian's palace at *Split. Recent excavations close to the Four Seasons Hotel have revealed the site of the Chalke (Bronze) Gate which gave access from the Augustaeum Square next to the Church of the *Holy Wisdom, linking the palace with the city's main ceremonial way, the Mese.

Much of our knowledge of the palace derives from varying interpretations of later texts, especially the 10th-century *Book of Ceremonies*. There have been a number of attempted reconstructions since the 19th century, although, significantly, as recognition of the limitations of the written accounts has increased, such reconstructions have appeared less precise and less confident.

One problem is our ignorance of the approaches to the original palace. Immediately north-east of the palace were the *Baths of Zeuxippus. Before reaching the private imperial quarters, the Daphne, there seem to have been two public spaces, the Tribunal and the oval court of the Onopodium. One potential approach was below the Cathisma (imperial box) from the Hippodrome, but this is known to have been connected to the palace by a spiral stair (the Cochlias). An alternative approach might have been by a road parallel to the Hippodrome.

Over time, the original core of the palace acquired further kiosks, open courts, and churches. The first known church was constructed to house the *relics of S. Stephen in 429 and from around 400 we learn of the Porphyra, the *porphyry-clad imperial birthing chamber. In 498 the Chalke (Brazen) Gate formed a new ceremonial entrance at the south-east end of the Augustaeum square and close to this were the barracks of the palace guards and store chambers. Amongst the Late Antique buildings mentioned in texts were the great dining room known as Hall of the Nineteen Couches, the late 6th-century Chrysotriclinus (Golden Hall), and the *Trullus* (Dome), an oval or egg-shaped building.

Whilst no traces survive, they represent the same pattern of innovative architecture recognized across the *city at a number of noble houses such as the palaces of *Lausus and Antiochus, as well as the Myrelaeum and the complex in Gülhane Park. In the palace the floors, vaults, and walls will have been richly decorated with *marble and mosaics depicting variously Christian images, triumphal themes, and imperial *portraiture similar to the figures of *Justinian I and *Theodora in *Ravenna. The large Apsed Hall, not identified from

texts but the palace building best known from its remains, displays in its second phase of *c.*580 a complex and sophisticated artistry unmatched in any secular context elsewhere in the city. JCr

Janin, *CPByz* 106–22.
J. Bardill, 'Visualizing the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople: Archaeology, Text, and Topography', in F. A. Bauer, ed., *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen—Gestalt und Zeremoniell* (2006), 5–45.
A. Berger, 'The Byzantine court as a Physical Space', in N. Necipoğlu, A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek, eds., *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture, Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium 2010* (2013), 13–22.
A. Moffatt and M. Tal, tr. and study, *Constantine Porphyrogennetos: The Book of Ceremonies: with the Greek Edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 2 vols. (2012).

Constantinople harbours *Constantinople was blessed with an outstanding maritime setting (*Procopius, *Aed.* 1, 5, 2–13). Since classical times *harbours were strung around the eastern end of the peninsula and important excavations at Yenikapı, on the site of the Theodosian Harbour, have revealed for the first time the city's maritime wealth with the remains of 37 ships dating from the 5th to the 11th century together with numerous artefacts, *pottery, and bones, an important resource for future study. The inlet of the Golden Horn provided an excellent natural harbour with the Neorion and Prosphorion harbours on the north side of Byzantium.

As the new city developed from the 4th century onwards, major installations were constructed beside the Sea of *Marmara. First was the Julian Harbour (mod. Kumkapı), later renovated by *Justin II and renamed the Sophiane, with a number of store buildings nearby. To the west was the Theodosian Harbour (mod. Yenikapı) at the mouth of the Lycus stream. Excavations indicate that it dates back to Roman times and the outline is apparent from the site of the Ottoman gardens. Despite there being few textual references, excavations have shown the harbour remained active into the 12th century. As well as a large number of *ships, the excavation revealed traces of timber jetties (Gk. *skala*) many of which can be dated by dendrochronology. Other landing stages and jetties were found around the city's littoral, all attesting to the lasting importance of the city's maritime life. JCr

P. Magdalino, 'The Harbors of Byzantine Constantinople', in Z. Kızıltan and G. Çelik, eds., *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapi* (2013), 13–15.
P. Magdalino, 'The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries', *DOP* 54 (2000), 209–26.

Constantinople, mint of By 330 the new mint of *Constantinople was the largest in the Empire. From the 7th century it operated a virtual monopoly on *gold minting in the East and was in continuous use throughout Late Antiquity, issuing gold, copper, and sporadic *silver coinage. RRD

Bellinger, *DOC* I, II/1; II/2; III/1.
Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins*.
RIC VII, VIII, IX, X.

Constantinople, See of Constantinople (the 'city of Constantine') was founded by *Constantine I on the site of the Greek *city of Byzantium in 330. The unimportant see of Byzantium became the see of the capital of the Empire, with its *bishop close to, if not actually part of, the imperial *court. The notion of major sees exercising authority over regions of the Roman Empire had been established in 325 at the *Council of *Nicaea (*Canon 6, which mentions *Alexandria, *Rome, and *Antioch), before Constantinople existed. The prestige attached to the principal imperial residence was bound to attach itself to its episcopal see so at the first Œcumenical Council held in *Constantinople in 381, canon 3 asserted that Constantinople's bishop should enjoy 'the privileges of honour' after the Bishop of *Rome, because 'it is new Rome'. No mention was made at that council of any jurisdictional consequences of the canon; indeed, canon 2 seems to rule out any such thing. In the decades after the council, there is evidence that the Bishop of Constantinople began to assume a certain overall jurisdiction over *Asia Minor. At the Council of *Chalcedon in 451, canon 28 asserted the privileges accorded to Constantinople at the earlier council were equal to those of Rome, to which it stood 'in second place', given that both cities were imperial cities, omitting the qualification 'of honour'. Clearly some jurisdiction was envisaged by this assertion, as is borne out later in the canon, where the right to ordain the *metropolitans of *Pontus, *Asia, and *Thrace is assigned to Constantinople, as well as bishops of these dioceses who work among the '*barbarians'. From the 6th century, the *Patriarchs of Constantinople assumed the title 'Œcumenical Patriarch', an honorary title referring to its pre-eminent position in the *oikoumene*, that is, the Roman Empire. This was attacked in the West, e.g. by Pope *Gregory the Great, as incompatible with the claims of the see of Rome. Appeal to the foundation of the see by the Apostle Andrew, thus representing Constantinople as an apostolic see comparable with Rome, is not found in the early period. AL

Dagron, *Naissance*, 454–87.

Constantinople, sieges of Unsuccessful attempts to capture the *City were made in 626, by the Persians, *Avars, and *Slavs and by *Arabs in 674–8 and 717–18.

In June 626, a Persian force under the command of *Shahrwaraz arrived at *Chalcedon, and the vanguard of an army of Avars and Slavs reached the Land Walls of Constantinople. The Avars attacked the fortifications with siege *artillery and attempted to link up with their allies on the other side of the *Bosporus by launching small canoes (**monoxyls*) to ferry the Persians across. The Avar projectiles made little impact on the Theodosian Walls, however, and the *monoxyls* were easily intercepted and destroyed by warships. The siege was lifted on 8 August, the victory being widely attributed to the Virgin *Mary who the **Chronicon Paschale*, the principal source for these events (*s.a.* AD 626) claims was seen on the Land Walls by the Avar *Khagan. One of the preludes to the *Akathistos Hymn offers *praise to the Virgin for thus freeing the city from danger.

Constantinople was under siege again between 674 and 678 when an Arab fleet based at *Cyzicus blockaded the city by sea. According to *Theophanes (AM 6164–5), the Roman naval forces had the benefit of the weapon known as *Greek Fire. The naval assault made little impression and on withdrawing the Arab fleet was then scattered by a storm.

The Arabs began a second attempt to capture Constantinople in July 717. A land army under the command of *Maslama, the brother of the *Caliph, marched across *Anatolia to link up with a fleet that had sailed into the Sea of *Marmara. At the Dardanelles, Maslama crossed to the European side, then marched north to the Land Walls of Constantinople where he constructed a series of earthworks parallel to the Byzantine defences. The siege was serious; though Constantinople was invested by both land and sea the blockade was never total. Greek Fire drove off Arab ships, allowing supplies to reach the City and boats to fish in the Bosporus unmolested. During the severe winter the besiegers were reduced to near-starvation. In August 718, the siege was lifted and Constantinople was not again seriously threatened by a Muslim army until the late 14th century. JPH

Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 169–80.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 493–4, 538–46.
Mango, *Nikephoros*, 85–7, 121–7.
J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'The Siege of Constantinople in 626', in Mango and Dagron, 131–42 and reprinted in J. D. Howard-Johnston, *East Rome, Sasanian Persia and the End of Antiquity* (2006), Study VII.
J. P. Harris, *Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium* (2007), 40–50.

Constantinople, topography and secular buildings of In the conclusion to the **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitae* (241), the author writes of Constantinople as 'the product of the labour of the human hand, supported also by the collaboration of the elements and the happy gifts of nature'. Few *cities have the exceptional setting of Constantinople; roughly triangular in outline and almost surrounded by the sea, it was vulnerable to land assault only from the west. This side was heavily fortified, first by the *city gates and walls of *Constantine I and from the 5th century by the land walls of *Theodosius II, the greatest urban fortification constructed in Antiquity. Whilst the sea ensured security, it also gave access to the Black Sea and Mediterranean for communication and commerce, as well as furnishing plentiful *fish throughout all seasons. *Harbours lined the Golden Horn on the north side of the peninsula, and new *harbours were created along the southern flank to permit the unloading of the *grain fleet from *Egypt. The last great imperial city, it surpassed any other new foundation since Ptolemaic *Alexandria.

Setting and planning

Graeco-Roman Byzantium was a middle-ranking city, even if it did benefit from restoration by Septimius Severus. Both the centuries of later urban accumulation and attrition, and also the very multi-layered nature of the Byzantine literary sources concerned with the creation and growth of the new Constantinian city, make it difficult to describe the city's early development. These various writings about Constantinople's urban history date from different eras, and provide subtle and specific reworking of the city's foundation myths which often emphasize the reputation of particular founders, from the mythical Byzas, to Septimius Severus, Constantine, or *Justinian I. Commentators still fail to recognize the variants and nuances in these accounts written over centuries and as a result there are often quite discordant chronologies for the major structures within the city. The archaeological remains are poorly understood, although the very recent huge excavations at Yenikapı and elsewhere in the city, all associated with the new *Bosporus tunnel and metro, reveal the vast potential for urban archaeology within the old city.

Little is known for certain about how the new city was planned, except that various sources suggest Constantine emptied the cities of the east for his new foundation (**Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 6, 30; *Jerome, *Chron.* 232g Helm). Later tradition identified seven hills, like those of imperial *Rome, although in practice the topography of the city comprised a broken ridge beginning at the eastern promontory of the acropolis of Byzantium, the later site of the Topkapı Sarayı, and continuing to the north-west, overlooking the inlet of the Golden Horn. Here were located in a row six of the seven hills; the last was located to the south-west, the isolated Xerolophos (Dry Hill), separated by the

valley of the Lycus Stream (Bayrampaşa Deresı) which flowed into the Sea of *Marmara at the Theodosian harbour (Yeni Kapı). A feature of the new urban planning in this hilly terrain was the need to construct terraces and embankments; these are well documented around the Topkapı Sarayı and the Great Palace of *Constantinople, but underpin many of the great avenues and the *Forum of *Arcadius and the Column of *Marcian, indicative of the enormous manpower resources required to create the new city.

Cities freshly founded as imperial residences during *Diocletian's *Tetrarchy include *Thessalonica and *Antioch, but Constantine's ambition at Byzantium seems to have been far greater. The new city shared the key elements of the palace and *circus with a great square to the north, the Augusteum, beyond which was later constructed the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom. The other essential monument in the new imperial foundations of the late 3rd and early 4th centuries was an imperial *mausoleum, the best documented being that at *Gamzigrad. Situated on the prominent fifth hill the mausoleum of Constantine (the Church of the *Holy Apostles) was close to the boundary of the new city. Other Tetrachic capitals did not witness such extensive urban expansion; instead of rectangular *streets with arches, Constantine constructed a new forum with a *porphyry column and statue announcing the expansion of the new city to the west of old Byzantium. From here new colonnaded thoroughfares ran westwards, initially the central street known as the Mese, which were to create a bold Y-shaped frame for the newly planned city. Along these routes were to develop new *fora* including those of Theodosius, Arcadius, and another marked by the column of Marcian. They were to be the focus for imperial and religious *processions throughout the city's life. These axes present an urban layout which conforms to an eastern Roman pattern, known from cities such as *Apamea and *Palmyra. One cross street perpendicular to the Mese can be documented from within the Covered Bazaar, the Portico of Domninus (Uzun Çarşı); others are more difficult to identify, but commentators have suggested that there is evidence for systematic orthogonal planning in parts of the Late Roman city.

Almost nothing survives of domestic housing; written sources suggest multi-storey dwellings, comparable to those at Alexandria, Rome, or *Ostia. The *Notitia Urbis* (16, 37) claims there were 4,388 *houses (*domus*)—as distinct from the more than 44,000 *insulae* noted in the roughly contemporary *Regionary Catalogues of Rome*. In the 5th century the most densely occupied areas were the 6th and 7th regions, between the shore of the Golden Horn and the modern Covered Bazaar and Sülemaniye districts. A number of noble houses are recorded, and surviving remains of a monumental complex are known close to the Hippodrome, and the major streets (Myrelaion).

Harbours and stores buildings

The main harbour of Byzantium was next to the Strategeion, the agora close to the Golden Horn (mod. Sirkeci), and adjacent to this was the shipyard at the Neorion. Important artificial harbours were constructed on the south side of the peninsula facing directly onto the Sea of Marmara and later at *Hieria across the Bosporus. To the east the Harbour of Julian was linked by a direct road north to the Mese, and to the west of this was the larger Theodosian Harbour. Both were provided with major granaries (Horrea Theodosiana and Alexandrina), although other *barns and grain-stores are known by the Golden Horn. Recent excavations at Yenikapı on the site of the Theodosian Harbour have shown that this remained in use into the middle Byzantine period. Over 35 *ships have been recovered but only a few date from Late Antiquity.

Water supply and baths

The new expanding city required additional *water supplies, and unlike most ancient cities it had no river and limited local springs or wells. To overcome this deficit the western hinterland of Constantinople contains some of the most remarkable monuments of ancient hydraulic engineering, as extensive as the *aqueducts of Rome and longer than the aqueduct of *Carthage or those around the Bay of *Naples. These works include aqueduct channels and bridges extending up to 454 km (282 miles) to the west of the city constructed over less than a century from the mid-4th century onwards. Within the city the clearest representation of this great system is the Bozdoğan Kemeri, often termed the Aqueduct of *Valens, a 4th-century Roman aqueduct bridge 971 m (3,186 feet) long, together with over 150 *cisterns ranging in size from the open-air Cistern of *Aspar to the covered Basilican Cistern and the scores of smaller cisterns beneath the old city.

The first aqueduct for the city of Byzantium was constructed under Hadrian and was sourced from springs in the Belgrade Forest. No remains have been identified, but it is estimated that it entered the city at an elevation of 35 m (115 feet) above sea level to supply the Roman city and later provided for the Great Palace, the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the Basilican Cistern. It was approximately equivalent to the Ottoman Kırkçeşme line. Within two decades of the new city's foundation, a longer-distance line was initiated, extending as far as the springs at Pınarca and Danamandıra. This system was completed in 373 and the channel entered

the city at a height of *c.*59.5 m (195 feet) capable of distributing water to those more elevated parts of the city created by Constantine. In the early 5th century more distant springs were incorporated into this line as far away as Vize. The exact date of this additional line is not known from historical accounts, but the channel was led across five colossal bridges comparable with any in the Roman world. The long-distance system delivered these waters at a high enough level to cross the long Bozdoğan Kemeri into the heart of the new city around the Forum of Theodosius and on towards the Binbirdirek covered cistern. Later restorations are attested under Justinian when the Basilican cistern (Yerbatan Saray) was constructed and into the early 7th century. The Valens line was cut following the *Avar *siege in 626, but was restored under *Constantine V in 766; the Hadrianic line continued throughout the Byzantine era, although the long-distance line was given up in the late 12th century.

Within the city water was distributed by water channels; large stone pipes are found beneath some of the main streets and ceramic and lead pipes ensured distribution to public fountains and private houses. Private supply was carefully controlled and charged according to the diameter of pipes. Despite a number of imperial edicts there is evidence for abuse of the water supply for *irrigation outside the city and for private consumption.

Fortifications

Few cities in the ancient world possessed the strategic importance of Constantine's new foundation. Situated at a unique junction of sea and land routes between the Empire's European and Asiatic *provinces the city was to remain almost impregnable for nearly a millennium. The surviving Theodosian Land Walls are amongst the most prominent Late Antique monuments in modern Istanbul. Nothing survives from Constantine's walls although they remained an element of the city's topography and in *c.*360 *Libanius singled out Constantinople's new walls as the one feature of the city which surpassed his native Antioch.

The work on the extension of the city under *Theodosius I began with the construction of the Golden Gate in 391 and this structure demonstrates the intention to construct the line often associated with his grandson Theodosius II and directly associated with the new threat of *Alaric's *Goths. These walls extend for 6.5 km (4 miles) from the shore of the Sea of Marmara to the Golden Horn. They were completed between 405 and 413, although the line of the Sea Walls was probably not finished until 439.

From east to west the Land Walls comprise four main elements: an inner wall, an outer wall with an inner terrace, a second outer wall alongside the ditch, and the wide ditch. Rising 30 m (nearly 100 feet) from the bottom of the ditch to the parapet of the inner wall across 60 m (*c.*200 feet) they represent the most powerful and complex urban fortifications in the ancient world. The inner wall rises 9.8 m (32 feet) above the inner terrace formed between the two inner and outer walls and was constructed of bands of *brick courses alternating with small limestone blocks. The inner wall is shielded by the inner terrace built up with soil dug from the square-section outer ditch, 7 m (23 feet) deep and 20 m (66 feet) wide. Posterns in the side walls of the projecting towers of the inner wall opened onto the inner terrace and clearly demonstrate that the system was constructed as part of a single grand design which was able to ensure the city's security for nearly a millennium. The wall was pierced by ten gates and many posterns. The greatest of these was the Golden Gate, a unique example of a triple portal gateway flanked by massive rectangular towers, all clad in *marble from the island of *Proconnesus. Although outer walls (*proteichismata*) became a common feature of Late Antique defences in the east, the scale of the Theodosian Land Walls remains unprecedented, combining in effect two outer walls together with such a depth and height of passive defence strengthened by layered firing platforms and towers which ensured the security of the city throughout many later sieges, falling only to treachery or deceit.

In 447 just as *Attila's *Huns ravaged *Thrace a massive *earthquake destroyed parts of the Land Walls; *inscriptions record that the works were restored in 60 days. Construction of the Long *Walls in Thrace under *Anastasius I ensured increased security for the city and its suburbs throughout much of the 6th century. No significant restoration to the Land Walls is attested under Justinian, but repairs to the walls were undertaken by *Justin II. The siegeworks raised by the Avars in 626 posed the first serious threat to the walls, but the Avars and their Persian allies were successfully resisted after a ten-day siege. The important shrine of the *Theotokos at the *Blachernae remained excluded from the city's defences until after the Avar *siege, but was included by a new Wall built under *Heraclius soon after their withdrawal. The city's defences continued to be maintained and strengthened especially by the *Iconoclast emperors, *Leo III, Constantine V, and Theophilus.

Urban dynamics

It is difficult to provide a systematic outline of the construction process of the new city. By the time of Constantine's death we can be certain the palace, hippodrome, forum, mausoleum, and walls were definitely completed, together with the Baths of Zeuxippos, which may possibly have been begun under Septimius

Severus. Some projects took longer; individual buildings like the Baths of Constantianae were begun in 345 but not completed until 427 and then renamed the Theodosianae. A crucial element of the emerging 4th-century city was the need to provide for water across the more elevated areas of the new city. Following the completion of the Aqueduct of Valens in 373 it is possible to see a number of other new projects taking off, including new baths and imperial forums. After the middle of the 5th century new major projects dwindle in number, perhaps because there was saturation and less demand, although in the next century under Anastasius and Justinian not only new churches but also enormous new underground cisterns were constructed; the Yerebatan Sarayı and Binbirdirek both created new massive water storage in the crowded heart of the city. The construction of the new Theodosian Land Walls also represented a radical change in plan, pushing the boundaries of the city over 1 km (*c.*1,100 yards) to the west. This zone, never formally a region of the city, by the end of the 5th century contained three huge open reservoirs, a number of aristocratic houses, *monasteries, and market *gardens. While they may never have fulfilled their full potential, these secure open spaces provided a valuable buffer for the future. JCr

The topography and secular monuments of Constantinople are catalogued by Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* and (not always accurately) by Janin, *CPByz*. The early development of the city is studied in Mango, *Développement* and Dagron, *Naissance*.

Mango, *Studies* is an important collections of papers.

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Constantinus *Magister Libellorum and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum inter agentes (528–33), Constantinus served on the commission that drafted the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* (*Justinian's *Code*) in 528/9 (*Constiutio Haec*, 1, *Const. Summa*, 2). He earned the *praise of *Justinian I (*Const. Tanta*, 9) while working under *Tribonian on the compilation of the **Digest* in 533, perhaps (following the argument of T. Honoré) as chairman of the committee excerpting Papinian. RMF

PLRE III, Constantinus 1.

T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (1978).

T. Honoré, *Justinian's Digest: Character and Compilation* (2010).

Constantius (*fl.* 500–10) *Ligurian *vir *illustris*, office-holder at *Ravenna under *King *Theoderic in 503, *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome 506–7. *Ennodius wrote to him affirming the freedom of the will. SAHK

PLRE II, Constantius 15.

Kennell, *Ennodius*, 170–2.

Gioanni, *Ennode*, I 181, II 72–3.

Constantius I (*c.*250–306) *Caesar 293–305, *Augustus 305–6. The family of M. Flavius Constantius came from the area of the Danube *frontier. He added the name Valerius (the *nomen* of *Diocletian) to his style presumably on his elevation to imperial rank, but the nickname Chlorus (Green) is not older than the 6th century. Claims (made from 310 onwards) that he was descended from the *Emperor *Claudius Gothicus were fictions intended to separate the reputation of his son *Constantine I from the *Augustus *Maximian.

Constantius served in the **protectores*, then as a *tribunus*, as *Praeses of 'the *Dalmatias', and subsequently in high office under *Maximian, the western colleague of Diocletian (**Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 2). He put away his first wife, the future *Empress *Helena and mother of the future *Emperor Constantine I, in order to marry *Theodora, the daughter or stepdaughter of Maximian. With Theodora he had six children, including Flavius *Dalmatius (*consul 333), *Julius Constantius (consul 335 and father of the future Emperor *Julian), and *Constantia, who married *Licinius in 313.

In 293 Constantius became a Caesar (junior emperor) in the newly formed *Tetrarchy and resided principally in *Gaul. His first campaign cleared the

forces of the *usurper *Carausius out of north-west Gaul (*PanLat* VIII (V), 6–7), clearing the way for him to retrieve *Britain from Carausius' successor, the usurper *Allectus, in 296 (*PanLat* VIII (V), 11–20) and to make the triumphal **adventus* to *London depicted on the largest medallion of the *Arras hoard. He subsequently campaigned successfully on the Rhine *frontier. When Diocletian began the Great *Persecution of the Christians in 303, Constantius duly enforced the First *Edict which required the demolition of Christan church buildings (Lactantius, *Mort.* 15, 7; cf. 8, 7), a fact denied by *Eusebius (*HE* VIII, 13, 13; cf. *VCon* I, 13–21).

On 1 May 305, Diocletian and Maximian abdicated, and their places as Augusti were taken by *Galerius and Constantius I respectively. Later that year Constantius returned to Britain accompanied by his son Constantine, and they campaigned against the *Picts (*PanLat* VI [VII], 7–9; *Origo*, 4). Constantius died at *York on 25 July 306 and his troops promptly acclaimed Constantine as his successor. SEB; OPN

PLRE I, Constantius 12.
Barnes, *NEDC* 35–7, 60–1.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 25–62.
Bardill, *Constantine.*

Constantius II (317–61) *Caesar 324 onwards; *Augustus 337–61. A son of *Constantine I and *Fausta, Constantius was born in 317. He was made Caesar in 324, and succeeded Constantine with his brothers *Constantine II and *Constans I in 337. With the deaths of Constantine II (340) and Constans I (350), Constantius emerged as his father's longest-lasting heir. He ruled as sole *Augustus until his demise in 361, though he successively appointed as Caesars his young kinsmen *Gallus (351–4) and *Julian (355–61). Constantius married three times; first, the daughter of Constantine I's half-brother *Julius Constantius in 335, then *Eusebia in *c.*353, and finally Faustina late in his reign. He had no children during his lifetime, but his posthumous daughter Constantia subsequently married the Emperor *Gratian. He died of a fever near *Tarsus on 3 November 361.

Sources

None of the sources for the reign of Constantius II provides a favourable narrative of his reign. Such ecclesiastical contemporaries as *Athanasius and Lucifer of Cagliari resented his involvement in the *Arian Controversy, and the church historians of the next century, *Socrates, *Sozomen, and *Theodoret, concurred. The *Church History* of the *Homoean *Philostorgius survives only in fragments, mostly preserved by *Photius. The writings of *Themistius and the *letters and orations of *Libanius offer copious information, but no narrative, while the two *panegyrics of his imperial kinsman by Julian veil facts in the verbiage characteristic of the genre.

*Ammianus Marcellinus, whose history is extant from 354 onwards, ends his account of Constantius' reign with an even-handed character sketch (XXI, 16, 1–19). A coherent critique, however, emerges from his narrative. Constantius' military posture, especially his reaction to the persistent aggression of the Persian King *Shapur II, was generally defensive, so that he lacked that popularity with the army which was enjoyed by such successful generals as Julian. He was consequently vulnerable to such *usurpers as *Magnentius (350–3), *Vetranio (350), *Silvanus (355), and Julian—though he died before he actually met Julian in battle. It also meant that he took advice from court *eunuchs, chiefly *Eusebius his *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, rather than from intelligent soldiers, such as Ammianus' old chief *Uriscinus.

Political and religious affairs

Of Constantine's three sons, it was Constantius who escorted Constantine's body to *Constantinople and supervised his burial in the Church of the *Holy Apostles (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 70). He went on to *Pannonia where he conferred with Constantine II and Constans I, and orders were given for the execution of all members of Constantine's family who might pose any threat. He then proceeded to the East, where he spent the relatively ill-documented years up to 350 countering the Persian threat which had emerged in the final year of Constantine's reign. He was based at *Antioch, campaigned around *Singara and *Nisibis and fortified the hilltop castle of *Cephas and the *city of *Amida.

Early in 350, the *usurper Magnentius killed Constans I in *Gaul. Constantius moved west to counter Magnentius and the related, and less threatening, usurpation of Vetranio. He also appointed as Caesar to reside at Antioch the youthful Gallus, who thanks to the family massacre of 337 was one of only two surviving male members of the Constantinian dynasty. He then pursued Magnentius into Gaul where in 353 the usurper committed *suicide. Meanwhile Gallus was not a success in the East (Ammianus, XIV, 1); he was recalled, tried, and executed in 354. Constantius fell back on his last surviving male relative; in 355 the bookish Julian, who had already been ordained a *reader in the Church, was obliged to marry, appointed Caesar, and sent, chaperoned by officials loyal to Constantius, to command on the Rhine *frontier.

Constantius spent most of the rest of his reign on the Danube frontier or in *Italy, making a ceremonious visit to Rome in 357, colourfully described by Ammianus (XVI, 10); defence of the eastern frontier was left in the

hands of subordinates until 360. He was in the East when he heard that Julian, who had been unexpectedly successful in *Gaul, had been acclaimed as Augustus by troops at *Paris and was advancing eastwards over the Alps and through the north *Balkans. He was on his way west to confront Julian when he died of a fever at Mopsucrenae of *Cilicia (Ammianus, XXI, 15, 2–3), leaving Julian his sole successor. Constantius was buried at the Church of the *Holy Apostles at Constantinople, the city where his father had first proclaimed him Caesar and which he did much to consolidate (for instance by completing the first Church of the *Holy Wisdom, consecrated in 360), even if his own visits were intermittent.

Throughout the reign of Constantius, Christianity was coming to occupy the commanding heights of Roman religious practice; by 361 *pagan *temples had been destroyed at places as different as *Caesarea of *Cappadocia, Arethusa in *Syria, and *Cyzicus. At the same time, *bishops, travelling, much to the annoyance of Ammianus (XXI, 16, 18) on vehicles of the *Cursus Publicus, convened at church *councils to debate the theological problems consequent upon the rehabilitation of *Arius in the last years of Constantine and the persistent adherence of Athanasius, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, to the decisions of the *Council of *Nicaea. These matters were not resolved until the Council of *Constantinople of 381.

Coinage and image

Constantius II reformed the *silver *coinage, introducing a new lighter denomination, issued a heavily debased billon coinage, and, in the mid-350s, legally demonetized a range of earlier *copper and billon coinages (*CTh* IX, 23, 1), though large quantities appear to have remained in circulation. Depictions of him followed the model established by his father Constantine I: clean-shaven, heavy-faced, large-eyed, and with his hair curled along his brow. This became so standardized that it is difficult to distinguish between members of the Constantinian dynasty; a colossal *marble head in the Capitoline Museum in Rome may be either Constantius II or Constans I. The image of Constantius II in the **Codex-Calendar* of 354 is preserved by a copy of a copy; it shows the emperor seated, wearing a diadem and distributing a **sparsio* as *consul, while his fellow-consul, the Caesar Gallus, in his miniature is shown standing. The emperor depicted on the silver *Kerch Plate is usually identified as Constantius II; the emperor is armed and on horseback being led by a *Victory and followed by a soldier, an image of divinely sanctioned military success. SFT; RRD; OPN

PLRE I, Constantius 8.
NEDC 85–6.
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius* (itinerary, 219–24).
P. Barceló, *Constantius II und seine Zeit. Die Anfänge des Staatskirchentums* (2004).
H. Teitler, 'Ammianus and Constantius: Image and Reality', in J. den Boeft, D. den Hengst, and H. Teitler, eds., *Cognitio Gestorum: The Historiographic Art of Ammianus Marcellinus* (1992), 117–22.
C. Vogler, *Constance II et l'administration impériale* (1979).
Coinage: *RIC* VIII.

Constantius III (d. 421) Western *emperor 421. A native of *Naissus, he emerged as leading general and dominant political figure in the West after *Stilicho's fall. He suppressed the usurper *Constantine III (411) and brought the *Goths in *Gaul to terms (416–18). An orthodox Christian, he sometimes intervened in church affairs. He married *Honorius' sister *Galla Placidia (417), who bore him *Valentinian III. He became co-emperor (421), but died from illness six months later. ADL

PLRE II, Constantius 17.
W. Lütkenhaus, *Constantius III. Studien zu seiner Tätigkeit und Stellung im Westreich, 411–421* (1998).
B. Bleckmann, 'Constantius III', *JbAC* 51 (2008), 227–31.

Constantius of Lyons (d. 480s?) A dedicatee of *Sidonius Apollinaris' *letters, which depict him as a fine poet and orator and a trusted critic, and describe how, as an elderly cleric, he visited *Clermont in 473/4 during a lull in the *Visigothic attacks. He wrote the *Life* of S. *Germanus of Auxerre at the behest of Bishop *Patiens of *Lyons in the late 470s, and was probably a member of his clergy. EJ

PCBE 4, I (2013) *s.v.* 'Constantius 3', 521–2.
PLRE II (1980) *s.v.* 'Constantius 10', 320.
VGermani (*BHL* 3453).
ed. W. Levison, MGH SS. rer. Meroving. 7 (1920), 225–83.
ed. (annotated with FT) R. Borius (SC 112; 1965).
ET F. R. Hoare in *The Western Fathers* (1954), 281–320.

constitution General term used to refer collectively to various types of imperial legislative enactments. In post-classical Roman *law the phrase *constitutiones principum* (*imperiales*, *sacrae*) could refer to **edicta* (edicts), **decreta* (decrees), **mandata* (mandates), or *rescripta* (*rescripts). Modern Romanists distinguish between *constitutiones generales* considered to be binding on everyone and *constitutiones speciales*, which were general in character but limited to particular categories of persons or legal relations. RvdB; CH

A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (TAPS NS 43/2, 1953), 410.
Buckland, *Text-Book of Roman Law*.

Consul (Gk. *hypatos*) Although the title is the same, the consulate of Late Antiquity differed from that of the Roman Republic and early Empire. The position conferred no political power, but was the height of *honour.

The consul was chosen by the *emperor; *Ausonius in the speech in which he thanked his pupil *Gratian for conferring the honour upon him in 379 explains that imperial choice (helped by God) is much more efficient and dignified than the messy Republican system of public election (*Gratiarum Actio*, 9–10).

The names of the two consuls for a year, the Consules Ordinarii, continued to be used to mark the date in official documents. The emperor often held the position of Consul Ordinarius himself and tended to take it during the years of imperial *anniversaries. It was a particular honour for a citizen to share the consulship with the emperor and also more rarely to be appointed as a single ordinary consul. From 396, one Consul Ordinarius was appointed from the East and the other from the West.

In addition to the Consules Ordinarii, there were often a number of Suffect or replacement consuls of lesser significance appointed during the course of the year, a practice begun in the Early Empire which continued into the 5th century. The principal function of suffect consuls was to hold the games associated with the Parilia, the birthday of Rome, on 21 April in the city itself, a practice dating back to the early 2nd century. By the late 5th century these had become the responsibility of the Consul Ordinarius.

It became a custom for office-holders from the late 4th century onwards to send out *ivory *diptychs as presents to those who had some claim on their *friendship to commemorate the holding of the games associated with their office. In the 4th century consular games were held wherever the *court happened to be, though during the course of the 5th century they came to be held at Rome; the earliest securely dated consular diptych from the West to survive is from 406. In the East ordinary consuls held games in *Constantinople. A number of eastern diptychs survive from between 506 and 541, showing the consul wearing his ceremonial **toga picta* or *trabea*. The last western consul, *Mavortius, held office in 527. The last non-imperial consul was Basilius in 541, under *Justinian I. SEB

The study of R. S. Bagnall, Alan Cameron, S. Schwartz, and K. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987) includes a complete prosopography of Late Roman consuls (*CLRE*).

Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain*, 236–48; 427–9.

B. Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312–609*, tr. A. Nevill, introd. M. Humphries (2000), 54–6.

R. W. Burgess, 'Quinquennial Vota and the Imperial Consulship in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', *NumChron* 148 (1988), 77–96.

Alan Cameron and D. Schauer, 'The Last Consul: Basilius and his Diptych', *JRS* 72 (1982), 126–45.

Alan Cameron, 'The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 103 (2013), 174–207.

consularia Modern term used to describe annotated consular lists. *Consularia* are marked by the use of *consuls as the sole basis of chronology; extreme brevity; a neutral and formulaic language; a focus on the deeds of the *emperor, which arises from the use of imperial proclamations as a major source; and, in Late Antique examples, a general absence of ecclesiastical history. This definition includes a number of extant epigraphic texts from the Early Empire, such as the *Fasti Ostienses*; the *consularia* so named in the entries which follow with *consularia* in their titles; the **Descriptio Consulum*; and the *consularia* of the **Chronographiae Scaligeriana* and **Chronographia Golenischevensis*. RWB

R. W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (1993), 180–6.

Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 1, 35–57, 60, 156–84.

B. Croke, 'Chronicles, Annals and "Consular Annals" in Late Antiquity', *Chiron* 31 (2001), 291–331.

Consularia Berolinensia (*Fasti Berolinenses*) Fragmentary parchment page of illustrated Greek **consularia* between 251 and 338 deriving from traditions underlying the *fasti* of *Prosper's chronicle (base text) and **Descriptio Consulum* (added entries). RWB

ed. R. W. Burgess and Jitse H. F. Dijkstra, 'The Berlin "Chronicle" (P. Berol. inv. 13296): A New Edition of the Earliest Extant Late Antique Consularia', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 58 (2012), 273–301 + plate XIII.

ed. (with annotated ET and study) Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2.

Consularia Hafniensia A witness to the **Consularia Italica* tradition of the second quarter of the 6th century. In *c.*626 the text of the *Consularia Hafniensia* was interpolated into and after the text of a copy of the *Chronicle* of *Prosper, along with excerpts from the **Liber Pontificalis*, the *Chronicle Epitome* of *Isidore of Seville, one of the later continuations of Isidore, and other Gallic sources. To this was added a continuation narrative between 526 and 619. It is preserved in a unique late 12th-century Copenhagen manuscript (Hafniensis 454). RWB

ed. Burgess and Kulikowski (with annotated ET and study), *Mosaics of Time*, 2.

ed. T. Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 298–339.

Roberto Cessi, 'Studi sulle fonti dell'età Gotica e Longobarda II. "Prosperi Continuatio Hauniensis"', *Archivio Muratoriano* fasc. 22 (1922), 586–641.

S. Muhlberger, 'Heroic Kings and Unruly Generals: The "Copenhagen" Continuation of Prosper Reconsidered', *Florilegium* 6 (1984), 50–95 (with ET).

Consularia Italica The collective name for a **consularia* tradition whose influences can be traced in over

twenty later sources in *Latin and *Greek, in *Italy, *Constantinople, and *Alexandria, from the 5th to the 9th century. The *Consularia Italica* covered the period between 379 and 493, though originally it would seem to have started earlier, and it focused chiefly on events involving the Western *emperors. The major surviving witnesses are the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* of *Agnellus of *Ravenna, **Excerpta Sangallensia*, **Consularia Vindobonensia Priora* and *Posteriora*, **Consularia Hafniensia*, the **Chronicon Theoderici* (i.e. the *Anonymi Valesiani Pars Posterior*), **Paschale Campanum*, **Consularia Marsiburgensia*, **Chronographia Scaligeriana*, and **Chronographia Golenischevensis.* The original recensions were composed in both *Rome and Ravenna, though Ravenna seems to have been the home of the main tradition. The *Consularia Italica*, through its many witnesses, provides us with often our only source for the dates of imperial and Italian events of the 5th century. RWB

ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant., 9), 251–321.

O. Holder-Egger, 'Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts III. Die Ravennater Annalen', *Neues Archiv* I (1876), 215–368.

S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (1990), 23–46.

Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2.

Consularia Marsiburgensia Otherwise known as the *Consularia Ravennatia* (*Annals of Ravenna*). The lower half of an 11th-century parchment folium preserving names of *consuls and/or historical entries for the years 411–13 (no consuls for 412), 421–3 (no consuls for 422), 427–9, 434–7, 439 (illustration only) –443, and 452–4 of a Roman witness to the **Consularia Italica* (Mersburg Cathedral Library no. 202). Many entries are illustrated with stereotyped drawings in the same tradition as those of the *consularia* of the **Chronographia Golenischevensis*. They include depictions of *martyrdoms, an image of *Valentinian III enthroned on a globe (similar to the image of Christ at S. Vitale, *Ravenna), and traces of a drawing of the elevation of *Eudoxia as *Augusta. The *Consularia Marsiburgensia* may have been a source for *Agnellus. RWB; MSB

WORKS (*CPL* 2262A):

ed. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2 (with annotated ET/study).

ed. K. Frick, *Chronica Minora* (1892).

ed. B. Bischoff and W. Koehler, 'Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken ravennater Annalen', in W. R. W. Koehler, ed., *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, I (1939), 125–38, and 'Un' edizione illustrata degli annali Ravennati del Basso Impero', *Studi Romagnoli* 3 (1952), 1–17.

O. Holder-Egger, 'Untersuchnungen űber einige annalistiche Quellen zur Geschichte des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts, II, III. Die Ravennater Annalen', *Neues Archiv* I (1876), 309–68.

***Consularia Ravennatia* (*Annals of Ravenna*)** *See* CONSULARIA MARSIBURGENSIA.

Consularia Vindobonensia Priora* and *Posteriora Lacunose late 15th-century copies of two witnesses to **consularia* that originally covered the period 46 BC to *c.* AD 527 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3416). The *Priora* extended from Romulus to 493 (originally *c.*575) and the *Posteriora* from Caesar to 539. The **Excerpta Sangallensia* are an early witness to the complete *priora* tradition. The core of the work comes from *consularia* compiled contemporarily between pre-379 and 493, that is to say the **Consularia Italica*. RWB

ed. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2 (with annotated ET/study); ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 274–334).

O. Holder-Egger, 'Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts III. Die Ravennater Annalen', *Neues Archiv* I (1876), 217–32, 238–47.

R. Cessi, 'Studi sulle fonti dell'età Gotica e Longobarda I. "Fasti Vindobonenses"', *Archivio Muratoriano* fasc. 17–18 (1916), 293–405.

R. W. Burgess, 'The Chronograph of 354: Its Manuscripts, Contents, and History', *JLA* 5 (2012), 345–96.

Consularia Caesaraugustana *See* CHRONICLES, SPANISH.

Consularia Constantinopolitana *See* DESCRIPTIO CONSULUM.

Consularis *Title of *governors, ranked *clarissimus*, of certain Late Roman *provinces (37 in the **Notitia Dignitatum*). Consularis was also an honorific *title which the *emperor conferred on individuals by **adlectio*. *Zeno, for instance, gave the title Consularis to those who paid 100 lbs (30 kg) of *gold towards upkeep of the *Constantinople *aqueducts (*CJust* XII, 3, 3–4). *Justinian I recognized the practice in his *Novel*, 70. DSl Jones, *LRE* 106–7, 379, 533.

Consultatio Veteris Cujusdem Jurisconsulti (*Consultation of Some Ancient Jurist*) A short anonymous Roman legal work in *Latin from the later 5th century, which survives only in 16th-century printed editions. It was probably compiled in southern *Gaul, and appears to be a composite of teaching materials, including *erotapokrisis* (question and answer), dealing

primarily with issues of *contract law. Of juristic sources, it cites only the *Sententiae* of *Paul, but quotes imperial constitutions from three law codes: the **Gregorian Code*, the **Hermongenianic Code*, and the **Theodosian Code*. It is thus a significant source for Late Roman imperial constitutions, independent of the codification under *Justinian I. It attributes to the *Hermogenianic Code* a unique set of constitutions of *Valentinian I and *Valens from the 360s, including the latest known private *rescripts (*Consultatio*, 9, 1–7). SJJC

ed. in *FIRA* II, 594–613.

E. Volterra, *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano* 3rd series, 24 (1982), 171–204, repr. in *Scritti Giuridici* 6 (1994), 381–414.

G. Zanon, *Indicazioni di metodo giuridico dalla Consultatio veteris cuiusdam iurisconsulti* (2009).

contorniates Large, coin-like medallions of *copper alloy that were manufactured during the 4th and 5th centuries, probably in *Rome. Their name (from Italian *contorno*) derives from their characteristic grooved edge, which is deeply engraved. The obverse usually features a *portrait of a 1st- or 2nd-century *emperor, or other prominent figure, and the reverse a scene of a public event, *circus games, or chariot-racing. The common *monogram 'PE(L)' may stand for '*palma et laurus*', leading to the suggestion that they functioned as prizes for *victory in the games. However, there is no scholarly consensus about the purpose of contorniates, with opinions ranging from game counters to propaganda distributed by the Roman senatorial *aristocracy. HAHC

A. Alföldi, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, and C. L. Clay, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, 3 vols. (1976–90).

H.-I. Marrou, 'Palma et Laurus', *MÉFR* 58 (1941), 109–31.

P. F. Mittag, *Alte Köpfe in Neuen Händen. Urheber und Funktion der Kontorniaten* (1999).

contraception *See* ABORTION AND CONTRACEPTION.

contracts Roman *law never knew a general theory of contract; the law merely took account of various kinds of contracts, including 'named' contracts ordered according to classical and post-classical juristic classifications. 'Classical' Roman law of contract survived the post-classical period with only a few changes. For example, three new contracts were accepted (long-term *lease of land, donation, and lease of agricultural land revocable at will). Further, innominate contracts seem to have disappeared in the West but survived in the East. Finally, although unjustified enrichment apparently ceased to exist in the West, it was accepted in the East.

In Justinianic law an obligation was defined as a legal bond between two or more parties binding one or both of them to do or perform something. Obligations could arise from contract, quasi-contract, delict, or quasi-delict and there were four categories of contracts (*InstJust* 3.14). Although post-classical and Justinianic law inherited basically the classical law of contracts, the compilers restored much of the classical law and some compromises between classical and post-classical law were reached. A few examples will suffice.

In the case of real contracts former characteristics were reintroduced and their classical form was reinstated. Changes to consensual contracts included the following. During the reign of *Constantine I the contract of sale had come to rely on documentary evidence, *Justinian I restored the oral contract, and if parties wished to use documents it served as proof of the sale. Furthermore, sale and barter were more strictly distinguished. The introduction of *laesio enormis* added an additional price requirement, that of a just price. The seller's liability under the *actio empti* now included both *dolus* and *culpa*. Further, the seller's warranty against physical defects in the property was extended to all sales. The contract of letting and hiring was restored to its classical form.

In addition, the contract of donation was acknowledged and unjustified enrichment had become substantive law by the time of Justinian. Quasi-contracts were grouped together. The general principle that a bare pact does not give rise to an obligation was still valid in Justinianic times. However, changes were gradually introduced and the introduction of the *actio praescriptis verbis* eventually led to the recognition of a new class of 'contract' based on agreement and part-performance, namely innominate contracts. They were made binding on the principle that performance on one side binds the other. Examples of such contracts were *permutatio*, *aestimatum*, *precario*, and *transactio*. RvdB

Buckland, *Text-Book of Roman Law*.

G. Diósdi, *Contract in Roman Law: From the Twelve Tables to the Glossators* (1981).

D. Johnston, *Roman Law in Context* (2005).

P. du Plessis, 'Ancient Roman Law', in S. N. Katz, ed., *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History*, vol. 2 (2009).

R. Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (1996).

***conventus*, provincial** The provincial *conventus* (Gk. *koinon*) was integral to provincial *administration from the Early Roman empire. The leading citizens of *provinces gathered annually to conduct business and to celebrate the *imperial cult. The number of *conventus* increased during the Late Empire, corresponding to the growing number of provinces, and continued to foster the imperial cult under the conditions of the Christian Empire. A *rescript of the *Caesar *Constans I (*CIL* XI, 5265 = *ILS* Dessau 705) of 337 indicates that the

Italian province of *Tuscia et Umbria was to stage games in honour of the imperial household at the cities of *Hispellum and Volsinii in alternate years (*ILS* 705). Membership of the *conventus* was restricted to provincial **honorati* and the leading **curiales*. Their main function was to pass resolutions on matters relating to *law, *taxation, and justice, which could then be brought by legates to the attention of the *emperors, whose decisions took the form of rescripts or *edicts. One imperial ruling of 380 attempted to prevent *petitions being submitted by individual *cities and required these to be channelled through the *conventus* (*CTh* XII, 12, 1–16). As in the early Empire, a *conventus* could decree honours for provincial *governors and other officials, as is attested for the *conventus* in *Caria at *Aphrodisias in the 4th and 5th centuries (Roueché, *ALA* inscriptions 16, 36, 63), but could also bring charges against corrupt governors (*Ammianus, XXVIII, 6, 6–24; XXX, 5, 8–10). A *conventus* was normally referred to by an ethnic collective noun (e.g. *Tusci et Umbri*), so seemed to represent all the people of a province. In practice it comprised local notables meeting annually to conduct a limited range of business and to *praise or prosecute provincial governors. They appear to have disappeared in the later 5th or 6th century, though in a short-lived reform in 569 *Justin II gave powers to the provincial *conventus*, in a modified form incorporating *bishops and large landowners (*NovJustMin* 149). SM

Jones, *LRE* 763–6.

RE IV, 820–6 (Kornemann).

S. Mitchell, 'Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire in Roman and Late Roman Asia Minor', in S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex, eds., *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (2000), 117–50.

conversion and Christianization The rejection of one religion and the embrace of a new one was accompanied by the broader process by which individuals and communities were evangelized and made Christian. Christianization, although far from uniform or inexorable, gradually transformed the social, political, and physical *landscape of the later Roman Empire.

Conversion of individuals

Conversion can be understood as a personal, inner decision of an individual to embrace a new religious truth and loyalty. There are many stories of this kind of conversion to Christianity in Late Antiquity, from *Arnobius' *dream to *Augustine's spiritual crisis and epiphany in a *Milan *garden. The narration of these events by their protagonists or others are often influenced by earlier literary archetypes, especially S. Paul's Damascene conversion, to which *Rufinus compared *Constantine's Vision of the Cross. It is thus hard to recover the lived experience of conversion which was often more of a gradual process than a dramatic *volte-face*; Augustine's conversion, for example, was the culmination of years of spiritual and philosophical searching. Christian stories also tend to emphasize the operation of an external force, God's grace, in stimulating and effecting conversion, and thus reduce the individual's agency.

Conversions in Late Antiquity were not made only from *paganism to Christianity. They also encompassed movements to or from Judaism, or from Christianity to paganism, as in the case of the *Emperor *Julian. Furthermore, conversion could be made within a religion, as for example with S. *Antony's embrace of a rigorous kind of *asceticism. Inner conversion, in terms of assent to Christian doctrine, was not marked by immediate admission into the communion of the Church; catechumens were instructed and prepared for *baptism over a period of months, and some converts deferred final entry into the Church for years, indeed, in the case of men in public life in the 4th century, often until their deathbeds.

Conversion of communities

Conversion can also be understood as a social phenomenon. Individuals' religious choices were shaped and informed by their social background and by patterns of communication, and conversion entailed the rejection and adoption of sets of ritual practices and social behaviour which affected practitioners' place in and experience of *family and community. Within the *household, the *paterfamilias* had the power to dictate the religious choices of his dependants, both kin and slaves. From outside the household, *bishops and Christian mentors intervened in the domestic sphere, as with *Jerome exhorting Roman women to an ascetic lifestyle. Beyond the family, patterns of conversion and resistance can be observed in particular social and political groupings, as in the wholesale (and perhaps exaggeratedly unified) conversion of the *Goths in 376. Conversions were made in a fairly haphazard and piecemeal fashion during the first century after Constantine I; indeed, there is evidence for the survival of pagan cult well into the 6th century. By the later 5th century, conversions to Christianity within the Empire were less common since increasing numbers of individuals were born into the faith, though remoter areas remained unconverted as late as the mid-6th century, as with the 7,000 country folk baptized by *John of *Ephesus in *Asia Minor in 542. It is extremely difficult to determine what proportion of the inhabitants of the Empire had been converted to Christianity in the periods before and after Constantine; the evidence for changed religious affiliation suggested by *inscriptions and by personal

names is both skewed and unrepresentative, and we are heavily dependent on the anecdotal and impressionistic evidence of literary texts. Evangelism became in general a more outward-looking activity aimed at peoples beyond the borders of the Roman Empire.

Christianization

Christianization can refer both to the evangelical mission to convert individuals and groups, and to the transformation of society, politics, and landscape effected by such conversion. The Christianization of the Empire was achieved by varied means, including legislation, persuasion and education, and coercion. From Constantine onwards, Christian emperors used Roman *law to ban pagan rituals and close *temples; the reiteration of such measures suggests that their effectiveness was not total. Christian bishops, intellectuals, and *holy men preached the message of Christianity within churches, in public forums, and through the circulation of written treatises. The use of force or the threat of force to convert is attested by regular pagan complaints about the violence directed against the apparatus of pagan cult: temples, *altars, and statues. However, the demise of paganism can be ascribed to decline and abandonment as much as to vicious persecution. The Christianization of politics and society was visible in subtle shifts of power in relationships between emperors and secular *aristocracies on the one hand, and bishops and monks on the other. The rise of asceticism changed patterns of social and sexual life within the city, and the growth of *monasticism colonized previously marginal areas beyond cities. The landscape of the Empire was itself Christianized with the construction of church buildings, *martyr-shrines, and *monasteries, and the *sacred geography of the landscape was transformed by the practice of *pilgrimage to the holy dead, the *Holy Land, and living saints. SJL-R

J. Assmann and G. Stroumsa, eds, *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (1999).
T. D. Barnes, 'Statistics & the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy', *JRS* 85 (1995), 135–47.
P. R. L. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (1992).
P. R. L. Brown, 'Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy', in his *Religion and Society*.
E. Fink-Dendorfer, *Conversio. Motive und Motivierung zur Bekehrung in der Alten Kirch* (1986).
R. Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (1997).
J. Hilgarth, *Christianity and Paganism 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe* (²1986).
H. Inglebert et al., eds., *Le Problème de la christianisation du monde antique* (2010).
Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion.*
R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (1984).
K. Mills and A. Grafton, eds., *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing* (2003).
A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (1963).
A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (1933).
M. R. Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (2002).
R. Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (2003).

Conversion of Iberia, The, *See* KARTLIS CXOVREBA AND LEONTI MROVELI.

conversion to Islam In the centuries following the initial *Arab conquests conversion of the subject peoples to *Islam progressed only gradually. The rates of and reasons for conversion varied across the Near East, and empirical determinations are difficult since conclusive evidence is lacking.

Early Muslim-era *Arabic literature on the Prophet's biography (*Sira*) details conversions of northern and central Arabian *tribes to Islam, usually by pledging allegiance to *Muhammad himself. The converted tribes constituted the bulk of the *armies which carried out the conquests. The conversion of other populations in the *Arabian Peninsula, particularly *Yemen, is not explained in detail, though Muslim historians portray Arabia as 'converted' upon Muhammad's death. The narratives of conquest thus project a homogeneously Muslim-Arab invasion into lands inhabited by non-Muslim non-Arabs: they leave the status of Christian Arabs such as the *Ghassanids and *Taghlib somewhat ambiguous, and they pay scant attention to the conversion process of non-Arabs. Narratives such as the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* of al-*Baladhuri are more concerned with the circumstances in which particular places came under Muslim control as this had legal implications for their subsequent treatment and *taxation.

Large-scale conversion did not occur as an immediate result of conquest. The *Qur'ān contains verses promoting religious toleration (9: 29; 109), and Qur'ān 2: 256's statement that 'there is no compulsion in religion' seems to exemplify Muslim attitudes to the religious communities they conquered: they did not forcibly convert local populations, and in the immediate aftermath of conquest, Muslims represented only a tiny minority in the Near East. Muslims lived predominantly in new towns they constructed for themselves (*amsar*); non-Muslims remained in their pre-conquest towns and countryside.

Some of the pre-Islamic elites may have converted to preserve their status following the conquests

(Wasserstein, 186); elite conversion thus could have proceeded faster than amongst the general population, whom the caliphal administration classified as *dhimmīs, entitling them to religious freedom in return for taxation (*jizya). Islamic law later articulated a comprehensive framework for *dhimmī* rights and obligations, but in the first two centuries of Islam the treatment of *dhimmī*s was varied and reflected local ad hoc arrangements.

Many *dhimmī*s may have first contemplated conversion as a means to avoid *jizya* tax (Dennet). By the *caliphate of *'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 718–20) this may have been occurring at such a rate as to affect taxation revenues, and prompted changes in official taxation policy (Kennedy, 107). The prosperity of Muslim *amsar* towns reshaped the Near East's urban landscape: as Muslims established authority in the conquered lands and developed their *administration, the *amsar* became the principal centres of economic opportunity: they attracted immigration, and the mixing and assimilation of populations within the *amsar* stimulated conversion. Non-Muslims were tolerated in the *amsar*, but by the late 8th century, the population of Baghdad and much of Iraq had a Muslim majority (M. Morony, 199, 431).

Conversion outside the *Abbasid *caliphate's Iraqi core was slower: Bulliet proposed that eastern Iran only became majority Muslim by the late 9th century and *Egypt retained very sizeable Christian communities into the 14th century (Little, 568–9). With some exceptions, there is limited evidence for mass conversions in *Palestine before the Crusader period (Levy-Rubin, 262, 271). In North Africa, many *Berbers converted to a *Kharijite form of Islam, ironically as a form of resistance to the caliphate (the caliphs adhered to a different Muslim creed) (Savage, 90, 117–18). Sizeable non-Muslim groups remain in the Near East to the present albeit under pressure, but by the 11th century, for different regional and doubtless individual reasons, an increasingly large portion of the Near East had converted to Islam. PAW

R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (1979).
D. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (1950).
H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (2004).
D. Little, 'Coptic Conversion to Islam', *BSOAS* 39 (1976), 552–69.
N. Levtzion, ed., *Conversion to Islam* (1979).
M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (1984).
M. Levy-Rubin, 'New Evidence Relating to the Process of Islamization in Palestine', *JESHO* 43 (2000), 257–76.
E. Savage, *A Gateway to Hell* (1997).
D. J. Wasserstein, 'Conversion and the Ahl al-dhimma', in *NewCambHistIslam* 4, 184–208.

copper *Greek χαλκός and *Latin *aes* describe both copper and *bronze; *Pliny and others refer often to *cyprius aes* but Latin *cuprum* is found no earlier than the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (7, 25; cf. *TLL Supplementum: Nomina Propria*, II, 797 and 799, *s.v.* Cypros). Copper was mined and smelted in the 4th–7th centuries along the Troodos range on *Cyprus and in Wadi Faynan in Jordan; in the early 4th century convicts were sentenced to *mining at *Phaeno (*Eusebius, *HE* VIII, 13, 5; Eusebius, *MartPal* 7, 4; 13, 1–4; 6–10; *Collat.* XV, 3, 7). Owners of land with ore deposits could be asked to pay taxes in smelted copper (*CTh* XI, 20, 6). Finds of the 5th century from *Trier suggest copper was traded as ingots. Prices were per pound of copper or copper alloys, and the Tetrarchic Prices Edict notes different types of coppersmiths (7, 24–8; 15, 63–6). Guilds of coppersmiths are documented in the early 4th century on monthly declarations of prices from *Oxyrhynchus in *Egypt (e.g. *Sammelbuch*, 12648). AMH

M. Given and A. B. Knapp, eds., *The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project: Social Approaches to Regional Archaeological Survey* (2003).
D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (2011), 167–99.
P. Rothenhöfer, 'Verborgen an der Mosel. Ein ungewöhnlicher Metalldepotfund aus dem 5. Jahrhundert n.Chr.', *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 37 (2007), 549–61.

Coptic art *See* ART AND ARCHITECTURE, EGYPTIAN.

Coptic language *See* EGYPT, LANGUAGES IN.

Coptic literature Coptic literature developed and circulated in Egyptian religious circles and *monasteries from the end of the 3rd to the 13th centuries. It is exclusively religious in nature and includes all texts that have come down to us in *Coptic, no matter their original language.

A large part of what has been transmitted in Coptic was actually translated from *Greek, and the originals are not always preserved. Conversely, a large corpus of Coptic literature was rendered into *Arabic, so that many lost or fragmentary Coptic texts are preserved in that language.

The bulk of Coptic literature, preserved in the classical dialect known as Sahidic, which was used approximately from the 4th to the 12th centuries, is extant solely in incomplete manuscripts that survive from abandoned or dismantled monastic *libraries. Mere fragments remain, of which the most renowned are some 10,000 whole and incomplete sheets of parchment from a library (discovered in the 1880s) located at the *White Monastery of Atripe in Upper *Egypt.

Distinguishing between literature translated from Greek and literature originally written in Coptic raises many questions. It is not possible to establish criteria that would allow a watertight distinction. Moreover,

not all translations were made with the same standards or with equal care. Some are quite literal; others, such as *saints' lives, are far freer. Finally, many works are pseudepigraphic, either falsely attributed to celebrated authors or ascribed to fictitious ones. In any event, it is more useful to consider the different phases of literary production and their relationships to their historical and religious contexts.

Stages of literary composition

In the first period, the prolific years from the end of the 3rd to the 5th century, biblical texts foundational to Christianity were translated into various dialects, in circumstances largely unknown to us. Dating from the same period are translations of a great number of non-canonical or para-Christian texts, such as *Gnostic writings (e.g. the renowned collection of *Nag Hammadi) or *Manichaean texts (homilies, the *Psalm-Book*, the *Kephalaia*). Likewise, there are translations of great patristic writers, both Egyptian and non-Egyptian, including *Athanasius of *Alexandria, *Basil of Caesarea, *Gregory of Nyssa, and *John Chrysostom. The same period saw the composition of works by the founders of Egyptian *monasticism: *Pachomius (whose Rule would be translated into *Latin by *Jerome) and especially *Shenoute (345–451), the superior of the Atripe monastery and the exemplary Coptic author, the only one who was certainly not translating from Greek, and in whose works we find the language at its most sophisticated. Of his works, we possess nine volumes of *Canons* on monastic discipline and eight volumes of *Discourses* on Christian morality, of which a large portion remains unpublished. Numerous texts from this period bear traces of the *Origenist controversy which shows that the crisis was a significant cause of division in Egypt.

After the *Council of *Chalcedon of 451 where Christ was defined as having Two Natures, both human and divine, the Church of Egypt, staunchly loyal to a One Nature (*Miaphysite) Christology, experienced isolation and turned inwards. This is visible in its literature, which came to consist of apologetics and polemic often expressed in the form of lengthy homilies. Defenders of non-Chalcedonian doctrine are described in accounts filled with *miracles. Examples include the **History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*; the *panegyric of *Macarius, Bishop of Tkôw, by *Dioscorus of Alexandria (a heterogeneous text whose central theme is the voyage to *Constantinople undertaken by Macarius and Dioscorus and the former's *martyrdom at Alexandria for the sake of the anti-Chalcedonian faith); and the numerous *Lives* of monks pursued by Chalcedonian authorities and forced to leave their *monasteries and establish others in less exposed regions. The works of *Severus of Antioch, who had been *exiled in Egypt, were also popular in 6th-century Egypt because they were written in the same vein. This period also saw the flourishing of *martyr cult and its associated literature: saints' lives, 'epic' *martyr passions and miracle collections. These writings, celebrating *martyrs from the *persecutions conducted by the pagan authorities in the centuries before AD 313, were occasionally based on ancient materials but were heavily embellished with rhetorical clichés, stereotypes, and fantastic inventions. At the same time numerous homilies were produced in honour of the *Theotokos (a title accorded to the Virgin *Mary at the Council of *Ephesus in 431, at the instigation of the Egyptian Church).

A period of spiritual reconstruction seems to have begun in the late 6th/early 7th century with *Damianus, Coptic Pope of Alexandria (576–605). It was short in duration, as the *Arab conquest of 641 brought a stop to literary development in Coptic. In the centuries that follow, one observes most of all the reorganization of texts around liturgical needs. Thus manuscripts from the 9th-12th centuries, particularly those discovered in the *Fayyum and kept at the Pierpont Morgan Library, are generally heterogeneous compendia or anthologies composed for *festivals and ceremonies. In a parallel development, part of the corpus of homiletic and hagiographic literature was translated into Bohairic (the language of Lower Egypt and notably of the great monasteries of *Wadi an-Natrun), and then into Arabic. AB

CoptEnc vol. 5, *s.n.* literature, Coptic, cols. 1450–60 (T. Orlandi).

A. Boud'hors, 'Manuscripts and Literature in Fayoumic Coptic', in G. Gabra, ed., *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis: Essays in Honor of Martin Krause* (2005), 21–31.

L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (CIM 4, 5; Oriental series 1, 2; 1993).

S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2 vols. (CSCO 599, 600; SubsHag. 111, 2004).

S. Emmel, 'A Report on Progress in the Study of Coptic Literature, 1996–2004', in A. Boud'hors and D. Vaillancourt, eds., *Huitième congrès international d'études coptes* (2004), *I. Bilans et perspectives 2000–2004)* (EAHA; Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte 15, 2006), 174–204.

T. Orlandi, 'The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenoute at Atripe', in A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet, eds., *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest; Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (2002), 211–31.

Coptos (mod. Qift) *City located on the east bank of the *Nile 40 km (25 miles) north of *Luxor, at a point where the river runs closest to the Red Sea and

continuously occupied from prehistoric to modern times. It was the metropolis of the Coptite *nome and the terminus for routes in the Eastern Desert leading to the Red Sea ports *Myos Hormos (roughly due east) and (further south) *Berenice, important especially in the Roman period. Coptos was therefore a vital crossroads in the web of international *trade. An *inscription, the so-called Tariff of Coptos (*OGIS* 674), compiled *c.* AD 90, lists duties for protective escorts on the Eastern Desert routes. Numerous *ostraca from Coptos mention traffic between Coptos and the Red Sea (O.Bodl.).

*Jerome's *Latin translation of *Eusebius *Chronicle* alleges that Coptos was 'razed to the ground' under the *Tetrarchy following a revolt (Jerome, *Chron.* 226a Helm); it clearly recovered. A *cavalry unit and the Legio prima Valentiniana were stationed at Coptos in the early 5th century (**Notitia Dignitatum*, [or.] XXXI, 26 and 36). On the west side of the city, in an area where numerous inscriptions have been found, a church and *baptistery, apparently of the 6th century, with considerable *spolia in its foundations, has been excavated. Pisentius, *Bishop of Coptos from 598 to 632, was an effective pastor, but took to the hills in face of the *Persian invasion of 619. JGK

CoptEnc vol. 7, *s.n.* Qift, cols. 2038b–2040a (P. Grossmann).
TIR NG-36, Coptos.
Barrington Atlas, map 80 (Coptos-Berenice).
Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*, 214–19.
J.-L. Fournet and P. Ballet in: *Coptos: l'Égypte antique aux portes du désert* (Exhibition catalogue, musée des Beaux-Arts, 3 février–7 mai 2000, Lyons, 2000), 196–215, 216–31.

Corbie (dép. Somme, France) The Abbey of Corbie was founded by Queen *Balthild between 657 and 661, as part of the series of interventions in monastic life which scholars commonly dub her *Klosterpolitik*. Its first monks came from *Luxeuil, and probably followed a mixed rule combining Benedictine and Columbanian monastic practices. Corbie was a royal *monastery, whose privileges and *immunities were confirmed by a succession of late *Merovingian kings, and, more unusually for the period, by Pope Benedict II. It soon developed an important *library and scriptorium, and remained a major centre of culture and learning until it was sacked by the Vikings in 881. YH; STL

L. Levillain, *Examen critique des chartes mérovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie* (1902).
Ewig, *SFG* 2, 538–83.
D. Ganz, 'The Merovingian Library of Corbie', in H. B. Clarke and M. Brennan, eds., *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (1981), 153–72.
D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (1990).

Corbinian (d. *c.*730) Saint known only from his *Life* of *c.*770, which represents him, in counterpoint to *Boniface, as an early evangelist of *Bavaria, encouraged by *Rome. His body was translated to *Freising in 769 by Arbeo, *Bishop of Freising, who also wrote his *Life*. JTP; STL

Life (*BHL* 1947–8), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Germ. 13 (1920).
Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (2001), 152–61.

Corbridge Lanx A *silver tray found (with other silver now lost) by the River Tyne in north-east England in 1734/5, now in the British Museum. It depicts Greek divinities associated with the shrine of *Delos. The technique suggests a Late Antique date. OPN

O. Nicholson, 'The Corbridge Lanx and the Emperor Julian', *Britannia* 26 (1995), 312–15.

Cordoba Capital of the *province of *Baetica. The massive *palace complex of Cercadilla was constructed to the north-west of the *city in the late 3rd century, possibly on the orders of the *Tetrarch *Maximian. The urban framework survived after *Spain fell out of the Empire and the city was thus able to resist absorption by the *Visigothic kingdom until the later 6th century. JWo

M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* (2004).
J. Sánchez, 'New Lines of Enquiry in the Study of the Late Antiquity of Baetica (II): Archaeological Topography of the City of Córdoba', in D. Hernández, ed., *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (2011), 206–28.

Corduene (Syr. Qardu) *Armenian satrapy situated in the mountainous district south of the Bohtan Su and east of the Tigris and the *Tur 'Abdin, including the Cudi Dağı. *Ammianus Marcellinus spied on the approaching Persian *army in 359 from the mountains of Corduene (XVII, 6, 20). Allied to Rome until 363 as one of the *Transtigritanae regiones, an Ala Carduenorum remained in the garrison list for the *province of *Mesopotamia in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 36, 34). It had a *bishop at Fenek and its numerous *monasteries came to belong to the *Church of the East. JCr

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, III, 162, 379.

Corinth Strategically located *city protected by the massif of Acrocorinth close to the isthmus that connected the Peloponnese to mainland *Greece, metropolis of the *province of *Achaea. Its two ports, *Kenchriae on the Saronic Gulf and Lechaion on the Corinthian Gulf, positioned Corinth uniquely to exploit *trade passing from west and east along the shortest practicable sea routes. At the height of Corinth's Late Roman prosperity the largest *basilica in Greece was at the Lechaion, and excavations at Kenchriae have revealed a maritime settlement of considerable wealth

S. Paul and Clement of *Rome both wrote to the Church of Corinth and Dionysius, *Bishop of Corinth in the late 2nd century, wrote to the Churches of Rome (*Eusebius, *HE* II, 25, 8), Sparta, *Athens, *Nicomedia of *Bithynia, *Gortyna and Knossos in *Crete, and Amastris of *Pontus (IV, 23). The *Syriac *Martryology* of 411 lists S. Leonides and eight companions as *martyrs at Corinth; later accounts of the martyrdoms of Leonides and seven virgins are legendary, as is the passion of S. Quadratus or Codratus (*BHG* 358). In the early 5th century disagreement concerning the appointment of Perigenes as Archbishop of Corinth led to disputes between *Rome and *Constantinople over ecclesiastical authority in Achaea.

The city was damaged by *earthquakes in 365 and 375, and then burnt by the *Goths in 395/396. The propylaea and *shops west of the *Forum continued to operate but its central shops were replaced by a long staircase. The new city wall of the early 5th century enclosed only *c.*1.5 square km (*c.*370 acres)—a sign of further decline. During the 5th and 6th centuries Christian basilicas with associated cemeteries were constructed outside the new wall, but within the former city boundary. A devastating earthquake with an epicentre close to the city, closely followed by the Justinianic *Plague of 542, reduced the population considerably. A series of earthquakes in the general area of central Greece in 551/2 followed. After these, civic functions at Corinth ceased. While the activities of *Slavs later in the 6th and through the 7th centuries resulted in the resettlement of Corinthian citizens on the island of Aegina, material evidence shows that parts of the city and Acrocorinth continued to be used well into the 7th century. Corinth was probably the capital of the *Theme of *Hellas from the late 7th century.

PA; OPN

G. D. R. Sanders, 'Corinth', in *EHB* I, 648–54.

R. M. Rothaus, *Corinth: The First City of Greece, an Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion* (2000).

G. D. R. Sanders, 'Archaeological Evidence for Early Christianity and the End of Hellenistic Religion in Corinth', in D. N. Schowalter and S. J. Friesen, eds., *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth* (2005).

K. W. Slane and G. D. R. Sanders, 'Corinth: Late Roman Horizons', *Hesperia* 74 (2005), 243–97.

A. R. Brown, 'The City of Corinth and Urbanism in Late Antique Greece' (doctoral thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 2008).

F. Halkin, 'S. Léonide et ses septs compagnes martyrs à Corinthe', in Halkin, *Recherches et documents*, 60–6.

D. Athanasoulis, 'Corinth', in Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*, 192–209.

Corippus (*fl. c.*550–65) Latin poet. Nothing is known of the life of Flavius Cresconius Corippus beyond the internal evidence of his work, in which he presents himself as having come to *Constantinople from *Africa and as holding an unidentified government office when of advanced years and in difficult circumstances. *Praise of the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii and the *Magister Officiorum *Anastasius and a request for his support suggest that Corippus may have been employed in the imperial bureaucracy. The more substantial of his two surviving works is the *Iohannis*, an eight-book epic on the successful suppression of the *Moorish revolt by *Justinian I's general *John Troglita in *Africa (546–8). In addition to preserving valuable historical, cultural, and topographical information about 6th-century Africa and the *Berber people, it is a rare survival of a type of panegyrical epic on contemporary or recent wars which, although of great importance throughout Roman history as a way to *praise generals and emperors, is attested only fragmentarily from the Republic and Early Empire. The other, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, in four books, recounts the death of Justinian I and the *accession of his successor, *Justin II. It serves as an important witness to the developing ideology of the *emperor as the chosen agent of God, as well as to the forms and symbolism of court *ceremony. Vivid but static descriptions of the imperial couple and their courtiers may reflect the conventions of contemporary monumental art. Corippus' subject matter, along with his very correct, highly classicizing use of language and *metre, allow him to stand comparison with *Claudian, to whose works, along with those of *Vergil and Lucan, he is indebted.

MJD

PLRE III, Corippus.

ed. Averil Cameron (with ET and comm.), *Flavius Cresconius Corippus: In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris* (1976).

ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, *Iohannidos Libri VIII* (1970).

Johannis: ET G. Shea (1998); FT (with comm.) C. Teurf and J.-C. Didderen (2007).

ed. P. Riedlberger (with GT and comm.), *Philologischer, historischer und liturgischer Kommentar zum 8. Buch der Johannis des Goripp nebst kritischer Edition und Übersetzung* (2010).

U. J. Stache, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris. Ein Kommentar* (1976).

Averil Cameron, 'The Career of Corippus Again', *CQ* 30 (1980), 534–9.

W. Ehlers, 'Epische Kunst in Coripps Johannis', *Philologus*, 124 (1980) 109–35.

V. Zarini, *Rhétorique, poétique, spiritualité: la technique épique de Corippe dans la Johannide* (2003).

T. Gärtner, *Untersuchungen zur Gestaltung und zum historischen Stoff der 'Johannis' Coripps* (2008).

corn *See* GRAIN.

coronation *See* ACCESSION.

Cornelius Labeo (*fl.* late 3rd cent.?) Antiquarian writer on Roman religion, in the tradition of Varro and Nigidius Figulus. No works survive complete. The extant fragments suggest use of *Numenius and perhaps *Porphyry; Labeo's own works seem to have been known to *Arnobius and *Lactantius, though neither names him. His *Fasti* dealt with the Roman *calendar and gave etymologies and syncretistic identifications for various gods. The work was a source for *Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I, 12–16) and *John Lydus (*De Mensibus*), who both cite Labeo by name. Other works dealt with Etruscan *divination in fifteen books (*Fulgentius, *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*, 4), and with a henotheistic *oracle of Apollo of *Claros (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 18, 21). A work *De Diis Animalibus* (Servius, *Commentary on the Aeneid*, III, 168) identified certain gods and demigods with human souls who had attained immortality through religious rites. Labeo is among the *pagan authorities cited in *Augustine's *City of God*; those references credit him with a developed theory of *demons typical of *Middle Platonism and incorporating dualistic elements. That he influenced other late Latin writers (e.g. *Martianus Capella) is possible but uncertain. GH

P. Mastandrea, *Un neoplatonico latino: Cornelio Labeone* (1979), with fragments on 223–46.

Cornicularius A senior officer, often the most senior by internal promotion, in an **officium*, whether of a *Praefectus, *Vicarius, or provincial *governor. *John Lydus, himself a former Cornicularius, gave an account of the office (*Mag.* III, 22–30). AGS

Jones, *LRE* 587–93.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 18–19 etc.

B. Palme, 'Die Officia der Statthalter in der Spätantike. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 85–133, esp. 103–10.

Corrector *Title of *governors, ranked *clarissimus*, of certain Roman provinces (five in the **Notitia Dignitatum* of the early 5th century) The title had been used earlier in the Roman Empire for governors with extraordinary powers, e.g. over other governors or free *cities. DSl

Corsica Island *province separated from *Sardinia by the time of the *Verona List and **Notitia Dignitatum*, where it is said to be governed by a *Praeses under the *Vicarius Urbis Romae. Aleria was the provincial capital. It was occupied (with Sardinia) by the *Vandal *Geiseric in 455 after the assassination of *Valentinian III, used as a place of *exile for recalcitrant Nicene clergy under his son *Huneric, but reclaimed by *Belisarius in 534 and administered as part of *Justinian I's African territories till the *Lombards took it in the 8th century. CS; OPN

Barrrington Atlas, 48.

Sardegna e Corsica, Problemi di storia comparata (1996).

P. G. Spanu, *Insulae Christi: il cristianesimo primitivo in Sardegna, Corsica e Baleari* (2002).

R. Zucca, *La Corsica romana* (1996).

D. Ramos-Lissó, 'Gli interventi di Gregorio Magno in Corsica: aspetti religiosi, socio-economici epolitici', in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, 2 vols. (Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1991), vol. 1, 103–8.

Corunna (La Coruña; Roman Brigantium) Port in *Gallaecia, production centre for **garum*; also the site of a Roman *lighthouse, mentioned by *Orosius (1, 2, 71), 35 m (115 feet) high and over 10 m (33 feet) wide, built by C. Levius Lupis, probably under Trajan, depicted on the Peutinger *Map, and still in operation. GDB.

Corycus (Gk. Korykos, mod. Kizkalesi, Turkey) *City with a *harbour in *Cilicia, on the coastal section of the *Pilgrims' Road north-east of *Seleucia ad Calycadnum. *Shapur I claimed to have captured Corycus in 260. There was a *bishop by 381. *Egeria passed through (23, 1). A *martyrium commemorated S. Charitine, a local *martyr of whose history nothing is known (*MAMA* III, 580, 638, 488; *BHG* 300; *AnBoll* 72[1954] 5–14). *Justinian I restored a *bath and two poor houses, one dedicated to S. Conon (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 9, 34; cf. *MAMA* III, 783–5).

The city's strategic position sustained its economy and inns. Commodities traded included *wine, *olive oil, and *textiles. Almost 400 *epitaphs record the varied occupations of the inhabitants, clerics and *bankers, *merchants and dockers, often organized into voluntary associations (Gk. *systemata*). There was a small *Jewish population. *Inscriptions (*MAMA* III, 200–788) suggest continued prosperity into the 5th and 6th centuries. It belonged to the *Cibyrrhaeotic *Theme by 698. SEB; OPN

TIB 5 (1990), *s.n.* Korykos, 315–20.

RE XI (1922), col. 1452 *s.n.* Korykos 4 (Ruge).

Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale*, 156–81.

F. R. Trombley, 'Korykos in Cilicia Trachis: The Economy of a Small Coastal City in Late Antiquity (Saec. V–VI): A Precis', *AncHistBull* 1/1 (1987), 16–23.

M. H. Williams, 'The Jews of Corycus: A Neglected Diasporan Community from Roman Times', *JnlStJud* 25 (1994), 274–86.

Cos Aegean island 5.5 km (3.5 miles) off the coast of *Anatolia at the mouth of the Ceramicus gulf. The *city of Cos was the second city of the *province of *Insulae, which under *Justinian I formed part of the *Quaestura Exercitus.

Excavations have revealed *villas of the 3rd and 4th centuries with *mosaics. The city's classical stoa,

renovated in the 3rd century, became the site of a 5th-century *basilica which collapsed perhaps in the *earthquake of 554. Another 5th-century basilica near Mastichari preserves mosaic floors and a semicircular *apse, with a *baptistery annexe. A 5th–6th-century baptistery dedicated to S. John the Baptist is preserved intact, one of seven baptisteries on the island.

A small structure at the former sanctuary of Apollo at Halasarna may have been used for pagan *sacrifice in the 5th century. Excavations there have also revealed 5,000 *amphorae of the late 6th/early 7th centuries, many of them stamped and locally made. PA; OPN

G. Deligiannakis, 'The Economy of the Dodecanese in Late Antiquity', in Papageorgiadou-Banis and Giannikouri, eds., *Sailing in the Aegean*, 209–33.

G. Deligiannakis, *The Eastern Aegean Islands and the Dodecanese in Late Antiquity, AD 300–700* (2016).

Cosa Roman *colonia* on the coast of Tuscany, founded in 273 BC and refounded in 197 BC. Cosa's history was episodic. Although there was new building under Caracalla, *Rutilius Namatianus noted it as deserted in 416 (I, 285–90). Large-scale excavations by the American Academy at Rome noted some traces of occupation in the 6th–7th centuries including a church within the *basilica and a *fortified farm constructed on the Arx (upper town). WB

E. Fentress et al., *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991–1997* (2004).

Cosmas and Damian, Ss. Christians venerated as *martyrs and as medics who took no fees (hence the soubriquet *Anargyrioi*, Moneyless), responsible for numerous miraculous healings from the 5th century onwards. The origins of the cult are obscure; there are numerous (fictional) *Passions and Lives (*BHG* 372–9, *BHL* 1967–76) and *panegyrics (*BHG* 380–4), as well as several *miracle collections (*BHG* 385–92, *BHL* 1976, 1978–9).

There was a shrine to Ss. Cosmas and Damian at *Cyrrhus (*ACO* IV/1, 134), where the pilgrim-guide of *Theodosius says they were martyred and buried (32; cf. *John Malalas, XII, 36). Other traditions locate their martyrdom at the medical establishment of *Aegae in *Cilicia (*BHG* 378–9; *BHL* 1967–74).

Their church in the Roman Forum dates from 527 (**Liber Pontificalis*, 56, 2; cf. 53, 9). By 518 there was an important shrine and *monastery at *Constantinople near *Blachernae, rebuilt by *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 6, 5–8), pillaged in 623 and burnt in 626 by the *Avars (**Chronicon Paschale*), but rebuilt by 711 (*Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, 48, 4 de Boor).

S. *Theodore of *Sykeon (39) was cured in a *dream by Ss. Cosmas and Damian, who were recognizable from their *icons. They were venerated at *Oxyrhynchus in *Egypt (P.Oxy. XI, 1357 of AD 535/6) and at *Tours in *Gaul (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* X, 31, cf. *Glory of the Martyrs*, 97). OPN

Delehaye, *Origines*, 190–1.

MIRACLE COLLECTIONS

BHG 385–91: ed. (with introd.) L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian: Texte und Einleitung* (Teubner, 1907), 97–208.

BHG 373b: (London cod. BL Add. 37534) E. Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani Sanctorum Medicorum Vita et Miracula e Codice Londinensi* (1935), 1–82.

FT A. J. Festugière *Collections grecques de Miracles*, (1971) 83–213.

I. Csepregi, *The Compositional History of Greek Christian Incubation Miracle Collections: Saint Thecla, Saint Cosmas and Damian, Saint Cyrus and John and Saint Artemios* (diss., Central European University, Budapest, 2007).

Cosmas Indicopleustes Sixth-century *merchant, cosmographer, and author of the *Christian Topography*, *c.*547. Our only information concerning him derives from the *Christian Topography* itself, which survives in three illustrated manuscripts from the 9th and 11th centuries. These manuscripts share not only text, but dozens of carefully labelled illustrations, suggesting that they were copied from a 6th-century text illustrated by the author or by someone under his supervision, thereby creating a work of unusual interdependence between text and illustration. The name Cosmas Indicopleustes ('Cosmas the India-Traveller') is a later ascription found in only one of the 11th-century manuscripts (Florence, Laurentianus Pluteus 9.28) since the author only refers to himself as 'a Christian'.

From references within his work, it appears that Cosmas was a native of *Alexandria, and was heavily influenced by the teachings of Mar *Aba I, *Catholicus of the *Church of the East (540–52). He was acquainted with a wide range of Classical and Christian writers, though his convoluted style confirms his own admission that he was 'without any knowledge of the *rhetorical arts' (*Top. Chr.* 2. 1). Cosmas claims to have sailed in 'the three gulfs: the Roman (the Mediterranean), the Arabian (the Red Sea), and the Persian' (*Top. Chr.* 2. 29). While in the *Aksumite port of *Adulis *c.*524, he transcribed, at the request of the Aksumite King *Kaleb I (Ella Asbeha), the text of two *inscriptions, shortly before Kaleb's invasion of *Himyar in 525. Although Cosmas credits some of his geographical knowledge to other sailors, he seems to have journeyed to the island of Socotra, the western coast of *India, and perhaps to Sri Lanka (Ceylon). He regards the *Persian Empire with slightly less esteem than he does the Roman Empire and displays a remarkably cosmopolitan outlook.

Cosmas composed the *Christian Topography* to counter the cosmological views of *John Philoponus and to

promote an ingenious biblical world-view in which the cosmos is created after the pattern of Moses' tabernacle, i.e. a vaulted rectangle that is twice as long as it is wide. In support of this cosmology, he provides dimensions of the *oikoumenē* from *China in the east to Cádiz in the west, and from the Aksumite kingdom in the south to the land of the Hyperboreans in the north. He is especially conversant with the pivotal role played by Sri Lanka and the Malabar coast in maritime *trade between China and the West, though he acknowledges that the overland *Silk Road is a more direct route. In response to criticisms of his work's first edition, Cosmas provided an expanded edition in ten books. A possible third posthumous edition in twelve books included extracts from two other works on *astronomy and *geography. A separate commentary on the Song of Songs is no longer extant. CJH

CPG 3.7468.

ed. (with FT and comm.) W. Wolska-Conus, 3 vols. (SC 141, 1968), 159 (1970), 197 (1973).

ET J. W. McCrindle (1897).

S. A. Faller, 'The World According to Cosmas Indicopleustes', *Transcultural Studies* 1 (2011), 193–232.

M. Kominko, *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography* (2013).

H. Schneider, *Kosmas Indikopleustes, Christliche Topographie: Textkritische Analysen. Übersetzung. Kommentar* (2011).

cosmetics Despite Christian warnings against the moral dangers of paying inordinate attention to one's external appearance, Late Antique men and women, just like their Roman forebears, continued to employ cosmetics to beautify themselves and to hide the outward signs of advancing age. Written sources record the use of powders, ointments, perfumes, and potions based on animal, plant, and mineral substances for the care of the *hair and skin, hair-dyeing, depilation, and, not least, for make-up. Women, in particular, would use chalk and lead white pigment to whiten their faces and necks, and ashes or galena (a mineral form of lead) to highlight their eyes and eyebrows in black, as well as various mineral or plant products to brighten their lips and cheeks with touches of red.

Both men and women also paid particular attention to the styling of their hair. The dominant fashion for men's hair in the Later Roman Empire was to have it brushed from the crown of the head outwards, forming a fringe or tight curls over the forehead. As for facial hair, while some men opted for a clean-shaven face, others preferred the stubble or even a full beard.

Female hairstyles involved the gathering up of the hair often in elaborately arranged plaits, which were held in place with hairpins or hairnets. Christian preachers such as *John Chrysostom (*Homily*, XXVI, 216–18 = *PG* 61, 211–24) endorsed the covering of women's heads with *veils. Items employed in female coiffure have survived in the archaeological record, in addition to a variety of implements associated with personal adornment, such as *mirrors, *combs, applicators, perfume bottles, and small jars, as well as ornate caskets in which these were kept. MGP

Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός* 4 (1951), 371–85.

R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300–600', *JRS* 89 (1999), 155–89, at 182–5.

A. Walker, 'Adornment', in I. Kalavrezou, ed., *Byzantine Women and their World* (2003), 233–9.

J. Lascaratos, C. Tsiamis, G. Lascaratos, and N. G. Stavrianeas, 'The Roots of Cosmetic Medicine: Hair Cosmetics in Byzantine Times (AD 324–1453)', *International Journal of Dermatology* 43 (2004), 397–401.

cosmology The study of the nature, structure, origin, and causes of the cosmos (i.e. universal 'order') or universe. It covers cosmogony, myths describing the origin of the cosmos; philosophical cosmology, some part of physics and metaphysics; scientific cosmology, which includes *astronomy, and is part of applied *mathematics; and cosmography, descriptions, often encyclopedic, of the regions of the cosmos. The dominant cosmological view in Late Antiquity is that of a unique, finite, animated, and geocentric cosmos, with an immobile spherical earth surrounded by seven planetary spheres moving in uniform orbs. MM

J. D. North, *Cosmos: An Illustrated History of Astronomy and Cosmology* (2008).

cosmology, Islamic God created the cosmos from primal waters in six (or, alternatively, two) days and then mounted the throne (now elevated to the seventh heaven with his footstool encompassing the heavens and earth). From there, God commanded a fixed course for the seven heavens, with the constellations and planets in the lowest of them. The heavens include paths and meteors to prevent *demons from access to scriptural recitation. Having fixed the earth's foundations, God rolled it out (with the sky as its roof or canopy) for humans to inhabit, providing them with rain and pasturage and the alternation of night and day. PH

A. Neuwirth, 'Cosmology', in J. Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* (2001), vol. 1, 440–58.

cosmology, Jewish Derived from interpretations of the biblical view of the Creation (especially Genesis 1), while also influenced by Hellenistic and Roman cosmological views. The development of

biblical ideas is already seen in the Hellenistic period in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where the world consists of light and dark spirits either defined as a dualism (1QS III: 13–IV: 26) in the world (perhaps under Iranian influence) or as components making up humans, dependent upon their time of birth (4Q186 [4QHoroscope]).

The *rabbis derived the essential elements of Greek cosmology from the references to waters and stars in the Genesis creation account. In one interpretation the etymology of the word 'heavens' was said to be a combination of the words for fire and water, while in another only water (b. Hag. 12a). The firmament, of the same thicknesss as the earth (Genesis Rabba 4: 5), may have existed in multiples (b. Hag. 12b), with the Sun and Moon in the second firmament (Genesis Rabba 38: 6).

While the rabbis officially distanced themselves from the belief in the *Zodiac (b. Shabb 156a: 'Israel is immune from planetary influence'), Palestinian *synagogues were constructed between the 4th and 6th centuries containing *mosaics of a Zodiac circular design. The interpretation of these designs is disputed, and they could have been reinterpreted in Jewish terms, as in the 9th-century collection Pesiqta Rabbati (27–8) where the names of the signs are related to events in Jewish history. Jews also held to a belief in the world to come (b. Sanhedrin 99a) and that a new age would come, either as a messianic era as a part of world history or at a time when the present world will fail, and sea monsters will return, perhaps alluding to the break-up of the Roman Empire (b. Sanhedrin 97a–b).

JKA

cosmology, Roman and post-Roman The main topics of cosmological study in Late Antiquity were the lifespan of the cosmos; the number of creators; their nature (good or evil); the stages of creation; whether there will be another (identical or different) cosmos after this one; Space, Time, and Matter; heavenly phenomena; whether Matter, heaven, and souls are created and out of what; how humans relate to (the causes of) the universe. The different cosmologies are eclectic and syncretic and based on Aristotelian, Platonic, Hellenistic, and Christian sources. Pagans denied the possibility of creation of the cosmos out of nothing, while for Christians such *creatio ex nihilo* was a necessary confirmation of divine omnipotence. Greek cosmology in this period traditionally has a more theoretical approach, and Roman cosmology a more practical one.

Philosophical cosmology

Late Antique philosophical cosmology combined physical, metaphysical, and methodological considerations. Metaphysics studied transcendent causes of the cosmos. The main causal factors distinguished were 'maker', 'design' (Forms), and matter. Physics investigated such properties of the cosmos as elements, motion, time, and space. *Philosophers in Late Antiquity had limited methods for studying the cosmos: some parts could be studied empirically, but few or no empirical data were available concerning the distant and tiny parts, or the past. Philosophers therefore used (mathematical) speculation, and authoritative texts such as myths.

The lifespan of the cosmos was vehemently discussed. Plato's creation story told in the *Timaeus* apparently describes a cosmos with a temporal beginning and possibly an end. Aristotle criticized it, and argued for an eternal world. *Neoplatonists tried to harmonize these views. The Greek pagan philosopher *Proclus, like *Calcidius, the *Latin commentator on the *Timaeus*, suggested that the cosmos is both eternal and generated: without beginning or end, but depending on a transcendent cause for its eternal existence. The Christian *John Philoponus systematically refuted Proclus' arguments and defended creation in time. One of the last pagan philosophers, *Simplicius, sided with Proclus in an invective against Philoponus and Christians in general.

Zeno's paradoxes of time and space elicited several Late Antique theories, of Time, e.g. of static and dynamic Time, or of parts of Time as mental states; of Space as a (hypothetically empty) container, relative position, or even as an immaterial body of light. Matter was hypothetically analysed into multiple levels, from pure extension without qualities, to the classical four elements. *Aether*, Aristotle's fifth element, no longer explained the visibility and eternal circular motion of the heavenly bodies. Instead, philosophers assumed that heavenly bodies consist of the 'summits' of the four elements, or thought that each heavenly body moves eternally due to its own soul or angel, or due to an *impetus* (thrust) given by God upon creation (Philoponus). The latter is the origin of impetus theory and, in part, of the mechanistic world view.

Cosmogonic myths

Cosmogonic narratives developed in this period in reaction to *gnostic accounts of the 2nd–5th centuries. These Platonizing Christians tried to 'correct' the Book of Genesis with myths describing a lower, ignorant divine soul, which created a flawed cosmos in pre-existent matter, and imprisoned human souls in bodies.

The pagan Platonist *Plotinus (*Enneads*, II, 9) objected to their contention that the cosmos is the product of a lower world soul, nature, forming matter. Since form is a sign of knowledge, this lower soul cannot be ignorant nor its creation flawed.

Christian cosmogonic narratives of the Six Days of Creation (the **hexaemeron*), are interpretations of

Genesis 1. Against the gnostics, Christians defended a cosmogony with one good, all-knowing God creating the entire cosmos (or series of cosmoses), including *angels and matter, out of nothing.

Hexaemera such as those of *Basil and *Ambrose also harmonized traditional physics, Christian orthodoxy, and scripture explaining, for instance, why Genesis describes six days of creation, even though it would be possible for God's omnipotence to allow him to create everything at once. Some church fathers adopted allegorical readings of the *Bible, others maintained a literal reading, referring to divine omnipotence to explain away discrepancies, and others, such as *Augustine, used both methods to intepret the biblical acccounts of creation.

Scientific cosmology

*Astronomy was the main constituent of ancient scientific cosmology. Astronomers used observation, speculation, and *mathematics to understand such phenomena as planetary motions, *eclipses, and lunar phases. A central problem was to reconcile the divinity, i.e. perfection, of the planets with observation of their non-uniform, i.e. non-perfect, motions. Late Antiquity altogether rejected the Hellenistic solution of a heliocentric universe. *Martianus Capella, writing in Latin, elaborated another influential solution, namely *Ptolemy's 'epicycles' and 'eccentrics', i.e. combinations of different uniform motions. Greek Neoplatonists, however, criticized such solutions as merely heuristic tools, not really explaining the heavenly phenomena. *Isidore of Seville denied that planets move in uniform motion at all. Post-Roman cosmology (e.g. *Bede) consisted mainly of practical mathematical astronomy and popularized, encyclopedic cosmography: influential geographical descriptions of the Earth, chronologies of the cosmos, and solutions to problems concerning the calendar, the changing daylight hours through the year, and the different lengths of the seasons.

*Astrology, the study of the influence of the constellations on human life, remained part of astronomy, but the Christians such as Augustine and Isidore rejected it as undermining divine power and human responsibility. MM

L. P. Gerson, *Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (2011).

R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum: Theories in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (1983).

R. Sorabji, *Matter, Space and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and their Sequel* (1988).

T. Hockey, ed., *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (2007).

cosmology, Syriac *Translations from *Greek formed the nucleus of *Syriac cosmological interest, but some local Mesopotamian tradition of cosmological interest may have also played a part. The 7th-century author *Severus Sebokht, a chief source for this subject, traces Syriac science back to the Babylonians, whom he identifies as Syrians themselves, but the infusion of Greek literary culture, especially from the beginning of the 5th century (later in *Persian-ruled regions), fuelled this occupation with the natural world and explaining it.

Two genres are the primary witnesses to Syriac cosmology: straightforward scientific texts and *hexaemeral literature, which gave commentators, most notably *Jacob of *Edessa (d. 708), opportunity to display their cosmological knowledge. There is evidence of cosmological doctrine in references to *Bardaisan, including a fragment on 'The Names of the Zodiac' according to his school. The Ps.-Aristotelian *De Mundo*, which contains a wealth of basic cosmological instruction (planetary and atmospheric), in the context of a general philosophical outline, was translated by *Sergius of *Resaina (d. 536), as was Alexander of *Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*. In another work, Sergius, in common with Syriac thought generally, marks a distinction between *astronomy and *astrology. Severus Sebokht wrote *On the Constellations* (including reference to Aratus' *Phainomena*), a *Description of the Astrolabe*, and three shorter relevant fragments. Finally, *George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (d. 724/5), completed Jacob's *Hexaemeron* but also composed two astronomical *letters, one of which has been identified as an adaptation of part of Paul of *Alexandria's *Eisagogeka*. Cosmological interest, both in translated and original works, would continue at least to the 13th century. ACMc

F. Nau, 'La Cosmographie au VIIe siècle chez les Syriens', *ROC* 15 (1910), 225–54.

G. Salibi, 'Paulus Alexandrinus in Syriac and Arabic', *Byzantion* 65 (1995), 440–54.

cosmology, Zoroastrian According to *Zoroastrian scriptures the world is a battlefield between two antagonist cosmic principles, *aša-* 'order, truth' and *druj-* 'disorder, lie'. The earliest *Avestan sources do not present the reasons behind the origin of the world in a systematic form. Ahura Mazdā (Pahlavi *Ohrmazd) was the creator-organizer of the cosmos (but there is no reference to a creation *ex nihilo*, a doctrine not known in Iran), while two twins, denominated *Mainyu*s ('mental forces'), one incremental and positive (Spenta Mainyus), the other hostile (Aŋra Mainyus, *Ahriman), made their antagonist choices respectively for *aša-* and *druj-*. These primordial acts produced 'life' and the 'impossibility of life'. According to Pahlavi sources, Ohrmazd, thanks to his innate omniscience, perceived the existence of his antagonist Ahriman in a far region of the universe. Thus, when he planned his creation, he

imagined a space-temporal trap where the obscure antagonist would be blocked, together with his destructive forces. For this reason Ohrmazd interrupted infinite time and created space and limited time. The fight between the two cosmic forces will last 12,000 years, divided in two sub-periods of 6,000 years each. Ohrmazd created the world first in a 'mental' (*mēnōg*) state, and after in a 'living' (*gētīg*) one. These two dimensions are both positive; in contrast, Ahriman and the *demons, who are ontological negations of life, cannot be creative in the proper sense and are considered as not actually 'living' (*gētīg*). With the extra-cosmic irruption of Ahriman in the good creation, the 'living' world was put in motion so that the second cycle of 6,000 years might start, with the fight between the forces of light and darkness. The end of this war will be announced by the birth of the third son of Zoroaster, who will resurrect all the dead. With the following descent on the earth (and in the historical time) of Ohrmazd himself, Ahriman will be defeated forever. Then, limited time will be restored and the world will be purified; all human beings will rejoice in the light of Ohrmazd's paradise. ACDP

Gh. Gnoli, 'Osservazioni sulla dottrina mazdaica della creazione', *AION* NS 13 (1963), 163–93.

Gh. Gnoli, 'Einige Bemerkungen zum altiranischen Dualismus', in B. Fragner, Gh. Gnoli, et al., eds., *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea* (1995), 213–31.

A. Panaino, 'Short Remarks about Ohrmazd between Limited and Unlimited Time', in A. Tongerloo, ed., *Iranica Selecta: Studies in Honour of Professor Wojciech Skalmowski on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (2003), 195–200.

Sh. Shaked, 'The Notions Mēnōg and Gētīg in the Pahlavi Texts and their Relation to Eschatology', *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971), 59–107.

R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma* (²1972),

cosmology in art Roman artists represented the cosmos (Gk. world) as a group of allegorical personifications of the earth and the heavens, as in the 2nd- or 3rd-century AD Cosmological Mosaic from *Mérida in *Spain. Such schemes continued in use through the 6th century, as the *rhetorician *John of *Gaza describes a similar painting in the vault of the winter bathhouse at either Gaza or *Antioch. There was equally cosmological and potentially astrological significance to the depiction of the *Seasons on *sarcophagi and of the *Zodiac on *synagogue pavements.

Much as *Basil appropriated and adapted ancient cosmological science in his *Hexaemeron*, so Christian art assimilated and transformed ancient cosmological imagery, depicting the earth as a lush landscape surrounded by Ocean, occasionally including the rivers of Paradise. Some representations include personifications, as in the floor mosaics of the late 5th-century *Basilica of Thyrsos at Tegea in *Greece, while others literally depict the plants and animals of earth surrounded by water, as in the mosaics of the Church of S. *Demetrius at *Nicopolis of *Epirus (*c.*525–50). These pavements share similarities with the illustrations of the *Christian Topography* of *Cosmas Indicopleustes, a mid-6th-century account of the author's journey to *India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), in which the earth is envisioned variously as a rectangle surrounded by Ocean and as a conical mountain within the Tabernacle of Heaven. SVL; OPN

H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (1987).

M. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, 'Mérida Revisited: The Cosmological Mosaic in the Light of Discussions since 1979', *MadriderMitt* 34 (1993), 255–74.

M. Kominko, *The World of Cosmas: The Universe Described and Depicted in Byzantine Manuscripts of the Christian Topography* (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 2006).

Cotiaeum Ancient city of *Phrygia Salutaris, today buried under the homonymous Ottoman town of Kütahya and crowned by a Byzantine castle that incorporates numerous Late Antique *marbles. Many more such marbles have been found nearby, indicating rural prosperity. An early *bishop was a *Novatianist; *Cyrus of *Panopolis was exiled to this see. PhN

T. Drew-Bear et al., *I was Born in Anatolia* (2007).

C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia 1: Kütahya* (1985).

P. Niewöhner, 'Frühbyzantinische Steinmetzarbeiten in Kütahya. Zu Topographie, Steinmetzwesen und Siedlungsgeschichte einer zentralanatolischen Region', *IstMitt* 56 (2006), 407–73.

Cottidianum Daybook (also known as *Regesta*) summarizing business transacted in the court of the *Praefectus Praetorio; compiled by an administrative officer (a **chartularius*) on the staff of the *Ab Actis and preserved in the imperial *archives by the *Instrumentarius. *John Lydus drafted entries in *Latin early in his career in 6th-century *Constantinople (*Mag.* III, 20, 27). CMK

Cotton Genesis The oldest known illuminated Greek *Bible manuscript (BL Cotton Otho B. VI), badly burnt in the Cotton Library fire of 1731. It was written in uncial *script in the late 5th/early 6th century, and had a large cycle of miniatures of the Genesis story scattered throughout the text. NAS

K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.VI* (1986).

J. Lowden, 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis', *Gesta* 31/1 (1992), 40–53.

couch, dining Romans reclined on couches to eat. The **stibadium* was the principal dining couch used after the 3rd century, replacing the rectilinear **triclinium*. Large *apses in *houses provided a suitable space for the large *stibadium*, though rectilinear rooms could be adapted to accommodate the semicircular couch, as at Faragola in *Italy. *Stibadia* could be permanent fixtures or movable furniture. *Mosaics provide guides for placing *furniture segments as at the House of the Falconer in *Argos. Diners reclined with their chests and arms supported by bolsters as shown in the Last Supper illustration of the *Rossano Gospels, and described by *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep.* 1, 11). *Monastery refectories used benches for seated dining (*VNicSion*, 25). Western barbarians are reported to have sat on benches at banquets (*Gregory of *Tours, *History of the Franks*, 10, 27). NFH

K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (2003).

G. Volpe, 'Cenatio et lacus: il ruolo dell'acqua negli spazi conviviali in alcune residenze tardoantiche', in S. Cagnazzi et al., *Scritti di storia per Mario Pani* (2011), 507–23.

councils of the Church From the 2nd century a regular feature of church life. In Late Antiquity they were primarily episcopal councils, of *bishops from a particular *province, or group of provinces, or from the whole Church ('œcumenical councils'), though in practice this meant overwhelmingly from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

The Council of *Nicaea (325) ordered that the bishops of each province should meet together twice a year. Councils of bishops from several provinces were occasioned by special needs, and the decrees of some of these councils, such as those of the Council of *Laodicea, were accepted as binding throughout the Church. Distinct were the 'œcumenical' councils—Nicaea I, *Constantinople I (381), *Ephesus I (431), *Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), Constantinople III (680–1), Nicaea II (787), and also (though their decrees were later rescinded) the 'Robber Council' (Latrocinium) of Ephesus II (449), and those of Constantinople (662), and *Hieria-Constantinople (754). These councils were attended by bishops from all parts of the Eastern Church under Roman rule. They were summoned by *emperors, and their decrees were given force by imperial *edicts. It was on this that depended the universality of their authority rather than their representativeness, for they were attended by very few Western bishops, apart from the papal legates who had an honoured place at most of them.

Local councils were chaired by the local primate or *metropolitan. Œcumenical councils were most often chaired jointly by the senior bishops present, meaning from the mid-6th century the *patriarchs or their representatives. At Chalcedon, however, most of the sessions were chaired by high-ranking government officials, while at Constantinople III most of the sessions were chaired by the Emperor *Constantine IV in person.

There was no set procedure, but regular features of conciliar sessions were the introduction of items of business by the chairmen, the reading of relevant documents, decisions by the senior chairman, and the approval of these decisions by the bishops present, whether through an *interrogatio*, when either all or some of the bishops spoke in turn, or by *acclamation. The bishops had to confirm the chairman's decisions, but he would be careful to ascertain the mind of the bishops before propounding a decree. The amount of free decision varied considerably, and at some councils the whole sequence of discussion and decisions was prepared in advance.

From Chalcedon onwards, official proceedings or 'acts' of the œcumenical councils were published by the government. Those of Chalcedon and Constantinople III are frank about the degree of dissent within the council; in other acts, however, such voices are muted or wholly absent. But all these documents (and likewise those of Ephesus I, which were published by interested parties, not the government) must be read as propaganda, and not as a complete and impartial factual record. RMP

Texts (*CPG* 8500–9444):

ACO, series 1 and 2 (1914–).

R. MacMullen, *Voting about God in Early Church Councils* (2006).

R. Price, 'Presidency and Procedure at the Early Ecumenical Councils', *AHC* 41 (2009), 241–74.

H. J. Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee der Alten Kirche* (1979).

councils of the Church, Africa There is evidence from *Africa for councils of *bishops at a significantly earlier date than from other western provinces. The first documented African council (*Carthage, *c.*220–30) ruled that heretical *baptism was devoid of the Holy Spirit and therefore invalid (*Cyprian, *ep.* 71, 4, 1). Around 236, a council condemned the *Bishop of *Lambaesis, an important military headquarters (Cyprian, *ep.* 59, 10, 1). Expert use of Roman senatorial procedure by Cyprian's councils (in the 250s) may signify that regular meetings were held from the early 3rd century onwards, with intermittent *persecution and insurrections causing disruptions.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (248–58), summoned seven councils in the aftermath of the persecution under *Decius (250–1). The first four dealt with those who had lapsed in the persecution; the other three upheld the practice of rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. Cyprian's adamant stance on rebaptism temporarily soured relations with the see of *Rome (*ep.* 73).

The *Donatist movement arose from a provincial council (305) at *Cirta of *Numidia. A large conclave of 270 Donatist bishops mustered in Carthage in *c.*336 (*Augustine, *ep.* 93, 43). The Catholic (Caecilianist) Council of Carthage (*c.*348) celebrated (temporary) reunion with the Donatists (CCSL 149, 3–10). Around 385, a Donatist council excommunicated the theologian *Tyconius whose brilliant writings would affect Augustine deeply. By the late 4th century, Donatism dominated North Africa. The Catholic Council of Carthage (390) attempted reform but was hampered by lacklustre clergy.

New leadership (391–2) ushered in unforeseen changes. Schism, provoked partially by Primian, the new Donatist primate, seriously eroded Donatist unity (Council of Cebarsussi, 393; Council of Bagai, 394). *Aurelius, the new Catholic primate, and Augustine inaugurated annual councils to rejuvenate African Catholicism, repress *paganism, and secure reunion with Donatists. Imperial support ensured Catholic victory. Catholic councils (416 and 418) repudiated *Pelagianism. The scandalous case of Apiarius (Catholic councils of 419 and 424) frayed Africa's cordial relationship with Rome.

Under *Vandal rule (430–533), the king, a *Homoean ('*Arian'), closely supervised conclaves (484, 523, 525). Councils were held in Africa (533–698) during the *Byzantine invasions and occupation (536, 554, and 646); these were primarily concerned with eastern doctrinal debates. Medieval *canon law collections preserve much of the African councils' heritage. JEM

Acts of Councils (*CPL* 1764–9):

Concilia Africae, ed. C. Munier (CCSL 149, 1974).

Council of 411: ed. (annotated with FT) S. Lancel, *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, 4 vols. (SC 194–5, 224, and 373, 1972–91).

Hefele and Leclerq.

OTHER SOURCES

Augustine, *Epistulae*, LVI–C, ed. K. D. Daur (CCSL 35A, 2005).

Cyprian, *Epistulae*, ed. G. F. Diercks (CCSL 3B–3C, 1994, 1996).

ET (annotated) G. W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian*, 4 vols. (ACW, 1984–9).

STUDIES

J. A. Fischer and A. Lumpe, *Die Synoden von den Anfängen bis zum Vorabend des Nicaenums* (1997).

H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica* (2002).

J. E. Merdinger, *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine* (1997).

councils of the Church, Armenia The Armenian Apostolic Church accepts the first three Œcumenical *Councils of the Church held at *Nicaea in 325, at *Constantinople I in 381, and at *Ephesus in 431 but rejects that held at *Chalcedon in 451.

At Ashtishat (Aštišat) in 354, the *Catholicus *Nerses the Great (353–73) adopted the Apostolic canons, and established charitable institutions for the sick and the destitute. The Council of Shahapivan of 444 regulated the succession to the Catholicosate. In 449–50 the demand of the *Sasanian Shahanshah *Yazdegerd II that the Armenians adopt *Zoroastrianism was rejected at Artashat (Artašat).

The Council held in *Valarshapat (Vagharšapat) in 491 considered the Nature of Christ and adopted the **Henoticon* of the *Emperor *Zeno. The first two Councils of *Dvin (505–6 and 555) addressed the Dyophysite Christology of the *Church of the East and its tendency to separate the Godhead and the Manhood in Christ. The subsequent rejection of the *Henoticon* by the Church in *Constantinople in 518, however, meant that a *de facto* schism had arisen between the Church within the Eastern Roman Empire, which adhered to the doctrines adopted at the Council of Chalcedon, and the Armenian Church. The Emperor *Maurice proceeded to establish a second, Chalcedonian Catholicosate in Armenia (591–610); this led to a schism within the Armenian Church, which was mended only at the next Council of Dvin (607), which explicitly condemned Chalcedon. The Council of *Theodosioupolis (Arm. Karin, mod Erzerum) in 632–3 under the Catholicos Ezr proclaimed a Church Union with Constantinople. This was opposed by Yovhannēs (John) Mayragomets'i, a follower of the doctrines of *Julian of Halicarnassus, as was a subsequent demand for union by the Council of Dvin of 648. A council held at Dvin in 645 strengthened church discipline. A council in *Partav (Part'aw) in Caucasian *Albania (Ałuank') *c.*703 condemned the Georgian Church's adherence to the doctrines of the Council of Chalcedon. Yovhannes (John) Odznets'i (Ōjnec'i) convened a council in Dvin in 719 which unified liturgical practice, codified *canon law in the **Kanonagirk'*, and rejected Paulicianism. At the Council of Manazkert (726) Aphthardocetism was rejected, relations with the *Syriac Orthodox Church renewed and a moderate form of *Miaphysitism established. TMvL

S. P. Cowe, 'Armenian Theology in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries with Particular Reference to the Contributions of Catholicos Yovhan Ōjnec'i and Xosrovik T'argmanič", *JTS* 55 NS (2004), 30–54.

N. G. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (CSCO 574, SubsHag 100, 1999).

N. G. Garsoïan, 'Was a Council Held at Vałaršapat in A. D. 491?', in her *Studies on the Formation of Christian Armenia* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 959, 2010), study X.

J.-P. Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne de 611 à 1066', in G. Dagron, P. Riché, and A. Vauchez, eds., *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)*, Histoire du Christianisme, vol. 4 (1993), 457–547.

councils of the Church, Gallic Over 100 ecclesiastical councils—interprovincial, provincial, and diocesan—assembled in *Gaul between the 4th and 8th centuries. Councils offered the Gallic episcopate an institutional means of conducting legislative, judicial, and administrative business. In cases where a council was convoked on imperial or royal authority, the meeting also could facilitate the harmonization of secular and ecclesiastical agendas.

The first known Gallic council assembled in 314, when *Constantine I ordered the convocation of the Council of *Arles to address the *Donatist schism. Between 314 and the Frankish defeat of the *Visigoths in 507, at least 30 more councils gathered in Gaul. The *bishops of Arles were especially active proponents of conciliarism during the 5th and early 6th centuries, utilizing synods as a means of asserting their regional authority. *Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (502–42), in particular, helped to ensure the continued relevance of councils in sub-Roman Gaul. As a subject of the *Visigothic kingdom, Caesarius presided over the Council of Agde (506), whose legislative programme and royal convocation both offered important precedents for subsequent Frankish councils. After a lull in conciliar activity prompted by regional political instability, Caesarius convoked several provincial councils in *Ostrogothic-ruled *Provence in the 520s and 530s, including those at Arles (524), Vaison (529), and Orange (529), the last of which maintained the primacy of the Grace of God in Man's Salvation, while denying the radical implications of Augustinian predestination. In the neighbouring *Burgundian kingdom, *Avitus, Bishop of *Vienne (*c.*494/6–*c.*518), and Viventiolus, Bishop of *Lyons (bp. *c.*513–24), presided over several important interprovincial councils in the early 6th century, including that at Epaone (517).

The Council of *Orléans (511), convoked by *Clovis I, was the first council to assemble in *Frankish Gaul. The location of Orléans along the frontier of the former Visigothic Kingdom facilitated the unification of northern and southern provinces of the Gallic Church under Frankish rule. During the first half of the 6th century, four additional interprovincial councils assembled in Orléans, in 533, 538, 541, and 549 respectively. The descendants of Clovis were responsible for the convocation of all, or most of, these meetings. While royal convocation became customary, although not an absolute rule, for large interprovincial councils in the Frankish kingdom, the canonical expectation that *metropolitan bishops would convoke provincial synods annually was maintained. However, since provincial councils less frequently produced original legislation, their decisions are transmitted only sporadically in the documentary record, as are those of diocesan synods. While provincial and diocesan borders determined the attendance of these smaller meetings, the composition of interprovincial councils was also influenced by political divisions, and their size could vary considerably.

In all, at least 80 councils were convoked in Gaul between 511 and 768, the year of Charlemagne's coronation as King of the Franks. Although Frankish ecclesiastical and secular authorities distinguished explicitly between conciliar canons and royal legislation (*leges*), both parties acknowledged the legal force of conciliar pronouncements. Bishops frequently demanded that secular officials enforce conciliar legislation, and *Merovingian kings sometimes adopted conciliar rulings (with modification) into their own legislation. Additionally, the Council of *Paris (614) established a precedent for episcopal councils gathering in conjunction with assemblies of secular magnates. While councils continued to assemble with relative frequency throughout the 7th century, we know of no such meetings between 696 and 742. It is not clear whether this lacuna reflects a lull in conciliar activity or deficiencies in the documentary record. Beginning with the Council of Germania (742), the Pippinid *Mayors of the Palace appropriated from the *Merovingians responsibility for conciliar convocation in the Frankish kingdom, typically scheduling councils in conjunction with aristocratic assemblies and promulgating conciliar legislation through their own capitularies. GIH

ed. C. Munier, *Concilia Galliae: A.314–A.506* (CCSL 148, 1963).
ed. C. de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae: A.511–A.695* (CCSL 148A, 1963).
G. Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511–768* (2010).
Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism.*
O. Pontal, *Die Synoden im Merowingerreich* (1986).

councils of the Church, Persian Empire Good information about councils of Christian *bishops in the *Persian Empire comes chiefly from the acts preserved in part 2 of the **Synodicon Orientale*. This text records the following thirteen councils, named after their convenors (usually the *Catholicus, the Bishop of Seleucia-*Ctesiphon).

1. Isaac (410). The synod took place at a moment under Shah *Yazdegerd I when *persecution had ceased. It was attended by 38 named bishops and published 21 canons laying out the structure of the *Church of the East. The canons followed the guidance of a *letter from western (i.e. East Roman) bishops delivered by an emissary and co-convenor of the synod *Marutha, Bishop of *Martyropolis (Mayperqat).

Most of them align the Church of the East with East Roman practice, e.g. in the observance of the great *festivals and adherence to the Council of *Nicaea. Canon 12 established the supremacy of the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Other canons dealt with issues of behaviour by *priests and bishops, many of which were revisited by later councils.

2. Yahbalaha (420). This synod again had a co-convenor from the East Roman Empire, Acacius of *Amida, and it chiefly confirmed the acts of a series of earlier East Roman councils.

3. Dadisho' (424). The acts confirmed Dadisho' in office against the movement of a group of rebel bishops. Recalling the part played by East Roman bishops in earlier schisms, the bishops declared that in future there would be no appeal to them against the Catholicus.

3. *Barsauma of *Nisibis (484). Bishop Barsauma convened a synod at Bet Lapat (*Gondeshapur, *Khuzestan) in opposition to the autocratic behaviour of the Catholicus Babowai. The bishops allowed a metropolitan to be consecrated by his suffragans without the participation of the catholicus. When a new Catholicus Acacius took office, Barsauma submitted to him and withdrew the canons (which are only partly preserved) of this council.

4. Acacius (486). This important synod published three canons. Canon 1 enshrined, for the first time in the Church of the East, a Christological formula of two Natures in Christ united in one *parsopa* (*Syriac for *Greek *prosopon*). Canons 2 and 3 were aimed at monks said to be disturbing church life in parishes and at those who preached *asceticism and denigrated *marriage. Anyone wishing to be celibate was instructed to live apart in a *monastery. The *marriage of bishops, priests, and *deacons in particular was upheld. (Perhaps these rules had in mind itinerant monks who were obedient to a different, Henoyphysite, hierarchy; or perhaps they were a measure of accommodation to *Zoroastrian sensibilities.)

5. Babai (497). The bishops reaffirmed the permission of marriage for men of all ecclesiastical ranks from patriarch to the lowest. They enacted sanctions against the rebellious bishops of Bet Lapat and *Rev-Ardashir (Rishahr).

6. *Aba I (544). This synod was not a single assembly: the *Synodicon* records letters signed by the Catholicus and different groups of bishops who attended his visitations to provinces. The *letters mostly deal with problems left over from a long (524–37) schism in the catholicosate, for example that two bishops could be operating in the same *diocese, and with lapses in marriage discipline.

7. Joseph (554). The synod addressed a situation in which the ancient canons had become 'decrepit, worn out, and forgotten in the memory of many'. The 23 canons do not contain explicit criticism of the later-deposed patriarch, but canon 7 prohibits the Catholicus from acting without the consultation of other bishops. Among other canons dealing with abuses are canon 10 prohibiting clergy from marrying pagan wives, and canon 11 aimed at keeping church property from falling into pagan hands. Canon 20 reverses the anti-monastic measures of 486 and encourages the building of monasteries in *cities.

8. Ezekiel (576). This published 39 canons. Canon 1 excommunicates immoral clergy and laity whom it calls '*Messalians'. Other canons deal with church property, including canon 35 which rules that monasteries must be properly endowed at their foundation.

9. *Isho'yahb I (585). This synod published 31 lengthy canons. Canon 1 is a definition of faith and Dyophysite Christology. Canon 2 states that it is unlawful for anyone of any rank (*Henana is doubtless meant) to discredit *Theodore of *Mopsuestia or to reject his writings. Some other canons show the involvement of the Church in legal matters such as a *widow's right to keep her *dowry (canon 23).

10. *Sabrisho' (596). The bishops published a chiefly theological document again condemning anyone not accepting the authority of Theodore, in particular those who maintained that Adam was created immortal and became mortal when he sinned.

11. Gregory I (605). This reaffirmed a Christology of two Natures and one *parsopa*, and the defence of Theodore (appealing to the synod of 484 on this point). The *Synodicon* also records at this place a council of bishops convened in 612 (during an interregnum in the catholicosate following Gregory's death) partly to formulate a Christological reply to the Henophysites ('Severians'). The bishops made official the formula that Christ's two Natures were preserved in two *qnome* (Syriac *qnoma* being the usual translation of Greek *hypostasis*) and they rejected the title Mother of God (*Theotokos) for the Virgin *Mary. These statements mark the end-term of Christological development (infelicitously described as 'Nestorianization') of the Church of the East.

12. George (676). The synod published 19 canons mostly concerned with the regulation of clergy, marriage, burial, care of orphans, etc.

13. Henanisho' II (775). The synod confirmed his problematic election and the role of the Metropolitan of Kashkar as the second-ranking bishop and convenor of the synod in the absence of the catholicus. JFC

See the bibliography at *SYNODICON ORIENTALE*.

L. van Rompay in *GEDSH* under the names of the catholici.

councils of the Church, Spain The *Visigothic period is known for royal–ecclesiastical collaboration expressed in a series of church councils. The conciliar

traditions of *Spain began earlier with the Council of *Elvira (300/6). The councils of Saragossa I (380) and *Toledo I (400) dealt with *Priscillianism, and records survive for six provincial councils between 516 and 546: those of *Tarragona (516), Gerunda (517), Toledo II (531), *Barcelona (540), Lérida (546), and Valencia (546).

The association of church councils with kings emerged in *Gallaecia when a newly converted king of the *Suebes convoked those of *Braga I (561), and Braga II (572). *Martin, *Bishop of Braga, originally from *Pannonia, apparently brought with him Eastern conciliar traditions; he appended 84 Eastern canons in a simplified form to the records of Braga II.

The royal–ecclesiastical connection and emulation of Eastern practice permeate the records of the first Visigothic 'general' council (i.e. a council of all the kingdom's bishops), Toledo III (589); this ratified the king's conversion from *Homoean ('*Arian') Christianity to Catholicism, and prescribed yearly provincial councils where bishops were to consult with and oversee royal functionaries. The Spanish episcopate apparently did not fulfil this mandate. Records of only eight provincial councils between 589 and 633 survive, in *Narbonne (589), *Seville I (590), Saragossa II (592), Toledo (597), Huesca (598), and Barcelona II (599), Gundemar's Council (610), and Seville II (619); they contain little evidence of the collaboration envisaged. The records of a ninth provincial council, Seville III (*c.*624), do not survive.

Historians have credited Toledo IV (633) with institutionalizing the Spanish general council. Under the leadership of *Isidore of Seville, this council promulgated an elaborate conciliar programme for kingdom-wide unity, again calling for yearly provincial councils, and providing a detailed formula for holding them, later codified as the Visigothic *Ordo de Celebrado Concilio*. Toledo IV's 75 canons included measures for clerical discipline, a political loyalty oath, and election procedures for new kings. Toledo IV also issued anti-Jewish canons, furthering another hallmark of Visigothic Christian governance. After the council, editors in Seville codified previous canons in the **Collectio Hispana*, which became authoritative for future Iberian councils.

Between 636 and 694, at least ten more general councils met: Toledo V (636), Toledo VI (638), Toledo VII (646), Toledo VIII (653), Toledo X (656), Toledo XII (681), Toledo XIII (683), Toledo XV (688), Toledo XVI (693), and Toledo XVII (694), and possibly Saragossa III (691). These councils incorporated ritual elements expressing royal–ecclesiastical collaboration, including three days of religious observance attended by the king and palatine officials, a written royal address, and a royal edict confirming the council. Toledo VIII and XII ratified versions of the **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum*). Despite this, Toledo IV's plan for annual councils was not realized. The records of four extant provincial councils, Toledo IX (656), *Mérida (666), Braga III (675), and Toledo XIV (684), indicate continuing clerical indiscipline and episcopal abuses. Kings convoked many of the general councils to deal with political instability. While conciliar claims for unity continued, penalties for dissent harshened, culminating at Toledo XVII which ordered the enslavement of all baptized *Jews as punishment for treason. A final general council, Toledo XVIII, may have been held in 703. RLS

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SpT J. Vives, *Concilios hispano-romanos y visigodos* (1963).
ET (anti-Jewish canons) A. Linder, *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (1997), 483–538.
A. Barcala Muñoz, M. Conde Salazar, and D. Lara Nava, 'La actividad conciliar y la legislación canónica', *Biblioteca antijudaica de los escritores eclesiásticos hispanos II, Siglos VI–VII. El reino visigodo de Toledo*, vol. 1 (2005), 81–120.
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count *See* COMES, ROMAN AND COMES, POST-ROMAN.

counterfeit coinage The private minting of coins, profitable because it led to the forgery being accorded more value than was appropriate to it, and because the forgery might be made of less pure metal. Dies used by counterfeiters and counterfeited coins (e.g. bronze coins with gilded surfaces) have both been found archaeologically. All official *coinage was minted by striking, but many recovered coins can be seen to have been produced by casting (*fusio*) and by moulds. This raises the question whether all such coins were counterfeit or if indeed this form of coin production was tolerated in situations of scarcity of currency. A law of AD 326 (*CTh* IX, 21, 3) condemns only 'falsa fusio', so apparently not every form of it, while a law of 371 (*CTh* XI, 21, 1) seems to forbid this practice completely. Counterfeiting was strictly forbidden and its punishment regulated in Late Roman *law, which appears to have dealt with it more intensely than previous legislation. The *Sententiae* of *Paul (V, 25, 1; V, 25, 5) associate this crime with the general offence of *falsum* (*forgery). Two titles of the **Theodosian Code* (IX, 21 and IX, 22) are entirely dedicated to this problem. A law of 319 (*CTh* IX, 21, 1)

imposes the death penalty on the counterfeiters of *gold coinage (as also IX, 21, 5 and IX, 22, 1); and a law of 321 (*CTh* IX, 21, 2) deals with false coins in all metals, fixing rewards for denouncing forgers and punishments for the owners of the places where false coins were minted. From 389 this crime was also associated with *treason (*maiestas*), since it implied tampering with the imperial portrait (*CTh* IX, 21, 9). A law of 393 (*CTh* XI, 21, 10) forbids private minting of divisional coins.

No fresh evidence is provided by *CJust* IX, 24, which systematizes the laws recorded in the *Theodosian Code*. A change was introduced in the 7th century AD, both in the Eastern Roman Empire and in the kingdoms of the *Visigoths and the *Lombards. From the time of the **Ecloga* of Leo III onwards, the punishment for counterfeiting was the amputation of a hand (*Basilica of Leo VI*, 60, 60, 1; **Book of the Judges*, VII, 6, 2; *Edict of *Rothari, 242). FC

K. Biró-Sey, 'Zeitgenössische Fälschungen spätrömischer Münzen im ungarischen Nationalmuseum', *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 4 (1992), 85–90.

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J. Chameroy, 'Münzgussformen und Münzreformen in Ägypten am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.', *JbNumGeld* 59 (2009), 101–25.

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R. S. Lopez, 'Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century and its Reception by the Germans and the Arabs', *Byzantion* 16 (1942–3), 445–61.

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counterfeiting *See* FORGERY.

court, Persian royal Like *Sasanian *administration in general, the Persian royal court evolved from *Ardashir I's pre-imperial provincial court and adopted many structural and compositional aspects of the Arsacid court that it subsumed. The composition of the Sasanian court changed over the course of the Empire as the Kings of Kings consolidated central power at the expense of provincial kings.

*Shapur I's Ka'ba-ye Zardosht *inscription (*ŠKZ*, **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*) and *Narseh's *Paikuli inscription provide detailed lists of the members and offices of the early Sasanian court. The Sasanian King of Kings (*šāhān šāh*) and his family were at the centre of the court hierarchy. Provincial kings (*šahrdārān*), princes of the Sasanian clan not directly related to the king (*wispuhragān*), and the great Parthian and Persian families (*wuzurgān*) occupied the next tier, followed by the nobles (*āzādān*) and tribal chiefs (*kadag-xwadāyān*). Not all members of the *aristocracy nor even all members of the king's family were permanent members of the court. In the early Sasanian period, the provincial kings regularly visited the King of Kings wherever he held court, though they were permanent members only if they held high office. Shapur I's inscription indicates that a large body of personnel served the King of Kings and court, and lists such officials as the Master of Ceremonies, Master of the Hunt, and Wine Steward. Courts of provincial kings increasingly emulated the court of the King of Kings, especially as all provincial kings were eventually replaced with members of the Sasanian family.

The late Sasanian Empire developed a larger, more complex court as it centralized its imperial bureaucracy and replaced the provincial kings with officials who were not in a position to make a claim to the throne. The office of Wuzurg-Framadār, or Vizier, became prominent over the course of the late Empire as reflected in the semi-fictional personage of *Bozorgmihr, who was understood in accounts dating from after the *Arab conquest to have served under *Khosrow I. Under strong kings such as *Khosrow I or *Khosrow II, members of the king's court could be invested with true power at the expense of the privileges of the aristocracy; under weak kings its members could be reduced to mere courtiers in the strict sense of the word.

Several texts drawn from the Middle Persian 'Book of Lords' (**Xwadāy nāmag*), such as the *History of Ardaxšīr Son of Pāpag* (**Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*), the post-conquest history of *Tabarī, the *Tansarnāma*, and Ferdowsi's (Firdausi) epic poem the *Šāhnāma* (*Shahnahmeh*), provide a view of an idealized late Sasanian court. These texts, combined with visual representations in *rock reliefs and on *silver vessels, paint a picture of elaborate court protocol. Much as occurred in the Late Roman *court, complex court ceremonies grew up around the Persian King of Kings, who appeared in them wearing elaborate *crowns and rich costumes. In addition to audiences and diplomatic ceremonies, activities such as *hunting, *polo, and feasting proceeded according to an elaborate ritual. The audience hall of the Persian King of Kings was a highly charged and symbolic ritual space that represented the King of Kings' idealized place in the empire, world, and cosmos. Rank determined a courtier's or visitor's proximity to the king and their place in audiences or at banquets, and even the Roman and Chinese emperors were assigned symbolic places below that of the Sasanian King. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes.*

ed. P. Huyse (with GT), *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šabuhrs I. an der Kaba-i Zardust (ŠKZ)*, 2 vols.(*CII* III/1, 1999).
V. Lukonin, 'Political, Social and Administrative Institutions, Taxes and Trade', *CambHistIran* 3 (1991), 681–746.

court, Roman imperial The character of the later Roman imperial court developed alongside the changing nature of the *emperor himself. From the early 3rd century onwards *Rome was no longer the residence of the emperor in the West, but became a place for occasional state visits; the exceptions to this being *Gallienus (260–8) who allowed the outlying parts of the Empire to be ruled by others, and the *usurper *Maxentius (306–12), who was surrounded by competitors and had no choice. Otherwise Roman rulers of the 3rd and 4th centuries were constantly on the move and were frequently to be found within reach of the eastern, Danube, or Rhine *frontiers, even occasionally at *York. Thus in the later Roman Empire there developed a travelling court,

Under *Diocletian and the *Tetrarchy, the mobile emperors provided themselves with fixed facilities in the place they were most likely to pass through, in particular *Trier, *Milan, *Sirmium, *Serdica, *Thessalonica, *Nicomedia, and *Antioch on the Orontes. This process culminated in *Constantine's foundation of *Constantinople. *Julian was the first emperor to have been born in Constantinople. After the death of Theodosius I in 395 his son *Arcadius (d. 408) and then his grandson *Theodosius II (d. 451) established themselves as sedentary civic emperors, heightening the centrality of Constantinople. *Honorius, brother of Arcadius, moved the western court in 402 to *Ravenna, which, apart from the years which *Valentinian III spent in Rome 445–7 and 450–5, remained the centre of power in *Italy under successively the Western emperors, the *Ostrogoths, and the eastern Roman *exarchs until the abolition of the *exarchate in 751. Emperors did not become mobile again until *Heraclius, and *Constans II in 663 was the last Roman emperor to visit the city of Rome.

A courtier of *Diocletian complained that the number of those working in the imperial *administration increased greatly under the Tetrarchy (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 7, 3–4). Emperors were on the move mostly from military necessity, but there were significant disadvantages in taking large numbers of **palatini* with them. *John Lydus records that the government *archives stored at Constantinople—apparently in waterproof rooms under the seating of the *circus—went back to the reign of *Valens (*Mag.* 3.19). The growing complexity of the work it did favoured a stationary court.

Complexity and eventual stability contributed to the increasing formality of court procedure. It became customary for those wishing for an audience with the emperor to pay a fee to the **chartularii* of the *Cubiculum (*NovJust* 8); *Synesius tried to approach *Arcadius to request a tax rebate for the cities of *Libya Pentapolis and wrote his *De Regno* to complain how inaccessible the emperor was. Some sources (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XV, 5, 18; *Eutropius, IX, 27; cf. Aurelius *Victor, *Caesars*, 39, 2–4) attribute to Diocletian the introduction of **adoratio* (Gk. *proskynesis*), the practice of *kissing the emperor's *purple robe, though the practice had clear roots in the Roman past. *Ceremonies such as **adventus* appear to have become more elaborate; imperial vesture became more bejewelled. The grandeur of imperial *ceremony is reflected in the magnificence of the language in the *panegyrics praising the achievements of the emperors, from the time of the **Panegyrici Latini* in honour of the Tetrarchy through to *Corippus' poems about *Justin II in the 6th century.

Such formality did not necessarily make emperors more remote. It honoured the office as much as the individual who held it. Furthermore, *ceremony displayed the emperor to his people and enacted their consent to being governed by him. This is apparent in *adventus*, where an emperor is welcomed to a *city. After the emperor became a permanent resident of Constantinople, it came to articulate a specific relationship between the ruler and those with whom he shared the imperial city. This relationship was visible in *processions through the *streets, whether to celebrate *victories or to install the *relics of saints in suburban shrines. It was enacted above all in the circus where the emperor appeared before his people in the imperial box to watch the chariot racing and the dancers. And as the *Acta per *Calapodium* demonstrate, the dialogue between the *factions and the emperor's Mandator (herald) which accompanied these appearances could involve political controversy as well as *acclamation and *praise. OPN; SFT

See also ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN CENTRAL CIVIL.

Cameron and Long, *Barbarians.*
K. M. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), 172–96.
MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony.*
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M. McCormick, 'Emperor and Court', in *CAH* XIV (2000), 135–63.
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A. Winterling, ed., *Comitatus. Beiträge zur Erforschung der spätantiken Kaiserhofes* (1998).

courts, Arabian and Muslim The southern *Arabian kingdom of *Himyar (*fl. c.*270–*c.*550) was

the principal royal power on the *Arabian Peninsula in Late Antiquity. Elsewhere, groups that had developed mutually beneficial relationships with Himyar and the Roman and *Persian empires led tribal federations; the court of the *Nasrid kings (*fl. c.*300–*c.*600), at al-*Hira in Iraq, is particularly celebrated in the later Arabic tradition.

The absence of *crowns from Muslim ceremonial may reflect a hostility to kingship as such in early *Islam. Nonetheless, both *Muhammad and then the first caliphs held court in *Medina, in west Arabia (622–56). Following the First *Arab Civil War of 656–61 (**fitna*), *Damascus became a new imperial centre, under the *Umayyad dynasty (661–750).

The Umayyad period saw the development of monumental *palace and *mosque architecture. The peripatetic nature of Umayyad rule within *Syria also led to the development of other residences in the province. These locations were the setting for the public performance of monarchy.

*Poetry had a pre-eminent place in pre-Islamic Arabian court culture, and this was perpetuated in Islam. Notable composers of *panegyrics in the early period include *Hassan b. Thabit (d. *c.*659), al-*Akhtal (d. before 710?), *Jarir (d. 728–9 or later), and al-*Farazdaq (d. *c.*728 or *c.*730). AM

A. al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Polities* (1997).

A. Fuess and J.-P. Hartung, eds., *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries* (2011).

A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (2009).

courts, post-Roman royal Shortly after they had established their kingdoms on Roman soil, the barbarian leaders, following Late Roman practice, chose a *city or a series of cities where they were pleased to reside with their retinue. The *Vandals chose *Carthage; *Theoderic opted for *Ravenna, the residence of the Western Roman imperial *court from 402; the *Visigothic kings settled first in *Toulouse, and after 507 in *Toledo; the *Burgundians favoured Geneva; and the *Merovingians ruled from *Paris, *Soissons, *Reims, and *Orléans. These newly established *sedes regiae* were much more than royal residential towns. They gradually became administrative centres, from where the kingdoms were ruled, and where aristocrats gathered in order to serve the king, or in hope of honours and promotion. Hence the barbarian royal courts that evolved at the time encompassed both the ruler's military retinue and the kingdom's highest bureaucrats and ecclesiastics.

Courts were places where Roman and barbarian *aristocracies could meet, and where different traditions were allowed to interact freely. Consequently, the barbarian courts also became important cultural centres. The barbarian kings who took over the rule of the western provinces of the Roman Empire understood the *patronage of culture as part of their duties as rulers, and hence sponsored scholarship and patronized learning and letters just as their Roman predecessors had done. In that respect they all followed a well-established tradition, and their courts preserved a certain degree of continuity in sponsoring and encouraging intellectual, artistic, and literary creativity. The Vandal kings, for example, are known to have sponsored the work of poets and scholars such as *Dracontius (though he did spend time in *prison for writing the wrong sort of *panegyric), and under their watchful eye public theological debates took place. The munificence offered by Theoderic the Ostrogoth inaugurated the revival of Gothic literature in the Ostrogothic kingdom, as well as the recovery of *Homoean ('Arian') scholarship. Similarly, the early Merovingians sponsored the poet *Venantius Fortunatus. In *Spain, the so-called Isidorian renaissance, which was centred around the intellectual work of *Isidore of *Seville, was not unassociated with the patronage offered by the Visigothic royal court of Toledo. King *Oswald founded *Lindisfarne, where the *Lindisfarne Gospels were written. The cultural activity that took place under the auspices of the barbarian royal courts was the firm basis on which the grand Carolingian renaissance of the 8th and 9th centuries was built. YH

C. Cubitt, ed., *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (SEM 3, 2003).

Y. Hen, *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (2007).

M. de Jong, F. Theuws, and C. van Rhijn, eds., *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (TRW 6, 2001).

P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, tr. J. J. Contreni (1976).

G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt, eds., *Sedes Regiae (ann. 400–800)* (2000).

courts of law, Jewish Palestinian rabbinic sources mention two types of courts (*batei din*): those associated with particular *rabbis and patriarchs, and local law courts in larger towns and *cities. They may have differed but also overlapped with regard to their set-up, officials, functions, and authority. In Roman times *Jews were not allowed to deal with capital cases but with more or less minor civil law issues only. As far as civil law was concerned, various legal systems and forms of adjudication existed side by side in Roman *Palestine. Litigants could approach individual rabbinic arbitrators or the patriarch to have their disputes settled, they could bring their case before a local Jewish court, or they could submit their issues to the provincial *governor himself. Rabbinic arbitrators seem to have dealt with minor issues concerning the family, property, *contracts, and

damages. Depending on the issue, a rabbi could set up a 'court' in which another rabbi and witnesses participated. The decisions of these courts were binding only if both parties involved accepted them. Litigants had the option to also consult other rabbis. The *partriarch's court may have been considered more authoritative. Judges of local courts were not necessarily rabbis and could apply Jewish, Hellenistic, or Roman law. CH

B. Cohen, *Jewish and Roman Law: A Comparative Study*, 2 vols. (1966).
J. Harries, 'Courts and the Judicial System', in C. Hezser, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine* (2010), 85–101.
C. Hezser, ed., *Rabbinic Law in its Roman and Near Eastern Context* (2003).

courts of law, Roman Types of law courts changed over the long history of the Roman state. The Quaestiones Perpetuae of the Republican period, which decided the outcomes of cases by juries, alongside the Praetors' two-stage 'formulary procedure' at *Rome, were eventually replaced by *cognitio* procedure (sometimes referred to as Cognitio extra Ordinem or Extraordinaria), where a single judge [*iudex*] would be delegated a case by a higher official or, later, the *emperor.

As Rome acquired *provinces during the Republic and early Empire, the *Senate sent out *governors whose remit included the position of chief judge, although provincial citizens could appeal their decisions (see Acts of the Apostles 25: 9–12). By subdividing provinces, *Diocletian (r. 284–305) created more governors and thus better access to provincial judges. By creating an administrative hierarchy, he created a natural appeal system.

*Constantine I (r. 306–37) modified Diocletian's reforms. He probably gave judicial power to the *Defensor Civitatis (or 'defender of the municipality') *c.*326 for minor cases. Around the same time he also gave legal sanction to the mediation decisions which *bishops had been making in their *episcopalis audientia* (*bishop's court) since at least the 270s (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 30, 7). The judicial powers of the Defensor and the bishop were the subject of further legislation in the 4th and 5th centuries (e.g. *CTh* I, 29 and *CJust* I, 55; *Sirmondian Constitution, 1 and *CTh* I, 27). Soldiers and clergy had their own court systems [*privilegium fori*].

*Justinian I (r. 527–65) elevated the status of provincial governors and thereby created a new class of judges [*iudices spectabiles*] who had the power of final judgement on most cases. He also produced legislation on the Defensor (*NovJust* 15) and *episcopalis audientia* (*NovJust* 123) as sources of accessible justice. RMF

Jones, *LRE* 479–84.
R. M. Frakes, *Contra Potentium Iniurias: The Defensor Civitatis and Late Roman. Justice* (2011).
Harries, *Law and Empire*.
C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (2007).

Covenant, Sons and Daughters of the (Bnay and Bnat Qyama) In *Syriac Christianity (both eastern and western), a consecrated office emerging apparently in the late 3rd century. These men and women took vows of poverty and chastity, served their *bishop, and lived with one another or with their *families. *Aphrahat the Persian sage devoted his *Demonstration* 6 to admonishing Covenanters to maintain their vows of chastity.

Both the *Martyr Passion of Habib* (4th cent.) and the *Passions of the Persian *Martyrs* (5th cent.) note that Sons and Daughters of the Covenant were singled out with clergy during persecutions of *Christians, indicating their visibility as public figures. *Canons from the 5th and 6th centuries differentiate Sons and Daughters of the Covenant from *deacons, the clergy, or monastics, and place limitations on their professional and financial activities. Along with occasional references in *saints' lives and *chronicles, these canons indicate liturgical singing and ministry in the context of civic life as the primary duties for Covenanters.

Scriptural readings for a service of consecration appear in the earliest extant Syriac *Bible lectionary (Brit. Mus. Add. 14528, 184r–185r; late 5th cent.). Historical references disappear by the 10th century. SAH

GEDSH s.v. Bnay Qyāmā, Bnat Qyāmā, 84–5 (Kitchen).
ed. (with ET) A. Lehto, *The Demonstrations of Aphrahat, the Persian Sage* (2010), 169–98.
ed. (with ET) A. Vööbus, 'The Rules of Rabbula for the Clergy and the Qeiama', in Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 36–50.
S. H. Griffith, 'Asceticism in the Church of Syria', in V. L. Wimbush and R. Valantasis, eds., *Asceticism* (1995), 220–45.
S. A. Harvey, 'Revisiting the Daughters of the Covenant: Women's Choirs and Sacred Song in Ancient Syriac Christianity', *Hugoye* 8/2 (2005), 125–49.

Crecchio *Settlement on the Adriatic coast of *Italy in the region of Abruzzo in the province of Chieti. Excavation in the surrounding territory has revealed evidence for the manufacture of a distinct class of *pottery, painted on the upper bodies and rims, dated between the last decades of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century AD. Copying a well-known style from *Egypt, the local ceramics from Crecchio attest to a level of economic and cultural exchange among *cities ruled by the Eastern Roman Empire, a point confirmed by the presence of ceramics imported from *Africa, also found in contexts at Crecchio and throughout Abruzzo. DRB

A. R. Staffa and W. Pellegrini, eds., *Dall'Egitto copto all'Abruzzo bizantino: i Bizantini in Abruzzo (sec. VI–VII)* (1993).
A. R. Staffa, 'Le campagne abruzzesi fra tarda antichità ed altomedioevo (sec. IV–XII)', *ArchMed* 27 (2000), 47–99.

credit Credit was fundamental to the workings of the urban and agrarian economies of Late Antiquity, with *merchants and peasant producers often dependent on loans from *bankers and wealthier people to invest in their businesses or plots of land, pay taxes, or escape difficult circumstances. Roman *emperors went to considerable lengths to regulate the interest rates at which *money in particular could be lent by, and to, different strata of society, and evidently did so with moral considerations in mind. So, for example, *Justinian's *Code* (*CJ* IV, 32, 26) declared that **illustres* and those of higher social rank were allowed to charge interest of only 4% per annum, *shop managers and other businessmen were limited to charging 8%, and maritime loans were capped at 12%. The *law stipulated that all other people were able to charge up to 6%. Another important law of *Justinian I (*NovJust* 121) limited the global payment of interest due on a *debt to double the amount initially advanced. Such attempts to limit the market in credit, however, could readily be circumvented by means of ruses such as the so-called 'ante-chretic loan' recorded in the *papyri found in *Egypt, whereby loans to farmers and peasants advanced by landowners took the outward form of a purchase in advance of delivery of goods. The provision of credit by aristocrats was often represented in terms of good *patronage so as to render it more socially acceptable. PS

P. Sarris, 'The Early Byzantine Economy in Context', *EME* 19 (2011), 256–84.

creeds Summaries of the articles of Christian belief. While the New Testament does not provide a fixed formula for expressing the contents of Christian belief, it does contain creedal elements that confess belief in the lordship of Christ, as well as binitarian formulae that speak of Jesus's relation to the Father, and trinitarian formulae that refer to Christ, the Father, and the Spirit. In the first three centuries AD, the rite of *baptism included a series of interrogations and responses relating to central elements of Christian faith and typically associating a threefold immersion with the confession of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The second stage of this confession, that concerned with the Son, came to be expanded by a proclamation of key moments of the Christological narrative, notably Christ's Incarnation, Crucifixion, Death, and Resurrection, while other beliefs, such as the sanctity of the Church, were sometimes appended to the third stage, that concerned with the Spirit.

Beginning in the 3rd century, these baptismal interrogations became the basis for declaratory creeds, whose transmission by the bishop (*traditio*) and proclamation by the candidates for baptism, the catechumens (*redditio*), became ritualized as preparatory to baptism. A highly influential exemplar of an early declaratory creed is the Old Roman Creed, the ancestor of the Apostles' Creed.

In the 4th century, creeds sanctioned by ecclesiastical *councils became one of the principal instruments for discerning and asserting boundaries between orthodoxy and *heresy. The Council of *Nicaea of 325 adjudicated the controversy between Alexander, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, and *Arius by issuing a creed that declared the Son to be 'of one substance (*homoousios*)' with the Father. Reaction against this teaching led to a plethora of rival councils during the 4th century which issued their own alternative creeds. The Council of *Constantinople of 381 accepted the Nicene creed enlarging slightly the sections concerned with Christ and the Spirit. This creed came to be that universally used in both Eastern and Western *Eucharistic *liturgies.

The Christological controversies of the 5th century led to the formulation of more conciliar creeds, most notably the declaration of the Council of *Chalcedon that the 'one person' of Christ the Incarnate Word is of two integral natures of divinity and humanity in distinction from the *Miaphysite conviction that he is of one nature. KA

F. M. Young, *The Making of the Creeds* (new edn., 2001).
J. N. D Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (^{3}1972).
Leo Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325–787): Their History and Theology* (1983).
H. Lietzmann, 'Symbolstudien I–XIV', *ZNTW* 21 (1922), 22 (1923), 24 (1925), 27 (1927), (repr. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Libelli 136, 1966).
P. Schaff and D. S. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes*, 3 vols. (^{6}1931).
F. J. Babcock, *The History of the Creeds* (1899).
A. and G. L. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (^{3}1897).
L. Abramowski, 'Was hat das Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum (C) mit dem Konzil von Konstantinopel zu tun?', *Th. und Ph.* 67 (1992), 481–513.

cremation *See* DEAD, DISPOSAL OF.

Cremna A remote *city in the upper Kestros Valley of southern *Pisidia, occupied in AD 278 by the *Isaurian brigand Lydius and besieged by the *Emperor *Probus (*Zosimus, I, 69–70). The Roman *siege mound and blockading wall survive, as does the headquarters building of the besieging force, with a Latin *inscription erected in Probus' honour. Eight churches of the late 4th and 5th centuries AD have been identified, including

a converted Hadrianic *basilica. The site was abandoned in the early 6th century. PJT

S. Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia: An Ancient City in Peace and War* (1995).

TIB 8, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, 662–6.

Crete Large island in the eastern Mediterranean. The *province of Creta (with its capital at *Gortyn) was separated from the previous Creta et Cyrene sometime between 293 and 305. A *Praeses is first attested in 293/305 and the *Verona List places it in the *Dioecesis *Moesiae. A *Consularis is attested in 372/6 and the **Notitia Dignitatum* lists Creta as governed by a Consularis (I, 75) in the Dioecesis *Macedoniae and so under the *Praefectus Praetorio per Illyricum (*or*. III, 10).

S. Paul left his companion Titus in Crete as its first *bishop (Titus 1: 4–5) and *Eusebius records a bishop of the name of Philip in the late 2nd century (*HE* IV, 25). In the 5th century the bishops of Crete assured the *Emperor *Leo I that ten local *martyrs protected the province. The Church of S. Titus in *Gortyn, a domed three-aisled *basilica, probably dates to the 6th/7th century. Three basilicas outside ancient Knossos near modern Heraklion date from the 5th and 6th centuries.

A broad variety of small industries was carried on in Late Roman Crete. These included *fish-farming, *copper-mining, and making *purple dye from *murex, as well as the production of *grain and *wine and *olive oil—Cretan wine had been famous since Roman times. The presence of significant quantities of imported *pottery on rural sites also suggests that the island profited from being an entrepôt.

Crete suffered from *tsunamis and *earthquakes in 365, 618/21, 666/70, and 718. In the 7th century the island became vulnerable to seaborne attack. In 623 *Slavs invaded, and the island found itself on the front line during *Heraclius' *naval warfare with the *Arabs. In 651 the fleet of the *Caliph *Mu'awiya's raided Crete, though the Romans eventually managed to retain the island. The *Arab conquest was completed in 826. ABA

S. Gallimore, *An Island Economy: Ierapetra and Crete in the Roman Empire* (diss. SUNY Buffalo, 2011).

C. Harr and L. Jones Hall, eds., *Archaeology and History in Roman, Medieval, and Post-Medieval Greece* (2008).

I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (1982).

R. J. Sweetman, *The Mosaics of Roman Crete: Art, Archaeology and Social Change* (2013).

D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete: From the Fifth Century to the Venetian Conquest* (1988).

Crimea A large peninsula situated between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in modern Ukraine. During the Roman period, the southern and eastern portions formed part of the client Bosporan kingdom with its capital at Panticapaeum (*Kerch) while various Scythian and *Sarmatian tribes were settled in the north and in the interior of the peninsula. The geographical position is described in *Jordanes, *Getica* (30–6).

By the middle of the 3rd century, *Goths had migrated to the western shores of the Black Sea and into the Tauric *Chersonese. The Goths overtook the local tribes, forcing some of them to migrate to the *Balkans. Nonetheless, the Bosporan kingdom seems to have survived into the early 5th century, but Hunnic/Bulgar tribes subsequently occupied the area. In *c.*530, the Roman *Emperor *Justinian I (r. 527–65) established control and fortified important towns like *Cherson, (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 7, 10–17). Some Roman accounts assert that the Roman presence was quite imposing, thus compelling many of the local Crimean Goths to become Roman **foederati* and to join the imperial troops.

The expansion of the western *Türks destabilized Roman authority in the region, and in *c.*580 Panticapaeum fell to Turxanthus' Turkic soldiers (*Menander Protector, *Excerpta de Legationibus*, 1, 14). The late 6th and 7th centuries saw local urban decline, though some towns kept their Roman structure and affiliation. Cherson, for example, served as a place of *exile for Pope *Martin I of *Rome (649–53), exiled there in 655. The deposed Roman Emperor *Justinian II (r. 685–95 and 705–11) was also exiled to Cherson from 695 to 705. In the late 7th century, the region gradually passed under *Khazar overlordship, with a Khazar official called *tudun* who was centred in Cherson. The area's connections with the Romans were not completely terminated, however, and Cherson in particular served as the launching place for Justinian II's escape from exile in 705 and later for a revolt against his authority in 711. In *c.*832, effective Roman authority over the southern coastal areas of the Crimea was restored, and Cherson became the centre of the Roman *Theme Klimata, made official in the reign of Theophilus (821–42).

In this period, Cherson was used as a base for diplomatic contact with neighbouring peoples like the Pechenegs and, more distantly, the Khazars and the Rus'. In *c.*850, we also find the first reference to a Crimean Gothic language. It is first mentioned in the hagiography of S. Constantine Cyril (*Life of S. Constantine* 227) who is best known as an apostle to the Slavs and is associated with the invention of the Slavic script. In the middle of the 9th century, S. Cyril visited Crimea to preach to the Khazars. Although still debated, most scholars believe that Crimean Gothic, though a *Germanic language, did not descend from *Ulfilas' biblical Gothic, and references to Crimean Gothic survive up to the 16th century. ABA

Life of S. Constantine, ed. (with LT) E. Dümmler and F. Miklosich, *Die Legende vom heiligen Cyrillus* (Denkschr. Wien 19, 1870).

S. MacDonald, *Crimean Gothic: Analysis and Etymology of the Corpus* (1978).
A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (1936).

Crisis, Third Century Term applied to the period between the death of Severus Alexander in 235 and the *accession of *Diocletian in 284, often depicted as an age of darkness and catastrophe for the Roman Empire. More than 50 short-lived *emperors and *usurpers competed for imperial power, few of whom died of natural causes. New and formidable enemies assaulted the Roman *frontiers, from the *Franks on the Rhine *frontier and the *Goths across the Danube and Black Sea to a freshly aggressive *Persian Empire, ruled by the new *Sasanian dynasty, in the east. The external threats combined with instability in the imperial *administration both caused by and increasing social and economic dislocation, reflected in provincial unrest and the dramatic debasement of Roman *coinage.

After a decade of turmoil following the end of the Severan dynasty in 235, the darkest times for the Empire came in the 250s and 260s. In 251 the Goths killed *Decius, the first emperor ever to fall in battle with a foreign enemy, while in 260 the Sasanian *Shapur I captured *Valerian and took him back to Persia in triumph. Under Valerian's son *Gallienus (253–68) the Empire reached its weakest point as large territories broke away from imperial control. The independent kingdom of *Palmyra expanded across *Syria, *Anatolia, and *Egypt under *Odaenathus and his queen and successor *Zenobia, while in the west the *Gallic Empire of *Postumus ruled *Britain, *Gaul, and *Spain. 'The whole period was one uninterrupted series of confusion and calamity' (Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. X).

In recent years modern scholarship has revised this picture of universal disaster. The limitations of our literary sources for the 3rd century are recognized, particularly the problems posed by the chronically unreliable *Historia Augusta*. In addition, archaeology has transformed our knowledge of social and economic conditions in the Empire. Not all regions suffered; *Britain and North *Africa reached unprecedented heights of prosperity, and even in more threatened *provinces trade and urban life survived. *Porphyry's *Life* of *Plotinus (205–70) portrays the traditional life of an urban *philosopher. What has been characterized as an age of anxiety has been seen to have inspired new spiritual ideas, with the emergence of *Neoplatonism and the spread of Christianity despite centrally organized *persecution under Decius and Valerian. The reigns of Gallienus and *Aurelian (270–5) brought military, social, and economic reform and paved the way for the Empire's recovery.

Revisionist arguments should not be taken too far. For the short-reigning emperors and the populations on the threatened frontiers, the middle years of the 3rd century were indeed a time of crisis. But there were shafts of light amidst the gloom, and from the years of chaos emerged Diocletian, *Constantine I, and the transformation of the Later Roman Empire. DMG

CAH 12 (2005).
Potter, *Empire at Bay*.
G. W. Clarke, 'Approaches to the "Crisis" of the Third Century AD', *Classicum* 41 (1985), 5–10.
L. de Blois, 'The Crisis of the Third Century AD in the Roman Empire: A Modern Myth?', in L. de Blois and J. Rich, eds., *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (2002), 204–17.

Crispina, S. Christian *martyr, tried at *Theveste by *Anullinus, *Proconsul of *Africa in early December 304 and beheaded for refusing to obey his order to *sacrifice. Her *Passion* has the form of a *report of proceedings. *Augustine preached about her frequently (*Sermons* 286 and 354; *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 120 and 137); she is listed (with companions) in the *Martyrology of Carthage* for 5 December, and depicted among the *virgins at S. Apollinare Nuovo in *Ravenna. OPN

PCBE I, Crispina.
HLL 5, section 596.5.
Passio (*BHL* 1989b): ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Nuove notte agiografiche* (ST 9, 1902), 32–5.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 136–7.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques*, 320.

Crispus (*c.*300–326) Flavius Julius Crispus, son of *Constantine I from his *marriage to *Minervina, was a *Caesar 317–26, having had as his *rhetoric tutor the Christian *Lactantius. He and his half-brother *Constantine II were made Caesar at *Serdica on 1 March 317. He resided at *Trier from 318 to 323, where *Junius Bassus was probably his *Praefectus Praetorio, and won victories over the *Franks, probably in 319, which a *panegyric by *Nazarius celebrated (*PanLat* IV (X), 17, 1–2 and 36, 3–37, 4). His wife Helena had a child in 322. His naval victory at the Dardanelles in 324 was essential to Constantine's defeat of the *Emperor *Licinius. In 326, Constantine tried him and had him executed at Pola of *Venetia et Histria (Aurelius *Victor 41, 11; cf. *Ammianus, XIV, 11, 20); the circumstances are obscure. Crispus has been identified as the boy shown on the Great Cameo of Constantine and *Fausta now in Leiden, formerly in Utrecht, though other scholars have favoured *Constantius II. OPN

PLRE I, Crispus 4.
NEDC 44, 83.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 104, 145–8.

Croats A tribe whose actual origin is unclear, but which is traditionally believed to have migrated from Central Europe to the *Balkans in the 7th century. ABA

J. V. A. Fine, Jr., 'Croats and Slavs: Theories about the Historical Circumstances of the Croats' Appearance in the Balkans', *ByzForsch* 26 (2000), 205–18.
F. Borri, 'White Croatia and the Arrival of the Croats: An Interpretation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the Oldest Dalmatian History', *EME* 19/2 (2011), 204–31.

Cross, Relic of the True Stories and beliefs about the Cross on which Jesus was crucified developed vigorously from the 4th century onwards. *Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* describes *Constantine I's foundation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem (*VCon* III, 25–40), but makes no mention of the True Cross.

*Cyril, *Patriarch of *Jerusalem, states that the Cross of Christ was discovered during the reign of *Constantine (*Ep. ad Constantium*, 3). Cyril's *Catechetical Orations* indicate that Cross relics were present and venerated in Jerusalem and elsewhere at least by *c.*350. The pilgrim *Egeria describes the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (37, 1–3); the Cross was also venerated at the festival of the Encaenia in September.

In the second half of the 4th century the relics of the Cross in Jerusalem inspired stories about its discovery. This was attributed to Constantine's mother *Helena, who had visited Jerusalem in the mid-320s; the first surviving text to mention it is *Ambrose's *funeral oration for the Emperor *Theodosius I (39–47). By the early 5th century three versions of the legend existed: (1) the Helena legend, known in *Greek and *Latin; (2) the Protonike legend in *Syriac and part of the *Edessan Teaching of *Addai; (3) the Judas Kyriakos legend in Greek, Latin, and Syriac and later on in many vernacular languages. The third of these became the best known and was popular in the Middle Ages. A fourth version is preserved in the so-called Six Books narratives of legends of the Virgin *Mary's Dormition and Assumption.

In 614 during the *Persian invasion the Jerusalem Cross relics were captured and carried off to Persian *Mesopotamia, but they were restored to Jerusalem by the Emperor *Heraclius in 628. In 635 they were transferred to *Constantinople. By this time also the city of *Rome possessed several Cross relics, e.g. in the Church of *S. Croce in Gerusalemme. HJWD

A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 7, 1961).
J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross* (1992).
J. W. Drijvers, 'Helena Augusta: Cross and Myth. Some New Reflections', *Millennium* 8 (2011), 125–74.
H. A. Pohlsander, *Helena: Empress and Saint* (1995).
J. Wortley, 'The Wood of the True Cross', in J. Wortley, *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (2009), study 6.

crosses and votive stelae, Georgian S. *Nino is said to have erected a wooden *cross above *Mtskheta, and King *Mirian did likewise at Tkhoti, Bodbe, and *Ujarma; the surviving crosses are all fragmentary.

Stelae were made of limestone slabs surmounted by a cross. Nearly all come from *Iberia. They may include figural compositions from the Old and New Testaments, images of saints and clerics, or *donor portraits. In Samtskhe-Javakheti, stelae were mostly decorated with *foliage and geometric ornament. They ceased to be made after the 8th century. MO

G. Javakhishvili, *Adrepeodaluri khanis kartuli stelebi* (1998).
K. Machabeli, *Early Medieval Stone Crosses* (in Georgian and English, 2008).
M. Odisheli, 'Pre-Christian and Christian Crosses', *Activities of Tbilisi University*, 2007.

cross in art The sign of the Cross had the power to dispel *demons (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 10; *Inst.* IV, 27). Crosses were commonly represented on such personal items as *lamps, *pottery, *amulets, *seals, *jewellery, and clothing to invoke protection against evil and to attract good fortune. *Sarcophagi, wall paintings, and *gold glass embedded in *tombs displayed crosses in hope of the resurrection. The Church utilized it in every aspect of worship: in processional crosses, church *furniture, *reliquaries, and architectural *sculpture. Imperial commissions adopted the symbol for statements of *patronage or power, as in the *gold and jewelled cross erected on Golgotha or embossed on imperial coinage. The cross also represented Christ in his Divine Nature as in the Transfiguration mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe near *Ravenna. For Christians facing east to pray, crosses in church *apses recalled the Sign of the Son of Man coming in the heavens in the Last Times. Christianity's most powerful symbol, it was invoked for protection and as a symbol of Christian *victory. DHV; OPN

Schiller, *Ikonographie.*
E. Peterson, 'La croce e la preghiera verso oriente', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 59 (1945), 53–68.
A. Lazaridou, ed., *Transition to Christianity: Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD* (2012) http://onassisusa.org/transition/ebook.

Cross of Justin II (Crux Vaticana) Processional *cross given by the *Emperor *Justin II and the *Empress *Sophia to *Rome between 565 and 578. This *crux gemmata* is the oldest surviving *reliquary of the True *Cross. It was restored in 2009. DHV

Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses.*

crown, Roman and post-Roman Throughout antiquity, wreaths or crowns (usually of flowers and foliage) were awarded to mark the glory of individuals—military, civilian, religious, or sporting. Christians,

notably Tertullian (*De Corona*), criticized crowns for their associations with *paganism, but to little effect. In Christian iconography, *martyrs' crowns were the reward of their witness.

Crowns became integral to imperial insignia, whether as laurel wreaths (as worn by a Roman *triumphator*), or as the radiate crowns, reminiscent of the *Sun, which 3rd-century *emperors were shown wearing on the coins scholars call **antoniniani* or radiates. The radiate crown disappeared early in the Christian Empire. Laurel wreaths became mainly the crown of *Caesars after *Constantine I adopted the diadem (plain, rosette, or pearl), originally a symbol of Hellenistic kingship. In the Eastern Empire and the post-Roman West, crowns became increasingly elaborate, being made from beaten *gold, studded with precious *stones, and occasionally incorporating *relics. The Iron Crown of Lombardy (8th/9th century) is probably the oldest surviving royal crown.

Coronation ceremonies associated with *accession are attested from the 4th century AD onwards and involved the *army, the *Senate and, particularly after the eastern court came to rest at *Constantinople under *Arcadius, the urban population. In royal imagery (especially on *coinage and medallions), the monarch is usually crowned by *Victory, by his protective deity, or later by the *Dexter Dei, the Right Hand of God.

The 7th-century *Visigothic crowns from the Treasury of Guarrazar in *Spain (including that of *Reccesuinth) were *votive offerings and were never meant to be worn. JW

A. Alföldi, 'Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser', *MDAI* (R) 50 (1935) 1–118.

K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (1940).

W. Enßlin, 'Zur Torqueskrönung und Schilderhebung bei der Kaiserwahl', *Klio* 35 (1942), 268–98.

U. Koenen, 'Symbol und Zierde auf Diadem und Kronreif spätantiker und byzantinischer Herrscher und die Kreuzauffindungslegende bei Ambrosius', *JbAC* 39 (1996), 170–99.

J. Ott, *Krone und Krönung* (1998).

S.G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981) 174–75, 242–46.

P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 3 vols. (1954–6).

K. Trampedach, 'Kaiserwechsel und Krönungsritual im Konstantinopel des 5. bis 6. Jahrhunderts', in M. Steinicke and S. Weinfurter, eds., *Investitur- und Krönungsrituale. Herrschaftseinsetzungen im kulturellen Vergleich* (2005), 275–90.

crowns, Persian *Crowns of the *Sasanian dynasty introduced a new and influential form of royal headcovering. Documented in the *coinage, almost every Sasanian King of Kings wore an individualized crown, replacing it with a new one if defeated or overthrown, though some kings wore crowns similar to those of their predecessors as a statement of continuity. Sasanian crowns grew from provincial Persian traditions as witnessed by the Persepolis **graffiti*. All Sasanian crowns integrated a diadem (MP *dēhēm*) tied around the ruler's brow, the primary symbol of sovereignty as portrayed across various media. This is reflected in investiture scenes in *rock reliefs, in *Narseh's *Païkuli inscription (NPi A8, 02–A15, 02), and even in *Manichaean literature. Other elements might include celestial bodies or symbols of the heavenly luminaries and of **xwarrah*, including stars, sun discs, lunar crescents, or wings. Early Sasanian crowns incorporated a globe, originally a topknot of hair covered with *silk, simplified in the later years of Sasanian rule to a finial with a solar disc or star. The coinage and *silver vessels alike document the huge suspended crowns worn in court ceremonies. Kings wore smaller variants while not in audience and on campaign had distinctive helmets. MPC

R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, tr. from German by P. Severin (1971).

K. Mosig-Walburg, 'Das "sasanidische Kronengesetz"', *Klio* 93 (2011), 446–73.

K. Erdmann, 'Die Entwicklung der sāsānidischen Krone', *Ars Islamica* 15–16 (1951), 87–123.

A. Gariboldi, 'Astral Symbology on Iranian Coinage', *East and West* 54 (2004), 31–53.

Crypta Balbi A colonnaded courtyard adjacent to the Theatre of Balbus (13 BC) in the Campus Martius, *Rome, containing a semicircular *exedra on the east façade. Excavations in the area have provided important information about the economy of Late Antique Rome. After housing a workshop for the production of *glass, the site was partially abandoned during the 5th and 6th centuries: *roads were built over the *colonnade and *tombs occupied the exedra. However, 7th-century layers show the importance of Rome as a producer and distributor of manufactured goods. These deposits contain numerous North *African and Byzantine *amphorae, as well as various luxury materials and tools belonging to a nearby workshop, probably owned by the *monastery of S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis. During the 8th century a lime oven stood here, probably to support the construction of nearby *monasteries and churches. DN

D. Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi* (2000).

M. S. Arena et al., *Roma: dall'antichità al Medioevo: archeologia e storia nel Museo nazionale romano Crypta Balbi*, 2 vols. (2001–4).

Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 101.

crystal (MP *bēlur* or *ābgēnag*) Quartzite rock crystal was mined in the Iranian world and exported both to the Mediterranean basin and *China, either raw or worked into luxury objects. Crystal appears in objects of *Sasanian manufacture given as gifts or integrated

into different objects in the Middle Ages. Common crystal objects include *seals, drinking cups, and decorative plaques. The vessel known as the Cup of Solomon or Cup of *Khosrow, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. 379), contains a central crystal medallion engraved with an image of a Sasanian king. A crystal cup survives in the Louvre (inv. Sb3797). The votive crown of the Visigothic King *Reccesuinth of *c.*672, found in the Treasure of Guarrazar and now in Madrid, features a Sasanian rock crystal finial. Records abound of luxury objects such as crystal drinking cups sent as gifts from *Sogdian *Samarkand to Tang China. MPC

F. Demange, *Les Perses sassanides: fastes d'un empire oubli, 224–642* (2006).
Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 227–8.

Ctesibius in Late Antiquity Hellenistic scientist of the mid-3rd century BC, known to *Philo of Byzantium (*Belopoeica*, 67) and *Vitruvius (*De architectura*, IX, 8, 2). Ctesibius' mechanical and scientific observations underlay the development of the catapult, force pump, and *water-clock. MLR

A. G. Drachmann, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron: A Study in Ancient Pneumatics* (1948).

Ctesiphon First attested in the Seleucid period (Polybius, *Histories*, 5, 45) when it was described as a large village (Strabo, *Geography*, VI, 30, 122), Ctesiphon is located *c.*35 km (22 miles) south of Baghdad on both sides of the present-day course of the Tigris. As part of the conurbation of Veh-Ardashir and Aspanbar, Ctesiphon along with the other settlements was referred to as *Mahoze in Aramaic and *Syriac and later in *Arabic as al-*Mada'in, meaning the Cities.

Founded as a fortress during the Arsacid siege of Seleucia, in the Parthian period Ctesiphon grew into the imperial capital and it was there, after his defeat of Artabanus IV, that *Ardashir I was crowned as the first Shahanshah of the *Sasanian dynasty. Thereafter it remained the Sasanian winter capital until the *Arab conquest and was the location of the fortified White Palace, which was located near the pontoon bridge across the Tigris.

Both the Jewish and the Christian populations of Ctesiphon were important. The Jewish *exilarch represented Jewish interests at the Sasanian *court and can therefore be assumed to have been frequently at Ctesiphon; but while there were certainly *Jews living in Ctesiphon, the main centre of Jewish life was in *Kokhe (Veh-Ardashir), on the opposite side of the Tigris. By the Sasanian period, however, the entire area of Seleucia, Kokhe, Vologesias (to the south), and Ctesiphon, with its suburban extensions in Aspanbar and *Weh-Antiog-Husraw (Rumagan), though divided by the Tigris (which shifted its bed in this area between the Parthian period and the 3rd–4th centuries), must be considered a vast megalopolis. It is better to view its different constituents as suburbs or quarters of this vast urban centre than as individual cities. This is particularly important since *Talmudic sources regularly refer to Mahoze or Be Ardashir, while *Syriac sources speak of Seleucia (Seloq), Ctesiphon, and Kokhe. The site of ancient Ctesiphon, now known as Madina al-'Atiqa, remains largely unexcavated.

See also KOKHE; AL-MADA'IN; MAHOZE; SELEUCIA AD TIGRIM. DTP; MPC

EncIran VI/4 *s.v.* Ctesiphon, 446–8 (Kröger).
J. M. Fiey, 'Topography of al-Mada'in', *Sumer* 23 (1967), 3–36.
J. M. Fiey, 'Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé', *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967), 397–420.
S. R. Hauser, 'Vēh Ardashīr and the Identification of the Ruins at al-Madā'in', in A. Hagedorn and A. Shalem, eds., *Facts and Artefacts: Art in the Islamic World: Festschrift for J. Kröger* (2007), 461–88.
A. Invernizzi, 'Ten Years' Research in the al-Mada'in Area, Seleucia and Ctesiphon', *Sumer* 32 (1976), 167–75.
E. Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition (Winter 1931/32)* (1933).
Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia Judaica*, 198–207.
O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928/29* (1930).

cubicularii Chamberlains of the *Cubiculum in the Roman imperial household, usually *eunuchs headed by the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, an extremely powerful political figure (e.g. *Eusebius under *Constantius II, *Eutropius under *Arcadius). Their collective influence exercised through their physical proximity to the *emperor often made them unpopular (e.g. *Ammianus, XVI, 6, 3; cf. *Lactantius, *Mort.* 30, 3–5). Those who rose to the peak of their profession retired as *senators. At the time of the *accession of *Justin I, the *cubicularii* were able to block the appointment of a candidate they did not care for by refusing to release the imperial robes.

It had been illegal to castrate men on Roman soil since at least Hadrian (*Digest*, XLVIII, 8, 4, 2; cf. *NovJust* 142 of 558). *Cubicularii* were often foreign, and frequently slaves by origin. *Procopius claimed that they often came from *Abasgia (*Gothic*, VIII, 3, 17). If they were slaves, they were freed on entering imperial service (*CJust* XII, 5, 4 of 473). SFT

Jones, *LRE* 566–70.

cubiculum Room in a Roman *house, serving a range of functions, for instance as exclusive reception

hall or quiet corner for private business. Its most obvious use was as a bedroom (*Sidonius, *epp.* II, 1, 3 and V, 7, 4). *Cubicula* are difficult, if not impossible, to identify archaeologically, due to their multiple functions. DRB

A. Riggsby, '"Public" and "Private" in Roman Culture: The Case of the *Cubiculum*', *JRA* 10 (1997), 36–55.

K. Sessa, 'Christianity and the *Cubiculum*: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antique Rome', *JECS* 15/2 (2007), 171–204.

Cubiculum The Sacrum Cubiculum, the Imperial Bedchamber commanded by the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, was the department of the central civil *administration of the later Roman Empire closest to the *emperor himself. According to the **Notitia Dignitatum*, the Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, who was in charge of the Cubiculum, ranked immediately after the *Praefectus Praetorio, the *Praefectus Urbi, and the most senior *Magistri Militum (*occ.* I, 8; *or.* I, 9).

The **cubicularii* (chamberlains) who staffed the Cubiculum were generally *eunuchs. Contemporaries and modern commentators often associate this development in the emperor's domestic arrangements with the *Emperor *Diocletian, who is alleged to have introduced Persian practices, but the change seems rather to have occurred gradually. The first *cubicularius* known by name is the Praepositus Festus,whose estate at Praeneste was presented by *Constantine I to the Roman Church (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 14). The *empress often had a separate Cubiculum, staffed by women as well as eunuchs.

Unfortunately, detailed accounts of the Cubiculum in the *Notitia Dignitatum* are missing for both East and West (*occ.* XIV; *or*, X), with the exception of the details of the establishment under the *Castrensis or steward, so that knowledge of the organization and running of the Cubiculum depends largely on less systematic evidence, such as laws (especially *CJust* XII, 5), *inscriptions, and incidental historical references. The Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi was directly appointed by the emperor and might serve for many years, as did *Eusebius throughout the reign of *Constantius II. The *Spatharius, the principal bodyguard, and the *Sacellarius, the keeper of the privy purse, were also appointed at the emperor's pleasure; *Chrysaphius held office as Spatharius under Theodosius II for seven years, and *Narses, a leading general, was Sacellarius for extended periods under *Justinian I. Other eunuchs rose through the ranks to such offices as *Comes Sacrae Vestis (keeper of the wardrobe), *Comes Domorum, and Castrensis, and held their appointments for limited terms. The Cubiculum was financed by the income of specific *estates, called the *Domus Divina. Those in the West were in *Africa and were administered by an official answering to the *Comes Rei Privatae (*Notitia Dignitatum occ.* XII, 16). Those in the East were in *Cappadocia, and were originally administered through the *Res Privata, but control was transferred sometime between 390 and 414 to the Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi (*Notitia Dignitatum or.* X and XIV).

The physical proximity of *cubicularii* to the person of the emperor encouraged him to have confidence in them and so endowed the staff of the Cubiculum with considerable power. *Ammianus complained that while carrying out personal services they insinuated through secret whispers food for false accusations (XIV, 11, 3). They were employed on important missions by emperors; at a turning point in the *Arian controversy, Constantius II sent the Praepositus Eusebius to Rome to induce the *Bishop *Liberius (with a substantial donation to S. Peter) to subscribe to the decisions of the Council of *Sirmium (*Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 35–8). The Praepositus *Eutropius in 397/8 even led an army which drove back a *Hun invasion of *Phrygia and Cappadocia (*Claudian, *In Eutropium*, I, 234–86), and in 399 was the only eunuch ever to be made *consul, to the disgust of the poet Claudian.

They were also able to exact fees from those having business with the emperor, and even when in 535 Justinian I attempted to abolish such payments (**suffragia*) he specifically permitted the **chartularii* of the Cubiculum to continue to receive what had become customary (*NovJust* 8). There were enormous opportunities for enrichment, for instance by submitting *petitions to the emperor to be granted confiscated *estates. *Lausus, Praepositus early in the reign of Theodosius II, had his own palace, with a large collection of classical statuary, a short walk from the *Great Palace. *Urbicius, Praepositus under seven emperors, visited *Edessa after *Qobad I's invasion of the early 6th century and gave a *gold **tremissis* to every woman in the *city, a *silver *miliaresion* (Syr. *zuzeh*) to every child, and ten pounds of gold to the bishop to build a church.

Power and wealth added to the revulsion which others within and outside the imperial service felt for the eunuch chamberlains. The first court eunuch mentioned in a Late Roman source, the substitute murdered by *Maximian in 310 under the misapprehension that he was killing Constantine, is dismissed by *Lactantius unnamed as 'a certain vile eunuch' (*Mort.* 30, 1–5). Ammianus said that 'if Numa Pompilius or Socrates should say good things about a eunuch, and add to his words a solemn oath, he would be accused of having parted from the truth' (XVI, 7, 4). OPN; SFT

Jones, *LRE* 425–6, 566–71.

K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), 172–96.

Rowland Smith, 'The Imperial Court of the Later Roman Empire, *c.* AD 300–*c.* AD 450', in A. J. S. Spawforth, ed., *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (2007), 157–232.

Cuicul (mod. Djemila) *Colonia* in western *Numidia, 83 km (51 miles) west of *Cirta. boasting grand *houses with elaborate *mosaics. In 364/7, when Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus was *governor, a civil *basilica replaced the Temple of Frugifer in the Severan *forum (*AE* 1946, 107). Under his successor, Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus, a *statue of Victory was placed in the basilica (*AE* 1946, 108). The theatre may have been restored in 367/75 (*CIL* 8.20157). On the city's south side, a Christian complex centred on a double basilica largely constructed in the late 4th to early 5th centuries. The northern basilica boasted mosaic floors given by **honorati* and local notables, including a *priest of the provincial *imperial cult. The city is last heard of in 553 when its bishop attended the *Council of *Constantinople. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 402–15.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 283–4.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 294.
P.-A. Février, *Djemila* (1968).
Gui, Duval, and Caillet, *Basiliques*, 92–103.

cuirass Breastplate, part of the military *dress of the *emperor on Late Roman *coinage. It was usually depicted worn beneath the **paludamentum*. MGP

DOC 2/1 (1968), 71–5.
RByzKunst 3 (1978), *s.v.* Insignien 412–13 (K. Wessell).
Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins*, 73–5.

Culcianus (Clodius Culcianus) *Praefectus Augustalis (301–7), and persecutor of 'myriads of Christians in *Egypt' (*Eusebius, *HE* IX, 11, 4) including *Phileas of Thmuis. He held numerous offices under *Maximinus Daza, was executed after *Licinius' victory in 313, and features in many *Greek and *Coptic *martyr legends (e.g. Apaioule and Pteleme, Apa Epima, Isaac of Tiphre). GS

PLRE I, Culcianus.
Barnes, *NEDC* 149, 182.
P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, 'Bittschrift an einen praepositus pagi (?)', *Tyche* 1 (1986) 192.

Cumae Coastal town north-west of *Naples, which had declined as a port prior to Late Antiquity, but whose acropolis retained strategic importance as a coastal fortress for *Campania. During the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy *Belisarius placed a garrison here after capturing Naples in 536, and the fortress at Cumae sheltered the wives of *senators and a cache of money. It returned to Gothic control and was then besieged by *Narses; this drew the Gothic general *Teias into open conflict at Mons Lactarius, the battle which brought the Gothic War to a close (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 35, 38). Procopius records that the inhabitants still pointed out the cave where the Cumaean *Sibyl gave her *oracles (*Gothic*, V, 14, 3). Archaeology indicates active religious and military use of the fortress and lower town as late as the 8th century. MSB

P. Arthur, *Naples: From Roman Town to City-State* (2002).

Cunincpert (Cuninpert) *Lombard king (688–700). Associated with his father *Perctarit from 680, Cunincpert was supplanted by Alahis (688–9) whom he defeated at the Battle of Coronate. He presided over the Synod of *Pavia that marked the end of the *Three Chapters Schism in north *Italy in 698 which was celebrated in the **Carmen de Synodo Ticenensi*. CTH

PBE, Cunincpert 1.
DizBiogItal 31 (1985), 386.

Cura Epistularum Senior official on the staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio responsible for correspondence on fiscal matters with *governors and Vicarii (**Notitia Dignitatum* 2, 67; 3, 28 [*or.*]). A Cura Epistularum was allocated to each **dioecesis*. From the late 5th century, these duties were largely transferred to the **scriniarii*. CMK

Stein, *Officium*, 67–70.

Cura Palatii *See* CUROPALATES (CURA PALATII).

curator Trustee for carrying out private or public duties. In Late Antiquity, four private *curatores* should be mentioned: the *curator minorum*, a kind of guardian given to adult boys (when 14 years old) and girls (12), who had not yet reached 25 years. The minor needed his consent to conduct transactions. Second, the *curator furiosi*, who represented mentally ill people. Third, the *curator prodigi*, assigned to spendthrifts. And fourth, the *curator bonorum*, the trustee in cases of bankruptcy.

Public curators were widely installed in high and lower positions in *Rome and other *cities, in the cooperatives, and in the *army. The most important were in Rome, where there were six in Late Antiquity: the *curator* (or **consularis*) *operum publicorum* and *maximorum*, responsible for public buildings, with later a special *curator* for the largest buildings; the *curator* (or *consularis* or **comes*) *alvei Tiberis et cloacarum sacrae urbis* for drains and the bed of the Tiber; the *curator* (later *consularis*) *aquarum et Miniciae* for the *aqueducts and *grain-stores; the *curator statuarum* for the *statues of Rome; the *curator horreorum Galbanorum* for the storehouses of pork, oil, and *wine, and finally, 14, later 29 *curatores regionum*, apparently of senatorial standing, two for each of the **regiones* of Rome, and three for

the 14th, kept the peace in their respective regions, where they were proxies of the *Praefectus Urbi. All these disappeared during the 6th century. In *Constantinople, there were thirteen *curatores regionum*.

Starting with *Justinian I, there were also *curatores (dominicae* or *divinae) domus*, financial administrators of individual imperial *estates, directly responsible to the *emperor. DL

Jones, *LRE* 426, 691, 694.

RE IV, 2 (1901), 1786–94 (Kornemann).

Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine*.

M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* II (²1975), 234–7.

M. Kaser, *Das römische Zivilprozeßrecht* (2nd edn. K. Hackl, 1996), 627f.

Curator Rei Publicae (Curator Civitatis) Annual civic office, in origin an external imperial appointment, but by the 4th century, *curatores* (at least in *African *cities) had normally served as Duumvir (the senior civic magistracy). The Curator was a city's chief representative, supervising building projects and keeping the peace. During the Great *Persecution, *curatores* were active in arraigning Christians. In the East, the office of Curator (Gk. *Logistes*) carried less prestige (*CTh* VIII, 12, 8). By the 6th century, postholders (now styled Pater Civitatis) were chosen by the *bishop, leading citizens, and principal landowners (*NovJust* 128, 16). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 726, 758–9.

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 1, 184–93.

C. Lucas, 'Notes on the *Curatores Rei Publicae* of Roman Africa', *JRS* 30 (1940), 56–74.

G. P. Burton, 'The *Curator Rei Publicae*: Towards a Reappraisal', *Chiron* 9 (1979), 465–87 at 477–9.

curia* and *curialis *See* CITY COUNCILS AND COUNCILLORS.

***curiosi* (*curagendarii*)** Officials drawn from junior-ranking **agentes in rebus* and sent to the *provinces to police the use of the imperial transport and communications system (*Cursus Publicus). The inspectorate was headed by the Curiosus Cursus Publici Praesentalis, subordinate to the *Magister Officiorum. *Curiosi litorum*, stationed at ports, monitored maritime traffic. CMK

Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 45–8.

Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIV One of the Regionary Catalogues of *Rome and an essential source for the history of the urban fabric of Rome. It has customarily been dated *c.*334–57, because it includes the equestrian *statue of *Constantine I, but not the *obelisk erected by *Constantius II. LHCG

ed. Jordan, *Topographie*, 2/2, 539–74.

Curopalates (Cura Palatii) Prestigious military post with the standing of **tribunus*, ranked alongside the *Tribunus Stabuli (supervising the imperial stables) and *tribuni* of the palace guard, the *Scholae Palatinae (*CTh* VI, 13, 1). *Justin II was Curopalates at his accession in 565. Thereafter this was an honorary *title conferred on the imperial family and foreign (e.g. *Armenian) royalty. It should not be confused with (1) the *curae palatinorum*, palace functionaries (not necessarily *eunuchs) under the *Castrensis (*Not. Dig.* 17, 5 [*or.*]); or (2) the *Cura Palatii* in the 6th-century West, responsible for the maintenance and repair of royal *palaces (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 7, 5). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 372.

Dunlap, *Grand Chamberlain*, 243–5.

Mary Whitby, 'On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople: Candidati, Curopalatus, Silentiarii, Excubitores and Others', *Historia* 36 (1987), 469–76.

curses and curse-tablets Loosely formulaic performative utterances that aim to reassert social parity ('justice') after the speaker has suffered a perceived wrong. With the spread of literacy, such utterances took a material form (Gk. *katadesmos*; Lat. *defixio*), addressed to named local deities, written on lead-sheet, and deposited in a shrine, grave, or well. In the Classical period, these are mainly occasioned by imminent lawsuits. Into the Roman period, such texts were mainly written by the principal person involved, implying a widespread awareness of the appropriate form. During the Principate, three new types appear alongside these: (1) Graeco-Egyptian temple-practice developed a superior, learned mode, disseminated by itinerant practitioners and written models, expanding the concept to gain customers, esp. aggressive *magic associated with love and with the circus/arena; (2) an originally eastern Mediterranean formalized appeal to a named deity to right a claimed wrong ('prayer for justice') was adapted to the model of the *defixio*; (3) a related form aiming to persuade a deity to restore stolen property. All three types continue into the Christian Empire. RLG

ed. (with comm.) A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae Quotquot Innotuerunt tam in Graecis Orientis quam in Totius Occidentis Partibus Praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum Editas* (1904; repr. 1967).

ed. R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 (1992), nos. 52–62.

A. Mastrocinque, 'Le *defixiones* di Porta S. Sebastiano', *MHNH: Revista Internacional* 5 (2005), 45–60.

R. S. O. Tomlin, 'The Curse-Tablets', in B. Cunliffe, ed., *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 2 (1988), 59–277.

H. Versnel, 'Prayers for Justice in East and West', in R. Gordon and F. Marco Simón, eds., *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (2010), 275–355.

cursores Messengers forming part of the **officium** of a provincial *governor or *Praefectus Praetorio and of the central *administration under the *Magister Officiorum. In 534, a Schola Cursorum of 30 men served under the Praefectus Praetorio Africae (*CJust* I, 27, 1, 31). AKo

Jones, *LRE* 582, 590, 593.

A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (2000), 278–80.

cursus *See* PROSE RHYTHM, LATIN.

Cursus Publicus State transport system, instituted by Augustus (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 49,3–50), initially as a courier service, then as a transport network, financed by compulsory *services, using wagons and *pack-animals provided at intervals along main *roads, (*viae publicae*). These stretched about 100,000 km (over 60,000 miles) and included stations for lodging and food (*mansiones*) and the change of transport facilities (*mutationes*) at average intervals of 12 and 25 miles (listed in detail on the roads he traversed by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333).

The Cursus Publicus did not provide regular conveyance nor was it for use by private individuals. It supplied transport for messengers, officials, soldiers, and others assigned to travel or convey goods and possessing a warrant (*evectio*, *tractoria*) issued by the *emperor, the *Magister Officiorum, or a *Praefectus Praetorio.

Separate branches of the Cursus Publicus provided rapid transport (*cursus velox*) using mules and horses, and slow transport for goods (*cursus clabularius*). In some regions it employed water transport (e.g. on the *Nile or using the imperial Adriatic *fleet).

Although the **curiosi* (*CTh* VI, 29) controlled use of the system emperors were unable to prevent its frequent misuse (*CTh* VIII, 5) and, as *Ammianus complained (XXI, 16, 18), extended the circle of users by bestowing privileges on *bishops and others. *Procopius (*Anecdota*, 30) complains that *Justinian I cut the system, except on the road across *Anatolia to the eastern *frontier (the *Pilgrims' Road). AKo

A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (2000), 278–80.

curtain Curtains (*vela*) of *dyed wool or sometimes linen decorated with bright scattered motifs in tapestry weave (as surviving examples show) served in pairs as space dividers, suspended between columns or over doors and doorways in public buildings, especially churches. They were suspended from horizontal rods or pegs, and could be artfully knotted back (as in the Palatium *mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo in *Ravenna). Closely related in function were wall hangings (also called *vela*) with overall decoration in figured wool tapestry weave or looped pile, or resist-dyed: they covered complete wall surfaces, sometimes on a monumental scale. In a *court of law, particularly at the entrance to its **secretarium*, and in imperial audience halls, *vela* ensured privacy and restricted access (*CTh* I, 16, 7; *Lucifer of Cagliari, *Moriendum Esse pro Deo Filio*, 1). They also secured privacy for religious consultations and for the *exedras in **fora* where *rhetoricians and **grammatici* taught (*Augustine *Conff.* I, 13, 22; sermon 178, 8). In art deceased figures might be shown with a curtain behind them. JPW

A. De Moor and C. Fluck, eds., *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries* (2009).

customs dues Taxes on the movement of goods levied in various contexts. A rate of 12.5% was charged at imperial *frontiers, while lower charges for transit between *provinces appear to have persisted, as also *tolls on goods entering and leaving *cities (including *harbours) (e.g. *SEG* 37.1257 [*Anazarbus]). Exemptions were received in certain situations (e.g. peasants delivering and **navicularii* transporting the **annona*). These taxes were collected by officials under the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum until the late 5th century, when their administration passed to the *Praefectus Praetorio. *Procopius (*Anecdota*, 25) complains that *Justinian I increased dues at *Abydus and *Hieron. ADL

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 274–312.

Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, S. (*c.*635–687) *Bishop of *Lindisfarne. Little is known of Cuthbert's family and early life. He may have been from near Melrose, in southern Scotland, where he entered a *monastery in 651. He later went with his abbot, Eata, to a new foundation at *Ripon; they returned to Melrose when King Alchfrith expelled the community for following the Irish method of dating *Easter; at the Synod of *Whitby in 664 he accepted the Roman method. Cuthbert became prior at Melrose (*c.*664), and was later prior at Lindisfarne before establishing a hermitage on the Inner Farne Islands. He was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne in 685, and *Bede records that he was assiduous in his pastoral duties. Cuthbert died on 20 March 687 on Inner Farne. He was acclaimed as a saint almost immediately after his death. His body was buried on Lindisfarne and moved to a shrine in 698. An anonymous *Life* (*BHL* 2019) in four books was written at Lindisfarne soon afterwards, as were the *Lindisfarne Gospels. Bede wrote *Lives* of Cuthbert in verse and prose between 705 and 731 (*BHL* 2020 and 2021). S. Cuthbert's *relics are now in Durham Cathedral and the original coffin in its Treasury. HFF

ODNB s.n. Cuthbert (Rollason and Dobson).

Lives: BHL 2019–32.

BHL 2019 and 2021: ed. B. Colgrave (annotated with ET), *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (1940).

BHL 2020: ed. W. Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti* (Palaestra 198, 1935).

G. Bonner, D.W. Rollason, and C. Stancliffe, eds., *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (1989).

Cynegius Maternus, *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis (384–8) and *consul (388). Possibly from *Spain, Cynegius was a loyal supporter of *Theodosius I and a zealous Christian. As Praefectus, Cynegius inspired many anti-*pagan and anti-*Jewish laws, prevented *sacrifices, and closed several pagan *temples. He also may have been responsible for destroying temples at *Edessa and *Apamea (*Zosimus, IV, 37, 3). This policy attracted the animosity of *Libanius, who accused him of exceeding his powers (*Oration* 49, 3) and possibly blamed him and his wife Acanthia of being under the influence of monks (Libanius, *Oration* 30 *For the Temples*, 46). Cynegius died in 388 and was buried at the Church of the *Holy Apostles in *Constantinople (Zosimus, IV, 45), but his wife later translated his body to *Spain (*Chron. Min.* I, 244–5). DN

PLRE 1, Cynegius 3.

J. F. Matthews, 'A Pious Supporter of Theodosius I: Maternus Cynegius and his Family', *JTS* 18 NS (1967), 438–46.

G. L. Fowden, 'Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire', *JTS* 29 NS (1978), 53–78.

Cyprian of Carthage *Bishop of *Carthage and *martyr (d. 258). Thascius Caecilianus Cyprianus was born into a well-to-do *pagan family at *Carthage, and became a teacher of *rhetoric and an advocate. He was converted to Christianity in *c.*246 under the influence of the presbyter Caecilian, and was reported to have given away all his property (Cyprian, *Ad Donatum*, 4; *Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 67, Pontius, *VCypriani*, 2–4). Shortly afterwards, bypassing the intermediate grades of clergy, he was elected Bishop of Carthage in the face of some opposition (*VCypriani*, 5). During the first wave of *persecution by *Decius (249–51), which turned on the universal command to *sacrifice, Cyprian and many others went into hiding.

After the persecution ended, the problem of how to deal with those who had 'lapsed' (by sacrifice, burning *incense, or bribing a magistrate to issue a **libellus*, a certificate of sacrifice) divided the Churches of *Africa and *Rome. Cyprian opposed the swift reconciliation of the lapsed advocated by others at Carthage, justified by the intercession of martyrs and confessors. Eventually, endorsing Cyprian, *councils at Carthage in 251 and 252 ruled that the lapsed could be readmitted only after a period of *penance. The controversy took another turn in the 250s when Cyprian demanded the rebaptism of schismatics, arguing that sacraments administered by those outside the Church were not valid. This brought Cyprian into conflict with Stephen, Bishop of *Rome, and the two corresponded heatedly about the issue (Cyprian, *epp.* 67–75).

After persecution resumed in 257 under *Valerian and *Gallienus, Cyprian was summoned to the *court of the *Proconsul of Africa and exiled. Recalled to Carthage for a further trial in 258, he was sentenced to death for refusing to sacrifice to the gods, and on 14 September 258 was beheaded before a crowd of supporters (*VCypriani*, 15–18 and *Acta Proconsularia Cypriani*).

Cyprian produced a dozen rhetorically sophisticated and biblically inflected treatises on contemporary concerns of Christian life and practice such as virginity and *almsgiving, and on controversies over church discipline (*De Lapsis* and *De Unitate*). A large body of *letters also survives, written to various lay and clerical correspondents; they reveal him administering his church *in absentia*, and offering advice on a range of practical, theological, and disciplinary matters.

A panegyrical biography by the *deacon Pontius (*BHL* 2041) probably dates from the year after Cyprian's death. The bishop's witness as a martyr set a lasting example for African Christians. *Donatists emulated him; *Augustine preached frequently at his shrine in Carthage. His broader reputation inspired a poem by *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, 13) and fed the legend of a homonymous magician known as Cyprian of *Antioch (*BHG* 452–61), praised by *Gregory of *Nazianzus (*Oration*, 24). SJL-R; OPN

HLL, section 478.

WORKS (*CPL* 38–51):

PL 4, reprinting E. Baluze (1726).

ed. G. F. Diercks and G. W. Clarke (CCSL 3, 1–3/3; 1972).

ET (annotated) R. Deferrari et al., *Treatises* (FC 36, 1958).

ET (with comm.) G. W. Clarke, *Letters*, 4 vols. (ACW 43, 44, 46, 47, 1984–9).

ANCIENT SOURCES (*BHL* 2037–2046d):

Acta Proconsularia Cypriani (*BHL* 2037–40), ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen (annotated with IT by G. Chiarini) in Bastiaensen, *Atti*, 206–30.

Pontius, *VCypriani* (*BHL* 2041), ed. Guillelmus Hartel (CSEL III/3, 1868).

STUDIES:

H. Bakker, P. van Gees, and H. van Loon, eds., *Cyprian of Carthage: Studies in his Life, Language and Thought* (2010).

A. Brent, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage* (2010).

S. Deléani, *Christum Sequi: étude d'un theème dans l'œuvre de saint Cyprien* (1979).

M. Fahey, *Cyprian and the Bible: A Study in Third-Century Exegesis* (1971).

J. Patout Burns, *Cyprian the Bishop* (2002).
J. Patout Burns, 'Cyprian of Carthage', in Foster, *Early Christian Thinkers*, 127–40.
M. M. Sage, *Cyprian* (1975).
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 77–92, 237.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques*, 129, 191–9, 203–4, 219, 231.

Cypriot Red Slip Ware Wheelmade tableware with a reddish-purple fine fabric, probably intended as a revival of the earlier Cypriot *Sigillata. A thin slip (or gloss) with a metallic appearance similar to *Phocean Red Slip Ware (PRS) was applied over the entire vessel or only over the interior and rim. Typical shapes are shallow dishes, bowls, or basins with flat bases or low feet. Decorative techniques include rouletting, incised zigzag strips, and stamped motifs (*crosses, floral/geometric designs), matching contemporary *silver vessels. The ware is dated from the late 4th to late 7th (possibly 8th) centuries. Its Cypriot provenance is still unproven (no kilns have been found yet on the island of *Cyprus), but kilns and wasters have been found in *Pisidia on the south coast of Turkey. JV

J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), 371–86.
J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean* (2005), 38–9.
H. Meyza, *Nea Paphos V: Cypriot Red Slip Ware* (2007).

Cyprus Strategically placed Mediterranean island rich in *agriculture, *trade links with *Egypt and *Levant, and mineral resources, especially *copper (though not *marble). Coastal *cities supported flourishing urban culture, despite severe *earthquakes in the mid-4th century.

Cyprus is listed as a single *province governed by a *Consularis, as part of the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, in the *Verona List and **Notitia Dignitatum*. The Roman administration based at *Paphos was transferred by *Constantius II to *Salamis, restored and renamed Constantia. In 536 *Justinian I transferred it, with five other provinces, to the newly-created *Quaestura Exercitus. The island became strategically important in the early 7th century; it issued *copper *coinage during *Heraclius' revolt in 610 and took in refugees fleeing from *Persian invasions. Decisive *Arab raids began with *Mu'awiya in 649; many cities, such as *Kourion, were abandoned or relocated. In 688 by treaty with the *Caliph *Abd al-Malik, Cyprus, with *Armenia and *Iberia, became a condominion, paying taxes both to *Constantinople and the Caliphate; this arrangement lasted, with brief interruption, until the Byzantine reconquest of 965.

An emergency mint operated sporadically in Cyprus during the 7th century, including during the revolt of Heraclius (608–10), and 626–9. *Constantine IV reissued copper coinage from the island, mainly of *Constans II, by applying a *monogram countermark. Various (often blundered) *mint marks were used.

Despite tradition that the island was evangelized by S. Paul and the Cypriot-born S. Barnabas (Acts 4: 36; 13: 6), nothing is known of the spread of Christianity before 325, when three *bishops, including S. *Spyridon, attended the *Council of *Nicaea. This number increased to twelve by the Council of *Serdica in 343. Most influential was Egyptian-trained *Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis-Constantia (367–402/3), author, traveller, anti-*Origenist campaigner, and friend and counsellor to the *Emperor *Theodosius I. The *basilica named after him at Salamis was the largest building on the island. Cyprus came under the authority of the *Patriarch of *Antioch, but won a degree of independence at the Council of *Ephesus in 431, which was confirmed by the *Emperor *Zeno in 488 after the timely discovery by Archbishop *Anthemius of the *relics of S. Barnabas, making it the first Christian church to be granted autocephaly. A synod was held in Cyprus, probably in 634, as part of *Heraclius' attempts to impose Monotheletism. The *saints' lives by *Leontius of Neapolis portray a lively literary culture right up to the *Arab raids.

Wealthy private *houses with extensive *mosaic floors excavated at *Paphos and *Kourion and some *pagan sanctuaries, such as that of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, continued in use into the 4th century, but the principal material evidence for Cyprus' Late Antique prosperity lies in its 70 known Christian basilicas.

RKL; RRD

T. Davis, C. Stewart, and A. Weyl Carr, eds., *Cyprus and the Balance of Empires* (ASOR ArchRep 20, 2014).
D. Michaelides and M. Parani, *The Archaeology of Late Antique and Byzantine Cyprus (4th–12th centuries AD): Conference in Honour of Athanasios Papageorghiou* (Cahiers du Centre d' Études Chypriotes 43, 2013).
Grierson, *DOC* 2.1.

Cyprus, churches of The first wave of church building in *Cyprus after *Constantine I is obscure. No archaeological evidence supports the legend that *Stavrouvouni was founded in the 4th century, but earlier structures have been identified beneath several 5th-century *basilicas (Tamassos, associated with the 1st-century *Bishop Herclidius, *Soloi, *Kourion, *Lefkosha).

A total of 70 basilicas are known from Late Antiquity, both large ecclesiastical complexes (by 400 Cyprus had fifteen bishops) and single churches. By the end of the 4th century massive churches had been built at *Paphos (Chrysopolitissa, *c.*50 × 38 m (165 × 125 feet)) and *Salamis (S. Epiphanius, 58 × 42 m (191 × 138 feet)) both with seven aisles, latter with additional corridors, perhaps for catechumens. The episcopal basilica was built at *Kourion in the early 5th century, with a single polygonal *apse flanked by *diaconicon and *prothesis, aisles for catechumens, *baptistery, and bishop's

palace. The Church of Cyprus was initially under the *Patriarch of *Antioch; *Syrian architectural influences include inscribed east ends (S. Epiphanius; Lambousa), transverse passages linking apses at the east end (S. Epiphanius, Ayios Philon at Karpas, Lambousa, Aphendrika), and flanking diaconicon and prothesis (Kourion).

The Church of Cyprus's assertion of autocephaly in the late 5th century gave rise to another wave of church building, especially at Salamis (Campanopetra; S. *Barnabas). Separate areas for catechumens were no longer so necessary, so these were much reduced in size (Ayia Trias at Karpas). Many churches were reconstructed in the 6th century, with reduction to three aisles (Chrysopolitissa, S. Epiphanius) and the addition of *synthrona (S. Epiphanius, Campanopetra, Kourion), but there was limited new building under *Justinian I. Three basilicas erected at Peyia, Cape Drepanon between the mid-6th and early 7th century, followed layouts standard at *Constantinople but with wooden roofs rather than vaults and *domes.

Cyprus gained strategic importance in the early 7th century accompanied by a late flourishing of church building. Two basilicas at *Katalymmata ton Plakoton on Akrotiri, near Amathus, with unusual processional arrangement in the transepts at its west end, may be associated with S. *John the Almsgiver, Patriarch of *Alexandria, who returned to his native Cyprus *c.*617–20.

Seven baptisteries are known. One is circular (Peyia), the rest cruciform. Four are processional with walk-in fonts (S. Epiphanius, Kourion, Ayios Philon, Ayias Trias), similar to those at *Qalat Seman and *Gerasa.

No local source of *marble exists on Cyprus. Columns and *capitals were first made of local stone (S. Epiphanius; *Soloi, Tremithus, Ayias Trias; *Lythrangomi). By the late 5th century, marble was imported, first from *Anatolia (columns at Ayios Philon) and later from Constantinople (Campanopetra). By the 6th century, all churches were equipped with a full range of architectural marbles from *Proconnesus. Liturgical furnishings were also originally of local stone (chancel *screens at Marathovouno, Tamassus, Ayias Trias), but later of imported marble (ambo at Peyia; chancel screen at Katalymmata ton Plakoton). Carved marble table-tops were also imported. One high-relief decorative panel survives in the Archbishop's Palace, Nicosia. Walls were revetted in locally carved *champlevé (Kourion), moulded *stucco (Amathus, *Kiti, Marathovouno), and *opus sectile (fragments of figural decoration at Peyia, Katalymmata ton Plakoton).

Floors survive in paved marble, opus sectile, and *mosaic, mostly in geometric patterns, two surviving figural mosaic panels at Chrysopolitissa (Psalm 42; John 15: 1) and a possible Peaceable Kingdom at Peyia Basilica A (boar, *lion, bull). Important examples of wall mosaic include apses at *Kiti, Lythrangomi, and Livadia (destroyed) and also Kourion.

Some churches went out of use soon after the mid-7th century *Arab invasions (Kourion), but several underwent subsequent reconstruction (Soloi, Lythrangomi), some with new masonry vaults (Aphendrika, Sykha). RKL

A. H. S. Megaw, 'Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus, Metropolitan or Provincial', *DOP* 28 (1974), 59–88.

R. Maguire, *Late Antique Basilicas on Cyprus: Sources, Contexts, Histories* (diss. East Anglia, 2012).

Cyprus Treasures Also known as the Lambousa Treasures, these two hoards, dating from the 6th–7th centuries, were both found near the Archeiropoietos *monastery near Karavás in northern *Cyprus. The first treasure, unearthed in 1897, consisted of 45 pieces of *silver—mostly spoons engraved with wild or mythical beasts as well as a censer with Christian imagery, several plates, and a bowl. Most but not all of this treasure entered the British Museum two years later. The second Cyprus Treasure, considered one of the richest of all Byzantine silver hoards by virtue of its set of nine elegantly wrought plates depicting scenes from the early life of the biblical King David and its significant cache of *gold *jewellery, was discovered in 1902. J. P. Morgan purchased most of these items in 1906, and they now belong to the Metropolitan Museum (New York). Several works of lesser value, including some bronze *lamps, some spoons, a pitcher, and three small plates from the David set, remained in Cyprus (Archaeological Museum, Nicosia), while a handful of stray pieces from the two Treasures made their way to Baltimore, Washington, DC, Berlin, and other cities. It is possible that all of the items associated with the two hoards ultimately belonged to a single treasure. They were probably hidden in the mid-600s, when the area was devastated by *Arab raids.

Unlike most of the contemporaneous hoards that survive from the eastern Mediterranean, the Cyprus treasures are composed primarily of objects for secular use. There are no dedicatory inscriptions to point toward the original owners, but the quality and value of the pieces suggest a family of considerable means, one well positioned to benefit from imperial largesse. Indeed, a magnificent gold *belt among the treasure's jewellery includes no fewer than four 8-**solidus* medallions depicting the *Emperor *Maurice (582–602), which were issued as **largitio* for his *consulship in 583. Many scholars have suggested that the plates were gifts from the Emperor *Heraclius. His *silver stamps appear on the back, and the sustained narrative devoted to the preparation and reward of military

conquest, which culminates in David's defeat of Goliath on the largest plate, is often understood as a reference to that emperor's military victories, particularly over the Persians. The plates are striking in that a figure from the *Bible is presented as a classical hero: the *dress, poses, compositions, and themes all look to Graeco-Roman tradition. They attest to the way in which imperial, classical, and biblical elements easily meshed in the decorative arts of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 7th century. MH

J. Durand et al., *Chypre: entre Byzance et l'Occident, IVe–XVIe siècle* (catalogue d'exposition, Musée du Louvre, 2012), 59–77.
Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 102–15.
R. Merrillees, 'The Modern History of the First Lambousa Treasure of Silverware from Cyprus', *AntJ* 89 (2009), 389–403.
C. Entwhistle, '"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth": The British Museum and the Second Cyprus Treasure', in *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton* (2003), 227–35.
Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 173–216.

Cyrenaica *Province, in modern north-east Libya, governed from *Cyrene by a *Praeses. Cyrenaica was separated from *Crete in the provincial reorganization under the *Tetrarchy, renamed *Libya Superior (later Libya Pentapolis), and placed in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens (later *Aegyptus). *Justinian I retained the name and placed it in the Dioecesis of Aegyptus. AHM

Jones, *LRE* 1459–61.
Barrington Atlas, 38.

Cyrene (mod. Shahat, NE Libya) Greek *city in the *Verona List *province of *Libya Superior in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens (*Aegyptus by the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum*). Cyrene was founded in 630 BC, and gave the name of *Cyrenaica to the territory surrounding it. It was renowned for exporting the medicinal herb silphium and, with its port *Apollonia, was the most important city of the Pentapolis in Roman times. Cyrene suffered during the 262 *earthquake (which severely damaged the large extramural *Temple of Demeter and Persephone), although the *Emperor *Claudius Gothicus partly restored the city. When, under the *Tetrarchy, the Roman *province of Creta et Cyrenaica was split, Apollonia, not Cyrene itself, became the capital of *Libya Pentapolis. *Ammianus states that in his time the city was deserted (XXII, 16, 4). Its buildings, including a large urban *villa with Christian *mosaics, were certainly damaged by the earthquake of 365 which Ammianus describes (XXVI, 10, 15–19). It was at this point that the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone was definitively abandoned. Some of its *portrait *sculptures were deliberately damaged. *Synesius of Cyrene in his *letters describes Cyrenaic country life as a pastoral idyll, but in his discourse *De Regno* composed in the course of an embassy, which sought tax remissions for the city, he portrays Cyrene as deserted following nomadic incursions. Cyrenaica was taken without a fight by Muslim forces in 642–3, following the *Arab conquest of *Egypt. KS

DHGE vol. 13 (1956), *s.n.* Cyrène, cols. 1162–4 (R. Janin).
R. G. Goodchild, *Cyrene and Apollonia: An Historical Guide* (³1970).
G. Sears et al., 'Deciphering "Lost" Urban Landscapes at Cyrene', in Augenti and Christie, *Urbes Extinctae*, ch. 7.
D. White and J. M. Reynolds, *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final Reports*, vol. 8. *The Sanctuary's Imperial Architectural Development, Conflict with Christianity, and Final Days* (University of Pennsylvania Museum monograph 134, 2012).
Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, ch. 2.
Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 429.

Cyrillona (Qurillona) (*fl.* late 4th cent.) Early *Syriac poet; several of his poems survive in ms. London BL Add. 14591. He was probably a member of the clergy in Roman *Mesopotamia or *Syria; one poem (*Scourges*) laments the *Huns' invasion of that region in 395. Cyrillona's surviving works include three narrative poems on the Last Supper, composed for Holy Week, a rogation *sermon addressing various scourges his people had suffered, and a short didactic poem on repentance. CG

GEDSH s.v. Qurillona, 346–7 (Brock).
ed. (with ET, comm., and study) C. Griffin, *Cyrillona: A Critical Study and Commentary* (Ph.D. diss., Washington, DC, Catholic University of America, 2011);
GT S. Landersdorfer (revising G. Bickell), *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter* (BKV 6, 1912), 1–54.
FT (annotated) D. Cerbelaud, *L'Agneau véritable* (1984).
IT (with comm.) C. Vona, *I carmi di Cirillona* (1963).

Cyril of Alexandria *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 412–44), one of the most powerful churchmen of his age, and a sublime theologian known especially for his exposition of Christology. His reputation among later writers was such that *Anastasius of *Sinai (7th century) referred to him as 'the seal of the Fathers' and 'the talisman of the choir of the Fathers' (*Viae Dux*, 7, 8: CCSG 8).

He was the nephew of the Patriarch *Theophilus (r. 385–412) and spent his early years at a monastic community in *Nitria studying the *Bible. Theophilus appointed him as a *reader and employed him as his personal attendant (*HistCoptPatr* 1, 11). Upon the

death of Theophilus, Cyril became Patriarch over the objections of some factions within the Alexandrian Church. Within the space of four years, he consolidated his authority in Alexandria by successfully out-manoeuvring and defeating his perceived opponents: the *Novatianists, the Alexandrian *Jewish community, the *Praefectus Augustalis Orestes, the *Neoplatonist *philosopher and *mathematician *Hypatia, and a faction within the civic *aristocracy (*HistCoptPatr* 1, 12).

Once he had secured the unity of the Alexandrian Church, Cyril took up his uncle's feud with the growing ascendancy of the Church of *Constantinople. He had attended the Synod of the *Oak (403) with Theophilus and witnessed the deposition of *John Chrysostom. In 428, Cyril came into conflict with the newly consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople, *Nestorius, who had taken a public stand against the popular appellation of the Virgin *Mary as *Theotokos, i.e. 'the God-bearer'. Cyril saw in Nestorius' objection to this devotional term a deeper reservation about the full unity of Christ's humanity and divinity. This led to an escalating pamphlet war between the two patriarchs, during which Cyril secured the support of Pope Celestine and influential churchmen throughout the East. Eventually, the *Emperor *Theodosius II convoked a general *council of the Church to resolve the issue, and *bishops duly gathered at *Ephesus in June 431. Cyril secured the deposition and *exile of Nestorius, and initially faced the opposition of John, Patriarch of *Antioch, and the fickle support of Theodosius II. By 433, Cyril had reconciled with John of Antioch, and he spent his remaining years secure in the acclaim of his Alexandrian Church.

In the course of his ongoing conflict with Nestorius, Cyril refined his own Christological views in a vast corpus of writings. He believed that Christology should be grounded in the Trinitarian dogma affirmed at the Councils of *Nicaea (325) and of *Constantinople (381). For Cyril, it was insufficient to view the divine Logos as merely indwelling within Jesus. In an Alexandrian theological tradition extending back to *Athanasius, Cyril regarded the union of the divine and human in Christ as the archetype of transformative salvation (*theosis*) and the foundation of all sacramental theology. Cyril insisted on the full union (*henosis*) of the divine and human in Christ, that is, 'one nature of the divine Word enfleshed'. However, a certain ambiguity in Cyril's use of 'nature' (*physis*), incorporating both 'person' and 'nature', had the result that both parties in the ensuing controversy associated with the Council of *Chalcedon claimed to uphold the true legacy of Cyril's orthodoxy. CJH

CoptEnc 2 (1991), *s.v.* Cyril I, Saint, 671b–675b (Aziz S. Atiya).

BHO 237: *Vita* ed. P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* VI, 464.

WORKS

CPG 3, 5200–438: ed. in *PG* 68–77.

Select letters ed. (with ET) L. R. Wickham (OECT, 1983). ET of select letters and treatises: P. E. Pusey et al. (Library of the Fathers 43, 46, 47, 48; 1874–85); and in both McGuckin and Russell (below); and of complete letters by J. J. McEnerney (FC 76–7; 1987); and of the *Festal Letters*: P. R. Amidon (FC 118, 2009; 127, 2013).

ET J. A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: On the Unity of Christ* (1995); various commentaries (FC 115, 2007; 116, 2008; 124, 2012).

ANCIENT SOURCES

*John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 79, 12–13; 84; 87–103.

Socrates, *HE* VII, 11, 13–15, 32, 34.

STUDIES

J. A. McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology and Texts* (2004).

N. Russell, *Cyril of Alexandria* (2000).

S. Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (2004).

Cyril of Jerusalem (b. *c.*315, at *Jerusalem to 387) *Patriarch of Jerusalem from *c.*350. Cyril probably became a *deacon at Jerusalem in the first half of the 330s, and a *priest *c.*343. Hardly anything is known about his background, but he was a man of eloquence and learning (*Sozomen, III, 14, 41–2).

Like his predecessor Macarius, Cyril emphasized Jerusalem's biblical past and its holy sites and objects, such as *relics of the True *Cross, as tangible elements from that past. Because of this history and the presence in the *Holy Land of sacred sites as concrete reminders of Christ's life and passion, Jerusalem deserved in Cyril's view to be recognized as an apostolic see and, instead of *Caesarea, as the principal bishopric in *Palestine. His active promotion of Jerusalem brought him into conflict with his *metropolitan superior in Caesarea. Tensions between the two sees were exacerbated by doctrinal disagreement. In general *bishops of Jerusalem kept close to the *Nicene *Creed, whereas the bishops of Caesarea did not. For doctrinal reasons, Cyril was exiled three times: in 357–9, 360–1/2, and 366/7–79. At the *Council of *Constantinople (381), which reconfirmed the Nicene formulation of the faith, he was a leader of the successful Homoousian party.

Cyril also contributed to the development of Jerusalem as a place of *pilgrimage. He was probably responsible for instituting *stational *liturgy, with *processions moving through the *streets between the increasing number of holy sites, and the institution of such religious *festivals as the *anamnesis* of Christ's Passion and Resurrection in the week preceding *Easter and the Encaenia, the anniversary of the consecration of the Holy Sepulchre (cf. *Egeria, 30–8 and 48–9).

Several of Cyril's works have survived, both in his native *Greek, and in *Syriac, *Armenian, and *Coptic *translations: a *Letter to Constantius* from 351 describes the appearance of a luminous cross in the sky above Jerusalem. His *Catechetical Lectures* were delivered to those being prepared for *baptism during Lent, probably shortly after he had become bishop. Cyril's authorship of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* delivered to the newly baptized, and of a *Sermon on the Paralytic*, has been doubted, but these are probably authentic. A *letter in Syriac about the restoration of the Jewish Temple in 363 is also attributed to Cyril. The legend about *Helena's discovery of the Cross probably originated in Jerusalem during Cyril's episcopate. HJWD

CPG 3585–618:

Catechetical Lectures (*CPG* 3585): ed. Guillelmus Carolus Reischl and J. Rupp, 2 vols. (1848, 1860).

Mystagogic Lectures (*CPG* 3586), ed. (with FT) A. Piednagel and P. Paris (SC 126, 1966).

Letter to Constantius (*CPG* 3587; *BHG* 413), ed. in E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 264–96.

ET L. P. McCauley and A. A. Stephenson (FC 61, 1969 and FC 64, 1970).

ET of *Letter to Constantius*, *Catechesis* 14 and 18, *Mystagogic Lectures* 1–5 (with extensive introd.) E. Yarnold (Early Church Fathers, 2000).

S. P. Brock, 'A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Rebuilding of the Temple', *BSOAS* 40 (1977), 267–86; repr. in his *Syriac Perspectives*.

A. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (2001).

J. W. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (2004).

Z. Rubin, 'The See of Caesarea in Conflict with Jerusalem from Nicaea (325) to Chalcedon (451)', in K. G. Holum and A. Raban, eds., *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (1995), 559–74.

P. van Nuffelen, 'The Career of Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.*348–87): A Reassessment', *JTS* 58 NS (2007), 134–46.

Cyril of Scythopolis (*c.*525–after 557) Monk in the *Judaean Wilderness, first (544–55) in the **coenobium* of S. *Euthymius, then in the *lavras of S. *Sabas, who had chosen him as a disciple when still a child. His mentors were John the Hesychast, a recluse in Mar Saba, and Cyriac, a hermit near Suca (Old Lavra of Chariton), both supporters of the Christology defined at the *Council of *Chalcedon and opponents of the *Origenism then prevailing in *monasteries in *Palestine. Through them and other elders Cyril became acquainted with the religious history of Palestine between *c.*420 and his own days, for which he is our main source. In 555 the Origenist monks were expelled from the New Lavra, and Cyril was sent with other monks to occupy it; later he moved to Mar Saba. Here he wrote the biographies of the most prominent figures of Judaean Desert monasticism: Euthymius (*BHG* 648), Sabas (*BHG* 1608), John the Hesychast (*BHG* 897), Cyriac (*BHG* 463), Theodosius the Coenobiarch (*BHG* 1777), Theognius (*BHG* 1787), and Abramius (*BHG* 12). The *Lives* of Theodosius and Theognius are short, as extensive biographies had already been written by Theodore of *Petra (*BHG* 1776) and Paul of Elusa (*BHG* 1786). A short account of *Gerasimus, father of monasticism on the Jordan, is inserted in the *Life* of Euthymius. Notably, all these influential monks were foreigners, born and/or educated in Asia Minor (except Cyriac, from *Corinth), mostly in *Cappadocia and *Armenia. LDS

ed. E. Schwartz (TU 49/2, 1939).

ET (annotated) R. M. Price and J. Binns (CSS 114, 1991).

FT (annotated) A.-J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, vol. 3 in 3 parts (1961–5).

J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631* (OECS, 1994).

B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (1983).

Cynthia Stallman-Pacitti, *Cyril of Scythopolis: A Study in Hagiography as Apology* (1991).

E. Stein, 'Cyrille de Scythopolis: À propos de la nouvelle édition de ses œuvres', *AnBoll* 62 (1944), 163–86.

Cyrrhus *City in *Syria *Euphratensis. During the Principate, Cyrrhus had been the principal city of the *province (called 'Cyrrhestica'), but in the 4th century it lost this function to *Hierapolis, the new provincial capital. *Theodoret (bp. Cyrrhus 423–after 460) described it as 'deserted, with few inhabitants, and these poor' (*ep.* 32). He himself gave numerous buildings out of church funds, including an *aqueduct and two great *bridges (*ep.* 81). However, the city already possessed its greatest treasure, the *relics of the medical *martyrs Ss. Cosmas and Damian, and in the next century the *Emperor *Justinian I attributed his cure from a dangerous illness to their intercession (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 6, 5). Procopius (II, 11) makes it plain that the city had again become ruinous. This Justinian reversed (*IGLS* 145–7). He gave the city metropolitan status, and provided massive *fortifications; he also provided, or restored, many public buildings and amenities. In honour of Ss. Cosmas and Damian he renamed the city Hagiopolis, though the name did not take on. It was now a major *pilgrimage destination, and flourished until captured by the *Arabs in 637. Thereafter it housed a Syriac Orthodox metropolitan till the beginning of the 11th century, when it again became a ruin. Remains of the *city walls, the imposing citadel, a theatre and other public buildings, and Theodoret's two bridges are still to be seen. RMP

RE XII (1925), 199–204 (Honigmann).

F. Cumont, *Études syriennes* (1917), 221–45.

E. Frézouls, 'L'Exploration archéologique de Cyrrhus', in J. Balty, ed., *Apamée de Syrie* (1969), 81–91.

Cyrus al-Muqawqis (d. 21 March 642) *Patriarch of *Alexandria during the initial years of the *Arab conquest of *Egypt.

The *Emperor *Heraclius sent Cyrus to *Alexandria in 631. At first appointed *bishop and prefect, possibly also *Praefectus Augustalis, he soon (633?) became Patriarch of Alexandria, which he remained with some interruptions until his death in 642. The *Arabic sources refer to Cyrus as al-Muqawqis, a name derived through *Coptic from *Greek *kaukasios* referring to his background as Bishop of *Phasis (*Lazica) in the Caucasus. Arabic sources describe al-Muqawqis as receiving two Arab delegations in Egypt in 627 and 628, before the Arab conquest. In reply to *Muhammad's *letter of 628 inviting him to join *Islam, al-Muqawqis sent a refusal accompanied by many gifts including two concubines, Māriya and Shirīn. The former bore Muhammad a son called Ibrāhīm who died in infancy. The term al-Muqawqis is also used in reference to other people, including the *Miaphysite Patriarch *Benjamin I (in office), and was generally considered an Egyptian regal title.

In an attempt to return the Miaphysites of Egypt to orthodoxy, Cyrus supported Heraclius' compromise theologies of *Monotheletism and Monoenergism which assign Christ two natures but one will or activity respectively. His agreement concerning Monoenergism with the Theodosians of Alexandria in 633 recorded in the 'Nine Chapters' (*CPG* 7613) might be considered successful. Coptic sources, however, remember Cyrus as a cruel persecutor who forced the Coptic Patriarch *Benjamin to seek refuge in the *monasteries of the *Wadī an-Natrūn. The only other writings known by Cyrus are three letters to Sergius, Patriarch of *Constantinople (*CPG* 7610–12).

Cyrus' position as the supreme political, military, and financial leader responsible for Egypt in the name of the Roman authorities emerges clearly in his dealings with the Arabs. In 636 he concluded a truce with the Arabs: they would refrain from attacking Egypt in exchange for payments for which Cyrus had to raise extra taxes. *Heraclius disagreed with this arrangement, and dismissed Cyrus, but the patriarch seems to have been back in his post in 638. Cyrus negotiated the surrender of *Babylon in 640/1, as recounted in the *Chronicle* of *John of *Nikiu. After having been recalled briefly to *Constantinople, he returned in 641 to negotiate the Arab takeover of Alexandria. The Egyptians had to pay a *tribute, and Roman troops had to leave the city a year later. Cyrus died shortly afterwards on 21 March 642, in Alexandria. PMS

PLRE IIIA, Cyrus 17.

PmbZ II, no. 4213.*EI* 2 vol. 7 (1993), *s.n.* al-Muḳawḳis (K. Öhrnberg).

CPG 7610–13: ed. (with LT) R. Riedinger in ACO ser. II, vol. 2/2, 588, 7–601, 21 and ACO, ser. II. vol. 1, 172–3, 38.

Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*.

Kaegi, *Heraclius*.

Cyrus and John, Ss. Christians venerated as *miracle workers, and *martyrs of the Great *Persecution. Their lives are obscure; Cyrus is said to have been a physician and John a high-ranking soldier. Their bodies were kept in *Alexandria until *Cyril, *Patriarch of Alexandria (r. 412–44), moved them to *Menouthis to supplant a *pagan healing cult at a nearby *temple of *Isis. The modern place name *Aboukir derives from 'Abba' (father) and 'Cyrus'. The principal sources for their lives, deaths, and miracles are works by *Sophronius of *Jerusalem, who was cured at the shrine (Miracle 70). Their *relics were later translated to *Rome. PPat

BHG 469–70, 476–9; *CPG* 7673–4: Miracles ed. (with LT) in PG LXXXVII, 3, cols. 3373–696, reprinting A. Mai (1840).

BHG 477, *CPG* 7646: Sophronius, *Miracles* of Cyrus and John: ed. (annnotated with SpT), N. F. Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*: *contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (MAE 31, 1975).

ed. P. Bringel (with FT), *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Panégyrique des saints Cyr et Jean* (PO 51/1, no. 226, 2008).

FT J. Gascou (with comm.), *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean (BHG I 477–479)/Sophrone de Jérusalem* (EAHA, 2006).

FT (selections): A.-J. Festugière, *Collections grecques de miracles* (1971).

J. Gascou, 'Les Origines du Culte des saints Cyr et Jean': http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/05/91/74/PDF/introcyretjean.pdf.

Cyrus of Edessa (*fl.* mid-6th cent.) Cyrus (Qiyore) of Edessa was a theologian and teacher active in the schools of *Nisibis and *Seleucia-Ctesiphon. After studying with the future *Catholicus Mar *Aba (d. 552), Cyrus became director of the school in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. He is said to have founded a *monastery in al-*Hira. Cyrus composed six *Explanations* of dominical *festivals, thus completing the cycle begun by *Thomas of *Edessa. Cyrus' theology is influenced by *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. UP

GEDSH s.v. Qiyore of Edessa, 346 (Brock).

ed. (with ET) W. F. Macomber, *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts by Cyrus of Edessa* (CSCO 355–6, Scr. syr. 155–6; 1974).

W. F. Macomber, 'The Theological Synthesis of Cyrus of Edessa', *OrChristPer* 30 (1964), 5–38, 363–84.

Cyrus of Panopolis (*fl.* 430s–450s) Flavius Taurus Seleucus Cyrus Hierax was *Praefectus Urbi at Constantinople in 439, and simultaneously *Praefectus

Praetorio of the East for about two years. He was made *patricius* and was consul in 441. Such high office flowed from his personal literary talents and the patronage of the Empress Eudocia. On losing the trust of her husband, the Emperor Theodosius II, in the early 440s Cyrus was exiled as Bishop of Cotiaeum in Phrygia where he composed a life of S. Menas. After Theodosius' death in 450 he returned to live peacefully at Constantinople, dying in the reign of Leo I. Cyrus was the author of epics, an epigram for the column of S. Daniel the Stylite, and others in the *Greek Anthology*, and imperial panegyrics including one delivered before the marriage of Eudoxia and Valentinian III in 437. He was celebrated at Constantinople for building the city's sea walls, and as the instigator of street lighting and other renovations including a new church of the Virgin Mary in 439. A native of Egypt, he was the first to replace Latin with Greek as the language of public administration in the East. BC

PLRE II, Cyrus 7.
PCBE IV, Kyros 2.
Alan Cameron, 'The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II', *YaleClassSt* 27 (1982), 258–63.

Cyzicus (near mod. Erdek) Ancient city located on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, close to the island of Proconnesus. With the reorganization of the province of Asia in 297, Cyzicus became the capital of the new province of Hellespontus, with, later, a metropolitan bishopric continuing into the Byzantine period. Cyzicus was captured by the usurper Procopius in 365. An ancient temple was turned into a church of the Theotokos during the reign of Leo I (*Theosophy of Tübingen* 53) or Zeno (John Malalas, IV, 12; John of Antioch, fr. 15). Half the city was destroyed in an earthquake in 539. Cyzicus was formerly an island, but a silted causeway formed in the Middle Ages. The Arabs wintered there during the first Arab siege of Constantinople of 674–8 (Theophanes, AM 6165).

The mint of Cyzicus (mint mark SMK up to Theodosius II, CVZ/KVZ thereafter) was opened by Gallienus and minted sporadically through the 4th century. Moneyers are referred to by Sozomen (V, 15) in the 5th century as a major group within the city and from the reign of Anastasius I to its cessation in 629 it was an important producer of copper coinage. JCr; RRD

F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (1910).
Janin, *Grandscentres*, 192–4, 203–5.
C. Mango, 'The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church', *DeltChristArchEtair* 18 (1995), 201–3.

COINS

DOC 2.1.
RIC V/1.

D

Daciae **Dioecesis* created in the first half of the 4th century when the Dioecesis *Moesiae of the *Verona List was divided into the Dioecesis Daciae (to the north) and the Dioecesis *Macedoniae (to the south). According to the **Notitia Dignitatum*, the Dioecesis Daciae comprised the *frontier *provinces of *Moesia Superior Prima and *Dacia Ripensis, and, to the south of them, *Dacia Mediterranea, *Dardania, and *Praevalitana and part of *Macedonia Salutaris. The *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum resided in and administered the *dioecesis* himself (*Not. Dig.* [*or.*] I, 77 and 121–5; III,1–4 and 14–19). By the 9th century, *Bulgars and *Slavs had come to control Dacia. ABA

Jones, *LRE* 370 and 373.
Barrington Atlas, map 101.

Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea Roman *provinces in the north *Balkans from the 4th century onwards.

The territory north of the Danube in modern Romania which formed the Roman province of Dacia in the High Empire had been conquered by Trajan in AD 106. It was abandoned by *Aurelian (270–5), who accommodated refugees, including the mother of the future *Emperor Galerius (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 9, 2), in new provinces called the Two Dacias south of the Danube. The *Verona List places the Dacias (in the plural) in the *Dioecesis *Moesiae. They are referred to as Dacia and Dacia Ripensis in 343/4 and a *Praeses Daciae is attested in 321. The name of Dacia Mediterranea first occurs on an *inscription of the reign of *Valentinian I.

Dacia Mediterranea appears in the **Notitia Dignitatum* governed by a *Consularis and Dacia Ripensis governed by a Praeses (*or.* I, 77 and 121); both provinces were in the Dioecesis *Daciae under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum (*or.* III, 15–16). Dacia Ripensis was immediately south of the Middle Danube, with *Moesia Superior Margensis (Prima) upstream and Moesia Inferior (Secunda) downstream; *Hierocles lists *Ratiaria as its principal *city (655, 2). Dacia Mediterranea lay immediately to the south of Dacia Ripensis; Hierocles gives its principal city as *Serdica (654, 3). ECD; OPN

TIR K-34 (1976), 38.
Barrington Atlas, map 101.
NEDC 216–17.

Dadīshōʿ Qatrāyā Late 7th-century *Syriac monastic writer in the *Church of the East, originally from Bet Qatraye (mod. Qatar) All his writings centre upon the contemplative practice of *shelya* (stillness). A *Treatise on Solitude* describes an advanced regimen of seclusion and *prayer for a solitary monk. In the *Letter to Mar Abkosh on Hesychia* (*On Stillness*) Dadishoʿ responds to a friend regarding distractions in the practice of stillness. The *Commentary on Abba Isaiah* follows the monastic advice of a 5th-century Egyptian or Palestinian author, focusing on revival of the practice of *shelya* (the condition of the soul needed to meet God). The *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers* is a series of questions and answers between monks and an elder, discussing spiritual issues raised by a collection of sayings of the *Desert fathers, the **Apophthegmata Patrum*. RAKi

GEDSH s.v. Dadishoʿ Qatraya, p. 111 (Brock).

WORKS:

On Stillness, ed. (with FT) A. Guillaumont and M. Albert, 'Lettre de Dadisho Qatraya à Abkosh sur l'*hésychia*', in Lucchesi and Saffrey, *Mémorial Festugière*, 235–45.
On Stillness, ed. (with ET) A. Mingana, 'Early Christian Mystics' (Woodbrooke Studies 7, 1934), 70–143 and 201–47.
ed. (with FT) R. Draguet, *Le Commentaire du livre d'Abba Isaïe* (CSCO 326–7, Scr. syr. 144–5, 1972).
N. Sims-Williams, 'Dadishoʿ Qatraya's Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers', *AnBoll* 112 (1994), 33–64.
R. A. Kitchen, 'Dadisho Qatraya's *Commentary on Abba Isaiah*: The *Apophthegmata Patrum* Connection', *SP* 41 (2006), 35–50.

dadig *See* LAW, PERSIAN.

Dadisho, Synod of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, PERSIAN EMPIRE.

***Dadistan-e Denig* (*Religious Judgement*)** Middle *Persian text on various religious subjects written in the 9th century AD by the *Zoroastrian high priest of *Kirman, Manushchihr-e Gosanjam. It takes the form of a series of questions with answers from Manushchihr; they are concerned largely with such matters of Zoroastrian religious conduct as the duties of the righteous man and religious expectations associated with *death and the afterlife. TD

EncIran VI/5 (1993) *s.n. Dādestān ī dēnīg*, 550–4 (M. Shaki).

ed. M. Jaafari-Dehagi, *Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Part I: Transcriptions, Translation and Commentary* (1998).

ET E. W. West, *Dadistan-e Denig* in *Pahlavi Texts*, Part 3 (Sacred Books of the East 24, 1885).

M. Macuch, 'Pahlavi Literature', in R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch, eds., *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, vol. 1 (2009), 116–96.

Dagobert I *Frankish King (623–39) who was the son of *Chlothar II and either Berthetrude or Haldetrude. He was appointed king in *Austrasia, excluding the lands west of the Ardennes and the Vosges in 623, and married Gomatrude, the sister of Chlothar's queen. After a dispute with his father, the western territories were restored to the Austrasian kingdom in 626. Upon Chlothar's death, Dagobert became sole ruler of the *Merovingian kingdoms, divorced Gomatrude, and married Nantechild in 629, with whom he had a son, *Clovis II; he also had an older son, *Sigibert III, with a concubine, Ragnetrude. He installed his brother *Charibert II as king in *Aquitaine in 629, but was possibly responsible for his assassination in 632. That same year, he made the infant Sigibert king over Austrasia, retaining *Neustria-*Burgundy for himself. In the 630s, Dagobert organized successful campaigns against the *Gascons and Bretons, but achieved mixed results on the eastern frontier against *Samo, King of the *Slavic Wends. He also entered into diplomatic relations with the *Emperor *Heraclius, and intervened in support of *Sisenand in Visigothic *Spain.

Dagobert's kingdom was centred on his royal *court in the *Paris region, where nobles were groomed for secular and episcopal appointments. The structure and activity of Dagobert's court are visible in the *Lives* of *bishops, especially *Audoenus of *Rouen, *Eligius of Noyon, and *Desiderius of Cahors, as well as in the latter's *letters. These, and other writings, point to political developments which would become emblematic of the later Merovingian period: the reliance on ecclesiastics at the royal courts, the emergence of the *Mayors of the Palace, and royal enthusiasm for monastic foundations. Dagobert augmented monastic endowments at Solignac, Elno, and Rebais; the latter's foundation document of 635 is the oldest extant Merovingian royal *charter. He was especially devoted to S. Denis, who was promoted to royal patron and whose church Dagobert transformed into a richly endowed *monastery dedicated to the royal cult. He was buried there when he died of dysentery in 639. He was succeeded in Neustria-Burgundy by his second son, *Clovis II. HJH

PLRE IIIA, Dagobertus 2.

E. Ewig, 'Die fränkischen Teilreiche im 7. Jahrhundert (613–714)', *Trierer Zeitschrift* 22 (1953), 174–90, 194–201, repr. in Ewig, *SFG*, vol. 1.

Geary, *Before France and Germany*, 151–80.

Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 145–63, 357.

Dagobert II *Frankish King of *Austrasia (*c.*676–*c.*679) He was the infant son of *Sigibert III, exiled to *Ireland by *Grimoald in 657 after his father's death. He became king on his eventual return, but was murdered in obscure circumstances, and later venerated as a *martyr. PJF

LexMA 3, 430 (U. Nonn).

P. Fouracre, 'Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II: The English Connection', in P. Fouracre and D. Ganz, eds., *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages* (2008), 70–89.

Dagobert III (*c.*698–715) *Frankish King from 711. Dagobert was still a minor when he succeeded his father *Childebert III as king of the whole Frankish realm. Real power was exercised by *Pippin II, and latterly his widow *Plectrude. The *Neustrians rebelled and elevated *Chilperic II on his death. EJ

LexMA 3, 430 'Dagobert III' (H. Ebling).

Dağ Pazarı Archaeological site (formerly Kestel) in *Isauria (Rough *Cilicia), about 34 km (21 miles) north of modern Mut overlooking the main *road from *Iconium to *Seleucia ad Calycadnum. It is a natural fortress 1,400 m (4,600 feet) above sea level and descends steeply on three sides as well as being defended by a *city wall 5 m (16 feet) high. An *inscription found in the region in 1961 has suggested the settlement be identified as ancient Coropissus, a city which minted *coinage into the 3rd century, of which many examples survive.

The *Bishop of Coropissus attended the *Council of *Nicaea. There survive at Dağ Pazarı remains of a cathedral with a *baptistery, a funerary church *extra muros*, a church with an ambulatory; a fourth church may be part of a *monastery. Gough remarks that the floor plan of the church with an ambulatory resembles that of the churches of Meryemlik (Seleucia ad Calycadnum) and *Alahan, and, in linking them to the *Emperor *Zeno, he argues that the ambulatory church at Dağ Pazarı was also an imperial commission. EL

M. Gough, 'DağPazarı 1959', *TürkArkDerg* 10/2 (1960), 23–4.
M. Gough, 'The Emperor Zeno and Some Cilician Churches', *AnatSt* 22 (1972), 199–212.

Dahlaq Islands Red Sea archipelago off the coast of Eritrea. They were a major source of obsidian in early and, perhaps, *Aksumite times but further research is needed to clarify the significance of other sources in the region. Numerous graves and *cisterns indicate the presence of a large population, but datable features are restricted to *Arabic *inscriptions of the 10th–15th centuries, during which period the islands served as a bridgehead for *Arab penetration into the Horn of Africa. Although architectural fragments have been inconclusively claimed as Aksumite, little firm evidence is yet available for substantial pre-10th-century occupation. DWP

M. Schneider, *Stèles funéraires musulmans des Iles Dahlac (Mer Rouge)* (1983).
J. Zarins 'Obsidian and the Red Sea Trade', in Taddei and Callieri, *South Asian Archaeology, 1987*, 507–42.
T. Insoll, 'Dahlak Kebir, Eritrea: From Aksumite to Ottoman', *Adumatu* 3 (2001), 39–50.

dakhma *See* DAXMAG.

Dalmatia Roman *province on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, extending north to Istria and east into modern Serbia. The territory of the former Dalmatia south of the River Drin was by the time of the *Verona List ceded to the new *province of *Praevalitana. The new Dalmatia was in the *Dioecesis of Pannonia and had a *Praeses as *governor. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* it is in the *Dioecesis of *Illyricum (*occ.* III, 31). The principal *city was *Salona. Following a period of *rule by, successively, *Odoacer and the *Ostrogoths, Roman control finally lapsed in the 7th century. WB

Jones, *LRE* 191–2, 246, 255, 275–6, 314.
Barrington Atlas, 101.
NEDC 217.
J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (1969).

Dalmatius, Flavius *Consul 333. Son of *Constantius I and *Theodora, so brother of *Julius Constantius and half-brother of *Constantine I. His children included *Dalmatius Caesar and *Hannibalianus. He suppressed the *usurper *Calocaerus and probably died in the 337 family massacre. OPN

PLRE I, Dalmatius 6.
NEDC 37, 105.
Bagnall et al., *CLRE*, 200–1.

Dalmatius Caesar (r. 335–7) Son of Flavius *Dalmatius (*consul 333), so brother of *Hannibalianus. *Constantine I made him *Caesar in 335 to control the lower Danube *frontier. He was killed in 337. OPN

PLRE I, Dalmatius 7.
NEDC 45, 87.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 459–61.

Damascius (*c.*460–after 538) *Rhetorician, *philosopher, and biographer of the philosopher *Isidore. Damascius studied in his native *Damascus and in *Alexandria before beginning a career as a rhetorician in Alexandria around 480. He served in this capacity for nine years (*Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 181) before fleeing to *Athens with the philosopher Isidore. He was converted to philosophy en route and subsequently became a vocal critic of rhetoric and rhetoricians. In Athens, he studied philosophy under *Marinus, *Isidore, and Zenodotus (the successor of Marinus as *Diadochus of the Academy of Athens), remaining affiliated with the Athenian *school even after Isidore's departure. He ultimately became Diadochus himself, probably in the early 510s, and remained so until the school's closure under the *Emperor *Justinian I in 529. In 531, following a second round of Justinianic anti-*pagan legislation, Damascius travelled to the *Persian Empire along with a group of six colleagues in hopes of finding a more hospitable environment at the *court of *Khosrow I. According to *Agathias (*Histories*, II, 30, 3–4), Damascius and his colleagues were disappointed with what they found in Persia and returned to the Roman Empire after securing protection from persecution as part of the *Everlasting Peace of 532. In 538 Damascius composed an *epigram for a slave girl in *Emesa (*AnthGraec* VII, 553) and died presumably not long afterwards.

Damascius wrote a *Life* of his teacher Isidore (also called the *Philosophical History* by the **Suda*), a work in which Damascius defines the character and behaviour of Isidore by comparing him to many of the leading pagan intellectuals active in the later 5th and early 6th centuries. Perhaps two-fifths of the work survives, primarily in an epitome by *Photius (181) and fragments preserved in the *Suda*. Damascius also wrote commentaries on Plato's *Parmenides, Timaeus, Phaedo, First Alcibiades*, and *Philebus*, a commentary on the **Chaldean Oracles*, and an extant treatise *On First Principles*. Contemporaries mention works on *astronomy (*John Philoponus, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica* [CAG 14, 1] 86b, 104b) and one entitled *περὶ ἀριθμου καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου* (*Simplicius, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Physica* [CAG 9–10] 625, 644, 774, 800). Photius (*Bibl.* 130) also describes a four-book *Paradoxa* written by Damascius that is otherwise completely lost. EW

PLRE II, Damascius 2.
VIsidori: ed. P. Athanassiadi (annotated wtih ET), *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (Athens, 1999).

ed. L. G. Westerink (with ET), *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, 2 vols. (2nd rev. edn., *c.*2009).
ed. J. Combès and L. G. Westerink, *Damascius, Traité des premiers principes* (1986–91).
P. Athanassiadi, 'Persecution and Response in Late Paganism', *JHS* 113 (1993), 1–29.
E. Watts, 'Doctrine, Anecdote, and Action: Reconsidering the Social History of the Last Platonists (*c.*430–*c.*550 CE)', *CP* 106 (2011), 226–44.

Damascus *City, first mentioned in the 2nd millennium BC, at the heart of a large oasis where Abarna and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus (2 Kings 5:12), debouch from the mountains of the Anti-Lebanon on their way east into the Syrian Desert. It was famous for its fertility and its *farming. A 4th-century geographer appreciated its plums, its small dates and pistachios, and its beautiful women (**Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, 30–1) and a *letter which survives among those of the *Emperor *Julian praises figs and especially those of Damascus, a city which in very truth belongs to Zeus, 'the eye of the whole East', wonderful for its rivers, climate, and fertility (*ep.* 80 Wright = 180 Bidez-Cumont).

Damascus became a *colonia* in the early 3rd century and, by the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum*, was the principal *city of the *province of *Phoenice Libani, also called Phoenice Secunda. The grid pattern of the Roman *city is discernible in the layout of the modern city: the Souq Midhat Pasha (the Street called Straight of Acts 9:11) follows the line of the Decumanus, crossed by the Cardo, at whose northern end was the Temenos of the *Temple of Zeus/Jupiter Haddad, transformed under *Theodosius I into a church (*John Malalas, XIII, 37, 344) dedicated to S. John the Baptist, one of whose heads was venerated there, and then, under the *Caliph al-*Walid I (705–15), partly demolished and appropriated for the Great Mosque of *Damascus. The Gallic *Bishop Arculf visited the church in the 670s when the takeover was only partial (*Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, III, 28).

Numerous other churches and religious houses were built in the course of Late Antiquity, both in the city and in its surroundings. *Justinian I founded a *monastery named after S. Leontius of *Tripolis (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 9, 26), *miracles occurred at a Church of S. Thomas, and there was a Church of S. *Sergius called 'of Maxillatos'. The *Piacenza Pilgrim visited a monastery at the second milestone which marked the site of the conversion of S. Paul (46), and there was a *basilica at the *village of Mariamme commemorating S. Gelasinus, a local man and *actor, purportedly martyred at *Heliopolis-Ba'albek (John Malalas, XII, 50, 314–15; **Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. AD 297; *John of *Nikiu, 77). In 635 the Muslim conquerors permitted the local population to retain fifteen of their churches.

Damascus was an important point of contact between the peoples of the Desert and the Sown. The *Tetrarchic Land Surveyors were active in the *villages of the oasis (Millar, *RNE* 539–40). It was also the central point on the *Strata Diocletiana, the line of Roman forts which ran south along the route at the edge of the Syrian Desert from *Sura on the *Euphrates *frontier, through *Palmyra, and on down to *Aila at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba (Millar, *RNE* 183–4). There was probably a Roman camp in the north-west corner of the city walls of Damascus on the site of the later citadel, and the *Dux Phoenicis commanded numerous *cavalry units spread across the surrounding territory (*Notitia Dignitatum or.* XXXII). During the final phases of the Great *Persecution in 311/13 the Dux at Damascus rounded up a bevy of prostitutes and obliged them to calumniate the local Christian community (*Eusebius, *HE* IX, 5, 2). There were also **fabricae* for *arms and armour (*Notitia Dignitatum or.* XI, 20), 'bearing in mind the incursions of the *Saracens' (John Malalas, XII, 38, 307–8).

Relations with the local *Arab tribes fluctuated. In the early 5th century Antiochus the Dux (*PLRE* II, Antiochus, 9) told S. *Symeon Stylites the Elder about a grand banquet to which he had been invited by al-Nu'man (*PLRE* II, Naamanes 1), King of the *Lakhimids (*VSymeonStyl* [*Syr.*] 101). In 453, the historian *Priscus of Panium was at Damascus and found the *Magister Militum *Ardabur, son of *Aspar, in the process of negotiating a peace with the local *Saracens after fighting them (fr. 26 Blockley = 20 Müller *FHG*). The military command was of sufficient importance in the 6th century for the Dux to remain independent of the new civil *governor (*Moderator) when in 535/6 *Justinian I reorganized the local provincial administration; he was paid ten pounds of *gold *per annum* (*EdJust* 4). However in 613 the city surrendered to the Persian general *Shahrwaraz as he marched south from *Antioch to *Bosra and *Jerusalem; he demanded *tribute and took prisoners, and marched through again the following year on his way back north.

Damascus was captured by the Muslims early in the *Arab conquest of Syria. *Khalid b. al-Walid laid siege to the city in March AD 635 (14 AH) and took possession of it in September of that year. The city was legally deemed to have capitulated (a determination which had consequences for its later status in Islamic *law), but the historical practicalities seem, to judge from the accounts in al-*Baladhuri (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 186–99), to have been more complicated. Much of the population fled to the protection of the *Emperor *Heraclius at *Antioch and Khalid made a pact with the *bishop and *Mansur b. *Sarjun the military commander (and father, or possibly grandfather, of *John of Damascus) which obliged the Christians to pay the poll-tax (**jizya*) and feed their conquerors.

In 639 *'Umar I, the second *caliph, appointed as governor of Syria *Mu'awiya, son of a *merchant family of *Mecca. The third Caliph *Uthman, a kinsman of Mu'awiya, was assassinated in 656, giving rise to the First **Fitna* or *Arab Civil War, from which Mu'awiyah emerged in 661 as the fifth caliph, and first *Umayyad caliph. He made Damascus his principal residence, and the city remained the centre of Islamic *administration until the *'Abbasids overthrew the 'Umayyads in 750 and moved the political capital of the Muslim world, and with it the cultural heart of the Dar ul-Islam, to *Mesopotamia (Iraq). OPN; EL

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.n.* Dimashk.
Millar, *RNE* 310–19.
R. Burns, *Damascus: A History* (2005).
K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (1958, rev. edn. J. W. Allan, 1989).
D. Sack, *Damaskus. Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisch-islamischen Stadt* (Damaszener Forschungen 1, 1989).

Damascus, Great Mosque of The site of the Great Mosque in Damascus had been the focus of cultic activity in the city for millennia. At the time of the *Arab conquest in *c.*635, the Church of S. John the Baptist stood within a large walled enclosure. The Muslim conquerors appropriated part of the space within the courtyard as their place of prayer. In a programme of *mosque-building across the central lands of the *caliphate, Caliph al-*Walid I (705–15) demolished the church that had stood in the centre of the ancient temenos and turned the southern side of the enclosure into a vast congregational mosque with a transverse nave. The courtyard was adorned with *mosaics depicting a city of lavish villas, abundant rivers, and trees set against a gold background. This has been interpreted as an ideal view of Damascus or a representation of the heavenly paradise that awaits believers on their deaths. EL

R. Burns, *Damascus: A History* (2005).
K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (²1989).
F. B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (2000).

Damasus (*c.*305–384) *Bishop of *Rome (366–84). His pontificate began with violent suppression of a rival claimant, the *deacon Ursinus; associated charges of misconduct plagued him throughout his episcopate. Nevertheless, Damasus' ambitious policies bolstered papal authority. He campaigned against Western *Homoean bishops, calling synods and promulgating statements of faith, while intervening in a schism at *Antioch. He rebuffed *Priscillian's overtures, anathematized the doctrines of *Apollinaris, and took measures against the Luciferians. In the earliest known papal decretal, he pronounced to the bishops of *Gaul on church discipline. After an imperial law (*CTh* XVI, 1, 2) declared official Christianity to be that practised by Damasus and *Peter the *Patriarch of *Alexandria, Damasus first explicitly invoked the 'Petrine Text' of Matt. 16:18 to justify Roman primacy. At Rome Damasus refined the episcopal administration and enhanced the Church's prestige by courting the senatorial *aristocracy and commissioning *Jerome's initial revisions of the Old *Latin *Bible, leading eventually to the *Vulgate. His church-building activities, summarized by the **Liber Pontificalis* (39, 2–4), further altered Rome's urban *landscape, and his transformation of *martyr shrines into monuments brought them under episcopal control. His classicizing *epigrams inscribed in *catacomb *martyria under the direction of Furius Dionysius *Philocalus promoted a heroic vision of the Church's past that promoted a new sense of Romano-Christian identity. DET

PCBE II/I, Damasus.

WORKS (*CPL* 1632–6):

ed. (annotated with ET) D. Trout, *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (OECT, 2015).
ed. A. Ferrua (annotated), *Epigrammata Damasiana* (1942).
ed. U. Reutter (with GT and study), *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366–384): Leben und Werk* (2009).
Pietri, *Roma Christiana* (1976).
D. Trout, 'Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome', in D. Martin and P. Cox Miller, eds., *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies* (2005), 298–315.

Damghan Capital (MP *šahrestān*) and largest city of the province of Kūmīs (MP Kōmiš; Ar. Qūmis), in *Gorgan, 335 km (208 miles) east of modern Tehran. The city was walled in the *Sasanian period, as appears from al-*Baladhuri's account of the Muslim attack on Damghan's gates during the *Arab conquest. A Sasanian building at Tepe Hissar, 3 km (1.9 miles) south-east of Damghan, was a *palace or possibly the *fire temple in Kūmīs called *Ǧarīs* by al-*Mas'ūdī and *Ǧarīr* by al-Šahrastānī. Sasanian settlement around Damghan is abundant. DTP

EncIran VI (1993) *s.n.* Dāmḡān, 632–8 (C. Adle).
ed. T. Daryaee (with ET), *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History* (2002), 39–40.
P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen geographen* (1970), 814–18.
Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*, 8–11.
K. M. Trinkaus, 'Pre-Islamic Settlement and Land Use in Damghan, Northeast Iran', *Iranica Antiqua* 18 (1981), 119–44.

Damianus *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 569–605). During his lengthy patriarchate, recorded in *HistCoptPatr* 14 (*PO* 2/1), Damian based himself at

the *Monastery of the *Ennaton. He proved a careful administrator and ended long-standing schisms with the *Meletians and Acephali. He was less successful outside *Egypt, becoming embroiled in a dispute over succession to the Miaphysite patriarchate of *Antioch and a theological controversy with the eventual Patriarch of Antioch, *Peter of *Callinicum (*CPG* 7242–6). A *letter on Christology to *Jacob Burd'oyo (*CPG* 7240–1) and a *consolation on Jacob's death are preserved in *Syriac in *Michael the Elder, *Chron*. X, 14 and a *Coptic translation of the former is written on the walls of the Monastery of S. *Epiphanius at *Thebes in Upper *Egypt. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 3, *s.n.* Damian, cols. 688a–689a (E. R. Hardy).
CPG III and Supplementum (1998), 7240–9.
CPG 7420 (versio coptica): ed. with ET by W. E. Crum in Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, vol. 2, 331–7.
CPG 7242–46: ed. (with ET) R. Y. Ebied, A. van Roey, and L. R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum Anti-Tritheist Dossier* (OLA 10, 1981) text: 81–6, translation: 54–8; and R. Y. Ebied, A. van Roey, and L. R. Wickham, *Petri Callinicensis Tractatus contra Damianum*, I (CCSG 29, 1994), 379; II (CCSG 32, 1996), 561; III (CCSG 35, 1998), 404 and 544–5.
Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy*, 107–12.

damnatio memoriae A modern adaptation of references to *memoria damnata* and *memoria accussare* (*CJust* I, 5, 4, 4; VII, 2, 2), encompassing processes by which public figures were removed from public commemoration. The *damnatio* of *emperors and other political figures involved the destruction of *portraiture and *inscriptions (e.g. *Lactantius, *Mort*. 42), though the evidence, such as the erased inscriptions of Geta and the base of *Stilicho's smashed equestrian statue remaining in the Roman *Forum, could sometimes remind people of what they were supposed to be forgetting. *Damnatio* of living emperors might involve physical mutilation, as in the case of *Justinian II Rhinotmetus (Slit-Nose—it was later replaced with a *gold replica). The ecclesiastical equivalent for heretical *bishops was to erase their names from the episcopal *diptychs, so that they were no longer commemorated by name at the *Eucharist. AGS; OPN

C. Hedrick Jr., *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (2000).
A. Omissi, '*Damnatio Memoriae* or *Creatio Memoriae*? Memory Sanctions as Creative Processes in the Fourth Century AD', *CambClassJnl* 62 (2016), 170–99.

dancing *See* DRAMA AND DANCE.

Daniel, Armenian Apocalypse of *Armenian translation of the *Apocalypse of Daniel*, believed to have emerged out of two phases: the original *translation (Arm. 1) based on the *Syriac and the subsequent revision (Arm. 2) based on the *Greek. Before the invention of the Armenian alphabet Syriac was the dominant literary language in use in Persarmenia; the Greek influence must be attributed to the period after 431 when the Greek text was brought from *Constantinople. The Apocalypse thus contains elements from the Syriac Peshitta and the Greek Septuagint. This dual heritage is a feature of the translation activity at the time (*see also* BIBLE, VERSIONS OF, ARMENIAN). A striking feature of the Armenian text is the inclusion of 'Daniel's Seventh Vision', which its author regarded as consummating the first six visions into which the biblical prophecies had been divided. The vision includes a historical review of the Roman *emperors from *Constantine I to *Marcian (450–7), and an eschatological prophecy of the appearance of the Antichrist and the Last Judgement. VN

Thomson, *BCAL* 234–8 (Apocrypha); supplement p. 208.
Sargis Yovsep'eanc', *Ankanon girk' Hin Ktakaranac'* (1896), 237–50, 387–99.
ET S. Peter Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 9, 1992).

Daniel, Greek Apocalypse of An eschatological reflection on the depredations of 'the sons of Hagar' (the *Arabs), a victorious king of the Romans, the demise of *Constantinople, and the appearance of the Antichrist obviously indebted to the *Apocalypse of Ps.-*Methodius*. It seems possible to date the Apocalypse precisely to sometime between the coronation of Charlemagne on Christmas Day, 800, and the end of the reign of the Empress Irene on 31 October 802, since the transfer of the kingdom from *Constantinople to *Rome is mentioned (7, 14) and the last ruler of Constantinople before the rise of the Antichrist is supposed to be a woman (6, 10). There is reference to three Byzantine rulers in the Apocalypse. The first, who defeats the Ishmaelites and restores peace and prosperity, seems to be identified with *Constantine V, and the other two, a man and a woman described most unfavourably, with Leo IV and Irene. These identifications suggest that the author was an *Iconoclast, although he makes no explicit mention of such an adherence. BMG

ed. (with GT and comm.) K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese. Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse* (1976).
ET (annotated) G. T. Zervos, 'Apocalypse of Daniel', in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1983), vol. 1, 755–70.

Daniel, Syriac Apocalypse of (early 7th cent.) A *Syriac apocalypse of the early Byzantine period, attested in a single manuscript (Harvard Ms. Syriac 42, fols. 117a–122b). The *Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel* is part of a sizeable body of post-biblical apocryphal

Daniel literature. It consists of two parts. In the prose narrative frame (chs. 1–13), Daniel tells of his deportation by Nebuchadnezzar and his service first under Cyrus, then under a certain Gemath the Magus, and finally under Darius, whom he follows to Persia. The poetic, eschatological part (chs. 14–40), which occupies the main portion of the text, provides a systematic account of the End Time events: the revolt of the peoples of the north is followed by the arrival of the Antichrist, the final theophany on Mount Zion, the second Advent of Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the eternal banquet of peace in the Heavenly Jerusalem. The text's provenance is unknown, though a *Chalcedonian, possibly *Melkite origin is likely. MHen

ed. M. Henze (annotated with ET), *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel* (2001).

ed. M. Slabczyk (with Esperanto translation), *Apocalypso de Daniel Profeta en la lando Persio kaj elamo* (2000).

L. DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (2005), 113–23.

A. Golitzin, 'A Monastic Setting for the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel', in Young and Blanchard, eds., *To Train his Soul in Books*, 66–98.

Daniel, Tomb of the Prophet *Latin (*Theodosius the pilgrim) and *Armenian (*Sebeos) authors accord with *Syriac and *Arabic traditions in recording that the tomb of Daniel was situated in *Susa, where his memory is still celebrated.

According to the anonymous Syriac **Chronicle of Khuzestan*, the Arab conquerors stole the treasure which had accumulated at the prophet's shrine since the time of Cyrus and Darius, and the *silver *reliquary. *Tabari relates that the *Caliph *'Umar b. al-Khattab (634–44) rebuilt the tomb somewhere on the banks of the Karun River or under a *bridge, although later local traditions claim that the *relics were transferred between shores of the river. Descriptions by Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, and Benjamin of Tudela in 1167 relate how Jews and Christians alike asked for the prophet's intercession for rain.

Many other traditions place Daniel's tomb elsewhere, including one related by al-*Baladhuri and Bar Salibi, which holds that the prophet's grave was located in Babylon. *Kirkuk and *Mosul also claimed his grave; the tomb at Mosul remained an important local monument until destroyed in 2014. The tomb in Susa was partly destroyed by a flood in 1287; the conical polygonal brick *dome that surmounts the tomb today was built in the Qajar period. CJ; MPC

EncIran VI/6 (1993), 657–60 *s.v.* 'Dānīāl-e nabī. iii. The Tomb of Dānīāl' (P. Varjāvand).

Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément, 13 (2003), 616–19: 'Le Christianisme à Suse et en Susiane'.

Daniel of Salah (*fl.* mid-6th cent.) *Syriac Orthodox biblical exegete and Abbot of Bet Salihe (which might or might not be Salah in the *Tur ʿAbdin). Upon the request of Abbot John of the *Monastery of Mar Eusebios in Kaphra d-Birta (near *Apamea), Daniel compiled a distinctively *Miaphysite commentary on the Psalms, at a time when the Syriac Orthodox found themselves under significant pressure, both from advocates of *Chalcedon and from supporters of *Julian of Halicarnassus. In this commentary, completed in 541/2, Daniel treated all 150 Psalms, adopting a primarily Christological interpretation. He also wrote an influential *letter to monks at the Monastery of Mar Bassus refuting the teachings of *Julian of Halicarnassus and the Phantasiasts. RAKi

GEDSH s.v. Daniel of Salah, 114–15 (Taylor).

ed. (with ET) D. G. K. Taylor, CSCO (in preparation).

D. G. K. Taylor, 'The Christology of the Syriac Psalm Commentary (AD 541/542) of Daniel of Salah and the Phantasiast Controversy', *SP* 35 (2001), 508–15.

D. G. K. Taylor, 'The Psalm Commentary of Daniel of Salah and the Formation of Sixth-Century Syrian Orthodox Identity', *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (2010), 65–92.

Daniel of Scetis, S. (5th/6th cent.) Monastic superior in *Scetis. Stories about Abba Daniel, originally composed in *Greek, survive in ten languages. They feature an unnamed narrator; he and Abba Daniel, a peripatetic pair, travel around *Egypt, especially to *Alexandria. The writings, not typical of hagiographies, have some central themes, in particular that holy persons do not reside only in the desert. While continuing the ascetic critique of society, the characters in Daniel's stories also confront and challenge the monastic tradition. TV

CoptEnc 2 *s.v.* Daniel of Scetis, Saint, Hegumenos 692 (T. Orlandi) (cf. *BHO* 241–3).

ed. of some Greek stories (with ET and comm.) Britt Dahlman, *St Daniel of Sketis: A Group of Hagiographic Texts* (Studia Byzantina Upsaliensis 10, 2007).

ET of stories from many languages, with study, T. Vivian, ed., *Witness to Holiness: Abba Daniel of Scetis* (CSS 219, 2008).

Daniel the Stylite, S. (409–93) Born near *Samosata on the Euphrates, and admitted to a *monastery nearby at the age of 12, where he stayed for 25 years. After five years of visiting hermits in *Syria, including S. *Symeon *Stylites the Older, he moved to *Constantinople (in 451), where he spent nine years in a former *pagan *temple. In 460, after the death of Symeon (459), he decided to adopt his manner of life, and the *Emperor *Leo I had a pillar built for him in the district of Anaplus on the European side of the *Bosporus, 1.5 km (1 mile) inland from the sea. Leo consulted him on numerous occasions, and he negotiated

an agreement between the emperor and King *Gubaz I of *Lazica. Most dramatically, in 477 he descended from his pillar in order to lead a mass protest against the encyclical of the *usurper *Basiliscus, which rejected the definition of the nature of Christ reached at the *Council of *Chalcedon. Basiliscus was obliged to receive Daniel with honour and to withdraw the encyclical. The oldest of the three Greek *Lives* is a reliable source. H. Delehaye, its first editor, considered it to be the authentic work of a disciple and contemporary, but H. G. Beck (*Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 411) proposed a date of *c.*600.

RMP

BHG 489–90.
ed. H. Delehaye, *Les Saints stylites* (SubsHag 14, 1923), xxxv–lviii and 1–147 (the text of all three Greek Lives).
ET (annotated) of the oldest *Life*: Dawes and Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, 7–84.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 259–60.
R. Lane Fox in M. J. Edwards and S. Swain, eds., *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (1997), 175–225.

Daphne-by-Antioch (mod. Harbiye, Turkey) Opulent suburb 9 km (5.5 miles) west of *Antioch, well watered, with delightful pleasant groves (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 14, 5), *villas adorned with fine *mosaics (many now in museums in the United States, Paris, and Antakya) and a *temple and *oracle of Apollo. S. Babylas, *Bishop of Antioch, martyred in 250, was buried at Daphne in a *martyrium built by the *Caesar *Gallus (*Sozomen V, 19, 12–13). In 362 *Julian had the *relics removed; the temple of Apollo burned down and Julian blamed the Christians (*Misopogon*, 361BD, but cf. *Ammianus, XXII, 12, 8–13, 3). *John Chrysostom preached a surviving *sermon commemorating the incident (*BHG* 207). The Church of the Archangel Michael was burned during *Khosrow I's invasion of 540 (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 11, 5–13).

ACFC; OPN

BHG 207: ed. (annotated wtih FT) M. Schatkin (SC 362, 1990).
ET M. N. Morgan (annotated by S. N. C. Lieu) in Lieu, *Julian*, 41–79.
Butcher, *Roman Syria*.
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 251–2.
D. M. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 3 vols. (1947).

Dara (modern Oğuz, SE Turkey) *City 'placed at the throat of the enemy' (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3, 28) on the eastern *frontier. The decision of *Anastasius I to construct a new fortress city to confront the Persian stronghold of *Nisibis *c.*27 km (15 miles) to the south-east was a bold gesture designed to regain prestige after the costly *Persian war of 502–4. Construction began by 505 and within a few years a major bastion for the 'lands of the Romans' was created (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 1, 13).

The building project is especially well documented with detailed accounts by *Marcellinus Comes and Ps.-*Zacharias Rhetor, in addition to descriptions of *Justinian I's works in Procopius' *Buildings*. The varying sources do not however present a consistent record. The *Syriac source Ps.-Zacharias informs us that the city took two to three years to build (*HE* 7. 6) under the direction of John, *Bishop of *Amida, but in Marcellinus' account *Calliopius the *hyparchos* oversaw the works, marking out the perimeter with a hoe in the classical manner. The new city was furnished with formidable defences and elegant public buildings, comprising *baths, porticoes, storehouses, *cisterns, a *palace, and a *statue of Anastasius. Two churches are noted, one the Great Church and another dedicated to S. Bartholomew furnished with *relics brought from *Cyprus. Renamed after its imperial founder—Anastasiopolis—and adorned with the rank of metropolis, the fortress became the base and stronghold of the *Dux Mesopotamiae.

The subsequent history of Dara confirmed the selection of the original site and fortification. The city was besieged during the first Persian war of *Justinian I's reign and was the scene of *Belisarius' earliest victory over the Persians in 530 (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 13–14). In an attempted coup in 537 John Cottistis seized the palace of the Dux with the support of his bodyguard. During the renewed Persian war (539–44), the campaign of 540 saw the capture of *Antioch by *Khosrow I, but Dara alone was able to resist a Persian *siege. In addition to the restorations carried out by Justinian, further work was undertaken on the *water supply and elsewhere early in the reign of *Justin II (565–78). It was only in 573 that the city fell for the first time to Persian assault. Whether through stubborn resistance or human error, no attempt was made to negotiate or to conclude a truce once the Persians had gained control of the defences. Instead, to the horror of the citizens, the *city gates remained bolted so that they were unable to escape. Fighting within the city continued for seven days and the resultant carnage was horrific. Such a shock to Roman prestige was felt not only on the frontier but also in *Constantinople where the news pushed the Emperor Justin II to insanity. Although the city was recovered after the peace of 590, it was captured again in 604 by *Khosrow II and fell to the Arabs in 639. Overshadowed by its rival Nisibis throughout the Middle Ages, Dara declined to become a minor bishopric.

The remains of the city are located where the Dara River opens out from the rocky foothills of the *Tur Abdin into the Mesopotamian plain, furnishing essential water for the citizens and for field *armies. The river cuts through a basin formed by three hills, around which runs the line of the high curtain wall, towers, and in places

massive rock ditches. A plan, description, and photographs from the early 20th century by Preusser and Bell are an important archive pre-dating the recent expansion of the village. Research in the 1970s and 1980s by Crow and Whitby presented differing interpretations of the textual and structural remains, and further observation of the hydraulic system reveals the sophistication of water management at the city. Recent excavations have produced only short interim reports. The major monuments include the curtain wall with closely spaced U-shaped towers, a rock-cut ditch, and two water gates. Within the city are the remains of large *cisterns (one was formerly mistakenly interpreted as a *grain-store), churches, *streets, and *houses set within a modern village. In the *quarries to the east are the remains of rock-cut tombs with relief *sculptures. JCr

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 219–23.
G. Brands, 'Ein Baucomplex in Dara-Anastasiopolis', *JbAC* 47 (2004), 144–55.
Haarer, *Anastasius*.
Bell and Mundell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*.
C. Lillington-Martin, 'Procopius on the Struggle for Dara in 530 and Rome in 537–38: Reconciling Texts and Landscapes', in A. Sarantis and N. Christie, eds., *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity* (2013), 599–630.

Darabgerd Chief town of the province (MP **shahr*) of the same name in eastern *Fars, site of a famous *fire temple. Its governor (MP *ōstāndār*) and tax-collector (MP *āmārgar*) are attested on Sasanian *seals. *Tabari says *Ardashir I began his rise to power as a 'castle lord' (MP *argbed*) there. A *rock relief of *Shapur I at a spring nearby post dates his capture of the Roman *Emperor *Valerian in 260. A mint is attested under *Bahram IV. During the *Arab conquest, Darabgerd was captured in 643/4 by Sāriyah b. Zunaym. DTP

EncIran VII/1 (1994) *s.v.* 'Dārā(b) (2), 5–7 (Kheirabadi, D. Huff, G. Herrmann).
R. Gyselen, *Nouveaux Matériaux pour la géographie historique de l'empire sassanide: sceaux administratifs de la collection Ahmad Saeedi* (2002), 139.
Schwarz, *Iran im Mitelalter*, 92–109.
L. Trümpelmann, *Das Sasanidische Felsrelief von Dārāb* (Iranische Denkmäler Lieferung 6, 1975).

Darandarzbad *See* ANDARZBAD.

Dardania Mineral-rich Roman *province in the central *Balkans, stretching from the Skardon mountains in the south to the *Margus River in the north and east. Originally part of Moesia Superior, Dardania was a separate province in the Dioecesis *Moesiae by the time of the *Verona List, and in the Dioecesis of *Dacia governed by a *Praeses in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. *Scupi was the principal *city. WB

TIR K-34 (1976), 39.
J. J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians* (1992).

Dardanus Claudius Postumus Dardanus was *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum, 412–13. He became prefect after a distinguished civil career, and remained loyal to the *Emperor *Honorius, executing the *usurper *Jovinus with his own hands in 413, an act for which he was apparently despised by some of his peers (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* V, 9, 1). A devout Christian, he had an estate called *Theopolis, in the French Alps north of Sisteron (*ILS* 1279). He received replies from *Jerome in 414 and *Augustine in 417 to his enquiries about the promised land (Jerome, *ep.* 129) and the omnipresence of God (Augustine, *ep.* 187). RVD; STL

PCBE IV/I, Dardanus.
PLRE II, Dardanus.
H.-I. Marrou, 'Un lieu dit "Cité de Dieu"', in *Augustinus Magister*, vol. 1 (1954), 101–10.

Dares of Phrygia Name adopted by the author of what purported to be an original eyewitness account of the sack of Troy, which the original Dares lived through as the Trojan priest of Hephaestus (*Homer, *Iliad*, V, 9), follower of Antenor. The *Latin version of Dares, *De Excidiae Troiae Historia* ('On the History of the Fall of Troy'), survives in 44 chapters, and dates from the 5th to 6th centuries. Like the narrative of *Dictys of Crete (which may have inspired it) this text provides a 'historical' version of the war at Troy that highlights inaccuracies and distortions present in Homer's poetic account. A fictional preface in the form of a *letter from Cornelius Nepos to Sallust explains how an autograph manuscript came to be discovered in *Athens and translated into Latin (by Nepos). It is possible, however, that the notion of a Greek 'original' is not a fiction and may indeed date from the late 1st century. In the 12th century Benoit de Sainte-Maure based his *Le Roman de Troie* on the accounts of both Dares and Dictys, and this provided fertile material (including the story of Troilus and Cressida) for the medieval world, inspiring both Boccaccio and Chaucer. Modern scholarship has come to regard the fictional narratives of Dares and Dictys as important landmarks in the evolution of the genre of the novel, but for many centuries they were regarded as 'serious' works of historiography. RECS

ed. F. Meister (1873).
ed. A. Beschorner, *Untersuchungen zu Dares Phrygius* (1992).
ET (annotated) R. M. Frazer, Jr., *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (1966).
S. Merkle, 'News from the Past: Dictys and Dares on the Trojan War', in H. Hofmann, ed., *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context* (1999), 131–40.

Dariel Pass *See* CAUCASUS PASSES.

Dark Ages Cold Period *See* MIGRATION PERIOD PESSIMUM.

dastgird Middle *Persian term for income-generating property, either for a person or institution, such as a *fire temple. Normally consisting of agricultural land, by extension the term had the connotation of an estate. Roman authors often refer to Persian royal estates anachronistically as a *paradeisos*, though we have no evidence in MP that the *Sasanians commonly used this term.

Sasanian estates included plantations and storehouses, and noble and royal estates had *palaces, pleasure *gardens, and *hunting enclosures. *Ammianus Marcellinus describes such an estate, which he saw outside *Ctesiphon, as 'an extensive round tract, enclosed by a strong fence and containing wild beasts that were kept for the king's entertainment' (XXIV, 5, 1), and both Bisotun and *Taq-e Bostan preserve archaeological evidence of such enclosures.

Dastagerd appears as the Greek form of the name of *Khosrow II's favourite estate. Located on the *road between Ctesiphon and *Hamadan, its storehouses contained great wealth, spoils of war including 300 Roman battle standards, *silk, pepper, aloe wood (perhaps destined for sacred fires), and numerous ostriches, gazelles, pheasants, and exotic animals kept for hunting. It was destroyed by *Heraclius in 628 (*Theophanes, AM 6118). MPC

EncIran VI/1 (1994) *s.v.* dastgerd, 105–6 (P. Gignoux).
W. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (2003).

David (630–41) Son of *Heraclius I and *Martina. Created *Caesar in 638, and *Augustus in October 641 with *Constans II and *Heraclonas, he was deposed, mutilated, and exiled (late 641). MTGH

PLRE III, David 8.

David, Hosios, of Thessalonica (*c.*450–540) David was born in *Mesopotamia, came to *Thessalonica as a youth, lived for three years on an almond tree, and became a monk in the *monastery of Ss. Theodorus and Mercurius. His *miracles are related in *John Moschus' *Spiritual Meadow* (69) and in the anonymous *Vita* of *c.*720 onwards (*BHG* 493), which also tells a story of his heading a delegation to *Justinian I. The mission having proved successful, David died. Myrrh streamed from his *relics and miraculous healings occurred at his tomb. The Late Antique church of the Latomos Monastery in Thessalonica has been associated with Hosios David. PM

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 364–5.
A. Vasiliev, 'Life of David of Thessalonica', *Traditio*, 4 (1946), 115–47.
R.-J. Loenertz, 'Saint David de Thessalonique: sa vie, son culte, ses reliques, ses images', *REB* 11 (1953), 205–22.
A. Xyngopoulos, '*Ανάγλυφον του Οσίου Δαβίδ του εν Θεσσαλονίκη*', *Μακεδονικά* II (1941–52), 143–66.
S. Paschalidis and M. Vretta-Paschalidou, eds., *Το Αγιολόγιον της Θεσσαλονίκης* (Center for Hagiological Studies of the H. Metropolis of Thessaloniki, 1996), vol. 1, 189–98.

David, S. (d. 589?/601?) *Bishop and monastic founder in south-west Wales. Fragments of his writings survive, confirming his reputation as a leader of the pan-Celtic 'Age of Saints'. His two medieval Lives are probably derived from a work by Rhigyfarch ap Sulien (d. 1099). They contain passages from his monastic Rule—severely ascetic, as implied by his nickname *Aquaticus* ('water-man'), found in *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, composed in *Brittany in 884. Two further texts transmitted in Breton manuscripts, 'The Synod of the Grove of Victory' and 'Some Excerpts from a Book of David' (sixteen penitential canons), may be authentically associated with David. St Davids (Mynyw) in Dyfed had become his main cult site and an important episcopal see by *c.*800. CJB

ODNB s.n. David [St David, Dewi] (J. Wyn Evans).
BHL 2107.
J. Wyn Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation* (Studies in Celtic History 2007) containing (107–55) annotated edition with ET by R. Sharpe and J. R. Davies of Rhigyfarch's *Life* based on the Vespasian text.
ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, 'Rhygyvarch's Life of Saint David', *Y Cymmrodor* 24 (1913), 1–73.
J. W. James, *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David: The Basic Twelfth-Century Text* (1967).
D. N. Dumville, 'Saint David of Wales', in his *Celtic Essays, 2001–2007* (2007), vol. 1, 35–71.

David Plates *See* CYPRUS TREASURES.

David Saharuni (Dawiṫ Saharuni, Dawiṫ Saharuni) According to *Sebeos (41, 133–4), David conspired against the Emperor *Heraclius, who nevertheless named him the first *Curopalates of Armenia (*c.* AD 635). He founded the church at *Mren commemorating the return of the True *Cross to *Jerusalem, but was expelled after three years. Nothing is heard of the Saharuni clan after him. LA

PLRE III, David 6.
HAndzB, vol. 2, 27 Dawiṫ 16.

David the Invincible (*c.* later 6th cent.) *Neoplatonic *philosopher, most likely a student of *Olympiodorus,

to whom several commentaries are attributed. According to the Armenian tradition David was an Armenian Christian who translated philosophical texts into *Armenian. In Armenian manuscripts, David is styled 'the Invincible'. The *Greek works of David are a *Prolegomena* (*Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy* in the Armenian versions) and a commentary on *Porphyry's *Isagoge*. A commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* with David's name in the manuscripts is credited in the CAG to *Elias. There are Armenian versions of these, and a commentary on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* extant only in Armenian. David is not an original thinker, but his works are a valuable source for late Neoplatonism, and the Armenian translations are vital for studying the reception of Greek philosophy in *Armenia. MBP

PLRE III, David 2.

Comm. on Porphyry, *Isagoge*, ed. A. Busse (CAG 18/2, 1904).

ET R. W. Thomson and B. Kendall, *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy* (1983).

ET A. Topchyan, *Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics* (2010).

ed. (with ET, Greek original, introd., and notes) G. Muradyan, *David the Invincible: Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge* (Philosophia Antiqua 137, 2015).

V. Calzolari, and J. Barnes, *L'Œuvre de David l'invincible et la transmission de la pensée Grecque dans la tradition Arménienne et Syriaque* (2009).

Davitisdze, Sumbat (11th cent.) Georgian historian and royal chronicler. His only surviving work, *The Life and History of the Bagrationis*, is incorporated in the **Kartlis Cxovreba* and is the most important source for the study of the early history of the *Bagrationi dynasty and of the history of formation of early medieval Caucasian kingdoms. Sumbat claims that in the 6th century, the Bagrationis arrived from *Palestine and Guaram became the first *Erismtavari and the founder of the Georgian royal dynasty. NA

S. Rapp, 'Sumbat Davit'is-dze and the Vocabulary of Political Authority in the Era of Georgian Unification', *JAOS* 120/4 (2000), 570–6.

***daxmag* (MP; Av. *daxma-*, NP *dakhma*)** Elevated place to dispose of *dead bodies through exposure to the elements and carrion birds according to *Zoroastrian purity strictures. They could be rock-cut cavities in cliffs or masonry structures, like the round towers built on rocky hills in Iran (e.g. Yazd) or *Transoxania. Wealthy families might collect the bones and place them in an **astodan*; though most were simply swept into a central pit. POS

EncIran VI/3 (1993) 279–86 *s.v.* corpse (M. Boyce).

D. Huff, 'Archaeological Evidence of Zoroastrian Funerary Practices', in *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context* (2004), 593–630.

deacon The *Greek *diakonos* is a common term for a servant (from *diakonia*). Specialized Christian *diakonoi* appear in the Acts of Apostles as those appointed to assist the Twelve Apostles with the practical charity of the community (Acts 6:1–6); the most famous among them were Stephen and Philip. Paul addresses his Letter to the Philippians to the *episkopoi* ('overseers', Eng. *'bishops') and *diakonoi* of *Philippi; the post-Pauline 1 Timothy (late 1st cent.) outlines requirements for assuming both offices (3:1–13). With the elaboration of the threefold ministry in the post-NT period, the service of deacons was subordinated to that of the *presbyteroi* ('elders', Eng. *'priests'). From the 2nd century evidence points to liturgical roles for deacons at the *Eucharist; later texts describe their assistance at *baptisms and in liturgical proclamation of the gospel. *Cyprian writes of them as messengers carrying his *letters, and as frequent visitors to Christians in *prison during *persecutions. CAS

DACL 4/1 *s.v.* 'diacre', cols. 738–46 (Leclercq).

J. G. Davies, 'Deacons, Deaconesses and the Minor Orders in the Patristic Period', *JEH* 14 (1963), 1–15.

deaconess A female Christian minister. In the NT (Rom. 16:1), Paul refers to Phoebe, a female *diakonos* (the feminine form *diakonissa* appears only in the 4th century). Eastern Christian sources from the 3rd century speak of deaconesses consecrated for ministry to women (e.g. at *baptisms) and in some cases instituted with a rite like that for male *deacons, though other texts explicitly exclude parallels with the ordination and functions of male deacons. From the 5th century one finds some liturgical roles at the *Eucharist for deaconesses in *monasteries when there was no male deacon present. The term deaconess was also applied to those exercising leadership roles in female monasteries (e.g. *Egeria, 23). The office had become obsolete by the medieval period. CAS

RAC 3 (1957) *s.v.* 'Diakonisse', cols. 917–28 (Kalsbach).

R. Gryson, *Le Ministère des femmes dans l'Église ancienne* (1972).

RAC 3 (1957) *s.v.* 'Diakonisse', cols. 917–28 (Kalsbach).

A. G. Martimort, *Deaconesses: An Historical Study*, tr. K. D. Whitehead (1986; French original, 1982).

dead, disposal of The disparate civilizations of the Late Antique world had contrasting ways of honouring the mortal remains of their members, from Late Roman and Christian burial in *sarcophagi (for the fortunate), *catacombs and *polyandria (for the less fortunate), and the honouring of the *relics of saints and *martyrs, to Germanic cremation or boat burials (like that at *Sutton Hoo) and *Zoroastrian exposure. Archaeology provides evidence for funeral rites (e.g. *epitaphs, orientation, grave-goods) and, through the analysis of bones, data

about such matters as diet, disease, and dental hygiene. It also permits hypotheses about ancient notions about *death and afterlife, which can in some cases be combined with written evidence. Also, especially in post-Roman Western Europe, *cemeteries provide valuable demographic information and a basis on which to form hypotheses about social and economic relations. OPN

dead, disposal of, Aksumite Disposal of the dead at Aksum involved enormous disparities in the expenditure of labour and resources. Inhumation was invariable; cremation was unknown. During the late 3rd and early 4th centuries, kings were buried in elaborate stone-built tombs with rich and varied grave-goods, subsequently covered and marked by huge monolithic stelae, each carved to represent a multi-storey building; the largest of these stelae, never successfully erected, weighed *c.*520 tonnes and would have been 33 m (108 feet) high. Tombs of Christian kings after the mid-4th century were smaller, surmounted by a squat superstructure or, in the 6th century, by a church or funerary chapel. Other Aksumite tombs show bewildering variety, those of the less prosperous being simple pits, the corpses being accompanied by meagre grave-goods and marked—at least initially—by small undressed monoliths. DWP

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 139–57.

dead, disposal of, Armenia Before the *conversion of *Armenia to Christianity the dead were buried in *sarcophagi, hypogean tombs, and in towers, sharing characteristics with Parthian and other Iranian, *Zoroastrian groups. Exposure of the dead continued among Zoroastrian Armenian sectarians into medieval times.

Practice in 4th–7th-century Christian Armenia shows a continuation of the ancient and exuberant displays of mourning, including lacerations and dances, which were opposed by the Christian clergy and some laymen as contrary to the Christian hope. Christian funeral rites included procession to the grave with psalmody, blessing of the grave, and intercession for the deceased. TMvL

A. Orengo, 'Funeral Rites and Ritual Laments of the Ancient Armenians', in J. Dum-Tragut and U. Bläsing, eds., *Cultural, Linguistic and Ethnological Interrelations in and around Armenia* (2011), 127–44.

J. R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (1987), 323–59.

A. B. Schmidt, *Kanon der Entschlafenen. Das Begräbnisrituale der Armenier. Der altarmenische Bestattungsritus für die Laien* (1994).

dead, disposal of, Central Asia Remnants of various types of burials, 'official' and 'public', have been identified in *Khwarezm (Chorasmia), *Sogdiana, Margiana, Parthia, and *Bactria from the end of the 4th century BC to the *Arab conquest and later. Non-*Zoroastrian-type burials include Greek types of funerary monuments and burials found at the Greek settlement of Aï Khanom. Cremation is found primarily in *Buddhist contexts, and inhumation was practised perhaps by non-Zoroastrian populations. In the earliest period, free-standing, fairly large, mausolea were found in the lower Syr-Darya region, in which, presumably, corpses would decompose, leaving only the bones, or in which bones were gathered after the bodies had decomposed and the bones had been picked clean on the ground, according to Zoroastrian custom. At a later period, in Bactria, we also find open trenches, lined with bricks or mortar, and *sarcophagi. Three **daxmags* (*dakhma*s) of various types and dating from the Greek domination to the *Arab conquest have been excavated in Sogdiana and Khwarezm. Various types of *daxmag*s are also attested from the Kushan–*Sasanian period. In Margiana, Khwarezm, and Sogdiana, corpses were commonly placed in graves isolated from the earth, and bones were subsequently put into containers, jars, and ossuaries of various shapes: male and female human forms, imitation buildings, and decorated plaster or ceramic caskets, some showing scenes from the afterlife. Several 6th/7th-century ossuaries show the ceremony for the dead and the arrival of the soul before the divine judges. Sogdian *merchants in *China were buried on funerary couches, also decorated with scenes from the afterlife. POS

EncIran IV/5–6 *s.v.* Burial ii: Remnants of Burial Practices in Ancient Iran, 559–61 (F. Grenet) and *s.v.* Burial iii: in Zoroastrianusm 561–3 (J.R. Russell).

EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.n.* Āy K̲ānom, 124–6 (P. Bernard).

F. Grenet, *Les Pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (1984).

A. E. Berdimuradov, 'A New Discovery of Stamped Ossuaries near Shahr-i Sabz (Uzbekistan)', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 22 NS (2008), 137–42 with pl. 1.

'Trois nouveaux documents d'iconographie religieuse sogdienne (articles réunis par F. Grenet)', *Studia Iranica* 22 (1993), 59–65.

L. V. Pavchinskaia, 'Sogdian Ossuaries' and G. A. Pugachenkova, 'The Form and Style of Sogdian Ossuaries', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 8 NS, *The Archaeology and Art of Central Asia Studies from the Former Soviet Union* (1994), 209–25 and 227–43 respectively

P. Riboud, 'Bird-Priests in Central Asian Tombs of 6th-Century China and their Significance in the Funerary Realm', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21 NS (2007), 1–23.

dead, disposal of, Egypt Bodies of the dead were either placed in *loculi* (individual slots, resembling those in the Roman *Catacombs) or in purpose-built and reused funerary monuments, or they were inhumed in lined or unlined pits indicated by funerary stelae or other markers. The date of the last *Fayyum portraits,

painted shrouds, and plaster masks is disputed, but is most likely *c.* AD 250–350.

*Mummification by embalming probably ceased around the same time. S. *Antony the Great specifically asked not to be preserved in a house but to be buried in the earth in expectation of the general resurrection (VAntonii 90-92). Nevertheless, handfuls of *salt, natron, juniper, and other organic material distributed over corpses promoted natural dessication in burials dating up to *c.*800. The simplification of the burial process over time is apparent in the marked decrease of titles for funerary workers in *c.*4th–8th-century *Greek documents.

Documented cemeteries are located in the *Oases, at *Saqqara, Dashur, Lisht, *Naqlun, Fag el-Gamus, Karara, Sharuna, el-Hibeh, *Antinoopolis, Naga ed-Deir, and several sites in western *Thebes. Such sites typically yield relatively simple graves in which people were either buried in (or with) their clothes or in mummiform bundles, wrappings of multiple shrouds, or reused soft furnishings, often bound by mummy ribbons. *Coptic documents of *c.*7th–8th centuries demonstrate that monks in the Theban region were responsible for weaving shrouds (*hboos*) and mummy ribbons (*keiria*) (among others P.Mon.Epiph. 354, O.Crum 68). An elaborately painted 5th–7th-century wooden coffin from Karara, built to contain a mummy-bundle, is an exceptional find (ÄIH inv. 500). ERO

B. Gessler-Löhr et al., 'Ausklang. Eine koptische Mumie aus christlicher Zeit', in *Ägyptische Mumien. Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen* (exhibition catalogue: Grosse Landesausstellung Baden-Württemberg, 2007), 255–77.

B. Gessler-Löhr, 'Two Child Mummies and Some Grave Goods of the Byzantine Period from the Egyptian Collection at Heidelberg University, Germany', in A. Wieczorek and W. Rosendahl, eds., *Mummies of the World* (2010), 310–15.

U. Horak, 'Koptische "Mumien"', *Biblos* 44/1 (1995), 39–71.

M. Carroll and J. P. Wild, *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity* (2012).

G. Castel, 'Étude d'une momie copte', in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927–1976: bibliothèque d'études coptes* 82 (1979), 121–43.

T. Derda, 'Necropolis Workers in Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of Greek Papyri', *JJP* 21 (1991), 13–36.

dead, disposal of, Georgia In *Georgia the dead were generally buried, usually one or two to a grave, although cremation was also practised in mountainous regions. The elite of *Iberia were buried in stone chamber-burials or *sarcophagi, most commonly in pit graves covered with tiles. The deceased were interred slightly bent or recumbent, the rich placed on couches with *silver-coated legs and wearing garments with *gold appliqués. Secondary burials had the bones placed on a silver plate. In west Georgia *jewellery was prevalent in female burials, while males had weapons. In rare cases a *horse and *dog have been found (Kldeeti). Almost all burials of the 1st–3rd centuries included grave-goods, apart from a few infant burials. Grave-goods decrease from the 4th century and gradually disappear, in keeping with Christian burial customs. MO

A. Apakidze et al., *Mtskheta, Armaziskhevi*, I (1958).

O. Lordkipanidze, *Nasledie drevney Gruzii (Heritage of Ancient Georgia)* (1989), 343–5, 349–54.

dead, disposal of, Germanic (pre-406) In barbarian Europe beyond the Danube and Rhine *frontiers of the Roman Empire, cremation was by far the most widespread means of disposing of the dead during later prehistory and into the Early Middle Ages.

The dead person was usually cremated clothed on a pyre before burial in a cremation *cemetery, which might comprise up to several thousand graves. Several different types of cremation deposit have been identified, and individual cemeteries are known to have contained varying combinations of them. In some cases, the pyre was built over a pit where all the remains from the cremation were buried, sometimes selectively. Other graves contain cremated ashes that had been separated from the remains of the pyre and buried either in a container or directly in a pit in the ground. Handmade ceramic urns were commonly used as containers, but other vessels, including bags or boxes made of organic materials, were also employed. Urns were sometimes interred in a pit along with the remains of the pyre. Grave-goods, sometimes burnt, accompanying the burials, included *pottery vessels, knives, *dress accessories, and animal bones. In the region between the Rhine and Elbe rivers, weapons were rarely placed in graves.

Inhumations were exceptional in Germany, though from the 3rd century in the so-called *Hassleben-Leuna graves members of the *aristocracy were buried along with grave-goods that often included *glass, *silver, or *bronze vessels made in the Roman Empire. Other rich graves have been excavated at *Gommern in Sachsen-Anhalt, at *Jakuszowice in Poland, and at *Årslev in Denmark. In Scandinavia, both inhumation and cremation were used in the 4th century, though some areas show strong preferences for one rite over the other. SCT

S. Brather, *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frügeschichtlichen Archäologie. Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen* (RGA Erganzungsbd 42, 2004).

S. Brather, 'Acculturation and Ethnogenesis along the Frontier: Rome and the Ancient Germans in an Archaeological Perspective', in F. Curta, ed., *Borders, Barriers and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (SEM 12, 2005).

L. Hedeager, *Iron Age Societies: From Tribe to State in Northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*, tr. J. Hines (1992).

E. James, *Europe's Barbarians, AD 200–600* (2009).

dead, disposal of, Jewish Ancient Jewish burial customs were aptly characterized by the late 4th-century BC Greek ethnographer Hecataeus of Abdera: 'As to marriage and the burial of the dead, he (Moses) saw to it that their customs should differ widely from those of other men. But later when they became subject to foreign rule . . . many of their traditional practices were disturbed' (quoted by Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 40, 3, 8).

Indeed, Jews often changed their burial customs in light of foreign influences. Burial in the Hasmonean period regularly featured the use of *loculi* (*kukhim*), a practice originating in *Alexandria or Phoenicia, and often Hellenistic funerary monuments erected by the wealthy class. Under Herod, secondary burial (the collection of bones and their interment in small stone chests, ossuaries) was introduced into *Jerusalem, a well-known practice in *Rome and *Italy whereby ashes from cremation were collected into similar-looking chests or urns.

Two major Jewish necropolises from the 3rd century on have been discovered, *Beth She'arim in *Galilee and the Jewish *catacombs in Rome. In each case, local practice borrowed heavily from foreign models. The former included impressive façades, at least one large mausoleum, underground passageways lined with *arcosolia* and *loculi*, and a series of pagan mythological representations. The latter, like the nearby Christian catacombs, were constructed underground and were lined with *arcosolia* often containing *sarcophagi, separate rooms for rich families, common decorative schemes, and the use of epitaphs. LL

L. I. Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity* (2012), 40–3, 46–8, 80–96, 119–40, 141–65.

dead, disposal of, Persian In *Zoroastrianism, *fire, earth, and water were sacred elements, so dead bodies were barred from being burned, buried, or left in water. The *Avesta says they should be abandoned on the ground in a dry place far from human traffic and left there, exposed to the *Sun, until the bones are picked clean by flesh-eating creatures. The tombs of Cyrus the Great and the Achaemenid kings conformed to these requirements, that of Cyrus by being built on a high platform raised above the earth and encased in stone, those of the later kings by being cut into rocky cliffs, far above ground level. In the Avesta, Zoroastrians were enjoined to destroy **daxmag*s, which at that time denoted some kind of *tomb, and to dig up the interred bodies and take them to *uzdāna*s, probably similar to Sasanian ossuaries.

The Zoroastrian texts give precise instructions on how to remove bodies under various circumstances. A body should not be carried by one person alone, since that would expose him to the corpse *demon. When a body is carried off, a *dog should be present (the corpse demon was thought to be smitten by its look). The body should not be covered, because that would be tantamount to burial (Tavadia, *Šāyast*, 30–6). Dead bodies should not be left in water, unless already disintegrated. If somebody died on a boat, to prevent contagion, the body could be consigned to the sea, and the water would be its 'ossuary' (Tavadia, **Sheyist ne Sheyist*, 117). In the *Sasanian period, excarnated bones were often placed in a rock-cut tomb (an **astodan*), many accompanied by *inscriptions identifying the dead. The commentator on **Vendidad* 7, 48 mentions burial in a *bronze coffin (*taban*). POS

EncIran VI/3 *s.v.* corpse, 279–86 (M. Boyce).
EncIran IV/5–6 s.v. burial ii. remnants of burial practices in ancient Iran, 559–61 (F. Grenet).
EncIran IX/4 s.v. Fārs v. monuments, 351–6 (D. Huff).
EncIran IV/6 s.v. burial iii. in Zoroastrianism, 561–3 (J. Russell).
M. Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathushtras. Geschichte, Gegenwart, Rituale*, 3 vols. (2002–4), I, 231–3, III, 447–83.
ed. J. C. Tavadia (with ET), *Šāyast-n šāyast: A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs* (1930).

dead, disposal of, post-Roman Western Europe, Anglo-Saxon England As in other parts of Late Roman north-west Europe, inhumation burial was normal throughout 4th-century *Britain. The dead were often interred clothed or shrouded, with grave-goods such as *pottery, *glass, or metal vessels (whose number declined towards the end of the century). In the 5th century new practices developed in eastern England, including both inhumation and cremation. Inhumations were often clothed: *dress accessories are common finds, for example brooches, necklaces, pins, and keys with females or knives and *belt buckles with males. Other grave-goods might include glass or ceramic containers and sometimes weapon-sets for men.

In the 5th and 6th centuries, cremation cemeteries were also common in eastern England between the rivers Thames and Humber. The body was burned on a pyre before the selection of remains for burial, normally in a ceramic urn. Weapon-sets are rarer in cremation burials than in inhumations, but other types of grave-goods were added either before or after the pyre including *combs, miniature or full-size toilet implements, metal tools, and animal remains. From the later 6th century a class of 'princely' burials included more lavish grave-goods, and were often marked by barrows (e.g. at *Sutton Hoo). The use of grave-goods became increasingly uncommon over the course of the 7th century. SCT

H. Hamerow, D. Hinton, and S. Crawford, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (2011).
H. Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c.600–c.850* (1997).

H. Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (2006).
A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (2009).

dead, disposal of, post-Roman Western Europe, Gaul In 4th-century *Gaul, inhumation with a few grave-goods was common; there were some *cremation *burials around the Rhine *frontier. From *c.*400 onwards more richly furnished burials appear, with items including brooches, buckles, and *pottery or *glass vessels, alongside *jewellery in female graves or *arms and armour in male ones (probably reflecting the increasing militarization of provincial society). By the end of the 5th century, lavishly equipped 'chieftain's burials' were accompanied by *gold objects, swords, dress- and weapon-accessories and *horse burials, sometimes under barrows. From the 5th century 'row-grave' cemeteries became common throughout the north-western European provinces of the former Roman Empire, comprising rows of inhumations that were often accompanied with jewellery for women or sets of weapons for men. Burials were normally aligned west–east, and were inserted into dug graves that could be lined with wood, stone, or, in some areas, even plaster. In the 7th century, the use of grave-goods became gradually less common, and more standardized, until it largely disappeared around 700. SCT

B. Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (2003).
G. Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul* (2009).

dead, disposal of, post-Roman Western Europe, Italy The preferred method for disposing of the dead in early medieval *Italy was burial, whether in the ground or in *sarcophagi. Proper inhumation testified to faith in the resurrection, respect for the dead, and love of the body (Rebillard, *Care for the Dead*, 85–7). Some *epitaphs indicate a popular belief in the necessity of inhumation for resurrection in the Last Judgment (e.g. *ILCV* II, 3845 [Rome]).

*Cemeteries and *tombs were legally protected; Western laws indicate a concern about the dignity of the body and, in cases of tomb raiding, about sacrilege (Nock, 'Tomb Violations', 531–3). The subterranean *catacomb networks on the outskirts of *Rome became increasingly full during the 5th century. They were transformed into a destination for *pilgrimage. In the 4th century, funerary *basilicas outside Rome created numerous burial spaces under the aisles and nave. Churches which housed the remains of saints and *martyrs often contained burials *ad sanctos*, of Christians who wished to be buried in close physical proximity to the holy dead.

During the late 4th and into the early 5th century, the barriers between *polis* and *necropolis*—city and city of the dead—began to break down, perhaps hastened by the rise in the cult of the saints. The earlier Roman insistence on burial of the dead outside the *city *walls (cf. Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 58) declined, and many burials occurred within the walls, beginning in the 6th century. SEB

A. D. Nock, 'Tomb Violations and Pontifical Law', and 'Sarcophagi and Symbolism' in Nock, *Essays*, 2, 527–33 and 606–42.
V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *Strutture funerarie ed edifici di culto paleocristiani di Roma dal IV al VI secolo* (2001).
F. S. Paxton, 'Communities of the Living and the Dead in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval West', in Williams, *Christian Communities*, 49–62, 164–70.
F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (1990), 19–46.
Rebillard, *Care for the Dead*.
É. Rebillard, *In Hora Mortis: Évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IVe et Ve siècles dans l'Occident latin* (BEFAR 293, 1994).

dead, disposal of, post-Roman Western Europe, Spain Roman extramural *cemeteries continued in use in Late Antiquity. On the east coast and at *Cordoba, the importation of *pagan and Christian *sarcophagi from *Rome in the 4th century gave way to imports from *Carthage in the 5th century. On country *estates there were polygonal mausolea at La Cocosa (Badajoz) and Pueblanueva la Vega (*Toledo).

Study of burials in the 6th century has been dominated by attempts to differentiate between the possible ethnic identities in rural *cemeteries, but it is increasingly appreciated that there was a substantial variety of burial rites. *Spain in fact appears typical of Western Europe.

Recent excavations have taken place at *Tarragona, Saragossa, and *Mérida. The Francolí complex at Tarragona had two funerary *basilicas and over 3,000 burials *ad sanctos* packed around a possible *martyrium; earlier and later mausolea were attached and there were notable funerary *mosaic slabs.

In small rural settlements burials used or were near pre-existing structures. Sometimes parts of *villas used for burials were alongside residential rooms—cemeteries of the *meseta* are of this type. RJW

K. Bowes, '"Une espagnole pieuse": Christian Archaeology and Christian Communities in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Hispania', in K. Bowes and M. Kulikowski, eds., *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives* (2005), 189–264.
A. Oepen, 'Rasgos generales del sarcófago palaeocristiano en *Hispania*: bases para la redacción de un primer Corpus', in J. M. Noguera Celdrán and E. Conde Guerri, eds., *El sarcófago romano* (2001), 257–72.

dead, disposal of, Roman and Byzantine By the mid-3rd century, cremation had ceased to be a common

mode of disposal in the Roman Empire and had been replaced by inhumation. This change, which began in the 1st century, still resists simple explanation. It was not the consequence of new religious and philosophical beliefs, and it started before Christianity had made any significant impact on Graeco-Roman society. The coming of inhumation was a new fashion, first introduced from *Greece. Adopted early on by the *emperors, first the elite and then the rest of the population embraced it as a way of identifying themselves with the imperial culture. The adoption of this new mode of disposal had important consequences for the suburban landscape, because of the need to offer a lot of space for burials. It is debatable whether columbaria and *catacombs, which both provided a new, intensive use of the available space, developed independently from it. Another related change is the choice of well-to-do citizens to be buried in a *sarcophagus (literally flesh-eating), coffin-like container, most often in stone and displayed above ground.

*Cemeteries were as a rule located outside *cities, very often alongside *roads. From the 3rd century there also developed 'managed cemeteries', large areas of orderly rows of inhumation graves. There is little evidence about who managed them. Some might have been organized by local Christian churches, though the existence of Christian cemeteries has come under question for the earlier period. In a more general way, Christians seem to have conformed to the general patterns followed by the rest of the population of the Empire. The phenomenon of burial *ad sanctos*, the search for a burial in close proximity to a *martyr tomb, was in the main limited to members of the clergy and to a few privileged lay Christians, and cemeteries did not move within the city walls before the end of Late Antiquity.

Burial was usually provided by *families or *patrons. The cities took care of abandoned corpses (*see* POLYANDRION). In *Rome and *Constantinople, the emperors subsidized the burial of the poor through the agency of the *bishops, who also had their own systems of support. ERe

I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (1992), 31–69.

A. D. Nock, 'Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire', *HTR* 25 (1932), 321–59.

J. Bodel, 'From Columbaria to Catacombs: Collective Burial in Pagan and Christian Rome', in L. Brink and D. Green, eds., *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context. Studies of Roman, Jewish and Christian Burials* (2008), 177–242.

J. D. Harries, 'Death and the Dead in the Late Roman West', in S. Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600* (1992), 56–67.

A. M. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean* (2009).

É. Rebillard, 'The Burial of the Poor in the Roman Empire and its Evolution in Late Antiquity', in É. Rebillard, *Transformations of Religious Practices in Late Antiquity* (French original, 1999) (2013), part III.

death and afterlife Articulate observations and expectations about death and life after death have survived in various texts by *pagan *philosophers, poets, and *rhetoricians, in the Jewish rabbinical literature, and in Christian genres of literature as disparate as philosophical theology, *apocalyptic and eschatology, and *saints' lives. Perhaps the most elaborate set of hopes and fears is expressed in *Zoroastrian texts such as the **Arday Wiraz Namag*, which lay out the rewards and punishments to be expected in the next world. Islamic convictions, presented in the *Qur'ān and elsewhere, are dominated by the expectation of judgement with physical rewards for the righteous. In the case of other civilizations, such as those of pre-Christian Germanic barbarians, notions about death and life after death have to be extrapolated entirely from hypotheses about possible intentions lying behind ways in which disposal of the *dead was accomplished. OPN

death and afterlife, Arab and Islamic Death, the end of one's appointed lifespan (*ajal*), is the inescapable decree of God in contrast to the pre-Islamic notion of fate (*dahr*). God thus has powers that tribal idols do not. Death is merely a prelude to the final stage of existence when God returns creation to its intended destiny. The effect is to connect the pre-Islamic encouragement to personal honour (especially in battle) to the revealed notion of living for (or being tested by) God with expected reward in paradise (or punishment in hellfire for failing to do so). Believers, then, meet death, trusting in God's deliverance and vindication of their choice of devotion to God (*Islam) over this world's allurements. The grave serves as a barrier (*barzakh*) to the final denouement when the *angel Israfil blows the horn to summon souls to the resurrection (*ba'th*) and gathering (*hashr*). In an echo of the pre-creation pact when God drew all souls from the loins of Adam to witness to His lordship, humanity stands before Him again to witness the record of their deeds in this life, which get weighed on the scales of justice. The prophets will testify for or against their followers, as will human limbs that performed the deeds of individuals. There is the possibility of prophetic intercession (as expression of divine mercy), after which souls will walk the bridge above hellfire, either to fall into it or pass to paradise where they will enjoy physical pleasures in the sight of the angels who encircle the throne of God. PH

L. Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave* (2007).

J. Waardenburg, 'Death and the Dead', in J. Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* (2001), vol. 1, 505–11.

death and afterlife, Christian Christians in both East and West were united in confessing the belief that death was not an end but a passage to an afterlife of reward or punishment.

Cemetery iconography, preserved fragments of *prayers and rites for the dead, and extensive literary witnesses reveal primary emphasis on the lot of the faithful with little interest in the damned. Images of deliverance from both the Old and New Testaments such as the Crossing of the Red Sea, Daniel rescued from the *lions, and Jesus raising Lazarus, and ritual practice such as the washing and anointing of corpses, all recall *baptism. The threefold processional stations of home, church, and cemetery and the singing of psalms and *hymns (rather than dirges) suggest that burial itself was understood as a laying to rest as if asleep (as is connoted by the name 'cemetery', meaning 'sleeping-place'). *Funeral orations make Christian faith a consolation for grief and hold out hope for rest in the 'bosom of Abraham', a repose rewarding a faithful life like that of Jesus. A celebration of the *Eucharist was a viaticum, food for the journey. These are all vivid witnesses to the fundamental Christian metaphor of death as journey together with the whole Church to Christ, with all the patriarchs, saints, and *martyrs accompanying the faithful dead into Paradise.

*Sermons and tracts on the nature of the soul and its destiny express this faith theologically as resurrection. In such theoretical writing the philosophical anthropology which speaks of the return of the soul to its origin with God and the Christian holistic notion of resurrection of the dead are held in tension. Christians in the East, such as *Serapion, *Bishop of Thmuis (*Euchologion*, 18), *Ephrem the Syrian, *Jerome (*ep.* 77, 11), and *Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, VII), agree with those in the West, such as *Ambrose (*De Excessu Fratris*, I, 5; *De Obitu Theodosii*, 36), *Augustine (*De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*, 6–7; 22; *Confessions*, IX, 3, 6), and *Prudentius (*Liber Cathemerinon*, X: *Hymnus circa Exequias Defuncti*) in manifesting in homilies and catechetical writings and in prayers for the dead and hymns at burial the theme of life that death cannot destroy and rest awaiting resurrection. HRR

J. N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (2002), chs. 4–5 and appendix 3.

P. Brown, '*Gloriosus Obitus*: The End of the Ancient Other World', in Klingshirn and Vessey, *Limits of Ancient Christianity*.

C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (1995).

E. Rebillard, *In Hora Mortis: évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort au IVe et Ve siècles* (BEFAR 283, 1994).

death and afterlife, Jewish Rabbinic literature provides insight into some Jews' attitudes to death, while epitaphs are an alternative source for views about the afterlife. Idealized death was painless and dignified. Dying sages were imagined dispensing wisdom to disciples or debating with the Angel of Death, a figure who appears mainly in such scenes. In rabbinic thought, the dead retained some temporary consciousness, which had implications for how they were treated. Corpses transmitted ritual impurity, and mourners were expected to obey special rules. Being remembered after death was important, but funerary ostentation was generally disapproved, and words or good deeds could be seen as the best memorial.

Belief in an afterlife is implied when tomb-violators are threatened with loss of the 'portion in the world to come', or the tomb is described as 'eternal home'. Wishes for the soul to 'rest in the bond of life' or the deceased to 'sleep with the righteous' also assume existence after death. However, less emphasis was placed by the *rabbis than in contemporary non-Jewish thought on the soul when separated from the body. Divine judgement could be held up as a threat but Sheol, the biblical underworld, does not seem to have been imagined as a Hades-like place of reward and punishment.

Sleep implies awakening, and belief in bodily resurrection (at least for the virtuous) was widespread, especially in the context of national restoration. Some believed burial in *Palestine atoned for past sins, but it also had advantages for resurrection. The practice of collecting the bones of the dead after the flesh had decayed has been linked to the expectation of resurrection. The eventual reunion of body and soul was in any case seen as fundamental. DNo

D. Kraemer, *The Meanings of Death in Rabbinic Judaism* (2000).

J. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions* (2000).

death and afterlife, Roman Since Plato, classical *philosophy had distinguished between the body and the soul. The soul (Gk. *psyche*, Lat. *anima, spiritus*) was that which makes the person alive rather than dead, and was closely allied with the mind (Gk. *nous*, Lat. *animus, mens*). Stoics considered the soul to be made of very fine matter, like gold to airy thinness beat; Platonists considered it to be immaterial. It naturally follows from such conceptions of the human person, that though the physical body dies, the soul may live on after death. Followers of Pythagoras believed in reincarnation, as did *Plotinus, the founder of *Neoplatonism, though his hope for himself was that by strenuous intellectual **ascesis* he would be able to reunite himself with the One (Gk. *to hen*), the single ineffable source of all things, and so save himself from the cycle of returning to the body. Later Neoplatonists were more inclined to believe that at death the soul was liberated from the earth altogether. Images on *sarcophagi of men reading or

of the Muses may therefore be thought to have a more than literary resonance; they may suggest a life of the mind continuing after death.

Less philosophical notions were also represented on sarcophagi, articulated through the depiction of mythical figues such as Dionysius, Adonis, and Endymion; it is hard to know what to read into such scenes, because sarcophagi also bear depictions of *hunting and other worldly activities. Thoughts about life after death culled from *epitaphs and passing references are vague about the prospects of immortality. When the *Oracle of Apollo at *Didyma was asked whether the soul lived on after death or disintegrated, it replied that 'after the body has decayed the soul is borne entirely up into the aether, forever unageing, and continues for ever unharmed' (*Lactantius, *Inst*. VII, 13, 6). The written and archaeological evidence for such private cults as *Mithraism and the cult of *Isis is no more specific.

All this contrasts sharply with the distinct Christian hope for the resurrection of both body and soul. Celsus, the great 2nd-century critic of Christianity, mistook this for a doctrine of reincarnation (*Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VII, 32). During the Great Persecution a *bishop, on trial for his life, explained to the Prefect of *Egypt about the resurrection of the body: 'this flesh will rise again' (**Passio of S. *Phileas*, 4). The Prefect was so surprised by the idea that he repeated the bishop's words, twice: 'this flesh will rise again?' OPN

M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (1993).

H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1981).

H.-I. Marrou, *Mousikos Aner* (1938).

J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971).

death and afterlife, Zoroastrian The beliefs of Zoroastrians and their concomitant rituals are spelled out in great detail in texts spanning millennia from the time of the *Avesta all the way to the *Sasanian period.

Three days and nights after their deaths the souls of the deceased travel at dawn into the beyond, where each is met by his *dēn*, the personification of his good and evil thoughts, words, and deeds. The souls are taken to the *Chinwad Bridge, where their thoughts, words, and deeds are weighed. If the good thoughts outweigh the evil ones, they pass the bridge and continue up to heaven; if not, they are thrown into hell. If the good and bad thoughts are equal, the souls go to an intermediate place. The souls in hell suffer torments commensurate to their sins, as described in detail in the Pahlavi book of **Arday Wiraz Namag*, of which there are several Persian manuscripts with illustrations of the punishments.

The Chinwad Bridge, originally, perhaps, 'the ford of the accountant', is already mentioned in the *Gāthā*s, hence dates from the 2nd millennium BC, and the journey into the beyond is told in the Avestan *Hādōkht nask* and the nineteenth chapter of the **Vendidad*, redacted in the 1st millennium BC. The journey is also recounted in a 3rd-century AD *inscription by the high priest *Kerdīr and in several Pahlavi texts. In the *Gāthā*s, the souls are guests in the House of Song, the abode of Ahura Mazdā (*Ohrmazd). In later texts, upon arrival in paradise, the souls are treated to *bread, *meat, and *wine. Souls are placed in paradise or hell in accordance with their merits or demerits in life. At the end of the world, the dead are resurrected by the *Soshans (Avestan Saoshyant), and sinners are punished for another three days; everybody then passes through a river of molten metal, where the last traces of sin will be burnt out, and they will enjoy eternal life in the new world free from evil. POS

EncIran VI/3 *s.v.* corpse, 279–86 (Boyce).

EncIran VIII/6 *s.v.* eschatology i. in Zoroastrianism and Zoroastrian influence, 565–9 (S. Shaked).

ed. (with ET) H. Humbach with J. Elfenbein and P. O. Skærvø (with ET), *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts* (1991).

ed. Ph. Gignoux (with FT), *Le Livre d'Ardā Vīrāz* (1984).

Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 166–74, 180–90.

debasement The practice of alloying coins of a nobler metal with a baser one, and one often undertaken either to increase the profits of minting or to compensate for fiscal deficits. Debasement is sometimes regarded by scholars as an alternative measure to increased *taxation on the part of the state, although debasement in practice is a form of taxation in itself.

The most notable episode of debasement was that of the Roman imperial **antoninianus* or radiate during the 3rd century. In AD 200 the fineness of the imperial *silver *coinage stood at about 46%, but by AD 270 it was less than 5%. The relationship between the rate of debasement of the silver coinage and *inflation is debated. *Prices do not seem to have risen as a result of the 3rd-century debasements, but most of the evidence for prices comes from *Egypt, which until the late 3rd century had a closed currency system using a separate silver coinage of its own, meaning that the Egyptian price evidence may not translate to the rest of the Empire. KETB

L. H. Cope, 'The Nadir of the Imperial Antoninianus in the Reign of Claudius II Gothicus, AD 268–270', *NumChron* 7th series, 9 (1969), 145–61.

M. Corbier, 'Dévaluations et fiscalité (161–235)', in S. Mrozek, ed., *Les Dévaluations à Rome*, I (Rome, 1978), 271–309.

M. H. Crawford, 'Ancient Devaluations: A General Theory', in S. Mrozek, *Les Dévaluations à Rome*, I (1978), 147–58.

D. W. Rathbone, 'Monetisation, not Price-Inflation, in Third Century AD Egypt?', in C. E. King and D. Wigg, eds., *Coin*

Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World: The Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 25–27.3.1993 (1996), 321–39.

Debra Damo Mountain-top *monastery in the extreme north of *Ethiopia. Its foundation is traditionally attributed to Za-Maka'el Aregawi, one of the *Nine Saints, in the reign of King *Gabra Masqal. The larger of the monastery's two churches is probably the oldest still in use in Ethiopia. Although subjected to repeated modification, its basic plan is so similar to dated examples at *Aksum as to support its 6th-century origin. Built of wood and stone in Aksumite style, the church is *basilican with lofts over the aisles; the carving of its coffered wooden ceiling is especially noteworthy. DWP

D. H. Matthews and A. Mordini, 'The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia', *Archaeologia* 97 (1959), 1–58.
Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 51–64.

Debra Libanos of Shimazana Christian *monastery near Ham in southern Eritrea. It originally shared the prestige of nearby *Debra Damo, but their subsequent histories and loyalties diverged. Its fine old church was destroyed without adequate record *c.*1960. DWP

D. R. Buxton, 'The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia', *Archaeologia* 92 (1947), 1–42.
Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 66–7.

debt The concept of debt was central to the evolution of both Roman *law and society. In Roman law, a debt might arise because one man had injured another or stolen or damaged his property (a debt *ex delicto*). Alternatively, a debt might arise by virtue of the fact that a formal act had been conducted which established the acknowledgement of a debt, or because one man had conveyed to another an item or sum of money to which he was either unentitled or no longer entitled (debts *ex contractu* or *quasi ex contractu*).

The emergence of the concept of the promissory debt *ex contractu* was essential to the development and fostering of commerce as it allowed for the regulation of more complicated forms of sale beyond that of the immediate or cash purchase. Likewise, procedures to enforce the collection of loans made *quasi ex contractu* helped to underpin the lively market in *credit on which many were periodically obliged to rely.

The legal consequences of personal indebtedness arising from failure to repay a loan in cash or kind also helped to shape Late Antique social institutions. Although formally the institution of debt bondage (*nexum*) was abolished at an early date, the Late Antique evidence reveals that credit-based relations between landowners and peasants were central to the emergence of the **colonus adscripticius*, and that self-sale into *slavery so as to absolve a debt remained widely attested through to the early Middle Ages. PS

Nicholas, *Introduction to Roman Law*.
B. Sirks, 'The Farmer, the Landlord and the Law in the Fifth Century', in R. Mathisen, *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity* (2001), 256–71.
A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages* (2009).

decani *Palace functionaries, principally doorkeepers, organized as a *Schola under the *Magister Officiorum (*CTh* VI, 33, 1). They were sometimes well rewarded by those admitted to an imperial audience (*VPorph* 40). Not to be confused with (1) junior army officer responsible for a unit of ten men (*Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 2, 8; *LexVis* IX, 2, 4); or (2) the ecclesiastical order of *deacon (Lat. *decanus*); or (3) those (under imperial regulation and part subsidy) providing a basic funeral service for residents of *Constantinople (*NovJust* 59). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 258, 582, 911.
Delmaire, *Institutions*, 80–1.
RE vol. 4/2 (1901) *s.v.* decanus, cols. 2244–5 (Seeck).

decanummium Late Roman *bronze denomination worth ten **nummi*. The coin was introduced by the *coinage reform of *Anastasius I in 498, and was issued until the reign of *Constantine V. Its value was usually marked prominently on the reverse with the numerals I (*Greek for 10) or X (*Latin for 10). RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*.
Billinger and Grierson, *DOC* 1–3.

decargyrum Late Roman *bronze coin denomination. The denomination system of the Later Roman Empire became quite confused. The *decargyrum* is mentioned in a law of 395 (*CTh* IX, 21, 1) and probably relates to the size of bronze coinage termed AE2, and it may be the same as the **maiorina*. RRD

D. Vadi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (2000).

decennalia *See* ANNIVERSARIES, IMPERIAL.

Deches (Déhès, Dahes, Dayhis, Dahe) (*Syria) *Village in the Jebel *Barisha with churches of the 5th/6th century and houses. A *monastery nearby had a *hostel for visitors. Earlier investigations (e.g. by G. Tchalenko) had assumed *olive monoculture in the *Limestone Massif of northern Syria and identified specialized buildings associated with this industry. French excavations at Deches during the 1970s raised questions about such interpretations. KETB

J.-P. Sodini et al., 'Déhès (Syrie du nord) campagnes I–III (1976–1978): récherches sur l'habitat rural', *Syria* 57 (1980), 1–304.

Decii Family of senatorial *aristocracy. The origins of the family are not clear, but *bronze *tesserae monumentorum* suggest that it was a 5th-century branch of the *Ceionii (*CIL* XV, 7115–16; *PLRE* II, Albinus 2). *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep.* I, 9, 5) remarked that Fl. Caecina Decius Basilius (*consul in 463) controlled appointments in *Rome. Basilius' probable son Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius was the first consul appointed by *Odoacer, in 480, after a gap of seven years in the West. The consular *fasti* of the *Ostrogothic period were dominated by the family, as noted by *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, IX, 23). Decii were involved in royal and ecclesiastical politics, especially during the final years of *Theoderic's rule, when Theodorus and Inportunus were sent to *Constantinople in an embassy (in 525) and *Albinus was sued for maintaining secret communication with the Eastern court; he was defended by *Boethius, and his fate is unknown.

CARM

PLRE II, stemma 26, p. 1324.

S. Orlandi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano, VI: Roma. Anfiteatri e strutture annesse con una nuova edizione e commento delle iscrizioni del Colosseo* (2004).

Decius *Emperor 249–51. G. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, a *senator born near *Sirmium, was commanding on the Balkan *frontier in 249, when his troops acclaimed him as *emperor, and defeated and killed the Emperor Philip the Arab (244–9). Decius then spent some months in *Rome, where he built *baths on the Aventine.

Early in 250 *Goths and *Carpi crossed the Danube. *Nicopolis ad Istrum was besieged, Decius was defeated at Beroea (*Stara Zagora), and barbarian forces under the leader referred to by *Dexippus as the 'Scythian' Cniva sacked *Philippopolis. The following year, Decius tried to intercept the Goths as they returned northwards, heavy with booty. He was ambushed at Abrittus (near mod. Razgrad, Bulgaria), defeated, and killed.

Later Christians believed that Decius' demise was punishment for his *persecution of the Church (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 4). Early in his reign, Decius issued an *edict ordering all inhabitants of the Empire to *sacrifice; some of the *papyrus **libelli* certifying individual compliance survive. From the Christian sources it is not possible to discern if Decius was motivated more by *pagan piety or by an active desire to entrap Christians. But the *martyr passion of S. *Pionius of *Smyrna, fragments of *Dionysius, *Bishop of *Alexandria, preserved by *Eusebius (*HE* VI, 40–6), and the *letters of *Cyprian, Bishop of *Carthage, all provide evidence for the enforcement and effects of this, the first Empire-wide persecution of Christians. Many Christians complied with the command to sacrifice; others fled. Many who refused were imprisoned or executed; S. Fabian, Bishop of *Rome, and S. Babylas of *Antioch were martyred on 20 and 24 January 250 respectively. Decius' successor *Trebonianus Gallus threatened to sustain the persecution (*Origen in Eusebius, *HE* VII, 1; Cyprian, *epp.* 58–62), but died in 253. When it ended, under *Valerian, local churches faced the difficulties of reconciling to the Christian community those who had sacrificed; such problems, delineated in Cyprian, *On the Lapsed*, suggest that in some places the policy of persecution certainly succeeded in smashing Christian solidarity.

The contemporary, if gratuitously circumlocutory, **Sibylline Oracles* call Decius a 'great-hearted ruler, knowledgeable in war' (XIII, 82). His portrait *sculptures present a distinctive head with sunken eyes and close-cropped hair.

OPN

RE 15/1 (1931) *s.v.* Messius 9, 1279–84 (Wittig).

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 241–8.

J. B. Rives, 'The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire', *JRS* 89 (1999), 135–54.

P. Schubert, 'On the Form and Content of the Certificates of Pagan Sacrifice', *JRS* 106 (2016), 172–98.

declamation, Greek The composition of fictional speeches on historical or typical themes was the mainstay of Greek rhetorical training from the Hellenistic period onwards and provided practice in analysing a question, finding arguments (*heuresis*), organizing (*taxis*) and delivering (*hupokrisis*) a speech in an appropriate style (*lexis*). Declamations were pronounced in *schools and in public competitions between orators who would take on the persona of the speaker in the case at issue. Several Late Antique authors such as *Libanius, *Himerius, and *Choricius have left examples which often show an interest in character and emotion. The commentaries to the theoretical treatises by *Hermogenes (2nd century) by *Syrianus, and others, as well as the handbook *On the Division of Questions* by *Sopater Rhetor, show that questions of rhetorical and argumentative strategy remained central.

RW

M. Heath, *Hermogenes, On Issues* (1995).

M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2004).

R. J. Penella et al., *Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity* (2009).

D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (1983).

declamation, Latin This pedagogical exercise, originally adapted to *Latin in Roman society from Hellenistic practice, continued to be a mainstay of education under a *rhetor in Late Antiquity. It still consisted of *suasoriae* and *controversiae*. It is best attested by the nineteen *Major Declamations* attributed to Quintilian by *Jerome, but in modern times to

multiple anonymous authors from the late 1st to the early 3rd centuries; and by *Ennodius' *Dictiones* which attest continuity in theme and style from the earlier Empire, despite the prevailing Christian climate. RDR

N. W. Bernstein, *Ethics, Identity, and Community in Later Roman Declamation* (2013).

decorations, military The military decorations (*dona militaria*) inherited from the Roman Republic, and systematized by *emperors, are little in evidence after the Severan period. The occasional mentions are unreliable (*HA, Aurelianus*, 13, 2–4; *Probus*, 5, 1–3), or donors were making special cases (*Ammianus, XXIV, 4, 24; *Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 1–8). However, bestowal of arm-rings (armillae) and neck-rings (torques) did continue into the 6th century; guardsmen are shown wearing them in depictions of the *court, and so are *military saints. Such torques were worn with other rich *metalwork by high-ranking officers and **draconarii*. One of the latter even used his neck-ring as a substitute diadem when *Julian was proclaimed emperor (*HA, Claudius*, 14, 5–10; Ammianus, XX, 4, 18). In their place, service, bravery, and loyalty were recognized by payments and rewards of money, *silver plate, and such objects as *dress and items of military equipment. JCNC

V. A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981), 248–54.

M. P. Speidel, 'Late Roman Military Decorations I: Neck- and Wristbands', *AntTard* 4 (1996), 235–43.

decreta Judicial or administrative enactments ('decrees'). The phrase *decreta principum* refers specifically to imperial enactments that were issued by the *emperor either as final judgements of a case (including those heard on appeal), or as interlocutory decisions given during the course of proceedings. In Late Roman practice, imperial *decreta* were effectively handled as imperial statements of *law. RvdB; CH

Harries, *Law and Empire*.

W. Kunkel, *An Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*, tr. J. M. Kelly (²1975).

decurio Term with three meanings: (1) *city councillor (*curialis*); (2) junior cavalry officer (*Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 2,14); (3) *decuriones* Sacri *Palatii or *Consistorii, senior *palace officials managing the **silentarii* (support staff at meetings of the *Consistorium); in 437, the establishment was fixed at three *decuriones* and 30 *silentarii* (*CTh* VI, 23, 4, 1). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 571–2.

Mary Whitby, 'On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople: Candidati, Curopalatus, Silentiarii, Excubitores and Others', *Historia* 36 (1987), 476–83.

deer Red deer (*cervus elaphus*), fallow deer (*dama dama*), and roe deer (*capreolus capreolus*) were widely distributed in Europe and western Asia in Late Antiquity. Venison was common and cheap; the *Tetrarchic Price Edict (4, 44) assigned it a value equal to pork. Deer were kept in parks for *hunting and *food. There was a **paradeisos* near the cave at *Taq-e Bostan which is decorated with relief carvings of the *Persian King hunting deer in enormous numbers, and deer are shown being hunted on the *Piazza Armerina *mosaics in *Sicily. *Justinian's *Institutes* (II, 1, 15) mentions deer so tame that they might come and go from the woods, and the **Lex Salica* refers obscurely to penalties for harming deer (*Pactus Legis Salicae*, 118).

Deer-hunting is often shown in Late Roman art, whether the deer is being chased, caught in nets, or roped so that it can be taken to a park or for a *venatio* in an urban amphitheatre. Deer are also shown drinking from streams, something which in fact they seldom do, for instance in the *mosaics of the building known as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at *Ravenna. Since Aristotle, philosophers had characterized deer as timid and also thought that they ate snakes. *Jerome (*On Jeremiah*, 14, 5; cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, XII, 1, 18), probably following *Pliny (*Natural History*, VIII, 18) says that the deer use the breath of their noses to get the snakes to emerge from their holes, which might suggest that the origin of the observation lies in the nose-worms (nasal bots) which red deer suffer from.

*Augustine records that it was customary for the opening of Psalm 42 (41), 'like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, o God', to be chanted as catechumens went forward for *baptism; in the allegorical interpretation offered in his *sermon on this psalm, the snakes are vices whose destruction makes the stag feel he needs a drink. He also suggests that deer set an example of mutual support by the way that they will take it in turns when swimming a river to offer their backs as a rest for the head of the deer behind them. *Theodoret and *John Chrysostom were also under the impression that deer were thirsty animals, influenced by the same psalm, which presumably referred originally to the instinct of hunted deer to run up river beds when heated in the chase. The significance of the deer on the head of the *Sutton Hoo sceptre remains obscure. OPN; MD

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Red deer (i) Natural History (E. Firouz).

H.-Ch. Puech, 'Le Cerf et le serpent', *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949), 17–60.

Bochartus, *Hierozoïcon*, Lib. III, caps. 17–18, vol. 1, 879–900.

N. Sykes, 'Deer, Land, Knives and Halls: Social Change in Early Medieval England', *Antiquaries Journal* 90 (2010), 175–93.

J. Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: The History of Deer Parks* (2011).

Defensor Civitatis (Defensor Plebis) Important judicial official in each *city. Attested in *Egypt and *Arabia in the early 4th century (Gk. *σύνδικος*, *ἔνδικος*), Defensores are first documented in other *provinces in 368 as officials charged with safeguarding citizens against injustices of the powerful (*contra potentium iniurias, CTh* I, 29, 1, *Illyricum). Defensores also acted as local judges in minor cases. They were later used for many other tasks (e.g. tax collection). The office survived among the *Visigoths (later Judex Territorii). *Justinian I made serving as Defensor a compulsory civic duty and enlarged their juristdiction (*NovJust* 15, 535). MMos

Jones, *LRE* 144–5, 258, 279–80, 479–80.
Hartmann, *RE* 4 (1901), 2365–72.
R. M. Frakes, *Contra Potentium Iniurias: The Defensor Civitatis and Late Roman Justice* (2001).
B. R. Rees, 'The Defensor Civitatis in Egypt', *JJP* 6 (1952), 73–102.

Defensor of Ligugé (*fl.* 7th/8th cent.) Monk at Ligugé, near *Poitiers, known only from his *Liber Scintillarum*, a *florilegium*, surviving in over 360 manuscripts, of ascetic and ethical quotations from the *Bible and the church fathers. ADi

CPL 1302:
ed. H. M. Rochais (CCSL 117, 1957).
ed. (annotated with FT) H. M. Rochais (SC 77 and 86, 1961 and 1962).
DictSpir 3 (1957), 88–90 (Rochais).
L. S. B. MacCoull, 'More Sources *for* the Liber Scintillarum of Defensor of Ligugé', *RevBén* 112/3–4 (2002), 291–300.

De Fisco Barcinonensi The *Libellus de Fisco Barcinonensi* is dated 4 November 592 (*Council of Saragossa) and survives added to the Acts of the First Council of Barcelona (540). The text illustrates the duty of *bishops in *Visigothic *Spain to collect taxes in their *dioceses. Such intervention of the Church in state fiscal matters was deemed a regular practice; in the text it is emphasized that this 'follows the custom'. The *Numerarii or collectors of taxes were named directly by the bishops. The text lays down the method of payment, **siliquae* (of *silver), and the otherwise unattested name of a *Comes Patrimoniorum, that of Scipio, obviously of Roman origin. GR

M. Barceló, 'De fisco gotico, hispanico sive andalusico', *Faventia* 21/1 (1999), 103–18.
J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (1963), 54.
D. Fernández, What is *De fisco Barcinonensi* about?, *AntTard*, 14 (2006), 217-224.

Degum *Village in the Hawzien Plain of Tigray, northern *Ethiopia. A low rocky outcrop contains several rock-hewn features. The oldest element, now incorporated within the later Selassie church, is a tomb approached down a steep rock-cut stair, strongly resembling built and rock-hewn tombs at *Aksum, for which a date in the 6th or 7th century is plausible. Nearby is a funerary or reliquary chapel of a type represented by other examples—now modified for use as churches—elsewhere in the Hawzien Plain. DWP

C. Lepage, 'Les Monuments chrétiens rupestres de Degum en Éthiopie', *CahArch* 22 (1972), 168–200.
C. Lepage and J. Mercier, *Les Églises historiques du Tigray: art éthiopien = The Ancient Churches of Tigrai: Ethiopian Art* (2005), 46–61.
Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, 88–92.

***dehqan* (MP *dahigān*)** Landed gentry or small-scale landowners who served as the military and fiscal backbone of the late *Sasanian Empire after the reforms of *Khosrow I and *Khosrow II. They became the conduit for the survival and transmission of Persian culture in the aftermath of the *Arab conquest. TD

EncIran VII/2, 223–4 and VII/3, 225–6 (1994) *s.v. dehqān* (A. Tafażżoli).
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*.
A. Tafaẓẓoli, *Sasanian Society* (2000).

De Insidiis *See* EXCERPTA.

Deir Ain Abata (Sanctuary of Lot) Church and *monastery of the 4th–9th centuries commemorating the Cave of Lot (Gen. 18–19). It is situated above Ghor Safi (Zoara) at the south-east tip of the Dead Sea. The complex consists of a church with *mosaics, the sacred cave, a monastery, pilgrim *hostel, and hermits' cells. Burials of individuals with diseases, including women and children, indicate the *pilgrimage and healing functions of the site. The earliest Christian phase is 4th century; the mosaics date from 572/3, 605, and 691.

Josephus (*Antiquities*, I, 11, 4; cf. *Bede, *On Genesis*, 19, 26) records that the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was transformed was visible in his day. *Egeria (12, 6–7) was told by the local *bishop that it had been submerged in the Dead Sea some years before her visit (cf. *Theodosius, 20; *Piacenza Pilgrim, 15). MESW

K. D. Politis, *Sanctuary of Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata in Jordan: Excavations 1988–2003* (2012).

Deir al-Suryani *Monastery built in the 6th century in Wadi an-Natrun (ancient *Scetis) south-west of the *Nile Delta. It was established in response to doctrinal differences by monks of the neighbouring Monastery of Abba Bishoi who followed *Severus, the *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Antioch.

It was sold to a group of Syrian monks in the early 8th century and was bought by Marutha, from *Takrit

in *Mesopotamia. The main buildings at the monastery were constructed around AD 850, including the present principal church and the surviving fortification walls.

The most prominent abbot of the Syrian monastery was Moses of *Nisibis (*c.*907–943). He constructed the wooden *doors of the sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary and probably the entire sanctuary. Sent to Baghdad around 927 to seek tax exemptions, he collected an array of *Syriac manuscripts in *Mesopotamia and northern *Syria and he brought about 250 books back to the monastery in 932. Some of these books are now in the Vatican and more in the British Library, including BL Adds. 12150, containing *inter alia* *Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* and *Theophany*, *Titus of *Bosra's *Against the Manichees*, and the *Syriac *Martyrology of 411*. The monastery was active until the 15th century. CK

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dayr al-Suryan, cols. 876a–881a (A. Cody, P. Grossmann).

GEDSH s.n. al-Suryān, Dayr (L. Van Rompay).

H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of Wadi 'N Natrun Part 2: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (1932).

S. P. Brock and L van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)* (OLA 227, 2014).

Deir Qal'a Roman fortress in *Samaria, located on a hilltop overlooking the junction of several important *roads. It was converted into a *monastery in the late 5th or early 6th century. LDS

TIR Iudaea-Palaestina, 111.

Y. Hirschfeld, 'Deir Qal'a and the Monasteries of Western Samaria', in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East* (JRA Suppl, 2002), vol. 3, 155–89.

Y. Magen and N. Aizik, 'A Late Roman Fortress and a Byzantine Monastery at Deir Qal'a', in N. Carmin, ed., *Christians and Christianity: Churches and Monasteries in Samaria and Southern Judea* (2012).

Deir S'eman *See* QALAT SEMAN.

Deir Zaferan (Syr. Dayro d'Kurkmo, Turkish Deyrulzaferan) The 'Saffron Monastery', so called from the colour of its stone, stands on a slope 4.5 km (*c.*3 miles) south-east of *Mardin, and is organized around a courtyard. The main church of the *monastery is named after Mor Hanania, the *bishop who refounded the monastery in 793. The main church and the burial chamber next to it have remarkable architectural *sculpture in a classical style which can be dated to the 6th century. The Church of the Blessed Virgin *Mary can also be dated to the 6th century, based on its floor *mosaics and building technique. Between 1293 and 1932 it was the residence of the *Syrian Orthodox *Patriarch of *Antioch and is now the seat of the Bishop of Mardin. EKK

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 214–18.

E. Barsawm, *Deyruzzafaran Manastırının Tarihi* (Arabic original, 1917; Turkish translation by Gabriel Akyüz, 2006).

Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur 'Abdin* 60–70, 132–5.

Y. Bilge, *Geçmişten günümüze Deyrulzafaran Manastırı* (2006).

M. Mundell, 'The Sixth Century Sculpture of the Monastery of Deir Za'faran in Mesopotamia', *Actes du XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes, Septembre 1976*, II. Art et Archéologie, Communications (1979–81), 511–28.

Deisis Literally 'entreaty' or 'petition'; an artistic composition of Christ flanked by the Blessed Virgin *Mary and S. John the Baptist, or of the Virgin praying or petitioning Christ. SVL

A. Cutler, 'Under the Sign of the Deesis', *DOP* 41 (1987), 145–53.

C. Walter, 'Two Notes on the Deesis', *REB* 26 (1968), 311–36.

De Legationibus *See EXCERPTA.*

Delos Island and active volcano in the Cyclades, remembered for its cult of Apollo by literary men as diverse as *Servius (*In Aen.* IV, 143–9) and a Greek panegyrist of the *Tetrachy (P.Argent. 480). Though not the prosperous entrepôt of the Late Republic, Delos was inhabited until the 6th/7th century. Half a dozen churches are known, including one dedicated to the *martyr S. Kurikos (Quiriqos). A *bishop of Delos atttended the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451. The see is mentioned in the *Synecdomus* of *Hierocles, but not in the *Notitiae* of Leo III (722–46). PA; OPN

P. Argent. 480 (P.Stras. 480) = ed. D. Gigli Piccardi, *La cosmogonia di Strasburgo* (Studi e testi 10, 1990); Heitsch, *Dichterfragmente*, vol. 1, p. 79 (no. XXII).

A. Orlandos, 'Délos Chrétienne', *BCH* 60 (1936), 68–100.

P. Bruun, 'A Hoard of Constantinian Bronze from Delos', in *Studies in Constantinian Chronology* (NNM 146, 1961), 74–99.

Delphi *City, *temple, and *oracle of Apollo. The shrine continued to erect dedications to the *emperors in the 4th century. It was visited by *Libanius as a student and *Iamblichus (*De Mysteriis*, III, 11) vouchsafes details concerning the oracle's operation. According to the *Passion* of S. *Artemius (35), probably drawing on *Philostorgius (VII, 1c = VII, 77), and to *Cedrenus (532) the doctor *Oribasius brought the *Emperor *Julian an oracle from Apollo; its authenticity is debated. The city flourished in the 5th century and acquired a *bishop with a *basilica near the temple. Some of the oracles collected in *Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* may come from Delphi. 'Delphic' oracles were circulating by *c.*500 making Apollo a prophet of

Christianity. Early Christian remains include a chapel of the 6th/7th century, and *extra muros* a three-aisled *basilica with a *mosaic floor. AK

TIB 1 (1976) *s.n.* Delphoi, 143–4.

P. Athanassiadi, 'The Fate of Oracles in Late Antiquity', *DeltChristArchEtair* 6th series, 15 (1989–90), 271–8.

A. Brown, 'Hellenic Heritage and Christian Challenge', in H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (2006), 309–19.

demes The *Greek word δῆμος may refer to the citizenry of a *polis* or one of its constituent demes. Demes in the latter sense survived into Late Antiquity in *cities such as *Alexandria and *Antioch. The membership of the partisan *factions in the *circus and theatre also came to be referred to as *demoi*. In 601, the Blues and Greens in *Constantinople had their respective demarchs and deme registers. Factions denominated as demes were a late 6th-century invention rather than an organic outgrowth of the civic deme system (Cameron, *Factions*, 23). RLi

Cameron, *Factions*, 24–44.

Alan Cameron, 'Demes and Factions', *BZ* 67 (1974), 79–91.

G. Dagron, *L'Hippodrome de Constantinople: jeux, peuple et politique* (2012).

C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (JRS monographs 6, 1993).

S. Winkler, 'Byzantinische Demen und Faktionen', in R. Günther and G. Schrof, eds., *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im Alten Orient und im Klassischen Altertum* (1961), 317–28.

Demetrias (*fl.* 413–440) A member of the *Anicii *family, a dedicated virgin, she received letters from *Jerome (*ep.*130), *Pelagius (PL 30, 15; 30,1099), and *Augustine (*epp.* 150, 188). A *patron in her own right, she built the *basilica of S. Stephen on the Via Latina (*ILCV* I, 1765). LHCG

PLRE II, Demetrias.

PCBE II/1, Demetrias.

Demetrius, S., and *Miracles of S. Demetrius* S. Demetrius, patron saint of *Thessalonica, is said to have been a *martyr under Maximianus *Galerius in the early 4th century. The **Syriac Martyrology of 411* records a *deacon called Demetrius martyred at *Sirmium. Encomia of S. Demetrius, none earlier than the 9th century, mention his aristocratic origin in Thessalonica and high official rank. Persecuted as a preacher of Christianity, he is said to have been imprisoned in the *city's central public *bath, where he was killed and buried. When *persecution ended, a 'house' was built on the site of his martyrdom, later replaced by the grand *Basilica of S. Demetrius, a *pilgrimage centre whose *mosaics depict S. Demetrius wearing the *chlamys, the *dress of a Roman civilian official. The focal point of S. Demetrius' cult was the ciborium which stood in the central nave of the basilica.

The cult of S. Demetrius is recorded in *The Miracles of Saint Demetrius*. This comprises two books of the 7th century which relate *miracles performed when S. Demetrius intervened to rescue Thessalonica and its inhabitants, not least from *Slav and *Avar attackers. This makes the *Miracles* an important source for the history of the *Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries.

The older Book I (early 7th cent.), attributed to John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, consists of fifteen chapters which record miraculous healings of physical and mental illnesses, the saint's concern for his basilica, and the protection of the *city and its people from famine and invasions in the late 6th and early 7th centuries. Book II is anonymous, possibly by a clergyman, and complements the work of John 70 years after its composition. Its content is historical, relating specific events of the first half of the 7th century, such as the invasions and sieges of Thessalonica by Avars and Slavs, *earthquakes, and fires. The two final chapters of Book II are probably a later addition. PM

BHG 496–547g:

ed. (with FT, comm., and study) P. Lemerle, *Les Plus Anciens Recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, 2 vols. (1979–81).

ed. (with comm.) Ch. Bakirtzis *Αγίου Δημητρίου Θαύματα*, tr. A. Sideri (1997).

Delehaye, *Saints militaires*, 105–9.

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 365–72.

J. C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector 4th–7th Centuries* (Harvard Theological Studies 47, 1999).

D. Woods, 'Thessalonica's Patron: Saint Demetrius or Emeterius?', *HTR* 93 (2000), 221–34.

demonetization The act of denying to a circulating currency the status of legal tender. In the case of coins circulating only in accordance with their intrinsic value (as *gold did in Late Antiquity), this happens mostly for political reasons, e.g. when coins bearing the portrait and name of a *usurper lost their monetary value and were melted down and the metal re-minted. In the case of coins with a nominal over-evaluation, a demonetization can take place as part of a monetary reform, which changes the monetary structure and removes the status of legal tender from previous coins. Such demonetized coins were generally withdrawn by the minting authorities (as attested by *Zosimus, I, 61, 3 for the reform of the *Emperor *Aurelian). Coins remaining in circulation lost their nominal value and assumed the simple value of the metal they are made of. The reform of the divisional coinage undertaken in AD 348, like the second reform of the Emperor *Anastasius I in AD 512,

entailed a demonetization of previous currency; this is apparent from coin *hoards. A *law of 395 (*CTh* IX, 23, 2) orders that the **decargyrum* be withdrawn from circulation. FC

demons and daemons Spiritual creatures who were thought to act as intermediaries between men and gods, or as minions of the Devil. Belief in the power of these spirits was widespread in Late Antiquity judging by the plethora of magical texts dealing with demons, and stories about possession. *Neoplatonist accounts of the cosmos accommodated ideas of good and bad demons, and in broader *pagan culture demons were represented variously as benign, neutral, and mischievous. Dualists claimed that demons (or their leaders) were responsible for creating the material world. By contrast, anti-dualist Christians argued that demons were part of God's good creation but had sinned and become evil (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst.* II, 14–16). The fatal sin of these *angels was identified as lust, envy, or pride, depending on what scriptural or apocryphal texts were adduced. Early Christian literature is saturated with warnings and stories about demons' attempts to harrass, tempt, and pervert believers from righteous living. Demons' bodies were too subtle to be visible, and they are often described as donning seductive or terrifying (but illusory) disguises to appear to humans and trick them. They could be distinguished from angels, said a *sermon attributed to S. *Antony of *Egypt, because angels prefaced their appearances to humans with an exhortation not to be afraid (*VAntonii* 35–7). In extreme cases, demons possessed humans, taking over their bodies, effacing their identity, and making them behave in terrifying and unnatural ways. Within the Church, power over demons was thought to be granted to particular *holy men by God, on the apostolic model, and *saints' lives abound in triumphant stories of *exorcism. The adjuration of demons, notably by *exorcists, was also adapted and given liturgical shape at *baptism and beyond. The conjuration and *divination of demons continued to be practised in syncretistic Late Antique *magic but was vigorously opposed by Christian leaders. SJL-R

D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (2006).
E. Ferguson, *Demonology of the Early Christian World* (1984).
H. Marx-Wolf, 'Third Century Daimonologies and the *Via Universalis*: Origen, Porphyry and Iamblichus on *Daimons* and Other Angels', *SP* 46 (2010), 207–15.
A. Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (2005).
G. Smith, 'How Thin is a Demon?', *JECS* 16 (2008), 479–512.
E. Sorensen, *Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (2002).

demons in Middle Iranian religions Demons (MP *dēw*, Av. *daēuua-*) were central to the dualist theology of both *Zoroastrianism and *Manichaeism and had consequences for their cosmogony, ritual, and ethics. In Zoroastrianism, the Evil Spirit (*Ahriman) 'miscreated' his demons. As his agents, they are directly responsible for all forms of evil, corruption, and decay (**Bundahishn*, 1). The present world is a 'mixture' (Pahlavi *gumēzišn*) since the demons have entered both the world at large and the bodies of humans.

Several of the demons recognized in Manichaeism are borrowed from Zoroastrianism. The 'King of Darkness' referred to as the Devil (*diabolos*) in *Greek, *Latin, and *Coptic and as Satan in Aramaic in Manichaean Middle *Persian and Parthian was a being called Ahreman (Ahriman). YSDV

Skjærvø, *Spirit*.
W. Sundermann, 'Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6 (1979), 95–133.
M. Tardieu, *Manichaeism*, tr. M. B. DeBevoise (2008; French original, 1981).

Demotic *See* EGYPT, LANGUAGES IN.

denarius Roman *silver coin denomination, theoretically weighing 1/72 of a Roman pound or *c.*4.5 grams (0.15 ounces). The *denarius* was the silver unit of account of Roman imperial currency until persistent *debasement in the 2nd century reduced its stability and value. It ceased to be issued after the *coinage reform of *Diocletian in *c.*293/4 but continued as a unit of account, for example in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict, in which it apparently represented the lowest unit of reckoning. In post-/non-Roman contexts, the *denarius* gave a name to various precious-metal coinages, including the *dinar and **denier*. RRD

RIC V/1, V/2, VI, VII, VIII, IX.
MEC 1.
Metcalf, *OHGRC*.
D. Vagi, *Coinage and the History of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (2000).

Dendera (also Nitentori, Gk. Tentyra) Town in the *province of *Thebais Secunda, famous for its Ptolemaic *temple of the goddess Hathor, whose decoration was damaged in Late Antiquity. *Pachomius cooperated with *Bishop Sarapion of Nitentori and counted the steward and *priest of the church there one of his closest friends. By the 5th century AD a *triconch church had been built between the two birth houses of the temple on the north-west corner of its inner precinct, in part reusing stone from the birth houses. CK

CoptEnc s.v. Dandarah cols. 690a–691b (P. Grossman).

EAH s.n. Dendera and Tentyra (Graeco-Roman/Late Antique) (J. H. F. Dijkstra), 1–2.
J. Y. Wong, 'Raze of Glory: Interpreting Iconoclasm in Edfu and Dendera', *JLA* 9/1 (2016), 89–113.

Dengizich (d. 469) *Hun notable. Son of *Attila, and leader of a confederation of Ultzinzures, Angisciri, Bittugures, and Bardores with whose support he attacked *Gothic territory but was comprehensively defeated (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 272). With his brother Ernach he sent an embassy to the *Emperor *Leo I in 466/7 asking for a market on the Danube and on being denied, Dengizich waged war on the Romans (*Priscus, fr. 46 and 48, 1 = 38 Müller *FHG*) He attacked again in 469 but was killed by *Anagastes and his head exposed in *Constantinople (*Marcellinus Comes *s.a.* 469; **Chronicon Paschale s.a.* 468). AA

PLRE II, Dengizich.
Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 165–8.

denier Late medieval *silver coin denomination, usually weighing 1.1 or 1.3 grams (*c.*0.04 ounces). The *denier*, derived from Latin **denarius*, was introduced *c.*670 under the *Merovingians though with little obvious royal supervision. Carolingian *deniers* (often called pennies) were more tightly controlled. Various late medieval silver coins based on the Carolingian silver coinage are also termed 'denier'. RRD

MEC 1.

***Denkard* (*Acts of Religion*)** An encyclopedic work in Middle *Persian, much of it in difficult and cryptic language, and compiled in the 9th century AD initially by Adur Farnbag Farroxzadan and after his death by Adurbad Emidan in Baghdad.

The *Denkard* was originally composed in nine books, of which Books 1 and 2 have been lost. Book 3 concerns itself with many issues, from the composition of the human body to opinions concerning relations between the *Zoroastrian religious establishment and the *Sasanian state, and includes the famous Persian dictum concerning the inseparability of religion and politics which is still evident in Persian religious circles: 'Know that kingship is religion and religion is kingship… kingship is arranged based on religion and religion based on kingship.' Book 4 has been called the Book of Manners or Customs and is perhaps the most difficult book, since it deals not only with the history of the sacred texts, but also with *Greek and Indic science. Book 5 begins with a series of questions put by a non-believer to a Zoroastrian sage, and it deals with different issues, especially *xwedodah* or consanguineous *marriage. Book 6 may be called a Book of Counsel, while Book 7 particularly deals with the story of Zoroaster, from his birth to his death. Book 8 is important because it is a description of the contents of the 21 sections of the **Avesta*. Each section (*nask*) is named and its content briefly mentioned, while Book 9 concentrates on three interpretations or *nask*s on the *Avesta*. TD

EncIran VII/3 (1994) *s.n.* Dēnkard, 284–9 (P. Gignoux).
Facsimile B, the one nearly complete ms. (Bombay ms. 55): M. J. Dresden, *Dēnkard: A Pahlavi Text* (1966).
ed. (with ET, Gujarati tr., and comm.) P. B. Sanjana and D. P. Sanjana, *Dinkart: The Original Pehlwi Text; The Same Transliterated in Zend Characters; Translations of the Text in Gujrati and English Languages; A Commentary and a Glossary of Selected Terms*, 19 vols. (1874–1928).
ed. (with FT) J. P. de Menasce, *Le Troisième Livre du Denkart: traduit du pehlevi* (1974).
ed. (with FT) J. Amouzgar and A. Tafazzoli, *Le Cinquième Livre du Denkard* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 23, 2000).
ed. (with ET and comm.) Shaked, *Wisdom*.
Denkard VII, ed. (with FT) M. Molé, *La Légende de Zoroastre: selon les textes Pehlevis* (1967).
J. P. de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne, le Dēnkart: quatre conférences données à l'Université de Paris sous les auspices de la Fondation Ratanbai Katrak* (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences religieuses 69, 1958).
J. P. de Menasce, 'Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim Conquest', in *CambHistIran* IV, 543–65.
J. P. de Menasce, 'Zoroastrian Pahlavi Writings', in *CambHistIran* III/2, 1161–95.
M. Macuch, 'Pahlavi Literature', in R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch, eds., *A History of Persian Literature: The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran* (2009), 116–96.

Dentelin, Duchy of A territorial unit first mentioned by *Fredegar (IV, 20), when it was seized from *Chlothar II by *Theudebert II in 600, and described as lying 'between the Seine and the Oise, as far as the sea'. It was presumably the territory held by Chlothar II from his accession in 584. It was regained by him on Theudebert's death, and allocated to *Neustria by *Dagobert I in 633 (Fredegar IV, 37–8, 76). EJ

Deogratias *Bishop of *Carthage (454–7), ordained through the appeals of *Valentinian III. He used church resources to redeem and care for captives of *Geiseric's raid on *Rome of 455. After his death, his see lay vacant for a generation, until the ordination of Eugenius (*Victor of Vita, 1, 24–7). JPC

PCBE I, Deogratias 1.

depopulation *See* POPULATION.

Derbent (Iran. 'closed gates') A strategic fortress and pass in the north of medieval Caucasian *Albania, located on a narrow strip of land between the Caspian Sea and the Caucasian range. Together with the *Dariel

Pass, Derbent was often identified with the Gates of Alexander. As the northernmost fortress in the eastern Caucasus, it was both an important centre for the spread of Christianity and a defensive complex against the north Caucasian *nomads. Owing to its strategic location, throughout Late Antiquity Derbent was a target of perpetual military raids. After the occupation of Albania in the 5th–6th centuries, Derbent was controlled by the *Persian Empire. King *Yazdegerd I and later *Khosrow I Anushirvan constructed a massive fortification, which is still to be seen in the city. In 627, the city was captured by the Western Turkic Khaganate and later, in 651–4, by *Arabs. NA

V. Minorsky, *History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th–11th Centuries* (1958).

De Rebus Bellicis *See* ANONYMUS DE REBUS BELLICIS.

dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes Type of *pottery produced in southern *Gaul in the late 4th to mid-6th centuries. *Dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes* (DSP) tablewares succeeded the mid-2nd- to late 3rd-century evolution of the south Gaulish **sigillata* of the 1st and 2nd centuries, *sigillata chiara B* (pale orange slip), and its later iridescent products *terra sigillata (t.s.) chiara pre lucente* (Severan period) and *t.s. lucente* (late 3rd–5th centuries), produced in Savoy and the Rhône Valley.

DSP comprised three main wares over the late 4th to mid-6th centuries, each with their distinctive decorative schemes. Like *African Red Slipware (ARS), in copying forms and decoration from contemporary metalware, DSP bears complex stamped decoration on the floor and on the rim. Whereas some products were oxidized (*orangée*), others, unlike ARS, were reduced, with a grey to black fabric and slip (*grise*). The *Groupe Languedocienne* (*Narbonne) was active from the late 4th to mid-5th centuries. The *Groupe Provençal*e (Provence and Lower Rhône Valley), based at *Marseilles, produced primarily reduced vessels in the early 5th to mid-6th centuries. The *Groupe Atlantique* (Atlantic coast and *Aquitaine), based at *Bordeaux, was active in the 6th century, producing only *t.s. grise* decorated with distinctive designs, some including Celtic elements, notably *animals. PR

Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Atlante delle forme ceramiche romane, vol. 1 (1981).

J. C. Tréglia, 'Le produzioni galliche di media e tarda etá imperiale: sigillata chiara B, lucente, e ceramica grigia-arancione (dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes)', in D. Gandolfi, ed., *La ceramica e i materiali di età romana: classi, produzioni, commerci e consumi* (2005), 251–8, with bibliography.

Descriptio Consulum A complex document based upon consular fasti from 509 BC to AD 468, one of only two such nearly complete lists to survive (with the fasti of the *Codex-Calendar of 354). It was originally compiled in *Trier in *c.*342 and travelled thence to *Rome, *Constantinople, *Spain, and *Africa. A variety of historical, literary, and Christian entries appear between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD. The evidence for contemporary compilation of historical events begins at the end of the 3rd century and entries appear almost annually between *c.*354 and 389, when the text was in Constantinople. Different recensions served as an important source for *Jerome, *Prosper, *Hydatius, *Socrates, the **Consularia Berolinensia*, and the **Chronicon Paschale*. Its unique preservation of many otherwise unknown or corrupt dates and unknown or poorly known events makes it of fundamental importance for the chronology of the 4th and early 5th centuries. It is preserved in only one independent manuscript, of the 9th century (Berlin, Phillipps 1829). RWB

ed. T. Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant 9), 205–47.

ed. (with study) R. W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (1993), 175–245.

Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 2.

Desenzano One of many Roman and Late Roman *villas grouped around Lake Garda in *Italy. It is associated with the Decentii, well attested at the imperial *court of *Milan in the 4th century. Excavations have revealed elements of a vast complex, notably its large peristyle with *baths, nymphaeum, octagonal hall, and triapsidal **triclinium*. Extensive geometric and figured *mosaic floors (including Cupids, Orpheus, *Seasons, and *hunting scenes) of *c.* AD 350 were probably made by *African craftsmen. Christian use of the 'private' *basilica north of the triclinium is postulated, but *burials cutting through mosaics imply shrinkage, altered function, or abandonment in the 5th century. NJC

E. Ghislanzoni, *La villa romana in Desenzano* (1962).

M. Mirabella Roberti, 'Nuovi musaici dalla villa romana di Desenzano', in J.-P. Darmon and A. Rebourg, eds., *La Mosaique greco-romaine* (AIEMA Bull. suppl., 1994), 107–14.

D. Scagliarini Corlàita, 'La villa di Desenzano del Garda', in E. Roffia, ed., *Ville romane sul Lago di Garda* (1997), 191–210.

Desert Fathers Term applied to the 4th- and 5th-century monks of *Egypt; occasionally also to Palestinian monks in *Gaza and the *Judaean Wilderness.

The exemplar of the desert ideal was *Antony the Great (d. 356), an anchorite whose life was celebrated in *Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* (*c.*358). Antony's 'withdrawal' (*anachōresis*) from his village to the desert came to define the ideal, and his disciples famously 'made the desert a city' (*VAntonii*, 14).

In Lower Egypt, *Macarius the Egyptian (d. 390) founded the desert *monastery of *Scetis. The wisdom of the monks of Scetis is preserved in the anecdotes and aphorisms of the **Apophthegmata Patrum*. *Amoun (d. *c.*353) founded two major desert monasteries in Lower Egypt, *Nitria and *Kellia, which were celebrated in *Palladius' *Lausiac History* and the anonymous **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*.

The fame of the Desert Fathers attracted foreign intellectuals who visited or settled in Egypt and, in their writings, broadcast Egyptian spiritual traditions to the wider Roman world. One was *Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399), whose works catalogue the eight principal vices and map the soul's journey to God. Another was *John Cassian (d. *c.*435) who, after a decade in Scetis, left Egypt and settled in *Marseilles. His *Institutes* and *Conferences* helped translate desert traditions for the Latin West. The *Rule of S.* Benedict* made Cassian required reading, ensuring that desert traditions remained an ideal for medieval monasticism.

The term 'desert mothers', used by certain modern authors, is inexact. Surviving papyri refer to *apotaktikai* ('women renouncers'), while Palladius recounts stories of various ascetic women; in both instances, the women lived not in the desert, but in or near towns. There were large coenobitic women's monasteries allied with *Pachomius and *Shenoute, but these were located quite close to the *Nile. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* lists three *ammas* ('mothers'); one lived in the suburbs of *Alexandria, another, in the Delta. While there is scant evidence of 'desert mothers', strictly speaking, large numbers of Christian women embraced a variety of ascetical lifestyles within the *cities and villages of Egypt. JWH

D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (2006).
Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*.
Elm, *Virgins of God*.
J. E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (1999).
G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (OECS, 1993).
Harmless, *Desert Christians*.
Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries*.
Hevelone-Harper, *Disciples of the Desert*.
R. Krawiec, *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (2002).
Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (1998).

desert palaces *See* HUNTING AND HAWKING, ARAB, PALACES, ARAB.

Desiderius of Cahors *Bishop of Cahors (630–*c.*655) An aristocrat from *Aquitaine, who administered the treasury at the courts of *Chlothar II and *Dagobert I, where his friends included *Eligius, later Bishop of Noyon, and *Audoenus, later Bishop of *Rouen. He briefly replaced his brother *Syagrius as prefect of *Marseilles before succeeding his brother Rusticus as Bishop of Cahors with Dagobert's backing. An extant collection of 36 *letters to and from Desiderius includes correspondence with Dagobert, his son *Sigibert III, and *Grimoald, the *Mayor of the Palace, as well as influential *bishops, and reveals his wide range of building activity, including a scheme to supply water to Cahors through an underground system of wooden pipes (*ep.* 1.13), and measures to protect his city from plague. His *Life* includes further letters, and his *will. RVD; STL

PLRE IIIA, Desiderius 5.
Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CXLII, 126–7.
Desiderius, *Epistulae*, ed. D. Norberg, *Acta Universitatis Stockholmensis*, VI (1961).
Vita Desiderii (*BHL* 2143–4), ed. B. Krusch, MGH SS rer. Meroving. IV, 547–602.
J. Durliat, 'Les Attributions civiles des évêques mérovingiens: l'exemple de Didier, l'évêque de Cahors (630–655)', *Annales du Midi* 91 (1979), 237–54.

Desiderius of Vienne *Bishop of *Vienne (before 596–607) Learned Gallo-Roman noble, who sought the **pallium* from Pope *Gregory I in 599, a request that Gregory was minded to grant in 601 subject to confirmation that rumours of Desiderius teaching secular literature were false. In 602/3 he was deposed and exiled by a church *council at *Brunhild's instigation. When he denounced the vices of the queen and *Theuderic II soon after his restoration in 607, he was promptly executed. His first *saint's life was written by the *Visigothic King *Sisebut. JJA; STL

PLRE IIIA, Desiderius 4.
PCBE 4, I, Desiderius 13.
Life (*BHL* 2148–9), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. III, 620–48.
J. Fontaine, 'King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography', in E. James, ed., *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (1980), 93–129.

devaluation of currency The opposite of *revaluation. Devaluation indicates a deliberate reduction of the nominal value of a currency in respect to other currency with which it is in a fixed exchange ratio. Such fixed exchange rates did not exist in Late Antiquity in respect to foreign currencies. Devaluation however could occur inside the imperial monetary system itself. The best-known example is *Licinius' decision to lower, around AD 320, the value of the so-called '*nummus*' from 25 to 12.5 **denarii*. The *nummus* was thenceforth exchanged against *silver coins at a ratio of 1:8 instead of 1:4. FC

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 196.

Dewashtich (Diwashini) *Sogdian ruler (708? – 22) based in *Panjikent, whose archives were discovered at a fortress on Mount *Mugh in 1932. Like *Ghurak, his stronger rival, Dewashtich, a nominal Muslim, alternated between submission to the *Arabs and alliances with the *Türks. During the Sogdian rebellion of 722, Dewashtich retreated to Mount Mugh where, following an Arab massacre of Sogdians in Khojand and the siege of his fortress, he surrendered and was subsequently executed. MLD

EncIran VII/3 (1994) *s.n.* Dēwāštīč (B. Marshak).

A. A. Freiman, I. A. Orbeli, et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*: pt. 2, v. 3, Sogdian [1]: Dokumentï s gorï Mug: *Documents from Mt. Mugh* (1963).

D. S. Powers (tr.), *Tabari*, vol. 24: *The Empire in Transition* (1989), 171–8.

F. Grenet and É. de la Vaissière, 'The Last Days of Panjikent', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8 (2002), 155–96.

dexiosis *See* HAND AND HAND GESTURES.

Dexippus (200/210–*c.*275) Historian. From an established Athenian family, Publius Herennius Dexippus held some of the most important offices at *Athens, including the eponymous archonship (*IG* III, 1 714–17). In 267/8, when the Heruli *invaded *Greece and sacked Athens, amongst other cities, Dexippus gathered a force in the countryside and launched a counter-attack which drove them off.

*Photius (*cod.* 82) mentions three works written by him: a *History after Alexander* in four books; a *Summary of History* in twelve books (which is elsewhere called *Chronicle* and *Chronological History*); and a *Scythica*.

The *History after Alexander*, which survives only in Photius' summary and some passages in the *Excerpta de Sententiis*, appear to have been a literary account of the manoeuvres after the death of Alexander the Great. The other two works appear to have been more popular. The *Chronicle* was used or referred to by *Evagrius in his *HE*, by *Stephanus of *Byzantium, by *George the Syncellus, and in the **Historia Augusta*. Its chronology was discussed at some length by *Eunapius of *Sardis, who continued it.

The *Chronicle* was an annalistic record of the main events and personalities of various peoples drawn from a number of sources, beginning with the earliest times and ending at the reign of *Claudius II (270), set in a chronological framework of Olympiads and archon-years, and, apparently, ended with a synoptic table divided into millennia which coordinated the Olympiads and archon-years with consular years.

The *Scythica* was used by *Jordanes in his *Getica*, by the **Suda*, and in the **Excerpta* compiled under Constantine VII in the 10th century, which preserve coherent passages of appreciable length. Further fragments were recognized by J. Gruskovà in a Vienna palimpsest (cod. Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 73) in 2007. The *Scythica* gave a detailed account of the invasions by peoples north of the Danube *frontier primarily into the Greek-speaking regions of Eastern Europe and *Anatolia, beginning perhaps in 238 and continuing into the 270s, ending perhaps at the death of *Aurelian in 275. The style of the *Scythica* was classicizing,with frequent references especially to Thucydides and extensive speeches and accounts of *sieges in the Thucydidean manner. RCB

PLRE I, Dexippus 2.

ed. in Müller, *FHG* III, 664–87 (with LT).

ed. (with GT and study) G. Martin, *Dexipp von Athen* (2006).

C. Mallan and C. Davenport, 'Dexippus and the Gothic Invasions: Interpreting the New Vienna Fragment (Codex Vindobonensis Hist. gr. 73, ff. 192^{v}–193^{r})', *JRS* 105 (2015), 203–26.

G. Martin and J. Grusková, '"Scythica Vindobonensia" by Dexippus (?): New Fragments on Decius' Gothic Wars', *GRBS* 54/4 (2014), 728–54.

F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions', *JRS* 59 (1969), 12–29.

dexter Dei *See* HAND AND HAND GESTURES.

dhimma The covenant of protection established, in principle, indefinitely between the Muslim ruler and the communities of the revealed religions (the *ahl al-kitab*, People of the Book) living under Muslim rule. The *dhimmi*s or *ahl al-dhimma*, People of the Covenant, lived under their own laws, customs, and leaders in exchange for the payment of a tax, the **jizya*, as described in the *Qur'ān: 'Fight those who do not believe . . . until they pay the *jizya*' (Q. 9:24). Besides the *Jews and Christians, who are mentioned in the Qur'ān, *Zoroastrians and other faiths not explicitly mentioned generally obtained the same status of *dhimma*, in contrast to idolaters, non-Muslims living in the areas not yet under Muslim rule, and non-Muslims temporarily residing in Muslim lands. The treatment of non-Muslims under *Islam was governed by the precedent set by the prophet *Muhammad and the circumstances at the time of the conquest, as well as the attitude of individual rulers. The consolidation of Islam brought more restrictions on public forms of non-Muslim worship, such as *processions, *bells, music, singing, and cultic buildings, as well as sumptuary and behavioural limitations. These limitations are said to be laid down in the apocryphal pact of *'Umar but more probably originated in a later period when cultural assimilation had increased. PMS

C. E. Bosworth, 'The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam', in B. Braude and B. Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (1982), vol. 1, 37–51.

R. Rubin and D. Wasserstein, eds., *Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Isla*m (1997).
R. Hoyland, ed., *Muslims and Others in Early Islam* (2004).
M. Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence* (2011).

Dhiorios Mersineri (NW *Cyprus) Its ancient name is unknown. The location of an industrial-scale cooking *pottery factory, identified by a large number of kilns of which fourteen have been excavated. The factory operated from the 5th century until halted by an otherwise unidentified destructive event. When production resumed, continuing until at least the middle of the 8th century, a new technology imported from the Levant was employed. Similar factories have been identified on the coast of *Cilicia and in north *Syria. PA

H. W. Catling, 'Appearance and Reality: Thoughts on the Interpretation of Archaeological Field Surveys', in C. Gallou, M. Georgiadis, and G. M. Muskett, eds., *Dioskouroi Studies Presented to W. G. Cavanagh and C. B. Mee* (BAR IntSer 1889, 2008), 204–6.
H. W. Catling, 'An Early Byzantine Pottery Factory at Dhiorios in Cyprus', *Levant*, 4 (1972), 1–82.

Dhu Nuwas *See* YUSUF AS'AR DHU NUWAS.

Dhu Qar, Battle of Victory of Arabian *tribes allied to the *Bakr b. Wa'il over the *Sasanians in *c.* AD 609, near al-*Hira. This was a blow to Sasanian influence in eastern *Arabia. In classical *Arabic literature it was represented as the first Arab victory over Persians, and interpreted as a precursor to the *Arab conquest of the *Persian Empire. PAW

C. E. Bosworth, 'Iran and the Arabs before Islam', *CambHistIran* III/1, 593–612.
F. Donner, 'The Bakr b. Wāʾil Tribes', *StudIsl* 51 (1980), 5–38.

diaconicon Small room at the east end of a church, alongside the main *apse, used by *deacons to prepare *vestments and liturgical vessels necessary for Christian worship (cf. *SECRETARIUM*), often corresponding architecturally to the *prothesis on the other side of the apse. EL

DACL 4/1 (1920) *s.v.* diaconcium, cols. 733–5 (Leclercq).
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 141–5.

Diadochus The head of the *Neoplatonic Academy at *Athens. He managed the resources of the *school and represented a link in what was thought to be an unbroken interpretative tradition stretching back to Plato. This succession was defined in personal terms and the Diadochus acknowledged this by often using terms like 'father' and 'grandfather' when speaking about the *philosophers who held the position before him. EW

Diadochus of Photice (bp. after 451, d. before 486) Greek spiritual writer noted for synthesizing the vivid language of the **Macarian Homilies* and the intellectual spirituality of *Evagrius Ponticus. Biographical data is sparse though sufficient to place him in the mid-5th century; his see is identified with modern Paramythia in southern *Epirus (Greece).

His 100 *Practical Chapters of Knowledge and Spiritual Discernment* are presented as a 'century' of brief texts suitable for memorization, a format earlier favoured by Evagrius. Diadochus employs obviously Macarian vocabulary of spiritual sensation even as he follows Evagrius in emphasizing the imageless nature of *prayer. His original contribution is the remembrance of the name of Jesus in prayer, thus establishing a crucial step toward development of the *Jesus Prayer. His other works are a *sermon on the Ascension and the *Vision*, a meditation on divine, *angelic, and human natures. CAS

BHG 3 Suppl. 2470.
CPG 6106–8.
ed. E. des Places (with FT, annotated), *Œuvres spirituelles* (SC 5bis, 1966).
E C. Ermatinger, *Following the Footsteps of the Invisible: The Complete Works of Diadochus of Photike* (CSS 239, 2010).
Chapters on Knowledge: ed. J. E. Rutherford (with ET and comm.), *One Hundred Practical Texts of Perception and Spiritual Discernment* (BBTT 8, 2000).
ET in Palmer et al., *Philokalia*, vol. 1 (1979), 251–96.
F. Dörr, *Diadochus von Photike und die Messalianer: ein Kampf zwischen wahrer und falscher Mystik im fünften Jahrhundert* (Freiburger theologische Studien 47, 1937).
Plested, *Macarian Legacy*, 133–75.

dialogue, Greek The genre of the dialogue has no uncomplicated origin; it is always a conflicted, self-conscious, and multiple form (Goldhill, 4). From its reputed origins in Plato's Socratic dialogues, it developed into a genre whose many forms broadly share the use of a conversational *mise-en-scène* and a *telos* of juxtaposing philosophical and related ideas.

Several major but by no means pure sub-types may be discerned:

(1) the philosophical dialogue that harkens back to Plato's *Symposium* and continued to be used by *Neoplatonists and other writers,
(2) the satirical or Menippean dialogue associated with Lucian of Samosata,
(3) the sympotic (or convivial/commensal) dialogue that found especial favour among authors of literary works.

During the *Second Sophistic, writers of philosophical dialogues were reluctant to stage rational philosophical debates in a convivial (i.e. inebriated) setting

whilst composers of literary dialogues such as Athenaeus and Plutarch warmed to the convivial context for its implicit playfulness (König, 94–5). *Latin writers of dialogues eschewed convivial settings for fear of seeming frivolous but remained aware of the dialogue's antecedents in the *Greek symposium.

Early Christian authors used the form as Justin Martyr did in his *Dialogue with Trypho* to dramatize religious debate. Others, such as *Methodius of Olympus, knowingly played on the Platonic form by reshaping both its dramatic setting and goal. Methodius' *Symposium* introduces a new type of interlocutor—ten Christian *virgins, new topics—the ascetic virtue of celibacy, and a new *telos*—the glory of Christ's eschatological return. Likewise, *Gregory of *Nyssa stages a deathbed dialogue with his deceased sister S. *Macrina (*De Anima et Resurrectione*) that is modelled on Socrates' deathbed in the *Phaedo* but explores Christian teaching regarding mortality, free will, and resurrection.

Greek dialogue form continued to attract writers who wished to give a rarefied air to their compositions. Though this might seem at odds with Christian notions of the saving efficacy of **sermo humilis*, Late Antique Christians who composed works for religious controversies and catechetical instruction readily resorted to the dialogue. The Greek dialogue thus continued as a literary form well into the Byzantine period (Cameron and Hoyland). Current scholarly debate continues as to whether the triumph of Christianity led effectively to the decline of the dialogue. Certainly, other Christian forms of expression outside the genre of classical dialogue continued to be nourished by patterns of thinking associated with the dialogue (Goldhill). RLi

Averil Cameron and R. G. Hoyland, *Doctrine and Debate in the East Christian World, 300–1500* (2011).
S. Goldhill, *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity* (2008), esp. J. König, 'Sympotic Dialogue in the First to the Fifth Centuries CE'.
R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog. Ein literarische Versuch*, 2 vols. (1895).
M. Hoffmann, *Der Dialog bei den christlichen Schriftstellern der ersten vier Jahrhunderte* (1966).
J. König, *Saints and Symposiasts: The Literature of Food and the Symposium in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Culture* (2012).
R. Lim, *Public Disputation, Power and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (1991).
J. Martin, *Symposion. Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form* (1931).
D. Schnurbusch, *Convivium. Form und Bedeutung aristokratischer Geselligkeit in der römischen Antik* (2011).
B. R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur* (1970).

dialogue, Latin Literary genre that remained popular but evolved in style and function. Cicero, who composed philosophical and rhetorical dialogues incorporating historical and contemporary interlocutors, provided the ultimate *Latin model. Ciceronian influence pervades Minucius Felix's *Octavius*, an early 3rd-century dialogue between a pagan and Christian speaker. Late Latin history of the philosophical dialogue, as well as its Christianization and associated hesitations about the form's utility (*Augustine, *Retractationes*, prol.), begins with several works composed by Augustine at *Cassiciacum and *Thagaste. Thereafter several streams are evident. *Sulpicius Severus wrote *Dialogues* as sequels to his *Life of S. *Martin* while both *John Cassian's *Conferences* and *Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* use the conceits of *mise-en-scène* and question-and-answer to present the teaching and tales of spiritual heroes. Literary and intellectual aims are the main concerns of both *Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, in which a group of dinner guests discuss the poetry of *Vergil and ancient religious lore, and *Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, a record of the author's conversation with a personified Philosophia. Current scholarship is particularly concerned to probe the tension between openness and authority in the ancient dialogue in general and its Late Antique manifestations in particular and to ask whether Christian writers vitiated the form or rather developed it in new ways. DET

P. Schmidt, 'Zur Typologie und Literarisierung des frühchristlichen lateinischen Dialogs', in M. Fuhrmann, ed., *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident* (Entretiens Hardt 23, 1976), 101–90.
S. Goldhill, ed., *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity* (2008).
Cameron, *Pagans*, 231–72.
Averil Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity* (Hellenic Studies 65, 2014).

Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus A 5th-century AD Latin work dedicated to Valerius by one Evagrius who claims to have witnessed the disputation. Simon argues that Christ cannot be God because God is one, a virgin cannot give birth, crucifixion was a curse, and Christians neglect the Sabbath, circumcision, and dietary laws. Although Simon concedes that Christ is God early in the text, he continues to question Theophilus until at the end he requests to be baptized. JZP

R. Demeulenaere, ed. (CCSL 64, 1985).
W. Varner, *Ancient Jewish–Christian Dialogues: Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila: Introductions, Texts, and Translations* (2004).

Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila Anonymous *Greek disputation which took final form in 6th-century *Egypt and is placed during the archbishopric of *Cyril of Alexandria (412–44). Timothy, a Christian, refutes the claims of Aquila (a Jew) that Jesus was not the Messiah and that he was crucified because he claimed to be God. Occasionally Aquila offers clever

rebuttals, which suggests some actual conversation lies behind the *dialogue, but he is baptized in the end. JZP

CPG 7794:

ed. (with study) R. G. Robertson (Th.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1986).

L. Lahey, 'Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Genuine Jewish–Christian Debate in The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000), 281–96.

J. Pastis, 'Dating The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: Revisiting the Earlier *Vorlage* Hypothesis', *HTR* 95 (2002), 169–95.

***Dialogue on Political Science* (*Dialogus de Scientia Politica*)** Philosophical *dialogue in the Platonic tradition, dating from late in *Justinian I's reign. Only one and a half out of an original six books survive. It reflects the range of learning, *Latin and *Greek, then available in *Constantinople, and is written from a distinctive perspective implicitly critical of the *emperor. Book 4 outlines the responsibilities of a commander and explains why one must not favour *infantry over *cavalry, or antagonize civilian populations in war zones. Book 5 sketches a theory of political science, proposing a mixed constitution based on 'lawful and just', that is legitimate, authority (*Dial.* 5.46), a constitution where the emperor, the 'imitation of God', is a Platonic philosopher-ruler (*Dial.* 5.1). But, unlike mainstream imperial theory (e.g. in *InstJust* 2.17.18, or *Agapetus), the *Dialogue* conceives of imperial authority as embedded within a binding legal and constitutional framework in which all social classes play their part—albeit small for the lower classes. This shows the strong influence of Cicero's *Republic*. PNB

ed. M. Mazzucchi (with IT), *Menae Patricii cum Thoma Referendario de Scientia Politica Dialogus* (²2002).

ET, comm., and introd. in P. N. Bell, *Three Political Voices* (TTH, 2009).

Averil Cameron, *Procopius* (1985), 242–60.

dialogue, Syriac *See* DISPUTES AND DISPUTE LITERATURE, SYRIAC.

Diatessaron (2nd cent.) A Gospel harmony composed in *Syriac by Tatian. The Diatessaron was the principal Gospel text used within the Syriac Church until the early 5th century. No copies survive. Textual evidence is derived from citations, especially from *Aphrahat and *Ephrem (d. 373), and from painstaking analysis of the numerous *translations found in both eastern and western languages. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Diatessaron, 122–4 (Petersen).

ed. L. Leloir, *Le Témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron* (CSCO 227, Sub. 19; 1962).

ed. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et Exinde Excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (1967).

W. L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (VigChrist supplements 25, 1994).

diatreta glass Cups and goblets, also *situlae* (buckets), flasks, and *paterae* (shallow bowls), cut from a single thick-walled piece of *glass, composed of an outer openwork 'cage' surrounding the interior wall of the vessel. The outer filigree 'cage' might be a geometrical design or, more rarely, figurative (as in the case of the *Lycurgus Cup) and sometimes incorporated an *inscription wishing luck. Both drinking glasses and *lamps were produced by this intricate technology. Repair of a '*calicem diatretum*' is adduced in a specimen law-case by Ulpian (*Digest*, IX, 2, 27, § 29). Around 60 pieces are known, from all over the ancient world, but with a concentration in the Rhine Valley, where one workshop was located. MDN

C. Höpken, 'Orient trifft Okzident. Glas im Osten und Westen des Römischen Reiches', in *Kölner Jahrbuch 43: Zwischen Orient und Okzident. Fs H. Hellenkemper* (2010), 379–98.

D. B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars* (1987).

Dibsi Faraj (possibly Roman Neocaesareia and/or Athis) Inundated fortified settlement on the right bank of the middle Euphrates (*Syria, Tabqa Dam). The absence of epigraphic evidence for a name at the site coupled with the fact that a number of *cities appearing in the historical record of the region remain unidentified has resulted in several suggested identifications, chief among them Thapsacus, Athis, and Neocaesareia. On the basis of the stratigraphy R. P. Harper ruled out Thapsacus, a prominent crossing of the Euphrates in Achaemenid-Hellenistic times, positing a Roman (early 1st-century AD) provenance. Harper proposed that it was originally the Athis named in *Ptolemy's *Geography* and that during the Later Empire its name changed to Neocaesareia (named in *Theodoret, *HE* I, 7; *Procopius, *Aed.* II, 9, 10).

From the 3rd to the 6th century, a period in which the middle Euphrates was a main field of conflict between the Roman and *Persian Empire, the fortress grew into an important bulwark against the Eastern power. This is indicated by the construction of a perimeter wall around the 5 ha (12.4 acre) citadel and the appearance of significant buildings such as the *principia* and a *basilica (41.5 × 29.5 m; 136.1 × 96.8 feet). Outside the citadel a new *bath complex and a *martyrium marked continued expansion into the 5th century. As with other fortresses along the eastern frontier its defences were improved by *Justinian I. Under the *Umayyads, who took over following the *Arab conquest, the site assumed the certain name of Qasri. The city's occupation was probably brought to an end by an *earthquake in 859. Study of the excavation archive continues, directed by Dr. A. Leone of Durham University. SGB

R. P. Harper and T. J. Wilkinson, 'Excavations at Dibsi Faraj, Northern Syria, 1972–1974: A Preliminary Note on the Site and its Monuments', *DOP* 29 (1975), 319–38.
N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria* (2000).

Dichin Fortress, founded *c.* AD 400, situated on a low hill, surrounded by the flood-plain of the River Rosita, 11 km (7 miles) west of *Nicopolis ad Istrum in the *province of *Moesia Secunda (mod. Bulgaria). The fortress was built on a regular plan, with barracks, a church, and granaries, but no *baths or headquarters building. The surrounding walls, 2 m (6 feet 6 inches) thick and originally 9 m (nearly 30 feet) high, had a rubble and concrete core with tile and limestone facings.

The settlement was violently sacked and burned sometime after 474, then levelled and rebuilt in the early 6th century before being sacked again and abandoned in *c.*575/600. Coins, bones, and seeds sealed in the destroyed layers provide considerable evidence for the economic life of the place in the 5th and 6th centuries. OPN

A. G. Poulter, 'Dichin, a Late Roman Fort', 82–97, and V. G. Swan, P. Grinter, C. Johnstone, and P. Guest, 'The Fort at Dichin' 251–310 of Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, 251–310.

Dicorus 'Two-pupilled', nickname of the Emperor *Anastasius I (491–518), because he had one black eye and one blue. OPN

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 4–5.

Dictys of Crete Name adopted by the author of what purported to be an original eyewitness account of the Trojan War, which he claimed to have lived through as companion and scribe of Idomeneus, leader of the Cretans. His 'historical' narrative, possibly dating from the reign of Nero, was translated into *Latin in the 4th century by one Lucius Septimius and survives in six books under the title of *Ephemeris belli Troiani* ('A Diary of the Trojan War'). Although clearly a work of fiction, it was taken seriously as a genuine account of the Trojan War against which to judge what some liked to think the 'later' poetic version of *Homer—a remarkably bold example of early Homeric revisionism. The work begins with a *letter from Septimius to Quintus Aradius Rufinus explaining who Dictys was and how his text came to be discovered. Septimius claims to have made a free translation from *Greek into Latin. The narrative proper recounts the story of the war at Troy from the abduction of Helen to the death of Odysseus. An account of the Trojan War preserved in the *Chronicle* of *John Malalas appears to derive (like a number of other later Byzantine texts), not from the Latin translation but from the 'original' Greek work—a fragment of which was discovered in 1907 (P. Tebt. 268: 2nd/3rd cent.). The Latin version was itself highly prized during the Middle Ages when knowledge of Greek was rare (Petrarch's own Latin copy, Cod. Parisinus Latinus 5690, survives). RECS

ed. W. Eisenhut (1958; ²1973).
ed. S. Merckle, *Die Ephemeris Belli Troiani des Diktys von Kreta* (1989).
ET (annotated) R. M. Frazer, Jr., *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (1966).

Didascalia Apostolorum One of the longest *church orders, early attributed to Jesus' apostles posthumously. Scholars concur that *Didascalia Apostolorum* was modelled on the *Didache* and written, originally in *Greek, in the first half of the 3rd century in northern *Syria. It survives only in *Syriac, but the Greek original can be ascertained with some certainty because a much longer church order, the **Apostolic Constitutions*, which survives in Greek, draws on it. *Didascalia Apostolorum* contains admonitions about Christian life; instructions about the duties of *bishops, *deacons, and *widows; the proper observance of *Easter; *penance after *baptism; and about dangers to Christians, particularly converts from Judaism. MFC

ed. (with ET) A. Vööbus, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (CSCO vols. 401–2, 407–8; scr. syr. 175–6, 179–80; 1979).
ET (annotated) A. Stewart-Sykes (2009).

Dido *Bishop of *Poitiers (*c.*629–669) Member of an important Frankish aristocratic family, uncle of Gaerinus *Comes of *Paris, and of *Leodegar, Bishop of *Autun, whom he brought up, and also an associate of the *Austrasian *Mayor of the Palace *Grimoald. When *Sigibert III of Austrasia died in 656, he consigned Sigibert's son *Dagobert II to *exile in *Ireland, clearing the way for *Childebert the Adopted, probably Grimoald's own son, to become king. RLJ

J.-M. Picard, 'Church and Politics in the Seventh Century: The Irish exile of King Dagobert II', in J.-M. Picard, ed., *Ireland and Northern France, AD 600–850* (1991), 27–52.

Didyma (mod. Didim) *Temple of Apollo on the Ionian coast, 20 km (12.5 miles) south of *Miletus, housing a famous *oracle.The temple was rebuilt in the late 4th century BC, though never completed; the oracle was even older. It occupied a temple within a temple, a sanctuary (*naiskos*) beside the sacred spring within the open-air adyton (*cella*) of a huge Ionic temple with a double colonnade 21 columns long and 10 columns wide. *Inscriptions attest the worship of Artemis, Zeus, and other gods. In the Roman period major buildings were added, including a *basilica, *baths, and a theatre of the late 1st century AD, discovered in 2010.

*Diocletian dedicated statues of Zeus and Leto, and sought the oracle's counsel when Christians caused a

*sacrifice at *court to fail (*Lactantius, *Mort*. 11, 7). After the Great *Persecution, the *philosopher who held the office of *prophetes*, the high official who turned the god's utterances into verse, was tortured till he admitted that the oracles were a fraud (*Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, IV, 2, 11). Around the same time, *Iamblichus was reverently expounding the way the oracle was inspired (*De Mysteriis*, III, 11). The *Emperor *Julian was appointed the oracle's *prophetes* (*ep*. 451 B), and instructed the *governor of *Caria to clear shrines to Christian *martyrs from around the temple (*Sozomen, V, 20, 7).

In the 5th century a church was built, incorporating the *naiskos*, and Didyma, renamed Hieron, and eventually Justinianopolis, became the see of a *bishop. The temple, still largely intact when visited by Ciriaco of Ancona in 1446, collapsed during an *earthquake in 1493. SHi; OPN

P. Athanassiadi, *DeltChristArchEtair* 6th series, 15 (1989–90), 271–8.

H. Bumke, 'Die Schwester des Orakelgottes. Zum Artemiskult in Didyma', in J. Mylonopoulos and H. Roeder, eds., *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands* (2006), 215–37.

H. Bumke, 'Didyma in der Spätantike', in O. Dally, ed., *ZeitRäume. Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (2009), 68–81.

N. Ehrhardt and P. Weiss, 'Eine monumentale Dankesgabe. Trajans Neubau der Heiligen Strasse von Milet nach Didyma', *Chiron* 41 (2011), 217–62.

J. Fontenrose, *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions* (1988).

Mitchell, *HLRE* 175–7.

Didymus and Verinianus Brothers, probably cousins of the *Emperor *Honorius, who led resistance to the *usurper *Constantine III and his son Constans in *Spain, with an army including peasants and slaves. After success in *Lusitania, they were captured by Constans, taken to Constantine in *Gaul, and executed in 409. Accounts of their activities are given by *Olympiodorus (16); *Orosius (VII, 40, 5); *Sozomen, IX, 11, 4; IX, 12, 1); and *Zosimus (V, 42, 3–43, 2; VI, 1, 1; VI, 4, 3–4; VI, 5, 1–2). GDB

PLRE II, Didymus 1 and Verenianus.

Didymus the Blind (*c.*313–398) Theologian, biblical writer, and teacher from *Alexandria. Though blind at an early age, Didymus was renowned for his erudition and served as the director of the famous catechetical *school in Alexandria. Both *Jerome and *Rufinus attest to Didymus' presence at the school and list him as their teacher. Rufinus claims that Didymus was appointed to his position by *Athanasius. Didymus followed Athanasius in his Trinitarian theology, arguing for the consubstantiality of the Father and Son in his *On the Trinity*. Another work, *On the Holy Spirit* (known only through Jerome's *Latin translation), similarly predicates consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit. Modern scholars have argued that some Trinitarian works attributed to the Cappadocians (e.g. Books 4 and 5 of *Basil's *Contra Eunomium*) were probably written by Didymus. Didymus is largely known for his contribution to the Alexandrian tradition of *allegorical interpretation of the *Bible, which marks a further refining of *Origen's exegetical method. His biblical scholarship also makes him important for the study of the biblical canon. Portions of Didymus' commentaries on Genesis, Job, and Ecclesiastes on *papyrus were found in 1941 in Tura, south of Cairo. A portion of a commentary on Psalms 20–44, attributed to Didymus, along with some texts of Origen was also in the collection. At the Third *Council of *Constantinople in 553, his writings were listed among those contaminated by *Origenism, a charge that Jerome had levelled against him in the previous century. At issue was Didymus' supposed endorsement of Origen's belief in the *apokatasasis* and the pre-existence of souls. GED

CPG 2544–73.

ed. in PG 39, 131–1818.

De Trinitate: ed. J. Hönscheid and I. Seiler, 2 vols. (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 44 and 52, 1975).

Tura papyri: ed. A. Henrichs, M. Gronewald, et al. in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, vols. 1–4, 6–9, 12ff., 16, 22, 24–6, 33:1 (1968–85).

ed. (annotated with FT) L. Doutreleau, *Traité du Saint-Esprit* (SC 386, 1992).

ed. (annotated with FT) L. Doutreleau, *Sur Zacharie* (SC 83–5, 1962).

ed. (annotated with FT) P. Nautin and L. Doutreleau, *Sur Génèse* (SC 233 and 244, 1976–8).

Exegetical fragments in ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (1933) and E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung* (1975–7).

D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (1987).

R. Layton, *Didymus the Blind and his Circle in Late Antique Alexandria* (2004).

J. Tigcheler, *Didyme l'Aveugle et l'exégèse allégorique* (1977).

diet and regime Political change, including the *Barbarian Migrations in Europe and the *Arab conquest, produced new patterns of production and consumption in Late Antique Europe and the Mediterranean, as did the emergence of Christianity and *Islam. There was however also considerable continuity in *food supply, production, and consumption between the classical era and Late Antiquity.

*Grains were staples, supplemented by oils, legumes, *vegetables, and *meat and *fish in smaller quantities.

Wheat varieties were prevalent in the Roman Empire, along with barley and oats; later free-threshing wheats (Lat. *triticum*) came to predominate over hulled wheats (*far*) in the West, while rye became more popular in Eastern Europe. Rice was more prominent in *Africa and *Spain after the Arab conquests. Legumes, leafy greens, and root vegetables were common, with considerable local variety. Arab expansion brought a new set of now-familiar *fruits and vegetables to areas under the *caliphate and then beyond, as well as disseminating both Byzantine and Persian cuisine.

The decline of animal *sacrifice in the 4th century due to Christianization complemented a tendency regarding meat-eating evident in inclusion of meat in urban food doles under *Aurelian in AD 270. Nevertheless regular access to meat still implied wealth and power. Judaism and Islam maintained dietary exclusions such as pork, and rules for slaughter. Christian avoidance of meat was temporary or only for specialists in *asceticism.

Christians and Muslims observed the general fasts of Lent and *Ramadan respectively, as well as developing forms of ascetic specialization. Monastic ideals included avoidance of meat, wine, and luxurious food, but monastic expansion enhanced communal production and dissemination of certain foods (and, ironically perhaps, wine). Literary sources, notably the *Medical Collections* of *Oribasius, reflect interest in medical as well as culinary or aesthetic aspects of diet, at least among an elite. Given wars and other disruptions, much of the population will have been more concerned with assuaging hunger.

Wine and *beer were important ways of using food crops and storing their nutritional value. Grape wine was characteristic of the Romans and spread north, partly through the link with the Christian *Eucharist, although beers (from grains, particularly barley) also remained popular there, and were common in *Egypt and *Mesopotamia prior to Islam. AMcG

M. Grant, *Dieting for an Emperor: A Translation of Books 1 and 4 of Oribasius' Medical Compilations with an Introduction and Commentary* (1997).

J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, and M. Dobson, eds., *Food in Antiquity* (1995).

Digest (Lat. *Digesta seu Pandectae*, adapted from the Gk. *pandektes* meaning 'all-containing') A digest of the works of the Roman *jurists in 50 books, promulgated by *Justinian I on 16 December 533, and forming the largest part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* alongside the **Institutiones* of Justinian and *Justinian's Code.

The *Digest* is the single most important source for the study of Roman *law, above all of the classical period down to the 3rd century AD. The *Digest* was conceived as a condensation of the works of the great jurists into a usable, authoritative reference volume that would complement the first edition of the *Code* of imperial legislation published in 529. The promulgation of the *Digest* was followed in 534 by a revised version of Justinian's *Code*.

The formidable *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, *Tribonian, was entrusted with compilation of the *Digest* and chose a commission of sixteen men to undertake the work. In *Constitutio Tanta* (*CJust* I, 17, 2, 1) Justinian claims that they excerpted nearly 2,000 books and reduced more than 3,000,000 lines of text to a mere 150,000. In 1820 Bluhme identified three major 'masses' into which this juristic literature was divided; attempts at greater precision remain controversial. The commission received the authority to bring the jurists' writings up to date; the identification of such 'interpolations' occupied legal scholars of the early 20th century. In *Constitutio Tanta* Justinian allowed for some repetition and omission in the *Digest*, but he defied the reader to detect any contradiction. The rediscovery *c.* 1100 of the complete Florentina manuscript of the *Digest* of the 6th century contributed to the revival of Roman law in medieval Europe. JND

Editio maior: ed. T. Mommsen, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti* (1870).

Editio minor: ed. T. Mommsen and P. Krüger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* I (11th edn.; with ET by A. Watson, 1985).

T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (1978).

T. Honoré, *Justinian's Digest: Character and Compilation* (2010).

W. Kaiser, 'Digestenentstehung und Digestenüberlieferung', *ZRG (RA)* 108 (1991), 330–50.

L. Mitteis, E. Levy, and E. Rabel, *Index Interpolationum quae in Iustiniani Digestis Inesse Dicuntur* (1929–35).

D. J. Osler, 'The Compilation of Justinian's Digest', *ZRG (RA)* 102 (1985), 129–84.

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 576–600.

dignitas Technical term both for ranks and *titles of honour and for the office (real or honorary) by virtue of which one held a specific rank in the Late Roman *senatorial-administrative hierarchy. JND

Jones, *LRE* 378–91.

H. Löhken, *Ordines Dignitatum* (1982).

Rilinger et al., *Ordo und Dignitas*, 181–222.

Schlinkert, *Ordo Senatorius*.

dinar Early *Islamic *gold coin denomination. The first *Arab dinars were struck to the same weight standard as the Byzantine gold **solidus* (*c.*4.54 grams/0.15 ounces). From the 690s, *'Abd al-Malik's coin reform replaced modified Byzantine designs with aniconic Islamic inscriptions. RRD

T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage* (2005).

J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins* (1956), 58.

al-Dinawari (d. 894/903) Iranian polymath who wrote on mathematics, astronomy, proverbs, history, and Qur'ānic commentary. His surviving works include two of parts of the *Kitab al-nabat*, on plant names; and the complete *al-Akhbar al-tiwal*, an Iran-centred history stretching from Creation to the mid-9th century. NC

al-Dinawari, *The Book of Plants of Abū Hanīfa ad-Dīnawarī*, ed. B. Lewin (1953).
al-Dinawari, *Le Dictionnaire botanique d'Abū Hanīfa ad-Dīnawarī*, ed. M. Hamidullah (1973).
al-Dinawari, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-tiwāl*, ed. V. F. Guirgass, 2 vols. (1888–1912).
J. S. Meisemi and P. Starkey, eds., *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (1998).

dining All classes enjoyed eating together, both for the intrinsic pleasure of the thing and as a communal ritual.

*Letters of *Sidonius Apollinaris describing dinners (*convivium*) given by the *Emperor Majorian show that traditional Roman manners persisted in the 5th century, with scent for the *hair, pleasant-smelling *lamps, *silver dishes, and dancing girls (IX, 13, 3–6), and the customary formal precedence and witty repartee of the dining-couch (I, 11, 10–17). The couches on which such diners reclined (*stibadia*) were large and semicircular. *Ausonius thought the ideal number to lie down to table on such occasions was six, counting the host (Ausonius, *Ephemeris*, 5); the author of the **Historia Augusta* knew a saying: 'seven make a dinner, twelve make a din' (*HA* Verus, 5, 1). The space inside the arc of the table might have a figural *mosaic floor. The **stibadium* at Sidonius' *villa had a view of the lake (II, 2, 11). The villa also had a different winter dining-room and a separate ladies' dining-room (II, 2, 9).

Those who could afford servants were waited upon. Those who could not served each other. Less exalted ranks of society ate from large dishes shared by two or more diners. Such communal eating might also have been the custom at banquets like those of professional guilds, *circus *factions, and the Church (Hudson).

In addition to private social meals, there were elaborate banquets, public dinners, and religious feasts. Formal banquets were held with a limited guest list. Public banquets (*epulum, epulae*) on the other hand were often associated with conspicuous expenditure and *euergetism, as when in 286/93 the *city council of Mididi in *Byzacena gave a banquet to the entire populace of their small market town to celebrate the building of their council-chamber and commemorated the occasion in an *inscription on the building (*CIL* VIII, 11774). During such public feasts the classes were separated, with those of higher rank (one or more of whom was often the *patron of the entertainment) occupying couches to recline on while the lower classes would sit on benches to eat. These might be the main occasions on which some people got to eat *meat, though meat was sold at butchers' stalls in *cities. Churches also laid on banquets.

In *monasteries it was usual for the monks to eat seated and without conversation, as one of the brethren read to the community. The *Rule* of S. *Benedict lays down that two cooked dishes should be provided, so that monks have a choice, and allows for a pound of *bread a day—more if the abbot deemed that the monks were doing heavy physical work (39). It also concedes that though it is generally considered that monks should not drink wine, yet it is impossible to persuade monks of this, so they should be permitted to drink wine sparingly (40, 6). Refectory meals were simple, generally consisting of legumes, bread, *olive oil, and wine.

For casual eating in *cities there were *taverns and cookshops (Lat. *tabernae* and *popinae*). Patronage of such 'smoky cookshops' (Ausonius, *Ephemeris*, 8, 21) was more likely to be from the lower classes as they provided simpler food and seats. NFH; OPN

Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*.
N. F. Hudson, 'Changing Places: The Archaeology of the Roman Convivium', *AJA* 114/4 (2010), 663–95.
J. Vroom, 'The Archaeology of Late Antique Dining Habits in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Preliminary Study of the Evidence', in Lavan et al., *Objects in Context*, 313–61.

Dinogetia (mod. Garvăn, Romania) Northernmost Danubian fort in *Scythia Minor. Fortified under the *Tetrarchy, it was rebuilt after destructions in the 4th and 5th centuries. Restoration by *Anastasius I is apparent from *brickstamps (*IGLRomania* 246). The strong fortification has U-shaped towers and encloses 1 ha of land including a watch-tower, a *mansio*, a Christian *basilica, and flimsy dwellings. It was destroyed under *Phocas (602–10), but briefly re-inhabited in the 11th century. ER

TIR L 35 (1969), 38.
A. Barnea, 'La Forteresse de Dinogetia à la lumière des dernières fouilles archéologiques', *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* 3 (1986), 447–50.
I. Barnea, 'Dinogetia—ville antique du Bas Danube', *Byzantina* 10 (1980), 239–87.
Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 30.

Diocaesarea *See* SEPPHORIS.

Diocaesarea (mod. Uzuncaburç, formerly Recepli, Turkey) Settlement (a *city since the 1st century AD), around the famous *Temple of Zeus Olbius, near Olba in Rough *Cilicia, and 22 km (*c.*15 miles) north of *Seleucia ad Calycadnum. There was a *bishop by 381. The Temple of Zeus became a large, three-aisled

basilica in the 5th century, and other churches were built. Occupations named on *inscriptions range from shoemaker and *marble mason to bishop's cook. There was a *Miaphysite bishop in the 6th century. SHi

TIB 5 (1990) *s.n.* Diokaisereia, 239–40.
U. Gotter, 'Tempel und Großmacht: Olba/Diokaisareia und das Imperium Romanum', in Jean et al., *La Cilicie*, 304–15.
A. Paribeni, 'Considerazioni sulla fase bizantina del tempio di Zeus Olbios a Uzuncaburç–Diokaisarea', in De' Maffei et al., *Costantinopoli e l'arte delle province orientali*, 437–44.

diocese, ecclesiastical Term for the area whose Christian communities are overseen by a single *bishop (so distinct from the **dioecesis* of the imperial civil *administration). The bishop derived his authority from approval and consecration by other bishops who could trace a line of episcopal descent back to Christ and the Apostles, and his personal selection for the office of bishop from the choice of the Christian community. The bishop preached from his official *chair (Gk. *thronos*, Lat. *cathedra*), so the church building in which it is placed is termed his cathedral, and the *city in which it is located is termed his see. The *thronos* of James, brother of the Lord and the first Bishop of *Jerusalem, was still preserved at Jerusalem in the time of *Eusebius (*HE* VII, 19). The *Council of *Nicaea in 325 used the Greek *paroikia* (Lat. *parochia*, from which comes English 'parish') for the area overseen by a bishop, but the Latin form *dioecesis* was being used in the modern sense of diocese in 4th-century *Africa.

The diocese of a bishop in general corresponded to the *territorium* of the city where he had his cathedral. The Councils of Nicaea, *Antioch (341; canon 9), and *Constantinople I (381; canon 2) recognized diocesan boundaries. These could embrace large areas; *Theodoret, as Bishop of *Cyrrhus in Syria *Euphratensis, claimed that he oversaw 800 churches (*ep.* 113). The institution of the *chorepiscopus ('country bishop') developed in 4th-century *Anatolia and relieved the pressure of work. In most of the Roman Empire the bishop of the principal city of the civil *province was deemed the *metropolitan—in the provinces of *Africa apart from *Proconsularis the metropolitan was the senior bishop by date of consecration. *Cyprian of *Carthage (d. 258) appears to have been following established African custom when he convened annual meetings of the bishops in his jurisdiction. Canon 4 of the Council of Nicaea required that the metropolitan ratify any episcopal election within his province. Certain bishops were given the title of exarch and it was possible to appeal to them from decisions of a metropolitan; *Socrates (*HE* V, 8) identifies Nectarius of *Constantinople as exarch of *Thrace and *Timothy of *Alexandria as exarch of Egypt. The bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem were recognized as the five *patriarchs by the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451. BKS; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 874–83.
Bingham, *Antiquities*, Book IX, viz. vol. 1 (1875), 341–428.
H. Chadwick, *The Rôle of the Christian Bishop in Ancient Society* (Protocol of the 35th Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies, Berkeley, California, 1980).

Dio Chrysostom in Late Antiquity The works of Dio (*c.* AD 40–after 110) continued to be read in the centuries after his lifetime as we see from the assessments of his style by *Menander Rhetor and his inclusion in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (486–8, 492). He plays a part in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* V, 27–40, making a contribution to a debate on political systems. This combination of philosophy and *rhetoric, manifested in speeches of advice to emperors and to *cities, together with the story of his exile under Domitian for his freedom of *speech, made Dio a valuable model for Late Antique orators negotiating their public role vis-à-vis the ruling power of their day. *Themistius' first oration shows the strong influence of Dio in both language and thought. *Synesius of Cyrene devoted an essay to Dio in which he indirectly justifies his own pursuit of both rhetoric and philosophy. RW

Diocletian (*c.*244–*c.*313) Roman *emperor (284–305).

Life and reign

C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus was born C. Valerius Diocles on 22 December *c.*244 in *Dalmatia, probably near *Salona. Possibly the son of a freedman, he married Aurelia *Prisca and they had a daughter, *Valeria. Following a military career under the 'soldier' emperors, he became commander of the **protectores*. When *Numerian died in murky circumstances, Diocletian was proclaimed emperor by the *army at *Nicomedia (20 November 284), personally executing Numerian's father-in-law Aper, the *Praefectus Praetorio, as a regicide, perhaps to deflect suspicion. He then fought *Carinus, Numerian's brother, in a battle at the River Margus (mod. Morava), during which Carinus was killed (spring 285). Shortly afterwards he appointed a military colleague, *Maximian, as *Caesar (summer 285), sending him to *Gaul to deal with the *Bacaudae uprisings, and soon promoted him to *Augustus (1 April 286). This choice was crucial, since Maximian, Diocletian's imperial 'brother', was to prove reliable and loyal, if not always competent. In 287 the imperial *signa* of two tutelary deities, Jovius and Herculius, were adopted by Diocletian and Maximian respectively, emphasizing at once differing roles and traditional devotion. Diocletian himself campaigned on the eastern and Danube *frontiers, but also conducted a joint campaign

with Maximian near *Raetia (288). However, Maximian failed to suppress a revolt by *Carausius, leading to the loss of *Britain and northern Gaul (286). Diocletian and Maximian met in conference at *Milan (*c.* December 290), but, with continuing multiple crises, Diocletian finally appointed two Caesars on 1 March 293—*Constantius I to serve under Maximian, and Maximianus *Galerius to serve under Diocletian himself, each Caesar being son-in-law to his Augustus, for whom, since neither had a suitable son, he was now the designated successor.

Constantius recovered Britain from *Allectus (296), successor to the *usurper Carausius, while Maximian campaigned successfully against insurgent tribes across North *Africa. After initial setbacks and with support from Diocletian, Galerius decisively defeated the Persian King *Narseh (297) and captured *Ctesiphon, securing peace for 40 years and gaining much territory in northern *Mesopotamia. Meanwhile, Diocletian suppressed the dangerous rebellion of *Domitius Domitianus in *Egypt, captured *Alexandria (298), and reorganized the southern frontier. Together with Maximian, he celebrated his *Vicennalia*, his twentieth *anniversary, at *Rome (November 303), his first visit to the *city, where Maximian was building the great *baths complex, the Baths of Diocletian, in his honour (dedicated 306). Falling ill on the return journey, Diocletian finally abdicated at Nicomedia on 1 May 305 in an unprecedented act coordinated with Maximian. Their Caesars became Augusti, with two new Caesars appointed, in the persons of *Maximin Daza in the East and *Severus the Tetrarch in the West. Diocletian retired to a large *palace at *Split, near Salona, emerging only in 308 to be *Consul and attend a conference of emperors at *Carnuntum, where he refused to resume the *purple, but endorsed Galerius' attempted constitutional settlement. Later he was spurned by both Maximinus and *Licinius, each of whom mistreated his daughter (Galerius' wife) Valeria Galeria. His date of death is uncertain, but, having fallen into disfavour, he perhaps died from deliberate starvation in spring 313 (Roberto, 252–6), being buried in the mausoleum at Split. His wife and daughter were executed by Licinius in 314 (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 52).

Major reforms

Diocletian's reforms set the pattern for the Late Empire, even though not all changes are assignable to him alone, since much was already in train or only completed later. The *Tetrarchy, 'rule of four', is the most distinctive feature, with a college of four rulers, split between East and West, two seniors (Augusti) aided by two juniors (Caesars), connected by *marriage and with the succession (always a Roman constitutional weakness) marked out in advance. It is unclear whether synchronized abdications were originally planned. The need for some de facto territorial division and autonomy for the Tetrarchs, including duplication of palatine offices, was balanced by official iconography and imperial titulature emphasizing harmonious fourfold rulership, with Diocletian retaining overall seniority (Corcoran 2015; Jones and McFadden). To Diocletian also is attributed the introduction of elaborate imperial *ceremony (e.g. **adoratio*).

*Rome, visited by Diocletian only once, ceased to be the effective capital, and key strategic cities became near-permanent imperial residences, most importantly *Trier, *Milan, *Sirmium, *Antioch, and, Diocletian's favourite, Nicomedia (Lactantius, *Mort.* 7, 8–10). These were furnished typically with a palace and adjacent circus for managing public appearances.

Military and civil posts were definitively separated. Continuing a previous process, the *provinces were 'sliced and diced' (Lactantius, *Mort.* 7, 4), placed under purely civilian governors (mostly of equestrian status), and then grouped into aggregations called **dioeceses*, each under a *Vicarius (deputy of the Praefecti Praetorio), with a matching structure for financial administration, although the full system may have been instituted slightly later (313; Zuckerman). Even *Italy was 'provincialized', divided into taxable *regiones* each under a senatorial *Corrector. Otherwise, senatorial office-holding reached a nadir. The autonomy of city governments was also curtailed.

*Taxation was overhauled, with the institution of regular empire-wide five-yearly *censuses, which were enforced even down at *village level (Barnes, *NEDC*, ch. 14; Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 175–6). *Coinage reform (probably begun in 293), introduced a large copper coin, commonly termed a **follis*, retired the heavily debased silver-copper alloyed **antoniniani*, and introduced a *gold coin, the **iaureus* weighing 1/60th of a Roman pound. Its effect was to centralize and reorder the monetary system but it did not halt inflation.

The *army increased in size to serve the four Tetrarchs, while individual units tended to shrink, spread out along the frontiers. However, large mobile central armies were not yet the norm.

Characterization

Like his chiselled depictions, Diocletian is seen as grim, but effective, skilled at choosing collaborators, impatient of insubordination, even punishing major cities irrespective of their loyalty (Alexandria: *John Malalas, XII, 41; Antioch: *Libanius, *Oration*, I, 3). Although remaining responsive to petitioners, he can reasonably be characterized as propagating to them and others a Roman conservatism in culture, *law, and religion, a trait perhaps made more stark by being a *Latin-speaker resident in the *Greek East. He created Latin literary

posts at Nicomedia (e.g. Lactantius), possibly fostered the publication of authoritative law collections (**Gregorian Code*, **Hermogenian Code*), and certainly gave Latin a brief boost in the eastern administration. His religious traditionalism, seen by some contemporaries as **superstitio*, led him to make laws couched in moralizing rhetorical tones against those who engaged in misbehaviour, such as the *Manichaean Law of 302 (*Collatio Legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum*, 15, 3), and the *Marriage Edict of 295, which castigated the incestuous (*Collatio*, 6, 4). This matches a tendency to more assertive government, perhaps encouraged by Galerius (Corcoran, 2007), with other major if ineffective initiatives such as the *Prices Edict of 301, which was intended to control inflation, and especially the Great Persecution of the *Christians which began in 303. Yet, while remembered darkly as a persecutor, the rhetoric and ambition of his administration was the natural precursor to the style of his Christian successors.

SJJC; RRD (coinage)

Barnes, *NEDC* 4, 30–2, 49–56.

Barnes, *CE* 3–27.

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*.

U. Roberto, *Diocleziano* (2014).

J.-M. Carrié, ed., *La Tétrarchie (293–312): histoire et archéologie*, 2 vols. = *AntTard* 2 and 3 (1994–5).

S. Corcoran, 'Galerius's Jigsaw Puzzle: The *Caesariani* Dossier', *AntTard* 15 (2007), 221–50.

S. Corcoran, '*The Augusti and Caesars Say*: Imperial Communication in a Collegiate Monarchy', in S. Procházka, L. Reinfandt, and S. Tost, eds., *Official Epistolography and the Language(s) of Power: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the NFN Imperium and Officium* (Papyrologica Vindobonensia 8; 2015) 219–36.

M. Jones and S. McFadden, *Art of Empire: The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple* (2015).

C. Zuckerman, 'Sur la liste de Vérone et la province de Grande Arménie, la division de l'empire et la date de création des diocèses', *TM* 14 (2002), 617–38.

COINAGE

RIC V/1, V/2, 6.

M. Hendy, 'Mint and Fiscal Administration under Diocletian, his Colleagues, and his Successors A.D. 305–24', *JRS* 62 (1972), 75–82.

C. Sutherland, 'Diocletian's Reform of the Coinage', *JRS* (1955) 45, 116–18.

Diodore of Tarsus (d. *c.*392) *Bishop of *Tarsus of *Cilicia (378–c.392), theologian and disciple of Silvanus of Tarsus. After studies in *Athens, Diodore came to *Antioch, where, in 346, he opposed Leontius of Antioch for ordaining Aetius. Later, as a presbyter of Meletius of Antioch, he headed an *ascetic community, which included *John Chrysostom and *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. Exiled in 372, he was made Bishop of Tarsus in 378. The dyoprosopic (two-Persons) Christology characteristic of Diodore was attacked at the *Council of *Alexandria (362) and by *Gregory of *Nazianzus before the Council of *Constantinople (381), after which the *Emperor Theodosius I identified Diodore's beliefs as a norm of orthodoxy. He was later condemned, in association with *Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Only his *Commentary on the Psalms* survives complete. His exegesis focused on the narrative of the text, refusing to see the OT as speaking directly of or in the person of Christ, but allowing for a certain amount of typological correlation between the two, a dualism evident also in his Christology. JBe

ODCC Diodore, Bp. of Tarsus.

Commentary on the Psalms (CPG 3818) 1–50. ed. J.-M. Olivier (CCSG 6, 1980).

ET R. C. Hill (*Writings from the Greco-Roman World* 9, 2005).

Commentary and Prologue to Psalm 118, ed. L. Mariès, 'Extraits du commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les Psaumes', *RechScRel* 9 (1919), 79–101.

ET K. Froehlich, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (1984), 87–94.

Fragments (*CPG* 3815–17 and 3819–22): ed. (with ET and study) in J. Behr, *The Case Against Diodore and Theodore: Texts and their Contexts* (OECT, 2011).

dioecesis (administrative) Term originally used in *Greek-speaking *provinces for *Latin **conventus*, the judicial district of a Roman *governor. Under the *Tetrarchy, the term was applied, in *Latin, to a new administrative unit consisting of a group of several provinces administered by a *Vicarius, so called because he was considered a deputy for the *emperor's *Praefectus Praetorio. The earliest comprehensive overview of the reformed system, the *Verona List, compiled under *Constantine I, shows twelve *dioeceses*: *Oriens, *Pontica, and *Asiana; *Pannoniae, *Moesiae, and *Thraciae; *Italia and *Africa; *Britanniae, *Galliae, *Viennensis, and *Hispaniae. The Verona List does not list territorial prefectures. Of the Verona List *dioeceses*, Moesiae was subsequently divided into *Daciae and *Macedoniae, *Aegyptus was separated off from Oriens, and Italia was divided between *Italia Annonaria and *Italia Suburbicaria. Oriens, which was twice the size of any other *dioecesis*, was administered by the *Comes Orientis.

Until at least late in the reign of Constantine, the Praefectus Praetorio was always a mobile official, travelling with the *court of the emperor he served. Subsequently individual Praefecti were given territorial responsibilities, so that in the **Notitia Dignitatum* the Praefectus of Oriens was responsible for the Dioeceses of Oriens, Aegyptus, Asiana, Pontica, and Thraciae

(*or*. II, 1–6), the Praefectus of *Illyricum for Macedoniae and Daciae (*or*. III, 1–6), the Praefectus of Italia for Italy, Illyricum, and *Africa (*occ.* II, 1–8), and the Praefectus of Gaul for *Hispaniae, *Septem Provinciae, and *Britanniae (*occ*. III, 1–4). The *dioeceses* functioned as important judicial and fiscal units under the Praetorian Prefectures, although a strict hierarchy from *governor to Vicarius to Praefectus Praetorio was not rigorously observed. The dioecesan system disintegrated in the later 6th century and vanished in the 7th. JND

Jones, *LRE* 47, 373–4.
RE 5 (1907), 727–34 (Kornemann).
Barnes, *NEDC* 195–208.
Migl, *Ordnung der Ämter*.

Diogenianus A **Comes Scholarum*, he commanded troops for *Anastasius I in the *Isaurian war, but was later *exiled. *Justin I recalled him and appointed him *Magister Militum per *Orientem (518–20). FKH
PLRE II, Diogenianus 4.

dioiketes In Ptolemaic and Roman *Egypt, the title of the principal financial officer, replaced under *Diocletian by the *Katholikos (Lat. *Rationalis). The last Dioiketes is attested in P.Oxy VIII, 1115 (AD 284) and the first Katholikos in P.Oxy X, 1260 (AD 286). The term was also used of financial managers and stewards (e.g. *CJust* I, 3, 45, 1b of AD 530). RM; OPN

D. Hagedorn, 'Zum Amt des dioiketes im römischen Ägypten', *YCS* 28 (1985), 167–210.
R. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (2001).

Dionysias (mod. Qasr Qarun) Ptolemaic foundation on the north-west edge of the *Fayyum at the terminus of a desert route from the Oases. A fortress, built under the *Tetrarchy and containing an apsidal hall, was garrisoned until at least 362 (P.Flor. I, 30, 5–6), after which it was emptied and its wooden doors closed. The *archive (P.Abinn.) of its mid-century commander, Flavius *Abinnaeus (*fl.* 342–51), contains over 80 documents (cf. **Notitia Dignitatum* [*or.*] 28, 34). Due to lack of water, the town itself was probably also abandoned in the mid-4th century, but it may have been reoccupied in the 6th century (P.Laur. III, 93). ERO

J. Schwartz and H. Wild, *Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias 1948–1950*, 2 vols. (1950, 1969).
P. Grossmann, 'Ein spätantikes Mausoleum in Qasr Qarûn-Dionysias', *BullSocArchCopte* 34 (1995), 139–48.

Dionysius Exiguus (*c.*470–544) Christian monk, scholar, and inventor of the Christian (or Dionysian) *era. If Dionysius chose the surname 'exiguus' (Lat. 'little') for himself, it was probably more from monastic self-deprecation than an allusion to diminutive stature. A native of *Scythia Minor, Dionysius migrated to *Rome *c.* AD 500. He was soon recognized there for his fluent *Latin translations of *Greek patristic writings, and his knowledge of the *Bible, *astronomy, and *mathematics. His collections of synodal decrees and papal decretals laid the foundation for the study of *canon law in the West.

Dionysius' formulation of the Christian era originated in a longstanding controversy over the dating of the Christian Pasch (*Easter). Despite the *Emperor *Constantine I's call for uniformity in observance, the Churches of Rome and *Alexandria remained at odds until Dionysius persuaded Rome to adopt the Alexandrian rule. In preparing his own *Easter table, completed in the year 525, Dionysius deemed it unseemly to honour the memory of an emperor reviled for initiating the Great *Persecution of Christianity. He therefore replaced the *Era of *Diocletian used in the Alexandrian computus with the era from the incarnation of Christ. How Dionysius determined this date is still disputed. Although Dionysius used the era from the Incarnation strictly as an aid in Paschal calculation, its subsequent adoption by Christian annalists and historians, most notably the Venerable *Bede, assured its acceptance in ecclesiastical writings and ultimately as an international dating standard. WA

PCBE II/1, Dionysius 4.
Prefaces to Translations and Letters (*CPL* 652a–c,–653a–f): ed. F. Glorie (CCSL 85, 1972), 51–60.
Chronographical works (*CPL* 2284–6): ed. B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlicheren Chronologie* (1880–1938), II, 63–86.
G. Declercq, *Anno Domini: The Origins of the Christian Era* (BEEC 1, 2000).
F. Duta, 'Des précisions sur la biographie de Denys Le Petit', *RevDroitCan* 49 (1999), 279–96.
A. A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (OECS, 2008).

Dionysius of Alexandria Pope of *Alexandria 247–*c.* AD 265. *Eusebius made considerable use of Dionysius' *letters and other works in writing books 6 and 7 of his *Church History*. He recounts that Dionysius was born of pagan parents, and was taught by *Origen (VI, 29), that he succeeded Heraclas as head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria in *c.*233, and as *bishop in 247. He quotes letters of Dionysius describing the bishop's dramatic escape during the *persecution of *Decius (VI, 40), and part of the *report of the legal proceedings which resulted in his *exile during the persecution of *Valerian (VII, 11). Other letters considered the rebaptism of heretics, *Novatianus, and the Nature of the Trinity. Dionysius was too old and ill to attend a

council held at *Antioch to discuss Paul of *Samosata (VII, 27). *Athanasius, who was consecrated in the church at Alexandria named after Dionysius, compiled a collection of extracts from his theological works. Later sources rely heavily on Eusebius. OPN

CPG 1550–1612:

ed. (annotated) C. L. Feltoe, *Dionysius Leipsana* (1904).

ET (annotated) C. L. Feltoe, *Letters and Treatises* (1918).

ed. (annotated with GT) W. A. Bienert (1972).

W. A. Bienert, *Dionysius von Alexandrien: zur Frage des Origenismus im dritten Jahrhundert* (PTS 21, 1978).

R. Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (²2001), 150–4.

Dionysius of Tel-Mahre *Patriarch of the *Syriac Orthodox Church (sed. 818–45) and historian. Dionysius is mainly known as the author of a lost work of history dealing with ecclesiastical and secular affairs from the *accession of the *Emperor *Maurice (582) until the death of the Emperor Theophilus and of *Caliph Abu Ishaq al-Mu'tasim (842). It has not survived, except for fragments (ed. Brooks), but some of its material can be found in the anonymous *Syriac *Chronicle up to the Year 1234* and the *Chronicle* of *Michael the Elder (d. 1199).

Due to an erroneous attribution by J. S. Assemani in the 18th century, Dionysius of Tel-Mahre was until the end of the 19th century considered the author of the anonymous Syriac **Chronicle of Zuqnin*, which consequently became known, confusingly, as the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre.

See also CHRONICLE OF ZUQNIN (with bibliography) WW

GEDSH s.v. Dionysios of Tel Mahre, 127–8 (Witakowski).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 416–19.

Fragments of Dionysius *History: Historiae Ecclesiasticae* auctore Dionysio Telmahrensi *fragmentum*: ed. (with LT) E. W. Brooks in *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori Vulgo Adscripta*, vol. 2 (CSCO 39, Scr. syr. 3:5; 1921) 219–24 (LT: CSCO 42, Scr. syr. 3:6; 1924), 149–54.

R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre jakobitischer Patriarch von 818–845. Zur Geschichte der Kirche unter dem Islam* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 35/2, 1940).

Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *Seventh Century Chronicles*, 'Dionysius Reconstructed', 85–221 (in English).

Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite Unknown author of the *Corpus Areopagiticum*. In the second quarter of the 6th century, references are made to writings ascribed to Dionysius, the 1st-century judge of the Areopagus in *Athens, converted by the Apostle Paul (Acts 17). They gradually gained immense popularity and their alleged authorship was accepted. This authenticity was challenged at the Renaissance, and finally at the end of the 19th century, their dependence on *Proclus the 5th-century *Neoplatonic *philosopher was demonstrated and with that their pseudonymity, with a date no earlier than the late 5th century. Since then many attempts have been made to identify the author, with no agreed success; more promisingly, recent scholars have tried to understand their pseudonymity as an authorial device.

There are four treatises—*Celestial Hierarchy, Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Divine Names, Mystical Theology*—and ten *letters; the treatises are all ostensibly addressed to Timothy, presumably the sub-apostolic figure, and the letters to various other figures, some recognizably sub-apostolic. They present a picture of a graded universe, stretching from God, a Trinity beyond being, through celestial beings, ranked three by three, to the Church on earth, itself marked by threefold clerical and lay ranks, which celebrates three principal sacraments: *baptism, *myron* or *chrism, and the *Eucharist.

Traditional Christian terminology is for the most part eschewed. The cosmos is conceived of as a glittering display in which God's activity reaches into the manifold of the universe and through which the whole created order is being drawn back into union with God: this process Dionysius calls 'hierarchy' (a term he coined). The process of being united with God is itself threefold: consisting of the stages of purification, illumination, and union or deification. God's manifestation in the cosmos and 'oracles' (Scripture) is beyond our human grasp; to express this, Dionysius develops (from Neoplatonic sources) notions of affirmative (cataphatic) theology, in which we affirm what we learn of God, and of negative (apophatic) theology, in which we deny these as inadequate. For Dionysius, however, the apophatic is more fundamental, undergirding the cataphatic, rather than correcting it, leading to an inexpressible union with God. The context of all this is the celebration of the Divine *Liturgy, in which we use concepts and images to praise God. Dionysius' powerful union of the liturgical and the mystical, though expressed in Neoplatonic terminology, reflects themes already developed in Greek Christian theology, which perhaps accounts for their ready, and eager, acceptance. AL

WORKS (*CPG* 6600–35):

ed. Beate Regina Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, I (PTS 33, 1990).

ed. G. Heil and A. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, II (PTS 33, 36 (1990–1).

GT (annotated with introd.) ed. G. Heil and A. Ritter in *Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, 22, 26, 40 (1986–94).

ET C. Luibheid, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (1987).

Ysabel de Andia, *Henosis: l'union à Dieu chez Denys l'Aréopagite* (Philosophia Antiqua 71, 1996).

René Roques, *L'Univers dionysien: structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Théologie 29, 1954).

Charles M. Stang, *Apophasis and Pseudonymity in Dionysius the Areopagite: 'No longer I'*, (2012).
Beate Regina Suchla, *Dionysius Areopagita: Leben—Werk—Wirkung* (2008).

Dionysus and Dionysiac themes in art Dionysiac themes constitute one of the most common sources of subject matter for art in Late Antiquity, as they had in the earlier centuries of the Roman Empire. The god, his revelling troop of companions, satyrs, maenads, Silenus, and Pan, scenes from *myths such as his birth and upbringing by the nymphs of Nysa, his discovery of the sleeping Ariadne on Naxos, his victory over the Indians and triumphal return in a chariot drawn by tigers, centaurs, or *elephants, are found in a wide variety of contexts: on objects of daily use such as *pottery or more valuable *silver vessels, on luxury garments, on the *mosaics, paintings, and *textiles that decorated domestic buildings, and in funerary settings on 3rd- and 4th-century *sarcophagi. Among outstanding examples are the mosaics from the House of Dionysus at *Sepphoris (*c.* AD 200), with a series of panels showing scenes from mythology and cult among the god's worshippers; those of the House of Aion at Nea *Paphos in *Cyprus (mid-4th century AD), with the childhood of Dionysus and his triumph along with other mythological subjects; and a woven textile from *Egypt in the Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland (probably late 4th century), where Dionysus, Ariadne, and their followers are presented standing under an arcade. Some scholars have seen the popularity of such works as an expression of Dionysus' position as the god who guarantees his followers salvation and immortality, and even as the supreme *pagan god in a new Late Antique *cosmology, while others have seen Dionysus here as the god of *wine, pleasure, and enjoyment, and these scenes as expressive of a worldly culture of convivial drinking and *dining, devoid of deeper religious or cultic significance. The most common context for Dionysiac scenes is convivial, as decoration for dining rooms and for objects used at the banquet, where they are likely to have been regarded as appropriate decoration, acceptable to moderate Christians who wished to assert their commitment to traditional culture. They continue to appear as late as the early 6th century (e.g. *Villa of the Falconer, *Argos); while Dionysiac subject matter has been proposed for some of the wall paintings in the *baths of the early 8th-century *Umayyad *palace at *Qusayr 'Amra. More problematic is the interpretation of scenes which contain objects connected with Dionysiac cult or initiation, such as the Abegg Foundation textile or a mosaic from Sarrîn (*Osrhoene) which probably dates from the late 5th/early 6th century; they have been taken to provide evidence for the persistence of Dionysiac worship and his mysteries at a very late date, while others see them as conventional symbols of festivity and good living. The earlier mosaics from Sepphoris, a major centre for *Jews and Judaism, have similarly been interpreted as either the work of *pagan devotees of Dionysus, or of Jewish patrons asserting only their commitment to Hellenic culture. The ambiguity reflects the polysemous nature of the god, profoundly rooted in Hellenic culture and mythological thought and capable of varying interpretations according to individual choice. His appeal is similarly reflected in the 5th-century epic *Dionysiaca* of *Nonnus of *Panopolis, another work which has caused commentators to puzzle over the religious affiliation of its creator. KMDD

J. Balty, 'Notes d'iconographie dionysiaque: la mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène)', *MÉFRA* 103 (1991), 19–33.
G. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (1990), 41–53.
K. Dunbabin, 'Domestic Dionysus? Telete in Mosaics from Zeugma and the Late Roman Near East', *JRA* 21 (2008), 193–224.
D. Parrish, 'A Mythological Theme in the Decoration of Late Roman Dining Rooms: Dionysos and his Circle', *RevArch* 1995/2, 307–32.
R. Talgam and Z. Weiss, *The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sepphoris* (2004).

Diophantus (*c.*250) Marking the culminating point of Greek *number theory, Diophantus wrote, in thirteen books (six of which are extant in *Greek and four in *Arabic), the *Arithmetica*, a collection of problems of determinate and indeterminate numerical analysis (finding one or more numbers satisfying specific conditions—the solution need not be unique), and a tract *On Polygonal Numbers*, characterizing these numerical species as sums of arithmetic progressions. Diophantus' style and language subvert the traditional canon of Greek *mathematics. FA

ed. F. Acerbi (annotated with IT), *On Polygonal Numbers* (MGA 1, 2011).
ed. P. Tannery (with LT), *Opera Omnia* (1893–5).
A. Meskens, *Travelling Mathematics: The Fate of Diophantos' Arithmetic* (2010).

Dioscorides in Late Antiquity Herbalist of the 1st century AD, who remained an authority in Late Antiquity. His *De Materia Medica*, in particular, survives in various forms, longer or shorter, in alphabetical order or not, in *Greek, *Latin, and *Syriac. Several famous manuscripts, including the *Naples Dioscorides and *Vienna Dioscorides, as well as *Latin translations and adaptations (*De Herbis Femininis*), can be dated to the 5th to 7th centuries. CP

ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (1906–14).
ed. (with ET) R. T. Gunther, *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides* (1959).

M. Cronier, 'Le Dioscoride alphabétique latin et les traductions latines du *De Materia Medica*', in D. Langslow and B. Maire, eds., *Body, Disease and Treatment in a Changing World: Latin Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Medicine* (2010), 189–200.

A. Ferraces-Rodríguez, *Estudios sobre textos latinos de fitoterapia entre la Antigüedad Tardia y la Alta Edad Media* (1999).

Dioscorus (d. 454) *Patriarch of *Alexandria (444–51), having been archdeacon of the Church of Alexandria under *Cyril (412–44), whom he succeeded as bishop (444–51), making Cyril's relatives disgorge their ill-gotten gains. In a fresh Christological controversy he achieved a temporary victory at the Second 'Robber' *Council of *Ephesus in 449, which he dominated, and which condemned his principal opponents. But his triumph was undone by the death in 450 of the supportive *Theodosius II, whose successor *Marcian summoned a new council, at *Chalcedon (451), which undid the work of Ephesus and tried and condemned Dioscorus, on ill-defined charges. Imprisoned at Gangra, he died a few years later. He is venerated as a saint in the non-Chalcedonian churches. RMP

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dioscorus I, cols. 912b–915b (M. P. Roncaglia).

R. Price and M. Gaddis, eds., *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols. (TTH, 2005).

ed. (with ET) S. G. F. Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus: Together with Certain Extracts Relating to it, from Syriac Mss. Preserved in the British Museum* (1881).

Dioscorus of Aphrodito (*c.*520–73/585) Lawyer (*scholasticus*—P.Cair.Masp. I 67064), landowner, and poet from the *village of *Aphrodito in the Antaiopolite *nome of Middle *Egypt. He was the son of Apollos, grandson of an elder Dioscorus, and great-grandson of Psimanobet. His papers, *papyri that first came to light in 1905 at Kom Ishqau (Aphrodito's modern successor), are now scattered widely in museums, universities, and private collections. The most important holdings are in Cairo (Egyptian Museum—P.Cair.Masp. I–III) and London (British Library—P.Lond. V). It is on the basis of these that the reconstruction of Dioscorus' life story and cultural environment must depend.

He was probably born *c.*520, although his first dated appearance in the papyrus record falls on 28 December 543 (P.Cair.Masp. I, 67087). In the years that follow he appears mainly as a local landlord and official (a village *headman, Protokometes). As such he was fully engaged in his village's struggle to retain **autopragia*, and this entailed at least one journey to *Constantinople on his part. His father, who (*pace* the *PLRE* entry) had died by 546/7, had gone there in 541 (P.Cair.Masp. II 67126). Dioscorus spent the years 566 to 573 in *Antinoopolis, capital of the Lower *Thebaid. There as a notary he drafted *wills, *contracts, and other agreements, some of impressive length. Only the drafts survive, not the fair or notarized copies, and it was the backs of these that Dioscorus used as scraps for writing drafts of his honorific and petitionary poems. He has traditionally been thought to have been last alive in 585, but in fact he last appears in the documentary record in 573. His wife Sophia may have been responsible for the final gathering of his papers. JGK

PLRE III, Dioscorus 5.

L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and his World* (TCH 16, 1988).

J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle: la bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, 2 vols. (Mémoires publiés 115, 1999).

J. -L. Fournet, 'Archive ou archives de Dioscore? Les dernières années des "archives de Dioscore"', in J.-L. Fournet, ed., *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte: histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine: actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 8–10 décembre 2005* (EAHA, 2008), 17–30.

Diospolis *See* LYDDA/DIOSPOLIS.

Diospontus *See* HELENOPONTUS PROVINCE.

diplomacy Process of ritualized negotiation, *gift and information exchange with foreign empires, *client kingdoms, *tribes, and distant states. The Roman and *Persian Empires developed elaborate systems of diplomacy over the course of Late Antiquity. These grew from indigenous traditions of communication and imperial *administration within the two empires, eventually becoming a regular system in Late Antiquity. Diplomatic activities were managed by an educated bureaucracy and could range from the establishment of treaties ending wars or delineating spheres of influence, to requests for monetary or military assistance, to simple maintenance of relationships and information gathering. Because they were dominant in the Late Antique Mediterranean and Western Asia, Rome and Persia's diplomatic protocols and ranking of client kingdoms affected the ways in which other kingdoms interacted with one another. The traditions of diplomacy between Rome and Iran lived on after the *Arab invasions, with the Western European states and the See of *Rome basing their diplomatic practices on that of Rome, and the relationship between Byzantium and the *caliphate continuing aspects of the earlier tradition. The two empires structured their relationships with their client kings and lesser foreign states by integrating them into their system of imperial offices and *titles.

Diplomatic correspondence used familial terms to describe the relationship of one sovereign to the other,

and thus the relative relationship between the two political entities. In Late Antiquity, the Persian King of Kings was the only foreign ruler that the Roman *emperor regularly treated as an equal. The Roman emperor referred to the Persian King of Kings in diplomatic correspondence as 'brother', and the Persian sovereign was the only foreign ruler that the Roman *court regularly accorded the title of *basileus* (though not *basileus basileōn*—King of Kings).

All diplomacy took place through face-to-face meetings and exchanges of *letters. No Roman or Persian sovereigns ever met face to face while they were reigning, so all meetings took place with proxies representing one if not both parties. The political and social importance of the envoy varied in relation to the importance of the state they were treating and the goal of the embassy. The most common types of meetings were those that took place between an envoy and a sovereign at the sovereign's court. Embassies sent between the Roman and Persian courts were either a 'Great Embassy', with plenipotentiary negotiating powers, or a 'Lesser Embassy', with only the ability to confirm negotiations that had already taken place or to exchange letters. A 'Lesser Embassy' was normally sent to thank the opposing power for the good treatment of a previous 'Great Embassy'. The Roman emperor received envoys most often in the Great Palace of *Constantinople. The more itinerant Persian King of Kings received envoys wherever the king was located at the moment, including at *fire temples or on the battlefield. When negotiations needed to take place on a predetermined topic, meetings would occasionally be arranged between two officials invested with plenipotentiary powers who met at a predetermined location on the *frontier. The negotiated settlements would be recorded, checked at court, and sent back out to be ratified, with 'sacred letters' exchanged from both rulers confirming all points (*Menander Protector, fr. 6.1).

Both the Roman and Persian empires adhered to detailed protocols for receiving envoys. These traditions were emulated by client kingdoms and *successor states. The bureaucracies in Constantinople and *Ctesiphon each maintained an office dedicated to diplomatic communication and receptions, as well as several officials to manage the actual reception rituals. The most important source for Late Roman diplomacy are the 5th- and 6th-century protocols compiled in the reign of *Justinian I by *Peter the Patrician, which *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus integrated in the first book of his 10th-century compilation, **Excerpta de Legationibus* (*De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*). Chapters 87 and 88 describe the protocol for receiving envoys from the (at that point, extinct) Western imperial court. Chapters 89 and 90 describe the Roman court's protocol for receiving a 'Great Embassy of the Persians'. The late *Sasanian compilations of protocol (*āʾīn-nāma*; MP *ēwēn-nāmag*, 'book of customs' and *gāh-nāmag*, 'book of court ceremony') probably contained similar protocols. These texts are lost and known only in their reflections in Islamic era literature, such as the *Shaḥnameh* of Ferdowsi and Pseudo-al-Jāḥiẓ's *Book of the Crown*. In the Late Roman Empire, records of diplomatic exchange were preserved by the Scrinium Barbarorum ('Office of the Barbarians'). The *Magister Officiorum (Gk. *magistros tōn ophphikiōn*), an official involved in many aspects of court ritual, managed the Sasanian envoy's visit and himself was responsible for greeting him, arranging his lodging, and conducting the ritual protocol involved in his visit. During the actual reception, the **chartularii barbarorum* (*khartoularioi tōn barbarōn*), *interpreters, and the **admissionales* appear to supervise the envoy's activities within the audience hall (*De cer.* 1, 89; 404–5). An analogous Sasanian official would probably be the *darīgān sālār* early on (ŠKZ 48) or the *handēmāngarān sālār* later, while in the *Shaḥnameh* this figure is the *sālār-e bār*.

The hosting state would cover the expenses of housing, food, and transport from the moment envoys crossed the frontier. Both empires used diplomatic ritual and entertainment to impress them with the power of the sovereign. *Justin II's reception of *Avar envoys as described by *Corippus (III, 235–55) shows how the Romans used the ritual of the audience hall to inculcate a sense of awe. The late Sasanian Kings of Kings employed several spatial and symbolic devices to do the same, including automata, rotating *thrones, and artificial climactic effects. Islamic remembrances of the court of *Khosrow I indicate that it contained golden thrones representing the kings of all major regions (including Rome, *India, *China, and the steppe), which were arranged around the central throne of the Persian King of Kings (*Fārsnāma*, ed. Le Strange, 97). The envoy would be entertained with a number of highly symbolic activities, which included *hunting at the Persian court, the *circus games at the Roman court, and *feasting at both. Roman envoys to the court of the *Türk *khaghan were forced to engage in mourning rituals in the funeral of the previous khaghan, including lacerating their faces (*Menander Protector, 19.118–24) Persian envoys regularly were entertained at the hippodrome games and even witnessed Justinian I's 'triumph' over *Gelimer in 534 (*Zacharias of Mytilene, IX, 17). Diplomatic gifts were an integral part of all diplomatic exchanges. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*.
M. P. Canepa, *AO* 38 (2010), 121–54.
S. Diebler, *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995), 187–218.
F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (1953).
E. Chrysos, 'The Title Basileus in Early Byzantine International Relations', *DOP* 32 (1978), 29–75.

U. Asche, *Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Aussenpolitik in der Spätantike im Spiegel der Panegyrici Latini* (1983).
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. with LT, J. J. Reiske (1829–30).
W. Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen des Aussenpolitik des Sasanischenstaates* (Sb Wien 456, 1985).
al-Jāhiẓ, *Le Livre de la couronne: Kitāb at-tāǧ (fī aḫlāq al-mulūk)*, FT by C. Pellat (1954).

diplomacy, Aksumite Diplomatic contact between *Constantinople and the Roman Empire and *Aksum is attested in both directions, its primary subject matter being both religious and political. Recognition of such contacts in Roman records is hindered by Roman use of the term 'India' to refer both to the south Asian peninsula and to the Horn of Africa (*see* ETHIOPIA): some embassies recorded as to or from 'India' may therefore represent contact with the Aksumite kingdom. Since Rome could make no claim to political authority over Aksum, some diplomatic contacts used the *Patriarch of *Alexandria as an intermediary, as in the mid-4th century when *Constantius II expressed concern over *Frumentius' role as *Bishop of Aksum. Several embassies (such as those of *Julian and *Nonnosus) are recorded from the first half of the 6th century in connection with Aksumite military operations in southern *Arabia to which Rome gave at least tacit support as part of her broader confrontation with the *Persian Empire (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 19–20). DWP

Shahid, *Martyrs of Najran*.
Gajda, *Royaume de Himyar à l'époque monothéiste*.
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 201–2.

diptychs (Gk. double-folded) Pairs of panels made of wood or *ivory, hinged so as to open out like a *book.

Secular

Romans sent *letters enclosed in ivory tablets. *Augustine owned a set and apologized to his *patron for not using them to send a letter (*ep.* 15, 1 to Romanianus of 390). Ivory diptychs were in fact used for many purposes. It is probable that the official codicils which conferred office on officials in the imperial administration were, by the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum*, made of ivory. Ivory diptychs might also be produced in multiple copies (e.g. the *Nicomachorum–Symmachorum Diptych) to mark a notable occasion in a noble *family. The *Stilicho Diptych commemorates the promotion of the general's son Eucherius as Tribunus et Notarius probably when he was about 7 years old.

In particular diptychs were sent to friends and acquaintances to announce the successful completion of the games required of those promoted to high office at *Rome and *Constantinople or as Flamen of the *Imperial Cult in a *province. A *law of *Theodosius I issued in the East in 384 restricted to *consuls the presentation of *gold and ivory gifts in connection with the games given by office-holders, presumably in order to prevent a spiral of conspicuous consumption at the newer capital at Constantinople. *Symmachus wrote letters to those whom he wished to honour with his *friendship informing them that the games his son had given as *quaestor were now complete, and sending an ivory diptych and a *silver bowl weighing two pounds to commemorate them; they were worth commemorating, as they had cost 2,000 lb of gold.

Over 40 presentation diptychs survive. The earliest dated specimen from the West is of 406, and 5th-century diptychs come mostly from the West. All known eastern diptychs date from between 506 and 541. They are generally 30–40 cm (12–16 inches) long, that being the greatest length of tusk that can be cut to make a flat plaque without incorporating the *elephant's dentine. The inner surfaces are plain, often with slightly raised edges. The outer surfaces are carved to depict scenes from the games or figures from mythology or, most commonly on the eastern diptychs of the 6th century, a portrait of the consul dressed in his ceremonial **toga picta* (*trabea*) holding up the kerchief (*mappa*) which, since the early 4th century in the East, had been the token used to signal the start of games of various types. The diptychs issued by *Justinian I in 521 are decorated only with rosettes, roundels, and writing.

Ecclesiastical

From around the same time as the first secular diptychs were being produced, in the late 4th century, there are references to diptychs used in churches. These bore the names of people commemorated in *prayer by the *deacon in the course of the *liturgy, whether *bishops, *martyrs, political figures, benefactors, or others. Two ecclesiastical diptychs survive, both from the 7th century. Neither is decorated on the back. One, now in Boston, is of wood, the other, dating from 661/7 and now in the British Museum, has a list of names written in ink directly onto the ivory.

The earliest evidence for the use of diptychs in church at Constantinople is from *John Chrysostom, and from then on there is evidence for the use throughout the East. Innocent I of Rome wrote a letter to Decentius of Gubbio (AD 416) in which he mentions the 'recitation of names' in the Mass, and most scholars consider this a reference to the use of diptychs in the Latin tradition. Until the 7th century the eastern practice was to name the living before the dead; thereafter this was reversed. Ecclesiastical diptychs are most often referred to when a name is deleted from the diptychs on account of *heresy or malfeasance. OPN; MFC

SECULAR

Alan Cameron, 'The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 103 (2013), 154–207.

Alan Cameron, 'City Personifications and Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 105 (2015), 250–87.

A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 200–1400* (Byzantine Collection 8, 1985).

G. Bühl, A. Cutler, and A. Effenberger, eds., *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs* (2008).

A. Eastmond, 'Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-Century Constantinople', *Art History* 33/5 (2010), 742–65.

ECCLESIASTICAL

DACL 4/1 (1920) *s.v.* diptyques (liturgie), 1045–94 (F. Cabrol).

DACL 4/1 (1920) *s.v.* diptyques (archéologie), 1094–170 (H. Leclercq).

R. F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, vol. 4: *The Diptychs* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 1991).

W. J. Grisbrooke, 'Intercession at the Eucharist', *Studia Liturgica* 4 (1965), 129–55 and *Studia Liturgica* 5 (1966), 20–44, 87–103.

ed. (with FT and comm.) R. Cabié, *La Lettre du Pape Innocent Ier à Décentius de Gubbio (19 mars 416)* (1973).

dirham *Islamic *silver coin denomination, weighing *c.*3 grams (0.1 ounces). It can also refer to silver coins from the *Sasanian *Persian Empire, also called *drachms*. The Caliph *'Abd al-Malik introduced the *dirham* in the 690s, abandoning experiments with Sasanian and Byzantine coin weight and design. The *dirham* combined the silver fabric of Sasanian silver coinage with an aniconic, Islamic design. It became the medieval silver unit of account in the Near East and was used in Russia and *Britain. RRD

R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, tr. P. Severin (1971).

T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage* (2005).

R. Naismith, 'Islamic Coins from Early Medieval England', *NumChron* 165 (2005), 193–222.

T. Noonan, 'When and how Dirhams First Reached Russia', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 21 (1980), 401–69.

disorder, public, Roman and post-Roman In Late Antiquity intercommunal disorder or violence affected mainly *cities, particularly in places such as *Alexandria, *Antioch, *Rome, and *Constantinople. Disorder frequently followed attempts to reassert traditional order following the disintegration of customary measures to resolve conflict (Haas, 12). Late Antique literary sources often focus on acts of religious violence. *Pagans and pagan *temples could be the objects of popular violence, complained of by *Libanius in 386 (*Oratio*, XXX, *Pro Templis*), exemplified by the lynching of *Hypatia in 4th-century Alexandria (*Socrates, VII, 15). The killing of George of Cappadocia (d. 361) by a mob in Alexandria in 361 is an instance of pagan retaliation. Accusations of *heresy and schism (e.g. against *Donatists, *Novatianists) could also be accompanied by acts of popular violence. Occasionally, *Jews might be targeted, as when the synagogue in *Callinicum was destroyed in 388 (*Ambrose, *ep.* 11, 12), an act led by a *bishop. The role of the Church in popular violence in Late Antiquity was ambiguous. Bishops could sometimes incite a popular uprising, but in the late 4th and 5th centuries the task of crowd control also frequently fell to bishops (Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 146–52).

Financial stringency, particularly the levying of taxes or heavy *debt, could also provoke popular disorder, as has been the case in many periods. **Bacaudae*, roving bands first attested in *Gaul in the late 3rd century (Aurelius Victor, *Caesars*, 39, 17), reappeared particularly in the 5th century in Gaul and northern *Spain, and are described as reacting at least in part to taxation and corrupt officials (*Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, V, 5–6). In the 4th century, the *Circumcellions in North *Africa took out their ire particularly on creditors. In 532, the *Nika Riot in Constantinople (*Procopius, *Persian*, 1, 24, 7) occurred ostensibly due to an official decision against members of the circus *factions, but were partly fuelled by dissatisfaction among sections of the population with Justinian I's tax policy. In 548 King *Theudebert I's *Magister Officiorum *Parthenius was stoned and lynched in *Trier after his imposition of heavy taxes (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* III, 36). *Famine and *grain shortage and food *hoarding also triggered acts of violence, which could be directed at city officials and even *emperors (Stathakopoulos, 70–87). Popular violence was usually spontaneous and civilian but paid militias could also be involved, as in *Damascus in 366.

While public disorder features significantly in Late Roman literary sources, it is difficult to gauge whether public violence actually increased, or whether it came to be increasingly emphasized because it interested authors or offered them opportunity for rhetorical effects (Zimmerman, 343–57). SEB

Brown, *Power and Persuasion*.

H. A. Drake, 'Intolerance, Religious Violence, and Political Legitimacy in Late Antiquity', *JAAR* 79/1 (2011), 193–235.

H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (2006), esp. M. Zimmerman, 'Violence in Late Antiquity Reconsidered', 343–57.

C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (2006).

R. Lim, 'Religious Disputation and Social Disorder in Late Antiquity', *Historia* 44/2 (1995), 204–31.

R. MacMullen, 'The Historical Role of the Masses in Late Antiquity', in *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays on the Ordinary* (1990), 250–76.

D. Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics* (2004).

disputes and disputation literature, Christian Surviving texts of Late Antique Christian dialogues with *Jews are not transcripts of actual disputations but represent idealized Christian fiction. The persistence of this mostly anonymous literature suggests a perceived usefulness whether for Christian catechesis or for theological debate with Jews, or both. Stock 'proof texts' or *testimonia* from the Old Testament are used to demonstrate how Jesus can be God, yet God is one, how Jesus was the promised messiah, and so forth. The narrative settings vary from a simple dialogue between a Christian and a Jew (Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila—shorter recension), to more elaborate 'royal disputations' in the presence of king or emperor, sometimes with (arch)bishops and popes as interlocutors (Gregentius and Herban, *PG* 86 621–784; Silvester and the Jews of Rome, *PG* 121, 521–40). In the simpler form the Jewish interlocutor converts at the end, while in the royal form all the Jews present convert in response to a miracle. For example, in *The Dialogue of Gregentius* the Jews are blinded by the appearance of Christ and only after being baptized do they regain their sight and confess Christianity. JZP

Averil Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, Hellenic Studies Series 65 (2014).

L. Lahey, 'The Christian–Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (excluding Justin)', in O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik, eds., *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (2007), 581–639.

H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.–11. Jh.)* (1995).

A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae Until the Renaissance* (1935; repr. 2012).

disputes and disputation literature, Syriac Precedence disputes were an ancient Mesopotamian literary genre taken up and adapted by *Syriac writers, usually in verse. *Ephrem (d. 373) has three such disputes, between Death and Satan (*Nisibene Hymns*, 52–4). Some 50 poems in this genre survive, mostly anonymous and involving pairs of biblical characters (other topics include the Months, Body and Soul, Helena and the Jews). Several examples of actual theological disputations are recorded, especially from the 6th and 7th centuries. The *Miaphysite *Simeon of Bet Arsham (d. *c.*548) was famous for his disputations with clergy of the *Church of the East, held before a *Zoroastrian umpire (*John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PO 17, 144–52). The Maronite *Chronicle records a dispute between *Maronites and 'Jacobites' before the *Caliph *Muʿawiya) in 659.

A literary development consists of sets of questions to be posed to theological opponents, to which the answer must be 'yes' or 'no', resulting in a *reductio ad absurdum*. Interfaith disputations are also found, usually in an artificial literary form, as in *Jacob of *Sarug's imaginary debates with *Jews (PO 38/1), though the debate between Sergius the *Stylite and a Jew (CSCO 338–9) possibly goes back to a real debate. Several later examples involve Muslims (e.g. with a monk of Bet Hale). SB

ET S. P. Brock, *Treasure-House of Mysteries: Explorations of the Sacred Text Through Poetry in the Syriac Tradition* (2012).

S. P. Brock, 'Two Sets of Monothelete Questions to the Maximianists', in his *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (1992), ch. XV.

Christian Muslim Relations, vol. 1 (2009).

H. Vanstiphout and G. J. Reinink, eds., *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East* (OLA 42; 1991).

ed. (with ET) A. P. Hayman, *The Disputation of Sergius the Stylite against a Jew* (CSCO 338–9, Scr. syr. 152–3, 1973).

S. H. Griffith, 'Disputing with Islam in Syriac: The Case of the Monk of Bêt halê and a Muslim Emir', *Hugoye* 3/1 (2000), 29–54.

divination *See* MAGIC AND DIVINATION.

divorce *See* MARRIAGE, ADULTERY, DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE.

Diyarbakır *See* AMIDA.

diwan Military payroll or troop registry under Muslim rule. Instituted by *Umar I (r. 634–44), though probably modelled on Byzantine or Sasanid practice, the first *diwan* was set up to organize the payment of the Islamic *army. Over time, the *diwans* expanded in both number and scope, constituting a system of offices with varying administrative responsibilities such as correspondence (*diwan al-rasa'il*), *taxation (*diwan al-kharaj*), and postal service (*diwan al-barid*). The development of the *diwan* as an administrative institution occurred primarily during the *Umayyad and *Abbasid periods. MCE

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v.* 'Dīwān', 323–37 (Ansari, Lambton, Duri, Gottschalk, Colin).

M. Gordon, *The Rise of Islam* (2005).

Dobruja *See* SCYTHIA MINOR.

Docimium Ancient *city of *Phrygia Salutaris on the plain of Synnada (mod. İscehisar), and the most important source of white and polychrome *marble on the Central High Plateau of *Anatolia. The polychrome marble was *quarried by imperial agents and exported to

the Mediterranean Basin, sometimes in combination with white marble, for example to provide polychrome wall revetment with white pilasters. This repertoire of architectural forms was adopted at *Proconnesus and *Constantinople, when *Theodosius I enlarged the new capital. Later, white Docimian marble was employed to furnish churches throughout central Anatolia, where its superior workmanship and idiosyncratic formal repertoire was imitated by local workshops and led to the establishment of a distinctive regional style. PhN

A. M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World* (2010), 291–307; 318–23.
P. Niewöhner, 'Phrygian Marble and Stonemasonry as Markers of Regional Distinctiveness in Late Antiquity', in P. Thonemann, ed., *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society* (2013), 215–48.

Doclea (mod. Duklja, Montenegro) Capital of the *province of *Praevalitana, founded in the 1st century AD, sacked by the *Ostrogoths in 493, and destroyed by *earthquake in 518. The fortified *city with two churches has been archaeologically investigated. ER

I. Nikolajević-Stojković, 'Rapport préliminaire sur la recherche des monuments chrétiens à Doclea', in *V Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* (1957), 567–72.
V. Korać, 'Architektonski ukras u kamenu između antike i rane Vizantije, u ostacima grada Duklje (Doclea)', *Starinar* 59 (2009), 191–219.

doctors *See* MEDICINE.

Dodona Site of an *oracle of great antiquity (*Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 7, 25), *c.*21 km (*c.*13 miles) south-south-west of mod. Ioannina, Greece, in the *province of *Epirus. Zeus was believed to speak through the rustling of oak-leaves (*Symmachus, *ep.* IV, 33, 2) and inspired priestesses (Celsus in *Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VII, 3; *Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 56). In 384 Symmachus complained that imperial disendowment of *pagan rites had caused *famine so severe that the peasants had had to eat acorns from the sacred oaks of Dodona (*Relatio*, III, 16; cf. *Ambrose, *ep.* 18, 18). The statue of Zeus of Dodona, placed before the *Senate House in *Constantinople, survived a fire in the early 5th century (*Zosimus, V, 24, 6–7).

A three-aisled Christian *basilica was built in the early 5th century at the east end of the sanctuary of Zeus. A *bishop is known from 431. An *Ostrogothic naval expedition under *Totila sacked the country around Dodona in 551 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 22, 31). *Hierocles lists Dodona (651, 5), but it does not seem to have survived the arrival of the *Slavs, who called the area Tsarkobista ('church-place').

Some early Christian allusions to Dodona (*Arnobius, I, 26; *Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, 441; *Theodoret, *HE* III, 16 on *Julian) may reflect reading rather than knowledge of contemporary conditions. OPN

TIB 3 (1981), 142.
S. I. Dakaris *Archaeological Guide to Dodona* (1971).

dogs and hounds Kept both for their utility and as pets. *Nemesianus (103–239) expatiates upon a huntsman's care for his hounds. *Augustine, who seems to have shared with *Orosius a fondness for dogs (Orosius I, praef., 3–7; cf. V, 18, 9), allowed them in church (*De Fido et Operibus*, 7), the *Seven Sleepers of *Ephesus were accompanied by a dog called Viricanus (*Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, 26), and a poem of *Luxorius (*Carmen*, 73) displays fond attachment between owner and puppy. *John Chrysostom thought shamelessness was a prime characteristic of dogs (*Homily 12 On the Statues*, 2). They were a part of the street life of Levantine *cities, both alive and performing (*John Malalas, XVIII, 51) or dead and symbolic of saintly eccentricity (*VSymeonSalos*, 4). The **Farmer's Law* shows that they were essential for protecting flocks in an early Byzantine *village from predators: if a villager kills a sheepdog and the *sheep are harmed by a wild animal, he must give the value of the sheep and of the dog in restitution (55), and if a villager incites his powerful dog against weaker dogs and a dog is maimed or killed he must make it up to the dog's master and receive twelve lashes (77).

Dogs had an ambiguous relationship with humans. *Zoroastrians value herd dogs and house dogs. The **Bundahišn* (Bundahišn, 24, 38, tr. Anklesaria, p. 201) portrays the dog as created to protect flocks from wolves, hounds were used in *hunting, and *Arday Wiraz saw a man suffering in hell for withholding food from a dog (48, 4). Certain other Near Eastern traditions, however, equated black dogs with the Devil, a belief that persisted into the Islamic era. In classical *Islam dogs were unclean but could be kept as working animals. Their major functions were to protect the family and its possessions, guard *cattle, and aid in hunting.

In post-Roman Germanic lands hunting was increasingly important and hunting hounds were ubiquitous; high fines were assessed if they were killed (**Lex Burgundionum*, 58 de Salis). Gazehounds spotted game and ran it down by sight, like the saluki of the Arabs which was used to hunt all kinds of game, including oryx. Tracking hounds followed game by scent. Heavier breeds followed quarry by scent and helped to bring large animals to bay. MD; OPN

EncIran VIII (1998) *s.v.* dog, ii in Zoroastrianism, 467–70 (Boyce).
M. MacKinnon, '"Sick as a dog": Zooarchaeological Evidence for Pet Dog Health and Welfare in the Roman World', *World Archaeology* 42/2 (2010), 290–309.

S. Menache, 'Hunting and Attachment to Dogs in the Pre-Modern Period', in A. L. Podberscek, E. S. Paul, and J. Serpell, eds., *Companion Animals and Us: Exploring the Relationships between People and Pets* (2000), 42–60.
J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (1985).

Dokos Rocky island off the southern coast of the Argolid with significant habitation in the 6th and 7th centuries in the form of monumental buildings within a fortification wall, and houses outside continuing down to the *harbour. A three-aisled *basilica may be associated with Ss. Valerius, Vincent, and Eulalia, legendary *martyrs and patron saints of *Barcelona. The nature of settlement on Dokos challenges assumptions about early Byzantine 'Isles of Refuge'. PA

P. Peeters, 'Une invention des SS. Valère, Vincent et Eulalie dans le Péloponnèse', *AnBoll* 30 (1911), 296–301.
P. N. Kardulias, T. E. Gregory, and J. Sawmiller, 'Bronze Age and Late Antique Exploitation of an Islet in the Saronic Gulf, Greece', *JnlFieldArch* 22 (1995), 3–21.
A. Kyrou, 'Periplaneseis hagion leipsanon kai mia agnoste kastropoliteia ston Argoliko', *Peloponnisiaka*, 21 (1995), 97–118.

Domburg (prov. Zeeland, Netherlands) An important bridgehead for relations between south-east England and the Continent in the 7th and 8th centuries, located on an island off the Rhine–Meuse Delta, and known as *Walacria* or Walcheren in the written sources. It was supplanted by *Dorestad and then occupied by Vikings. It was probably one of the centres where English and *Frisian *silver coins, the so-called **sceattas*, were struck, exchanged, and imitated. SL

S. Lebecq, 'L'*Emporium* protomédiéval de Walcheren-Domburg: une mise en perspective', in *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe: Studia in honorem Adriaan Verhulst* (1995), 73–90.

dome An approximately hemispherical structure of stone, *brick, hollow tubes, volcanic scoriae, or wood. A dome may sit directly upon a rotunda, but if it covers a polygonal space, transitional elements are necessary. If the polygonal space is defined by a pier at each corner, arches are built connecting adjacent piers, their crowns serving as the seat of the dome. The space between adjacent arches and the dome base is often filled with a triangular segment of a spherical surface (pendentive) to create a continuous circular footing for the dome. A dome may be shallow, continuing the curve of the pendentives (a 'pendentive dome' or 'domical vault'), or steeper, having a radius smaller than that of the pendentives (a 'dome on pendentives'). An alternative method for creating continuous support for the base of a dome over a polygonal space involved constructing squinches (lintels or arches) across the angles.

Roman *architects placed domes on *bathhouses and mausoleums; perhaps the most famous Roman dome is that of the *Pantheon in *Rome (made into a church in the 7th cent.). Domed imperial buildings of the *Tetrarchy include the Palace Octagon and Rotunda of S. George at *Thessalonica and the octagonal Mausoleum of *Diocletian at *Split. The burial place of *Constantine I at the Church of the *Holy Apostles in *Constantinople was domed, as was the Constantinian church at *Antioch known as the Domus Aurea described by *Eusebius (*VCon* III, 50). Domes were placed at the crossings of conventionally shaped Christian *basilicas such as S. John's at *Ephesus, as well as on octagonal churches such as Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and S. Vitale at *Ravenna. The *ecphrasis of the first dome of *Justinian I's Church of the Holy Wisdom at Constantinople by *Procopius (*Aed.* I, 1, 28–9) indicates that contemporary observers were equally impressed by the geometry and the *aesthetics of such feats of engineering. JB; OPN

J. Bardill, in *OHBS*, 340–3.
K. E. McVey, 'The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol', *DOP* 37 (1983), 91–121.
R. M. Taylor 'A Literary and Structural Analysis of the First Dome on Justinian's Hagia Sophia, Constantinople', *JSAH* 55/1 (1996), 66–78.

Dome of the Rock *See* JERUSALEM, AQSA MOSQUE AND DOME OF THE ROCK.

domestici A corps of elite junior army officers, originally known as **protectores* until those in attendance on the *emperor were differentiated with this title in the early 4th century. Acquisition of the status was usually marked by the ceremony of **adoratio* of the *purple in the emperor's presence, and the corps had its own commander, the *Comes Domesticorum. Those selected for service were seen as potential candidates for promotion to command of army units, so that the corps functioned as 'a kind of staff college' (Jones). The duties in which their suitability for greater responsibility was tested and developed included tasks such as organization of defences and escorting recruits, envoys, or important prisoners. Although often promoted from the ranks, they could also be appointed directly. The best-known example of a *protector domesticus* is *Ammianus Marcellinus who served under the general *Ursicinus in the 350s. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 636–40.

domesticus A personal assistant. *Domestici* are documented for most officials of importance. To limit their influence, *domestici* were, for example, prohibited from purchasing property in, or marrying wives from,

the *province where they served. Upon leaving office, they were not to evade prosecution (*CTh* I, 34, 3; *CJust* I, 51, 3). MMos

Jones, *LRE* 602–3.

RE 5 (1903) 1296–9 (Seeck).

Dominus Julius mosaic Pavement of the late 4th/early 5th century from a house in *Carthage, now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis. It shows the buildings of a great *estate surrounded by rural activities appropriate to each *season. Peasants bring a selection of produce to the owners of the *villa; the master's name is written on a scroll presented to him. KMDD

W. Raeck, 'Publica non despiciens. Ergänzungen zur Interpretation des Dominus-Julius Mosaiks aus Karthago', *MDAI(R)* 94 (1987), 295–308, pls. 138–9.

Domitianus (d. 602) *Bishop of *Melitene (*c.*580–602), from an early age. Nephew and close adviser of the *Emperor *Maurice, he was active in political affairs, such as the restoration of *Khosrow II, as well as in such ecclesiastical matters as the brutal persecution of anti-*Chalcedonians he conducted in the East in 598/9. GBG

PLRE III, Domitianus.

E. Honigmann, 'Two Metropolitans, Relatives to the Emperor Maurice: Dometianus of Melitene and Athenogenes of Petra', *Patristic Studies* (ST 173, 1953), 217–23.

R. Paret, 'Dometianus de Melitene et la politique religieuse de l'empereur Maurice', *REB* 15 (1957), 42–72.

Domitianus II *Usurper in *Gaul under *Aurelian, who swiftly overpowered him (*Zosimus, I, 49, 2). Two coins are now known. OPN

PLRE I, Domitianus 1.

R. Abdy, 'The Domitian II Coin from Chalgrove: A Gallic Emperor Returns to History', *Antiquity* 83/321 (2009), 751–7.

Domitius Alexander *Usurper in *Africa and *Sardinia from 308 until 309 or early 310. Domitius was *Vicarius Africae in 308 under *Maxentius. Anxious about the loyalty of the *army in Africa, Maxentius demanded Alexander's son as a *hostage. Alexander refused to send the youth and was proclaimed *Augustus by his troops. The quick and devastating suppression of the revolt by *Volusianus (Maxentius' *Praefectus Praetorio) and Zenas is described by Aurelius *Victor (40, 17–20) and *Zosimus (II, 12–14). JPC

PLRE I, Alexander 17.

NEDC 14–15.

Domitius Domitianus L. Domitius Domitianus was a *usurper acclaimed in *Egypt from the summer of 297 onwards. He issued *coinage from the mint of *Alexandria, both Roman types and Greek tetradrachms, and is named in various *papyri. The revolt may have arisen from tax reforms attested in P. Cair. Isid, 1. The literary sources (*Jerome, *Chron.* 226c Helm, *Eutropius, IX, 22–3, *Orosius, VII, 25, 4 and 8) attribute the rebellion to Aurelius *Achilleus, the Corrector of Domitianus, and it was Achilleus who was subjected to a long *siege in *Alexandria by *Diocletian which extended into the spring of 298. It is likely that Domitianus had died at the end of 297. OPN

PLRE I, Domitianus 6.

NEDC 11–12.

J. Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus: étude numismatique et papyrologique* (Papyrologica Bruxelliensia 12, 1975).

J. D. Thomas, 'The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus', *ZPE* 22 (1976), 253–79 and *ZPE* 24 (1977), 217–20.

RIC VI, 645–50.

Domus (Divina) Antiochi *Imperial estate, managed by the Curator Antiochi, which included a *palace near the *Circus in *Constantinople, once owned by Antiochus, an influential *Praepositus Sacri *Cubiculi under *Theodosius II. CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 224–5.

Janin, *CPByz* 310.

Bardill, *Brickstamps*, vol. 1, 56–60, 107–9.

G. Greatrex and J. Bardill, 'Antiochus the Praepositus: A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II', *DOP* 50 (1996), 171–97.

Domus Divina per Africam *Imperial estates in *Africa managed by the Rationalis Rei Privatae Fundorum Domus Divina per Africam, responsible to the *Comes *Rei Privatae. The post was upgraded to Comes et Procurator Domus Divinae following the (probably temporary) establishment in 398 of the Comes Gildoniaci Patrimonii charged with adding the property of the defeated *Gildo to the Domus Divina (*Not. Dig.* 12.5 [*occ.*]). CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 218–20.

Domus Divina per Cappadociam *Imperial estates in *Cappadocia whose revenues funded the imperial household (*Cubiculum). Managed by the *Comes Domorum per Cappadociam until 536, it was then transferred to the curatores Dominicae Domus (centrally) and the *governor of Cappadocia Prima alongside fifteen magistri, thirteen responsible for individual estates (*NovJust* 30). CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 220–3, 228–33.

Donatism Christian schismatic movement in *Africa precipitated by the Great *Persecution. Donatists

accused Felix, *Bishop of *Abthungi, of being a *traditor* (one who hands over, a traitor), because in 303 he had surrendered copies of the *Bible to the persecuting authorities. Felix had consecrated Caecilian as Bishop of *Carthage after the Great Persecution, which in Africa lasted from 303 till 306/7. The purists who became the Donatist party therefore consecrated a rival Bishop of Carthage, the *deacon Majorinus, who was eventually replaced by Donatus. The resulting division persisted beyond the period of *Vandal rule in the 6th century.

The sources for the Donatism schism are heterogeneous. Documents concerning the early years of Donatism are preserved by *Eusebius (imperial *letters: *HE* X, 5–7) and in the **Optatan Appendix*, a collection of texts appended to the treatise *Against Parmenian the Donatist*, written in 367 and revised in 385 by the Catholic (Caecilianist) writer *Optatus, Bishop of *Milevis, a treatise which also provides a narrative of the origins of the schism. The Donatist layman *Tyconius (d. *c.*400) wrote theological treatises but was condemned by the Donatists themselves. Donatist *martyr passions also survive, both Donatist versions of *martyrs who suffered at the hands of pagan authorities and those who died in the 'Time of Macarius' in 347 when *Constans I tried to impose Christian unity in Africa. *Augustine, Catholic Bishop of *Hippo Regius from 395 to 430, wrote copiously against the Donatists, citing many earlier texts, including those of Donatists themselves. Acts of the *Councils of the Church concerned with the Donatists also survive.

The experience of persecution lay at the heart of Donatism. After the persecution under *Decius (249–51), the diplomatic sensitivity of *Cyprian had averted lasting splits between Christians who had given way to the demands of the authorities and their brethren who had no sympathy with such backsliding. In 303 African clergy had been ordered to surrender copies of the scriptures. Afterwards, those who had complied were viewed by many African Christians, especially in *Numidia and *Cirta (later Constantine), its principal *city, as *traditores* who had polluted the Church and forfeited the Holy Spirit. Zeal for the purity of the Church combined with jealousy of Carthage's primatial see helped to fuel this volatile mixture of passions. By 307, two separate Churches existed.

In 313 the Emperor *Constantine I recognized the Catholic side as the legitimate African Church, dispensing its clergy from onerous *taxation. Donatist petitions to him were discussed by bishops in the *Lateran Council of 313 at *Rome and at the Council of *Arles (314) but failed to find favour. A severe anti-Donatist law from Constantine in 317 ignited public *disorder at Carthage, with troops slaughtering Donatists in churches (*Passio Donati*). These first martyrs caused the sect to flourish, led by the formidable Donatus (Optatus, III, 3). Constantine's impending war against his imperial colleague *Licinius in the East prompted Constantine to rescind his anti-Donatist laws (321), as he could not appear to be persecuting his fellow Christians. Around 336, Donatus convened a large council of 270 bishops at Carthage though the proceedings were marred by dissensions concerning the rebaptism of those who moved between the factions (Augustine, *ep.* 93, 43).

The violent partisans known as the *Circumcellions first made an appearance *c.* 340; it is not clear if their affiliations were exclusively with the Donatists, though Optatus certainly portrays them as Donatist bands who perpetrated violence against Catholics (III, 4). In 346 the Emperor Constans I sent commissioners, Macarius and Paulus, to promote unity; their presence provoked massacres which gave the Donatists their most celebrated martyrs (*Passio Maximiani et Isaac*). Constans's *Edict of Unity of 347 ordered confiscation of Donatist property and banishment of clergy (Optatus, II, 15) and the Catholic Council of Carthage (*c.*348) proclaimed a (short-lived) reunion between the two sides.

In 363, the neo-pagan Emperor *Julian (361–3) permitted exiled Donatist clergy to return to Africa. Under the able direction of Parmenian, the Donatist Bishop of Carthage (362–91/2), Donatism outstripped Catholicism in popularity in Africa (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 93). They even established their own bishopric in *Rome. Parmenian emphasized the gift of holiness among the Donatists rather than the worthiness of its clergy (Optatus, II, 9); Augustine in his treatise *Against Parmenian* was to counter this by arguing that the effectiveness of the Sacraments depended not on the holiness of the Donatists but on the holiness of Christ. The secession of the Rogatists and the political revolt of the *usurper *Firmus (372/3–4/5) and a schism at Rome failed to diminish Donatism's dominance. Parmenian even excommunicated the Donatist theologian *Tyconius (*c.*385) for positing the notion that the Church should include sinners as well as saints. His thinking helped the formulation of Augustine's ideas in the *City of God*, and his rules of exegesis, crystallized in Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*, had a formative influence on medieval interpretation of the *Bible.

Donatism's decline began with the primacy of Bishop Primian (391–412). His ruthless tactics facilitated schism (393), seriously weakening Donatist unity. *Aurelius, Catholic Bishop of Carthage (391/392–*c.*431), and Augustine orchestrated councils to revivify the Catholic Church. With Catholic bishops urging state coercion, the Emperor *Honorius declared Donatism a heresy in 405. The Council of Carthage of 411 marked the last great debate between the two sides.

Honorius proscribed Donatism in 412 (*CTh* XVI, 5, 52); crushing penalties forced many conversions, but substantial pockets of resistance remained, especially in Numidia (Augustine, *Gesta cum Emerito*).

The Vandals (430–533) persecuted Donatists and Catholics intermittently but harshly. King *Huneric ordered that only Catholics were to attend the sole church council held in Vandal times (484). Byzantine Africa (533–698) affords glimpses of Donatism in Pope *Gregory I's correspondence and in an anti-Donatist law of *Justinian I (*NovJust* 37, 5, 8). Archaeological research promises new light on Vandal and Byzantine Donatism. JEM

J.-L. Maier, *Le Dossier du Donatisme* (TU 134, 1987 and 135, 1989).

Optatus, *Traité contre les Donatistes*, ed. (annotated with FT) J. Labrousse, 2 vols. (SC 412–13, 1995 and 1996).

Relevant works of Augustine include *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani Libri Tres*, ed. M. Petschenig (CSEL 51, 1908), *De Civitate Dei Libri XXII*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (CCSL 47–8, 1955) *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. K. D. Daur (CCSL 32, 1962), *Letters* 56–100, ed. K. D. Daur (CCSL 35A, 2005), *Gesta cum Emerito Donatistarum Episcopo*, ed. M. Petschenig (CSEL 53, 1910).

ET J. R. King in *S. Augustin: The Writings against the Manichaeans and the Donatists* (NPNF series 1, vol. 4, 1887).

Councils, ed. C. Munier, *Concilia Africae: a. 345–a. 525* (CCSL 149, 1974).

Council of 411, ed. (annotated with FT) S. Lancel, *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, 4 vols. (SC 194–5, 224 and 373, 1972–91).

R. Miles, ed., *The Donatist Schism: Controversy and Contexts* (TTH Contexts 2, 2016).

T. D. Barnes, *CE* (1981), 54–61.

T. D. Barnes, 'The Beginnings of Donatism', *JTS* 26 NS (1975), 13–22, repr. in his *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire*, study VIII.

Brown, *Augustine*, 212–43.

M. Gaddis, *'There is no crime for those who have Christ': Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (TCH 39, 2005), chs. 3–4.

J.-L. Maier, *Le Dossier du Donatisme* (TU 134, 1987 and 135, 1989).

J. E. Merdinger, *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine* (1997).

B. D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (2011).

donative Term used for gifts to Roman soldiers from the *emperor. From the later 3rd century, donatives were given at the *accession of emperors (both *Augusti and *Caesars) and on their five-year *anniversaries. During the 3rd century donatives were large cash payments, with legionaries being given about a year's pay for the accession of a Caesar, more for an Augustus. Auxiliaries were given less, officers more. The *Arras Hoard is an assemblage of multiples received as donatives by a senior officer.

By the mid-4th century, the *accession donative had become standardized for all troops as a pound of *silver and five **solidi*, the anniversary donatives as five *solidi*. These amounts remained unchanged until at least the late 6th century. Minting and issuing these sums was the responsibility of the *Rationalis Rei Summae in the 3rd century and of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum from the reign of *Constantine I onwards. HE

Donatus, Aelius The most influential grammarian of the 4th century, whose pupils included the future S. *Jerome. His two handbooks (*Artes*) attracted many commentators (e.g. *Servius, Cledonius, Pompeius) and dominated grammatical learning in Europe until the emergence of Priscian in the 12th century. The *Ars Minor*, intended for beginners, deals with the eight parts of speech in question-and-answer format; the *Ars Maior* is more comprehensive and includes sections on the 'flaws' and 'virtues' of speech. Donatus also wrote commentaries on Terence and *Vergil. The extant Terence commentary is a much abridged version (lacking *Heautontimoroumenos*), compiled at an unknown date, probably from two sets of marginal scholia in manuscripts of Terence. From the Vergil commentary there survive only the dedicatory epistle, the *Life* of Vergil (drawn from Suetonius), and the introduction to the *Eclogues*. But the 'vulgate' commentary of *Servius contains much material from Donatus, and the augmented version of Servius ('Servius Danielis') still more. RAK

PLRE I, Donatus 3.

HLL 5, section 527.

Kaster, *Guardians*, 275–8.

Artes, ed. L. Holtz (1981).

Comm. on Terence, ed. P. Wessner (1902–5).

Life of Vergil, ed. J. Brummer (1912), ed. G. Hardie (1954).

Donatus, Tiberius Claudius (late 4th/early 5th cent.?) Author of a line-by-line 'interpretation' of *Vergil's *Aeneid* dedicated to his son (missing comment on *Aeneid* 6, 1–157 discovered by Marshall). Donatus disapproved of scholastic methods, and his work is largely independent of the scholastic commentary tradition on Vergil. Devoted to moralizing paraphrase, appreciative rhetorical analysis, and judgements (sometimes striking) on the characters' 'psychology', he knew little of the poem's cultural context yet was certain that it aimed to *praise Aeneas and Augustus. His work embodies the ahistorical sensibility of a conservative ancient reader. RAK

PLRE I, Donatus 4.

HLL, section 614.

ed. H. Georges, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2 vols. (1905–6).

P. K. Marshall, 'Tiberius Claudius Donatus on Virgil Aen. 6, 1–157', *Manuscripta* 37 (1993), 3–20.

donor portraits Persons who financed the building of a church or chapel were often prominently portrayed within that building. Donor portraits formed part of the *mosaic decoration, their prominence depending on the donor's religious and social standing. Lay patrons appear in floor mosaics at the 6th-century Chapel of Priest John, Khirbet al-Mukhayyat (Jordan); a prefect, with the *bishop, is depicted on the walls of S. Demetrius, *Thessalonica; and an episcopal donor appears in the main *apse at S. Euphrasius in *Poreč, accompanied by the saint and presenting a model of the church to Christ. No imperial donor portrait survives from Late Antiquity; the famous mosaics of S. Vitale in *Ravenna showing *Justinian I and his entourage of high office-holders and clergy are not a record of the donor of the church, which was financed by the banker *Julianus Argentarius, commemorated only in *inscriptions. UG

M. Piccirillo, *I mosaici di Giordania: Castello di Malpaga, Cavernago—Bergamo, marzo-giugno 1991* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1991).

A. Terry and H. Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč* (2007).

Ch. Bakirtzis et al., *Mosaics of Thessaloniki: 4th to 14th Century*, tr. A. Doumas (2012).

doors The wooden doors of Late Roman churches, with or without *bronze revetment, were set in *marble or stone frames which were typically moulded and might be inscribed with *prayers or *crosses, or decorated with sculpted *foliage (as at the *baptistery at *Nisibis). *Bronze doors decorated with crosses and imperial *monograms survive at the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople, and wooden doors with biblical scenes at the Church of S. Sabina at *Rome. The wooden doors carved with paradisiacal figures and plants at the *Monastery of Mount *Sinai are surmounted by a quotation carved on the lintel from Psalm 118:117: 'This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it.' Others are described by *Eusebius (*HE* X, 4, 42) at the church of *Tyre and by *Joshua the Stylite (89) at *Edessa. PhN

C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, 'Le porte e gli arredi architettonici in bronzo della Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli', in A. Iacobini, ed., *Le porte del Paradiso* (2009), 81–123.

A. Özügül, 'The Doorframes in Late Antique Period Buildings in Istanbul and its Hinterland', in D. Burcu Erciyas, ed., *Marmara Studies Symposium Proceedings* (2008), 97–114.

J.-M. Spieser, 'Le Programme iconographique des portes de Sainte-Sabine', *Journal des savants* (1991), 47–81.

Dorchester Roman town in Oxfordshire, England, with important evidence for late 4th- and early 5th-century activity. The area has a group of mid-5th-century burials with both late Romano-British official *belt fittings and early *Anglo-Saxon items, and is also the focus of a cluster of early Anglo-Saxon *cemeteries. The juxtaposition of sub-Roman activity around the town and these early cemeteries is intriguing. Dorchester became the seat of Birinus, the first *bishop of the West Saxons, who converted their King Cynegils in AD 635 (*Bede, *HE* III, 7). DAP

P. Booth and M. Henig, *Roman Oxfordshire* (2000), 188–95.

J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (1994), 1–6.

Dorestad (prov. Utrecht, Netherlands) The most important port (*wik* or *emporium*) in continental northern Europe in the early Middle Ages. Situated at the head of the Rhine delta, close to an old Roman fort on the former Rhine *frontier, its activity began during the 7th century, on the initiative of the independent *Frisians, but it developed mainly after the site came under the control of the *Franks at the turn of the 8th century. Its huge *harbour complex, along the banks of the Old Rhine and the Lek, became the main bridgehead for trading relations between its Rhenish hinterland, eastern *Britain, and Scandinavia. But the site was so wealthy that the Vikings raided it on many occasions, and Dorestad never recovered from the last of these sacks in 863. SL

S. Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Âge*, 2 vols. (1983).

W. A. Van Es and W. A. M. Hessing, *Romeinen, Friezen en Franken in het hart van Nederland. Van Traiectum tot Dorestad (50 v. C.–900 n. C.)* (1994).

A. Willemsen, *Dorestad. Een wereldstad in de Middeleeuwen* (2009).

Dorotheus (d. before 542) Antecessor (professor of *law) in *Beirut. In 530–4, he was *Tribonian's collaborator in the compilation of the **Digest*, the *InstIust*, and the *CJust* (second edition). Extracts of his *Greek translation of the *Digest* survive, mainly in scholia to manuscripts of the *Basilica* (a later Byzantine legal compilation). ThEvB

PLRE III, Dorotheus 4.

F. Brandsma, *Dorotheus and his Digest Translation* (1996).

H. J. Scheltema, D. Holwerda, and N. van der Wal, eds., *Basilicorum Libri LX*, Series B, 9 vols. (1953–85).

Dorotheus of Antioch Christian *priest of *Antioch, who knew Hebrew, was a congenital *eunuch, and supervisor of the *purple dye works at *Tyre. *Eusebius of Caesarea heard him preach (*HE* VII, 32, 2–4). Possibly identical with the courtier Dorotheus martyred at the start of the Great *Persecution (*HE* VIII, 1, 4 and VIII, 6, 5). The *Syriac*

Martyrology of 411 lists a Dorotheus as one of nine martyrs at *Nicomedia on 12 March. OPN

PLRE I, Dorotheus 2 and 3.
Barnes, *CE* 192.

Dorotheus of Gaza (6th cent.) A monk in the **coenobium* of Seridus near *Gaza and famous disciple of *Barsanuphius and John. Dorotheus was born *c.*505 in *Antioch and died in his monastery near Gaza in the 560s or 580s. He absorbed the monastic tradition under the guidance of Barsanuphius and John, and also served the latter for nine years. His literary work, as well as his occupation in *medicine, testify to a broad education. At the command of Barsanuphius and John, he became responsible for the *monastery's *hostel, and also agreed to serve as the porter. He established and ran a clinic in the monastery, in which he himself cared for ailing monks, with the assistance of his disciple, Dositheus. Dorotheus had brought his library with him from Antioch; this included medical books, and Barsanuphius encouraged him to make use of them. In a later stage, Dorotheus left the monastery of Seridus and settled in another monastery between Gaza and *Maiuma.

There are four principal historical sources for Dorotheus' life and monastic teaching: his correspondence with Barsanuphius and John through Seridus which includes over 100 *letters; his instructions to his monks; several other letters; and the anonymous *Life of Dositheus* (*BHG* 2117), apparently written by another of Dorotheus' disciples. BBA

ed. (annotated with FT) L. Regnault and J. de Préville, *Dorothée de Gaza: Œuvres spirituelles* (SC 92, 1963).
ET E. P. Wheeler, *Dorotheos of Gaza: Discourses and Sayings* (CSS 33, 1977).
B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (VigChrist supplements 78, 2006).

Dositheus (not before 2nd half of 4th cent.?) Styled 'teacher' (*magister*) in the manuscripts of his work, Dositheus wrote an *Ars Grammatica* in *Latin that was accompanied by a *Greek translation: the handbook was presumably intended for Greek speakers attempting to learn Latin, which would in turn imply that Dositheus was active in the eastern half of the Empire. The handbook's doctrine places it in the grammatical tradition represented most significantly by Charisius. RAK

PLRE I, Dositheus.
Kaster, *Guardians*, 278.
ed. G. Bonnet (with FT and comm., 2005).

dowry and brideprice The two types of marital endowments in Eurasian societies, given or promised at *marriage, to cover the expenses of the common household and to secure the livelihood of the wife should she become a *widow. Providing a dowry, furnished by the bride's family, was the prevalent practice in *Greece, *Italy, and *Egypt to the 4th century. The brideprice (or bridegift, indirect dowry), contributed by the bridegroom's family, appears in Roman sources in the 3rd century, possibly reflecting various provincial usages. Its value increased especially in the 5th century, the brideprice being often included in the dowry. *Justinian I decreed that the dowry and brideprice should be equal, but local differences may have survived. In the post-Roman West, except perhaps Italy, brideprice totally superseded the dowry. The underlying reasons for these developments are unknown, although the new system harmonized with Germanic practice, which knew diverse kinds of endowment only from the bridegroom. In the *Persian Empire, both families contributed assets to the new household. For marriage among *Arabs, brideprice was an essential constituent, part of it going to the bride and part to her father. She might also receive property from her natal family, but there was probably regional and social variation. The influence of Islamic teaching on traditional custom remains controversial. AAr

L. Anné, *Les Rites des fiançailles et la donation pour cause de mariage dans le Bas-Empire* (1941).
Arjava, *Women and Law*, 52–75.
J. Goody, *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive: Systems of Marriage and the Family in the Pre-Industrial Societies of Eurasia* (1990).
M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, 2 vols. (²1972–5), 2, 185–201.

draconarii Bearers of the Roman snake *standard in a range of military formations (*HA, Aurelianus*, 31, 7; *Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 2, 13). Officers' *draconarii* were sometimes instrumental in the *accession of *emperors, using *purple cloth from the standard in the process (*Ammianus, XV, 5, 16; XX, 4, 18). JCNC

M. P. Speidel, 'The Master of the Dragon Standards and the Golden Torc: An Inscription from Prusias and Prudentius' *Peristephanon*', *TAPA* 115 (1985), 283–7.

Dracontius, Blossius Aemilius (*c.*450–after 500) *Latin poet from *Vandal *Carthage who wrote on both *pagan and Christian topics. From a *senatorial family (he was *vir clarissimus*) and prominent (*togatus*) in the law *courts of the *Proconsul of Carthage, his rhetorical training suffuses his entire work. He was an outspoken Catholic, and for *praising someone other than his *Homoean ('*Arian') King *Gunthamund (484–96) as *dominus* he was imprisoned, being released eventually by *Thrasamund (496–524). His Christian works both date from his incarceration: *Satisfactio* is chiefly an appeal for regal clemency, *De Laudibus Dei* (three books) is a full but somewhat discouraged

account of the poet's faith. Book I was edited separately by *Eugenius of *Toledo as a **hexaemeron* and issued together with the *Satisfactio*. Pagan poems (the incomplete *Romulea* and the *Orestis Tragoedia*) from every stage of his career, including after his release from *prison, comprise rhetorical exercises, epithalamia, and miniature *epics on familiar myths (Hylas, Helen, Medea, Orestes). Each of the latter contains significant innovations of plot and characterization, which many attribute to a Christian perspective, showing wide knowledge of both *Greek and Latin sources and pervasive influence of the dramatic tradition, especially Seneca. DFB

PLRE II, Dracontius 2.
PCBE I, Dracontius.
HLL, section 787.
CPL 1509–14:
ed. F. Vollmer, *Blossii Aemilii Dracontii Carmina* (MGH Auct. Ant. 15, 1905).
ed. J. Bouquet and E. Wolff, *Œuvres*, vols. 1–2; ed. C. Moussy, vols. 3–4 (annotated, with FT; 1985–96).
ed. M. St. Margaret (annotated, with ET), *Dracontii Satisfactio* (1936).
D. F. Bright, *The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa* (1987).
D. Romano, *Studi draconziani* (1959).

dragons *See* STANDARDS, MILITARY AND *DRACONARII*.

drama and dance The Attic plays of Classical Greece entwined drama and dance through the performance of masked actors and dancing choruses. Under the Roman Empire, the regular presentation of theatrical shows and the rise of the pantomime reconnected drama and dance in new and interesting ways.

The pantomime *actor (Lat. *histrio*) performed a rhythmic dance with body movements and gestures that served to mimic the emotions of the same established characters from mythology and history as had inspired ancient drama (Wüst 1949). While the accompanying chorus supplied musical rhythm and contextual narrative through song, the pantomime's unvoiced dance held the key to the entire act (cf. *Libanius, *Oration*, 64, 88). Yet the audience also needed to know which historical or mythological character he was impersonating at the time. *Augustine (*De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 25) claims that a *histrio*'s movements and gestures cannot be understood without a herald who would first announce the theme and character. Ancient authors recognized the close link between dance and pantomimes who put on *dramatis personae* when they refer to pantomimes as dancers (Gk. ὀρχησταί and, less commonly, Lat. *saltatores*). Not all stage dancers were pantomimes—*thymelicae*, for instance, were a type of dancing girls—but a special status was claimed for the pantomime's dance.

Just as the Attic plays of Classical Greece had competed in the City Dionysia, so pantomimes participated in sacral competition (Gk. *agones*) and stood to win crowns of victory as well as prizes. Some pantomimes even claimed to practise the tragedic art through their rhythmic dance. Apologists such as Lucian of Samosata, in his *On the Dance* (*c.*160), defended such dance as being equal in nobility to the performances of past tragedic and comedic actors, just as Libanius of Antioch, who calls pantomimes ὀρχησταί (*Oration*, 64, *On Behalf of the Dancers*), pointedly rejected *Aelius Aristides' belittling of their craft. The pantomimes' dance modulated from subtle registers, revealed through eye movements and fine hand motions, to bold leaps, twists, and turns. Accordingly, pantomimes had to undergo dedicated physical training, akin to that which Greek youths traditionally received in the gymnasium, to bring them to a level of athleticism comparable to that of modern male ballet dancers (Webb, 66–9).

Philosophical moralists had long accused pantomimes of corrupting the morals of their audience through sinuous dancing and the impersonation of female characters. Christian critics such as *John Chrysostom (*Patriarch of *Constantinople 398–404) and *Joshua the Stylite (28 and 46) and *Jacob of Serugh in 6th-century *Syria continued to condemn pantomimes' evocative dance as incitement to fornication and adultery, while at the same time berating them for redramatizing in their acts pagan mythological themes, including those related to divine adultery. RLi

RE 18 (1949) *s.v.* pantomimus, cols. 833–69 (E. Wüst).
K. M. D. Dunbabin, 'The Pantomime Theonoe on a Mosaic from Zeugma', *JRA* 23 (2010), 413–26.
M.-H. Garelli, *Danser le mythe: la pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique* (2007).
E. J. Jory, 'The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of the Imperial Pantomime', in W. J. Slater, ed., *Roman Theater and Society* (1996), 1–35.
V. Malineau, 'La Representation des pantomimes victorieux dans l'antiquité tardive', *Travaux et recherches de l'Université de Marne-la-Vallée* 10 (2004), 113–34.
M. E. Molloy, *Libanius and the Dancers* (1996).
L. Robert, 'Pantomimen im griechischen Orient', *Hermes* 65 (1930), 106–22.
C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (JRS monograph 6, 1993).
R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performances in Late Antiquity* (2008).

draught animals Muscle power for heavy labour was provided by animals. They pulled ploughs, threshing sledges, carts, and wagons (**reda*, **angaria*). Harness animals also performed numerous repetitive tasks involving rotary power: they turned millstones to grind *grain or crush ore, lifted water using wheels,

and powered capstans used to raise heavy loads. Another common task for which animals provided power was the lifting of loads using pulleys; this was a common task in *quarrying or mining as well as in raising water. In Arabia, the pulley-lifted waterskin called *delu* was raised by *camels pulling on a rope attached to a pulley and trip which emptied the waterskin; the animal was then backed up to the wellhead and the process repeated.

The most common draught animal was the ox. In parts of North *Africa, dromedaries were used to pull ploughs and to lift water. *Horses were less used for these purposes because they are smaller, but they were much used in land transport and former scholarly doubt about Romans having the technology to harness horses for draught purposes has been largely dispelled. Mules were especially important; they were prized for their high endurance and ability to tolerate coarser food than finer Mediterranean horse breeds. Donkeys were commonly used to pull carts with light loads, while mules drew wagons with heavier burdens, as in the depiction from Late Antique *Edessa of a mule being driven over a hapless pig (Daux, fig. 1). MD

K. F. Kitchell, *Animals in the Ancient World from A to Z* (2014).

G. Daux, 'Notes de lecture', *BCH* 94/2 (1970), 595–623.

dreams and dream interpretations The images, stories, and sensations experienced during sleep, and the explanation of their meaning. The idea that dreams were sent to humans from the gods, *demons, or the dead and were thus communications of esoteric knowledge was extremely ancient and continued to be influential in Late Antiquity, when dreams were exploited and circulated as sources of prophecy and wisdom by *pagans, *Jews, and *Christians.

For pagans, overnight incubation at a sanctuary, especially one associated with a healing god like Asclepius, could stimulate dreams of oracular and therapeutic significance. An entire science of dream interpretation was articulated by authors such as Artemidorus. A Jewish magical text reveals that *angels were believed to be in charge of dreaming, and requests their help in the interpretation of dreams (*Sepher Ha-Razim*, 2, 209–40).

For Christians, dreaming was variously a source of healing, instruction, or demonic influence. The practice of incubation was transferred to Christian shrines, where saints like S. *Thecla were thought to perform healing miracles through dreams. Biblical and noncanonical literature was rich in prophetic dreams, from those of Pharaoh and Jacob, to the visions reported in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and God was still believed to communicate through dreams in Late Antiquity, as exemplified by Constantine I's experience (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 44, 5; *Eusebius, *VCon* 1, 29). Some Christian texts even contained dream-narratives accompanied by interpretations, as for example S. *Perpetua's vision of her imminent *martyrdom. However, Christian attitudes to dreams were often ambivalent. Tertullian explained that dreams could derive from demons, God, or the soul itself; identifying a dream's origin was key to interpreting its significance (*De Anima*, 47). *Gregory the Great suggested that dreams could be stimulated variously by the stomach, illusion, thought, and revelation (*Dialogues*, 4, 50).

The fear that some dreams were sent by evil demons is vividly expressed in stories about *holy men and women being tempted by sinful, often erotic, temptations in their dreams. The use of dreams to divine the future was controversial because it tapped into broader Christian and secular political anxieties about *divination and magical practices. Although belief in the reliability and morality of dream interpretation was patchy, texts offering interpretations of particular and general dreams continued to be circulated and commented on by pagans, Christians, and Muslims in Late Antiquity, from *Macrobius' *Commentary on Cicero's Dream of Scipio*, to Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*. SJL-R

ed. (with ET and comm.) D. E. Harris-McCoy, *Artemidorus's Oneirocritica* (2012).

P. Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (1997).

N. Lewis, *Dreams and Portents in Antiquity* (1996).

L. Martin, 'Artemidorus: Dream Theory in Latin Antiquity', *The Second Century* 8 (1991), 97–108.

M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources* (2002).

S. R. F. Price, 'The Future of Dreams from Freud to Artemidorus', in R. Osborne, ed. *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society* (2004), 226–59.

D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming* (1999).

C. Stewart, 'Dreams and Desires in Ancient and Early Christian Thought', in D. Pick and L. Roper, eds., *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis* (2004), 37–56.

C. Stewart, 'Ritual Dreams and Historical Orders: Incubation between Paganism and Christianity', in D. Shankland, ed., *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia* (2004), 31–53.

dress, barbarian The dress of the principal tribal confederacies—*Anglo-Saxons, *Franks, *Alamans, *Burgundians, *Visigoths, and *Vandals—who occupied the former territory of the shrinking Roman Empire in the West was marked in the 5th century by some basic common garments. Men wore a comparatively tight-fitting shirt with long narrow sleeves, constrained at the waist by a *belt with a sometimes

flamboyant buckle and, below that, *trousers, supported by a belt. The outermost garment was a rectangular cloak, secured on the right shoulder with a brooch. The convention for women was an ankle-length bodice with long tight sleeves, over which a sleeveless tube-like tunic was worn, girdled, the upper edges pinned together on the shoulders with a pair of matching brooches, between which hung a string of beads. Clusters of metal objects such as chatelaines were suspended from the girdle.

By the 6th century the fibulate tunic had been replaced by a sleeved tunic sewn at the shoulder. A cloak might be draped round the shoulders, held together at the waist by brooches. The ensemble was completed by a bonnet or *veil over the hair and stockings. The evidence for the above comes largely from the *textile scraps adhering to metal brooches and furnishings in graves, principally of the barbarian warrior *aristocracy from the period of the *Barbarian Migrations. Garments were of wool (often twill), linen or, for the elite, imported *silk, even cotton and rabbit wool. Fur, too, played a role. Tablet-woven braid trimmings were popular, and pleated linen and ribbed wool tunics and cloaks enhanced appearance for both sexes. It is clear that there was great fashion diversity at a regional level reflecting ethnic or tribal identity and social class. *Anglo-Saxon graves in England and the *Frankish royal tombs in *Paris demonstrate that clearly. Trends were much influenced by Mediterranean fashion, but also directly from the East: the Persian open riding coat was worn by some leading males. Romans in turn adopted barbarian clothing, such as long trousers (the wearing of which in the *city of *Rome was forbidden by laws of 397 and 399: *CTh* XIV, 10, 2–3). JPW

P. W. Rogers, *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England AD 450–700* (2007).

R. Windler and A. Rast-Eicher, *Ein Gräberfeld des 5.–7. Jahrhunderts bei Flaach* (Zürcher Archäologie 29, 2012), 79–87.

dress, Persian (MP *jāmag* or *paymōg*) Persian dress was broadly similar to that of other Iranian peoples and was especially suited to riding *horses. Most primary source evidence for Persian dress comes from the visual arts, especially from *rock reliefs. It consisted of loose-fitting *trousers, boots, and a knee-length tunic that was bound with a *belt (*kamar*). A heavy caftan, crossed at the chest, could be worn belted. In 3rd- and 4th-century representations, the tunic appears squared off at the bottom. From the late 4th century, the lower hem is rounded. Ornamental and figural *textile motifs become prominent around the 6th and 7th centuries, as is apparent at *Taq-e Bostan. Early reliefs and *seals portray members of the *aristocracy wearing domed or pointed hats (*kulāf*) with their heraldic symbols (*nīšān*) on the side, often bound with diadems. Nobles were given the right to wear *silk and *jewellery. Women's dress consisted of long, flowing, sleeved or sleeveless tunics. They were worn belted under the breasts with a long cloak worn over the left shoulder or used as a veil. Clothing was an important element in royal *gift-giving. It also marked social rank, as did jewellery, and textiles and their motifs. The king bestowed clothing and jewellery as a mark of distinction on those he desired to honour and presented his own robes to especially favoured family and courtiers (Jahiz, 173). MPC

EncIran V/7 *s.v.* clothing iv. In the Sasanian period, 739–52 (Peck).

dress, Roman, civilian, official *Vergil calls Romans the *gens togata*, the toga-wearing people (*Aeneid*, I, 282; cf. *Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, VI, 5, 15). The **toga picta*, the especial vestment of the *consul, was shown on *ivory *diptychs until the end of the consulate in 540. The ordinary toga was still worn as formal dress in the late 4th century; indeed *senators were required to wear it to meetings of the *Senate at *Constantinople, although they were permitted to adopt the **colobium* (a tunic, often sleeveless) and *paenula* (a sleeveless topcoat, the ancestor of the modern Christian chasuble) as everyday dress (*CTh* XIV, 10, 1 of 382).

Study of statues suggests that the toga remained a frequent style of dress chosen by civilian notables who were having their portaits carved until the latter part of the 4th century. Sometimes such statues would be reused, in which case they depicted the old-style baggier type of toga with its more plunging neckline and ample *sinus* (fold). But in the *cities of the East from *c.*388/92 onwards a new style of toga become common for members of the imperial *aristocracy. It is to be seen on statues from *Aphrodisias and is also worn by the men of the imperial *family on the *Obelisk Base of *Theodosius I in the *Circus at *Constantinople. The new style of toga was more tightly fitting than the traditional style; about half of the 60 or so surviving statues are of the new style, but only two examples of the new style are known from the West, both from the Esquiline in *Rome (LSA 1068 and 169). It seems to have been worn by those who held office under the *emperor or those, now **honorati*, who had previously done so; it therefore distinguished such men from normal civic notables, who were more likely to be portrayed wearing the *himation*.

The toga was a civilian garment. Officials in both the civilian and the military *administration also wore the *chlamys, in origin a form of military cloak. Senators were explicitly forbidden to wear it in Constantinople on account of its military associations (*CTh* XIV, 10, 1

of 382), just as the wearing of trousers and other barbarian dress was forbidden in Rome (*CTh* XIV, 10, 2–3). The chlamys was however commonly worn by civilian officials in the form of a very long mantle reaching from the shoulder nearly to the ankles, open down the right-hand side and held in place by a clasp. This permitted the right arm to be extended in the normal Roman *hand gesture for a man making a speech—*Ammianus writing of *Valentinian I being interrupted when about to make a speech says, 'bracchium exsortante', 'he was just getting his arm out' (XXVI, 2, 3). The opening also drew attention to the *tablion, the large rectangle of coloured cloth sewn onto the open edge at about waist height, visible on the chlamyses shown on the David Plates of the *Cyprus Treasures, on those of Pontius Pilate and other officials in the *Rossano Gospels, and on those in the *mosaic of *Justinian I and his *court at S. Vitale in *Ravenna. At S. Vitale the chlamys of Justinian is *purple with a gold tablion; that of the two high offcials next to him is white with a purple tablion. Parts of about twenty statues of men wearing chlamyses survive.

Also visible on the S. Vitale mosaic are the distinctive sandals, the *compagi* of the imperial aristocracy, apparently similar to those described by *John Lydus in his confused account of Early Roman history as being worn by the first Fathers of the Roman state (*Mag.* I, 17—a passage in which he also says that they wore the chlamys; cf. I, 32). The *Chronicon Paschale* describes chlamyses and *compagi* being worn by those who on every anniversary of the birthday of Constantinople on 11 May brought a wooden statue of *Constantine I into the circus for the emperor of the day to venerate (ad ann. AD 330).

*Belts, sometimes with *gold or jewelled clasps, were also worn by office-holders of all ranks from the emperor down to **apparitors* (ushers). OPN

R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016), esp. chs. 1 and 22.

H. R Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990).

J.-P. Callu, 'L'Habit et l'ordre social: le témoinage de l'*Histoire Auguste*', *AntTard* 12 (2004), 187–94.

dress, Roman, military The standard military uniform, as detailed by the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (19, 1a and 2; 22, 1a and 2), consisted of a *strictoria* (Grk. *στίχη*, *στιχάριον*) and a *chlamys. Clothing levy documents from *Egypt add a **pallium*. The *strictoria* was a knee-length shirt in wool or linen with long tight sleeves, worn with a *belt. The simplest style incorporated **clavi* of varying length, tapestry-woven panels (**segmenta*) on the shoulders and at knee level, and stripes at the wrist. Later *strictoriae* carry a single central *clavus* and decorative neck yoke. The chlamys was a half-moon cloak with tapestry panels, secured on the right shoulder with a crossbow or disc brooch. The rectangular *pallium* may have served as an undress cloak—or a blanket.

Rank was indicated by the design, costliness, and number of the decorative elements in the garment and by the quality of its weave and the dyestuffs used: pure white nonetheless was highly regarded. The precise criteria governing the dress code cannot be recovered, but clearly elaborate brooches and *belt buckles played a pivotal role. Cross-cultural influences had a marked impact on military clothing, especially in the East. The Persian riding coat with its false sleeves and *silk-trimmed borders was commonly adopted. Long *trousers of various types had long shed their barbarian image to become staple military attire. Headgear included the fez-like pilleus and hooded scarf (*maphor(t)ium*). On campaign a padded arming doublet ('thoracomachus') was worn under armour. Mindful of the need to clothe the troops, emperors instituted clothing levies on the whole population, at first by requisition, then as *taxation in kind, and ultimately in cash, to supplement the output of the **gynaecea*. JPW

M.-L. Nosch, ed., *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times* (2012).

J. A. Sheridan, *Columbia Papyrus IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex* (1998).

G. Sumner, *Roman Military Dress* (2009).

dress, Roman and post-Roman By the late 3rd century the restrained clothing fashions of the Early Roman period had given way to richer, more florid styles: garment form, moreover, had been much influenced by contact with Celts, Germans, Parthians, and Persians. Information on everyday as opposed to elite dress, however, is not abundant, since art, literature, and cemetery archaeology are all concerned more with the well-to-do.

The principal garment for both sexes was a very loose-fitting tunic (*dalmatica*) with short wide sleeves, decorated with **clavi* front and back. Usually of wool, it was woven in one piece on a wide loom. Ankle-length for women, and eventually for men, too, there was a short male version (**colobium*). Also in vogue was a wide-fitting shirt (*strictoria, sticharion*) in wool or linen, with long tight sleeves, often (but not always) embellished with *clavi*, tapestry panels (**segmenta*) on the shoulders, and wrist bands. (The archaeological record indicates that between the two poles of *dalmatica* and *strictoria* there were numerous types of tunic with hybrid features.) When shirts were of linen, they might be assembled by a tailor from three or more sections that had been woven together on the loom. The shirt was worn by males with a *belt and metal buckle, and a waist tuck was stitched in place surprisingly often to adjust the overall length. It might also be worn under the dalmatic by either sex.

Outer garb for men and women was a rectangular cloak (**pallium*) with a gamma-shaped tapestry-woven motif in each corner: men might alternatively sport a hooded wool cape (*paenula, caracalla, birrus*). A variety of headgear could be chosen by women, including caps plaited in sprang technique, *veils, and *maphor(t)ia* (part hood, part scarf). Children wore scaled-down versions of adult attire, often made from worn-out cloaks. (Clothing recycling was practised at every level.) The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict provides maximum prices for many of these garments,

Specific occupations and activities were associated with particular dress, as can be seen in Late Antique art. In the countryside farmworkers wore a short, long-sleeved belted shirt, topped by a shoulder-length hooded *cucullus*. Leggings (*ocreae*) protected their calves and *leather mittens (*manicilia*) their hands. *Aristocrats out *hunting and their servants are shown in brightly decorated *strictoriae*, with cross-gartering on their legs. Charioteers competing in the *circus streamlined their shirts with bands wrapped tightly round their chests. Christian clergy defined their hierarchy by a strict dress code, in which some form of hooded cape was a common denominator. Late Roman society was acutely aware of the power of dress: the **Theodosian Code* and later imperial enactments strove to restrain those who infringed contemporary dress conventions.

JPW

A. T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (2000).
H. Granger-Taylor, 'The Two Dalmatics of Saint Ambrose?', *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre International d'Étude des Textiles Anciens* 57–8 (1983), 127–73.
M. Harlow, 'Female Dress, Third–Sixth Century: The Messages in the Media', *AntTard* 12 (2004), 203–15.
P. Linscheid, *Frühbyzantinische textile Kopfbedeckungen. Typologie, Verbreitung, Chronologie und soziologischer Kontext nach Originalfunden* (2011).
F. Pritchard, *Clothing Culture: Dress in Egypt in the First Millennium AD* (2006).

Droctulf (Droctulft) (d. after 606) *Paul the *Deacon transcribed the (lost) *epitaph of Droctulf (*CIL* XI, 319). His career epitomizes the confusion of later 6th century *Italy. Droctulf had *Alamannic/*Suebic roots, was brought up at the *Lombard court, became a *Dux, then defected to the Byzantines, for whom, in *c.*584, he regained Classis, the port of *Ravenna, from *Faroald I, Dux of *Spoleto, soon after contesting (as a Dux) control of fortresses against King *Authari's forces. In 587 he fought against *Avars near *Sirmium (*Theophylact Simocatta, II, 17, 9–11). *Gregory the Great recommended him to the *Exarch of *Carthage (*Registrum*, IX, 9). He died in Ravenna, and was buried in the Church of S. Vitale, his *patron saint (*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, III, 18–19). NJC

PCBE II/2, Drocton.
PLRE IIIA, Droctulfus 1.
Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 72–3, n. 19.

dromon (Gk. racer; 'for they can attain great speed': *Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 11) Most ancient authors used this term for any type of galley. In Late Antiquity, a *dromon* was a single-banked galley developed from the classical light ship types like the **keles* and **lembos*. It exemplified a new preference for speed over size, usually lacked a waterline ram, and carried a lateen sail. Government *dromones* of this sort were stationed at *Constantinople to carry messengers (*John Malalas, XVIII, 90). This type of ship came to be the *monoremes* or *galeae*.

The medieval Byzantine *dromon* (e.g. *De cer*. II, 45) was a different, two-banked version, more directly descended from the **liburna*. It is first mentioned in the early 6th century. 'One hundred armed ships and as many *dromones* and 8,000 soldiers' took part in a raid on *Tarentum in 508 (*Marcellinus Comes, *Chron*. ad ann. 508) and imperial *dromones* fought the *usurper *Vitalian in the *Bosporus in 515 (John Malalas, XVI, 16). The fleet of 92 fast *dromones* with single banks of oars manned by 2,000 rowers protected from missiles by decking over their heads which was employed by *Belisarius to protect his troop transports during the African campaign of 534 had, however, only single banks of oars (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 11, 15–16). The *dromon* developed further up into the 9th century and came in a variety of sizes, ranging from 100 to 200 rowers. The later versions relied on *artillery (e.g. the *siphon*) and marines as their offensive complement.

ALB

A. Dain, *Naumachica Partim Adhuc Inedita* (1943).
Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*.
Pryor and Jeffreys, *Age of the Dromon*.

druids Religious figures in Celtic-speaking societies. Before Late Antiquity, they were portrayed in Classical sources as influential in Gaulish and British society, involved in sacrificial rites, judging disputes, and religious interpretation, having undertaken lengthy oral-based studies, but no conclusively associated archaeological evidence has been found for them. The word druid (Lat. plur. *druidae, druides*, Gk. plur. *druidai*, Old Irish sg. *druí*, plur. *druíd*) is probably Celtic, meaning 'people knowledgeable about the oak', a tree associated with them. By the 2nd century AD the druids were banned, ostensibly because they practised human *sacrifice, but possibly also for fomenting rebellion. In Late Antiquity, earlier portrayals of druids were often repeated. When referring to more recent events, the druids are depicted not as high-status individuals but as men or women in the countryside offering

prophecies about prominent figures. Druidism died out as Christianity spread, but in 7th- and 8th-century *Ireland the druids still had legal status, albeit reduced, and some *magic powers, and are depicted positively and ambivalently, as well as negatively in *saints' lives and tales. NJE

Koch, *Celtic Culture*, vol. 2, 611–15 *s.v.* druids.
N. K. Chadwick, *The Druids* (1966).
S. Piggott, *The Druids* (1975).
A. Ross, 'Ritual and the Druids', in Green, *Celtic World*, 423–44.
Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (1988).

ducenarius *See* CENTENARIUS, DUCENARIUS AND TITLES OF HONOUR, ROMAN.

Dunhuang City in Gansu province, *China, located in an oasis on the eastern edge of the *Tarim basin, where two branches of the *Silk Road join at the entrance to the Hexi Corridor. Originally established during the Han dynasty, Dunhuang variously came under Chinese, Tibetan, and *Uighur Turkic rule. Its location made it an important commercial centre and *Buddhist pilgrimage site.

The city is best known for the nearby Mogao Caves ('Caves of the Thousand Buddhas'), constructed between the 4th and 14th centuries. Here, more than 40,000 manuscripts, along with thousands of wall paintings, sculptures, paintings on *silk and paper, printed texts, and *textiles, were discovered in the early 20th century. Most are now in London or Paris, with smaller collections in Beijing, St Petersburg, and Kyoto.

The manuscripts, dating from the 5th to 11th centuries, reveal a variety of languages (Chinese, *Khotanese, Sanskrit, *Sogdian, Tangut, Tibetan, Uighur *Turkic, and others), religions (Buddhism, Christianity, Daoism, *Manichaeism, and *Zoroastrianism), and genres (religious, philosophical, biographical, historical, literary, lexical, economic, medical, and others). Important texts discovered include Chinese hymns and prayers (including the 'Fragment Pelliot'), Manichaean prayers, hymns, and other texts in Sogdian, and Uighur Turkic (including the *Xuastvanift*), the earliest extant printed book (868), a Chinese translation of the Buddhist *Diamond Sutra*, and the so-called *Jesus Sutras*, Chinese Christian texts utilizing Buddhist and Daoist terms. MLD

EncIran (2015) *s.v.* Dunhuang; (2015) *s.v.* International Dunhuang Project (S. Whitfield).
Journal Asiatique 269 (1981): *Manuscrits et inscriptions de haute Asie du Ve au XIe siècle*.
A. Cadonna, ed., *Turfan and Tun-huang, the Texts* (1992).
R. E. Emmerick et al., eds., *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang* (1996).
P. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (1980).
L. Russell-Smith, *Uygur patronage in Dunhuang* (2005).
S. Whitfield and F. Wood, eds., *Dunhuang and Turfan* (1996).

Dura Europus *City on the west bank of the middle *Euphrates, commanding a point where a desert route between *Palmyra and southern *Mesopotamia crossed the river. From the time of the Roman–Parthian wars of the 160s until it was abandoned following its capture by the Persians in 256/7, Dura was an important outpost of the eastern Roman *frontier. The abandonment of the site to the sands of the desert made possible extensive archaeological investigation in the 20th century.

Dura occupies a height overlooking a bend in the Euphrates with *wadis* (seasonal rivers) to north and south. The walls on the western, desert side were some 3 m (*c.*10 feet) thick, and were provided with 26 towers; the principal *city gate, the Palmyra Gate in the middle of the western walls, was protected by bastions, a shrine to the city's Tyche, and a stela sacred to Nemesis. The camp of the garrison was at the north end of the city; the residence of the garrison commander (Dux Ripae) and the citadel overlooked the river. The city was laid out in rectangular blocks, capable of housing about 5,000 people. It boasted a forum, *baths, and an amphitheatre and was made a *colonia*, probably in the early 3rd century.

Coins and a great variety of *inscriptions and *papyrus documents both in *Latin and *Greek, and also in *Syriac, Palmyrene, Parthian, and Middle *Persian, illustrate the cosmopolitan cultural, linguistic, and religious life of the city and of its garrison. A *map drawn on a *leather shield-cover shows roads around the Black Sea with place names in Greek. Records concerning an imperial *estate near Dura and commercial documents in both Greek and Syriac have been recovered. An inscription in Greek on an *altar in the *temple sacred to the civic divinities (Lat. Fortuna; Gk. Tyche) of Dura and Palmyra records a dedication to the Palmyrene god Iarlibhol by a military officer with a Latin name serving in the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum. There were several temples of Zeus worshipped under various epithets including Olympius and Dolichenus. A temple of the Semitic goddess Aphlad, erected by an association of *merchants from Anatha, an island-fortress further down the Euphrates, was restored after an *earthquake in 160. A papyrus roll from the garrison *archives, housed in the Temple of Artemis-Azzanathkona, provides a calendar (the *Feriale Duranum*) in *Latin of the official religious and other annual *festivals celebrated by the garrison.

Private houses were converted to provide for congregations with distinctive religious beliefs. The Mithraeum is first attested in a bilingual Greek and Palmyrene inscription of AD 168/9 and was twice considerably enlarged. The construction of the *synagogue, just inside the western walls, is dated by an Aramaic inscription to AD 244/5, and a Greek inscription names its founder as 'Samuel, son of Eiddeos, *presbyteros* of the Jews'. There

are *graffiti in the synagogue in both Greek and Aramaic, as well as a few in Persian languages, and parchment fragments preserve a Hebrew liturgical text. The famous figurative wall paintings of the Exodus, Elijah, Samuel, Solomon, and other scenes from Jewish history are now in the National Museum at Damascus. The sanctuary of the Christian building, also adapted from a private house just inside the western wall, could hold around 100 worshippers. The remains of the wall paintings from the *baptistery are now at Yale University; the scenes they show have been identified as coming from both the Old and New Testaments. There are a few inscriptions, mostly in Greek, one mentioning a date equivalent to AD 232/3.

After a brief Persian occupation in 253/4 (from which fragments of Middle *Persian documents survive), the *Sasanian King *Shapur I captured Dura violently from the Romans in 256/7. The attackers undermined the walls in several places; the defenders dug down to meet them, but near Tower 19, at the south end of the western wall, they were overwhelmed underground. The Romans blocked their entrance in panic, and the Persians fired their side of the mine, probably using naphtha and sulphur: eighteen Roman soldiers were trapped, suffocated, and burned. After the capture of Dura, the Romans retreated from the middle Euphrates. When the Emperor *Julian's army passed through in 363 the city was deserted, except for the tomb of Gordian III (*Ammianus, XXIII, 5, 8; *Zosimus, III, 14, 2). ACFC; OPN

TIB 15/2 *Syria* (2015) *s.n.* Dura-Eurōpos, 1116–21.
Millar, *RNE* 131–3, 162–3, 467–71.
W. Ball, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire* (2000), 191–7.
P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, and A. R. Bellinger, eds., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report* I–IX/2 (1929–46).
A. R. Bellinger et al., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, including: R. Pfister and L. Bellinger, IV/2 *The Textiles* (1945).
C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink, and J. F. Gilliam, V/1 *Inscriptions, Parchments, and Papyri* (1959).
A. R. Bellinger, VI *The Coins* (1949).
S. James, VII *The Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment* (2010).
C. H. Kraeling, VIII/1 *The Synagaogue* (augmented edn. 1979).
C. H. Kraeling, VIII/2 *The Christian Building* (1967).
ed (with ET and comm.) R. O. Fink, A. S. Hooey, and W. S. Snyder, 'The Feriale Duranum', *YaleClassSt* 7 (1940), 1–222.
F. Cumont, 'The Dura Mithraeum', in J. R. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* (1975), vol. 1, 151–214; and E. D. Francis, 'Mithraic Graffiti from Dura-Europos', *Mithraic Studies*. vol. 2, 424–45.
J. Gutmann, ed., *The Dura-Europus Synagogue: A Re-evaluation* (1973).
K. L. Schenk, 'Temple, Community, and Sacred Narrative in the Dura-Europus Synagogue', *AJS Review* 34/2 (2010).
M. Peppard, *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria* (2016).

Durostorum (Dorostolon, mod. Silistra, Bulgaria) Roman *city and fortress in *Moesia Inferior on the Danube, important during the 3rd-century invasions of *Goths and *Sarmatians, visited by *Diocletian during inspections of the *frontier and by *Valens in 367 between periods residing at nearby *Marcianopolis.

According to *Jerome, the *martyr S. Aemilianus was burned at Durostorum under *Julian as punishment for overturning pagan *altars (*Chron*. 243a Helm). Legends of a dozen earlier *martyrs also associated with Durostorum include that of S. Dasius, whose surviving Passion (*BHG* 491) with its picturesque account of the *Saturnalia must post-date 381. The first attested *bishop, *Auxentius of Durostorum, was a foster-son of the missionary-bishop *Ulfillas.

The general *Aëtius was born at Durostorum (*Jordanes, 176). *Justinian I rebuilt the fortress (*Procopius, *Aed*. IV, 7. 10); it was sacked by the *Avars in 586 (*Theophylact Simocatta, I, 8, 10), and embroiled in *Priscus' campaigns against the *Slavs in 593 (Theophylact Simocatta, VI, 6, 5).

Archaeological work since the early 20th century has revealed the late 3rd-century fortress, a 2nd-century public *bath, a late 3rd-century aristocratic *tomb that contained a chariot, and a painted tomb dated to the mid-4th century. ECD; OPN

TIR L 35 (1969), 40.
BHG 491: ed. (with GT and comm.) R. Pillinger (1988).
R. Ivanov, G. Atanasov, and P. Donevski, *History of Silistra*, vol. 1: *Ancient Durostorum* (2006).
G. Atanasov, *The Christian Durostorum-Drastar/ Християнският дуросторум дръстър* (2007).

Dust Veil of 536 An atmospheric phenomenon described in a number of written sources, the exact cause, duration, extent, and effects of which are debated. The event was consistently described as a dimming of the Sun for a period between one year and eighteen months. *Cassiodorus associated it with prolonged cold and drought, resulting in crop failures in *Italy. *Procopius of *Caesarea, at that time in the centre of the Mediterranean basin, also noted the phenomenon, while other sources recorded food shortages in *Ireland and northern Italy. Further east, *Zacharias Rhetor, *John Lydus, and sources reliant upon *John of *Ephesus report the souring of *wine and destruction of produce in the area of *Constantinople and Asia Minor, in conjunction with an observed dimming of the sun.

Dendrochronological evidence from northern Europe and North America points to a period of reduced growth between *c.*536 and *c.*550.

However, the chronological imprecision of these indicators and the lack of archaeological evidence makes it difficult to assess the material impact of the event. Maximal interpretations of the dust veil have seen it as a major climatic event, linked to dislocations across northern Eurasia, and as a causal antecedent of the Justinianic *Plague. More minimal interpretations have emphasized both the regional nature of the literary evidence and the inconclusiveness of the physical indicators, arguing that the event caused only a transitory disruption to a society inured to intermittent *famines. SSF

A. Arjava, 'The Mystery Cloud of 536 CE in the Mediterranean Sources', *DOP* 59 (2005), 73–94.
M. G. L. Baillie, 'Dendrochronology Raises Questions about the Nature of the AD 536 Dust-Veil Event', *The Holocene* 4/2 (1994), 212–17.
D. C. Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics* (2004), 265–9.

Dux Commander of Roman *armies in *frontier *provinces. The formal rank emerged as *Diocletian increasingly separated civil and military responsibilities in provinces, a development completed by *Constantine I. *Duces* commanded forces which came to be known as **limitanei*. The remit of individual *duces* sometimes encompassed a number of provinces, but in problematic regions such as *Isauria and *Tripolitania civil and military powers might remain combined (under a *Comes or *Praeses). *Duces* were lower in status than *Magistri Militum, and from at least the 360s were subordinate to them. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists twelve ducates in the West and thirteen in the East; the latter had increased to seventeen by *Leo I's reign, with further additions under *Justinian I, who also re-established them in *Africa and *Italy following the reconquest.

In post-Roman societies the Dux was a superior leader with command over a large region. Typically he had charge over several counties, usually in a border *province. The office and title is found in *Francia (e.g. the Duchy of *Dentelin in the far north in the late 6th cent.), *Lombard *Italy, and *Visigothic *Spain. The Dux was principally a military leader with responsibility for defending the borders of his territory, but where larger kingdoms were formed out of smaller units, the Dux could have a command over what had once been a *frontier region but had become an internal division. The Dux of Champagne was such a figure. As a military leader in what were highly militarized societies, the Dux was close to the king in the political hierarchy, and the office was associated with political as well as military leadership. Some Duces were also termed 'princes' (*principes*) and several challenged for the throne. *Julian of Toledo's *Historiae Wambae* written in Visigothic Spain in the late 7th century shows at least three Duces on different sides in a rebellion in which one of them aimed to become king and another to create an independent statelet. From soon after their arrival in 568, Lombard rule in Italy was exercised by Duces of *Friuli, *Spoleto, and *Benevento who were equally capable of independent action. ADL; PJF

A. R. Lewis, 'Dukes in the "Regnum Francorum" AD 550–75', *Speculum* (1976), 381–410.
J. C. Mann, '*Duces* and *Comites* in the 4th Century', in Johnston, *Saxon Shore*, 11–15.

Dvin (Middle Iranian **duwīn* 'hill'; Gk. Doubios, Arab. Dabīl) City in the Ararat Valley, *Armenia (40° 01′ N, 44°35′ E); founded probably in the late 4th century. The Arsacid (Arshakuni) capital until 428, it was the main *city of eastern Armenia until 893 when it was destroyed in an *earthquake. It remained inhabited until the 13th century. Around 485 Dvin became the residence of the Persian governor, the *Marzban. The see of the *Catholicus of Armenia moved there at the same time, remaining, with some interruptions, until the early 10th century. After the *Arab invasions, Dvin was the residence of the *ostikan*, the Arab governor from 654 onwards. Greek and Arab travellers attest to its prosperity; it was famous for *silk and *glass production. Dvin was a hub of international trade, the population at various times including *Jews, Syrians, Greeks, and others. TMvL

N. G. Garsoian, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk)* (1989).
R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (2001).

Dvin, Councils of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, ARMENIA.

dyes Dyeing, a branch of empirical chemistry, enabled the *textile industry to deliver the essential nuances of colour in increasingly rich clothing decoration through which social standing in Late Antiquity was displayed. Dyers were prominent in urban life, but dyework remains are seldom found: that at Athribis (*Egypt) with its stained vats is exceptional. A few dyers' recipes are preserved in compendia of *alchemy, and concentrate on non-mollusc *purples. Wool was normally dyed in the fleece, flax (which takes dyes reluctantly) in the hank. There was occasional piece-dyeing and resist-dyeing. Analyses of Roman yarn samples from *Syria and Egypt by high-performance liquid chromatography give insights into the dyers' repertoire. Direct (vat) dyes included true purples from muricid

whelks and blue from woad or indigo. Most fibres, however, had to be pre-treated with a mordant such as alum or iron to fix the dyestuff. Red came from madder root or the more expensive kermes and cochineal scale insects. Weld yielded yellow, green (with woad), and orange (with madder). After 640, lac (a scale insect), fustic, and redwood (heartwoods) were imported. Several dyes were often combined to achieve a specific shade. JPW

D. Cardon, *Le Monde des teintures naturelles* (2003).
R. Halleux, ed., *Les Alchimistes grecs I: Papyrus de Leyde, Papyrus de Stockholm, Fragments de Recettes* (1981).
ET (annotated) E. R. Caley, *The Leyden and Stockholm Papyri Greco-Egyptian Chemical Documents from the Early 4th Century AD* (augmented edn. by W. B. Jensen, 2008).
A. Verhecken, 'Relation between Age and Dyes of 1st millennium AD Textiles Found in Egypt', in A. De Moor and C. Fluck, eds., *Methods of Dating Ancient Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries* (2007), 206–13.

Dynamius (*fl.* after 605) Grandson of *Dynamius Patricius and *Eucheria, and, as author of their *epitaph (MGH Auct. Ant. VI/2 (1883), 194) and probably of a poem in *praise of *Lérins (*AnthLat R* I/2, 786a), the last-known representative of the literary culture of Late Antique *Provence. STL

PLRE IIIA, Dynamius 5.
PCBE IV/I, Dynamius 5.
B. Dumézil, in Y. Codou and M. Lauwers, eds., *Lérins, une île sainte de l'antiquité au moyen âge* (2009), 191–2.

Dynamius Patricius (*c.*545–*c.*595) Husband of *Eucheria and grandfather of *Dynamius (2), who wrote an *epitaph alluding to his noble birth and death aged 50. Correspondent in the late 560s of *Venantius Fortunatus, who praises his poetry, of which only one line survives. Two extant *letters (*Ep. Aust.* 12, 17) and a *saint's life of Maximus of Riez (*BHL* 5853) display his epistolographic and hagiographic talents. His authorship of a grammatical treatise (Keil, *GrammLat* V, 579, 13) and a *Life* of Marius of Val-Bodon (*BHL* 5540) is more contentious. By 581 he was *Patricius of *Provence, but had been ousted before 587, when he was reconciled with *Childebert II (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* VI, 7; VI, 11; IX, 11). He reappears as *patricius* in 593, administering the *Patrimonium Si. Petri in *Gaul, but had resigned by 595 (*Gregory the Great, *ep.* III, 33; VI, 6), and must have died soon afterwards. STL

PLRE IIIA, Dynamius 1 (not to be conflated with *PLRE* III, Dynamius 4).
PCBE IV/1, Dynamius 3.
Life of Maximus of Riez; ed. S. Gennaro, *Dinamii Vita Sancti Maximi Episcopi Reiensis* (1966), 63–127.
R. Buchner, *Die Provence in merowingischer Zeit* (1933), 94 and n. 45.
W. Berschin, *Mittellateinische Studien* (2005), 9–16.
B. Dumézil, in Y. Codou and M. Lauwers, eds., *Lérins, une île sainte de l'antiquité au moyen âge* (2009), 167–94.

Dyrrachium (mod. Durrës, also Durazzo, Albania) Provincial capital of *Epirus Nova, western terminus of the *Via Egnatia, and birthplace of the *Emperor *Anastasius I, who provided the *city with many buildings, including a *circus, though they were damaged in a natural disaster soon after his death (*John Malalas, XVII, 15). The 2nd-century amphitheatre contains a later chapel with wall paintings and *mosaics, dated to the late 6th/11th century (a later date is now preferred). An extensive *cemetery developed within the amphitheatre from the 7th century. A circular colonnaded plaza, with a central base for an honorific column or statue, dates to the 5th–6th century and is plausibly associated with Anastasius. A 2.8 km (1.75 mile) wall circuit, constructed entirely of brick (with *monograms of Anastasius and *Justinian I), is also dated to the 5th–6th century. Justinian's construction activity is recorded by *Procopius (*Aed.* IV, 4, 1). WB

TIR K-34 (1976), 50.
K. Bowes and A. Hoti, 'An Amphitheatre and its Afterlives: Survey and Excavation in the Durrës Amphitheatre', *JRA* 16 (2003), 380–94.
A. Gutteridge and A. Hoti, 'The Walled Town of Dyrrachium (Durrës): New Light on the Early Defences', *JRA* 16 (2003), 367–79.

Dzalisi Town of the 1st to 4th centuries AD in *Iberia, with a mud-brick citadel and monumental buildings. The architectural complex consisted of 30 halls with central heating, an atrium with a fountain, and an apsidal swimming pool. The Roman-style *villa was paved with *mosaics portraying *Dionysiac and marine scenes. Dzalisi was abandoned from the 4th century onwards but reoccupied later. MO

A. Bokhochadze, *Arkeologiuri gatkhrebi Agaiansa da Dzalisshi* (The Archaeological Excavations in Agaiani and Dzalisi) (1981).
M. J. Odisheli, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Mosaike in Georgien* (1995).

E

earrings A distinctive aspect of feminine *dress in the Later Roman Empire. Earlier forms were circular or rectangular, often set with precious *stones or *cameos and further embellished with pierced-work or granulation, and generally having attached pendentives threaded with further *pearls or gems. This is the type of earring which is being worn in the *mosaic of *Theodora and her *court in S. Vitale at *Ravenna. From the 6th century, the distinctive early Byzantine lunate earring appears. These too are frequently of pierced-work with decorative motifs, a *cross or christogram, peacocks or other *birds, or a religious invocation. They are widely disseminated in the Byzantine world but the finest have been attributed to a workshop in *Constantinople. MEH

A. Yeroulanou, *Diatrita: Gold Pierced-Work Jewellery from the 3rd to the 7th Century* (1999), esp. 71–5.

R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, eds., *Byzantium 330–1453* (2008), 417–18, nos. 153–8.

Earthly Paradise Images of *animals amidst lush *foliage depicted Paradise on earth, created by God at the Creation, as outlined in the Christian *cosmology expounded in **hexaemeron* literature, and to be re-established by God after the Second Coming. These scenes often included the four Rivers of Paradise, and were especially popular in the 6th century. The Earthly Paradise appears in *mosaic in the *apses and on the walls and floors of churches, e.g. in the *Basilica of S. *Demetrius at *Nicopolis of *Epirus. Not all Christians approved of these images: *Nilus of Sinai expressed disapproval of such scenes in a letter to the Prefect Olympiodorus (PG 79, 677–80). Mosaics and paintings of Adam naming the animals and of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, including one in a church in *Beirut described by *Severus of *Antioch (*Homiliae cathedrales*, 72, PO 12, 83–4), featured similar flora and fauna. SVL

H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (1987).

H. Maguire, 'The Nile and the Rivers of Paradise', in Piccirillo and Alliata, *Madaba Map Centenary*, 179–84.

earthquakes Seismic activity was as constant in the Mediterranean world of Late Antiquity as it is today. The areas covered by modern *Greece, *Anatolia, *Armenia, southern *Italy, Libya, and Tunisia are particularly prone to earthquakes. Written sources from the period record over 120 earthquakes in Late Antiquity, but these represent only a fraction of the actual phenomena, namely those earthquakes that were particularly destructive and were felt beyond the confines of their immediate epicentres. The record is more complete regarding earthquakes that hit major *cities—especially *Constantinople, *Antioch, and *Alexandria.

In recent years archaeological studies of destruction levels have begun to complement written accounts. There were periods when earthquakes seemed to occur in clusters: a series of earthquakes hit the eastern Mediterranean between 358 and 365 and another cluster is recorded from the 490s to the 570s. However, as Christians considered earthquakes one of the Signs of the End, they tended to be more accurately monitored and recorded during times of heightened eschatological awareness such as the years around AD 500 (e.g.*Joshua the Stylite, 33–6 and 47), or when they caused spectacular damage, as in the *Nicomedia earthquake of 24 August 359, the earthquake and *tsunami of 365, which destroyed buildings on *Crete, the earthquakes of 526 and 528 at Antioch, after which the city was apotropaically renamed Theopolis (city of God), the *Beirut earthquake of 551, and the earthquake centred on the island of *Thera in 726.

Late Antique understanding of earthquakes was of various sorts. Firmilian, a *bishop in *Cappadocia, described how in 235 or soon thereafter a series of earthquakes was blamed on the local Christians who were consequently subjected to *persecution—matters were complicated by a *demon-possessed woman who claimed to be able to cause earthquakes and to be a Christian *priest (*Cyprian, *ep.* 75, 10). *Ammianus Marcellinus digresses from his account of the Nicomedia earthquake of 359 to juxtapose horrific description, *pagan ritual precaution, and scientific explanation. He

distinguishes four categories of earthquake but considers them all caused by movements of water (Aristotle) or air (Anaximander) within the *syringges* or cracks in the earth (XVII, 7). This commonly held theory formed the basis of a practical joke which *Anthemius of *Tralles, the *architect of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom, played on a *rhetorician called Zeno, his rebarbative upstairs neighbour; Anthemius rigged up a system of closed cauldrons with tubes attached to the ceiling, so that when the cauldrons were heated the steam made the ceiling shake and caused Zeno and his guests to run out into the street in alarm (*Agathias, *Histories*, V, 7–8).

More seriously, during the Constantinople earthquake of 447, 'no one dared to remain at home, but all fled outside the city, chanting litanies day and night; for there was great peril, such as there had not been from the beginning of time' (**Chronicon Paschale*, ad ann. 447). The earliest record of emperor and people praying together in public after an earthquake comes from the year 396 (*Orosius, III, 3, 2; *Sozomen, II, 4, 4). From the mid-5th century onwards, annual liturgical *processions went through the *streets of the capital commemorating its deliverance from the earthquakes of 438 and 447. Though Romans saw the earthquakes of Late Antiquity and their deliverance from them as connected functions of divine providence, modern science detects no signs that the disruption they caused was systemic or interregional. DSt; OPN

G. Dagron, 'Quand la terre tremble . . .', *TM* 8 (1981), 87–103.

E. Guidoboni et al., *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century* (1994).

Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 304–8, 417–19, 600.

J. S. Noller, E. G. Reinhardt, and R. M. Rothaus, 'Earthquakes and Subsidence at Kenchreai: Using Recent Earthquakes to Reconsider the Archaeological and Literary Evidence', in Caraher, Hall, and Moore, *Archaeology and History in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*, 53–66.

M. R. Sbeinati, R. Darawcheh, and M. Mouty, 'The Historical Earthquakes of Syria: An Analysis of Large and Moderate Earthquakes from 1365 B.C. to 1900 A.D.', *Annals of Geophysics* 48/3 (June 2005), 347–435.

Alan Cameron, 'Earthquake 400', *Chiron* 17 (1987), 332–50.

B. Croke, 'Two Early Byzantine Earthquakes and the Liturgical Commemoration', *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 122–47 = his *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History*, study IX.

Easter (Gk. Pascha) The most important *festival of the Christian Church and the celebration of the central mystery of the Christian faith. The word Pascha, which signifies Easter in *Greek and *Latin, derives from Pesach, the Hebrew for Passover, though as early as the 2nd century AD Christians connected it also with the Greek *paschein*, meaning 'to suffer'.

The celebration of the Resurrection of Jesus, as is apparent from the homily *On the Pasch* by Melito of Sardis delivered at a Paschal Vigil in the late 2nd century, was integrated with the commemoration of his suffering and death. The three-day observance, the Triduum spanning Good Friday and Easter Sunday, developed under influence from the Church of *Jerusalem in the course of the 4th century. The ceremonies in and around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Anastasis) whose construction by *Constantine the Great was watched in AD 333 by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (594) are described in detail by *Egeria, who was on *pilgrimage in the *Holy Land and *Egypt between 381 and 384.

The Easter vigil was an occasion when the churches were filled with *light; *Eusebius remarks particularly on the light in the churches at Eastertide in 311 when Christians thought that the Great *Persecution was finally over (*HE* IX, 1, 8). A *church order, which gives details about the conduct of the Easter vigil and has been assigned dates as far apart as the 3rd and the 7th century, asserts that the Paschal Vigil is a type of the Kingdom of Heaven (*Testamentum Domini Nostri*, II, 19). It also indicates that the young women of the congregation should go home with their mothers.

A number of ceremonies came to form part of the vigil. The announcement of the Resurrection and the blessing of a Paschal candle accompanied by an elaborate *chant sung by the *deacon certainly formed part of the rite by the end of the 4th century. The words to the chant known as the *Exultet are said to have been written by S. *Ambrose, though their use did not become universal until considerably later. The only three lines of poetry which survive by S. *Augustine may be *praise of a Paschal Candle.

The Easter vigil was also the usual occasion for the *baptism of catechumens (unbaptized Christians) who would have gone through weeks of preparation and instruction to prepare them to take on the obligations of joining the faithful (Lat. *fideles*). Such instruction was certainly going on during the 2nd century. In the years following the *Council of *Nicaea in 325, Lent, the period of fasting and preparation for Easter, became standardized at 40 days, and it became usual for those seeking baptism to give their names in to the *bishop at the beginning of Lent. The process of baptism was seen as foreshadowed in the safe passage of the Children of Israel through the Red Sea at the Exodus, a subject frequently depicted on wall paintings in the *catacombs at *Rome and on Christian *sarcophagi (for instance at *Arles), so indicating another connection between God's liberating his ancient people, the *Jews, and his freeing of Christians from servitude to the world.

The centrality of Easter to the Christian faith, and its importance in regulating the *calendar for the rest of the year, meant that reckoning the date of *Easter was as

necessary as it was mathematically and astronomically complex. OPN; MFC

R. Cantalamessa, J. M. Quigley, and J. T. Lienhard, *Easter in the Early Church: An Anthology of Jewish and Early Christian Texts, Newly Translated from the Sources* (1993).

Anonymous Quartodeciman, Melito of Sardis: ed. R. Cantalamessa, *Il più antichi testi Pasquali della Chiesa: le omelie di Melitone di Sardi e dell'Anonimo Quartodecimano e altri testi del II secolo* (1972).

E. C. Whitaker and M. E. Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (2003).

Eusebius, *On Easter*, ET in Barnes, *Constantine*, 185–91.

P. F. Bradshaw and L. A. Hoffman, *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times* (1999).

P. F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity* (2011), 39–120.

H. Buchinger, *Pascha bei Origenes*, 2 vols. (2005).

M. F. Connell, *Eternity Today: On the Liturgical Year*, vol. 2 (2006), 101–57.

F. J. Dölger, 'Der Durchzug durch das rote Meer als Sinnbild der christlichen Taufe', in his *Antike und Christentum*, vol. 2 (1930), 63–9.

M. Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity: And the Making of the New Testament* (2011).

Easter, date of, and Easter tables *Augustine, on being asked why the festival of the birth of Jesus was observed on a fixed date in the solar calendar whereas *Easter moved around, explained that *Christmas merely commemorated a past event whereas Easter is sacramental, as it is an occasion which in the present makes available something sacred, namely a passing over from death to life (*ep.* 55, 1, 2). Christ's death and resurrection had occurred during the Passover season and Christians from the first saw Easter prefigured in the divine intervention which brought about the liberation of the *Jews from servitude in Egypt at the Exodus, celebrated by Jews at Passover. Some Christians also associated the Easter vigil with Christ's Second Coming at the End of Times: for *Lactantius 'this night has a double significance, for on it he both received life when he had suffered and later he will receive rule over the whole world' (*Inst.* VII, 19, 3; cf. *Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, VI, 17, 12). The celebration of Easter at the correct time was therefore a matter of some practical interest.

Methods of calculating the date of Easter varied from the earliest period. Some Christians in eastern parts of the Roman Empire, especially in *Anatolia, celebrated Easter on the same day as the Jewish Passover, the fourteenth day of the Jewish lunar month Nisan, that is to say the day of the first full moon following the vernal equinox; they were known as Quartodecimans (Fourteeners). Others insisted that Easter be always on a *Sunday, the Lord's Day (Gk. *kyriakon*). Disagreement over this began as early as the late 2nd century, between Polycrates, *Bishop of *Ephesus, and Victor, Bishop of *Rome. Quartodeciman practice was forbidden at the *Council of *Nicaea in 325, and the practices of the Church at Rome and *Alexandria adopted, but Quartodecimanism was still treated as a live issue at the Council of *Laodicea ad Lycum later in the 4th century. Further difficulties arose from the fact that the imperfections in the Julian solar calendar caused differences of opinion about the date of the vernal equinox.

The complexities involved in synchronizing the lunar and solar calendars and with standard *eras and such methods of measuring time as dating by *consuls, *indictions, Olympiads, and the *Era of Creation encouraged experts in *chronography (*computus*) to summarize their calculations in tabular form. The most influential tables were those of the *patriarchs *Theophilus of *Alexandria (*sed.* 385–412) and *Cyril of Alexandria (*sed.* 412–44). In the West, their methods were deployed by *Victorius of *Aquitaine (457), then by *Dionysius Exiguus (525), who reconciled the Alexandrian and Roman calendars to produce a new table using for the first time the AD era, calculated from the supposed date of the birth of Christ. The nineteen-year cycle of Dionysius became the standard in the Western Church.

There was a further dispute about the date of Easter in 7th-century Britain, whose details are recorded by the Venerable *Bede, himself a formidable '*catholicus calculator*' and author of two books on the reckoning of time. Indigenous British and Irish Christians had continued to use the former 84-year cycle, but the mission which in 597 arrived from Rome headed by S. *Augustine of *Canterbury followed Dionysus' nineteen-year cycle. For Northumbria the matter was settled by King *Oswy at the Synod of *Whitby of 664 (Bede, *HE* III, 24) and Christians in Scotland, *Ireland, and other parts of Britain eventually fell into line (Bede, *HE* III, 4). BC; MFC; OPN

R. E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah* (1994), 'Appendix II: Dating the Crucifixion (Day, Monthly Date, Year)', 1350–78.

K. Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha: A Rhetorical History* (1998).

A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (2008), with list of tables on p.ix.

C. P. E. Nothaft, *Dating the Passion: The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology, 200–1600* (2011).

P. F. Bradshaw and M. E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity* (2011), 37–59.

C. B. Kendall and F. Wallis, *Bede*: *On the Nature of Things and On Times* (TTH 56, 2010), 20–5, 115–17.

F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (TTH 29, corrected edn. 2004).

C. Plummer, 'Excursus on the Paschal Controversy and Tonsure', in his *Baedae Opera Historica* (1896), vol. 2, 350.

Ebroin *Mayor of the Palace in *Neustria-*Burgundy (*c.*657–80). A controversial figure, largely because he was vilified in the *Passio* of his great opponent *Leodegar, *Bishop of *Autun, whose execution he ordered in *c.*678. Accusations of tyranny reflect the fact that Ebroin was a powerful and successful ruler who dominated successive kings and curbed the privileges of the Neustro-Burgundian *aristocracy. He was ousted from power in a coup of 673 but returned with a vengeance in 675/6, and subsequently defeated the *Austrasians in battle. After his murder, the power of Neustria-Burgundy declined and subsequent dominance of Austrasia led to the rise to power of the Carolingians. PJF

LexMA 3, 1531–3 'Ebroin' (E. Ewig).

P. Fouracre, 'Merovingians, Mayors of the Palace, and the Notion of a "Low-Born" Ebroin', *BIHR* 57 (1984), 1–14.

Ecdicius (*fl.* 460s–470s) Son (or possibly stepson) of the *Emperor *Avitus, native of *Clermont, and brother-in-law to *Sidonius Apollinaris. In the early 470s he relieved Clermont, when besieged by the *Visigoths, in a series of dashing escapades, and was made **patricius* in 474. After the Emperor *Julius Nepos authorized the surrender of Clermont in 475, he may have left imperial service in disgust; he is not heard of again. JDH

PCBE IV/1, Ecdicius.

PLRE II, Ecdicius 3.

Harries, *Sidonius*, 237–8.

Echternach (Luxembourg) *Monastery near *Trier, founded in 697/8 by *Irmina of Oeren with Basinus, *Bishop of Trier, and entrusted to S. *Willibrord. It was an important centre of manuscript production and conduit of culture from the British Isles to the Continent. JTP

C. Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittlalter* (1930).

N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century* (1994).

Echternach Gospels Insular *Latin Gospel book (Paris, BN, ms. Lat. 9389), related to the Durham Gospels and the *Lindisfarne Gospels, once thought to have been made at *Lindisfarne by the 'Durham-Echternach Calligrapher' but now placed *c.*698, at S. Willibrord's foundation of *Echternach (Luxembourg), in a scriptorium manned by Irish, Northumbrian, and local scribes. MPB

CLA V, 578.

N. Netzer, 'Willibrord's Scriptorium at Echternach and its Relationship to Ireland and Lindisfarne', in G. Bonner, D. Rollason, and C. Stancliffe, eds., *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to* AD *1200* (1989), 203–12.

N. Netzer, 'The Early Scriptorium at Echternach: The State of the Question', in G. Kiesel and J. Schroeder, eds., *Willibrord, Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (1989), 127–34 and 312–18.

Écija *See* ASTIGI.

eclipse Ancient understanding of lunar and solar eclipses drew on a general sense of the interconnectedness of the cosmos, such as was articulated by Stoic *philosophers in their notion of *sympatheia*. Starting with Thales in the 6th century BC (e.g. *Augustine, *City of God*, VIII, 2), Graeco-Roman science had come to be able to predict eclipses with considerable accuracy (e.g. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, 153; Augustine, *ep.* 55, 4, 6). The mathematician *Theon of *Alexandria used his observation of the partial eclipse of 364 to demonstrate the accuracy of the calculations of *Ptolemy. Indeed the accuracy of such scientific predictions helped turn Augustine away from *Manichaeism; there were solar eclipses in 378 and 381, but the accounts of such matters given by Mani 'did not agree with the rational explanations which I had verified by calculation and had observed with my own eyes' (*Confessions*, V, 3, 6).

Philosophers like *Proclus could describe the causes of eclipses and predict their occurrence. It was also possible to look for their effect on life on earth. This was the aspect which interested *John Lydus, pupil of a pupil of Proclus, in his *De Ostentis* (9). Indeed so keen was he to associate great political events with celestial events that he massaged the date of the eclipse of 29 June 512 to associate it with the events surrounding the revolt of *Vitalian against *Anastasius I (*De Ostentis*, 6). To some writers the need to associate heavenly and earthly crises was so imperative that they invented eclipses to accompany decisive events, as did *Zosimus (IV, 58, 3, presumably following *Eunapius) when he assigned an eclipse to accompany *Theodosius I's victory at the Battle of the River *Frigidus on 5–6 September 394. Augustine suspected that the ancient reports of the apotheosis of Romulus had been doctored in exactly this way, so as to make the event coincide with a solar eclipse (*City of God*, III, 15)—while at the same time asserting that the darkening of the sun which occurred at the death of Jesus was not a natural eclipse, as it occurred at the time of a (Paschal) full moon, a view which *Bede attributes also to Jerome (*De Temporum Ratione*, 27).

Eclipses, as *Ammianus Marcellinus noted in a stock description of a solar eclipse seen not only not by himself, but in fact by no one in the Roman Empire, were expected to cause terror (XX, 3, 1). In the early 5th century, *Maximus of Turin upbraided his people for uttering incantations to rescue the moon during its eclipse; they should put their trust in God who made

the moon in the first place. Similarly in 6th-century *Provence people cheered on the eclipsed moon with *bells and trumpets: 'You go, Moon'; *Caesarius of *Arles equally disapproved (*Sermon*, 52, 3). OPN

D. J. Schove and A. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets AD 1–1000* (1984).

***Ecloga* of Leo III** (*Ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων*) Law book officially promulgated in 741 by *Leo III and *Constantine V. Though issued by *Iconoclast *emperors, the *Ecloga* is not Iconoclast in nature. Innovations in the law book—which contains eighteen titles—pertain to *divorce law (title 2, 9), penal law (title 17), and the division of war booty (title 18). In its entirety, the *Ecloga* is itself a novelty, in being the first example of a new genre, namely the Byzantine manual of law, aimed at regulating norms for daily life. A supplement, the *Appendix Eclogae* (which came to include the **Farmer's Law*, the **Soldier's Law*, and the **Rhodian Sea Law*), was soon added to the law book. ThEvB

L. Burgmann, *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.* (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Band 10, 1983).

ET: Mike Humphreys, *The Laws of the Isaurian Era; the Ecloga and its appendices* (TTB 3, 2016).

L. Burgmann, 'Reformation oder Restauration? Zum Ehegüterrecht der Ecloga', in D. Simon, ed., *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien 22, 1992), 29–42.

Sp. Troianos, 'Bemerkungen zum Strafrecht der Ecloga', in Sp. Troianos, *Historia et Ius*, 1 (2004), 455–72.

ecphrasis Originally a technical term belonging to the ancient rhetorical vocabulary and designating a 'speech that brings the subject vividly before the eyes'. The composition of ecphrases of persons, events, times, and places was one of the elementary rhetorical exercises (**progymnasmata*). Ecphrases of various subjects were frequently used in *rhetoric and *historiography: epideictic speeches often include ecphrases of individuals and their actions, in wedding speeches or in imperial *panegyric, or of *cities and other locations. Christian *sermons and poetry in both *Greek and *Latin often made use of similar techniques to encourage audiences to imagine events from the *Bible or scenes of martyrdom and thus to create a sense of presence. The rhetorical origins of ecphrasis are reflected in these uses of the technique to involve and move, exhort or dissuade, or as evidence for the qualities of an individual.

From the 3rd century onwards paintings, *sculptures, and buildings became more frequent subjects of ecphrasis and this development is reflected in the modern use of the term to mean primarily a 'description of a work or art or architecture'. Church buildings were a particularly important subject of ecphrasis in Late Antiquity and these were either embedded within a longer encomium of the patron (as in *Choricius' encomia of *Bishop Marcian or *Procopius' *Buildings*), within poems on *martyrs (as in *Prudentius' *Peristephanon*), or as free-standing compositions, as in *Paul the *Silentiary's verse ecphrasis of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom and in several works by members of the School of *Gaza. These descriptions bring out the aesthetic and spiritual qualities of the buildings and thus reveal the aspects that were appreciated by contemporary viewers. The ecphrases of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in particular also have a clear political function, emphasizing the role of the *Emperor *Justinian I and of divine guidance in the creation of the building. RW

N. Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (2014).

R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (2009).

Ecthesis of Heraclius Literally a 'Statement of Faith', the *Ecthesis* was a formula issued by the *Emperor *Heraclius in 638 that attempted to reconcile *Miaphysites and advocates of *Chalcedon by supporting *Monotheletism. Following his victories over the *Persian Empire, Heraclius sought to reunite the Christian Church, or at least minimize divisive debates, by finding a compromise Christological formula. His first attempt was Monoenergism, which declared that the two natures of Christ were united in one 'energy', yet this was objected to, especially by *Patriarch *Sophronius of *Jerusalem. The *Ecthesis*, drafted by Sergius, Patriarch of *Constantinople, sought to end these debates by forbidding all discussion about whether Christ had one or two 'energies'. Instead, the *Ecthesis* asserted that the two natures of Christ were united in a single will. The formula of 'one will' was posited in a letter by Pope Honorius I of *Rome to Sergius, and was supported by *councils held in Constantinople in 638 and 639. However, Honorius' successors condemned Monotheletism and Heraclius did little to enforce it. Eventually in 648 the **Typos of Constans II* withdrew the *Ecthesis*. MTGH

ed. R. Riedinger, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum: ACO* 2, 1 (1984), 156–62.

Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, 14–18.

Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 268–71.

Eddius Stephanus *See* STEPHEN OF RIPON.

Edessa (mod. Urfa or Sanlıurfa, SE Turkey) Capital of the *Verona List *province of *Osrhoene. Its indigenous name was Orhay from which the name of the province and the modern name of the city probably derive.

City history

Seleucus I Nicator (d. 281 BC) refounded it as a Greek *city called Edessa after its abundant waters. It appears on the coins of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (d. 164 BC) as Antiochia Kallirhoe (Gk. 'beautifully flowing'). After the Seleucids withdrew west of the Euphrates following their defeat by the Persians in 130 BC, Edessa became the seat of the independent kingdom of Osrhoene. The city therefore long enjoyed a symbiosis of Semitic and Greek civilization.

From 69 BC onwards, the Romans attempted to control Edessa. In AD 212/13 it became a Roman *colonia* but local kings are recorded until 243 or 248. After that it became an important centre behind the Roman Eastern *frontier. It did not fall to *Shapur I during his third campaign against the Roman Empire (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 18 and 22: Urha). *Ammianus Marcellinus describes how strongly it was defended during the invasion of 359 (XVIII, 7, 7). *Julian confiscated the wealth of the 'Arian Church' of Edessa (424 CD = ep. 40 Wright) and his march into the *Persian Empire went by way of *Harran, Edessa's pagan rival. The *Chronicle* attributed to *Joshua the *Stylite gives a detailed account of the military operations around Edessa in the first decade of the 6th century. Despite its strategic position on the road to *Zeugma and *Antioch, Edessa was not captured by the Persians until 609/10 (**Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. AD 609). Persian control lasted until after *Heraclius' victorious campaign of 627–8. The *Arabs took Edessa in 638, and although the Romans tried to regain the city several times, they were not successful until the mid-10th century.

Christianity and Syriac civilization

According to the **Teaching of Addai*, the fictional foundation text of the Church of Edessa, Christianity came early to the city—unlike its pagan neighbour Harran (Carrhae). The *Abgar Legend and later elaborations concerning the *Mandylion of Edessa obscure the facts about the city's conversion. The martyrdom of Mar *Sharbel, set in the reign of Trajan, is fictional and, though the presence of *Bardaisan (AD 154–222) is evidence of Christianity in the city at an early date, *Eusebius was optimistic in claiming that 'the whole city' was in his time 'devoted to the name of Christ', even if he had found copies of the Letter of Abgar and Jesus' reply in the public *archives at Edessa (*HE* II, 1, 7; I, 13, 5). The text of the Letter of Jesus was inscribed on the walls of the city and was believed to protect the city from enemies (Egeria, 19, 8–19; *Procopius, *Persian*, II, 12, 7–34; Joshua the Stylite, 5 and 60).

In Late Antiquity, Edessa was a place of *pilgrimage with numerous churches. About 23 churches and *monasteries are known from texts to have existed in the city and 24 in the immediate surroundings. According to the **Chronicle of Edessa* (12), written soon after 540, the cathedral was founded directly after the end of the Great *Persecution and the *Letter of *Licinius in 313; it was dedicated to the Holy Wisdom and there is a description of it in a Syriac *ecphrasis of the 6th century, the *Sogitha on the Church at *Edessa*. *Egeria (19, 2) visited the *martyrium of S. Thomas in 384; ten years later S. Thomas' *relics were moved into his great church and in 442 were encased in a *silver coffin (*Chronicle of Edessa*, 38 and 60). *Gregory of *Tours (*Glory of the Martyrs*, 31–2) thought that the apostle's body had been brought back from *India and describes a fair held at his church every July (presumably in connection with the saint's feast day on 3 July) during which no customs fees were charged, there were no flies, and water was found even in shallow wells. A shrine for local martyrs was built outside the walls in 346/7, and burnt by the Persian King *Qobad in 503 (Joshua the Stylite, 62). A shrine of S. Stephen was installed in a former *synagogue by the scholarly *Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, between 411/12 and 435 (*Chronicle of Edessa*, 51).

*Syriac is the Edessan dialect of Aramaic and the city was home to many Syriac writers such as Bardaisan, *Ephrem (*c.*306–73) after he was obliged to leave *Nisibis in 363, the Bishop Rabbula, and *Jacob of Edessa. It was also known as a centre of Greek learning and had a famous theological school which was closed in 489 on account of its affinities with *Nestorian Christology. Edessa's Christian community was in fact often divided over the principal theological and Christological controversies of the age. Until at least the beginning of the 5th century it also had some pagan inhabitants as well as a considerable Jewish community.

City topography

The citadel is the main feature of the city's topography. The River Daisan (Lat. Scirtus, mod. Kara Koyun) originally flowed through the city and caused flooding, which frequently damaged the city walls, as recorded in the *Chronicle of Edessa* (106; cf. Egeria, 19, 7–15); after the flood of 525/6 *Justinian I redirected it by raising an existing dyke higher and digging an overflow channel (Procopius, *Aed.* II, 7, 1–16; *Anecd.* 18, 38). Remains recorded in the city include floor *mosaics from the early 3rd century that reflect the hybrid, Greek and Aramaic, character of the city, sections of city walls, architectural fragments in the citadel, rock-cut tombs, and architectural *spolia reused in *mosques. Recently discovered Late Antique residences and the Halepli Bahçe mosaics await publication. Edessa is surrounded with hills whose Late Antique monuments deserve detailed investigation. EKK; HJWD

GEDSH s.v. Edessa, entry 183 (Harrak).
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 1–28.
H. J. W. Drijvers, 'Edessa', *TRE* 9 (1982), 277–88.

HISTORY
J. B. Segal, *Edessa: The Blessed City* (1970).
L. Greisiger et al., eds., *Edessa in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (2009).
S. K. Ross, *Roman Edessa* (2001).
Millar, *RNE* 472–81.
H. J. W. Drijvers, 'Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa', *ANRW* II.8 (1977), 863–96.

RELIGION
H. J. W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (1980).
Wood, *'We have no king but Christ'.*

ART AND ARCHITECTURE
M. A. R. Colledge, 'Some Remarks on the Edessa Funerary Mosaics', in J. P. Darmon and A. Rebourg, eds., *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine: IVe Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique, Trèves, 8–14 août 1984* (1994), 180–97.
K. E. McVey, 'The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol', *DOP* 37 (1983), 91–121.
A. Palmer and L. Rodley, 'The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: A New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 117–67.

Edessa, schools at When the Romans ceded *Nisibis to the *Persian Empire in 363, its scholarly activities moved to *Edessa. This probably explains the name 'School of the Persians'. The foundation is attributed to *Ephrem the Syrian. Circles of learning already existed, such as those of *Bardaisan (late 2nd cent.), and Macarius, a century later. Qiore (d. 437), the first known director, replaced in the programme the teachings of Ephrem with the exegesis of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. Qiore was succeeded by *Narsai, who reorganized the professoriate and promoted *translation into *Syriac of the *Greek fathers, *Diodore of *Tarsus, Theodore, and also Aristotle. Proba, a senior medic from *Antioch, worked on the *Organon* and *Ibas on *Porphyry's *Isagoge*. The school became an important point of transfer of Hellenic culture to the East.

The curriculum was divided into two classes. The first was focused on the Psalms, learnt by heart, on *writing and calligraphy and vocalized reading. The second was devoted to theology. The overtly Christian character of the Syriac schools at Edessa contrasted with the classical character of *Greek and *Latin *rhetorical education in other parts of the Roman Empire.

During the 5th century, the Christological convictions of the *bishops, some of them Dyophysites others *Miaphysite supporters of *Cyril of *Alexandria, contributed to dividing the scholastic community. Most of the teachers and students eventually went into exile at Nisibis and the Edessa school was closed by *Emperor *Zeno in 489 at the instigation of *Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbug, and finally destroyed. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Edessa, School of, entry 139–40 (Becker).
J. W. Drijvers and A. MacDonald, eds,, *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (1995).
H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (1966).
R. Duval, *Histoire politique, religieuse, littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade* (1892).
E. R. Hayes, *L'École d'Édesse* (1930).
*Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya of Halwan, ed. (with FT) A. Scher, *La Cause de la fondation des écoles PO* IV/4 (1907), 315–97.

Edessa, Sogitha on the Church at An anonymous *Syriac alphabetic *acrostic *hymn of 22 verses that describes the 'temple' (*haykla*) at *Edessa, the cathedral which the *Melkite (Chalcedonian) *Bishop Amidonios/Amazonios built around 550, with *Justinian I's financial support (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 7). Written apparently soon after the erection of the church, the **sogitha* provides both the names of the *architects (Asaph and Addai) and a description of its architectural details (*dome, columns, bema, etc.), with their symbolic meanings. WW

ed. H. Goussen (with GT), 'Über eine "Sugitha" auf die Kathedrale von Edessa', *Le Muséon* 38 (1925), 117–36.
ed. A. Palmer, with L. Rodley (with ET), 'The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: A New Edition and Translation, with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 117–67; supplemented in *BMGS* 14 (1990), 247–8.
ET Mango, *Art*, 57–62.
K. E. McVey, 'The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol', *DOP* 37 (1983), 91–121.
A. Grabar, 'Le Témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Édesse au VIe siècle et sur la symbolisme de l'édifice chrétien', *CahArch* 2 (1947), 41–67.

Edfu (Greek Apollonopolis; Coptic Tbô) Metropolis in Upper *Egypt located at the end of desert routes from the Red Sea coast and the Oases. It was garrisoned *c.* AD 400 (**Notitia Dignitatum*, [*or.*] 31, 13; 34). Excavation of the Late Antique town, located to the west of the Ptolemaic temple, uncovered the 7th/8th-century archive of *Papas and hundreds of other *Greek, *Coptic, and *Arabic documents (e.g. P.Apoll., P.Edfou, O.EdfouIFAO; see also among others *Koptisches Sammelbuch.* I, 36, 242). A Late Antique settlement at Hagr Edfu is probably related to the medieval *monastery of

Mercurius and several *topoi* known from 10th–11th-century manuscripts (P. Lond. Copt. II xxvii–xxx).

ERO

P. Apoll.= ed. R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô* (1953).

P. Edfou in B. Bruyère et al., eds., *Tell Edfou* I, *1937* (1937); ed. K. Michalowski, *Tell Edfou* II, *1938* (1938); ed. K. Michalowski et al., *Tell Edfou* III *1939* (1950).

P. Lond. Copt. II = .ed. B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since 1906* (1987).

O. Edfou IFAO = ed. S. Bacot, *Ostraca grecs et coptes des fouilles franco-polonaises sur le site de Tell Edfou. O. EdfouCopte 1–145* (2009).

Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, 3, 1148–57.

N.-C. Grimal, ed., *Tell-Edfou: soixante ans après: actes du colloque franco-polonais, Le Caire, 15 octobre 1996/[organisé par] l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire [et] le Centre polonais d'archéologie méditerranéenne* (FFP 4, 1999).

H. Henne, O. Guéraud, and M. Alliot, eds., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou 1921–1933* (Fouilles du Caire, 1/2, 2/3, 6/4, 9/2, 10/2; 1924–35).

A. Effland, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Edfu* (Ph.D. thesis, 2004).

W. V. Davies and E. R. O'Connell, eds., *The British Museum at Hagr Edfu: A Decade of Discovery* (in preparation).

J. Y. Wong, 'Raze of Glory: Interpreting Iconoclasm in Edfu and Dendera', *JLA* 9/1 (2016), 89–113.

edicta Imperial edicts (*edicta imperatorum*) with the force of general law were issued by the *emperor. Whereas the edicts of magistrates only had temporary validity, the emperors' edicts were generally understood to have unlimited validity. The *Edictum Perpetuum Hadriani* (a revision and codification of the praetorian and aedilian edicts made under the Emperor Hadrian) continued to be studied and referenced in post-classical Roman law. Late Roman *Praefecti Praetorio also continued to issue edicts, concerned mostly with administrative matters. On the *Edicts* of *Justinian I (*EdJust*), *see* NOVELS.

RvdB; CH

Buckland, *Text-Book of Roman Law*.

'Edict of Milan' *See* LETTER OF LICINIUS.

Edjmiatsin (Etchmiadzin) Gospels The Edjmiatsin Gospels (Erevan: Matenadaran ms. 2374) contains four folios believed to date from the latter 6th or 7th century, sewn into the back of the text block of a 10th-century manuscript. The folios are full-page miniatures of the Annunciation to Zachariah, the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Baptism. Scholars have associated the imagery with *Syriac, *Coptic, and Sasanian art, and with local apocryphal tradition. The manuscript is bound between two early Byzantine *ivory plaques.

CM

T. F. Mathews, 'The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Ējmiacin Gospel', in N. G. Garsoïan, T. F. Mathews, and R. W. Thomson, eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (1982), 199–215.

Edjmiatsin (Etchmiadzin, Ējmiacin) (Armenian for The Only Begotten Descended) Mother See of the Armenian *catholicus (patriarch) from the late 4th century to 484, when the residence was transferred to *Dvin, and again from 1441 to the present.

*Agat'angelos (c. 460) relates how S. *Gregory the Illuminator (Surb Grigor Lusarowits') saw a vision explained by 'a man descended in the form of light' (§733) as the place where he should erect churches. The name Edjmiatsin (Ējmiacin) is first attested for the church in the 11th century.

Data about building and renovations at Edjmiatsin are incomplete. An early 4th-century foundation is likely. What seems to be a *fire altar possibly dates to *c.*380, when *Zoroastrianism temporarily regained ground. Renovations were carried out by the Catholicus *Sahak I the Great (early 5th cent.) and by the *Marzban *Vahan *Mamikonean (487), and the wooden roof was replaced with stone by Catholicos Komitas (618). The current plan is a square with a central *dome with four conches and four protruding *apses (Zarian et al.). A 7th-century *inscription appears on a ceramic shard. Sculpted slabs showing Ss. Paul and *Thecla and a *cross flanked by doves are inscribed in *Greek and date to the Early Christian period. There are also the sculpted cross-stones known as **khatchkars* (*xačk'ar*s).

TMvL

N. Garibian de Vartavan, 'L'Aspect primitive de l'Église mère Ējmiacin', *REArm* 29 (2003–4), 403–501.

N. Garibian de Vartavan, *La Jérusalem Nouvelle et les premiers sanctuaires chrétiens de l'Arménie: méthode pour l'étude de l'église comme temple de dieu* (2009).

N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmu-t'iwnk')* (1989).

R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: The Lives of Saint Gregory* (2010).

A. Zarian, A. Zarian, and A. Ter Minassian, *Vagharshapat* (1998).

education and schools, Armenian Armenians who studied and taught in the *Greek-speaking world of the eastern Mediterranean included the famous *rhetorician *Proaeresius (276–367/8), who taught the *Emperor *Julian at *Athens. S. *Gregory the Illuminator (d. *c.*328) founded Greek and *Syriac schools in *Armenia for converted *Zoroastrian priests. The Church opposed instruction in the native epic tales of Armenia. Mesrop *Mashtots' (Maštoc', d. 440) initiated a *translation programme from Greek into *Armenian

and taught theology, as did later *vardapets* (Doctors of Theology). Books read in the course of studying the liberal arts included, among other works, the *Art of Grammar* of Dionysius Thrax, for *rhetoric such works as the *Book of Chries* (an Armenian composition traditionally ascribed to *Movses Khorenats'i) and the *Progymnasmata* of Aelius Theon, for dialectics the 6th-century Armenian *philosopher *David the Invincible, and for the *quadrivium* the *K'nnikon* by the 7th-century mathematician and cosmographer *Ananias of Shirak (Anania Širakats'i.). TMvL

J.-P. Mahé, 'Quadrivium et cursus d'études au 7e siècle en Arménie et dans l'Empire Byzantin d'après le "K'nnikon" d'Anania Shirakac'i', *TM* 10 (1987), 159–206.

J.-P. Mahé, 'Arts libéraux et universités dans l'Arménie médiéval', in V. Calzolari, ed., *Illuminations d'Arménie* (2007), 191–4.

R. W. Thomson, 'The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition', in *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity* (Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1994), study IV.

education and schools, Egypt *Greek school exercises surviving from Late Antique *Egypt show that education continued with little change from before and teachers plied their trade at the various levels (elementary, grammatical, and rhetorical). Primary education could be found in *villages but higher education existed mostly in large centres. The method of teaching writing through copying texts (and not by learning the syllables first) became popular in this period.

Greek and *Coptic education were combined at the level of alphabets but diverged at higher levels. Greek education concentrated on the classical authors (*Homer, Euripides, and Aristophanes) and the learning of *rhetoric. Primary Coptic education at initial levels focused on the copying of personal *letters, a part of education that Greek teachers instilled only at the level of rhetoric. Coptic school exercises are extant from *monasteries such as the one of S. *Epiphanius in Upper Egypt. Almost nothing is known of Coptic education at higher levels. No *papyri have been preserved from the *Nile Delta as evidence of the renowned school of rhetoric in *Alexandria, but the literary sources testify that schools of rhetoric and *philosophy flourished there. RC

R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (2001).

education and schools, Greek Greek education (Gk. *paideia*) continued with remarkable stability in Late Antiquity to be a marker of social and political prominence and a method of achieving it. At its core was the mastery of language, the learning of letters, of *grammar, and of *rhetoric.

Primary education reached a relatively broad range of boys and some girls. Higher instruction was provided to a narrower clientele. Men of slight education rarely reached high positions in the *administration (see *Libanius, *Oration*, 42, 23–4). In the *Latin-speaking West, the study of the *Greek language declined in the years between *Augustine and *Gregory the Great. Latin continued to be studied in the Greek East into the 6th century. In the East, people were exposed in everyday life to a contemporary form of Greek (*Koine*); formal rhetoric required the classical Attic dialect and it was the concern of grammarians to articulate and teach its grammatical rules. Homeric texts, written in the Ionic dialect, required glosses and paraphrases to enable readers to comprehend them. *Homer remained the poet par excellence in grammatical and rhetorical schools together with Hesiod, Pindar, and Aristophanes. In spite of the difficulties his language presents, Aristophanes was more highly valued than Menander Comicus. Even more than in earlier times, Euripides was the best-known tragedian, because his Greek was less challenging and his texts were useful to those learning and using the art of rhetoric.

Christians attended the same schools as pagans and received the same education but *bishops such as *Basil (*On Greek Literature*) advised students to be selective in their reading. On 17 June 362, the *Emperor *Julian issued an *edict followed by a *rescript (*CTh* XIII, 3, 5; Julian, *ep.* 61C) that had a significant, if short-lived impact; it insisted that there should be no discrepancy between the personal religious convictions of instructors and what they professed and taught to their students. The emperor required Christian teachers of rhetoric to resign (while making an exception for his own teacher, *Proaeresius of *Athens, an exception which Proaeresius declined to avail himself of). *Gregory of *Nazianzus protested violently (*Oration*, 4 and 5) and even the pagan *Ammianus Marcellinus declared this legislation inequitable (XXV, 4, 20). Meanwhile *Apollinaris, *Bishop of *Laodicea, proceeded to rewrite Bible stories in the style of Greek literature, so overcoming the objection that they were written in the crude Greek of the uneducated, and with the result that young Christians were religiously edified and at the same time provided with the literary education that would prepare them for a future in public life.

Schools of rhetoric and philosophy existed in *Athens, *Alexandria, and elsewhere in the Roman East and students and teachers travelled around the Mediterranean for the sake of learning. In the 4th century the most prominent teachers of rhetoric in Athens were Prohaeresius and *Himerius. The first, a Christian, distinguished himself for his sonorous rhetoric and taught both the pagan *Eunapius and the Christians Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. After Himerius left, the Athens school of rhetoric lost some prestige. Little is known of individual sophists in the

5th century. One was *Plutarch; it is debated whether he should be identified with the founder of the *Neoplatonic school in Athens. In the 5th century the sources mention primarily philosophers at Athens. Plutarch was the earliest exponent of the style of Neoplatonism inaugurated by *Iamblichus and the school continued after him under other philosophers such as *Proclus. After the *Academy closed in 529, the teaching of philosophy in Athens ceased.

Schools of rhetoric flourished in *Constantinople, *Antioch, *Gaza, Alexandria, and elsewhere. Himerius and *Themistius were active in Constantinople. *Libanius (314 to *c.*393) led the main school of rhetoric in Antioch. He took over at the death of his predecessor Zenobius in 355 but after his own demise the school seems to have disappeared. Libanius left a huge corpus that included 1,500 *letters, 64 orations, and many **progymnasmata* (preliminary rhetorical exercises) and declamations for students.

Gaza in *Palestine also had an important school of rhetoric and philosophy, led by *Aeneas of Gaza (b. *c.*445). In 491/495 *Procopius of Gaza succeeded Aeneas and on his death left the chair to his student *Choricius. These teachers left letters and orations that are evidence of their learning and their networks of like-minded *littérateurs*. Gaza was a centre of pagan learning until the beginning of the 5th century but then continued to exercise a cultural influence, which was enhanced by the numerous *monasteries nearby.

Literature, rhetoric, philosophy, *medicine, and *mathematics flourished in Alexandria, the city which in the Late Roman period produced such great teachers as *Hypatia, *Horapollon, *Ammonius, *Asclepiodotus, *Aphthonius, and *John Philoponus. In the 4th century, pagan Alexandria became mostly Christian. The Christian catechetical school of *Didymus the Blind, a disciple of * Origen, engaged in interpretation of the *Bible and left outstanding examples of Christian exegesis. In the 5th century many students who had gone to Athens returned to Alexandria so that its schools thrived. Recent excavations at Kom el-Dikka in the city have brought to light several lecture halls and schoolrooms dating from the 6th century which were built over similar remains from the 5th century. RC

R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (2007).
P. Heather and D. Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius* (2001).
R. Penella, *Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius* (2007).
Watts, *City and School*.

education and schools, Jewish There are no indications of schools or organized frameworks of Jewish education in the *Bible, where the burden was apparently placed on the shoulders of the child's father (e.g. Deuteronomy 6:7; 11:19). Early rabbinic sources also ascribe to the father the responsibility to teach a child Torah (Mishnah Kiddushin 4:14; *Tosefta Hagigah 1:2). Later rabbinic traditions locate the earliest stages of a Jewish school system either in the early 1st century BC, during the last stages of Jewish independence under the Hasmoneans, or in the final years of the Second Temple period. Both claims appear to be anachronistic projections of a reality that only emerged in the *Talmudic era (AD *c.*200–500), in *Palestine as well as the *Babylonian diaspora. Palestinian sources describe a graded system, with children initially learning how to read biblical texts and then advancing to the second stage, devoted to the study of oral tradition. In all likelihood a process of attrition limited the number of those advancing to the second level. The dual track may correspond to the stages of *ludus literrarius* and **grammaticus* in contemporary Roman society, but the Jewish curriculum at both stages comprised entirely religious material (Bible and its rabbinic interpretation), and there are no traces of a 'general' or 'secular' component. Similar systems for learning how to read may have been employed in the Graeco-Roman as well as Jewish schools, with rabbinic references to tablets, upon which the letters of the alphabet were inscribed or carved in wax and memorized by children. It is far from certain whether Jewish children were also taught how to write, as this may have been considered a professional requirement rather than a religious imperative. Reading proficiency, however, would be required of one called up to publicly read from the Torah in the *synagogue. Rabbinic tradition relates that while schools initially were established in *Jerusalem (possibly serving priests at first), they were subsequently set up in towns throughout the land. Palestinian rabbinic sources suggest that these were not maintained solely by the parents of pupils, but also through a special tax imposed on all residents of the town, including those without children. The municipal role of these schools may explain references to the practical setting of a school within the public domain, most notably in the courtyard of a synagogue. We do hear of some schoolteachers setting up their practice in private yards, which apparently led to tension with neighbours. Schoolteachers appear to have been regarded as one of the weaker rungs of the societal ladder, and could be dismissed at the whim of the local residents. The more advanced frameworks of Jewish learning, in Palestine as well as Babylonia, probably began as disciple circles taught by recognized rabbinic scholars, while formal academic frameworks (*yeshivot*) are evident only in the late Talmudic and early geonic periods. IMG

C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (2001).
M. Aberbach, *Jewish Education and History: Continuity, Crisis and Change*, tr. D. Aberbach (Hebrew 1982) (2009).

education and schools, Latin By Late Antiquity, Roman education had evolved a tripartite structure, largely following *Greek models, although without the physical education of the Greek *gymnasium.* This system remained stable throughout Late Antiquity, despite the emergence of Christianity as a cultural force.

Evidence for education in the Latin West and Greek East is not always forthcoming, but a degree of parallelism can be perceived. Elementary education began at about the age of 7; delivered by a *magister*, it consisted of basic literacy and numeracy. From there, aged about 12, a pupil moved to the care of a **grammaticus* who taught grammar, syntax, and explication of canonical literature, pre-eminently *Vergil, but also including Cicero, Sallust, Horace, Terence, Plautus, etc. In Late Antiquity, study of classical Greek literature in the Latin West became less common. Repetitive drills and learning grammar and texts by heart were standard features of Latin education, and corporal punishment was regularly deployed.

In the mid-teens, a pupil moved to a *rhetor* where instruction in rhetorical argument and delivery was given through study of treatises such as Cicero's *De Inventione* and Quintilian's *Institutiones Oratoricae*, and by exercises in **progymnasmata* and *declamation. This rhetorical education was considered useful preparation for careers in imperial *administration in particular, and so there developed close relationships between *courts and schools—for example, a *rhetor*'s responsibilities could extend to delivering epideictic speeches to political delegates on his *city's behalf. *Philosophy was not a part of standard education, although dedicated schools grew up in major cities, such as *Athens and *Alexandria. As knowledge of Greek faded in the Latin West, so too did instruction in (*Neoplatonic) philosophy, although *Marius Victorinus and others translated much of the relevant philosophical material into Latin.

There survives minimal evidence for Schools of *Law in the Latin West, but they can be assumed to have existed, as an alternative to rhetorical education. Technical handbooks seem to have been fundamental in education in *medicine, *veterinary medicine, architecture, and *engineering, although education in these professions was regularly delivered by apprenticeships.

Details of the physical circumstances of education are generally lacking: elementary education probably took place in public spaces, such as town squares; *grammatici* and *rhetores* generally operated out of buildings. Schools were in towns and cities, not *villages, making education an essentially urban phenomenon. Some cities established reputations for their Schools of *Rhetoric, such as *Autun, *Bordeaux, *Carthage, *Madauros (mod. M'Daourouch, Algeria), and Rome.

Local provision of education was sometimes supported by a benefactor. Some towns and also the imperial government funded *grammatici* and *rhetores*, but not *magistri.* There was a charge for education with the fees for the *magister*, *grammaticus*, and *rhetor* specified in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (7). These fees probably ruled out the poor. Education was generally for males. Across Roman society, levels of illiteracy remained high.

The social status of the teachers varied across the levels of education, but there was no professional qualification for practice as a teacher. Various handbooks of Latin grammar survive from Late Antiquity, apparently intended for teachers rather than their pupils: they include those by Victorinus, Charisius, Diomedes, Aelius *Donatus, and *Priscian. The position of professor of rhetoric at one of the more distinguished schools brought the holder money, influence, and opportunity. The *Emperor *Julian barred Christians from teaching (*CTh* XIII, 3, 5; *Ammianus, XXII, 10, 7).

Except in monastic schools, the Church does not seem to have sought to replace the traditional (pagan) provision, but to have complemented it: Christian and pagan pupils would share classes of the *grammaticus* and further instruction in Christian texts could take place at home. Under non-Roman rule in later Late Antiquity, schools in the Latin West suffered, and education and learning withdrew into the *libraries of the aristocratic elite and *monasteries. Christian *priests took over the work formerly done by *magistri* and so laid down the seeds of the cathedral and parish schools of the medieval period. RDR

N. W. Bernstein, *Ethics, Identity, and Community in Later Roman Declamation* (2013).

R. Browning, 'Education in the Roman World', in *CAH* XIV (2000), 855–83.

Averil Cameron, 'Education and Literary Culture', in *CAH* XIII (1998), 665–707.

T. J. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul* (1920, 1958).

Kaster, *Guardians*.

E. Watts, 'Education: Speaking, Thinking and Socializing', in *OHLA* 467–86.

education and schools, Syriac In the late 6th century, *Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya described world history as a succession of schools in which knowledge was transmitted from the Creation down to the formation of scholastic institutions. It was in this sense that schools were conceived of during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD; a school essentially referred to a current of thought or a circle which shared common religious and philosophical experiences and was weakly structured around a teacher such as *Bardaisan in 2nd-century *Edessa. The masters of doctrinal movements were often presented as heads of schools, like Marcion in the *Panarion* by *Epiphanius.

An elementary education was offered to children in most village schools: training in reading, especially the New Testament and Psalms, an introduction to commentary on the *Bible, and the pronunciation of words (without vowels in *Syriac). Education was based on the performance of liturgical songs which missionaries developed as a method of disseminating knowledge. In north *Mesopotamia, east Syrians founded teaching centres in the *villages they visited. Babai the Musician created a network with about 30 schools.

Only notables could pay a private tutor to educate their children. Monastic schools were less numerous. The school of Dura d-Qonie, founded by Mar 'Abda in 385, was particularly famous later under the *'Abbasids as a centre for educating those who would serve in the caliphs' administration.

Monks might also teach in schools, such as in Balad (*Church of the East) or Shurzaq on the opposite bank of the Tigris River (*Syriac Orthodox). In the Beth-Sahde at *Nisibis, Church of the East monks from the Great *Monastery of *Abraham of Kashkar on Mount *Izla participated in education in the 6th century. Strict regulations were in place in monasteries because of the children they cared for. After a young man had been educated in a monastery, he could apply to join the community. Studying the *Bible was the main activity, but in a spiritual rather than a scholarly way.

Centres of higher education, placed under the authority of the bishop, are better known. The most famous one was the east Syrian School of *Nisibis, the *Statutes* of which have been preserved. In 540, the school was temporarily closed and some of the teachers went to the school of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon which then developed considerably. Syriac Orthodox (Jacobite) Christians founded their own school in the capital after 580. Students who wanted to complete their education could go to *Beirut to study Roman *law or to *Alexandria to study *philosophy. Future leaders in the Church were trained in high-level schools.

Secular schools maintained the Hellenic *paideia*. *Greek philosophical education was at the heart of the educational system, especially Aristotle: his *Organon* was used as an introduction to the study of theology. East Syrians considered this treatise an exegetical tool for studying the commentaries of the theologian *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, as Abraham Bar Dashandad did at the school of Bashosh in *Marga. The works of the Greek fathers were read and translated in both monasteries and schools, and had considerable influence on Syriac literature, theology, and *rhetoric.

When *Abraham of Beth-Rabban managed the school of Nisibis (530–69), the curriculum was organized to last over a course of three years. The first year was probably taken up with the epistles of S. Paul, the Pentateuch, and the breviary; the second with the Psalms and the Prophets, with liturgical *hymns; and the third with the Gospels and responses for offices. *Junilius Africanus described the exegetical method used at the school in about 527.

Alongside exegesis and biblical theology, *translation of *Greek secular works in philosophy, natural science, medicine, and astronomy were part of the teaching programme in schools of higher education and in monasteries such as *Qenneshre. Practical and theoretical training in medicine was sometimes put in the *cursus studiorum*, for example in *Gondeshapur during the Abbasid period, and in Nisibis at the school of Beth-Sahde in 590. The teaching consisted in learning the works of Galen and Hippocrates.

A hierarchical structure governed these scholastic institutions: the Director was also the Interpreter who was in charge of exegesis of the *bible. One master taught cantillation (chanting), Syriac pronunciation, and homiletics, another calligraphy. The *rabbaita* was responsible for the whole administration. The statutes imposed ascetic rules for the students.

There is less evidence of education for women. But there are examples of nuns who practised reading, catechized, and instructed lay women from their region. CJ

ed. A. Scher (with FT), *Cause de la fondation des écoles*, *PO* 23, 489–631; *PO* 4, 316–404 [FT].

ET A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008), 169–203.

A. Becker, *Fear of God* (2006).

P. Bettiolo, 'Scuole e ambienti intellettuali nelle chiese di Siria', in C. D'Ancona, ed., *Storia della filosofia nell'Islam medievale* (2005), 48–100.

S. Brock, 'The Rise of Christian Thought III', in H. Badr et al., eds., *Christianity: A History in the Middle East ii* (2005), 143–60.

A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subsidia 26, 1965).

education and schools, Zoroastrian Our knowledge of religious education and literacy in *Zoroastrianism in Late Antiquity is largely derived from the observations of foreign authors and sources, and internally from Middle *Persian (Pahlavi) texts like the *Herbedestan* (*Priestly School* or more generally, *Religious Education*), an Avestan–Pahlavi bilingual text, which is our primary literary source for priestly education. For example, Strabo alludes to the oral nature of Zoroastrian priestly education: 'They [the Persians] use as teachers of science their wisest men, who also interweave their teachings with the mythical element, thus reducing that element to a useful purpose, and rehearse both with song and without song the deeds both of the gods and of the noblest men' (XV, 3, 18).

The importance of religious education is repeatedly stressed in Pahlavi texts such as the *Denkard: 'Do not consider attending the *herbedestan* as bad; for attending the *herbedestan* is the life of the people' (VI, 316). It appears that religious education was open to both men and women of the household with the proviso that whichever of the two was better at administering the household should remain (*Herbedestan*, ch. 5). It has been argued that the Sasanian remodelling of *Kuh-e Kwaja incorporated an *herbedestan*. The coming of *Islam saw the breakdown of priestly hierarchies and a consequent weakening of religious training. YSDV

EncIran XII/3 (2003) *s.v. hērbedestān*, 227–8 (F. M. Kotwal).

ed. F. M. Kotwal and Ph. G. Kreyenborek with J. R. Russell (with ET), *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, 4 vols., *Herbedestan* = vol. 1 (1992).

ed. H. Humbach (with J. Elfenbein) (with GT), *Ērbedestān: An Avesta–Pahlavi Text* (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft NS 15, 1990).

S. Ghanimati, 'New Perspectives on the Chronological and Functional Horizons of Kuh-e Khwaja in Sistan', *Iran* 38 (2000), 137–50.

Ph. Kreyenbroek, 'The *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* on Priests', *IndoIranJnl* 30 (1987), 185–208.

Shaked, *Wisdom*, 125.

Edwin (Eadwine, Æduinus) *Anglo-Saxon King of Northumbria (616–33). From exile at the court of *Redwald in East Anglia, he returned to rule as one of seven successive *Bretwaldas (overkings). He annexed *Elmet and the *Isle of Man. Sometime between 619 and 624, he married Æthelburg, daughter of *Æthelberht of Kent, was converted to Christianity, and, at *Easter 627, was baptized by her chaplain *Paulinus (*Bede, *HE* II, 9–16). Edwin was killed by *Penda of Mercia at the Battle of Hatfield on October 12, 633 (*HE* II, 20). NAS

ODNB s.v. Eadwine (Cramp).

C. B. Kendall in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 137–59.

Egbert (Ecgberht) *Bishop then Archbishop of *York (732–66), in succession to *Wilfrid, and brother of Eadberht, King of Northumbria (737–58). *Pope Gregory III gave him the **pallium* in 735. *Bede in his last illness wrote him a *letter of advice. *Boniface requested from him copies of Bede's works. Alcuin, educated in Egbert's school at York, praised his teaching (*Versus de Patribus, Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, 1248–87). The *Dialogus Ecclesiasticae Institutionis* ascribed to him presents points of *canon law in a series of questions and answers between teacher and pupil. A *Penitential* also circulated under his name. NAS; OPN

ODNB s.n. Ecgberht (Mayr-Harting).

CPL 1886.

ed. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III (1871), 394–6 (letter to Egbert from Pope Paul I), 403–13 (*Dialogus*), 413–31 (*Penitential*).

P. Godman, *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* (OMT, 1982), lxiii, 98–100.

Egeria (Aetheria, Etheria, Eucheria, Eutheria, Silvia) (*fl.* 381–4) Western nun or laywoman who composed, in *Latin of interest to historians of the language, one of the earliest surviving accounts of a *pilgrimage to *Egypt, *Sinai, *Palestine, *Syria, Roman *Mesopotamia, and *Asia Minor. Originating as letters to her 'sisters' back home (conjectured to be *Spain, or perhaps *Gaul or *Aquitaine), sizeable portions of the *Itinerarium* survive in an 11th-century ms. A Spanish monk, Valerius (7th cent.), and Peter the Deacon's *De Locis Sanctis* (12th cent.) summarize some missing portions of her journey.

Egeria's account offers lively observations about pilgrimage rituals at the holy places, interjecting her own enthusiasm for hearing the relevant biblical passage read 'on the very spot!' She describes *processions, *relics, and churches in the *Holy Land (Holy Sepulchre, Sion, Mount of Olives, *Bethlehem, Bethany). She also mentions monks who served as guides and hosts, along with gifts (lit. 'blessings' or *eulogiae*) she received from them. In addition to visiting holy places, she also sought out *holy men in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. One of the earliest extant works known to be composed by a Christian woman, the diary is also an important source regarding the development of *stational liturgies, cathedral services, vigils and other observances during *Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week, and *Easter in late 4th-century *Jerusalem. GAF

PCBE IV/1, Egeria.

CPL 2325:

ed. E. Franceschini and R. Weber (CCSL 175–6, 1965), 29–103.

ed. P. Geyer (CSEL 39, 1898), 37–101 (as *S. Silviae, Quae Fertur Peregrinatio*).

ed. P. Maraval (annotated with FT) (SC 296, ^{3}2002).

ET (annotated) J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (^{3}1999).

ET (annotated) G. E. Gingras (ACW 38, 1970).

Atti del Convegno internazionale sulla Peregrinatio Egeriae: nel centenario della pubblicazione del Codex aretinus 405 (già Aretinus VI, 3), Arezzo, 23–25 ottobre 1987 (1990).

J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228, 1987).

D. R. Blackman and G. G. Bets, *Concordantia in Itinerarium Egeria* (1989).

P. Devos, 'Egeriana', *AnBoll* 109 (1991), 363–81.

E. D. Hunt, 'The Date of *Itinerarium Egeriae*', *SP* 38 (2001), 410–16.

H. Sivan, 'Who Was Egeria? Piety and Pilgrimage in the Age of Gratian', *HTR* 81 (1988), 59–72.

Egica *Visigothic king (687–702), the immediate successor to *Ervig, whose daughter Cixilo he married, then repudiated. He associated his own son *Wittiza with him in the kingship presumably in late 694/5, following the crushing of an aristocratic revolt. His reign was marked by several outbreaks of bubonic *plague. He issued some *laws included in the **Book of Judges* and maybe a new version of the code, and summoned three general *councils (688, 693, and 694), the last of which ordered the enslavement of all Spanish *Jews. He died at an old age in 702. CMG

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004), 104–11.
P. C. Díaz, C. Martínez Maza, and F. J. Sanz Huesma, *Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda: historia de España*, V (2007), 584.

Egidius *Bishop of *Reims (before 566–90) A major figure at the *Austrasian *court during the minority of *Childebert II, who promoted an alliance with *Chilperic. His trial for having committed *treason against Childebert in 590 followed an exemplary procedure, described in detail by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* X, 19). Egidius was deposed but his life was spared. MG; STL

PCBE IV/1, Egidius 4.
M.-C. Isaïa, 'Egidius de Reims, le traître trahi? En relisant Grégoire de Tours', in M. Billoré and M. Soria, eds., *La Trahison au Moyen Âge: de la monstruosité au crime politique (V^e–XI^e s.)* (2009), 89–101.

Egrisi *See* LAZICA.

Egypt The term 'Late Antique' has been applied to Egypt only recently, in particular since the publication of R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, in 1993. When specialists on Egypt, including papyrologists, have written of 'Late Antiquity' they have generally been referring to the period from *Diocletian's accession (284) to the mid-5th century. The term they have preferred for the entire period of Egyptian history from Diocletian's accession (284) to the *Arab conquest (639–42) has been 'Byzantine', sometimes divided into early and late phases. The era following it they refer to as the Islamic or *'Umayyad period, ending with the *Abbasid transfer of the seat of the *caliphate from *Damascus to *Mesopotamia in 750. The present entry is concerned with the entirety of the period 250–750.

Roman administration

The earlier decades of the Late Antique period were marked by several experiments in provincial reorganization based on divisions of the original Roman province as well as subdivisions of those divisions. The *Verona List itemizes the following five *provinces in Egypt: *Aegyptus Jovia and Herculia, *Libya Inferior and Superior, and *Thebais. The short-lived province of *Mercuriana was created from Aegyptus Herculiana between 322 and 324. In 341 the province of *Augustamnica was created corresponding approximately to the former Aegyptus Herculiana in north-eastern Egypt. *Arcadia took territory from Augustamnica in the late 4th century; Augustamnica was itself later subdivided into Augustamnica Prima and Secunda. In or around 381, Egypt was separated from the *Dioecesis of *Oriens into which its provinces had been placed under the *Tetrarchy, and constituted as a separate Dioecesis of *Aegyptus, subject to the uniquely named *Praefectus Augustalis, who performed the functions of the *Vicarius.

A final, major administrative reorganization was accomplished through *Justinian I's Edict XIII of 539, which divided Egypt into six *provinces—Aegyptus, Libya, Thebais, Augustamnica, Pentapolis (formerly part of Libya, it seems), and Arcadia. Most of the six were also divided in half—Arcadia being the sole clear exception—and had, very roughly speaking, administrations shared in one way or another between military and civil *governors. The Praefectus Augustalis was deprived of his former control over the whole *dioecesis*, though he retained ultimate responsibility for overseeing the *grain fleet which shipped the *grain taxes (**annona*) from *Alexandria to *Constantinople, grain which from the time of its foundation had been used to feed *Constantine I's new capital city. In this and in other fiscal matters he was assisted by an official known as the Rationalis ('accountant', Gk. *Katholikos). Later, at some time between the end of the *Persian invasion and occupation (619–29) and the *Arab conquest, the governor of Arcadia, formerly a civilian *Praeses, became a military governor, a *Dux.

Each of these provinces had its own bureaucratic apparatus, (Gk. *taxis*, Lat. **officium*). Evidence from the *papyri (e.g. P.Sijp. 35) and the provincial lists, including the **Notitia Dignitatum*, provide much information about the activities of these various provincial officials in Late Roman Egypt. They often appear in the papyri, with a wide array of clerical and non-clerical titles, functioning in a personal capacity in such private transactions as loans and *leases. However, the evidence for the official processes through which Egypt's provincial governments operated on the ground is not abundant and to date has not been greatly studied. On the local level, the old *nomes were divided, in 307–8, into numbered **pagi* (districts). Eventually, in the 5th century, a new institution, the pagarchy, was created to supervise tax collection in all areas not supervised

directly by city administrations. The pagarchy (Gk. and Lat. *pagarchia*) was in effect a liturgy (a public duty) assigned to an official known as the pagarch, but its responsibilities could be, and often were, shared by more than one man or woman, with pagarchs sometimes operating in pairs.

History and economy

Egypt was relatively untroubled by the political turmoil of the Third Century *Crisis. However in 269 the *army of *Zenobia of Palmyra took over Egypt for several years until the *Emperor *Aurelian besieged *Alexandria and regained control (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 16, 15; *Zosimus, I, 43 and 61). A generation later, in 297–8, the Emperor Diocletian personally put down the *usurpers *Achilleus and *Domitius Domitianus, again besieging Alexandria. He proceeded to give up the region of *Nubia known as the Dodekaschoinos, thereby withdrawing *Egypt's southern frontier to the First Cataract of the *Nile at *Syene (modern Aswan) (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 19, 27–37, cf. the *Panopolis Papyri). This decision to establish the frontier further north was a strategic success. The frontier zone was well garrisoned and remained generally peaceful in the centuries that followed, as is apparent from the documents of the military units stationed much later (493–616) at *Philae, *Elephantine, and Syene (P.Lond. V, 1722–39; P.Münch. I). The units stationed at the First Cataract, though never named as **limitanei*, were usually treated as if that is what they were, constituting a kind of border 'militia'. But there were also units of regular troops stationed in detachments throughout the country, including (after the military reform by *Justinian I in the 6th century) the Scythae Iustiniani at various points in the *Thebaid. All such soldiers, like all government servants, acquired the imperial status designation *Flavius to distinguish them from the civilian population who had the designation Aurelius.

After the defeat of the Eastern Emperor *Licinius in 324, Constantine I gained control of the whole Empire, including Egypt, and proceeded to promote Christianity. On the economic front, following a period of monetary chaos, Constantine's creation of the standard *gold coin, the **solidus*, helped restore confidence in the monetary system and promoted in the long term the maintenance of a monetized economy throughout the period, even at the *village level.

Egypt's wealth, like that of all preindustrial societies, was generated largely by *farming, the land being naturally blessed by the annual flooding of the *Nile, which was carefully exploited through *irrigation. Beginning in the Ptolemaic period and continuing through the Roman, the land itself had been increasingly privatized. The trend seems to have accelerated in the 5th century, reaching its height (as far as can be seen in the documentary evidence) in the 6th century. The result was the engrossment of large *estates, albeit not in integrated tracts but in scattered plots. The evidence for this is greatest for the Nome of *Oxyrhynchus and for its principal **oikos*, that of the *Apion *family.

The exact size of the Apion and other *estates is currently debated (Sarris, Hickey). There is also discussion about the ways estates were worked: Sarris considers they were exploited through wage labour, Hickey thinks they were farmed through a network of leaseholds. Sarris also considers the estates were commercial, profit-seeking ventures whereas Hickey thinks them aimed strictly at self-sustenance or autarky. Of particular importance is the relationship between these private institutions and the state: were they instances of *feudalism or semi-feudalism and engaged in a power struggle with a weak imperial government (Sarris), or were they cooperative ventures, self-interested perhaps, but at the same time assisting the imperial government to function efficiently on the local level in, for instance, administering the *taxation system and *recruiting for the *army (Gascou)?

Large estates were sometimes owned by individual churches (not by 'the Church' as a whole). The landscape also featured countless smaller landholdings and the population also included some entrepreneurial figures: modest landowners who also functioned in complex networks of relationships as *tenants, sublessors, organizers of labour, rent-collectors, and stewards to large estates.

Law

Extensive private property rights like these usually imply the existence of dependable legal institutions, and these certainly existed in Late Roman Egypt (*see also* LAW, EGYPTIAN). Egyptian legal tradition reaches back to the Pharaohs, but was subsequently influenced by the influx of immigrant legal 'systems', Hellenistic and then Roman. It is to some extent possible to see operating in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt the 'principle of personality', whereby individuals were subject to the legal rules and courts appropriate to their ethnicity, Egyptian or Greek. Till the early 3rd century substantive Roman law (as opposed to procedural law) was not available to all Egyptians, but only to the minority group which held the Roman citizenship. Theoretically, this should have changed with the promulgation and application of the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212, Caracalla's *edict that accorded Roman citizenship to virtually all inhabitants of the Empire, a change often signalled in the papyri by the new citizens' assumption of the imperial *nomen* *Aurelius. Nonetheless, legal

practices continued to be a mixture of the local and the Roman, though it is possible to perceive in the 3rd and 4th centuries both a trend towards *Latin in legal terminology and an apparently increasing influence of Roman *law in matters concerning personal law and *inheritance. A significant late example can be found in a will dating from the late 560s (P.Cair.Masp. III 67312, with *CAH* XIV 618–25), in which a provincial staff officer named Flavius Theodorus left the bulk of his property to monastic institutions, and a much lesser share to his maternal grandmother. The will was at pains to make it clear that the proportion of the property being alienated from the family fell within the limit imposed by the *Lex Falcidia* of 40 BC; this allusion to a 600-year-old law of the Roman Republic is surely suggestive. The most important question concerning the study of law in Late Roman Egypt is the extent to which people were cognizant of or employed *Justinian's *Code*. Recent opinion (Beaucamp) takes a positive view of the situation.

The shift of the imperial capital from Rome to *Constantinople (330) resulted in a reorientation of Egypt's outward direction. If Egypt's position under the Romans had been somewhat 'special' (a topic of debate), it was now more fully integrated into what would become the Byzantine Empire—to such an extent that some scholars (Banaji, Zuckerman) now consider that Egyptian evidence can be used to provide answers to questions about fiscal and demographic matters as they apply to the entire Empire. This means that Egypt and its elites come to appear more closely connected to the Empire than they had been in the Roman period, at least if it is possible to generalize from the careers of various members of the *Apion family, one of whose members became *Consul Ordinarius in 539. That family, or 'clan', obviously had networks of relationships that extended from Egypt to Constantinople, even into the imperial *court, and beyond (as shown most recently by Hickey). But even persons of more modest means and standing, such as the villagers of *Aphrodito in Middle Egypt in the mid-6th century (P.Cair.Masp. I, 67032), could try to achieve access to the imperial court in defence of their own perceived rights.

Christianity

Christian literature credits the evangelist S. Mark with introducing Christianity into Egypt under the Emperor Claudius (*Eusebius, *HE* II, 16), and tradition considers him the first *Patriarch or Pope of *Alexandria (*HistCoptPatr* I). Documentary evidence, including 2nd-century New Testament manuscripts, comes later, but still well precedes *Diocletian's personal presence in Egypt and the subsequent Great *Persecution starting in 303, which caused the new religion to spread more confidently and which became so embedded in the Egyptian memory that it gave rise to the *Era of the Martyrs. The complicated process of *conversion and Christianization was largely complete by the late 4th or early 5th century. Evidence for it is found in shifts in personal naming practices apparent in the documentary *papyri, where biblical names, saints' names, and other identifiably Christian names become increasingly common. It is also visible in other features of documents, such as *nomina sacra* (specially abbreviated 'sacred names'), Christian formulae in *letters, and ecclesiastical references. The papyri, *Greek and *Coptic, have preserved abundant traces of Christianity both in its mainstream forms, and also in various schismatic or heretical manifestations. These include *Meletians (P. Lond. VI), *Gnostics (the *Pistis Sophia and *Nag Hammadi codices), and *Manichaeans (documents from *Kellis in the Libyan Desert); and the Cologne *Mani codex (provenance unknown).

Egypt was also where desert *monasticism began, in its hermetic (S. *Antony), coenobitic or communitarian (S. *Pachomius), and mixed forms (e.g. the *monastery at *Naqlun, where both both papyrological and archaeological evidence survives). The first use of *monachos* (Gk. 'monk') in a surviving papyrus dates from AD 324, and the monk in question appears to be a familiar part of the *village where he was breaking up a brawl (P. Coll. Youtie 77).

In the 5th century, many Egyptian Christians rejected the 'Two Natures' Christological definition adopted at the *Council of *Chalcedon of 451, and during the 6th century a separate *Miaphysite (Gk. 'One Nature') hierarchy, often called the Coptic Church, came to command the loyalty of most Egyptians, although there continued to be Chalcedonian (*Melkite) Patriarchs of Alexandria (e.g. *John the Almsgiver, *Cyrus al-Muqawqis). The *conversion of Egypt's population from Christianity to *Islam following the *Arab conquest was a complex process and is, to this day, still not complete, with the Coptic minority generally estimated to be about 10 per cent of the total population.

Persian and Arab invasions

Apart from raids by desert *nomads and occasional disturbances in Alexandria, Egypt was a peaceful land not only on its southern frontier but everywhere, for most of the Late Roman period. That all changed in the 7th century with the irruption of the Persians. The *Persian invasion (and subsequent domination) of Egypt was a brief interlude, lasting only one decade from 619 until 629. The evidence for Egypt in these years of Persian rule is relatively small: the famous Greek archive of the Apion family disappears early on,

and the *Chronicle* of *John of *Nikius is cryptic and in part lost. Although there are thousands of *Pahlavi papyri, mostly unpublished, they have not so far been informative on matters of general importance.

In some sense, the Persian occupation may be viewed as foreshadowing the *Arab conquest achieved between 639 and 642 which had lasting effects. Once established in power the Arabs faced little or no internal resistance. A critical decision at the start of Arab rule was to establish Egypt's capital in the vicinity of the Roman fortress of *Babylon, a strategically positioned bulwark and the focal point of an extended siege during the conquest itself, now part of the Old City of Cairo. Evidence for the construction of the new capital is apparent in the documents published by W. Diem in the *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, XVI (1993), dating from shortly after the conquest and detailing downriver shipments of *bricks, mortar, lime, and dung.

Egypt was treated as a single large province in the Islamic Caliphate, as before under the Early Roman Empire, with an Arab emir as governor (*Arabic *wali*'). The best known of these governors in the documentary record is *Qurra b. Sharik, known especially through his correspondence with a regional *pagarch in Middle Egypt named Flavius *Basilius of Aphrodito (e.g. P. Lond. IV, early 8th cent., from Aphrodito). At first, Arab military presence was modest and the new Arab population mostly resident in cities.

The process of conversion from Christianity to *Islam was slow; the imposition of a poll-tax on the Christian population is sometimes construed as providing Egyptians with an incentive to convert. *Bilingualism persisted for a time. *Greek continued as the administrative language, often in tandem with *Arabic, to the end of the 8th century. Coptic, the Egyptian language written in a mostly Greek alphabet (*see* EGYPT, LANGUAGES IN), continued especially in the 8th century to be a language of legal contracts before its total replacement by Arabic. By the 11th century both Coptic and Greek had been supplanted by Arabic as the language of everyday life, even among Coptic Christians, except for the *liturgy. JGK

CAH XIV (2000), 612–37.
R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993).
R. S. Bagnall, *Later Roman Egypt: Society, Religion, Economy and Administration* (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 758, 2003).
R. S. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (2007).
J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (OCM, ²2007).
J. Beaucamp, 'Byzantine Egypt and Imperial Law', in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (2007), 271–87.
J. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298–642 CE)* (OLA 173, 2008).
J.-L. Fournet, ed., *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte: histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 8–10 décembre 2005* (EAHA, 2008).
J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (Bilans de recherche 4, 2008).
E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931).
T. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (NTAC, 2012).
J. G. Keenan, J. G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko, eds., *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary* (2013).
H. N. Kennedy, 'Egypt as a Province in the Islamic Caliphate', in C. F. Petry and M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 2 vols. (1998), 1, 62–85.
L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and his World* (TCH 16, 1988).
F. Mitthof, 'Die militarischen Reformen Justinians in der Thebais', in L. Fournet, ed., *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte: histoire et culture dans l'Égypte byzantine. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 8–10 décembre 2005* (EAHA, 2008), 247–59.
G. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (2008).
P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (2006).
T. G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: A Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (2002).
C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)* (TM monographies 16, 2004).

Egypt, churches and monasteries in Nothing now remains of the churches of Egypt from before the time of *Constantine I. In the 3rd century the *city of *Alexandria was already divided into five districts. *Epiphanius of Salamis in the late 4th century gives the names of nine churches, including the Caesareum (Kaisareion, the cathedral), the Baucalis (where *Arius preached), and others named after 3rd-century *bishops including Theonas and Pierius. There was a *martyrium of S. Mark on the east side of the city.

Considerable work has been done since the 1970s on ecclesiastical architecture in *Egypt. The guidebook of Samuel al Syriany describes 211 buildings and the catalogue of D. Andriolo and S. Curto lists 168 churches situated in towns, *villages, or *monasteries. P. Grossmann has published a study of the great place of *pilgrimage at *Abu Mina and in his subsequent volume of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* has traced the entire evolution of Christian architecture in Egypt. Considerable restoration work has also been carried out, directed by E. S. Bolman, on the 6th/8th-century paintings in the church of the *Red Monastery at Sohag.

S. *Antony retired to the edge of his town, then to a former Roman fort, then to a desert as a hermit. Solitary hermit lives leave few traces, but when 'old men' gathered disciples, and monks began to settle in communities with rules, as they did under S. *Pachomius, they left physical evidence which may be studied. Followers of Antony peopled Lower Egypt, followers of *Amun the desert of *Nitria, and followers of *Macarius that of *Scetis. Eventually the *Kellia was also founded and in *c.*323, Pachomius created a community at *Tabennese in Upper Egypt, then a convent for women and others at *Phbow, Schmim, and Tsmine. At the end of the 4th century, Shenoute organized, in accordance with his rules, the community of the *White Monastery at Sohag (Deir al-Abyad). Such Pachomian monasteries and **coenobia*, being more hierarchical and organized in accordance with severe rules, did not in general survive the *Arab conquest of the 7th century.

Some monks established themselves in natural cavities, as at *Naqlun, and at *Esna, or in buildings or tombs of the Pharaonic era. At Beni Hassan, the zone around the Middle Kingdom site of Speos Artemidos has even been given the name of the Valley of the Anchorites. Non-monastic church buildings are also to be found in Ancient Egyptian temple enclosures, as at *Philae, *Dendera (near Mamissi), and in front of the Temple of Khnum at *Esna.

Other reuse of earlier structures for monastic purposes may be observed in the region of *Thebes, Luxor, and Karnak. There is the Deir al-Bakit in the Valley of the Kings and the reuse of the tomb of the Pharaoh Rameses IV, and of the tombs 1, 53, 60, 73, as well as the Deir er-Roumi in the Valley of the Queens, the church in the tomb of Dega at Sheikh Abd-el Gournah. There is also the Monastery of S. *Epiphanius at Thebes and that of Cyriacus which encompasses four tombs. Other reuse by monks has been noted at Deir al-Bahari, the convent of S. *Phoibammon, at the church in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habou and the village of *Jeme, the Monastery of Mark at Gurna Mura'i, the Monastery of Samuel or Deir al-Gissas, the five churches of Luxor, and the monasteries and churches of Karnak.

All monks practised, with more or less rigour, similar rules of life, requiring *prayer and manual labour, poverty and strict celibacy. Whether or not the monastery was a *coenobium* or had the looser structure of a *lavra, all monastic communities had cells, churches, communal buildings, and reception rooms as at Abu Mina, Natrun, *Saqqara, *Bawit, Aswan.

The sheer volume of surviving architecture at Kellia makes it possible to chart its evolution—over 1,500 individual hermitages have been identified. At Qusur Isa sud 1 (Q Isa 1) at the eastern end of Kellia (ancient Pherme) the first stage of construction (as at Esna) was to dig into the hillside a simple shelter with a couch. The first church appears around AD 380, a second, on a *basilica plan with a *baptistery, around 450, then a third at the end of the 6th century. An overall plan then emerges: a great rectangle approximately 35 m long by 25 m broad (115 × 82 feet) with high walls enclosing a *garden, latrines, kitchens, and cells (those of the Old Man and of the disciples). Each cell includes a room for living in and a private oratory with a niche oriented towards the east, like the choir of a church. In the course of centuries, reception rooms with richer ornament were added, but the original plan was preserved; N. Heinen and M. Wuttmann have devoted considerable study to each architectural element. MR-D

CoptEnc s.v. 'Dayr', 695–884; 'Monasteries', 1645–61; 'Architectural elements of Churches', 194–226.

Fr. Samuel al Syriany, *Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches & Monasteries in Upper Egypt* (1990), also in Arabic.

D. Andriolo and S. Curto, *Catalogo delle chiese dell'Egitto* (Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche 22, 1998), 41–412.

P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Hb Orientalistik I, vol. 62, 2002).

J. Patrich, 'Monastic Landscapes', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan, and C. Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (2004), 413–45.

C. C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (1974).

Egypt, languages in The Egyptian language existed for almost 5,000 years (from approximately 3500 BC to the 15th century AD). It belongs to the so-called 'Hamitic-Semitic' or 'Afroasiatic' group, in which it occupies a unique position.

Its hieroglyphic written form, developed around 3500 BC, was used until *pagan *temples were officially closed in AD 391. Hieratic, a cursive system, was employed in sacred and administrative texts written on *papyrus.

Several stages of evolution can be distinguished within the classical Egyptian language: ancient, middle, and neo-Egyptian. The popular or Demotic tongue also possessed a written form derived from hieroglyphics, which was used alongside the other variants from the 7th century BC until the 5th century AD, the date of the last **graffiti* in pagan temples. With the conquest by Alexander the Great in 330 BC, *Greek was officially introduced to *Egypt and the two languages existed side by side without influencing each other in any significant way. However, between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD, for reasons at once religious and practical, several attempts were made to transcribe Egyptian words in the Greek alphabet. The corpus of these texts, said to be written in 'old Coptic', was mostly magical in nature and demanded exact pronunciation of words, something not always permitted by Egyptian

writing, which is purely consonantal. Another significant corpus used in determining the history of the language is made up of hundreds of *ostraca (shards of inscribed *pottery) discovered at Narmouthis at the *Fayyum oasis. They represent the *bilingual *archives (in Demotic and Greek) of a community of pagan *priests from the 2nd century AD. The extent of the incorporation of Greek lexical items may be observed there, and the Demotic texts present grammatical traits that later show up in Coptic; this reflects a transitional stage for which evidence had long been missing.

Finally, a decisive change occurred with the *conversion and Christianization of Egypt. With translation into Egyptian of Christian texts written in Greek, the hieroglyphic system, which had become both unwieldy and too markedly pagan, was abandoned. It was replaced by the Greek alphabet supplemented with letters borrowed from Demotic that allowed the transcription of sounds unknown in Greek. That literary language is precisely the one called 'Coptic', a term that derives from the adjective *aiguptios*, 'Egyptian', in its Arabized form *qubti*.

The earliest manuscripts attesting Coptic date from the end of the 3rd century. At its beginning, the language was characterized by strong diversity of dialects. For the first three centuries of Coptic's existence, there were at least six major dialects, not to mention dialectic varieties of which there are but single attestations. The six main dialects were (from south to north) Akhmimic, Sahidic, Lycopolitan, Oxyrhynchitic, Fayyumic, and Bohairic. These dialects were distinguished by several factors: alphabet (variations in the form and number of Demotic letters), vocalization, lexicon, and syntax. Starting in the 4th century, Sahidic became the literary and vehicular dialect of the *Nile Valley; the lesser dialects disappeared towards the 6th century, except for Fayyumic and Bohairic. The latter was the language of Lower Egypt; in the 11th century it became, and remains to this day, the official language of the Coptic Church. While the syntax of the various Coptic dialectics stayed profoundly Egyptian and reflected its legacy from both Neo-Egyptian and Demotic, its lexicon contained a great number of words, some 4,000, borrowed from Greek.

Until the 6th century, Coptic seemed confined to religious literature and the private sphere, whereas Greek, the language of the local authority, was quite pervasive and served as the preponderant vehicle for legal and administrative purposes. Its decline started with the *Arab conquest of 641. Following the rapid Arabization of the country, Coptic was unable to establish itself durably. In the 13th century, scholars of the Egyptian Church attempted to record the structures of the language in bilingual works in Coptic and *Arabic; the language was already in danger at this time, and became extinct no later than the 15th century. AB

CoptEnc vol. 8 *s.v.* languages, Coptic, cols. A145a–151b (R. Kasser).

N. Bosson and S. H. Aufrère, eds., *Égyptes … l'égyptien et le copte: livre-catalogue de l'exposition* (Musée archéologique de Lattes, 3 juin– 31 octobre, 1999).

J. H. Johnson, *Thus Wrote 'Onchsheshonqy—An Introductory Grammar of Demotic* (SAOC 45, ³2000).

B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar: With Chrestomathy and Glossary* (²2004).

J. Quack, 'En route vers le copte: notes sur l'évolution du démotique tardif', in A. Lonnet and A. Mettouchi, eds., *Les Langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques)*, vol. 2 (*Faits de langues* 27, 2006), 191–216.

El Bovalar Rural site by the River Segre near Lleida (Catalonia) with a ruined three-aisled *basilica on three levels, reusing Roman *spolia, and. a small *baptistery to the north, reconstructed in the Museu de Lleida. The buildings whose foundations abut the church were probably domestic, as finds included *tools for carding wool and for *farming. Late *Visigothic *gold coins of 711/14, scattered across the site not in the church, and not concentrated in a *hoard, may have been connected with *trade. The site was occupied between the 6th and 8th centuries, and was destroyed by fire. Publication of the excavations is incomplete. RJW

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2006), 211–12.

M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* (2004), 300–1.

elephant Symbol of imperial power and conquest in *ceremony, spectacle, and art. Although viewed in *Zoroastrianism as creatures of *Ahriman, elephants accompanied Persian *armies in the 3rd century (e.g. *HA* Gordian, III) and the 6th and 7th centuries (*Evagrius, *HE* V, 14; *Sebeos, 11). Sculptural reliefs at *Taq-e Bostan in Media show elephants used in royal hunting expeditions. *Ammianus describes the terror which the noise, smell, and appearance of Persian elephants aroused in Roman armies (XXV, 1, 14; 3, 4).

Romans had access to elephants in *Africa, but used them primarily in staged hunts (**venationes*) and imperial *processions. Elephants captured from the Persians in 298 are depicted on the Arch of *Galerius in *Thessalonica and thirteen of them were paraded through *Rome in 303 (*Chronicle of 354*, p. 148 Mommsen). *Lactantius marvelled at the human ability to control so vast a beast (*De Opificio Dei*, 3, 16–18). Persian elephants captured by the Romans in the late 6th century were taught to make the sign of the *Cross with their trunks when filing past a church (*John of Ephesus, *HE* III, 2, 48). In 582 the *Avar *Khagan was offered an elephant as a diplomatic gift (*Theophylact Simocatta, I, 3, 8–10).

Decorative *mosaics often associate elephants with spectacle (*Piazza Armerina; Great *Palace of *Constantinople). Writers of natural history (*Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*, VI, 5; *Cassiodorus, *Variae*, X, 30; *Isidore of *Seville, *Etymologiae*, XII, 2, 14) often acquired information about elephants from classical sources (esp. *Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 1–32). MSB

EncIran (1998) *s.v.* elephant ii. in the Sasanian Army (M. B. Charles).
H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (1974).
P. Rance, 'Elephants in Warfare in Late Antiquity', *ActAntHung* 43 (2003), 355–84.
M. B. Charles, 'The Rise of the Sassanian Elephant Corps', *Iranica Antiqua* 42 (2007), 301–46.
Bochartus, *Hierozoïcon*, Liber II, cap. 23–7, vol. I, 247–73.

Elephantine Town on an island in the *Nile opposite *Syene. Despite being secondary in importance to Syene (Aswan) within the region in Late Antiquity, Elephantine possessed a significant army unit and at least three churches. One of these was located on the forecourt of the *Temple of Khnum, which was reused for housing from the early 5th century onwards. JHFD

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Elephantine, cols. 951b–952a (P. Grossmann).
P. Grossmann, *Elephantine* II: *Kirche und spätantike Hausanlagen im Chnumtempelhof: Beschreibung und Typologische Untersuchung* (1980).
Dijkstra, *Philae*, 30–1, 78–82, 110–19.
F. Arnold, *Elephantine* vol. XXX. *Die Nachnutzung des Chnumtempelbezirks* (2003).

Elesboas *See* KALEB.

Eleusis Site of a *temple near *Athens where mystery initiations were held. In 326, Nicagoras, torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries, visited *Egypt to secure an *obelisk for *Constantine I and left **graffiti* in the Valley of the Kings. *Julian was initiated and the hierophant travelled to *Gaul to help him fight *Constantius II (*Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 476). *Zosimus relates (IV, 3) that when *Valentinian I banned nocturnal *sacrifices (*CTh* IX, 16, 7 of 364), *Praetextatus, then *Proconsul *Achaeae, persuaded him not to apply this to *Greece. The Nestorius mentioned by Zosimus (IV, 18) as miraculously saving Athens from an *earthquake in 375 had no connection with Eleusis. A three-aisled Christian *basilica has been partially excavated. AK

TIB 1 (1976), 154.
T. Banchich, 'Nestorius *hierophantein*', *Historia* 47 (1998), 360–74.
G. Fowden, 'Nicagoras of Athens', *JHS* 107 (1987), 51–7.
A. Kaldellis, 'Julian and the Hierophant of Eleusis', *CQ* 55 (2005), 652–5.

Eleutherius (d. 619) *Eunuch and *Exarch of *Ravenna (615–19), who suppressed revolts and made peace with the *Lombards. In 619 he proclaimed himself *emperor, but was murdered by his soldiers while en route to *Rome. JJA

PLRE III, Eleutherius.
D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (2010).

Elias of Alexandria (mid- to late 6th century) Elias is the name associated with the *Alexandrian *philosopher often credited with commentaries on *Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories*, and the *Prior Analytics*. He may also have assembled the *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy*. These commentaries bear stylistic similarities to those composed by *Olympiodorus and for this reason it has been supposed that Elias was a student of Olympiodorus. A late medieval manuscript of the *Prior Analytics* commentary identifies its author with a prefect named Elias, possibly identifiable with the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum mentioned in *Justinian I's *Novels* 111 and 153, laws issued in 541. Despite his Christian name, Elias' commentaries affirm doctrines like the eternity of the world that, while maintained consistently by Alexandrian Neoplatonists, conflicted with Christian teaching. EW

PLRE III, Elias 6 and 4.
ed. A. Busse, *Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Categorias Commentaria* (*CAG* 18/1, 1900).
ed. (with ET) L. G. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (²2011).
L. G. Westerink, 'Elias on the Prior Analytics', *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961), 126–39.
C. Wildberg, 'Three Neoplatonic Introductions to Philosophy: Ammonius, David and Elias', *Hermathena* 149 (1990), 33–51.

Eligius of Noyon *Bishop of Noyon (641–59/60). A native of the Limousin, apprenticed to a goldsmith before his talents gave him an *entrée* to the *Neustrian *court, where he undertook commissions for *Chlothar II and *Dagobert I, and joined a circle which included *Desiderius of Cahors and *Audoenus of *Rouen, who it has recently been confirmed was the author of his *Vita*. His minting in *Paris and *Marseilles implies his key part in royal monetary policy; he also undertook diplomatic missions including treaty negotiations with the Bretons. He founded *monasteries with royal backing in Paris and at Solignac, before *Clovis II made him Bishop of Noyon, from which he directed missionary efforts in rural north-eastern Francia. STL

*RGA*2 *s.v. Vita Eligii*, XXXV (vol. 35, 461–524 (C. M. M. Bayer)).
Lives of S. Eligius (*BHL* 2474–7), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. IV, (1902), 663–741.

C. Mériaux, 'Du nouveau sur la Vie de saint Éloi', *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 67 (2010), 71–86.
P. Fouracre, 'The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Countryside in Seventh-Century Neustria' (SCH 16, 1979), 77–91.
J. Lafaurie, 'Eligius *monetarius*', *RevNum* 6th ser. 19 (1977), 111–51.

Elijah, Apocalypses of Apocryphal texts extant in a number of versions: two Sahidic and Akhmimic *Coptic texts, *Greek and Hebrew fragments, and later Hebrew texts. It was long considered a composite text, a Hebrew original of the late 1st century AD (perhaps from the Jewish community in *Alexandria) reworked by Egyptian Christians in Greek during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, and translated into Coptic (Wintermute, 729–30). D. Frankfurter presents a strong case that 1 Elijah is in fact a late 3rd-century AD Christian writing from Upper Egypt, the product of a regional culture which admired Christian *martyrs and was distinct from early Christianity in Alexandria. It follows from Frankfurter's argument that 1 Elijah is independent of the Hebrew *Sefer Eliyahu*, 2 Elijah (see Buttenwieser, and dated to the 7th century AD by Frankfurter, 49–50).

Unlike most apocalypses, 1 Elijah does not depict Elijah receiving revelation from an *angel, but instead reports the direct Word of God. The text's division of humanity between the sealed (righteous) and sinners, its narrative connecting historical time to the Last Day (1 Elijah 2 mentions Assyrians, Persians, and events in Egypt), and its depictions of Antichrist and natural disasters prior to final salvation are *apocalyptic themes.

The Hebrew *Sefer Eliyahu* approximates a more typical apocalypse structure and its details differ from those in the Coptic 1 Elijah. There also appears to have been a third Elijah Apocalypse, now lost but for fragmentary evidence: a Greek text containing a tour of Hell which Frankfurter (45–9, 55) dates to perhaps the 2nd century AD. PAW

ET O. S. Wintermute, 'Apocalypse of Elijah', in Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 721–53.
M. Buttenwieser, *Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse* (1897).
D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt* (1993).

Elishe Vardapet (Ełišē Vardapēt) Author of the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, an account of the revolt of 451 led by *Vardan Mamikonean against the Persian King *Yazdegerd (Isdigerdes) II, one of the best-known works of Armenian *historiography. Within his work Elishe identifies himself as an eyewitness to events. Although this claim was accepted without question throughout the Middle Ages and into recent times, it is considered suspect by modern Western scholars. Thomson detects in the text literary themes and reliance on sources that would not have been available in *Armenian before the mid-6th century. It is currently suspected that the appearance of the *History* is linked to the 571 revolt of Vardan II *Mamikonean and his flight to *Constantinople.

Given the dispute over dating the *History,* nothing is known for certain of its author although many medieval commentators filled in biographical details. Elishe was represented by later medieval writers as a student of *Mashtots' in the 440s, as a clerical scholar (thus the title 'vardapet') who personally served *Vardan I and, after Vardan's defeat at the Battle of *Avarayr, became a monastic hermit. In the 10th century *Tovma Artsruni includes Elishe in his own *History* as a historical character, and writes that Elishe unwittingly lent the manuscript of his *History* to an enemy of the Artsruni clan, who took the opportunity to remove the Artsruni hero of the Battle of Avarayr from the narrative.

Although the earlier *History* of *Lazar P'arpets'i remained known and consulted throughout the medieval era, it was the version of Elishe that informed Armenian national consciousness and rendered Vardan Mamikonean a national hero even to the present day. TLA

PLRE II, Elisaeus.
Thomson, *BCAL* 112–16, supplement 183–4.
ODB, 'Ełišē'.
ET R.W. Thomson, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (1982).

Elmet A small post-Roman Brythonic kingdom in north-west England. An early Christian *inscription from *Wales refers to an Elmetian. During the 7th century Elmet was incorporated into Northumbria and assessed at 600 hides in the *Tribal Hidage*. JFG

B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (1990).

Els Munts (mod. Altafulla, Tarragona, *Spain) Residential *villa positioned directly on the sea on the *territorium* of ancient Tarraco. The residence had reception rooms and bedrooms, decorated with *mosaics and sculptures of *pagan gods. There were *baths and large *cisterns, and also work rooms for processing products and a *cemetery with 170 graves. A pictorial *inscription associates the villa with C. Valerius Avitus, a mid-2nd-century *governor of *Tarraconensis, although the earliest occupation was in the 1st century AD. A serious fire destroyed much of the residence around 260, but it was rebuilt on a grand scale in the 4th century. It was abandoned in the early 8th century.

F. Tarrats, 'Villa dels Munts', in P. de Palol and A. Pladevall, eds., *Del romà al romànic: història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV i X* (1999), 132–3.

A. Chavarría Arnau, *El final de las villae en Hispania (siglos IV–VII D.C.)* (BiblAntTard 7, 2007), 183–6.

Elterish (Ilterish) (r. 682–92) Leader of the Ashina *Türks who, along with his comrade Tonyuquq, ended Chinese domination of the Türks to found the Second Türk Empire (682–744), over which he ruled as *khagan (*qaghan*). He gathered most of the Turkic tribes under his leadership, including the influential Toquz Oghuz (*Uighurs), and reconquered much of the former territory of the First Türk Empire. He was succeeded by his brother Kapghan *Khagan (r. 691–716), under whom the Empire reached its greatest extent. MLD

*Orkhon inscriptions, 265–6, 283, 289–90.
S. Klyashtorny in *HCCA* III, 335–8.
R. Giraud, *L'Empire des Turcs célestes: les règnes d'Elterich, Gapghan et Bilga , 680–734* (1960).

El Tolmo de Minateda (Hellín, Albacete, *Spain) Archaeological excavations at this hilltop site have identified the episcopal complex of the *city of Eio, dating from the 7th century, which later became the Islamic city of Iyuh mentioned in the Pact of *Teudemir. DD

S. Gutiérrez Lloret and P. Cánovas Guillén, 'Construyendo el siglo VII: arquitecturas y sistemas constructivos en el Tolmo de Minateda', in L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz, and M. de los Ángeles Utrero Agudo, eds., *El siglo VII frente al siglo VII: arquitectura* (2009), 91–132.

Elusa (mod. Halusa/Halutza, Ar. al-Khalus) Principal city of the central *Negev, established by the Nabateans in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, mentioned by Ptolemy and marked on the Peutinger and *Madaba *maps. It reached its acme in the Late Roman period, first as part of the *province of *Arabia, subsequently in *Palaestina Tertia. Tombstones indicate the presence of *pagans into the early 5th century. *Bishops of Elusa participated in the church *councils of *Ephesus (431) and *Chalcedon (451) and in synods at *Jerusalem in 518 and 536. In the 6th century, the monk Paul of Elusa wrote a biography of S. Theognis, Bishop of Bithylion (*BHG* 1786), and the city was mentioned by the pilgrim *Theodosius in 530 (27) and visited by the *Piacenza Pilgrim in 570 (34). In the early 7th century, *John Moschus mentions a *lavra at Elusa (*Pratum*, 164; PG 87, 3032) and the *Narrations of *Nilus* (PG 79, 587–694) mention a bishop of Elusa. Elusa remained an administrative centre in the early Islamic period, but declined in the 8th century. Excavations in 1973 and 1979–80 uncovered a house, a theatre, and the east church, and work was resumed (1997–2000) in and around the cathedral church. BH

BHG 1786: ed. J. Van den Gheyn, *AnBoll* 10 (1891), 73–113.
ET in Vivian, *Journeying into God*, 45–165.
A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (1981).
A. Negev, 'Survey and Trial Excavations at Halusa (Elusa), 1973', *IEJ* 26 (1976), 89–95.
Ph. Mayerson, 'The City of Elusa in the Literary Sources of the Fourth-Sixth Centuries', *IEJ* 33/3–4 (1983), 247–53.
A. Negev, 'The Cathedral at Haluza (Elusa)', in Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed* (1993), 286–93.
H. Goldfus, B. Arubas, and K. Bowes, 'New Excavations in the East Church of Halutza (Elusa): Preliminary Report', *JRA* 13 (2000), 331–42.

Elvira (province of Granada, Spain) The Roman *municipium* Florentinum Iliberritanum, or Illiberis, in Hispania *Baetica. Site of the *Council of Elvira (300/6), and *diocese of Gregory, *Bishop of Elvira (d. *c.*392). RLS

M. Orfila Pons, 'Iliberri-Elvira (Granada), ciudad romana y Christiania', in M. S. Muro and J. F. Ubiña, eds., *El Concilio de Elvira y su Tiempo* (2005), 117–35.

Elvira, Council of Church *council that met in *Elvira (Iliberris) in southern *Spain in an uncertain year in the early 4th century. Various dates have been proposed, from *c.*300 to post-314, but probability favours a date shortly before the Great *Persecution began in 303. Nineteen Spanish *bishops attended, including *Ossius of *Cordoba. According to tradition they composed 81 *canons, the earliest extant canon collection from any Christian council. It has however been argued that only the first 21 canons were actually composed at Elvira, and that the remaining 60 accumulated across the 4th century, although this interpretation remains controversial. Even those 21 canons provide a crucial source for church concerns in this formative period before *Constantine I when Christians became increasingly integrated into Roman civic life. Additional canons include the oldest requirement for clerical celibacy (canon 33) and a condemnation of voluntary *martyrs (canon 60). DMG

HLL 5, section 581.2.
Canons: ed. (annotated with FT) Hefele and Leclerq, *Histoire des conciles* I/I, 212–64.
ed. Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos e hispano-romanos.*
E. Reichert, *Die Canones der Synode von Elvira. Einleitung und Kommentar* (diss. Hamburg, 1990).
J. Streeter, 'The Date of the Council of Elvira', in G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom and Orthodoxy*, ed. M. Whitby and J. Streeter (2006), 99–104.

Ely (Lat. Elge) *Anglo-Saxon *minster in eastern England, surrounded by marsh, full, says *Bede, of eels (IV, 17). He records the construction here in the 670s of a *monastery for women by Æthelthryth (Etheldreda, Audrey), the virgin queen of King

Ecgfrith of Northumbria (670–85). Æthelthryth was abbess of this ascetic community for seven years; her sister Sexburg, former Queen of Kent, succeeded her. No local records survive before the 10th century. Archaeology shows the low island where the church stood was a major focus throughout the early Middle Ages with excavated settlement (showing signs of planning) and cemeteries. SCT

R. Mortimer, R. Regan, and S. Lucy, *The Saxon and Medieval Settlement at West Fen Road, Ely: The Ashwell Site* (2005).

embassies *See* DIPLOMACY.

Ember Days Three days of *fasting (Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday) in each of the four seasons (*Latin *quattuor tempora*, from which the English 'Ember' may derive), though the spring Ember Days emerged later than the other three. Ember Days appeared in the later 4th century in northern *Italy, then in the 5th century in *Rome under *Leo I the Great, who described them as ancient. MFC

G. G. Willis, 'Ember Days', *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (Alcuin Club Collections 46, 1964), 49–97.

embole *See ANNONA*.

Emesa (mod. Homs, Syria) *City in the Orontes Valley roughly halfway between *Aleppo and *Damascus and controlling the Homs Gap through which runs the shortest route from the Mediterranean coast to *Palmyra in the Syrian Desert. Emesa was made a *colonia* by the *Emperor Caracalla, whose grandfather had been priest of the famous *Temple of Elagabal at Emesa.

During the Persian invasion of 252/3 the forces of *Shapur I were apparently impeded from advancing south of Emesa by a local force led by a priest of Aphrodite; at the same time *coinage was issued in the name of a local *usurper called Uranius (Millar, *RNE* 160–1). In the 260s Emesa formed part of the Empire of *Palmyra and in 272 *Aurelian defeated *Zenobia before advancing on Palmyra itself (*Zosimus, I, 50–4).

The dam which forms Lake Homs from waters of the Orontes is ascribed by rabbinic traditions to the *Emperor *Diocletian, who passed through the city on 10 May 290 (*CJust* IX, 41, 9). As elsewhere in *Syria, marginal land around Emesa was brought into production during Late Antiquity. Silvanus, '*bishop of the churches about Emesa', was fed to wild beasts as a *martyr of the last phase of the Great *Persecution, having ministered for 40 years (*HE* VIII, 13, 4; IX, 6, 1).

*Constantius II visited in 358 (*CTh* XII, 1, 25). *Eusebius, Bishop of Emesa (d. 359), was active in the *Arian Controversy. Under *Julian a statue of Dionysus was said to have been erected in the Great Church (*ChronPasch s.a.* 362; cf. *Theodoret, *HE* III, 7, 5 and *Theophanes, AM 5853).

*Nemesius, bishop perhaps in the later 4th century, wrote a remarkable book *On the Nature of Man*. The novelist *Heliodorus, author of the *Ethiopica*, came from Emesa. In the 4th/5th century a **grammaticus* Salustius of Emesa wrote a commentary on the Hellenistic poet Callimachus.

*Sozomen describes the Church of Emesa as famous for its beauty (III, 17). Paul, Bishop of Emesa, negotiated an agreement between Syrian bishops and *Cyril of Alexandria in 433 after the First *Council of *Ephesus. Uranius, bishop in the mid-5th century, was a correspondent of Theodoret (*ep.* 122ff.) and signed the condemnation of *Eutyches at the Council of *Constantinople of 449. The city was the home of S. *Symeon the Holy Fool, who numbered among his acquaintance a *Jewish *glass blower.

One of the Heads of S. John the Baptist was discovered in 452 after the archimandrite Marcellus of the Monastery of the Cave had visions; Marcellus recorded the events (*BHG* 840 = *AASS* June IV, 724; *BHL* 4291–2; cf. *Marcellinus Comes *s.a.* AD 453; *ChronPasch s.a.* AD 453). It was venerated by *Severus of *Antioch and adored (in a glass jar) by the *Piacenza Pilgrim (46). It was moved to a church in the city in 759/60 (*Theophanes, AM 6252). Half of the church was subsequently made into a *mosque.

During the *Arab invasion the Romans won a victory at Emesa in 633 (Theophanes, AM 6125) but the city capitulated to the Arabs after a four-month siege in January 636. *Khalid b. al-Walid, one of the commanders in the siege, was buried at Emesa in 642. At the time of the Battle of *Siffin in 657 the city sided with *'Ali. Emesa became involved in the fighting between the *Caliph *Marwan II and *Suleiman b. Hisham in 743–5, suffering a siege of four months, after which Marwan destroyed its city walls (*Agapius, 259–60). OPN

DHGE 85 (1961) *s.n.* Emèse, 397–400 (Aubert and van Cauwenbergh).

Butcher, *Roman Syria*.

G. K. Young, 'Emesa in Roman Syria: Resistance, Rebellion and Regionalism in the Third Century AD', *Prudentia* 36/1 (2004), 31–48.

T. Grossmark, 'Diocletian and the Construction of the Homs Dam', *Mediterrranean Chronicle* 4 (2014), 27–42.

D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (TCH 25, 1996).

Emmaus *See* NICOPOLIS EMMAUS.

emperor The emperor's principal title was *Augustus (plur. Augusti) with the term *Caesar being used

from time to time to designate a junior emperor. There were many cases of co-rule, including rule by two or more Augusti, as well as the periodic designation of Caesars. The effectiveness of these arrangements varied greatly, case by case. Early practice had indicated that imperial office and titles were conferred by a decree of the *Senate. In reality, numerous reigns were launched by the *acclamation of an *army, leaving *senators to ratify a *fait accompli*.

The beginning of Late Antiquity was marked by chronic instability in high Roman politics, the so-called Third Century *Crisis. Whereas Septimius Severus died of natural causes in 211, after a reign of almost eighteen years, the next six Augusti were all murdered over a period of 24 years, ending the Severan dynasty in 235. This instability then became worse. Between the proclamation of Maximinus I the Thracian in 235 and the killing of *Carinus in 285, there were some 28 legitimized or presumed-legitimate Augusti. (These included several near-forgotten sons of better-known fathers: Philip II son of Philip the Arab, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian sons of *Decius, Volusianus son of *Trebonianus Gallus, Valerian II and Saloninus sons of *Gallienus). Of these 28, the majority died violently, chiefly in civil war or by assassination but occasionally in foreign wars. There were also numerous other claimants (*see* USURPER).

The final emperor to emerge in this volatile half-century, *Diocletian (284–305), is often taken to mark the beginning of the Later Roman state. But this view is simplistic. Despite its instability, the mid-3rd century saw some important emperors: Gallienus (253–68) and *Aurelian (270–5) secured military and political reforms, and strategic successes. Major reforms unfolded over the period from Gallienus to *Constantine I (306–37).

The inherent difficulties of sole emperorship in an empire with three important and active military *frontiers and in need of a secure system of succession were obvious. In 293, the Augusti Diocletian and *Maximian created the *Tetrarchy—rule by a college of four emperors—by appointing two Caesars. Diocletian and Maximian stepped down (the latter unwillingly) in 305, giving way to the Caesars. But the notion of retirement did not prove popular with emperors. The Tetrarchic experiment soon broke down with a resurgence of individual and dynastic ambitions. For most of the next century and a half, emperors were drawn from the dynasties of *Constantine, *Valentinian I (364–75), and *Theodosius I (379–95).

Co-rule remained usual until the disappearance of the Western Empire. The rank of Caesar, or even Augustus, was sometimes given to minors in the imperial family, and adult co-rule was also commonplace. It is somewhat misleading to think that the death of Theodosius I in 395, and the division of the Empire between his young sons *Honorius (393–423) and *Arcadius (395–408), marked a turning point. Theodosius had only been sole ruler very briefly in the 390s. Before that, one must turn back a generation to find rule from a single *court, to the brief reigns of *Julian (361–3) and *Jovian (363–4).

What is also noticeable is the relative stability of the throne at *Constantinople in the three centuries following Theodosius I's death. Some of this stability was due to effective regencies. From Arcadius to the end of the Heraclian dynasty in 695, there were twenty emperors and one *empress, with some phases of co-rule. Subsequent years saw renewed volatility, until the long reigns of *Leo III (717–41) and *Constantine V (741–75).

The elevation of minors serves to underline the importance of the court that surrounded each emperor. The closing years of the Western Empire were marked by a tendency for leading generals to dominate policy. In the Eastern Empire, a stronger civilian influence at court should not mask the fact that even adult emperors were highly reliant on the senior officials around them. Too uniform a picture of 'the emperor at work' is misleading. During the half-millennium of Late Antiquity, the work ethic and aptitude even of adult emperors varied greatly. Some, for better or worse, were addicted to their work. *Justinian I (527–65) had a reputation for not sleeping, chillingly described in the *Secret History* of *Procopius (*Anecd.* 12, 20–3). Others balanced work with hobbies: the many diversions of *Theodosius II (408–50) included calligraphy, *sculpture, and *polo; yet he also kept more of an eye on government than his critics supposed. Some were desperately wayward, such as the Caesar *Gallus (351–4), who had a penchant for gratuitous violence against officials and members of the civic *aristocracy, displayed an excessive fondness for the *circus, and liked to tour the *taverns of *Antioch in disguise asking drinkers their opinion of the Caesar Gallus (*Ammianus, XIV, 1, 9).

All emperors were confronted by a heavy sediment of received wisdom. They were expected to symbolize imperial unity. An ancient legacy of classical notions about kingship, much of it framed in the Hellenistic Age, may be found, for instance, in *Eusebius of *Caesarea's Tricennalia Oration in honour of Constantine. This had created expectations about giving justice, satisfying the divine powers (whether pagan or, after Constantine, Christian), and providing leadership in war. This is particularly visible in the 5th-century East, where the *noblesse de robe* who ran the central *administration at Constantinople had clear ideas about the proper way things should be done. The author who speaks for them is *John Lydus, and the emperor who emerged from their ranks was *Anastasius I; Procopius expressed the anger of this imperial *aristocracy at the way Justinian passed them over and

appointed to high office ill-educated boors such as *John the Cappadocian.

Imperial publicity, in *panegyrics and on the *coinage, strove to express this set of received ideas. But the interpretation of received wisdom was often hotly contested. For example, the rise of Christianity directly affected ideas about the relation between royal and divine authority and the conduct of the *imperial cult. In practice, the core workload of all emperors involved the oversight of the principal civil and military officials, who often gathered in the *Consistorium—an emergency meeting of the Consistorium is described by Ammianus (XV, 5, 18–22). At a less ideological level, however monolithic autocracies appear to outsiders and to those they govern, they have their internal politics (e.g. Ammianus, XVI, 7, 1–2). It was not only the emperor who decided what was commanded in his name.

Different emperors would be involved to varying degrees in policy decisions; the promulgation of laws and the giving of decisions in legal cases; in receiving delegations from within or beyond the Empire, and in conferring appointments and other *patronage. *Valentinian I died of 'a mighty fit of wrath' brought on by an embassy of the *Quadi (Ammianus, XXX, 6, 1–3). Yet the Augusti faced no coherent form of performance management. Posthumous judgement might extend to **damnatio memoriae*. Violent death was an occupational hazard. But the Roman Empire's higher governance included no effective civil process for relieving an emperor of office, or rendering him publicly accountable for shortcomings. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 321–65.
Brown, *Power and Persuasion*.
K. M. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), 197–242.
C. M. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (2004), 186–231.
C. M. Kelly, ed., *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity* (2013).
M. A. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (2013).
Matthews, *Ammianus*, 231–78.
Millar, *Emperor*, 203–72.
J. Procopé, 'Greek and Roman Political Theory', in J. H. Burns, ed., *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–1450* (1988), 21–36.

emphyteusis A form of *lease. The Roman institution of *emphyteusis* originated in the practice whereby municipal land or land belonging to the state was leased out for very long periods (or perpetually) in return for an annual rent. Unlike normal leases or usufructuary rights, these grants were deemed to be both inheritable and alienable. In Late Antiquity, this practice was assimilated under the title of *emphyteusis* (which initially applied to a similar practice of Greek origin) and came to be adopted by private landowners and the Church. Perpetual *emphyteusis* in particular effectively granted a lessee full rights of ownership without conveying full title. For that reason, the emphyteutic leasing of ecclesiastical property (which was meant to be inalienable) came to be regarded with considerable suspicion. PS

Nicholas, *Introduction to Roman Law.*

empress Women in the Roman imperial *household might bear the title *Augusta (analogous to the male title *Augustus) and sometimes, in the 5th century, the title *Aelia (e.g. the sisters of *Theodosius II). The title Augusta had been conferred selectively on the immediate relations of emperors since the early 1st century AD. It was most often given to the wives of emperors; but mothers, daughters, and others also received it. For example, it was *Constantine I (306–37) who named his mother *Helena as Augusta; while *Honoria, sister of *Valentinian III (425–55), received the title as a child. The family name Aelia, associated with *Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, wife of *Theodosius I (379–95), appears to have become a supplementary title. *Eudoxia became Augusta in 400, though she had married *Arcadius (395–408) five years earlier. And she was styled Aelia Eudoxia Augusta on *coinage, despite there being apparently no relevant family connection. Such patterns were repeated several times in the 5th century.

Roman empresses in Late Antiquity might very occasionally rule in their own right, for very brief but crucial interludes. When Theodosius II (408–50) died, his sister *Pulcheria, already an empress, initially ruled alone. After about a month, however, she was obliged to choose the next emperor, selecting *Marcian (450–7) by arranging to marry him. It is possible that she conferred the imperial diadem and vestments on him personally. Not dissimilarly, though even more quickly, the Empress *Ariadne, widow of *Zeno (474–5; 476–91), chose *Anastasius I (491–518) as the next emperor two days after Zeno's death, also arranging to marry him. It is only when we pass beyond Late Antiquity to the end of the 8th century that we find an 'empress regnant' for an extended time in the case of Irene (797–802).

Empresses in Late Antiquity could possess great influence and, at times, power. This included the ability to address the emperor and chief ministers freely—a form of **parrhesia* allegedly deployed to notable effect by *Theodora, wife of *Justinian I (527–65), during the *Nika Riots at *Constantinople in 532. When Justinian was considering fleeing the city, Theodora is reported (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 24, 37) to have echoed an ancient saying: 'Empire is a fine shroud' (or perhaps, as it sometimes rendered, 'The purple is a fine winding sheet'). Thereupon, Justinian is said to have discovered his courage, deciding to stay and face the public *disorder. The episode might be fictional; but it remains a

revealing index of what could be thought, by contemporaries, to be credible about the influence of an empress's forthright speech. Theodora was not afraid to adopt a postion different from that of Justinian on Christological questions which were dividing the East and took into her palace *Miaphysite refugees from Mesopotamia, including *John of Ephesus.

Empresses could exercise influence and power either as regents or simply by way of close kinship (Gk. *kedeia*) with emperors. Pulcheria, for example, was a determined and able politician from a very early age. The historian *Sozomen thought her decision to remain a *virgin was a deliberate strategy to avoid coming under the influence of a husband and his kin, maximizing her independence (IX, 1, 3–4). At the age of about 15 she had taken over from the powerful *eunuch Antiochus the important post of tutor to her brother Theodosius II and waged a court campaign against Antiochus which culminated in his dismissal as *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi in 421 and priestly ordination. Similarly Theodora's plotting for the removal of the Praefectus Praetorio John the Cappadocian culminated in his dismissal and ordination in 541.

Where Pulcheria had adapted the public virtues of piety and chastity to her political advantage, other virtues could lend themselves to a similar end. For example, philanthropy could become a form of *patronage. Helena was famous for acts of giving, drawing lavishly on the imperial treasury with her son's permission (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 44–5). Constantine put his mother Helena and his wife *Fausta on the coinage, as *Diocletian had put *Prisca.

Roman empresses in Late Antiquity should not be underestimated. They were often very near, and sometimes managed to become, the centre of power. Their prestige was regularly underscored through public iconography. Their perceived virtues were part of a public persona. AGS

Barnes, *NEDC* 9.
L. Brubaker and H. Tobler, 'The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324–802)', *Gender & History* 12 (2000), 572–94.
Cameron, *Procopius*.
K. G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (TCH 3, 1982).
L. James, *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium* (2001).
A. McClanan, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire* (2002).
M. A. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (2013).
W. Mayer, 'Doing Violence to the Image of an Empress: The Destruction of Eudoxia's Reputation', in H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (2006), 205–14.
D. S. Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint* (2015).

enamel A paste made of powdered, coloured *glass, which is melted and bonded with a metal base plate (mostly *gold, *silver, or *copper alloys) creating effects of contrasts between colours and materials. Different coloured opaque glasses are often combined with translucent glasses, which allow the gold from underneath to reflect the light. While in Antiquity *champlevé enamel was favoured, during the Early Middle Ages *cloisonné enamel became common. A variation, mainly known from Byzantine art, is the 'sunken enamel' (*Senkschmelz*), where parts of the object are decorated with sunken cloisonné enamel, while the rest remains bare metal. This creates the effect that the motif is floating on a gold ground. In Carolingian times enamel reverted to the champlevé technique. In the British Isles enamel has a long tradition in Celtic art, developing under Roman influence to high-quality techniques (e.g. millefiori enamel inlays). During the 8th century AD in *Ireland enamel craft flourished, creating unique artworks, such as the Ardagh Chalice. AHi

G. Haseloff, *Email im frühen Mittelalter. Frühchristliche Kunst von der Spätantike bis zu den Karolingern* (1990).
E. Speel, *Dictionary of Enamelling: History and Techniques* (1998).
N. Stratford, *Catalogue of Medieval Enamels in the British Museum*, vol. 2: *Northern Romanesque Enamel* (1993).

enapographos *See* ADSCRIPTICIUS.

Encratites Term used in heresiological literature to describe an ascetic movement of the 2nd century, from Gk. *enkrateia*, 'discipline'. Their *asceticism consisted principally of abstention from *marriage and from the eating of meat. They are associated most famously with Tatian (*fl. c.*170), who was born in *Mesopotamia ('Assyria') and became a Christian in *Rome, where he was a student of Justin Martyr. He returned to his homeland, where such asceticism was more widely practised. His Gospel harmony, the *Diatessaron*, evidences an ascetic interpretation. Since all reports about the Encratites are hostile, it is impossible to know if there was an identifiable group or if the term was used to signify a more generalized ascetic form of Christianity prevalent in Mesopotamia. CAS

RAC 5 (1962) *s.v.* 'enkrateia', 343–66 (Chadwick).
E. J. Hunt, *Christianity in the Second Century: The Case of Tatian* (2003).
N. Koltun-Fromm, 'Re-Imagining Tatian: The Damaging Effects of Polemical Rhetoric', *JECS* 16 (2008), 1–30.

Endelechius (*fl. c.*400) Severus Sanctus Endelechius, teacher of *rhetoric at *Rome, of Gallic origin, friend of *Paulinus of Nola, and author of *De Mortibus Boum*, a Christian pastoral in stanzaic form (third Asclepiadean). Bucolus laments to his friend Aegon

that he has lost all his *cattle in a recent *epidemic. Tityrus, however, has protected his animals with the Sign of the *Cross and at his urging Aegon and Bucolus are converted. MJR

PLRE II, Sanctus 2.

PCBE IV/2, Endelechius.

HLL, section 626:

ed. A. Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, I/2 (1906), poem 893.

ed. M. Barton (with GT and study), *Spätantike Bukolik zwischen paganer Tradition und christlicher Verkündigung. Das Carmen De mortibus boum des Endelechius* (Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium; Bd. 48, 2000).

D. Korzeniewski, *Hirtengedichte aus spätromischer und karolingischer Zeit* (1976).

engineering The principles of Roman engineering, based on authorities like *Philo of Byzantium, *Vitruvius, and *Hero of Alexandria, remained familiar to builders, military advisers, and technical writers throughout Late Antiquity. Considerable overlap existed between civil and military applications. Land *surveyors were essential to *city building and military campaigning, from the choice of individual sites to their connection by skilfully sited *roads and *bridges.

The expansion and maintenance of a network of state-sponsored roads, as recorded by the *Peutinger *Map*, were essential to the Late Empire's military and economic security. *Procopius and others recognized the construction of stone and *timber bridges (such as the *Sangarius Bridge) as significant achievements in the 6th century.

Traditional principles of hydrological engineering informed the design and repair of *water supply systems, from rural **qanats* and *aqueducts to urban distribution networks and household facilities. Force pumps and similar water-lifting devices were needed equally at sea and for *mining. The challenge of *quarrying and of moving *obelisks (as illustrated on the base of the Obelisk of *Theodosius I at *Constantinople), large columns, and other stone objects encouraged the use of architectural *spolia, especially for state-sponsored projects such as urban fortifications. Military engineers drew on Hellenistic authorities in developing field weaponry and siegecraft, and from the 6th century turned increasingly from torsion *artillery to the tension-powered ballista and traction trebuchet.

The greatest achievements took place in Constantinople under imperial sponsorship. The *city's early development included surveying an irregular site, laying out *streets and plazas, shaping *harbours, and devising a water system with reservoirs, *cisterns, *baths, and fountains fed by an extraordinarily long aqueduct. The early 5th-century land walls included a forward moat and two powerful walls, each with more than 90 towers and six main gates spread over a length of nearly 6 km (3.7 miles). The building of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom by *Anthemius of *Tralles and *Isidore of *Miletus deployed complex structural forms on an unprecedented scale. Other advanced technological devices include a public *horologion* and hydraulic or pneumatic automata in the imperial *Palace. MLR

Oleson, *OHETCW.*

A. G. Drachmann, *The Mechanical Knowledge of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (1963).

J. G. Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World* (rev. edn., 2000).

M. J. T. Lewis, 'Antique Engineering in the Byzantine World', in Lavan et al., *Technology in Transition*, 367–78.

Ennaton, Monastery of Named from its location at the ninth milestone on the road west of *Alexandria, Ennaton (Enaton) became a major monastic centre. At its height in the 5th–7th centuries, it included numerous independent monastic establishments federated under a superior (*hegumenos*) and community assembly. Ennaton was a centre of learning and became a haven of Coptic *Miaphysite theology and devotion. Its superior Longinus rallied behind *Dioscorus, *Patriarch of Alexandria, during the disputes engaged at the *Council of *Chalcedon (AD 451). The community was subsequently a refuge for opponents of the council. It provided Coptic Patriarchs of Alexandria, some of whom resided there. *John Moschus and *Sophronius visited. Although sacked during the *Persian invasion in 619, the Ennaton survived into the 14th/16th centuries, though evidence of its later years is scarce. JEG

CoptEnc 3 (1991) *s.v.* Enaton, cols. 954–8 (Gascou).

Life of Longinus: ET T. Vivian, *Words to Live By: Journeys in Ancient and Modern Egyptian Monasticism* (CSS 207P, 2005), 237–81.

Ennodius, Magnus Felix (474–17 July 521) Saint, *Bishop of *Pavia (513/14), and principal source (with *Boethius and *Cassiodorus) for the *fall of the Western Roman Empire and the *Ostrogothic kingdom of *Italy.

Ennodius' writings pre-date his episcopate. All in *Latin, they range from *letters and *epigrams to *saints' lives, *hymns, and controversial pamphlets. The best known are the **Panegyric* of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth (*CPL* 1492) and the *Life* of *Epiphanius of *Pavia (*CPL* 1494).

An orphaned aristocrat from *Arles, he was brought up in *Liguria by an aunt and studied with the **grammaticus* Deuterius of *Milan. Ennodius married young, but the relationship ended during Theoderic's campaign against *Odoacer and he entered the religious life (*Opera*, 438 Vogel). His *rhetorical talents commended him to Bishop Epiphanius of Pavia (Ticinum), whom he celebrated in poetry and prose (*Opera*, 43 and

80 Vogel). After Epiphanius died in 496, Ennodius joined the clergy of Laurentius of *Milan, Pavia's *metropolitan bishop, and eventually became a *deacon. He also served as papal amanuensis during the schism that arose in the *City of *Rome in 498 under the shadow of the *Acacian Schism, when *Symmachus, a popular deacon, was elected Pope simultaneously with the pro-Byzantine *priest *Laurentius. The first author to call the Bishop of Rome exclusively 'papa', Ennodius wrote several pieces for Symmachus, notably the *Libellus pro Synodo* (*Opera*, 49 Vogel), which defended the synod of 502 and asserted the superiority of the Bishop of Rome, as successor to S. Peter, to all earthly judgement. He also wrote letters on doctrinal and disciplinary matters and provided material support.

Ennodius' letters, together with the declamations and the *Paraenesis Didascalica* for Ambrosius and Beatus (*Opera*, 452 Vogel), show his lively interest in literary and pedagogical matters, clerical responsibilities notwithstanding. His contacts encompassed *court functionaries at *Ravenna, Roman *senators, particularly the family of the pro-Symmachan Faustus Niger and his sons Avienus and Messala, and friends and relatives in *Italy and *Gaul, including *Boethius, *Constantius, Ennodius' sister Euprepia, nephews Lupicinus and Parthenius, Maximus (who received the epithalamium in *Opera*, 388 Vogel), *Arator (future author of *De Actibus Apostolorum*), Laconius (adviser to the *Burgundian King *Gundobad), the *rhetor* *Julianus Pomerius, holy women like Ennodius' ex-wife Speciosa, and various clergymen. Dispatched to *Constantinople in 515 and 517 to settle the Acacian Schism (**Liber Pontificalis*, 54; **Collectio Avellana*, 116, 116a–b, 125–7, 138), Ennodius was thwarted by Pope *Hormisdas' inflexible instructions and *Anastasius I's imperial self-respect. His metrical *epitaph (*CPL* 1501, now in the Church of S. Michele Maggiore, Pavia) nevertheless claims credit for reunifying the Eastern and Western Churches. SAHK

PLRE II, Ennodius 3.
PCBE II/2, Ennodius.
HLL section 785.
Eucharisticum de Vita Sua (*BHL* 2554; *CPL* 1496), ed. Guillelmus Hartel (CSEL 6, 1882), 393–401.
CPL 1487–1500:
ed. Guillelmus Hartel (CSEL 6, 1882).
ed. F. Vogel (MGH Auct. Ant. 7, 1885).
ed. S. Gioanni (annotated with FT, 2006–).
ET (annotated) G. M. Cook, *The Life of Saint Epiphanius by Ennodius* (1942).
GT (annotated) C. Rohr, *Der Theoderich-Panegyricus des Ennodius* (1995).
IT (annotated) S. Rota, *Magno Felice Ennodio: Panegirico del Clementissimo re Teoderico (Opusc. 1)* (2002).
Atti della I, II, III Giornata Ennodiana (2001, 2003, 2007).
S. A. H. Kennell, *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church* (2000).
B.-J. Schröder, *Bildung und Briefe im 6. Jahrhundert. Studien zum Mailänder Diakon Magnus Felix Ennodius* (2007).

entertainment, public Staged mass spectacles such as animal hunts (**venationes*), *gladiatorial games (*munera*), *chariot racing (*ludi circenses*), theatrical drama (*ludi scaenici*), and athletic contests (*certamines* or *agones*) were the staples of public entertainment in the *cities of the Roman Empire.

Roman-style chariot games spread widely along with *circus architecture, and literary and material evidence, ranging from *epigrams to floor *mosaics, attests to their appeal and pervasive influence on a popular culture of entertainment shared by all classes. *Ammianus Marcellinus describes vividly the eager anticipation of the *plebs urbana* for the dawn of a racing day at the Circus Maximus (XXVIII, 4, 31).

Gladiatorial *munera* originated in *Rome but found universal support, and the widespread adoption of amphitheatre games was an important way of spreading Roman customs to the *provinces. Theatrical shows featuring *drama and dance performed on stage by pantomimes and mimes were the commonest kind of public entertainment. Interestingly, even athletic contests became more theatrical as a 'spectator sport', with athletes both competing for prizes at sacral agonistic *festivals and also appearing in medley civic shows alongside dancing girls and animal fighters.

The people's demand for these public spectacles did not diminish in Late Antiquity. The **Codex-Calendar of 354* lays out the annual rhythms of the City of Rome set by festival days with associated *ludi* and *munera*: it lists 101 days of *ludi scaenici*, 64 of *ludi circenses*, and 10 of *munera*. Few cities had endowed civic funds to support such shows. Imperial gifts and conspicuous spending by the civic *aristocracy paid for the exhibition of wild beasts, animal fighters, and gladiators in amphitheatres, for the *horses and charioteers in hippodromes, and for pantomimes and mimes to perform in theatres.

The ability of the City of Rome to call on the support of both a very rich senatorial *aristocracy and the (non-resident) *emperors for support was exceptional; but even at Rome the demand for shows sometimes outstripped available resources. As *Praefectus Urbi in 384–5, *Symmachus the orator asked *Valentinian II to provide for chariot races and theatrical shows; next to their food supply, Symmachus pleads (*Relatio* 6), what the people of Rome most cared about was entertainment. At a time when religious divisions threatened to hinder cooperation between the *Senate and the Christian emperor, provision for civic entertainment was a shared priority.

Despite various vicissitudes and dwindling resources, cities struggled to recruit trained gladiators, and

competed for *actors in travelling troupes to provide their civic shows. Imperial legislation forbade cities to kidnap actresses (*CTh* XV, 7, 5; XI, 41, 5). Rome and *Carthage even sought to create their own permanent corps of stage performers coordinated by a Tribunus Voluptatum (Lim 1996; Jiménez Sánchez). The *ludi* and *munera* had a sacred character for pagans, so their religious connotations were much discussed in Late Antiquity. Imperial publicity presented the *gaudium* and *laetitia* of the people, their joy and pleasure at shows, as outward signs of the emperors' success in securing the *felicitas temporum*, the Good Fortune of the Age, and so represented the shows as *commoda,* necessary civic amenities. *Voluptates,* a term used already in the Early Empire, came to be the word which denoted in their entirety the mass spectacles that made up Roman public entertainment (Salzmann, 237–9; Lim 1996; Puk, 63–8); the word was a 'neutral' label without religious connotations, albeit a word which seldom lacked the implication that entertainments were concessions to vulgar taste. Yet Christian authors criticized even such desacralized public entertainment just as vigorously as they had when public *sacrifices were still being offered; preachers such as Tertullian, *John Chrysostom, and, latterly, *Augustine denounced the public shows as both immoral and idolatrous, even while much of the general Christian population found no incompatibility between their faith and their attendance at shows. The Church responded to the allurement of secular spectacles by developing Christian liturgical calendars filled with *festivals dedicated to *martyrs, apparent at Rome in the *Codex-Calendar of 354* and in central *Anatolia in the *sermons of *Basil of *Caesarea and *Gregory of *Nyssa; Christian rituals became more theatrical and their significance was amplified by public *preaching. Texts that reflect the Christian critique of mass spectacles supply much of our knowledge about them but are challenging to interpret as historical sources (Jürgen; Weismann; Luggaresi). Depicting *ludi* and *munera* as necessary forms of public entertainment became a convenient trope as Christian rulers rationalized their own support for them as concessions to the people's *voluntas spectandi*, their wish for spectacles. Categorizing spectacles as merely secular entertainment protected them from elimination by those who sought the wholesale Christianization of society (Markus; Lim 1999).

Political change in the 5th-century West caused urban life, and concomitant civic entertainments, to contract. Most Romans saw the *Barbarian Migrations as a sign of decline, but *Salvian of *Marseilles praised the *Vandals for ending or at least lessening the corrupting influence of shows on Roman cities. But the public entertainments did not cease suddenly in the 5th-century West. *Caesarius preached against observance of the *Kalends of January at *Arles as a manifestation of *paganism, despite the fact that the celebrations seem to have been simply secular (**Sermons*, 192–3). Around the same time, Vandal kings presented entertainments as royal spectacles and *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth sponsored chariot races, animal hunts, and theatrical shows.

In the East, the *circus came to occupy a central place in public entertainment, particularly at *Constantinople, but also at other great cities including *Antioch, *Alexandria, *Apamea, and *Gerasa. *Lions were still being collected for use in civic entertainment in the early 5th century (*CTh* XV, 11, 2) and wild beast shows survived long enough in the cities of the East to be prohibited by the Emperor *Anastasius I in 499 (*Joshua the Stylite, 34; *Procopius of *Gaza, *Panegyric*, 16; *Theophanes, AM 5993). His abolition of pantomime dancers in all the cities of the Empire two years later was cordially welcomed by the chronicler known as Joshua the Stylite (46; cf. 27, 30 and 33 and *Zosimus, I, 6, 1). In the late 6th century, *Corippus (*In Laudem Justini Minoris*, I, 314–44) composed a complex account of the cosmological significance of chariot racing, of the hippodrome where it was performed, and of the colours of the *factions which sustained it. Less cerebral partisans of the factions, on the other hand, were potent promoters of public *disorder right up to the eve of the *Arab conquests, as is evident from the *Teaching of *Jacob the Newly-Baptized*. RLi; OPN

Cameron, *Circus Factions*.

J. A. Jiménez Sánchez, 'Le *tribunus voluptatum*: un fonctionnaire au service du plaisir populaire', *AntTard* 15 (2007), 89–98.

H. Jürgen, *Pompa diaboli. Die lateinischen Kirchenväter und das antike Theater* (1972).

R. Lim, 'The *Tribunus Voluptatum* in the Later Roman Empire', *MAAR* 41 (1996), 163–73.

R. Lim, 'People as Power: Games, Munificence and Contested Topography', in W. V. Harris, ed., *The Transformation of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity* (JRA Supplement 33, 1999), 265–81.

L. Luggaresi, *Il teatro di Dio: il problema degli spettacoli nel cristianesimo antico (II–IV secolo)* (2008).

R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1993).

A. Puk, *Das Spielewesen in der Spätantike* (Inauguraldissertation, Heidelberg, 2012).

S. Remijsen, *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity* (2015).

C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans in the Roman and Late Roman Periods: A Study Based on Inscriptions from the Current Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria* (JRS monograph 6, 1993).

M. Salzmann, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (1990).

E. Soler and F. Thelamon, eds., *Les Jeux et les spectacles dans l'empire romain tardif et dans les royaumes barbares* (2008).

W. Weismann, *Kirche und Schauspiele. Die Schauspiele im Urteil der lateinischen Kirchenväter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Augustin* (1972).

Ephesus The greatest *city of ancient Asia Minor, Ephesus (near modern Selçuk, at the mouth of the Cayster River Valley) is one of the most fully excavated Late Antique cities of the eastern Mediterranean. The city was the capital both of the *Tetrarchic *province of *Asia and the *Dioecesis *Asiana; its civic government remained active through the 4th and early 5th centuries, and the city's reputed links with Ss. John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, and the Blessed Virgin *Mary made it an important place of *pilgrimage throughout Late Antiquity. The Roman city was seriously damaged by a series of 3rd-century *earthquakes, and a large-scale reconstruction of public buildings was not undertaken until the late 4th or early 5th century.

The western part of the city was extensively remodelled in Late Antiquity. The broad avenue running from the theatre to the *harbour (the 'Arcadiane') was reconstructed *c.*400 with covered colonnades and *shops on both sides, and night-time street lighting; a lavish monument to the four Evangelists on this *street may date to the reign of *Justinian I. The Harbour *baths were renovated by *Constantius II. To the north of the Arcadiane, beyond a large residential area, was a great *basilica dedicated to the Virgin Mary, built in the ruins of the south stoa of the colossal *Temple of Hadrian Olympios. The date of the church has been disputed, but recent excavations suggest a late 4th-century date; the church should therefore be identified as the site of the church *councils of 431 and 449. The most important secular building of Late Antique Ephesus is a large palatial complex of the early 5th century, the 'Byzantine Governor's Palace', east of the Church of the Virgin Mary, perhaps the residence of a provincial official.

The centre of the Late Antique city was the Embolos, the wide paved road connecting the western part of the city to the Upper Agora and Temple of Domitian. Late Roman public documents and honorific statues for *governors, private citizens, and members of the imperial family were erected here, and **graffiti* and *acclamations are found in great numbers. On the north side of the Embolos, statues of the members of the first Tetrarchy were erected in front of the small Temple of Hadrian. The reliefs from the temple itself, traditionally attributed to the Tetrarchic or *Theodosian period, have now been firmly dated to the early 2nd century AD. The 2nd-century baths adjoining the temple were restored in the late 4th century by a woman named Scholasticia.

To the south of the Embolos, the lavish terrace *houses ('Hanghäuser') suffered extensive earthquake damage in the late 3rd century AD. Some of the housing plots were divided up into smaller dwellings and continued to be occupied in Late Antiquity, but the fine internal decoration of Hanghaus 2, formerly considered as evidence for standards of living in Late Roman Ephesus, is now dated in its entirety to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The old public buildings of the Upper Agora, at the east end of the Embolos, were also gradually replaced by shops and private houses.

Outside the urban centre, the most important building of Late Roman Ephesus was the Church of S. John on the hill of Selçuk (Byzantine Theologo), the traditional burial place of S. John the Evangelist. A small church had existed on the site since the 4th century; *Egeria planned to visit it (23, 10). *Justinian I replaced this with an enormous cruciform basilica (begun in 535/6), with lavish interior decoration, on the same plan as the Church of the *Holy Apostles in *Constantinople. Its courtyard was used for clandestine nocturnal *Miaphysite ordinations (*John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 25). The extant *aqueduct serving the hill of Selçuk probably dates to the same period.

Widespread destruction took place on the Embolos and the Upper Agora in the early 7th century, perhaps as the result of an *earthquake in *c.*614; the population of Ephesus declined sharply in the late 7th century. At an uncertain date, probably in the 7th or 8th century, a new fortification wall was built, enclosing a drastically reduced area in the north-west of the ancient settlement; the hill of Selçuk was also walled at around the same time. Ephesus retained its regional significance in the 8th century and afterwards, as capital of the *Thrakesion *Theme. PJT

C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City* (1979; largely superseded on archaeological chronology).

F. Krinzinger, ed., *Das Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos*: Studien zu Baugeschichte und Chronologie (Denkschr. Wien 302, 2002).

A. Thiel, *Die Johanneskirche in Ephesos* (2005).

S. Ladstätter and A. Pülz, in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, 391–433.

F. Daim and J. Drauschke, eds., *Byzanz: das Römerreich im Mittelalter* 2.2 (RGZM Monographien 84, 2010), 493–744.

Ephesus, councils of Two *councils of the Church were held at *Ephesus, the Third Œcumenical Council of 431 which condemned *Nestorius, and the so-called Latrocinium or 'Robber' Council of 449, whose decrees were nullified by the Council of *Chalcedon in 451.

The council of 431 was convened by the *Emperor *Theodosius II to address the theological problem posed by Nestorius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople. *Cyril, Patriarch of *Alexandria, and Memnon, *Bishop

of Ephesus, presided over approximately 200 bishops gathered between 22 June and 22 July 431 in the Church of S. *Mary, near the *harbour in Ephesus. They summoned Nestorius three times to appear, but he refused. The council met without him. In his absence, they judged, by the standard of the *Creed articulated at the Council of *Nicaea (325), Nestorius' teaching that Christ consisted of two natures and possibly two persons, the human and the divine. Among the documents the council incorporated into their evidence was Cyril's third *letter to Nestorius, which affirmed that the divine and human natures of Christ were truly united in a natural union. After considering Nestorius' letters, *sermons he had delivered in Ephesus, and a *florilegium* of his writings, the council deposed him (22 June 431) according to the ecclesiastical *canons and in accord with a synodal decree from *Rome (August 430). The delegation from *Antioch, under the leadership of John, Patriarch of Antioch, arrived too late to participate in the proceedings and held a counter-synod of 43 bishops and *priests to depose Cyril and Memnon (28 June 431). Theodosius II summoned Cyril and John first to Chalcedon (September/October 431) and then to *Nicomedia to negotiate their differences.

Theodosius II convened the 'Robber' Council of Ephesus II in August 449, by an imperial *sacra* (30 March 449) to judge the orthodoxy of *Eutyches, who had been deposed by a local synod under Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, for teaching that Christ had two natures before the union, but one nature afterwards. *Dioscorus, Cyril's successor at Alexandria, presided over a gathering of 130 Eastern bishops and clergy, supporters of Eutyches who were generally sympathetic to his plight. They voted to overturn Eutyches' conviction and passed a sentence of deposition against Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, both of whom were later judged orthodox. The events unfolded amid threats of physical violence against anyone who refused to cooperate. After the accession of the *Emperor *Marcian in 451 the Council of Chalcedon overturned the 'Robber' Council of Ephesus for violating the canons and for its brutal suppression of orthodox bishops. SW

Acts: CPG 8675–8802, ed. E. Schwartz in *ACO* I, I, 2, 3–64; *ACO* I, I, 3, 53–63; *ACO* I, I, 3, 15–26; *ACO* I, I, 7, 84–117.
CPG 8937, ed. E. Schwartz in *ACO* II, I, I, 77–195.
FT A. J. Festugière, *Éphèse et Chalcédoine: actes des conciles* (1982).
Selected ET Stephenson, *Creeds, Councils and Controversies*, 287–321.
Selected ET H. R. Percival (NPNF 14, 1899), 191–242.
F. Millar, 'The Acta of the Fifth-Century Councils: A Brief Guide for Historians', in Millar, *Greek Roman Empire*, 235–46.
T. Camelot, *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (1962).
C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church, AD 431–451* (1882), vol. 3.
S. Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (2004), 138–80.

Ephrem (*c.*306–373) *Syriac poet and theologian.

Life

Ephrem was born in the early years of the 4th century and spent most of his life serving as a *deacon under the local *bishop (the first being *Jacob of *Nisibis, d. 338) in the border *city of Nisibis. However, when Nisibis was handed over to the *Persian Empire and the Christian population had to leave, Ephrem became a refugee, eventually settling in the more Hellenized *Edessa, where he lived for the last ten years of his life. He died on 9 June 373 (thus the 6th-cent. **Chronicle of Edessa*). Ephrem was already known in his lifetime to *Epiphanius, who calls him 'the sage among the Syrians' (*Panarion*, VI, 22, 7), and in 392 *Jerome included him in his *De Viris Illustribus* (115). In his *panegyric on Ephrem the later poet *Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) portrays him as instituting choirs for women. Rather later in the 6th century, the *Life* of Ephrem sought to bring him up to date for contemporary readers, anachronistically making him into a monk, and linking him to the wider Christian world by having him visit *Basil in *Cappadocia and Bishoi in *Egypt (in both cases the stories are based on the wrong identification of an anonymous 'Syrian').

Works

Ephrem's extensive writings fall into four categories: (1) prose, (2) artistic prose, (3) narrative poetry, and (4) stanzaic poetry. His most important prose works are the commentaries on Genesis (which show a knowledge of a number of Jewish exegetical traditions), and on the *Diatessaron (perhaps put together after his death), and various treatises against *Marcion, *Bardaisan, and the *Manichaeans. Further commentaries on the *Bible, on Acts and the Pauline Epistles, survive only in *Armenian. Artistic prose is represented by the *Treatise on our Lord*, and the *Letter to Publius* (a meditation on the Last Judgement). A great many poems (**memre*; '*sermones*') in the seven-syllable metre (known as the 'metre of Ephrem') came to be wrongly attributed to Ephrem; those that are genuine include six poems *On Faith*, sixteen *On Nicomedia* (composed after the city's destruction in the *earthquake of 358), and narrative poems on Jonah and the repentance of Nineveh and on the Sinful Woman of Luke 7 (*Sermones*, II, 1 and 4; both were translated into *Greek and other languages).

Ephrem's reputation as a poet and theologian, however, rests on his stanzaic poems (**madrashe*; '*hymni*'), of which some 500 survive; these come down in

collections of different sizes, the largest being *On Faith* (87), *On Nisibis* (77; only the first half are on Nisibis; many of the rest are on Christ's Descent to Sheol), *Against Heresies* (56), *On the Church* (52), and *On Virginity* (52). Of the smaller collections especially important are those *On the Nativity* (28) and *Against Julian* (4). This last must date from shortly after the *Emperor *Julian's death in 363, but considerable uncertainty surrounds the chronology of his other works, and whether or not the collections go back to Ephrem himself. It is likely, however, that the *Prose Refutations*, and the *madrashe Against Heresies* and *On Faith* all date from his Edessene period.

The collections are preserved in full only in a small number of 6th-century manuscripts (in the subsequent liturgical tradition only excerpts from his genuine poems are to be found). From a 7th-century index of the melodies (*qale*) used by Ephrem, it is clear that two further extensive collections once existed. Particularly famous is a group of five 'On the Pearl', in the collection *On Faith*. Many of the *madrashe* in the collection on Nisibis concern its bishops and the *siege by *Shapur II in 350.

A key term in Ephrem's thought is *raza* (plural *raze*), 'mystery, symbol' (in a strong sense); it is through these *raze*, hidden in both the natural world and the Bible, that he sees God as revealing something of Himself to humanity: by means of the right exercise of free will and through faith a person becomes able to perceive these *raze* with the purified interior eye, and thus to discover the interconnections in time and space between this world and the divine reality. Ephrem probably had little or no knowledge of *Greek, but he was clearly well aware of contemporary currents of thought in the Greek-speaking world. SB

GEDSH s.v. Ephrem, 145–7 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 147.
K. den Biesen, *Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* (2002).

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ET E. Mathews and J. Amar, *St Ephrem the Syrian, Selected Prose Works* (FC 91, 1994).
ed. L. Leloir, *S. Éphrem, Commentaire sur l'évangile concordante* (1963, 1990).
ET C. McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron* (1993).
ed. (with ET) C. W. Mitchell, *S. Ephrem's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, 2 vols. (1912, 1921).

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(a) *Memre*, ed. (with GT) E. Beck (CSCO 212–13, 1961).
Sermones, I–IV, ed. (with GT) E. Beck (CSCO 305–6, 311–12, 320–1, 334–5 (1970–3; not all genuine).
On Nicomedia: ed. (with FT) C. Renoux, PO 37/2–3 (1975).
(b) *Madrashe*, ed. (with GT) E. Beck (CSCO 154–5, 169–70, 174–5, 186–7, 198–9, 218–19, 223–4, 240–1, 246–9; Scr. syr. 73–4, 76–9, 82–5, 92–5, 102–3, 106–9).

T. Bou Mansour, *La Pensée symbolique de s. Éphrem* (1988).
Partial ET J. B. Morris, *Select Works of S. Ephrem the Syrian* (1847).
J. Gwynn, in NPNF 2nd series, vol. 13 (1898).

K. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns* (CWS, 1989) [Nativity, Virginity, Against Julian].
S. P. Brock, *St Ephrem, Hymns on Paradise* (1990).
Several FT in Sources chrétiennes and Spiritualité orientale.
(c) Selections:
S. P. Brock and G. A. Kiraz, *Ephrem the Syrian. Select Poems* (2006).
ET S. P. Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit: Poems of Saint Ephrem the Syrian* (^{3}2013).
ET (annotated) of *Hymns against Julian* by J. M. Lieu in Lieu, *Julian*, 87–128.

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ed. (with ET) J. Amar, *A Metrical Homily on Holy Mar Ephrem by Jacob of Serugh* (PO 47, 1995).
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S. P. Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of St Ephrem* (1985, 1992).
T. Bou Mansour, *La Pensée symbolique de s. Éphrem* (1988).
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K. den Biesen, *Simple and Bold: Ephrem's Art of Symbolic Thought* (2006).
C. Lange, *The Portrait of Christ in the Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron* (CSCO 616, Subs. 118, 2005).
(Various hands), *Saint Éphrem: un poète pour notre temps* (2007). [Includes a guide to editions and translations of his works.]
Th. Kremer, *Mundus primus. Die Geschichte der Welt und des Menschen von Adam bis Noach im Genesiskommentar Ephräms des Syrers* (CSCO 641, Subs. 128, 2012).

Ephrem of Amida *Comes Orientis (523–4; 526), and later *Patriarch of *Antioch (527–45). A native of *Amida, he spoke *Syriac and *Greek. As Comes, Ephrem displayed administrative skill after the Antioch *earthquake in 526. (**Chronicle of Edessa*, 97–9). Elected Patriarch of Antioch in 527 (*Malalas, XVII, 22), Ephrem violently enforced Chalcedonian Christianity in largely *Miaphysite areas of northern *Mesopotamia. Ephrem's contribution to theology was his Neo-Chalcedonian Christology. *Photius summarized Ephrem's works in his *Bibliotheca* (30). Many of his theological

works are lost, but a few fragments survive, known through *Anastasius of Sinai, Photius, and *John of Damascus. Miaphysite sources remember Ephrem as a persecutor (*John of *Nikiu, 90, 32). Both Miaphysite and Chalcedonian authors acclaim Ephrem's administrative abilities (*Zacharias Rhetor: *HE* VIII, 4; *Michael the Elder, *Chron.* 9, 26). During *Khosrow I's invasion of 540 he took refuge in *Cilicia (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 7, 17). JNSL

PLRE II, Ephraemius.

CPG 6902–5 (including *Ex Apologia pro Synodo Chalcedonensi et Epistola S. Leonis, e Tertio Libro Contra Severum*), ed. in PG 86/ 2, 2103–10.

J. Lebon, 'Éphrem d'Amid, patriarche d'Antioche (526–544)', in *Les Mélanges offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son jubilé de 50 années de professorat à l'Université de Louvain 1863–1913* (1914), 197–214.

Ephrem Syrus Graecus Over 200 works in *Greek are ascribed to *Ephrem the Syrian. These fall into three main categories: (1) texts translated from *Syriac and genuinely by Ephrem; (2) texts translated from Syriac but not by Ephrem; and (3) texts originally composed in Greek, some of which may in fact be by *Ephrem of Amida, *Patriarch of *Antioch (527–45) rather than Ephrem the Syrian. Among works in the first category are the narrative poems on Jonah and the Repentance of Nineveh, and on the Sinful Woman who anointed the feet of Jesus (Luke 7); and among those in the second are the Testament of Ephrem, and the Life of Abraham of Qidun. All these were in due course translated into *Latin. SB

CPG II and Supplement, nos. 3905–4117.

S. P. Brock, 'The Changing Faces of St Ephrem as Read in the West', in J. Behr, A. Louth, and D. Conomos, eds., *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West* (2003), 65–80.

Ephrem Syrus Latinus Name given to *Latin works transmitted under *Ephrem's name, some of which are translations of *Greek or *Syriac counterparts, and many of which are not genuine works of Ephrem. Ephrem is alluded to by *Defensor of Ligugé. SJL-R

CPL 1141–47.

DictSpir 4 (1960) *s.v.* Éphrem grec et latin, 800–19 (Hemmerdinger-Iliadou).

K. den Biesen, *Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* (2002).

S. P. Brock, 'The Changing Faces of St Ephrem as Read in the West', in J. Behr, A. Louth, and D. Conomos, eds., *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West* (2003), 65–80.

D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, 'Éphrem: versions grecque, latine et slave. Addenda et corrigenda', *EHBS* 42 (1975–6), 320–73.

epic, Greek Hexameter poetry continued to enjoy enormous popularity throughout Late Antiquity. Poets enjoyed great mobility, but it is *Egypt that stands out as a particular hotbed of poetic production and consumption.

Small-scale 'epyllia' on mythological themes (including the Calydonian Boar hunt and the sack of Troy) were produced by poets such as *Triphiodorus, *Colluthus, *Soterichus, and *Musaeus; interest both in the story of Jason and his quest for the Golden Fleece and in the Hellenistic poet Apollonius of Rhodes is suggested by an extant *Argonautica*, purportedly the work of Orpheus.

At the same time full-scale mythological epics were produced by *Quintus of *Smyrna (a continuation of *Homer's *Iliad* in fourteen books) and *Nonnus of *Panopolis (on the adventures of Dionysus and his efforts to earn a place for himself in Olympus, in 48 books). Pisander of Laranda outdid both of these with a 60-book epic, the *Heroikai Theogamiai*, which told the story of the world down to the age of Alexander the Great. Such was its popularity that it was said to have led to the demise of the Epic Cycle.

Historical epic also flourished in its own right. An account of the sack of Thebes by Alexander the Great was the subject of a poem by Soterichus. Three fragments preserve evidence of an anonymous *Blemmyomachia* (P. Berol. 5003)—a Homeric-style account of a Roman campaign against the *Blemmyes. *Christodorus of *Coptus is known to have written historical epics with the names *Isaurica* and *Lydiaca*. His hexameter description of the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus in *Constantinople (Book 2 of the **Greek Anthology*) sheds light on a Late Antique interest in *ecphrasis. Historical and scholarly/antiquarian interest is further represented by the genre of *Patria*: poems on the foundation stories of various *cities.

A delight in verbal pyrotechnics and a playful relationship with the Classical canon (most specifically with Homer) can be clearly seen in the production of lipogrammatic versions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (by Nestor of Laranda and Triphiodorus) and in the recontextualization of Homeric lines into new *cento poems. The genre of biblical epic, well established for the *Latin tradition, is represented by a hexameter paraphrase of S. John's Gospel, widely and plausibly accepted as the work of Nonnus. The writing of hexameters continues into the late 6th century with the short encomia by *Dioscurus of *Aphrodito and a two-book poem on a picture of the heavens by *John of *Gaza. RECS

G. Agosti, 'Greek Poetry', in S. F. Johnson, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (2012), 361–404.

Laura Miguélez Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD* (Sozomena—Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts 2, 2008).

epic, Latin *Latin Late Antiquity saw the production of four main types of epic: mythological, *panegyric, biblical, and *hagiographical.

The sole substantial example of mythological epic is the incomplete *De Raptu Proserpinae* of *Claudian, though we have some lines of a Latin Gigantomachy from the same author and shorter mythological poems (epyllia) from *Dracontius.

Panegyric epic was first extensively practised by Claudian. His poems on the *consulships of *Honorius and *Stilicho and the African and Gothic wars combine epic narrative techniques with the rhetorical imperatives of panegyric in a way that complicates generic identity. His example was followed by Flavius *Merobaudes, *Sidonius Apollinaris, Dracontius (in a poem now lost), *Priscian, and *Corippus.

Biblical epic, hexameter narrative poetry based on biblical texts, was the first substantial Christian poetic genre, inaugurated by *Juvencus (*c.*329/30). *Sedulius followed Juvencus in taking the Gospels as his subject, while *Arator wrote on Acts. Recently some portions of the Gospel epic of *Severus of Malaga have been discovered. Old Testament poetry is represented by a pseudonymous *Heptateuchos*, and by Claudius *Marius Victorius of *Marseilles and *Avitus of *Vienne (all 5th cent.).

The hagiographical epic depends extensively on the model of Sedulius' Gospel epic. Both surviving examples, by *Paulinus of Périgueux and *Venantius Fortunatus, treat the life of S. *Martin of *Tours following *Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Saint Martin* and the supplementary stories in his *Dialogues*. *Prudentius in his *Psychomachia* forges a new form of hexameter narrative poetry, combining personification *allegory, epic scenes of battle, and the multiple levels of Christian exegesis. Common to much Late Latin epic, whatever its subject, is a tendency to discontinuity and a fragmented narrative structure. MJR

R. P. H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator* (2006).

H. Hofmann, 'Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der nichtchristlichen Epik der lateinischen Spätantike', *Philologus* 132 (1988), 101–59.

W. Kirsch, *Die lateinische Versepik des 4. Jahrhunderts* (1989).

Epidaurum (mod. Cavtat, Croatia, from *civitas*) *City on the *Dalmatian coast with remains of an *aqueduct, *temple, and two suburban *villas. *Bishop Fabricius attended *councils at *Salona in 530 and 533. In 536, at the start of the *Gothic War, *Justinian I's forces advanced up the Adriatic Coast from the *harbour (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 7, 26–33). The last coin from Epidaurum is from the time of *Phocas (602–10). The **Anonymi Cosmographia* (IV, 16) refers to *Epitaurum id est Ragusium*. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*, 29) attributes the foundation of the nearby coastal fort of Ragusa (mod. Dubrovnik) to refugees from *Avar and *Slav invasion. IDS

M. Suić, *Antički Grad: na istočnom Jadranu* (2003).

Epidaurus (*Greece) *Pagan healing sanctuary on the east coast of the Peloponnese, 40 km (25 miles) south-east of *Corinth. The last securely datable pagan dedication (to Aesculapius of *Aegae) was made in AD 355 in accordance with a *dream by Mnaseas Hermioneus, the last attested *pagan priest (*IG* IV², 438). Three Christian churches of the early 5th and 7th centuries were built at the site; one of them, a five-aisled *basilica, built just outside the pagan *temenos c.* AD 400, decorated with *mosaics and with an attached *baptistery, is one of the earliest churches in Greece. A 5th-century *house preserves mosaics from a local school of mosaicists. PA; JLB

Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 118, fig. 72.

R. A. Tomlinson, *Epidauros* (1983).

A. Avramea, *Le Péloponnèse du IVe au VIIIe siècle: changements et persistances* (1997).

epidemic diseases It is difficult to identify past epidemics. The use of written sources for retrospective diagnoses is controversial and often disputed by natural scientists, because of both the absence of clear descriptions of symptoms and the possible mutation of pathogens which would alter the clinical picture of infectious diseases. Relatively few such infectious diseases leave marks on the human skeleton making them traceable by palaeopathologists while more recent attempts to identify the presence of specific epidemic diseases based on samples of DNA extracted from human remains are still controversial.

Nevertheless, some major epidemics of the past are quite safely identified due to their abundant and detailed record in the sources: the Justinianic *Plague, *malaria, and to a lesser extent smallpox. It is assumed that smallpox was the epidemic disease that ravaged various regions in the eastern Mediterranean in 312–13 (*Eusebius, *HE* IX, 8, 11–12) as well as the *city of *Edessa in two recurring outbreaks between 494 and 502 (*Joshua the Stylite, 26 and 38–44). The chief symptoms included pustules spread all over the body, loss of sight, and scarification among survivors, all of which agree with modern epidemiology.

Leprosy, which is recorded in *sermons and *saints' lives from the 4th century onwards, can be traced on human remains, but so far no sample from Late Antique populations has been securely attested. Apart from malaria, however, probably the most widespread infectious diseases in Late Antiquity would have been those of the gastrointestinal tract such as typhoid fever and shigellosis, since they thrive in conditions of poor *sanitation and hygiene and were chiefly caused by contaminated water. Their chief symptoms, fever and diarrhoea, are ubiquitous in the source record.

Mass poisonings due to contaminated food, such as ergotism, aspergillotoxicoses (both caused by the

consumption of fungus-contaminated grain), or botulism (caused by the consumption of contaminated meat), while not epidemic diseases in the strict sense, probably also affected large groups in the period, although more securely identified instances are uncommon.

In the centuries before *Constantine I, *cities sought to avert epidemics by performing the sort of religious *festivals derided by *Arnobius (VII, 39). Later, Christian communities sought relief through *prayer, sometimes in communal *processions, sometimes through the intercession of *holy men, sometimes in a combination of both, as when *Gallus, *Bishop of *Clermont-Ferrand, instituted a lengthy Lenten *pilgrimage of *rogation when the Justinianic Plague threatened his city (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* IV, 5). Simple physical proximity to *relics of holy men might also provide protection, as at *Emesa during the Justinianic Plague (*Zacharias Rhetor, X, 9a) or at *Antioch (*Evagrius, IV, 35). Evagrius observed that plague came and went in accordance with the cycle of the *indiction (IV, 29). *Agathias records that some people thought that recurrences of disease followed natural cycles, whereas others thought they resulted from divine anger at human sin; he himself could not decide (V, 10, 5–7).

Mortality caused by epidemic diseases was considerable given that their causes were not understood and that the medical establishment could do little to contain or manage them, much less cure them. Our sources also preserve instances of epidemic diseases affecting *animals, especially those required for agricultural labour (e.g. *VTheodSyk* 45). Such disease could contribute to failed harvests and shortages. DSt; OPN

C. Bourbou, *Health and Disease in Byzantine Crete (7th–12th centuries AD)* (2010).

M.-H. Congourdeau, 'La Société byzantine face aux grandes pandémies', in E. Patlagean, ed., *Maladie et société à Byzance* (1993), 21–41.

Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*.

epigram Originally, a poem, usually short, inscribed on a monument. Hellenistic poets translated this epigraphic tradition into a literary genre that flourished down to the 2nd century AD. After this, virtually nothing survives until a revival of inscriptional and literary epigram in the 4th–6th centuries. It enjoyed popularity and longevity as a literary form in Late Antiquity, and the period saw both emulation of, and innovation upon, classical models.

In *Greek the usual *metre was the elegiac couplet, but iambic trimeter and especially stichic hexameter were also employed. Notable practitioners include the pagan *Palladas (mainly satire), the Christian *Bishop *Gregory of *Nazianzus (mainly *epitaphs), and the poets of *Agathias' *Cycle* (in a range of subgenres, including epideictic, *ecphrastic, and erotic). Important epigrams have been recovered from *inscriptions on Late Antique buildings and monuments erected for celebrated individuals.

In *Latin the influence of Martial is very evident in, for example, the epigrams of *Luxorius. But the taste for translation into Latin from Greek models in the **Epigrammata Bobiensia*, and for bilingual (Latin/Greek) epigrams in *Ausonius, is new, as are the Christian themes in the epigrams of *Prosper. Poets such as *Damasus and *Ennodius returned the epigram to its epigraphic origins by composing inscriptions for use on churches and tombs. Late Antiquity also saw the anthologizing of epigrams, in particular in the **Anthologia Latina* in North *Africa. KVW; JFU

ed. N. M. Kay (with ET and comm.), *Ausonius: Epigrams* (2001) contains a concise overview of the history of the Greek and Latin epigram after Martial.

L. Mondin, 'La misura epigrammatica nella tarda latinità', in A. M. Morelli, ed., *Epigramma Longum* (2008), 397–494.

G. Agosti, 'Literariness and Levels of Style in Epigraphical Poetry of Late Antiquity', *Ramus* 37 (2008), 191–213.

I. Calderini, 'L'epigramma greco tardoantico: tradizione e innovazione', *Vichiana* NS 16 (1987), 103–34.

D. Feissel, 'Gouverneurs et édifices dans des épigrammes de Smyrne au Bas-Empire', *REG* 111 (1998), 125–44.

L. Robert, 'Epigrammes du Bas-Empire', *Hellenica* 4 (1948), 35–114.

epigraphy *See* INSCRIPTIONS.

Epigrammata Bobiensia An anthology of *epigrams assembled probably in the early 5th century AD. It takes its name from a lost 8th-century codex from the *monastery of *Bobbio, which contained the poems. Its 71 pieces vary in content, length, and metre; over 40 translate *Greek originals. Authors include *Naucellius, identified by some critics as the compiler of the anthology, Anicius Probinus, and Ps.-Sulpicia. While its subjects are classicizing, the anthology need not be viewed as *pagan in character. With *Ausonius, *Claudian, and others, it demonstrates the popularity of epigram in Late Antiquity. SMcG

HLL, section 620.

CPL 204:

ed. W. Speyer, *Epigrammata Bobiensia* (1963).

Cameron, *Pagans*, 373–4.

RE Suppl.9 (1962) *s.v.* Epigrammata Bobiensia 37–68 (Mariotti).

epilepsy Whether epilepsy was a somatic disease, with convulsions, foaming at the mouth, and physical collapse (hence 'the falling sickness'), or whether it manifested the seizure of the body by a *demon, was a question on which Late Antique cultures reached no lasting consensus. The naturalistic views of *Galen

predominated among doctors of the *Greek-speaking world, as did the treatments involving *diet, purging, and bleeding that he advocated, although other authorities cautiously embraced such remedies as *gladiators' blood and turtle bile. However, outside the consulting room, sufferers were likely to be viewed as demoniacs or lunatics. It is no coincidence that the *Emperor *Zeno was posthumously stigmatized as an epileptic as well as a libertine. PHo

O. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the beginnings of Modern Neurology* (2nd rev. edn. 1994).

L. I. Conrad, 'Zeno, the Epileptic Emperor', *BMGS* 24 (2000), 61–81.

Epinicus Former **notarius*, protégé of the *Empress *Verina, and a rapacious *Praefectus Praetorio under the *usurper *Basiliscus in 475, he was reconciled to the Emperor *Zeno in 476. Exiled to *Isauria in 478 for plotting against *Illus, then Zeno's *Magister Officiorum, he was allowed to return after blaming Verina. OPN

PLRE II, Epinicus.

Epiphania (Gk. Emathous; mod. Hama, Syria) Walled *city of great antiquity in *Syria Secunda on the banks of the River Orontes, about 54 km (33 miles) north of *Emesa.

The city was one of those captured by *Shapur I in 253 (*ŠKZ* 16: Chamath). *Bishop Minicius, who attended the Synod of *Antioch of 324/5 and the Council of *Nicaea in 325, is the earliest bishop known by name. Under the *Emperor *Julian, according to the **Chronicon Paschale*, Bishop Eustathius was so distressed at pagans, with flutes, bringing the image of a pagan god into the church, that he dropped dead (*s.a.* AD 362).

After an *earthquake in the 4th century, the city walls and other buildings were reconstructed. A Christian *basilica with *mosaics and a *baptistery bore building *inscriptions of 412 and 415. *Baths were provided by a private benefactor, together with wages for poor folk employed about the building (*IGLS* V/13–14, no. 1999).

The great *houses on the Acropolis included one with elaborate floor mosaics from which the figures were subsequently obliterated. In the 5th and 6th century Epiphania was the home-town of the historians *Eustathius of Epiphania (d. *c.*505), *John of Epiphania (6th cent.), and *Evagrius Scholasticus (*c.*536–*c.*594). In the early 6th century Bishop Cosmas was a vigorous opponent of *Severus, the *Miaphysite *Patriarch of Antioch. The *Piacenza Pilgrim passed through (46).

During the *Arab conquest, Hama surrendered to Abu Ubayda in 636/7 and was incorporated into the *jund of *Emesa (Homs). Much use was made of Late Roman *spolia in the buildings of the Islamic city; the relation of the *Umayyad *Mosque to the Christian buildings preceding it is problematic. OPN

TIB XV/2 Syria (2015) *s.n.* Epiphaneia, 1129–42.

Hama: fouilles et recherches, 1931–1938 (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseets skrifter. Større beretninger, 1, 3, 7–10, 12, 14):

III/1 G. Ploug et al., *The Greco-Roman Town* (1985).

III/3 A. Papanicolaou Christensen et al., *The Graeco-Roman Objects of Clay, the Coins and the Necropolis* (1986).

IV/1 P. Pentz, *The Medieval Citadel and its Architecture* (1997).

IV/2 P. J. Riis, *Les Verreries et poteries médiévales* (1957).

IV/3 G. Ploug et al., *Les Petits Objets médiévaux sauf les verreries et poteries* (1969).

C. Foss, 'Syria in Transition, AD 550–750: An Archaeological Approach', *DOP* 51 (1997), 189–269 at 229–32.

Epiphania (b. 611) Daughter of *Heraclius I and *Eudocia. She was crowned *Augusta in 612 after Eudocia's death. In *c.*629 she was betrothed to the khan of the *Turks, but en route he died and Epiphania returned to *Constantinople. MTGH

PLRE III, Epiphania *quae et* Eudocia 2.

C. Zuckerman, 'La Petite Augusta et le Turc: Epiphania–Eudocie sur les monnaies d'Héraclius', *RevNum* 150 (1995), 113–26.

Epiphanius, Monastery of S. Monastic community on the west bank of the *Nile at *Thebes (Luxor). The *monastery was of an informal character and consisted of several hermitages centred around a cell installed in the rock-cut tomb of the 11th-dynasty vizier Daga. From this core, the community gradually expanded to include various buildings and cells, two towers, an enclosure wall, and a cemetery.

Excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1912–14 revealed considerable archaeological material, and *ostraca and *papyri (P.Mon.Epiph., written mainly in *Greek and *Coptic), which provide details about the community's monastic life and its relations with other communities on the west bank. A central figure in these texts is Epiphanius, who was spiritual leader of the community probably in the first quarter of the 7th century. Another person mentioned in the texts is *Pisentius (Pesynthios), Bishop of *Coptos (599–632), who stayed in the community at least temporarily and whose archive, now in the Louvre and various other collections, is probably also from here. Other literary works recovered from the monastery are those of Bishops *Severus of *Antioch (512–18) and *Damianus of *Alexandria (578–607), both champions of *Miaphysitism; this reveals the doctrinal loyalties of the community. The *papyri of the works of Severus are important as records for the transmission of his writings in Coptic.

Correspondence with Frange, a monk living in a nearby tomb, shows that the community was still functioning in the first half of the 8th century. JHFD

CoptEnc 3 *s.v.* Dayr Epiphanius, cols. 800b–802b (M. L. Peel).
Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, includes, in vol. 2, P.Mon.Epiph.
A. Boud'hors and C. Heurtel, *Les Ostraca coptes de la TT 29: autour du moine Frangé*, 2 vols. (ETA 3, 2010).

Epiphanius of Pavia (438/9–96) *Bishop of *Pavia 466/7–96 and frequent diplomat. In 471 he established peace between the *Emperor *Anthemius and the **patricius* *Ricimer. Later, he helped to broker a treaty between the Emperor *Julius Nepos and the *Visigothic King *Euric, travelling to the *court of the latter in 474/5. After the coup of *Odoacer in 476, he secured good relations between the king and his *Ligurian flock. During the conquest of *Italy (489–93) by *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, he remained neutral, ransoming captives, receiving Theoderic's *patronage, and securing a general amnesty following Theoderic's victory. In 494 Theoderic sent him on a mission to King *Gundobad in *Burgundy in order to establish peace and free Ligurian captives. He was successful, ransoming 6,000 individuals. He died of an illness in *Pavia, having returned recently from a mission to *Ravenna. The principal sources for his life are a birthday speech and *Vita*, both composed by *Ennodius in 495 and 501/4, respectively. JJA

PCBE II/1, Epiphanius 1.
Ennodius, *Vita Epiphanii* (*BHL* 2570, *CPL* 1494) and *Dictio* XLIII (= *Carmen* 1, 9; *BHL* 2571), ed. F. Vogel (MGH Auct. Ant. 7, 1885), 84–109 and 40–5 and ed. Guillelmus Hartel (CSEL 6, 331–83 and 531–9).
ET M. Cook (1941).
E. Herrmann-Otto, 'Der spätantike Bischof zwischen Politik und Kirche: Das exemplarische Wirken des Epiphanius von Pavia', *RQ* 90 (1995), 198–214.
E. Pietrella, 'La figura del santo-vescovo nella "Vita Epifani" di Ennodio di Pavia', *Augustinianum* 24 (1984), 213–26.

Epiphanius of Salamis (367–403) *Bishop of Constantia (*Salamis) in *Cyprus. Born in 310/20 in Besanduce, near Eleutheropolis in *Palestine, Epiphanius was educated from boyhood by monks in *Egypt (*Sozomen, VI, 32). He retained a deep knowledge of scripture, a distrust of systematic speculation in Christian or non-Christian thought, a lifelong devotion to *Athanasius, and an antipathy to *Arianism which would eventually show itself in an aversion to the *Origenism which he regarded as its forerunner.

Around 335 he founded a *monastery in or near Besanduce. In the 30 years of his abbacy which followed, he was already busy collecting material about non-Christian and heterodox Christian ways of thought, and refuting those which threatened to infect the churches of his region.

The background to his election in 367 to the metropolitan see of Constantia (formerly Salamis) in Cyprus is obscure. Despite his clear anti-Arian credentials, the *Homoean *Emperor *Valens made no move to block his appointment.

His campaign against *heresy continued with his publication in 373/4 of the *Ancoratus*, the tract 'anchored' in the biblical faith and conceived as a *letter of instruction about mission and *baptism intended to assist in winning over those who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. It was followed in 375–377/8 by his most important work, the *Panarion* ('Medicine-Chest' against heterodoxy) or *Adversus Haereses*, which describes and criticizes the 80 *haireseis* or divisions of the human race along religious or philosophical lines which arise from the absence of the illumination of divine revelation from human life and thought. His descriptions, from a variety of sources, retain their value when treated critically. His accounts of the classical *philosophers will represent what was found in the handbooks of his time, and the publication of the *Mani *papyri and the *Nag Hammadi *library in the last century have enhanced his credibility as a reporter of sectarian practices.

His literary work continued with the publication *c.*392 of *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, a general introduction to the text of the (Greek) Old Testament, including an explanation of biblical *weights and measures, and of *De XII Gemmis* in *c.*390 or 393/4, a commentary on the twelve precious *stones on Aaron's robes (cf. Exodus 28:9–21).

He was also busy with church affairs outside Cyprus; in 392 he attended the Synod of *Rome, which dealt with the divisions in the Church of *Antioch, and in the 390s he strove repeatedly (and futilely) to get John, *Patriarch of *Jerusalem, to condemn *Origen (*Letter preserved in *Latin as *Jerome, *ep.* 51; *Socrates, VI, 10). After his own synod condemned Origen in 401, though, he brought its decree to *Constantinople himself at the request of *Theophilus, Patriarch of *Alexandria, whose *Origenist monks had sought refuge at Constantinople with *John Chrysostom after Theophilus had driven them out of *Egypt. He at first treated John Chrysostom with the same contemptuous arrogance that he had formerly displayed toward John of Jerusalem, but something seems eventually to have suggested to him that he had misunderstood the true state of affairs, and in 403 he took ship for Cyprus, only to die on board (Socrates, VI, 12 and 14–15; Sozomen, VIII, 14–16). The *Piacenza Pilgrim (1) records his tomb at Constantia (*Salamis). PRA

CPG 3744–38070:
PG 41–3, reprinting D. Petavius (1632).
ed. W. Dindorf (1859–62).

Ancoratus and *Panarion*, ed. K. Holl (*GCS*, 1915–33, rev. J. Dummer, 1980–5, indexes 2006).
Complete text of *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* only in Syriac: ET (with introd. and facsimile of Syriac ms.) J. E. Dean and M. Sprengling (Chicago Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation 11, 1935).
ed. M. E. Stone and R. R. Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (CSCO 583, CSCO Subsidia 105, 2000).
Complete text of *De Gemmis* only in Georgian, ed. (with ET) R. F. Blake and H. de Vis (1934).
ET of *Panarion*, F. Williams (1987–94; ²2009); selected passages: P. R. Amidon (1990).
For a complete survey of his works, genuine, doubtful, and spurious: P. Nautin, *DHGE* 15, 626–31.
Life (*BHG* 596), ed. (with ET) C. Rapp, 'The Vita of Epiphanius of Salamis—A Historical and Literary Study' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1991).
Young Richard Kim, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: Imagining an Orthodox World* (2015).
A. S. Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: A Cultural Biography of Late Antiquity* (2016).
A. Pourkier, *L'Hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamie* (1992).
O. Kösters, *Die Trinitätslehre des Epiphanius von Salamis. Ein Kommentar zum Ancoratus* (2003).
J. M. Schott, 'Heresiology as Universal History in Epiphanius's *Panarion*', *ZAC* 10 (2006), 546–63.

Epiphanius Scholasticus (6th cent.) Monastic colleague of *Cassiodorus at *Vivarium who translated from *Greek to *Latin the church histories of *Socrates, *Sozomen, and *Theodoret which Cassiodorus used in writing his **Historia Tripartita*. Other works translated by Epiphanius included a commentary by *Didymus the Blind on the Seven Catholic Epistles, a commentary by Philo of Carpasia (4th cent.) on the *Song of Songs*, and a collection of documents related to the *Council of *Chalcedon (*Codex Encyclius*). BC

PLRE III, Epiphanius 1.
PCBE II, Epiphanius 24.
DCB, Epiphanius 39.
ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo (with IT and notes), *Philonis Carpasii. Commentarium in Canticum Canticorum ex Antiqua Versione Latina Epiphanii Scholastici* (CorPat. 6, 1979).
F. Weissengruber, *Epiphanius Scholasticus als Übersetzer. Zu Cassiodorus-Epiphanius Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* (1972).

Epiphany The *Greek word *epiphaneia* (showing forth) appears several times in the New Testament. The *festival emerges at the beginning of the 3rd century in *Egypt. It was initially a celebration of the *Baptism of Jesus as the manifestation of his divinity ('This is my Son, my Beloved . . . '), and in some churches supplemented *Easter as a time for baptism of new Christians. The visit of the Magi to the infant Jesus is not associated with it until the mid-4th century.

The earliest extant Epiphany sermon in *Latin was preached by *Chromatius, *Bishop of *Aquileia (*c.*388–407), and like the earlier Egyptian festival it also celebrates the revelation of Jesus' divinity at his Baptism. However, other contemporary churches were celebrating other aspects of the manifestation of Christ's divinity at Epiphany, such as his Birth, his Transfiguration, his first *miracle performed at a wedding at Cana of Galilee, and the visit of the Magi.

Western Christians had celebrated the birth of Jesus on 25 December since at least the early 4th century and the spread of this festival (first mentioned in the East in the **Apostolic Constitutions and Canons*) seems to have whittled away some of the significance of Epiphany, which shifted from being the *Dies Epiphaniorum* (Day of Epiphanies) to being the celebration of a single epiphany, the revelation to the Magi (Matthew 1: 1–12). Though many Eastern churches adopted the Western chronology, with 25 December as the Nativity and 6 January as the Epiphany, some Eastern churches maintained the multiplicity of epiphanies and gave priority to the Baptism of Jesus. MFC

Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts*, 131–57.
M. Connell, *Eternity Today: On the Liturgical Year*, vol. 1 (2006), 147–98.

Epirus Vetus and Epirus Novus Mountainous region with a fertile coastal strip between the Pindus Mountains and the Ionian Sea. By the time of the *Verona List Epirus had been divided into the *provinces of Epirus Vetus ('Old') with its capital at *Nicopolis, and Epirus Novus ('New'), also known as Illyria Graeca, with its capital at *Dyrrachium (Epidamnus). It places both in the *Dioecesis of *Moesia. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* both were in the Dioecesis of *Macedonia (*or.* 3, 12–13) and each was governed by a *Praeses. *Justinian I's refortification of its principal settlements did not withstand the *Slavs in the 6th and 7th centuries. PA

TIR K–34 (1976); *TIB* 3 (1981).
W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (2003).

episcopalis audientia *See* BISHOP'S COURT.

Epistulae Arelatenses Collection of correspondence concerned with the history of the primacy of the see of *Arles in southern *Gaul. It comprises 55 *letters written between 417 and 557 by popes to *bishops of Arles or their suffragans, and several of their answers, as well as a constitution (*Ep. Arel.* 8) of the *emperors *Honorius and *Theodosius II (418), which restored the Council of the *Dioecesis of *Septem Provinciae to

Arles. The compilation was probably assembled in the late 550s by Bishop Sapaudus of Arles to affirm the status and privileges accorded by popes and emperors to his see. MHei

Ep. Arel., ed. W. Gundlach in MGH, Epp. III, *Epistulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi* (1892), 1–83.

D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (2001), 85–7.

Epistulae Austrasicae A collection of 48 public and private *letters written in *Austrasia between the 470s and the 590s, transmitted in a 9th-century manuscript written in Lorsch. Their authors were important figures such as *Remigius of *Reims, *Nicetius of *Trier, *Germanus of *Paris, *Venantius Fortunatus, and *Dynamius, *Patricius of *Provence. More than half of the letters shed light on diplomatic relations between the Austrasian kings and the Eastern Roman Empire. The gathering of the collection has generally been dated to the late 6th century, and is perhaps attributable to Magneric, *Bishop of Trier, and counsellor of *Brunhild and *Childebert II in the 580s, but a Carolingian date of compilation has also recently been suggested. BD; STL

Ep. Aust., ed. W. Gundlach in MGH Epp. 3, *Epistulae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi* 1 (1892), 110–53 and (corrected) in CCSL 117 (1957), 403–70.

ed. (with IT) E. Malaspina, *Il Liber epistolarum della cancellaria austrasica* (2001).

P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, vol. 2/1: *Byzance et les Francs* (1956).

G. Barrett and G. Woudhuysen, 'Assembling the Austrasian Letters at Trier and Lorsch', *EME* 24 (2016), 3–57.

epistulares Officials of the Sacra *Scrinia (imperial secretariats), 34 in number under *Leo I (*CJust* XII, 19, 10), assisting the *Magister Epistularum, and processing judicial records, particularly those of provincial *governors. The Scrinium Epistularum also issued letters of appointment to officials of the *Praefectus Praetorio and *Praefectus Urbi, *proconsuls, and *Vicarii. DSl

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire.*

Jones, *LRE* 575–7.

epitaphs, Greek Literary epitaphs, often for fictional or mythological characters, continued to be composed up until the 6th century. Actual grave inscriptions take a wide variety of forms from a simple name in the genitive case to identify the occupant of a grave, to sophisticated poetic texts composed in literary dialects. Epitaphs often contain information about professions, include imprecations threatening anyone who disturbs the grave or reuses the *sarcophagus. As in earlier periods, *inscriptions often seem to have been designed to be read aloud.

It is often difficult to identify the religious affiliation of the person commemorated: mythological allusions are not confined to *pagan tombstones but are also found in Christian and *Jewish epitaphs, and both Jewish and Christian epitaphs make use of Old Testament quotations and allusions, though preferences do vary between the two groups. Names and the use of symbols such as the *cross or the *menorah may help to establish the religion.

Among the poems collected in the *Greek Anthology are epitaphs for contemporary figures which may have been inscribed on funerary monuments, and others for heroes from *Homer which were clearly purely literary. Both types of epitaph figure in the work of *Leontius while *Julian of *Egypt also composed poems for contemporaries. RW

G. Agosti, 'Saxa Loquuntur? Epigrammi Epigrafici e diffusione della *paideia* nell'oriente tardo antico', *AntTard* 18 (2010), 163–80.

E. Tsalampouni, 'Citations of Biblical Texts in Greek, Jewish and Christian Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', in D. Wiebe and P. Pachis, eds., *Chasing down Religion: In the Sights of History and the Cognitive Studies. Essays in Honor of L. H. Martin* (2014), 459–78.

epitaphs, Latin Epitaphs have been estimated to constitute two-thirds of all surviving *Latin *inscriptions. This proportion became higher in Late Antiquity, largely due to Christian attitudes towards *death and the desire of believers to make statements of faith and hope, like the pleasant elegiacs inscribed on the tomb of the aristocratic consecrated *virgin Manlia Daedalia: 'she loved always the way by which she might seek for heaven' (*CIL* V, 6240 = *ILCV* 1700).

Epitaphs offer historians a valuable means of assessing the character and aspirations of individuals and communities. They also provide an index of Latin linguistic change across time and geographical area. Scholars have also studied Christian epitaphs in order to measure the rate and spread of *conversion to Christianity across the Empire.

The length of inscriptions and the materials used vary, but the desire to be commemorated by an epitaph was not limited to the wealthy; indeed, funerary inscriptions are one valuable window into the lives of poorer Romans, about whom literary sources are generally silent.

Monumental inscriptions were also used in Late Antiquity as a means of indicating the significance of public space, as in the case of the verse epitaphs composed by *Bishop *Damasus of *Rome, which were inscribed with exquisite craftsmanship on *marble slabs at the tombs of *martyrs. Lines on the side of the tomb of S. *Martin at *Tours proclaimed the presence of the saint, manifest in every grace of the *miracles performed through him (Le Blant, *Inscriptions*, I, 240). JFU

ed. (with ET and comm.) D. Trout, *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (OECT, 2015).
C. R. Galvao-Sobrinho, 'Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West', *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 431–62.
B. Shaw, 'Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire', *Historia* 33 (1984), 457–95.
D. Trout, 'Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity', in P. Rousseau, ed., *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (2009), 170–86.

Epitome de Caesaribus A short set of anonymous imperial biographies (*breviarium*) from Augustus to *Theodosius I, written soon after the death of the latter in 395. The work is a complex mix of Aurelius *Victor (the bulk of chs. 1 to 11), Suetonius, the **Kaisergeschichte*, Marius Maximus, *Eunapius, and other sources (though not *Nicomachus Flavianus as is often stated). The work was used by several later epitomators, such as *Paul the Deacon and Landolfus Sagax, but it had little influence until the modern period, even though it was known to a variety of medieval authors, such as Freculf of Lisieux, Lupus of Ferrières, Sedulius Scottus, and Helgaud of Fleury. It survives in over a dozen manuscripts that range from the 9th to the 15th century, mainly from the 10th and 11th. RWB

ed F. Pichlmayr and R. Gruendel, in *Sexti Aurelii Victoris Liber de Caesaribus* (1970), 133–76.
ed. M. Festy (annotated with FT, 1999).
ET T. M. Banchich (²2004) and H. W. Bird (2001), both privately published.
J. Schlumberger, *Die Epitome de Caesaribus. Untersuchungen zur heidnischen Geschichtsschreibung des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (1974).
T. D. Barnes, 'The *Epitome de Caesaribus* and its Sources', *CP* 71 (1976) = Barnes *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire* (1984), Paper XIII, 258–68.
Giorgio Bonamente, 'Minor Latin Historians of the Fourth Century A.D.', in Marasco, *Greek and Roman Historiography*, 85–125.
Cameron, *Last Pagans*, 627–90.

Epitome Juliani *See* JULIANUS ANTECESSOR.

epoikion Principal steading of a large *estate in Roman *Egypt (e.g. the Appianus estate of the 3rd cent.), comprising *barns, stables, and other farm buildings. Between the 5th and 7th centuries *epoikia* grew into human settlements distinct from *villages (*komai*), being owned by the landowner and inhabited by his **coloni*, the lessees and the wage labourers who were registered as part of a large estate's tax responsibilities. KF

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity.*
D. Kehoe, 'The Economy: Greco-Roman', in *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1 (2011).
D. W. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (1991).
Sarris, *Economy and Society.*

epulae Banquets to which the public was invited to dine en masse at the cost of a benefactor, such as a *city, the *emperor, local magistrates, civic notables, or the Church. The fact that *epulae* were paid for by local notables or institutions indicates that they were civic occasions inspired by **philotimia* and *euergetism. At *Mididi in *Africa, for instance, the *city council provided a public banquet for the people at the opening of the new council chamber in 290/3 (*CIL* VIII, 11774). Secular *epulae* were often given to accompany public games; a feast for the general public might be provided alongside a private dinner held at the same time for notables (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* I, 11, 10–16). Religious *epulae* may be described as public meals provided outdoors for Christian communities. These were often associated with *monasteries; they were typically simple and tended to include meat slaughtered for the purpose, bread, and wine (*VNicSion*, 55–6). NFH

K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (2003).

equites singulares Mounted bodyguards for provincial *governors and *emperors. *Equites singulares Augusti* were the emperor's Horseguard. Established probably by Trajan, and 1,000 strong, they were recruited from northern frontier auxiliaries. Doubled in size by Septimius Severus, the Horseguard occupied two Castra in *Rome. It appears escorting 3rd-century emperors and during the *Tetrarchy, but not thereafter. *Constantine I probably abolished the Horseguard with the Praetorians for having backed *Maxentius, building churches over their Castra and cemetery. JCNC

M. P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards* (1994).

Equitius Roman priest who provided land adjoining the Baths of Domitian in *Rome to *Silvester for a church still called Titulus Equitii in the 7th century. *Constantine I contributed a *silver paten weighing 6 Roman pounds (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 3). It may be associated with the 3rd-century hall under the present S. Martino ai Monti. CARM; OPN

PCBE II/1, Equitius 1.
Krautheimer, *Corpus*, III, 97–104.

Eranshahr (Iranshahr) (Realm/Empire of the Iranians) Name of the *Sasanian Empire. The Middle *Persian word *Eranshahr* is a political and geographical concept fashioned by the Sasanians. *Ērān* ('Iran', 'of the Iranians') is first attested in the coin legends of

*Ardashir (MP Ardaxshir) I, where he calls himself 'king of kings of Iran' (*šāhān šāh ērān*). Occurring often in later Pahlavi texts, *Ērānšahr* is first attested in the *inscription of *Shapur (MP Shabuhr) I at *Naqsh-e Rostam known as the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*. Although damaged in the MP version, the word *Ērānšahr* can be reconstructed from the Parthian and *Greek versions (*ŠKZ* 1, 11). The inscription of the high priest *Kerdir (Karter) provides the most complete list of provinces considered to be part of Eranshahr: Persis (*Fars), Parthia, *Khuzestan, *Asorestan (in *Mesopotamia), Meshan (Gk. Mesene in southern Mesopotamia), Nodshiragan (*Adiabene in northern Mesopotamia), Adurbadagan (Azerbaijan), Spahan, *Rayy, *Kerman, *Sagastan (mod. Sistan, *Gk. Hyrcania), *Merv, Herat, Abarshahr (*Khorasan), Turestan, Makuran, and the Kushan country up to Peshawar. The political concept was an adaptation of the *Zoroastrian tradition of the 'Expanse of the Aryans/Iranians', mentioned in the *Avesta, which the Sasanians transposed onto the Iranian Plateau. The late Sasanian Middle Persian geographical text the *Shahrestanih-i Eranshahr* (The Provincial Capitals of Iran) lists the important cities in Eranshahr, detailing their founders, notable features, and sacred histories. TD; MPC

EncIran VIII/5 (1998) *s.v. ērān, ērānšahr,* 534 (D. N. MacKenzie).

ed. (annotated with ET and NP tr.) T. Daryaee, *Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History* (2002).

G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on its Origin* (1989).

Erarich (d. 541) *Rugian who became King of the *Ostrogoths in 541 after the murder of *Ildibad. Viewed as incompetent, he was murdered within months and succeeded by *Totila. JJA

PLRE IIIA, Erarichus.

Wolfram, *Goths*.

eras Mathematical and astronomical calculations concerned with the measurement of time preoccupied scholars from ancient Babylonia to the Venerable *Bede.

For legal and other practical purposes Romans indicated the date by giving the names of the two ordinary *consuls who were appointed by the *emperor to take up office on 1 January each year. In years where, for whatever reason, no consul was appointed, or one part of the Empire did not recognize the consul(s) appointed in the other part, the year would be stated as that of 'the consuls who will be announced' and as the year after (or two or three years after) the last known consuls. In the West after 476, dating is often by the western consul alone. The last western consul to take up office was Flavius Paulinus in 534. The last non-imperial eastern consul was Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius of 541.

From the late 3rd century onwards a fifteen-year *taxation cycle called the *indiction was also widely employed; a year would be identified as a particular year 'of the indiction'. This raises problems for historians as it is not always clear in which fifteen-year cycle the year in question fell. Regnal years of emperors were also used, and in 537 *Justinian I ordered that in all legal documents the regnal year should be stated first before the consular year and the indiction (*NovJust* 47).

Local eras were also used. In the *Syriac-speaking world the year was generally given according to the Era of the Greeks (starting on 1 October 312 BC) and in *Egypt according to the Era of *Diocletian (reckoned from 284/5). Dates were also given according to eras starting from the foundation of a *city or of a Roman *province; the Era of *Bosra, for instance, started in AD 106, the date of the formation of the Roman province of *Arabia of which it was the metropolis.

Historians and scholars interested in the science of *chronography used several systems. *Greek historians generally used the era of the Olympiad, a four-year cycle starting in 776 BC. Roman historians (such as Livy and *Orosius) used an era starting with the Foundation of the City of *Rome on 21 April 753 BC (AUC, for Ab Urbe Condita).

The calculations of Christian chronographers were able to draw on long traditions of Hellenistic historical scholarship; in the early 3rd century Julius Africanus produced a chronography of all world history which placed the Creation 5,501 years before the Birth of Christ and synchronized details of Hebrew and Greek history. This *Chronographia* survives only in fragments, but its Era of the Creation (AM for Anno Mundi) continued to be used by such Greek chroniclers as *George the Syncellus and *Theophanes. Much of the detail in these later Greek chronicles, however, is derived from the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius of *Caesarea (d. 339).

The Greek original of Eusebius' *Chronicle* is lost, but separate parts of it survive in an *Armenian translation and in the *Latin translation of *Jerome, who extended it up to his own time. Eusebius eschewed detailed coverage of dates prior to Abraham; his *Chronicle* used 'the year of Abraham' (equivalent of 2016 BC; 20Aab, 20Bef Helm) as the starting point for an extensive series of synchronisms, so that the surviving 5th-century manuscript of Jerome's Latin translation (Oxford, Bodleian Auct. T. 2. 26) is both a record of events and a diagram of the passage of time. Jerome's Latin translation was continued by various later Latin chroniclers, notably *Prosper of Aquitaine (who dated from the supposed year of Christ's Passion, that of the consulship of the two Gemini, equivalent to AD 29) and *Marcellinus Comes (who combined the indiction with regnal years of emperors).

In the early 6th century the chronographical scholar *Dionysius Exiguus produced an *Easter table based on computus calculated in *Alexandria, substituting for the Era of *Diocletian an era based on the date of the Birth of Christ (AD for Anno Domini). The works on chronography of the Venerable Bede illustrate the complexity of the mathematical and astronomical problems faced by scholars studying chronography and computus. In the *Greater Chronicle* which he attached to his work on the reckoning of time (*De Temporum Ratione*) he used a system of dating based on his own computation from the Creation, equivalent to 3952 BC. But in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*HE*) he used dates based on Dionysius' calculation from the Birth of Christ, anchoring them with mentions of regnal years of *Anglo-Saxon kings (e.g. *HE* III, 1), Roman emperors (e.g. III, 4), and, like Eusebius in his *Church History* (*HE*), the succession of *bishops (e.g. Bede, *HE* III, 20). The popularity of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* did much to establish Anno Domini as the normal system of dating in the Latin world.

The Muslim era (AH) dates from the *Hijra of *Muhammad in AD 622. After the *Arab conquest of the *Persian Empire, *Zoroastrians used an era starting from the coronation of the last *Sasanian Shah, *Yazdegerd III, in 631. OPN

V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Traité d'études byzantines 1; Bibliothèque byzantine, 1958).

R. S. Bagnall, Alan Cameron, S. Schwartz, and K. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987) provides detailed study of consular dating as well as a complete list of consuls and the evidence for them from 284 onwards.

B. Blackburn and L. Holford-Strevens, *Oxford Companion to the Year* (1999).

W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Primordial History in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (DOS 26, 1989).

M. Wallraff, ed., *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronik* (TU 157, 2006).

A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and the Greek Chronographic Tradition* (1979).

F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time, Translated with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (TTH 29, 1998; repr. with corrections 2004).

EncIran IV/ 6-7 (1990) s.v. calendars (A. Panaino et al.), 658–77.

eras, Era of the Creation Detailed calculations, based on biblical and other texts, intended to establish exactly the mathematical and cosmic connections between the date of Christ's crucifixion and that of God's Creation of the World were being carried out as early as the 2nd century by Theophilus of Antioch (*c.* AD 180) and Julius Africanus (*c.*180–*c.*250). Complex computation of the 19-year lunar and 28-year solar cycles culminated in the 7th century, with the determination of the 'Byzantine Era' of Creation commencing on 21 March 5509 BC. This was used in such chronicles as that of *Theophanes. BC

A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (2008), 311–18.

eras, Era of Diocletian Dating system used in *Egypt, reckoned from *Diocletian's first regnal year (AD 284/5). Its year corresponded to the Egyptian civil year, which began on Thoth 1. It is attested in *Greek and *Coptic texts and *inscriptions from about the 4th to the 12th centuries. From about the 8th century, it was alternatively designated the 'Era of the Martyrs' (also *anno martyrum* or AM) and is still favoured by Coptic Christians. TIC

CoptEnc s.v. 'Era of the Martyrs' vol. 2 (Cody).

K. A. Worp and L. S. B. MacCoull, 'The Era of the Martyrs', in M. Capasso, S. Messeri, and R. Pintaudi, eds., *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell' edizione della charta Borgiana Gonnelli* (Papyrologica Florentina 19, 1990), 375–408.

Worp and Bagnall, *Chronological Systems*, 63–87.

eras, Era of the Greeks The standard era employed in *Syriac manuscripts and *inscriptions is the Seleucid era, usually known as 'of the Greeks', beginning 1 October 312 BC. Other eras are occasionally used, notably those of *Antioch, the *Indiction, and the *hijra. SB

W. H. P. Hatch, *Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (²2002).

L. Bernhard, *Die Chronologie der syrischen Handschriften* (1971).

eras, Era of the Hijra Computation of dates, counting the lunar years (twelve lunar months totalling 354/355 days per year) starting from *Muhammad's emigration (*hijra) from *Mecca to *Medina in AD 622. Although some Muslim historians ascribe the system to Muhammad himself (*Tabari, *History*, 1250–4), it was most certainly introduced by the *Caliph *Umar I. KMK

J. Mayr and B. Spuler, eds., *Wüstenfeld-Mahlersche Vergleichungs-Tabellen zur muslimischen und iranischen Zeitrechnung* (1961).

eras, Era of Oxyrhynchus Dating system used in *Oxyrhynchus after *Julian's death in 363. It is indicated by two consecutive numbers (year xx and xx), reckoned from the first regnal years of *Constantius II (324) and Julian (355) respectively. It is last attested in 668/9. TIC

Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 55–62.

eras, Era of the Martyrs *See* ERAS, ERA OF DIOCLETIAN.

Erchinoald *Mayor of the *Neustrian Palace (641–58). A kinsman of *Dagobert I's mother, he was

designated as Mayor of Neustria for the young King *Clovis II by Dagobert's *widow Nantechild in 641. He had connections across the Channel, and engineered the king's marriage to *Balthild, a woman of *Anglo-Saxon origin connected to his household. He was a patron of monasticism, founded Lagny-sur-Marne and Péronne, where the Irish monk S. *Fursey was buried, and endowed *S. Wandrille alongside *Bishop *Audoenus of *Rouen. RLJ

PLRE IIIA, Erchinoaldus.

Ebling, *Prospographie*, no. CLVI.

LexMA 3, 2125 (H. Ebling).

Erismtavari (Georgian 'chief of the people') The title of rulers in *Georgia from the abolition of kingship in *Iberia in *c.*550 until the restoration of the monarchy in AD 888. The title was hereditary in the *Bagrationi dynasty who later received the crown. NA

C. Toumanoff, 'More on Iberia on the Eve of Bagratid Rule', *Le Muséon* 66 (1953), 103–4.

Ermenaric King of the *Gothic *Greuthungi who ruled 'extensive territories' north of the Black Sea in *c.*375. *Jordanes' 6th-century account makes these seem truly vast, but is highly problematic (*see* OSTROGOTHS). Ermaneric famously 'gave himself up to a voluntary death' (*Ammianus XXXI, 3, 1–2) when he was unable to defend his lands effectively in the face of intrusion by *Huns. PHe

PLRE I, Ermanericus.

Ernaginum (mod. S.-Gabriel, Tarascon) Crossroads *vicus* and *road station 8 Roman miles north of *Arles, with a monumental building, fortification walls, a cluster of *streets and houses, an *olive oil press, and *sarcophagi. A *villa to the north was inhabited from the 1st to the 6th century when it burnt down, and other houses of varying character have been recognized in the surrounding countryside. OPN

C. Nicholson, *Roman Arles: A City in a Landscape* (diss. Bryn Mawr, 1996), gazetteer no. 8.

C. Allinne and F. Verdin, 'Le Vicus d'Ernaginum (Saint-Gabriel, Tarascon, Bouches-du-Rhône)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 35 (2002), 137–56.

Ervig King of the Visigoths (680–7), immediate successor to *Wamba, whom he had deposed by a plot, probably aided by *Julian, *Bishop of *Toledo. A 9th-century chronicle claims he was the son of a Byzantine exile, Ardabast, and a niece of *Chindasuinth. In 681 he issued a new version of the *Book of the Judges*, including an additional chapter on *Jews. He summoned three general *councils (681, 683, and 684), the first of which legitimized his accession to the throne. CMG

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004), 102–7.

P. C. Díaz, C. Martínez Maza, and F. J. Sanz Huesma, *Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda: historia de España* V (2007), 593.

P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (1972).

Erzerum *See* THEODOSIOPOLIS (ERZERUM).

Escharen Hoard (North Brabant, the Netherlands) *Hoard of 66 *gold **solidi* and **tremisses* buried *c.*600/10 and found near Nijmegen in 1897. It comprises two main groups, one local (including fourteen horse triens), the other from mints in *Provence. Its composition reflects the disappearance of Byzantine gold *coins from the West and the rising economic vigour of the lower Rhine. BKY

J. Lafaurie, 'Le Trésor d'Escharen (Pays-Bas)', *RevNum* 6th ser. 2 (1959–60), 153–210.

eschatology *See* APOCALYPTIC AND ESCHATOLOGY.

Esfahan *See* ISFAHAN.

Esna (Gk. Latopolis; Copt. Šne) Metropolis on the west bank of the *Nile in Upper *Egypt. It was garrisoned *c.*400 (**Notitia Dignitatum*, [*or.*] 31, 7 and 28). It was the birthplace of *Pachomius (292–346) and the location of a synod in 345. The ancient town is now covered by modern occupation; but a church of *c.*6th/7th century date has been excavated in front of the Ptolemaic–Roman *temple, which was decorated up to the reign of *Decius (AD 249–51). Among nearby monastic sites is a cluster of about fifteen well-preserved subterranean dwellings of the 5th–7th centuries. ERO

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.n.* Isna, col. 1312a–b (R. Stewart).

Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, 3, 1181–93.

S. Sauneron, *Esna* I (1959).

S. Sauneron and J. Jacquet with H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna*, 4 vols. (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 29, 1972).

Esquiline Treasure An imposing *silver treasure including tableware, *horse trappings, *furniture fittings, and cosmetic boxes, all of which seems to have belonged to the *Turcii, a family of the senatorial *aristocracy, found in 1793 on the grounds of the convent of S. Francesco di Paolo on the Esquiline Hill in *Rome. Some 61 objects have been associated with treasure, but only 27 of these can be securely linked to the 1793 discovery; all but two of the latter 27 objects belong to the British Museum. The works exhibit unusual homogeneity of style and technique: most were probably created in the same local workshop in the mid-4th century. The Projecta Casket and the

Muse Casket are cosmetic caskets lavishly decorated with figures from the classical repertory. Four elegant Tyche figures probably once adorned an elaborate piece of *furniture. MH

K. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (1981).
A. Cameron, 'The Date and Owners of the Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence', *AJA* 89 (1985), 135–45.

estates and estate management Large estates owned by members of the Roman governing classes were a common feature of the social and economic landscape in Late Antiquity, especially in the most fertile and economically productive regions such as *Egypt. The role of large estates would appear to have become more pronounced across the course of the 4th century, as members of the new imperial *aristocracy of service invested the profits they derived from imperial service in land (which remained the most reliable source of income), and also deployed their social prestige and powers of *patronage to induce other less well-connected landowners to hand over or sell their properties. This process of estate expansion is reflected in the legislation contained in the **Theodosian Code* on rural patronage (**patrocinium vicorum*), with the imperial authorities anxious that the expansion of estates should not disrupt the flow of *taxation expected from the *emperor's overwhelmingly rural subjects. So central did large estates become to the social and economic life of parts of the Empire, that it has been argued that over the course of the 5th and 6th centuries many government responsibilities hitherto delegated to *city councils in the Eastern Empire were increasingly delegated to the estates of locally dominant landowners, such as the *Apion family around the *city of *Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt.

Modes of estate management necessarily varied considerably from region to region and across time. In general terms, where population levels were highest, and levels of more general economic commercialization and monetization most pronounced, the direct management of estates and the utilization of *wage labour were common; the estates of the Apion family around Oxyrhynchus again exemplify both tendencies. Where a market in agricultural labour was less readily available, landowners are likely either to have made greater use of slave labour (in the context of direct forms of estate management) or are more likely to have simply leased out portions of their estates to *tenant farmers. Accordingly, it would probably be correct to assume a higher profile for direct management and wage labour in the Late Antique East, and a greater preponderance of *slavery and tenancy arrangements in the Late Antique West. The same is likely to have applied with respect to *imperial estates and church lands. In the East, estates are also more likely to have been run as commercial ventures, seeking to secure a cash income for their owners, who typically lived in *cities and thus depended upon a commodification of estate production so as to maintain their **solidus*-fuelled way of life. By contrast, in the West, aristocratic life tended to be more focused on *villas, with autarky and the direct consumption of estate produce playing a greater role.

The upper echelons of the Late Roman world, such as the grandest senatorial *aristocracy of *Rome and *Constantinople, came to acquire property portfolios that traversed regions and *provinces. So, for example, the very rich early 5th-century Roman heiress S. *Melania the Younger and her husband are recorded to have owned property throughout the western provinces, including *Italy, *Sicily, *Africa, *Britain, and *Spain. Likewise, the Apion family are recorded to have owned urban and rural property in Middle Egypt, *Alexandria, Constantinople, and possibly Sicily. Such networks of properties were maintained and managed by stewards and employees ultimately answerable to a central estate office, so that the head of the Apion family in the 6th century could intervene in estate affairs in Oxyrhynchus even when himself present in Constantinople. Lower down the social scale, the landed interests tended to be more regional and requiring less elaborate administration. The agricultural handbook of *Palladius, written in *Latin probably in the 5th century, offered the landowner literary advice on estate management.

The military events of the 5th to 7th centuries probably had a highly disruptive effect on estate structures. In the West, estates belonging to absentee landowners and the imperial government would appear to have been regarded as ripe for confiscation by both the leadership and military rank-and-file of the newly emergent Romano-Germanic kingdoms. In particular, estates are recorded to have been broken up to facilitate settlement, and peasants are likely to have taken advantage of military disruption to shake off aristocratic control. In the East, the *Persian invasion and *Arab conquests are also likely to have disrupted patterns of aristocratic landownership to the advantage of peasant smallholders. PS

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
Sarris, *Economy and Society*.
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

Ethelbert (Æthelberht) King of Kent (*c.*560/585–616), member of the Kentish royal dynasty, traceable to *Hengest, and the first *Anglo-Saxon ruler to adopt Christianity. By 581, he had married *Bertha, a Christian and daughter of the *Frankish King *Charibert. Ethelbert's authority extended beyond Kentish borders; he was the third of seven successive *Bretwaldas (overkings). The Christian mission of *Augustine arrived in

Thanet in 597 and settled at *Canterbury. A few years later, *c.*602/3, Ethelbert established the first English law code in the vernacular, perhaps with the help of Augustine; as *Bede notes he followed 'the examples of the Romans' (Bede, *HE* ii.5). NAS

ODNB s.n. Æthelberht (Kelly).

ed. with GT F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* 1 (1898), 3–8.

ed. with ET L. Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (TMTT, 2002).

F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (1922).

P. Wormald, *The First Code of English Law* (Canterbury Commemoration Society, 2005).

Ethiopia Application of the name has varied at different times and in different contexts. Late Antiquity saw a continuation of the earlier practice whereby Ethiopia designated *Nile Valley regions south of Aswan or, more broadly, the African continent south of *Egypt. Some more recent writers have retained this usage, causing confusion with the modern nation of Ethiopia. Designation of the modern nation itself causes further uncertainties; the polity did not attain its recent geographical extent until the late 19th century. From 1962 until 1991 it incorporated also what is now the separate nation of Eritrea. Substantial parts of both modern nations maintain cultural continuity with the tradition that is commonly designated Ethiopian, although it is more appropriate to refer to the general geographical region as the northern Horn of Africa. The geography of this region was not clearly distinguished by outsiders in Late Antiquity, being often considered as part of India especially when, as was then usual, it was approached by way of the Red Sea.

The core of the northern Horn comprises the highlands now divided between, on the one hand, Tigray and adjacent regions of northern Ethiopia and, on the other, south-central Eritrea. It was here that, during the first eight centuries AD, the ancient kingdom of *Aksum, named after its first capital in what is now central Tigray, flourished. This is the principal part of the northern Horn that falls within the purview of this volume which is concerned primarily with those aspects of Aksumite civilization that impinged upon that state's contemporaries in the Mediterranean basin. The Aksumite kingdom was, for example, the only polity of its time in Ethiopia, or for that matter in any part of sub-Saharan *Africa, marked by indigenous *literacy, its own *coinage, *Christianity, *trade, and *diplomacy with the Mediterranean basin. It is important, however, to emphasize that the Aksumites also had relations with neighbours whose economic and political circumstances were significantly different, albeit in some cases their antecedents during the last millennium BC had been closely related.

Territory directly subject to Aksum extended to part of the Red Sea coast and, at least in the 4th century, northwards and westwards to the Nile Valley and adjacent plains of Sudan and northern Eritrea. To the south, the extent and nature of penetration is less clear, although it appears that crops and, perhaps, other resources originating from these regions became available in the Aksumite kingdom. The transfer of the political capital from Aksum to a more easterly location, while marking economic decline, did not interrupt the strong cultural continuity that is now recognized in the highlands through the closing centuries of the 1st millennium. The coastlands and offshore islands, however, saw increasing influence from southern *Arabia, notably the adoption and spread of *Islam; contacts between these communities and the Christian kingdom in the highlands are as yet poorly understood. DWP

F. Anfray, *Les Anciens Éthiopiens: siècles d'histoire* (1990).

A. Dihle, 'The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature', *PCPS* 190 (1964), 15–23.

R. Fattovich, 'The Development of Ancient States in the Northern Horn of Africa, *c.*3000 BC–AD 1000', *Journal of World Prehistory* 23 (2010), 145–75.

G. Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia* (New York, 2013).

P. Mayerson, 'A Confusion of Indias', *JAOS* 113 (1993), 169–74.

S. C. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (1991).

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation.*

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972).

Ethiopian languages Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic, Old Ethiopic, Ethiopic) was spoken and written in the kingdom of *Aksum (*c.*250–*c.*750). The Ethio-Semitic languages form an independent subgroup of the Semitic languages. Ge'ez belongs to the North Ethiopic group and its nearest descendants are Tigre and Tigrinya. However, it has typological features with other classical Semitic languages, such as *Arabic, Hebrew, or *Syriac. *Greek was widely known; therefore Ge'ez has loanwords from Greek. Further, it has loans from Cushitic languages and from other Semitic languages.

The earliest extant texts are *inscriptions of the 3rd century AD written in an unvocalized script. A number of inscriptions on stelae of the 4th century AD have been discovered in three languages: Sabaic, Greek, and Ge'ez. Besides these, there are Aksumite coins bearing Ge'ez words and some *pottery showing Ge'ez texts. The Ethiopic writing system is the product of a reduction of the previous Sabaic alphabet that underwent a thorough and deliberate reform under the Christian King *Ezana, or shortly before his reign, during the

4th century. Some old Ge'ez texts are in pseudo-Sabaic, imitating Sabaic using certain loanwords and graphic imitation. There are several transcriptions of Aksumite words, usually names, in Sabaic and Greek texts that might help in the reconstruction of Ge'ez phonetics and phonology.

Compared to Proto-Semitic, Ge'ez has abandoned some consonants and added some others. The Semitic vowel system has been transformed into fixed consonant + vowel characters. There are 26 consonants together with seven vowels. The four labialized velars, with five vowels each, are perhaps Cushitic loans. Altogether there are 202 letters. In addition, the numerals have their own signs derived from the Greek alphabet.

Ge'ez syntax has a flexible verb–subject–object word order showing almost any possible order. It frequently reflects Greek (and later Arabic or Amharic) models, depending on whether the text in question is a translated one, whether it is an Aksumite classical or post-classical text, and on whether its milieu is monastic or courtly.

*Bible translation into Ge'ez from Greek started early. The oldest known fragments in *inscriptions are from the Septuagint version of the Psalms. The Gospels were completed in the 5th century, the whole Bible not later than the 6th century AD. The Gospel of Matthew shows already in this early stage the Ethiopian way of translating 'freely', adapting the text to a new cultural background. Some patristic works, *hagiographies, monastic rules, and books of ecclesiastical laws were also translated in the first Christian centuries.

Ge'ez was the only written language—besides medieval Arabic and some attempts at Amharic—until the 17th century, and in Ethiopia until the 19th century. Ge'ez is still used as the liturgical language in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church. MAP

EncAeth vol. 2 (2005) *s.v.* Ge'ez, 732–5 (Weninger).

EncAeth vol. 2 (2005) *s.v.* Ge'ez literature, 736–41 (Getatchew Haile).

Hussein Ahmed et al., eds., *Ethiopian Philology* 1 (2008).

M. A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Schweich lecture, 1999).

S. Uhlig, 'Eine trilinguale "Ezana-Inschrift"', *Aethiopica* 4 (2001), 7–31.

M. Wendowski, H. Ziegert, D. Nosnitzin, and S. Uhlig, 'Eine Grabbeigabe aus Aksum (Berit 'Awdi)', *Aethiopica* 4 (2001), 191–4.

S. Weninger, 'Sounds of Ge'ez: How to Study the Phonetics and Phonology of an Ancient Language' *Aethiopica* 13 (2010), 75–88.

R. Zuurmond, 'The Textual Background of the Gospel of Matthew in Ge'ez', *Aethiopica* 4 (2001), 32–41.

ethnogenesis *See* BARBARIAN IDENTITY; BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS.

Euchaïta Late Antique *city in the Pontic region of *Anatolia, about 56 km (35 miles) west of *Amaseia; currently identified with modern Avkat. Euchaïta was the cult site of S. *Theodore Tiro (*BHG* 1760–73), whose *relics were venerated there until their dispersal some time before the 11th century. Surviving *inscriptions from the reign of *Anastasius I (491–518) mention construction of a wall and the conferral of civic and episcopal status upon the town. Contemporary authors frequently confused Euchaïta with neighbouring Euchaneia (or Euchaïna), the cult centre of another *military saint, S. Theodore Stratelates (*BHG* 1750–3).

A homily attributed to *Gregory of *Nyssa (*BHG* 1760) composed for the feast of S. Theodore does not mention the town by name, but describes a church with the saint's *relics and an *icon depicting scenes from his life. This may have been the Euchaïta sanctuary. An anonymous 8th-century encomium with accompanying *miracle collection (*BHG* 1764) was composed and set in the city. SEI

C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Three Inscriptions of the Reigns of Anastasius I and Constantine V', *BZ* 65 (1972), 379–93.

N. Oikonomides, 'Le Dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia', *AnBoll* 104 (1986), 327–35.

C. Zuckerman, 'The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit (*BHG* 1764)', *REB* 46 (1988), 191–210.

Eucharist The central communal ritual of Christianity, consisting of sharing bread and wine that have been blessed in *prayer. Originating in the NT accounts of the Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples, the Eucharist was typically celebrated weekly in obedience to Jesus' command 'Do this in memory of me' (Luke 22:19). The Eucharist was associated particularly with *Sunday, the day of Jesus' resurrection, which replaced the Jewish Sabbath as the Christian holy day. Although originally celebrated within the context of a meal, the Eucharist soon became a distinct rite (cf. 1 Cor. 11:20–2) consisting of biblical readings, the '*kiss of peace' (a gesture of reconciliation among the participants), prayers, and the distribution of the blessed bread and wine. Early testimonies to the importance and manner of celebrating the Eucharist can be found in the late 1st-century *Didache* (9–10), the 2nd-century account in Justin Martyr's *First Apology* (65–6), and the 3rd-century text found in the *Apostolic Tradition* traditionally but erroneously attributed to *Hippolytus of *Rome. Christians believed that in Eucharistic communion they were receiving the Body and Blood of Christ under the outward forms of bread and wine, though only in the Latin Middle Ages were theories developed to explain the mode of this presence.

Standard regional *patterns* of Eucharistic praying emerged fairly early, though fixed *texts* for the anaphora, or central Eucharistic prayer, were not typical until the 3rd and 4th centuries. The earliest examples show the influence of Jewish table blessings, but by the 4th century all known examples feature the *Sanctus* ('Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts . . . ') as an *acclamation within the anaphora, an explicit narrative of the Last Supper, and an invocation of the Holy Spirit (*epiklēsis*) to hallow the bread and wine.

The celebration and *liturgy of the Eucharist gradually acquired sacrificial language and symbolism. With these came a revisioning of liturgical ministry in terms of priestly mediation between God and people, and corresponding shifts in ritual practice. The 4th century saw the adoption of imperial ceremonial such as *processions, *incense, lights, and stylized *vestments. Freedom for Christians to worship in public led to the construction of prominent and elaborately adorned church buildings. As the Christian population grew and churches became larger, especially in the cities, the ritual had to bear more and more of the meaning of the rite. Congregational singing at the Eucharist was based almost entirely on the *Psalms, although some liturgical *hymns that would become important elements of devotional prayer date from the early centuries, e.g. the *Gloria in excelsis and *Trisagion. CAS

ed. A. Hänggi et al., *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgiis Antiquioribus Selecti* (SF 12, 29, 42–, 1998–).
ET (with comm.) R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (3rd rev. edn. 1990).
P. Bradshaw, ed., *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (1997).
M. E. Johnson, ed., *Issues in Eucharistic Praying East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis* (2010).
E. Mazza, *Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Italian original, 1992) (1995).

Eucheria (d. *c.*605) Wife of *Dynamius, *Patricius of *Marseilles, and author of an elegiac poem preserved in the **Anthologia Latina* (I, 1, 303–5) and characterized by use of opposites, obscure mythological allusions, alliteration, and rhyme. RWM

PLRE IIIA, Eucheria.
PCBE IV/1, Eucheria.
ET R. W. Mathisen, *People, Personal Expression, and Social Relations in Late Antiquity*, vol. 1 (2003), 38–40.
A. Thomas, '"Crassantus" ou "craxantus": nom de crapaud chez Eucheria et ailleurs', *Bulletin du Cange* 3 (1926–7), 49–58.

Eucherius of Lyons (d. 451/2) *Bishop of *Lyons 428/34–451/2. Born into a Gallic senatorial family, Eucherius became an ascetic at *Lérins together with his wife and sons. In the 420s he was a leading member of that monastic community, alongside S.*Hilary of *Arles, *Salvian, S.*Faustus of Riez, and its founder, S. *Honoratus, before leaving, probably in the early 430s, to become Bishop of Lyons. Eucherius' many writings include *De Laude Eremi*, a work in *praise of Lérins, and *De Contemptu Mundi*, a protreptic in favour of abandoning the world, and a *martyr passion of S. Maurice and the *Theban Legion of *Agaune, as well as works of biblical exegesis. His exegetical works had a significant influence on biblical interpretation in the early medieval West. DRL

PLRE II, Eucherius 3.
PCBE IV/1, Eucherius 2.
RE VI/1 (1907), 883–4.
DHGE 15, cols. 1315–17 (R. Etaix).

WORKS

(*CPL* 488–94):
ed. in PL 50, 685–832.
ed. C. Wotke (CSEL 31, 1894).
ed. C. Mandolfo (CCSL 66, 2004).
De Laude Eremi (*CPL* 492), ed. S. Pricoco, *Eucherii de Laude Eremi* (1965).
De Contemptu Mundi (*CPL* 493), ed. S. Pricoco (with IT and comm.), *De Contemptu Mundi, il rifiuto del mondo* (1990).
Passio Acaucensium Martyrum (*CPL* 490 = *BHL* 5737–9), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS. rer. Meroving. 3 (1896) 32–9.
ET of *De Laude Eremi* and *Passio Acaunensium Martryum* K. Vivian, T. Vivian, and J. B. Russell, in *The Lives of the Jura Fathers* (CSS, 178, 1999).

STUDIES

M. Dulaey, 'Eucher exégète: l'interprétation de la Bible en Gaule du Sud dans la première moitié du V^e siècle', in O. Wermelinger et al., eds., *Mauritius und die Thebäische Legion* (2005), 67–93.
D. Lambert, *OGHRA* 3, 466–8.
Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism*.

Euclid in Late Antiquity The Euclidean corpus was edited in Late Antiquity, lightly in the case of the *Elements* and *Data*, by *Theon of *Alexandria (whose recensions we now read), or heavily in the case of the *Optics* and *Phaenomena*, by unknown authors. These were commented on by mathematicians (*Pappus, at least on *Elements* X) or philosophically oriented authors (*Proclus on *Elements* I). No commentary on the whole of the *Elements* is extant or attested, though the imperial-age polymath *Hero of Alexandria may have redacted one; rich collections of scholia on the *Elements* have been transmitted. Pappus is probably the last to have read the Euclidean 'analytical' writings: the *Porisms* and the *Loci on a Surface*. *Boethius is credited with having translated (parts of) the *Elements* into *Latin. FA

CDSB s.n. Euclid (I. Bulmer-Thomas).
ed. F. Acerbi (2007).

B. Vitrac, 'A propos des démonstrations alternatives et autres substitutions de preuves dans les *Éléments* d'Euclide', *ArchHistExSc* 59 (2004), 1–44.
B. Vitrac, 'Les Scholies grecques aux *Éléments* d'Euclide', *RevHistSc* 56 (2003), 275–92.

Eudo *Dux in *Aquitaine, *c.*718–735. Eudo harboured *Chilperic II after the *Neustrian defeat at *Vinchy, but soon surrendered him to *Charles Martel. He repelled a Muslim force at *Toulouse in 721, married his daughter to the *Berber commander Munnus, and allegedly solicited *Arab aid against Charles, although after his defeat by an Arab army in 732, he appealed for Charles's support. Eudo was succeeded as Dux by his son Chunoald. HJH

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CLXXII, 148–9.
R. Collins, 'Deception and Misrepresentation in Early Eighth Century Frankish Historiography', in Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell*, 235–41.
Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, 82–7.

Eudocia *Aelia. *Augusta in the East 423–60. Originally Athenaïs, *pagan daughter of the sophist Leontius of *Athens, *Pulcheria allegedly found her a suitable consort for *Theodosius II. The *marriage followed her *baptism in 421. She bore Licinia *Eudoxia and two other children. Often in conflict with Pulcheria, she may have emerged from a rival group within the elite, although *bishops addressed *letters to both *empresses hoping to influence Theodosius. She founded the Church of S. *Polyeuctus at *Constantinople. Represented as both beautiful and learned, she composed poems, now lost, celebrating imperial *victories over the *Persian Empire in 421 and 422 (*CPG* 6020), as well as an extant verse *Life* of S. Cyprian of *Antioch, a pagan magician allegedly converted to Christianity and *martyred under *Diocletian (*BHG* 458–9), and (with others) the extant *Homerocentones* (*CPG* 6025), paraphrases of Old Testament books in *Homeric diction (*Photius 183–4). In 438–9 she made a *pilgrimage to the *Holy Land, where she encountered S. *Melania the Younger. Accused of impropriety involving the *Praefectus Praetorio *Cyrus of *Panopolis, in 443 she went and settled amid a circle of learned men in *Jerusalem. There she supported the rebellion of *Miaphysite monks against imperial efforts to enforce the decisions of the *Council of *Chalcedon but returned to orthodoxy shortly before her death in 460. She was buried at the Church of S. Stephen in Jerusalem. KGH

PLRE II, Eudocia 2.
CPG 6024–25: ed. A. Ludwich (1897).
Alan Cameron, 'The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II', *YCS* 27 (1981) 217–89.
Holum, *Empresses*, ch. 4.

Eudocia (*c.*438–72) Elder daughter of *Valentinian III and Licinia *Eudoxia. The *Vandal King *Geiseric abducted her with her mother from *Rome in 455 and married her to his son *Huneric. In 471/2, she removed to *Jerusalem, where she died, leaving her estate to the *Holy Sepulchre. KGH

PLRE II, Eudocia 1.
Holum, *Empresses.*

Eudocia *Empress (610–12). First wife of *Heraclius I, mother of *Epiphania and *Constantine III. Imprisoned by *Phocas at *Constantinople (610), the *Green *faction delivered her to Heraclius. She was married to him and proclaimed empress on his coronation day. She died 13 August 612. MTGH

PLRE III, Eudocia *quae et* Fabia.

Eudoxia *Aelia. *Augusta in the East 400–4. Daughter of the *Frank *Bauto, she grew up in *Constantinople and married *Emperor *Arcadius in 395. By him she had five children: Flaccilla (397), *Pulcheria (399), *Arcadia (400), *Theodosius II (401), and *Marina (403). In 404 she died of a miscarriage, thus was pregnant for at least six out of nine years of *marriage, so fecundity helps account for her elevation to Augusta. She dominated the ineffectual Arcadius and quarrelled with *John Chrysostom, *Patriarch of Constantinople, who blamed her for the conflict that led to his deposition and *exile. Her reputation as 'Jezebel' was undeserved. KGH

PLRE II, Eudocia 1.
Holum, *Empresses*, 48–78.
W. Meyer, 'Doing Violence to the Image of an Empress: The Destruction of Eudoxia's Reputation', in Drake, *Violence in Late Antiquity*, 203–12.

Eudoxia, Licinia *Augusta 439–after 462. Born 422 in *Constantinople to *Theodosius II and *Eudocia, she married *Valentinian III in 437 and returned with him to the West, where, at *Ravenna in 439, he elevated her to Augusta. Their daughters were *Eudocia and *Placidia. After Valentinian's murder in 455, *Petronius Maximus tried to force himself on her, but the *Vandal King *Geiseric, allegedly at her invitation, sacked *Rome and carried her to *Africa with her daughters. After Eudocia married Geiseric's son *Huneric, in 462, Geiseric sent Eudoxia and Placidia to Constantinople, where Eudoxia owned property. KGH

PLRE II, Eudoxia 2.
Holum, *Empresses.*

euergetism Derived from the *Greek word for doing good, 'euergetism' is an inelegant term used by scholars to describe the traditional civic munificence of Antiquity, through which donors (primarily the local

civic *aristocracy) provided their communities with amenities, in return for *praise and *honour during their lifetimes, and a good name throughout eternity. Such munificence paid for almost all public *entertainments and entertainment-buildings, the *bathhouses, the public feasting, and the porticoed pavements, that made *city life 'civilized' and pleasant for citizens, even in very small centres of the Roman world.

In the first two centuries of the Empire, benefactors had vied with each other to provide embellishment and luxury for their home cities. In the Late Roman period, however, such traditional munificence was in severe decline, largely because of a falling-off of the prestige of civic life, as imperial power and the benefits of imperial office became ever more apparent, and as the *taxation burden (the responsibility for which fell on *city councillors) increased. Local men, who had once competed for office in their home cities, paying for amenities in their struggle to obtain it, now sought, just as assiduously, to avoid it. Euergetism was an important victim of this change, though its decline occurred at a different pace in different parts of the Empire: in many *provinces, traditional munificence had already disappeared before the 4th century, while in other regions (such as those dominated by the City of *Rome's highly traditional senatorial *aristocracy) it persisted in attenuated form into the 5th century, and even into the 6th.

A further change that occurred in the Late Roman period was the rise of Christian charitable giving, and the steady flow of wealth into church buildings and church institutions. This kind of giving could supply some of the benefits of traditional munificence: donors' names, for instance, were often prominently displayed in the churches they embellished, for the benefit both of contemporaries and of posterity. But charity was also different from munificence—in particular its beneficiaries were the *poor and the Church, rather than fellow citizens, and its major aim, at least in theory, was eternal bliss, not fame on earth. Charity did come to replace munificence as the primary form of communal giving by the rich, but it would be a mistake to see this as a direct substitution, and in most of the Empire traditional secular munificence had died long before charitable giving became significant. BW-P

P. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism* (abridged translation of *Pain et le cirque*) (1990).
B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300–850* (1984).

Eugendus *See* JURA FATHERS.

Eugenius *Usurper 392–4. Following the death of *Valentinian II in May 392, a three-month interregnum ended when *Arbogast, a *Frank and *Magister Militum, raised to the throne his puppet Eugenius, *rhetorician and *Magister Scriniorum. Eugenius appointed the prominent *senator *Nicomachus Flavianus as his *Praefectus Praetorio and extended his authority as far as the *Balkans. It took two years for *Theodosius I to gather sufficient forces to recover the West. The armies met at the River *Frigidus in the Julian Alps (mod. Slovenia). Eugenius' troops were successful on the first day of the battle, but on the second were routed in a cyclonic wind storm (the Bora) which concealed the movements of the Theodosian army. *Orosius attributed the usurper's defeat to the piety of Theodosius and the wind to divine intervention (VII, 35). Eugenius was executed, Arbogast committed *suicide, and Theodosius' younger son *Honorius was installed as *emperor in *Italy. PJC

PLRE I, Eugenius 6.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 239–47.
Cameron, *Pagans*.

Eugenius II *Bishop of *Toledo 646–57 and accomplished poet. He was an archdeacon in Zaragoza before being called to Toledo to take up the main see in the *Visigothic kingdom by his *patron, King *Chindaswinth (642–53). *Braulio, the aged Bishop of Saragossa (d. 651), tried to persuade the king to withdraw his order so that Eugenius could continue to assist him in Zaragoza but was unsuccessful. Eugenius was consecrated Bishop of Toledo, where four 'national' church *councils occurred during his episcopate (the Seventh to Tenth Councils of Toledo). He wrote *letters, theological treatises, and, most significantly, *poetry, including a partial 'edition' of the poems of *Dracontius. JWo

L. A. Garcîa Moreno, ed., *Prosopografia del reino visigodo de Toledo* (1974), 248.
CPL 1236–46:
ed. P. F. Alberto (CCSL 114, 2005).
C. Codoñer, 'The Poetry of Eugenius of Toledo', *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981), 323–42.
R. Miguel Franco, 'Braulio de Zaragoza, el rey "Chindasvinto" y Eugenio Toledo: imagen y opinión en el "Epistularium" de Braulio de Zaragoza', *Emerita* 79 (2011), 155–75.

Eugippius (d. shortly after 533) Abbot of the *monastery at Castellum Lucullanum (*Campania) and author of the *Vita* of S. *Severinus of *Noricum (*BHL* 7655). Written in 510/11, when Eugippius was abbot at Lucullanum, and covering the years 455–88, scholars often cite the *VSeverini* as exemplifying the end of a Roman *frontier province. Eugippius' origins are uncertain, nor is it known whether he knew S. Severinus or participated in the evacuation of Noricum (488).

Eugippius' involvement in the growth of Lucullanum as an intellectual centre is better attested.

Eugippius probably knew Barbaria, who donated land for the community at Lucullanum. Her son, *Romulus Augustulus, the last Western Roman *emperor, may have lived at the monastery. Eugippius was also connected to the clergy at Rome through the *deacon Paschasius, to whom he dedicated the *VSeverini*. Eugippius' correspondents included the learned exegete *Dionysius Exiguus, who translated a work of *Gregory of *Nyssa for him. Through the noblewoman Proba, Eugippius was also connected to the North *African *Bishop *Fulgentius. Eugippius may have used the library of Proba to assemble his anthology of *Augustine's writing. According to *Cassiodorus, Eugippius dedicated the anthology to Proba (Cassiodorus, *Institutes*, I, 23, 1). Cassiodorus' possible family relationship to Proba suggests intellectual ties between Lucullanum and *Vivarium. Eugippius also had ties to the monastery of *Lérins. In addition to the *VSeverini* and an Augustine anthology (*CPL* 676), Eugippius also composed a monastic rule. MSB

Excerpts from Augustine and Letter to Proba (CPL 676–77*)*, ed. P. Knöll (CSEL IX/1; 1885), 1–1150.

Eugippius, *Vita Severini* (*BHL* 7655–7; *CPL* 678), ed. H. Sauppe (MGH Auct. Ant. 1/2, 1877).

ET G. W. Robinson (1914).

ET L. Bieler (FC 55, 1965).

ed. W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger, *Eugippius und Severin. Der Autor, der Text und der Heilige* (2001).

Euhemerism The notion that the *pagan Gods were originally mortal kings whose grateful subjects worshipped them as gods. The term derives from the name of the late 4th-century BC Greek writer Euhemerus. He expounded this view in his utopian novel *The Sacred Scripture* (*Hiera Anagraphe*) which told how visitors to an island in the Indian Ocean discovered a golden monument describing the accomplishments of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus, the great gods of the Greek Theogonic myth best known through Hesiod. The original text has not survived.

Euhemerus' story appears to have been much more important for Roman writers than it was for Greeks. A summary by Diodorus Siculus (1st cent. BC) of the Greek text survives in *Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (II, 2) and Ennius made a Latin version. Christian writers found Euhemerism highly congenial. Eusebius treats the novel as a historical source for the era when the gods lived on earth and *Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* I uses Ennius's *Euhemerus* similarly. DSP; OPN

Fragments in *FGrHist* Jacoby, 63, and ed. M. Winiarczyk (1991).

RAC VI (1966), 877–90 (K. Thraede).

Eulogius Chalcedonian *Patriarch (Pope) of *Alexandria (579/580–607). He seized numerous churches of the *Miaphysites, and wrote polemical treatises against Miaphysite groups (Gaianites, Theodosians, Agnoetae) which, apart from a single *sermon which survives complete, are extant only in fragments referred to in *Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 182, 208, 225–7. He was a friend of Pope *Gregory the Great of *Rome, and exchanged with him *letters in the numbering of the Latin edition in the CCSL series vol. 140–140a: *epp*. V, 41; VI, 61; VII, 31; VIII, 28–9; IX, 176; X, 14 and 21; XII, 16; XIII, 42–3 and in that of the English translation in the *NPNF* series vols. 12–13: *epp*. V, 43; VI, 60; VII, 34 and 40; VIII, 29–30; IX, 78; X, 35; XII, 50; XIII, 41–2. CJH

CPG 3.6971–6.

Eulogius, Favonius (*fl. c.*390) *Rhetor at *Carthage and former pupil of *Augustine who wrote a surviving *Disputatio* on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, expounding, amongst other things, the presence of *mathematical ratios in *musical intervals and *astronomical realities. He once *dreamed Augustine appeared to him and explained a problematic passage in Cicero (Augustine, *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*, XI, 13). ETH

PLRE I, Eulogius 3.

PCBE I, Eulogius.

ed. A. Holder (1901).

ed. (annotated with IT) L Scarpa (1974).

R.-E. van Weddingen (annotated with FT, Collection Latomus 27, 1957).

Eumeneia Town in the upper Maeander Valley (mod. Işıklı, western Turkey), garrisoned by a succession of Roman auxiliary cohorts. Christian epitaphs of the 3rd and 4th centuries regularly include the so-called 'Eumeneian formula' (grave-robbers 'will have to reckon with God'). PJT

Thonemann, *Maeander Valley*, 130–77.

P. Trebilco, 'The Christian and Jewish Eumeneian formula', *Mediterraneo antico* 5/1 (2002), 63–97.

Eumenius From his quotation of a *letter, Eumenius is identified as the author of a speech known as the *Pro Instaurandis Scholis*, preserved in the *XII *Panegyrici Latini*. The speech (*PanLat* IX [IV]) is addressed to a provincial *governor and dates from 298. Other *Panegyrici* have also occasionally been attributed to him. Eumenius was professor of *rhetoric at the Maeniana School in *Autun, renovated under the *Tetrarchy, and had been *Magister Memoriae. His grandfather had come from *Athens via *Rome. The successes of the schools were praised in the presence of *Constantine I by an Autun orator in *Latin Panegyric*, V (VIII) on 25 July 311. RDR

PLRE I, Eumenius 1.

Panegyric IX (IV), ed. R. A. B. Mynors, in Rodgers and Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 554–63 (with ET, introd., and notes, 145–77).
A. Hostein, *La Cité et l'empereur: les Eduens dans l'Empire romain d'après les Panégyriques latins* (2012).
R. D. Rees, *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric AD 289–307* (2002).

Eunapius (347/8–after 404) Born at *Sardis, the provincial capital of *Lydia, Eunapius first studied in his home town with his relative, the *pagan *philosopher *Chrysanthius, and then, from 362/3, with the Christian rhetorician *Proaeresius at *Athens, where he was also initiated into the *Eleusinian Mysteries. In 366/7, instead of travelling to *Egypt, as he had planned, he was summoned back to Sardis where he remained, teaching *rhetoric, until his death.

Two works by Eunapius are known, a *History in Continuation of Dexippus* (from 270 to 404) and *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*.

The *Continuation of Dexippus* appeared in two editions, and there is disagreement over the differences between them. One view is that the first edition ended perhaps in 395 with the death of *Theodosius I and the second continued to 404 (Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 82f.); the other is that both editions ended in 404 and in the second edition new material (e.g. on the *Huns) was added and some of the more offensively anti-Christian passages were excised (Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 1, 2–5). Substantial fragments of the text are included in the *Excerpta *de Legationibus* and the *Excerpta de Sententiis*; the **Suda* preserves over 50 fragments; it was used, directly or indirectly, by *Peter the Patrician, *John of *Antioch, the **Epitome de Caesaribus*, and *Philostorgius, *Sozomen, and, possibly, *Socrates in their Ecclesiastical Histories. Most importantly, it was the main, if not exclusive, source for the relevant part (1, 47–5, 25) of *Zosimus' *New History*.

Eunapius' *History* was clearly important. It revived large-scale *Greek historiography in the classical manner (*Ammianus Marcellinus probably wrote earlier, but in *Latin and in the West). Despite its openly anti-Christian stance, it was apparently influential with pagans and Christians alike. Its stylistic and narrative weaknesses are, however, legion and obvious. They include deficient sources and a paucity of historical detail filled out with classical motifs and clichés (except when covering *Julian); an uncritical hostility to Christians and encomiastic treatment of Julian; ill-judged rhetoric; a style that (despite the qualified approval of *Photius, *Bibl.* 77) is pompous, overblown, occasionally imprecise, and mixes classicisms (at times misused), vulgarisms, and contemporary usages; and an inability to weigh the relative importance of the events under discussion and to assign them the appropriate weight in the narrative.

The *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, which offers biographies of many of the pagan intellectuals of the late 3rd and 4th centuries, preserves valuable information on various of its subjects, although it is very unbalanced in its treatment. It furnishes, for instance, a very short section on *Plotinus; a longer and more valuable one on *Porphyry; dismissive sections on *Libanius and *Himerius; and more extended and laudatory discussions of *Iamblichus and *Maximus of Ephesus, practitioners of *theurgy who so significantly influenced the *Emperor Julian. While the *Lives* provide useful information, they display the same characteristics as the *History* and their main value lies in showing what was fashionable amongst pagan intellectuals in the second half of the 4th century. RCB

PLRE I, Eunapius 2.
History in Continuation of Dexippus: ed. (with LT) in *FHG* Muller, IV, 7–56.
ed. (annotated with ET) Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 2, 2–150.
Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists: ed. J. Giangrande, *Vitae Sophistarum* (1956).
ed. W. C. Wright, *Philostratus and Eunapius, Lives of the Sophists* (LCL, 1921), 317–565.
Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 1, 1–26.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*.
R. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D.: Studies in Eunapius of Sardis* (1990).

Eunomius and the Eunomians Eunomius was born in *Cappadocia and studied under Aetius in *Alexandria in the mid-350s. In his *Syntagmation*, Aetius had argued that the title of 'unbegotten' (*agennetos*) was descriptive of the Divine Essence (*ousia*) and that God the Son, scripturally designated as only-begotten, was therefore of a different essence (*heterousion*) from God the Father. Eunomius adopted and popularized this teaching, which was reduced by his opponents to that of *Anomoeans, the belief that God the Son was unlike God the Father (*anomoios*). In a *council at *Constantinople in 360, Eunomius defended himself against this charge by explaining that he held that God the Son was like God the Father 'according to the Scriptures'. This was not a likeness of essence but of activity and will. Shortly after this council, Eunomius was consecrated as *Bishop of *Cyzicus, and after the death of Aetius, he became the recognized leader of the 'heterousian' party, who came to be called 'Eunomians'. Eunomius was subsequently exiled under the *emperors *Valens and *Theodosius I, and his teaching was condemned at the Council of *Constantinople of 381. The church historian *Philostorgius was an associate of Eunomius. KA

PCBE III, Eunomios 1.

CPG 3455–60: ed. (with ET) R. P. Vaggione (OECT, 1987).
E. Cavalcanti, *Studi Eunomiani* (1976).
Kopecek, *History of Neo-Arianism*.
R. P. Vaggione, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (OECS, 2001).
M. Barnes, 'Eunomius of Cyzicus and Gregory of Nyssa: Two Traditions of Transcendent Causality', *VigChrist* 52/1 (1998), 59–87.
L. Wickham, 'The *Syntagmation* of Aetius the Anomean', *JTS* 19/2 NS (1968), 540–9.

eunuchs It had been illegal since the time of Domitian to castrate boys or men on Roman territory (Suetonius, *Domitian*, 7; *Ammianus, XVIII, 4, 5; *CJust* IV, 42, 1 of *Constantine, and IV, 42, 2 of *Leo I). There were, however, eunuchs serving in great houses, in particular to wait upon ladies (e.g. Cassius Dio, 75, 14; cf. Clement of *Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, III, 4). They were familiar in the 2nd and 3rd centuries as *priests of various exotic *pagan cults, in particular that of the Magna Mater; Apuleius cast witty aspersions on the carnal voracity of the castrated priests of the Dea Syria (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 26). The 4th-century doctor Basil *Bishop of Ancyra (*Ankara) also opined that eunuchs were exceptionally libidinous (*On Preserving Virginity*, 61).

Probably under the *Tetrarchy and certainly by the time of Constantine I, eunuch chamberlains were serving in the imperial *Cubiculum and, being in daily contact with the *emperor, came to control access to him, to exercise considerable power and accumulate substantial wealth. None of these activities made them popular with others either inside or outside the *administration. In the 6th century *Procopius claimed that *Abasgia (mod. Abkhazia on the Black Sea) was a source for imperial **cubicularii* (*Gothic*, VIII, 3, 15–19).

The term 'eunuch' was also used for men who chose to live a continent life, thereby conserving their inner fire and the purity of their *élan vital*. A true eunuch, said Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–*c.*215) is one who is unwilling to enjoy pleasure, rather than one who is unable to do so (*Paedagogus*, III, 4). His contemporary Melito of *Sardis was admired as a eunuch who 'lived in the Holy Spirit in all things' (Polycrates of *Ephesus in *Eusebius, *HE* V, 24, 5).

Some men sought to eliminate temptation through surgery; in the early 2nd century a young man in Alexandria sought a surgeon to perform the necessary operation for the comfort of his soul, but the surgeons felt obliged to seek the permission of the Prefect of *Egypt—and failed to secure it (Justin Martyr, *1Apology*, 29). It was believed that the great theologian *Origen had taken this step (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 8, 2–3).

The Church expressed its disapproval. The first canon of the *Council of *Nicaea excluded from the clergy all voluntary eunuchs, though not natural or involuntary eunuchs. Even so, S. *Sabas (439–532) had to take care of an unfortunate monk who had interpreted as a command the words of Jesus that there are some which have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 19:12). OPN; SFT

P. Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (1980).
K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), 172–96.
J. Long, *Claudian's In Eutropium: Or How, When and Why to Slander a Eunuch* (1996).
S. Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (2008).
M. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (2001).
H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus* (1959), 109–12.

Euphemia *Empress (518–*c.*523/4) of *Justin I, called Lupicina before she became empress. *Procopius claims she was a barbarian slave and a former owner's concubine before marrying Justin (*Anecd.* 6, 17). Virtuous, but rustic and no politician, she opposed the marriage of *Justinian I and *Theodora (9, 47–9). GBG

PLRE II, Euphemia 5.
Vasiliev, *Justin*, 60–1, 91–2, 98–9.

Euphemia *Aelia Marcia Euphemia, only daughter of the *Emperor *Marcian; *c.*453 she married the **patricius* *Anthemius (Western emperor 467–72).

PLRE II, Euphemia 6.

Euphemia and the Goth *Syriac romance of the 5th century, surviving in two manuscripts, and also in *Greek. The tale goes that in AD 396 a *Gothic soldier in the Roman *army stationed at *Edessa to repel *Huns lodged with a *widow called Sophia and married her only daughter Euphemia, having made vows over the tomb of the Confessors *Shmona, Guria, and Habib that he would treat her well. He takes her off to his own land, where he hands her over as a slave to his Gothic wife, who proceeds to poison Euphemia's baby. Euphemia gets even by poisoning the Gothic wife, but the Goths shut her up in the wife's tomb. She prays to the Confessors and is miraculously transported home to Edessa where she is reunited with her mother. Some time later the Goth returns to Edessa where he is confronted by Sophia and Euphemia, who make an affidavit about Euphemia's sufferings, on the strength of which the Stratelates of Edessa has him beheaded, despite the intercession of Eulogius the *bishop on his behalf. Eulogius is a historical personage; he was the Bishop of Edessa (AD 379–87) who welcomed *Egeria to the *city in 384 (Egeria, 19, 5–19; **Chronicle of Edessa*, 34; cf. *Theodoret, *HE* V, 4). JNSL; OPN

GEDSH s.v. Euphemia and the Goth, 153 (Brock).

ed. (with ET) F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth* (1913). Greek: ed. E. von Dobschütz (TU 3, 1911).

Euphratensis (Augusta Euphratensis) Roman *province formed from the north-eastern part of the former (Severan) province of Syria Coele, bounded on the east by the River Euphrates. It is included in the *Verona List (255, 19) in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, but not in the list of episcopal signatories at the *Council of *Nicaea. *Ammianus (XIV, 8, 7; cf. *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 17, 2 and 23) gives Euphratensis as the current name of the former Commagene. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists *cavalry units under the *Dux Syriae at Barbalissus, Neocaesarea (perhaps *Dibsi Faraj), and *Rusafa and Legio XVI Flavia Firma at Sura (*or.* XXXIII, 24–8). It has Euphratensis (*or.* II, 19) as governed by a *Praeses (*or.* I, 90), to whom laws were issued in 417 (*CTh* VII, 11, 2; XV, 11, 2). *Hierocles lists twelve cities in the province, headed by *Hierapolis (Mabbug) and including *Cyrrhus and *Samosata (712, 10–713, 11). *Justinian I rebuilt *fortifications in Euphratensis (*Aed.* II, 9, 3–17). After the *Arab conquest in 637 it was subsumed into the *jund of *Qinnasrin. PWMF; OPN

Spilia, *Reorganisation of Provincial Territories.*

Euplus, S. Christian *martyr at Catania. On 29 April 304, outside the *secretarium of the *Corrector of *Sicily, Euplus shouted that he wanted to die because he was a Christian. He was brought in and questioned about the Gospel book he was carrying (contrary to the First Edict of the Great *Persecution). His confession was made public and he was tried (still with the book) on 12 August and executed on 29 August. His *martyr passion (in *Greek) follows the form of a *report of court proceedings, and contains elements which suggest authenticity. A *basilica honoured him at Messina in the 6th century (*Gregory the Great, *ep.* II, 6) and a church at Rome in the 7th (**Liber Pontificalis*, 75, 5 and 97, 74). OPN

BHG 629: ed. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche* 7 (ST 49, 1928), 47–8.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 126–8.

Eupsychius of Caesarea *Notary of *Caesarea of *Cappadocia, who reacted to *Julian's *paganism by destroying the *city's last remaining *temple (that dedicated to its *Tyche). Julian removed the city's civic privileges (*Libanius, *Oration*, 16, 14). Eupsychius's martyrdom (on 7 September 362) was recalled by *Gregory of Nazianzus (*Oration*, 4, 92) and *Basil (*ep.* 100), described by *Sozomen (V, 4, 1–6; V, 11, 8), and celebrated annually at Caesarea while Basil was *bishop (Basil, *ep.* 200). The story grew in the telling. OPN

BHG 2130: ed. (with FT) F. Halkin, *Le Muséon* 97 (1984), 197–206.

F. Halkin, 'Arethas de Césarée et le martyr Saint Eupsychius', *AnalBoll* 91 (1973), 414.

Euric *Visigothic King (r. 466–84), son of *Theoderic I, brother of Thorismund and *Theoderic II, and father of *Alaric II. In 466, he killed his brother Theoderic II, and succeeded to the throne (*Hydatius, 238; *Jordanes, *Getica*,235; *Gallic *Chronicle of 511*, 643).

The reign of Euric saw constant expansion of the Visigothic kingdom, to its greatest extent. At first limited to the *provinces of *Aquitania Secunda, *Novempopulana, and *Narbonensis Prima, Euric soon ended the *foedus* with the Romans (*Sidonius, *ep.* VII, 6, 4), and campaigned from 468 against the *Suebes, conquering most of *Spain (*Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, 34). Having defeated the people of *Brittany under *Riothamus to the north of the Loire, but being blocked from further advance by the *Franks, he conquered the Auvergne, yet continued to face resistance from local Gallo-Roman aristocrats under *Ecdicius (Jordanes, *Getica*, 238–40). By 471, he had pushed into south-east *Gaul, destroying the Roman *army there. Although hindered by the *Burgundians in *Provence, he managed to have his conquests (including *Clermont-Ferrand, surrendered by its *bishop *Sidonius Apollinaris) recognized by the *Emperor *Julius Nepos in 475, after negotiations through Bishop *Epiphanius of *Pavia. The next year, he captured *Arles and *Marseilles from the Romans (*Gallic Chronicle of 511*, 657; **Consularia Hafniensia Ordo Prior ad ann.* 476), allegedly bribed by the *Vandal King *Geiseric, and the following year he took southern Provence, conquests praised in a poem of Sidonius (*ep.* VIII, 9).

Reportedly Euric was an active legislator, but the fragmentary codification of provincial Roman *law known as the *Code of *Euric* is not securely of his reign. A robust '*Arian', he persecuted Catholics (Sidonius, *ep.* VII, 6, 6; *Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 25) and spoke through an interpreter when replying in *Latin to the ambassador of Julius Nepos (*Ennodius, *Life of Epiphanius of Pavia*, 90). He died at Arles in 484 (*Gallic Chronicle of 511*, 666, *HF* II, 20), succeeded by his son *Alaric II (Jordanes, *Getica*, 244–5; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, III, 3, 3; *Consularia Hafniensia Ordo Prior & Ordo Posterior ad ann.* 486). GDB

PLRE II, Euricus.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 5 (2004) *s.v.* Euricus, Euric, cols. 195–6 (M. Meier, M. Strothmann).

A. Gillett, 'The Accession of Euric', *Francia* 26/1 (1999), 1–40.

Euric, Code of (Codex Euricianus) The earliest surviving *Visigothic legal text, surviving only in

palimpsest fragments in manuscript Paris BN Lat. 12161. It was probably compiled under King *Euric, but several kings have been suggested. It is possible that *Leo of *Narbonne was involved in its production. It has been understood as legislation valid for those identifying themselves as ethnically *Gothic, while Roman *law, redigested in 506 in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (the *Breviarium of *Alaric*), was used by the Roman population. However, some now interpret it as law binding over a territorial area regardless of ethnicity. Some of its laws were included in revised form in the **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum*) of *Reccesuinth. TWGF

ed. A. d'Ors, *El Código de Eurico: edición y palingenesia* (1960).
ed. K. Zeumer in MGH Leges (MGH LL nat. Ger., 1902), 3–32.
R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004).
J. D. Harries, 'Not the Theodosian Code: Euric's Law and Late 5th-Century Gaul', in R. W. Mathisen, ed., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul* (2001), 39–51.

Europa *Province, included in the *Verona List, occupying the extreme south-eastern corner of the *Dioecesis *Thraciae, between the Black Sea and the Sea of *Marmara. *Haemimontus lay to the north and *Rhodopa to the west. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* II, 53) gives the *governor's title as *Consularis. He resided at *Heraclaea. It eventually became part of the *Theme of *Thrace. ABA

TIB 12 (2008), Ostthrakien: Eurōpē.

Europus *See* CARCHEMISH.

Excerpta Latina Barbari *See BARBARUS SCALIGERI.*

Excerpta Vaticana *See ANONYMUS POST DIONEM.*

exercitalis *See ARIMANNUS.*

Eusebia *Empress, second wife of *Constantius II, *c.*353–*c.*360. Her family was from *Thessalonica; her brothers Eusebius and Hypatius were *consuls in 359. She played a significant part in the life of *Julian, who wrote a *Speech of Thanks* to her for her apparent protection and support of him in the years 354–5. Reputedly she defended him following the fall of *Gallus, was instrumental in him being sent to study in *Athens, advocated or supported his promotion as *Caesar, and gave him a travelling library to take to *Gaul (Julian, *Oration* 2 (3) *On Eusebia*, 15).

However, the reputation of Eusebia in the sources is mixed. *Ammianus claims that she treacherously ensured that Julian and his wife Helena were childless (XVI, 10, 18–19); *Philostorgius depicts her as a harridan (as well as a convinced 'Arian'). Constantius gave the *Dioecesis of *Pontica the name 'Pietas' to honour her. She was childless, perhaps as a consequence of illness. She died *c.*360. SFT

PLRE I, Eusebia.

Eusebius *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi of *Constantius II, a *eunuch chamberlain so powerful that *Ammianus (who loathed him) joked that Constantius had some influence with Eusebius (XVIII, 4, 3). The future *Emperor *Julian blamed Eusebius for the death of his half-brother the *Caesar *Gallus and for his own bad relations with his cousin Constantius (*Epistle to the Athenians*, 272D and 274AB). Some sources confuse the eunuch with his potent contemporary, the influential *Bishop *Eusebius of *Nicomedia. Eusebius was condemned to death by the tribunal held at *Chalcedon, at the beginning of Julian's sole reign. SFT

PLRE I, Eusebius 11.
Matthews, *Ammianus*, 274–5.

Eusebius Gallicanus A collection of *sermons drawn from late 5th-century sources associated with the *monastery of *Lérins. The CCSL edition consists of 76 sermons. *Faustus of Riez has been identified as one author. The sermons were used for preaching, teaching, and reflection, by monks, clergy, and the laity. They provide a distinctive perspective on the process of *Christianization in Late Antique *Gaul. AYH

CPL 966:
ed. Fr. Gloria, *Eusebius Gallicanus* (CCSL 101, 101A, and 101B, 1970).
L. K. Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul* (2010).

Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.*260–*c.*339) Biblical exegete, Christian apologist in the era of the Great *Persecution, author of various historical and geographical works, and (from *c.*313) *Bishop of *Caesarea of *Palestine. Eusebius was also deeply involved in theological controversies, particularly those surrounding the *Council of *Nicaea in the newly Christian Empire of *Constantine I.

Scholar and bishop

Eusebius lived his adult life in Caesarea, the Roman *city built by Herod the Great on the Mediterranean, capital of the Roman *province of *Palestine. He was the pupil of *Pamphilus, a theological heir of *Origen. Their *library at Caesarea contained important philosophical, Jewish, and Christian works as well as being a place where scribes produced texts. Eusebius' writings

therefore preserve many precious fragments of ancient authors, Christian and non-Christian. Eusebius and Pamphilus together wrote *A Defence of Origen.* After the execution of Pamphilus during the Great *Persecution in 310, Eusebius travelled in Palestine and *Egypt recording these events in *The Martyrs of Palestine* and his *Church History.* He became Bishop of Caesarea around 313.

Earlier, Eusebius had charted in his *Chronicle* the whole of world history culminating in the Roman Empire and Christianity; this chronology with tables was completed in 311, and versions survive in *Armenian and, continued by *Jerome down to 378, in *Latin. The *Church History*, composed and revised several times over a series of years in ten books, was finished in its final version around 325. Basing his chronology on the reigns of *emperors and the sequence of bishops in various cities as the successors of the Apostles Eusebius systematically describes the history of the Church up to *c.*280, its *martyrs, its teachers, and the rise of *heresies and persecutions which tested it. The last three books deal with developments in Eusebius' own time, particularly the Great Persecution. A feature unprecedented in Graeco-Roman *historiography is the large-scale incorporation of lengthy *verbatim* excerpts from earlier writings. Eusebius' *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* (*CPG* 3491) is lost.

His encyclopedic, apologetic, and pedagogical works (*c.*314–21) were a response to criticisms by such anti-Christian writers as Celsus and *Porphyry. Of the ten books of his apologetic *General Elementary Introduction* there survive books 6–9 and parts of 10. *The Preparation for the Gospel* made good use of the Caesarea library, to argue through various quotations that Greek religion and philosophy were dependent on Phoenicia and on Egypt. Furthermore, he claims, the Greeks had also plagiarized the Jews; Christians therefore were neither novel nor derivative, but were engaged in restoring primeval practice and belief, which had existed from the Creation until later civilizations had corrupted them. The twenty books (ten are extant) of the *Demonstration of the Gospel* argue that Hebrew prophecy is fulfilled in the life of Christ, so that Christians are its true heirs. Eusebius' other later works included commentaries on Isaiah and the Psalms as well as *Questions and Answers*, a treatise on *Easter, and a biblical gazetteer, the *Onomasticon.* It has been argued that a different Eusebius composed the tract *Against Hierocles*, written to combat the pagan *Hierocles, who had asserted that Christ was no more remarkable than *Apollonius of *Tyana.

Nicene crisis and Constantine

In the controversy between *Arius and his bishop Alexander of *Alexandria, Eusebius defended Arius as to the necessary priority and separate divine nature of the Father as the cause of the Son (Opitz, *Urkunden*, 7). This led to Eusebius' condemnation at a synod in *Antioch in 324. In a *letter Eusebius offered a rare glimpse of the *Council of *Nicaea in 325, claiming that he proposed a *creed as a means of theological reconciliation. He attributed the inclusion of the controversial term *homoousios* (which indicated that God the Father and God the Son share the same nature) to the *Emperor *Constantine I himself (Opitz, *Urkunden*, 22). Afterwards he joined a number of other bishops in attacking theologies which were assumed to blur the distinctions between the Father and the Son. Eusebius presided over the deposition of *Eustathius of Antioch in 328, and aided in the deposition of *Athanasius of Alexandria at *Tyre in 335. In 336 he was part of the council at *Constantinople that deposed *Marcellus of *Ancyra and attempted to readmit Arius to the Church.

In his later controversial works (337–8), *Against Marcellus* and *The Ecclesiastical Theology*, Eusebius used both philosophy and interpretation of the *Bible to defend the notion that the Father is the transcendent origin of all being, and that the Son is necessarily secondary and distinct from the Father as the image and agent of the Father in creation and salvation. The *Theophany*, dated anywhere between 325 and 335, reiterated this Christological model as one of divine revelation through incarnation.

Eusebius was not an intimate of Constantine, but met the emperor on several occasions. His *Life of Constantine*, unfinished when Eusebius died, fused history and *panegyric to explore the theological meaning of the 'life according to God of the Emperor Constantine'. Appended to the *Life* are a speech given by Constantine himself to the Church of *Nicomedia one Easter, probably in 325 (*To the Assembly of the Saints*), and two of Eusebius' own speeches, which in some manuscripts are fused together. One of these, uttered by Eusebius at the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in *Jerusalem in September 335, portrays Constantine as the charismatic sole ruler of the newly unified Roman Empire under the grace of the One God. The other, a *panegyric spoken in Constantinople before the emperor to celebrate Constantine's Tricennalia on 25 July 336, is a Christian transformation of Hellenistic theories of kingship in which the ruler embodies the divine order in the image of the Word of God.

No manuscript is known of the letter (*CPG* 3503) purportedly written by *Eusebius to Constantine's half-sister *Constantia concerning the legitimacy of images.

JRL; OPN

DCB s.n. Eusebius of Caesarea, II, 308–48 (J. B. Lightfoot).
CPG 3465–507: editions listed by T. D. Barnes, in Foster, *Early Christian Thinkers*, 191–3.

ed. in *PG* 19–24.
Editions in GCS VII, IX, XI, XIV, XX, XXIII, XLIII, XLVII = Eusebius Werke (*EW*):
VCon: *Life of Constantine* (*CPG* 3496) and appended speeches (3497–8): GCS 7 = *Eusebius Werke* I, ed. I. A. Heikel (1902); *VCon*: *Life of Constantine* only: *EW* 1, 1 [2], ed. F. Winkelmann (1975; rev. edn. 2008).
HE: *Church History* (*CPG* 3495), with Short Recension and Greek fragments of Long Recension of the *Martyrs of Palestine* (*CPG* 3490), also LT b *Rufinus: GCS 9, 1–3 = *Eusebius Werke* II, 1–3, ed. E. Schwartz, 3 vols. (1903, 1908, and 1909); GCS Neue Folge 6, 1–3, ed. F. Winkelmann (rev. edn. 1999).
Onomasticon (*CPG* 3466): GCS 11,1 = *Eusebius Werke* III, 1, ed. E. Klostermann (1904).
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HE: ed. G. Bardy.
HE I–IV SC 31 (1952).
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Prep.Ev. I SC 206 (1974).
II–III SC 228 (1976).
IV–V, 17 SC 262 (1979).
V, 18 –VI SC 266 (1980).
VII SC 215 (1976).
VIII–X SC 369 (1991).
XI SC 292 (1982).
XII–XIII SC 307 (1983).
XIV–XV SC 338 (1987).
VCon: ed. F. Winkelmann (FT M.-J. Rondeau annotated by L. Pietri), SC 559 (2013).

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H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton (with comm. and with both recensions of the *Martyrs of Palestine*; 2 vols., 1927–8).
G. A. Williamson (rev. A. Louth, annotated), *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (1989).
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Eusebius of Emesa (*c*.300–before 359) Theologian and exegete. Eusebius grew up *bilingual in *Syriac and *Greek in *Edessa. He studied with Patrophilus of *Scythopolis and *Eusebius of *Caesarea, spent time in *Antioch and *Alexandria, and became *Bishop of *Emesa. His surviving works include excerpts in the original Greek preserved in the *catena, 29 homilies in *Latin *translations, fragments in Syriac, and in an *Armenian *translation homilies and a *Commentary on Genesis* and other OT books. Eusebius was an early witness to the *Peshitta and used Syriac and Hebrew texts in his commentaries, being aware of translation problems. His exegesis influenced *Diodore of *Tarsus

and later Syriac authors (e.g. Isho'dad of *Merv, d. after 852). His Trinitarian doctrine is anti-Sabellian and has been described as homoiousian. His theology linked native Syriac and Antiochene traditions. UP

ed. F. Petit, L. Van Rompay, and J. J. S. Weitenberg (with FT), *Commentaire de la Genese* (TEG 15, 2011).
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R. B. ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (TEG 6, 1997).
R. E. Winn, *Eusebius of Emesa: Church & Theology in the Mid-Fourth Century* (2011).

Eusebius of Nicomedia (d. 341/2) *Bishop successively of Berytus (*Beirut), *Nicomedia, and *Constantinople and a leading ecclesiastical politician and disputant in the *Arian Controversy. Eusebius came from a prominent family; he was related to the future *Emperor *Julian (*Ammianus, XXII, 9, 4) and had studied under the renowned biblical exegete *Lucian of *Antioch. Originally Bishop of Berytus, he moved to Nicomedia after 314 and supported *Arius before the *Council of *Nicaea of 325. He signed the Nicene *Creed but not its associated anathemas, and shortly afterwards was sent into *exile alongside his friend Theognis of Nicaea. Restored in 327/8, Eusebius became an influential figure at the *court of *Constantine I. In 337 Eusebius baptized Constantine, and under *Constantius II he was once more translated, to the see of the imperial city of Constantinople.

According to his enemies, particularly *Athanasius of *Alexandria, Eusebius was the leader of an 'Arian' party, *hoi peri Eusebion* ('the Eusebians'), who conspired together to promote their *heresy. It is true that Eusebius believed in the Son's subordination to the Father (*Letter to Paulinus of Tyre*, in *Theodoret, *HE* I, 6) and disliked the non-scriptural term *homoousios* adopted at Nicaea. Although often described incorrectly as 'Arian', however, Eusebius' theology was upheld by the Second ('Lucianic') Creed of the 'Dedication' Council of *Antioch (341) and represented orthodox faith for many 4th-century eastern Christians. Fragments of Eusebius' *letters survive (*CPG* 2045–8). DMG

CPG 2045–8, ed. H.-G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, Band III.
G. Bardy, *Recherches sur Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (1936).
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*.
D. M. Gwynn, *The Eusebians: The Polemic of Athanasius of Alexandria and the Construction of the 'Arian Controversy'* (2007).
C. Luibheid, 'The Arianism of Eusebius of Nicomedia', *IThQ* 43 (1976) 3–23.

Eusebius of Samosata Spiritual father of the neo-Nicene theologians who rallied round Meletius of *Antioch and *Basil of *Caesarea in the 360s. Eusebius was one of the *bishops who consecrated Basil as bishop in September 370; he was Basil's frequent correspondent (*epp.* 27, 30, 31, 34, 48, 95, 98, 127, 128, 136, 138, 141, 145, 162, 166–7, 198, 237, 239, 241) and his closest confidant thereafter, and probably the translator into *Syriac of Basil's *Small Asketikon*. He was *exiled to *Thrace in 374–8 by the *Emperor *Valens, and stoned by an Arian assassin in 379 (*Theodoret, *HE* IV, 13; V, 6). AMS

DCB II *s.n.* Eusebius (77), 369–72 (H. R. Reynolds).
Rousseau, *Basil* = P. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (TCH 20, 1998).
P. Devos, 'Le Dossier syriaque de S. Eusèbe de Samosate', *AnBoll* 85/1–2 (1967), 195–240.
P. Devos, 'La Vie syriaque de saint Eusèbe de Samosate', *AnBoll* 90/3–4 (1972), 360–3.
F. Halkin, 'Une Vie grecque d'Eusèbe de Samosate', *AnBoll* 85 (1967), 5–15.

Eusebius of Vercelli (d. 371) Influential *Bishop of Vercelli, *Italy, from at least 353. In 355 he was exiled to the East (where he met *Epiphanius of *Salamis and *Josephus *Comes), after refusing to condemn *Athanasius at a *council in *Milan. He returned west *c.*363. According to *Ambrose, Eusebius was responsible for introducing the new monastic ethos to the West (Ambrose, *ep.* 63). Eusebius is also supposedly the writer of the *Codex Vercellensis*, the earliest-known complete text of the Gospels in *Latin, and *De Trinitate* (*CPL* 105). Some *letters (*CPL* 106–8) which reveal the workings of the bishopric survive. RJM

CPL 105–8; *HLL* 5, section 584:
ed. V. Bulhart et al. (CCSL 9, 1957).
N. Everett, 'Narrating the Life of Eusebius of Vercelli', in R. Balzaretti and E. M. Tyler, eds., *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (2006), 133–64.
E. Dal Cavolo, R. Uglione, and G. Vian, eds., *Eusebio di Vercelli e il suo tempo* (1997).

Eustathius (*fl.* before 420) *Latin translator of *Basil of *Caesarea's **Hexaemeron*. He dedicated this work to his sister Syncletica, perhaps the same Syncletica mentioned by *Sedulius (*Ep. ad Macedonium*); this would make Eustathius part of Macedonius' circle of educated Christians. *Augustine may have read Eustathius' translation (*De Genesi ad Litteram* 1, 18, 36), which would date it before *c.*420. SJL-R

PLRE II, Eustathius 8.
Text (at *CPG*, 2835):
ed. PG 30, 869–968, reprinting J. Garnier and Pr. Maran (1721–30).
ed. E. Amand de Mendieta and S. Rudberg (TU 66, 1958).
B. Altaner, 'Eustathius, der lateinische Übersetzer der Hexaemeron-Homilien Basilius des Großen', *ZNTW* 39 (1940), 161–70.

Eustathius of Antioch (d. before 337) *Patriarch of *Antioch 323/4–327/8. Leading *bishop of the anti-*Arian party before and at the *Council of *Nicaea (325) who was exiled by *Constantine I, for reasons which were and remain disputed. Sexual misconduct, *heresy, and insulting Constantine's mother *Helena have all been mooted, as well as an Arian plot. SP

CPG 3350–69: J. H. Declerck (CCSG 51, 2002).

Eustathius of Epiphania Author of an unfinished chronicle in two books from Aeneas and the fall of Troy to the *Persian war of *Anastasius I (502/3). The chronicle survived on Patmos in 1200 but only fragments are extant now. It is known through laudatory references by *John Malalas (16, 9) and *Evagrius (I, 19; II, 15; III, 26, 29, 37; V, 24), and through the **Suda* (*s.v* Eustathius 3746). Eustathius was probably a source for *Procopius (describing the siege of *Amida), *Theodore Lector, and *Theophanes. FKH

PLRE II, Eustathius 10.

ODB s.v. Eustathios of Epiphaneia.

Fragments: Müller, *FHG* IV, 138–42.

P. Allen, 'An Early Epitomator of Josephus: Eustathius of Epiphaneia', *BZ* 81 (1988), 1–11.

Whitby, *Evagrius*, p. xxvi.

Eustathius of Mtskheta, S. (d. 550) Christian *martyr from Persia who fled to *Iberia in *c.*541. He was martyred in *Mtskheta by the Persian *Marzban of *Iberia, Bezhan Buzmihr. His *Passion*, one of the earliest works of Georgian literature, was written *c.*570. NA

Passio: ed. I Abulaze, *Zveli Kartuli Agiograpiuli Literaturis Zeglebi* I (1963–4) 30–45.

ET D. M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* (rev. edn., 1976), 94–114.

S. H. Rapp, *Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes: Caucasia and the Iranian Commonwealth in Late Antique Georgian Literature* (2014), 45–52.

Eustathius of Sebasteia Born *c.*300, Eustathius studied in *Alexandria, and encountered *Arian and monastic currents. He inspired ascetic enthusiasm across northern *Anatolia, incurred censures (*Sozomen, IV, 24–5; canons of the Council of Gangra), adapted himself, befriended *Basil's *family in *Neocaesarea, influenced the young S. *Macrina towards *asceticism, and around 356 succeeded his father Eulalius as *Bishop of *Sebasteia (mod. Sivas, Turkey). His theology was Homoiousian, affirming that Christ was of a similar substance to the Father, but opposed both to Arian subordinationism, and to the Nicene Homoousian position which affirmed that Christ and the Father were of the same substance. Although he was the mentor of the young Basil of *Caesarea, he was secretly disaffected by the neo-Nicenes who rallied around Basil in the late 360s. Their alliance finally collapsed in the early 370s. Eustathius then led the Pneumatomachoi against affirming the divine nature of the Spirit. He died in 379. The principal sources for his biography are the *letters of Basil and the *panegyrics of Basil by *Gregory of *Nyssa (*CPL* 3185) and *Gregory of *Nazianzus (*CPL* 3010, *Oration*, 43). *Socrates (IV, 12) preserves a letter (*CPG* 2830). AMS

DictSpir IV (1960), cols. 1708–12 (J. Gribomont).

J. Gribomont, *Saint Basile, Évangile et Église: mélanges* (1984), vol. 1, 95–106.

C. Frazee, 'Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea', *CathHistRev* 66 (1980), 16–33.

Rousseau, *Basil*.

Eusthasius (d. *c.*629) Abbot of *Luxeuil, disciple and successor of S. *Columbanus, head of a network of affiliated *monasteries and missionary churches in *Bavaria (*VColumbani* II, 7–10; *VSadalbergae* 3–8). At a church *council in *Mâcon in 626/7 he successfully defended himself and Columbanian ritual and *liturgy from attacks by the monk *Agrestius. He was succeeded by Abbot Waldebert (d. *c.*670). ADi

PCBE IV/1, Eustasius 3.

A. Diem, 'Monks, Kings and the Transformation of Sanctity', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59.

Eustratius (d. after 602) Hagiographer and *priest of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople. His rhetorical but factual *Life* of Eutychius, *Patriarch of Constantinople (552–65 and 577–82) gives details of the Second *Council of *Constantinople, and of the pastoral ministry exercised by Eutychius in *exile at *Amaseia of *Pontus between 565 and 577.

Eustratius came from *Melitene; his fulsome *Life* of the Persian Christian noblewoman S. *Golinduch, written in 602, recounts the involvement of Domitian *Bishop of Melitene in *diplomacy between the *Emperor *Maurice and *Khosrow II. He also wrote a treatise on the condition of souls after *death. OPN

CPG 7520–3:

Life of S. Eutychius (*BHG* 657, *CPG* 7520), ed. C. Laga (CCSG 25, 1992).

Life of S. Golinduch (*BHG* 700–1, *CPG* 7521), ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, IV, 149–74; V, 392–5.

On the State of Souls (*CPG* 7522), ed. P. Van Deun (CCSG 60, 2006).

Anna Wilson, 'Biblical Imagery in the Preface to Eustratios' *Life* of Eutychios', *Studia Patristica* 18 (1985), 303–9.

Cameron, *Changing Cultures*, studies II and III.

M. Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cults in the Age of Gregory the Great* (2012), ch. 1.

M. Dal Santo, 'The God-Protected Empire? Scepticism towards the Cult of Saints in Early Byzantium', in Sarris et al., *Age of Saints*, 129–49.

Euthymius, S. (377–473) A *holy man and monastic leader in the *Judaean Wilderness during the formative period. He arrived on *pilgrimage to *Palestine from *Melitene in 405/6, where he had already adopted ascetic practice. After living as a hermit in Chariton's original *lavra at *Pharan between *Jerusalem and Jericho, he established the first **coenobium* in the Judaean desert (411), a *coenobium* near Kafar Baricha, and a lavra in the Plain of Adumim. He promoted Lenten retreat into the depths of the desert, yet developed a close relationship with the *Jerusalem Church, leading to the appointment of his disciples to various offices there. The *Life of S. Euthymius* constitutes the first part of *Cyril of *Scythopolis' collection of Palestinian *saints' lives.

BBA

BHG 647–50.

ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*: *Leben des Euthymios* (TU 49,2, 1939), 3–85.

ET R. M. Price, *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (CSS 114), 1–92.

FT (annotated) A.-J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, III/1 (1962), 55–144.

Y. Hirschfeld, 'Euthymius and his Monastery in the Judean Desert', *Liber Annuus* 43 (1993), 339–71.

B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (1983).

Eutocius (*fl. c.* 530) *Mathematician at *Alexandria and author of commentaries on the first four books of Apollonius' *Conics* (dedicated to *Anthemius of *Tralles) and on Archimedes' *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*, *Measurement of the Circle*, *Equilibium of Planes*. FA

PLRE II, Eutocius.

ed. J. L. Heiberg (with LT, 1893 and 1915).

F. Acerbi, 'Commentari, scolii e annotazioni marginali ai trattati matematici greci', *Segno e testo* 10 (2012), 135–216.

Eutropia (d. after 325) Wife of *Maximian (*emperor 285–305), mother of *Maxentius and *Fausta, and so mother-in-law of *Constantine I. Around 325 she visited *Mamre and informed Constantine of *pagan worship polluting the site (*Eusebius, *VCon* 3, 52).

DMG

PLRE I, Eutropia 1.

NEDC 33, 125.

Eutropius Author of the *Breviarium*, a history of Rome from its foundation to the death of *Jovian (364) in ten short books, written for the *Emperor *Valens over the winter of 369–70. Almost nothing certain is known about Eutropius or his career and most modern accounts of his life simply combine dubious Byzantine comments with the careers, correspondents, and works of any number of different 4th-century individuals with the same name. We know he accompanied *Julian's Persian expedition in 363.

His *Breviarium* was chiefly based on a now-lost history that combined an epitome of Livy with the **Kaisergeschichte*, the same text that was used by *Jerome for his *Chronici Canones* in 381. Its elegant *Latin and compact nature recommended it to later generations: it survives in a dozen important manuscripts, was translated into *Greek at least twice, was used as a source by Late Roman, medieval, and Byzantine historians, and served as a textbook of Latin and Roman history down to the modern age. RWB

PLRE 1, Eutropius 2.

HLL 5, section 538.

ed. C. Santini (1992).

ed. F. L. Müller (annotated with GT), *Eutropii Breviarium ab Urbe Condita. Eutropius, Kurze Geschichte Roms seit Gründung (753 v. Chr. –364 n. Chr.)* (1995).

ed. J. Hellegouarc'h (annotated with FT, 1999).

ET (annotated) H. W. Bird, *The Breviarium ab Urbe Condita of Eutropius* (TTH 14, 1993).

W. den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians* (1972), 114–72.

R. W. Burgess, 'Eutropius *v.c. Magister memoriae*?', *CP* 96 (2001) = Burgess, *Chronicles, Consuls, and Coins*, study VIII, 76–81.

Giorgio Bonamente, 'Minor Latin Historians of the Fourth Century A.D.', in Marasco, *Greek and Roman Historiography*, 85–125.

Eutropius (d. 399) *Praepositus Sacri *Cubiculi (395–9), **patricius* (399) and the only *eunuch ever to be *consul (399). Eutropius had been a slave, but was promoted quickly at the *Constantinople *court. He arranged *Arcadius' marriage to *Eudoxia, orchestrated the downfall of *Rufinus (*Praefectus Praetorio 392–5), and gained *Africa for Arcadius in 397. In autumn 399, after his unsuccessful campaign against *Tribigild, *Gainas forced the *emperor to dismiss Eutropius. Removed from sanctuary in the Church of the *Holy Wisdom, Eutropius was executed and his memory damned. Like Rufinus, he was the object of vigorous verse *invective by *Claudian, poet at the court of *Honorius. DN

PLRE II, Eutropius 1.

Cameron, *Claudian*, 124–55.

J. Long, *Claudian's In Eutropium, or, How, When, and Why to Slander a Eunuch* (1996), esp. 1–16.

Eutyches and Eutychianism Eutyches (d. *c.*456) opposed the doctrine that there were two natures, divine and human, in Christ, as stated in the Formula of Reunion of 433 and again at the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451. He favoured the single-nature Christological language that *Cyril of *Alexandria had used prior to 433.

Eutyches was the archimandrite of a *monastery of 300 monks outside the walls of *Constantinople. He confessed that Christ was from two natures before the union of God and Man, but of one nature after that union. Eusebius, *Bishop of Dorylaeum, filed a petition against him. A local synod was held in Constantinople in November 448, attended by Flavian, *Patriarch of Constantinople. This synod excommunicated and deposed Eutyches from his priestly and monastic functions. Undaunted, Eutyches urged his monastery to rebel against the two-nature Christology, which he said could not be defended with scripture. Thirty-five of his monks agreed, accusing Flavian of condemning their archimandrite for refusing to violate the principles of the Council of *Nicaea of AD 325. Eutyches and his followers were temporarily vindicated at the Second *Council of *Ephesus of 449 (also called the Latrocinium or Robber Synod), a provincial gathering of 130 Eastern bishops who were sympathetic to Eutyches. In the presence of Roman legates, the council overturned Eutyches' conviction and deposed Flavian and Eusebius. The Council of *Chalcedon later judged Flavian and Eusebius to be orthodox and condemned the teaching of Eutyches. Followers of Eutyches were referred to as Eutychians. SW

Concilia *Acta* (*CPG* 8937 [= 9000]):
ed. *ACO* II, I, I, 77–95.
ET (annotated) R. M. Price and M. Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols. (TTH 45, 2005).
T. E. Gregory, *Vox Populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.* (1979), 129–61.
G. May, 'Das Lehrverfahren gegen Eutyches in November des Jahres 448', *AnnHistConc* 21 (1989), 1–61.
E. Schwartz, *Der Prozeß des Eutyches* (Sb München Abt. 5. 1929).

Eutychius The last *Exarch of *Ravenna (till after 742/3). Around 729 he formed an alliance with the *Lombard King *Liutprand to save *Rome during the *Emperor *Leo III's enforcement of *iconoclasm. PJF

PBE, Eutychios 4.
PmbZ 1870, 1871.
Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers.*

Eutychius *Patriarch of *Alexandria and historian. Sa'īd b. Batrīq, born in 877 in *Fustat, adopted the name Eutychius when he was appointed *Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria (933 or 935–40). A trained physician, he became one of the most important Christian *Arabic authors. A medical and an apologetic work have been ascribed to Eutychius, but he is most famous for his universal history. Published in Arabic as *Naẓm al-Jawhar* or *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh al-Majmū' 'alā al-taḥqīq wa-l-taslīq* and more generally referred to as the *Annals*, the work describes the history of the world from the Creation (dated 5,500 years before the Incarnation) to Eutychius' own time, and including various information about the early 7th century. There is only one manuscript of the original Alexandrian text (ms. Sinai Arab. 582 [580]). The *Annals* are known especially from the popular extended 'Antiochene' version by Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī (*fl. c.*1030), preserved in numerous manuscripts. PMS

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.n.* Ibn Al-Bitriq Sa'id cols. 1265b–1266a (A. S. Atiya).
EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.n.* Saʿīd b. al-Bitrīḳ (F. Micheau).
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 442–3, 717.
Antiochene version, ed. L. Cheikho, *Eutychii patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, 2 vols. (CSCO 50–1, Scr. arab., ser. 3, 6–7; 1906–9, repr. 1960–2).
ed. (with LT, tables, and indexes) E. Pocock and J. Selden, *Contextio Gemmarum Sive Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (1658–9, available through EEBO).
LT repr. in PG CXI, cols. 889–1156.
IT (annotated) B. Pirone, *Eutichio Patriarca di Alessandria (877–940), Gli Annali* (SOCM 1, 1987).
Partial edition of the Alexandrian version: ed. M. Breydy (with GT), *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien. Aausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Said ibn Batriq um 935 AD.*, 2 vols. (CSCO 471–2; Scr. arab. 44–5; 1985).

Evagrius Ponticus (c.345–399) Monastic theologian. Born the son of a **chorepiscopus* and educated at Ibora in Pontus, Evagrius began his career under *Basil of *Caesarea, who ordained him *reader, and from 379 under *Gregory of *Nazianzus, who ordained him archdeacon in *Constantinople, where he stayed through the Council of *Constantinople of 381. He left the city unexpectedly in 382, to escape, according to *Palladius (*Lausiac History*, 38), an adulterous entanglement with the wife of the *Praefectus Urbi. In *Jerusalem he spent time at the *monasteries of *Rufinus and *Melania the Elder, and at *Easter 383 he took monastic vows. He soon travelled to *Egypt, and living in the monasteries of *Nitria and *Kellia wrote extensively and cultivated a network of fellow ascetics, most famously *John Cassian and *Palladius. Although associated with key participants in the second *Origenist controversy, he was never a direct participant.

His writings—*letters, proverbs, brief sayings (chapters), and short treatises—are among the earliest specimens of monastic literature. Pensive and rich with symbolism, they synthesize worldly erudition, biblical study, ascetic experience, and advanced Christian *paideia*. His moral admonitions are wedded to a complex metaphysical system. The first creation consisted of rational beings meant to know God. A certain movement of their minds brought a fall that resulted in souls

and bodies and their concomitant passions and the differentiation between angelic, demonic, and human realms. The restoration of fallen human minds to divine unity proceeds through a twofold path of *asceticism: practical (*praktike*), the defeating of *demons to bring the soul to passionlessness, and intellectual (*gnostike*), itself a twofold contemplation of nature (*physike*) and the divinity (*theologike*) to restore a rational being to eschatological unity.

Nearly all the writings of Evagrius are addressed to monks or ascetics, to explain and analyse vice and virtue, demons and *angels, and psychological and psychosomatic phenomena. At the core of the ascetic, return to unity involves combat against the eight demonic thoughts (*logismoi*), namely gluttony, fornication, avarice, sadness, anger, sloth, vainglory, and pride—a list that forms the basis of the Western tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins.

Although well connected in his own time, Evagrius fell into disrepute in the 6th century, when his writings were associated with a strain of Origenism condemned at the Second Council of *Constantinople (553). The more speculative texts fell out of the Byzantine Greek manuscript tradition, but are preserved in *Syriac, *Armenian, *Georgian, and *Arabic. His thought, particularly on *asceticism, exercised wide influence throughout Christendom, both in the West (primarily through John Cassian) and the East (even after his condemnation). JDK

CPG 2430–83 (incomplete). Full list by J. Kalvesmaki, *Guide to Evagrius Ponticus* http://evagriusponticus.net/.

CPG 2430: *Practicus*, ed. (annotated with FT) A. and C. Guillaumont (2 vols., SC 170–1, 1971).

CPG 2431: *Gnosticus*, ed. (annotated with FT) A. and C. Guillaumont (SC 356, 1989).

CPG 2432: *Kephalaia Gnostica* (S1 and S2), ed. (with FT) A. Guillaumont PO 28 (1958).

CPG 2450: *On [Evil] Thoughts*, ed. (annotated with FT), A. and C. Guillaumont (SC 438, 1998).

CPG 2456: *Scholia on Proverbs*, ed. (annotated with FT) P. Géhin (SC 340, 1987).

CPG 2458.5: *Scholia on Ecclesiastes*, ed. (annotated with FT) P. Géhin (SC 397, 1993).

CPG 2483: *199 Chapters of Evagrius's Disciples*, ed. (annotated with FT) P. Géhin, (SC 514, 2007).

ET (annotated) R. E. Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus* (OECS, 2003).

ET (selections) A. M. Casiday, *Evagrius Ponticus* (2006).

A. Guillaumont, *Un philosophe au désert: Évagre le Pontique* (2004).

G. Bunge, *Akedia. Die geistliche Lehre des Evagrios Pontikos vom Überdruss* ([5]2004).

ET A. P. Gythiel *Despondency: The Spiritual Teaching of Evagrius Ponticus on Acedia* (2012).

J. Konstantinovsky, *Evagrius Ponticus: The Making of a Gnostic* (2009).

Evagrius Scholasticus (536/7–after 594) Author of an *Ecclesiastical History* in six books from the *Council of *Ephesus (431) to 594, the last Greek ecclesiastical history to be written until *Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopolus in the 14th century. As he himself acknowledges (I, preface, cf. V, 24), Evagrius follows in the tradition of *Eusebius of Caesarea, *Socrates, *Sozomen, and *Theodoret. He also relies, without acknowledgement, on the *Ecclesiastical History* of the *Miaphysite *Zacharias of *Mytilene for information on the later 5th century, the debt being revealed by his response to various challenges. It is possible that Evagrius' motive for writing was in fact the need to counter the influence of Zacharias.

Born in *Epiphania in *Syria Coele, Evagrius was an advocate (*scholasticus*) in *Antioch, where he had access to ecclesiastical archives. He seemingly worked for the *Patriarch *Gregory, whose views he champions. For other writings he was made an honorary **quaestor* by *Tiberius (578/82) and honorary **praefectus* by *Maurice (VI, 24). A Chalcedonian, he supposedly lost his faith on his daughter's death from the *plague in 592, but regained it through S. *Symeon Stylites the Younger (also died 592). Overall his *History* amounts to a justification of the *Council of *Chalcedon and its doctrine.

Although basically a compiler, Evagrius did shape material to suit his viewpoint, occasionally also adding relevant personal experiences. He preserves some unique evidence, partly from now lost historians, but most notably from ecclesiastical documents. These he sometimes transcribes within his narrative and sometimes deliberately postpones to the end of a book to avoid clogging the narrative (II, 44). Most important of these documents are *Basiliscus' *Encyclical* and *Counter-Encyclical*, *Zeno's **Henoticon*, and the letter to the Chalcedonian theologian Alcison, *Bishop of *Nicopolis of *Epirus, which is otherwise unknown. Evagrius also shows that he used inter alia the *Acta* of the First and Second Councils of *Ephesus, of the Council of Chalcedon, and of the Second Council of *Constantinople. Like other ecclesiastical historians he also deals with secular events, for which he used a succession of non-ecclesiastical sources (*Eustathius of Epiphania, *Zosimus, *Priscus, *John Malalas, *Procopius), but treats such matters separately in blocks and as subsidiary to ecclesiastical considerations. Thus, Book 1 opens with ecclesiastical matters and is followed by secular material covering the same period; similar (but not identical) patterns occur in the remaining books. This disjunction also enabled him to avoid the difficulties of combining different sources into a single narrative, which also partly hides his weakness on chronology. Though to some degree his judgement on *emperors is linked to their position on Chalcedon (notably

*Marcian), he places greater importance on character, especially piety and morality. So *Anastasius I is praised because of his piety despite his position on Chalcedon, while *Zeno, *Justin I, and *Justinian I are criticized, despite their support for it.

His *History* is, however, shaped by a Christian need to find a way of overcoming *heresy which he sees as having been created by the Devil (I, 1) to prevent Christian unity after Christianity had triumphed over *Julian. He therefore adopts throughout a conciliatory Neo-Chalcedonian approach, as advocated by his patriarch Gregory, as a way of reconciling Chalcedon with Miaphysitism. Thus his opening account of the First Council of Ephesus manages to support both the main combatants, *Cyril of *Alexandria and *John of Antioch. Evagrius aspired to classicizing elegance. *Photius (cod. 29), judged his *prose style to be not lacking in grace but somewhat verbose, though thought him more orthodox than other historians. RDS

ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (1898; repr. 1964).
ET (with comm.) L. Michael Whitby (TTH 33, 2000).
P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church Historian* (SSL Études et Documents 41, 1981).
P. Allen, 'Zachariah Scholasticus and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus', *JTS* 31 NS (1980), 471–88.
[L.] Michael Whitby, 'Evagrius on Emperors and Patriarchs', in Whitby, *Propaganda of Power*, 321–44.

Everlasting Peace Treaty of 532, obliging Rome to pay Persia 11,000 lb of *gold and withdraw its commander from *Dara. Persia would defend the *Caucasus Passes and both sides would restore captured fortresses. *Khosrow I's invasion of 540 violated the treaty. PNB

Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia*, 38–9.
Greatrex and Lieu, 89–97.
Sarris, *Empires of Faith*, 134–45.

evil eye The projection of malevolence, willed or unwilled, upon another person (esp. children), domestic animals, crops, or even oneself, through the eyes (Gk. *phthónos*, *baskanos ophthalmos, baskanía*, *baskainein*; Lat. *invidia, fascinus*, *(ef)fascinatio, invidere*). Although in folk-culture and physiognomic theory envy was linked to physical signs or the 'double pupil', any individual might be the (involuntary) cause of mystical harm. Malevolence could also be transmitted in thought or by (false) compliment (*Libanius, *ep.* 1403, 1–2). *Amulets might afford protection, as might apotropaic representations such as the threshhold *mosaic from the House of the Evil Eye at *Antioch.

Once it had achieved the status of a *topos* in Hellenistic paradoxography, the evil eye presented an intellectual challenge; responses varied between dismissal as peasant folklore, effluences, adaptation of the atomist explanation by the pre-Socratic philosopher Democritus, and recourse to a theory of *daemons. Christian positions are ambivalent, wavering between accepting the possibility but attributing the power to *demons, and reinterpretation, e.g. as a punishment for the sin of pride or as a mistaken response to misfortunes caused by the Devil. RLG

RAC 2 (1954) *s.v.* Böser Blick, 473–81 (B. Kötting).
A. Alvar Nuño, *Envidia y fascinación: el mal de ojo en el Occidente romano* (2012).
J.-B. Clerc, *Homines Magici* (1995), 85–152.
M. Dickie, 'Heliodorus and Plutarch on the Evil Eye', *CP* 86 (1991), 17–29.
M. Dickie., 'The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye', in H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (1995), 9–34.

exagion Unit of weight equal to 1/72 of the Roman pound, or *c.*4.5 grams (0.15 ounces). Alternative terms included *stagion* and *saggio.* It entered Arabic metrological systems as the *mitqāl*. Since the **solidus* theoretically weighed one *exagion* the term could also refer to the coin and to weights used to regulate the *gold coinage. It occurs in early Islamic documents as an instalment of a tax payment. RRD

ODB, vol. 2 *s.v.* exagion, p. 766 (E. Schilbach).
R. S. Cooper, 'Assessment and Collection of Kharāj Tax in Medieval Egypt', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 365–82.

Exarch (Gk. *exarchos*) Title, created by *Maurice in the late 6th century, of the military governors of the Byzantine territories in *Italy and *Africa reconquered under *Justinian I. An Exarch is first attested at *Ravenna in 584 and at *Carthage in 591. The Exarch exercised both the military powers of a *Magister Militum and the civil powers of a *Praefectus Praetorio. The concentration of civil and military power in one powerful governor reflects the militarization of the *administration and anticipated the *Theme System instituted by *Heraclius.

The title was also used by *metropolitan *bishops of the principal *city of a civil **dioecesis*, so, for instance, Theodore, Bishop of *Ephesus, subscribed at the Third *Council of *Constantinople of 680–1 as both metropolitan and Exarch of the Dioecesis *Asiana. The Council of Chalcedon permitted appeals from the metropolitan to the exarch (Canons 9 and 17). JND; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 312–13.
Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 48–59.

exceptores Administrative staff supporting judicial and financial officers in various bureaux of the central (palatine) and provincial *administration. These positions offered prospects of internal promotion and were attractive to families whose members belonged to *city councils (**decurio* meaning 1; *curiales*).

See also CIVIL SERVICE, IMPERIAL; SHORTHAND AND SHORTHAND WRITERS. AGS

Teitler, *Notarii*.

Excerpta Traditional title given to the 'encyclopedia' of selections from historical texts collected in the 10th century at the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. From the preface we learn that Constantine ordered all the books of history from across the Empire to be collected and excerpted. The purpose was to lessen ignorance, which led to evil, through amalgamating the lessons of the past into one work. The originally extensive whole was divided into 53 *hypotheseis*, 'themes', of which only a small fraction survives, namely the entirety of *De Legationibus*, and substantial parts of *De Insidiis*, *De Sententiis*, and *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, alongside several titles of otherwise lost sections. The *Excerpta* contains selections from historians ranging from Herodotus to *George Monachus Hamartolus in the 9th century, including several authors who would otherwise be unknown. In particular, *De Legationibus*, 'on embassies', contains substantial selections from *Eunapius, *John of *Antioch, *Menander Protector, *Peter the Patrician, and *Priscus. Further, *De Insidiis*, 'concerning plots', contains much important, and often unique, information about Late Antiquity, especially from John of Antioch. *De Sententiis* and *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* are, unsurprisingly given their titles, more closely focused on the *Excerpta*'s moralist mission. MTGH

De Insidiis, ed. C. de Boor (1905).

De Legationibus, ed. C. de Boor (1903).

De Sententiis, ed. U. Boissevain (1906).

De Virtutibus et Vitiis, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst and A. Roos (1906–10).

P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: the first phase: notes and remarks on education and culture in Byzantium from its origins to the 10th century* (ET H. Lindsay and A. Moffatt (French original, 1971), ByzAus 3, 1986), 323–32.

A. Moffatt and M. Tal (tr. and study), *Constantine Porphyrogennetos: The Book of Ceremonies: With the Greek Edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 2 vols. (2012).

G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* ([3]1983), 359–61.

Excerpta Barocciana A series of extracts and content summaries from the Late Antique ecclesiastical historians contained in an Oxford manuscript (Codex Baroccianus 142, 212r–216r), in manuscript order: *Sozomen, *Evagrius, *Eusebius (including *Gelasius of *Caesarea and possibly *Philip of *Side), *Theodoret, *Theodore Lector, *Philostorgius, *Socrates. BC

G. C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (GCS NF 3, [2]1995), XXIV–XXXIX.

B. Pouderon, 'Les Fragments anonymes du Baroc. Gr. 142 et les notices consacrées à Jean Diacrinoménos, Basile de Cilicie et l'anonyme d'Héraclée', *REB* 55 (1997), 169–92.

Excerpta Sangallensia Excerpts made by Walafrid Strabo in the 830s from the same complete text that is witnessed by the incomplete **Consularia Vindobonensia Priora*. It includes historical entries relating to unusual natural phenomena and the names of *consuls between 390 and 572 (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 878). RWB

ed. Burgess-Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time* 2 (with annotated ET/study).

ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1 (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 298–336.

R. W. Burgess, 'The Chronograph of 354: Its Manuscripts, Contents, and History', *JLA* 5 (2012), 345–96.

excubitores A unit of the Roman imperial *palace guard. While imperial guards bearing this title are attested from the 1st century onwards, *Leo I is credited with enhancing their prominence by fixing their number at 300 and assigning them the specific role of guarding the entrances of the imperial palace in *Constantinople (*John Lydus, *Mag.* I, 12, 16), whose importance was evident during urban *riots. He probably also created the increasingly influential office of commander (*Comes Excubitorum), held by *Justin I and *Tiberius II at the time they became *emperor. ADL

B. Croke, 'Leo I and the Palace Guard', *Byzantion* 75 (2005), 117–51.

execution The widely held opinion that executions became more widespread in Late Antiquity needs to be qualified. On the one hand a variety of crimes which had hitherto been punished with socially differentiated *exile and condemnation to the *mines now carried the death penalty (*summum supplicium*) regardless of rank, e.g. kidnapping (*CTh* IX, 18, 1). Furthermore, some laws prescribe drastic forms of execution, such as pouring lead down the throat of a maid who did not prevent the abduction of her mistress (*CTh* IX, 24, 1).

On the other hand, spectacular types of execution such as crucifixion and condemnation to the beasts disappeared. Christian authors warned against the excessive use of the death penalty, even though they accepted it in principle if executed by a lawful authority (*Augustine, *City of God*, I, 21; *Ambrose, *ep.* 25). Some Christian judges seem to have been reluctant to impose the death penalty (*Libanius, *oration*, 45, 27). The impact harsh imperial laws had on sentencing practice is hence difficult to reconstruct and there are cases where even *emperors clearly did not impose the statutory death penalty (e.g. *John Malalas, XVIII, 168, on *Justinian I and *homosexuality). JHi

J. P. Callu, 'Le Jardin des supplices au Bas-Empire', in *Du châtiment dans la cité: supplices corporels et peine de mort dans le monde antique* (1984), 313–59.

J. D. Harries, *Law and Crime in Late Antiquity* (1999), 135–44.

G. Clark, 'Desires of the Hangman: Augustine on Legitimized Violence', in H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (2006), 137–46.

exedra Any defined space opening fully onto a larger space. In Late Antiquity, the term was applied, e.g., to a church's *apse or to subsidiary bays surrounding the nave, or to the *scholae* where rhetoricians taught in the Forum of Trajan at *Rome and the Capitol at *Constantinople (*CTh* XIV, 9, 3). Architectural historians often apply the term to semicircular columnar niches opening off a central space (as at the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople). JB

Exilarch (Aramaic *resh galuta*) Lay leader of the Jewish community in Babylonia (Persian *Mesopotamia) from the early *Sasanian period (3rd cent. AD) until at least the 13th century. Medieval Jewish chroniclers claim that the Exilarchs were descended from the royal house of David, with their lineage going back to Jehoiachin, the exiled King of Judaea (597 BC). There is no evidence to substantiate this claim, and references to the office appear for the first time only in *Talmudic literature, frequently comparing the Exilarch to the Palestinian Jewish *Patriarch (*nasi*). Most references project a strong and wealthy office, possibly enjoying some degree of recognition and support from the Sasanian authorities. A judicial body seems to have functioned at the Exilarch's *court, and rabbinic judges recognized by the Jewish leader would be exempt from penalties should they have issued faulty decisions. Talmudic sources attribute to the Exilarch a role appointing overseers of the marketplace (*agoranomoi*), but there is no indication that they functioned on behalf of the government in the collection of taxes. Numerous rabbinic sources project an adversarial relationship between Exilarch and *rabbis and rebuke the Exilarch's public behaviour, but there is no evidence of interference by the Exilarch in the internal world of the rabbis and their student circles. IMG

D. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity* (TSAJ 38, 1994).
G. Herman, *A Prince Without a Kingdom: The Exilarch in the Sasanian Era* (TSAJ 150, 2012).

exile (Lat. *ex*[*s*]*ilium*) Involuntary exclusion from, or confinement to, a particular place was a common political and criminal penalty in the Roman Empire. The severer form, deportation (*deportatio, interdictio aqua et igni*), was assimilated with death as a 'capital' penalty (**Digest*, XLVIII, 1, 2), in that it was permanent and involved loss of civil rights and confiscation of property. Relegation (*relegatio*), by contrast, might be temporary and avoid such disabilities. A **paterfamilias* could relegate his wife or children and a *patron his freedmen. Magistrates might decree the expulsion of entire classes of people, as when 'foreigners' (*peregrini*) were expelled from the City of *Rome due to a food shortage in 383/4 (*Ammianus, XIV, 6, 19).

High-status offenders were exiled in circumstances in which their inferiors were more usually executed or condemned to the *mines. *Constantine I's banishment of *Arius and two *bishops deposed by the *Council of *Nicaea set a precedent for imperial involvement in ecclesiastical discipline, while *Magnus Maximus' execution of *Priscillian of Avila attracted the stigma of *persecution and was not repeated. *Athanasius of *Alexandria was exiled five times, yet died in his see, while *John Chrysostom's opposition to the *Empress *Eudoxia precipitated his death at Comana of *Cappadocia as he went to his second exile in the Caucasus. CFP

P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (1970), 111–22.
I. Milewski, 'Miejsca zsyłek biskupów wschodniorzymskich w IV i V wieku', *Vox Patrum* 19 (1999), 367–85.
D. A. Washburn, *Banishment in the Later Roman Empire, 284–476 CE* (2013).

exorcism (Gk. ἐξορκισμός 'administration of an oath') Rites used to expel *demons from an individual. The act of exorcizing spirits existed in Near Eastern religious traditions and in post-biblical Judaism, but gained popularity in early Christianity due in part to reports in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts that Jesus performed exorcisms with a single word (cf. Mark 1: 23–8). Both Christian and non-Christian *exorcists often invoked the name of *Jesus when performing such rites (Matt. 7:22, Acts 19:13). Justin Martyr (*Apologia Secunda*, 6.6) legitimized Christian exorcism, as juxtaposed with non-Christian exorcisms, drugs, and complex incantations. By the mid-2nd century, the phrase 'crucified under Pontius Pilate' was often recited during exorcisms. Exorcists became one of the four traditional minor orders in the early Church. Exorcism was not just for the outwardly afflicted, but became a regular ecclesiastical ritual. In the *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to *Hippolytus, *baptism of catechumens called for oil of exorcism to be applied with hands as part of the purification ceremony (21,7–10; 20, 3). The authority with which *holy men cleansed those afflicted by demons was further mobilized in the cult of saints. SEB

Brown, *Society and the Holy*, 123–6.
A. Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano e possessione diabolica tra II e III secolo* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 54, 2011).
E. Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2e. Reihe, 157, 2002).

exorcist Rank of Christian clergy, superior only to *porter, first recorded at *Rome in AD 251/3 (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 11). Exorcists exercised a ministry of *prayer over those possessed by *demons (e.g. Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 20). *Bishops, *priests, and also, from the earliest times, non-ordained exorcists prayed for healing of the possessed and performed *exorcism. Exorcists ministered to catechumens for their purification before *baptism (e.g. *Egeria, 46). MFC

DTC 5 (1913), *s.vv.* 'exorcisme' and 'exorciste', cols. 1770–80 and 1780–6 (Forget).

DACL 5/1 (1922), 'exorcisme, exorciste', cols. 964–78 (Leclercq).

Expositio Totius Mundi Anonymous geographical work compiled 347/362; the extant *Latin text is probably based on a lost *Greek original. It surveys the known world from east to west, beginning in the extreme Orient with the mythical Camarini, who live a life of untroubled bliss, without agriculture or government. Other barbarian races are described more briefly. The author depicts the Persians and *Saracens as untrustworthy, and criticizes the former's supposed practice of incest. The bulk of the work (21–67) is devoted to the Roman Empire. The author lists major *cities and towns, principal products, and local points of interest (including pagan cult sites). Fulsome praise of eastern *cities (*Edessa, *Nisibis, *Antioch, *Tyre, *Beirut, and *Caesarea) has suggested that the original compiler hailed from this region, possibly from Tyre. Also noteworthy is the section on *Alexandria, which includes a digression in *praise of *papyrus. After covering the eastern Mediterranean, the work proceeds to a roughly anti-clockwise tour of the western *provinces. The treatment is cursory and not without errors (e.g. *Noricum is mistaken for a city). Islands, including *Britain, are tacked on at the end. Unlike the closely related **Totius Orbis Descriptio*, the *Expositio* makes no reference to Christianity. Its Latin is inelegant and shows signs of Greek influence. No manuscripts survive; the earliest witness is the *editio princeps* by Jacques Godefroy (1628). GH

ed. J. Rougé (annotated with FT) (SC 124, 1966).

P. F. Mittag, 'Zu den Quellen der *expositio totius mundi et gentium*. Ein neuer Periplus?', *Hermes* 134 (2006), 338–51.

Exultet (Lat. 'Let it rejoice') Opening of a *hymn chanted by the *deacon at the *Easter vigil in *praise of the Resurrection and of the Paschal candle representing the Light of Christ (praising also the *bees who made the candlewax). This Paschal praeconium is traditionally attributed to *Ambrose of *Milan, but probably came into use in the 7th century. The earliest liturgical announcement of the Resurrection to survive in full is Melito of *Sardis, *On the Pasch* (late 2nd cent.). *Constantine I provided lights for churches at Easter (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 22); his *Oration to the Saints* was delivered to Christians at *court during a Paschal celebration. *Augustine's lines praising candlelight (*City of God*, XV, 22) may derive from such an Easter hymn. A *letter attributed to *Jerome declines a request from a deacon to write something suitable (*CPL* 621). Two Paschal Praeconia survive by Ennodius of *Pavia (*CPL* 1500). OPN; MFC

Exultet (*CPL* 162), ed. B. Capelle in *Misc. Mercati*, vol. 1, 219–46.

H. A. P. Schmidt, ed., *Hebdomada Sancta*, 2 vols. (1957), vol. 1, 126–38; vol. 2, 627–50.

New Grove Music 8 *s.v.* Exultet, 477–80 (Huglo and Kelly).

eyes Greek and Roman scientists had multiple theories about human vision, but they generally agreed in considering the human eye as an active rather than a passive instrument (Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, 5,7). Late Antique thinkers concurred: 'the sight of the eyes comes together', wrote *Lactantius, 'through the exertion of the mind' (*De Opificio Dei*, 9, 2). A person who was looking had to control his gaze, as the eye was thought to possess the power to harm the object viewed (Lat. *invidere*, Gk. *baskainein*); apotropaic emblems were picked out in *mosaic on the floors of the *villas of *Daphne-by-*Antioch to avert the *evil eye.

While sight occurred by way of the bodily eyes, the act of seeing was accomplished by the inner action of the soul. This means that character is apparent from the eyes; the first book of the work on *physiognomy by Adamantius the Sophist, written in the 3rd/4th century, is much concerned with what eyes can tell an observer about a person's moral predilections. *Augustine (*Sermon*, 286) speaks of the human body as having a second set of eyes, those of the heart; visual perception was therefore regarded as an act of righteous choice.

Much Late Antique writing about *art and architecture, therefore, links physical and mental illumination. The Church of the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople was praised in the anthem sung at its second dedication in 562 because 'it is splendidly illumined throughout by day and by night by the rays of the Word of the Spirit, through which the eyes of the mind are enlightened' (*strophe* 6). KMK; OPN

M. Perrin, *L'Homme antique et chrétien: l'anthropologie de Lactance 250–325* (1981), ch. 3.

G. Frank, 'Taste and See: The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith', *Church History* 70 (2001), 619–43.

P. Miller, 'Relics, Rhetoric, and Mental Spectacles in Late Ancient Christianity', in G. De Nie, ed., *Seeing the Invisible* (2005), 25–52.

K. Klein, 'Invisible Monks, Human Eyes and the Egyptian Desert in Late Antique Hagiography', in H. Barnard, ed., *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert* (2012), 299–311.
N. Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (2014).

Ezana King of *Aksum (initially with his mother as regent) from *c.*330 to after 356. Contemporary records of this name are restricted to *inscriptions on stone and on *coinage. Stone inscriptions record propaganda relating to expansion of Aksumite rule over areas north and north-west of the capital, to the exaction of *tribute, and to the resettlement of captives. Numismatic evidence allows no doubt that Ezana was the fifth Aksumite king in whose name coins were struck. It was during his reign that the religious symbol over the royal portrait was changed from the crescent-and-disc to the cross. The stone inscriptions likewise indicate his mid-reign adoption of *Christianity, perhaps at the instigation of *Frumentius, and provide details about the territorial expansion and consolidation of the Aksumite hegemony. DWP

Belaynesh Mikael et al., eds., *Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography*, vol. 1 (1975) *s.n.* Ezana.
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 74–5, 80–5, 91–9, 143, 187–8.

Eznik of Kołb (*fl.* 429–50) One of the students of *Mashtots' (Maštoc') and author of a polemical treatise refuting various beliefs about God and free will. After the invention of the *Armenian alphabet, Eznik was sent to *Edessa and *Constantinople to carry on the *translation of *Syriac and *Greek literature into Armenian (*Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots'*, 19; Movses Khorenats'i, *History*, III, 60). He is probably to be identified with Eznik, *Bishop of Bagrewand, listed by *Lazar Parp'ets'i (*History*, §23) and *Elishe Vardapet (*History*, 27) among the signatories of the Armenian response to the *Sasanian vizier *Mihr-Narseh at the council of Artashat in 449/50 immediately prior to the Armenian War which culminated in 451 in the Battle of *Avaryr.

His most famous work has been given by Armenian scholars the title *Refutation of the Sects*, but is also known as *De Deo* (*On God*). It is comprised of four parts that address respectively pre-Christian Armenian beliefs, *Zurvanism, Greek *philosophy, and *Marcionite doctrine. In addition to relying on previous Greek and Syriac Christian polemical treatises, Eznik apparently had access to Persian sources. Besides the *Refutation*, fragments of a *letter from Eznik to Mashtots' have been preserved. A number of spurious works have also been ascribed to Eznik. A set of *ascetic counsels once attributed to him are now generally held to be by *Nilus. SVLa

Thomson, *BACL*, 117–21 and *BACLSupp*, 184–5.
EncIran IX/2 (1992) *s.n.* Eznik of Kolb, 129–30 (J. R. Russell).

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Refutation:
ed (with FT) L. Mariés and C. Mercier, *PO* 28/3 and 4 (1959).
ed. (with introd. and comm.) M. Minassian, 2 vols. (1992).
ET M. J. Blanchard and R. Darling Young, *Eznik of Kołb, On God* (1998).
Letter:
in *Book of Letters, Armenian* (*Girk' T'ł't'oc'*), ed. N. Połarean (²1994), 28–9.
FT N. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient* (1999), 431–2.

STUDIES

L. Mariés, 'Le *De Deo* d'Eznik de Kolb connu sous le nom de "Contre les sects": études critique littéraire et textuelle', *REArm* 4 OS (1924), 113–205; 5 OS (1925), 13–130.

F

fables, Graeco-Roman Aesopic fables continued to be gathered in collections in Late Antiquity. The most important, the anonymous *Collectio Augustana*, seems to have been made *c.* AD 200, while Babrius' collection, in the choliambic *metre, was made perhaps shortly before that date. Babrius' collection was the main source of *Avienus (early 5th cent.) for his 42 fables in elegiac couplets. Individual fables are sometimes treated more virtuosically by rhetoricians such as *Himerius. Both methods reflect fable's gradual movement away from social criticism to more rhetorical and pedagogical ends. The earlier church fathers tend to disdain fables, along with other pagan *myth, although such authors as *Gregory of *Nazianzus show a greater openness. The *Bible prefers parable, a related form, but containing spiritual rather than social, political, or ethical, teaching, and shunning fable's vegetable or animal subject matter. JLL

R. Dithmar, *Die Fabel: Geschichte, Struktur, Didaktik* (^{8}1997).
B. E. Perry, *Aesopica* (1980).

fables, Persian In AD 750 a Persian convert from *Zoroastrianism to *Islam named Abdallah b. al-Moqaffa produced an *Arabic translation of a Pahlavi translation of the Sanskrit collection of fables, the *Pañcatantra*, entitled *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. The preface describes how the King of Persia *Khosrow I Anoshirvan (531–78) wished to obtain a copy of the famed *Pañcatantra* which was said to be scrupulously guarded by the Indian monarch. Khosrow dispatched a learned physician named Barzoe to *India to secure, by hook or by crook, a copy of the text. Barzoe accomplished his mission, returning to the *Persian Empire with the *Pañcatantra*, which he translated into Pahlavi. It is not clear to what extent the introduction of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* is a translation of the Pahlavi as opposed to an embellishment added by al-Moqaffa. There exists an old, incomplete manuscript of a *Syriac *Kalilag we-Damnag,* translated from the Pahlavi in the year 570 and filled with lacunae—not to be confused with a later 10th- or 11th-century Syriac translation of the Arabic. A 12th-century Hebrew translation of the Arabic was translated into *Latin under the title *Liber Kalilae et Dimnae* between 1263 and 1278. WWM

EncIran XV/4 (2010) *s.v.* Kalila wa Demna, I. Redactions and circulation, 386–95 (Riedel).

fabricae The production of *arms and armour for the Roman *army in Late Antiquity was organized through a network of arms factories or arsenals, as recorded in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 11, 18–39, *occ.* 9, 16–38). Probably developed by *Diocletian, the *fabricae* were situated in more than 25 locations in the strategically important northern and eastern *provinces, on good lines of communication, but rarely close to the *frontiers where they might have been vulnerable to enemy attack. Individual *fabricae* sometimes specialized in certain categories of equipment, such as swords, spears, or *cavalry armour. Significantly, the *fabricae* were under the oversight of a civilian official, the *Magister Officiorum, although those who worked in them were regarded as performing military service (*militia*). ADL

S. James, 'The *Fabricae*: State Arms Factories of the Later Roman Empire', in Coulston, *Military Equipment*, 257–331.

façades The columns and pediments which dignified the frontages of monumental buildings continued to feature in Late Roman *city landscapes, whether forming the focal point of a colonnaded *street or one side of a square. *Emperors and *city councillors could agree in wishing to see the preservation of façades, the buildings behind them, and the urban layout of which they were a part. When the Forum at *Rome was restored under the *Tetrarchy the *Basilica Julia and Basilica Aemilia were given monumental façades which accorded better with their external appearance than with the layout of the interior. The space between the columns of such façades might be employed to frame honorific images, like the statues of the *Tetrarchy set up before the Temple of Hadrian at *Ephesus.

Fresh façades were also created. The Imperial Basilica at *Trier was designed as the centrepiece of a flotilla

of buildings which surrounded it; it could be approached closely only from the side of the façade, in front of which it is easy to imagine the figures of imperial personages emerging, much as they are shown in *silver on the *Missorium of *Theodosius I. It is likely that the grand façade on the seaward side of the inner peristyle of *Diocletian's retirement palace at *Split was also designed with *ceremony in mind.

Christian monuments adopted the façade. In the *mosaics of the *dome of the Rotunda of S. George at *Thessalonica saints stand praying before architectural frontages, presumably of a heavenly city. Similarly, the first thing seen by neophytes being baptized at *Qalat Seman as they emerged from the *baptistery was the grand frontage of the shrine of S. *Symeon Stylites the Older.

Just as an image of a *city gate, its walls, and its roofs might stand for a city, so the façade of a building might represent what was within. On the *pilgrimage flasks brought back to *Italy from the *Holy Land the Empty Tomb of Christ is represented by the frontage of the *aediculum* which covered it. In the *mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at *Ravenna the frontage of *Theodoric the *Ostrogoth's *palace, labelled 'Palatium', originally inhabited by royal figures praying between its pillars, brings up the rear of the *procession of saints making their offering to Christ. That façade is thought to have been modelled on the Chalke Gate, the main entrance to the Great Palace at *Constantinople. JTPi; OPN

S. Ćurčić and E. Hadjistryphonos, eds., *Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art* (2010).

I. Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space: The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th Century AD* (OLA 193, 2013).

factions The *circus factions in the Later Roman Empire evolved from stable-based organizations of chariot-owners in the early Principate into organizations run by charioteers and then into broader-based institutions comprising performers and partisans in the hippodrome and theatre (as depicted on the base of the *Obelisk of *Theodosius I in the *Constantinople *Circus). This latter type of faction became normal by the early 6th century. Factions came to possess their own property, cadre of officers (often themselves performers such as pantomime dancers), organizational rituals, and official records. At *Rome, the Blue and Greens had *patrons from the senatorial *aristocracy. The factions played an important part in imperial *ceremony, for instance greeting the imperial **adventus* in a city by performing *acclamations. In 601, the *alba*, or official registers, of the Blues and Greens in *Constantinople cited a membership of 900 and 1,500 respectively, numbers that Roueché (151–2) argues include not only the professional performers and supporting personnel but also around 400–600 'young men' (Lat. *iuvenes*, Gk. *οἱ νεανίσκοι*). These 'youth' not only performed acclamations but were also said to have been responsible for the unuly behaviour and public *disorder associated with the Late Roman hippodrome and theatre. Whether the colour factions, the Blues and the Greens, the Reds and the Whites, had specific ties to local associations, urban regions, or Christian theological beliefs remain questions of longstanding discussion. That they became primary sources and focuses of loyalty, especially though not only for groups of youth in the *cities, is generally agreed. RLi

Alan Cameron, 'Demes and Factions', *BZ* 67 (1974), 79–91.

Cameron, *Circus Factions*.

G. Dagron, *L'Hippodrome de Constantinople: jeux, peuple et politique* (2012).

F. Dvornik, 'The Circus Parties in Byzantium: Their Evolution and Suppression', *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* 1 (1946), 124–5.

C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (JRS monograph 6, 1993).

Michael Whitby 'The Violence of the Circus Factions', in K. Hopwood, ed., *Organised Crime in Antiquity* (2009).

Facundus of Hermiane (d. after 571) *Bishop of Hermiane of *Byzacena. He supported the *Three Chapters against the Emperor *Justinian I in the *Miaphysite Controversy and wrote *In Defence of the Three Chapters* in *Constantinople (547–8) vindicating the condemned theologians *Ibas of *Edessa, *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, and *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus. SJL-R

CPL 866–8.

PL 67.527–878, reprinting J. Sirmond (1629).

ed. J.-M. Clément and R. Vander Plaetse (CCSL 90A, 1974).

ed. (annotated with FT) A. Fraïsse-Bétoulières (*SC* 471, 478–9, 484, 499; 2002–6).

R. B. Eno, 'Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology of the Sixth Century: Ferrandus and Facundus', *REAug* 22/1–2 (1976), 95–113.

fairs Periodic, often annual markets were frequently associated with religious *festivals (e.g. *Theodoret, *Religious History*, 16). They should be distinguished from more regular daily, weekly, or fortnightly markets, although the terms *nundinae* (Lat. 'every eight days'), *mercatus*, or *conventus* could refer to either category of gathering.

Smaller, local fairs were characterized by brevity (a few days in length) and direct sale to the consumer, and were usually frequented by local people. At interregional fairs, buyers and sellers of more diverse origins might gather, to trade rarer and more expensive goods, primarily wholesale. Such fairs could last up to six or even eight weeks. Often held on private *estates, they provided opportunities for rural communites to gather. Suspension of *taxation and levies was common

during religious festivals and private organizers were not permitted to charge stall-holders. There is evidence for an unbroken tradition of this type of commercial exchange throughout the Late Empire.

International *trade fairs drew *merchants from distant foreign parts. The treaty of 298 made *Nisibis the appointed place for Roman–Persian commerce (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 14, cf. **Expositio Totius Mundi*, 22), *Ammianus describes a thriving fair at *Batnae (XIV, 3, 3), and a *law of 408/9 (*CJust* IV, 63, 4, pr. and 1) listed *Callinicum, *Nisibis, and Artaxata as the only cities where *trade with the Persians was permitted.

AAB; OPN

J. Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy: Their Social and Economic Importance from the Second Century BC to the Third Century AD* (1993).

L. De Ligt, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-Industrial Society* (1993).

Fall of the Western Empire The years 476–80 saw the coup of the barbarian commander *Odoacer against the **patricius* *Orestes and the deposition of Orestes' young son, the puppet-emperor *Romulus Augustulus. In hindsight and in traditional accounts these events marked the end of independent imperial authority in the western half of the Roman Empire.

Orestes had revolted in 475, driving the Western *Emperor *Julius Nepos to *Dalmatia and elevating Romulus in his place. The true power behind the throne, Orestes soon encountered difficulties with the soldiers of *Italy, many of them of barbarian origin, when he refused their request to be given land on which to settle. By August 476, their protests had developed into a full-scale revolt led by Odoacer, whom the soldiers proclaimed king (*rex*). Odoacer defeated and killed Orestes at Piacenza (Placentia) and neutralized all remaining opposition by September. He then took the fateful step of deposing Romulus Augustulus and notified the Eastern Emperor *Zeno that the West no longer required its own emperor. Placing the West under Zeno's authority, he offered to rule as the emperor's representative in Italy and requested the rank of *patricius*.

Conventionally, these developments ended the Western Empire, but Zeno's response and Odoacer's future actions demonstrate the ambiguity of the situation. Addressing Odoacer as a *patricius*, the emperor nonetheless instructed him to receive his rank from Julius Nepos, whom he still regarded as the legitimate reigning Western emperor. Moreover, and though *de facto* ruler of Italy, Odoacer obeyed Zeno to some extent, minting *coinage in the name of Nepos. In 480 Nepos was assassinated and Odoacer invaded *Dalmatia as Nepos' avenger. With Nepos dead, the West truly did lack its own emperor, but the idea that this constituted the Fall of the Western Empire gained prominence only in the era of *Justinian I. JJA

E. Demougeot, 'Bedeutet das Jahr 476 das Ende des Römischen Reiches im Okzident?', *Klio* 60 (1978), 371–81.

A. Goltz, 'Marcellinus Comes und das "Ende" des Weströmischen Reiches im Jahr 476', *Electrum* 13 (2007), 39–59.

J. P. C. Kent, 'Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire', in *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata* (1966), 146–50.

MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*.

M. A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen des Römischen Reichs* (1967).

Fallujah *See* PEROZ-SHAPUR.

falus *Bronze coin used in the *'Umayyad and *Abbasid *caliphates, also spelt *fals* (plur. *fulus*). Derived from the Roman term **follis*, *falus* referred to bronze coins circulating from the 660s throughout the Late Antique Islamic world, usually with *Arabic inscriptions. RRD

T. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage* (2005).

J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins* (1956).

familia *Latin legal term denoting both the *household, including wife, children, other relatives, freedmen, slaves, clients, and sometimes boarders and employees under the authority of a **paterfamilias*, and also the household property. The term is therefore extended to *monasteries and the households of *bishops.

GSN

J. Evans-Grubbs, 'Marriage and Family Relationships in the Late Roman West', in P. Rousseau, ed., *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (2012), ch. 14.

family life Although families were the basic units of social organization, family life and experience varied greatly in Late Antiquity, both regionally and by social class. The married couple and their direct offspring constituted the core of a family. Saller and Shaw's epigraphic study of tombstone *inscriptions (*JRS* 74 (1984), 124–56) concluded that the nuclear family was the form primarily conceptualized during the Principate. Mortality rates and *marriage patterns, however, often made the nuclear family more an aspiration than a reality. Demographic studies suggest that a majority of children had a deceased parent (usually a father) before reaching adulthood. In certain regions, local custom sometimes dictated that more distant relations might bring up children; *Ausonius, for example, spent much of his youth in his uncle's house, which was a common

practice in *Gaul. *Households might also contain extended kin, slaves, freedmen, clients, and boarders. The experience of even nuclear family life when set within the household could therefore vary widely.

*Marriage defined the family in practice and as an ideal in the Roman world, and Christianity offered few new notions of conjugal life. The husband as **paterfamilias* was still master of the household, although Christianity introduced a fresh perspective to the consideration of marital conduct and the sanctity of marriage, including an increased emphasis on connubial fidelity for husbands (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst.* VI, 23, 21–40; *Constantine I, *CJust* V, 26 of 326). Imperial laws occasionally tried to support Christian marital ideals (*e.g. CJust* V, 17, 10 of 528; *NovJust* XXII, 3–19 of 536 and CXVII, 8–15 of 542). The ability to divorce unilaterally became legally circumscribed (*CTh* III, 16). That said, patterns largely remained unchanged in Late Antiquity: couples were intent on producing heirs, domestic violence remained a matter of concern internal to the family, and patterns of male sexual behaviour before marriage apparently suggest the possibility that promiscuity persisted after marriage.

The outcome and purpose of marriage, both literally and legally, was the production of legitimate heirs, and the avoidance of *fornication. Formal schooling continued, regardless of religion, for those who could afford it, or in the case of *Augustine, barely afford it (*Conf.* II, 3, 5); *Libanius also recounts the lengths to which his widowed mother went to ensure that he received his education (*Oration* I, 4). Children from humbler families learned practical trades, often those of their parents and usually at an early age. Late Roman opinions concerning relationships between parents and children suggest approbation of direct involvement by mothers and fathers. Patristic writers stress that rearing offspring should not be left to servants. Parents were exhorted to correct misconduct, to develop a child's moral sense and devotional practice, and accept partial responsibility should a child fail to live up to the expectations of family and society. Fathers were expected to raise children to be socially and financially responsible; mothers were expected to instil in them the basic precepts of morality. In aristocratic households, there is some evidence that Christianity fostered greater parental involvement.

Slaves and freedmen also played a prominent part in family life, often in quite humble homes. In addition to providing physical labour, many slaves provided personal servce, particularly in the bringing up of children. Christian writers voiced opposition to the use of slaves as sexual surrogates. Such relationships might or might not generate bonds of affection; they were not always voluntary. The families of slaves also existed alongside those of their owners. Sometimes, as in the Classical era, these families would be recognized by their masters, and at other times not.

Thus, while there were some changes to the ideals about family and family life in the Late Roman world, actual changes from Classical habits were relatively small. GSN

J. Evans-Grubbs, 'Marriage and Family Relationships in the Late Roman West', in P. Rousseau, ed., *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (2009), 201–19.

K. Harper in *OHLA* 667–714.

G. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition* (2000).

R. P. Saller and B. D. Shaw, 'Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves', *JRS* 74 (1984), 124–56.

B. Shaw, 'The Family in Late Antiquity: The Experience of Augustine', *Past and Present* 115 (1987), 3–51.

B. D. Shaw, 'Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire', *Historia* 33 (1984), 457–99.

famine and food shortage In the subsistence agriculture practised by the majority of Late Antique populations local or even regional shortages of staple foodstuffs were very common. On the other hand, famines, that is shortages that led to starvation and increased mortality, were rare. Subsistence crises were quite numerous from the 4th century up to the first outbreaks of the Justinianic *Plague in the 6th century, while their number decreased significantly up to the early 9th century indicating a demographic decline and decreased pressure on available food. The causes of subsistence crises were manifold, both nature-induced (due to untoward climatic conditions such as drought, excessive rainfall or cold spells, floods, and pests affecting crops) and human-induced (due to sieges and warfare or the manipulation of market operation through the fixing of *prices). As a rule nature-induced crises lasted longer, but rarely reached catastrophic proportions unless more than one harvest cycle was affected through the combination of more than one of the above factors or the additional outbreak of disease. Human-induced crises, on the other hand, were often short-term events which gave rise to extreme conditions. Siege-induced famines or famines that were caused by applications of a scorched earth policy were quite common and in fact constituted a conscious method of warfare. Shortages and famines that were caused by tampering with markets were obviously not deliberate, but showed that markets resisted outside regulation. The most telling case of such a phenomenon followed the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of 301.

Access to food in rural communities was obviously immediate, but *cities depended on the import of

foodstuffs. Therefore shortages could manifest themselves as a result of transport-related difficulties. Mainland cities were expensive and difficult to provision with food, unlike coastal cities. *Constantinople, the largest city in this period, depended on shipments of staple foods for its survival, but due to its administrative importance as an imperial capital it was relatively safe from the menace of famine. However, the shift of imperially subsidized food transport to Constantinople meant that the City of *Rome, suffered a number of famines in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Subsistence crises as a rule began with inflation in the prices of staple foodstuffs accompanied by speculation and the formation of black markets which prompted sale of property or flight from affected areas. Outside aid, through the imperial government or local elites, both secular and especially ecclesiastical, helped terminate less acute crises. If such interventions failed to work and the crisis was allowed to continue social responses became more extreme. Populations often protested and even attacked those deemed responsible for speculation, resulting in food riots. Once conventional foodstuffs were exhausted there was gradual recourse to alternative food which would include (in descending order) inferior or unusual plant-based food (wild oats, chestnuts, acorns, animal fodder), animals not usually destined for human consumption (*dogs, *horses, mules, *camels) and even cannibalism.

Strategies in place for preventing or coping with subsistence crises included mixed farming and crop rotation designed to avoid potentially vulnerable monocultures, and the sowing of such sturdier late-harvest grains as millet when wheat harvests were failing. DSt

M. Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth: Agricultural Production and Trade in the Late Antique East* (2009).

P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (1988).

Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale.*

Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence.*

fara Among the *Lombards, a collective group based on lineage that may also have had a military function. The term is glossed by *Paul the Deacon in his *History of the Lombards* as 'families' or 'lineages' in his description of the invasion of *Italy by *Alboin (565/8–72): Alboin occupies Italy 'in fara', makes his nephew *Gisulf *Dux of *Friuli and allows him to choose 'farae'. The size, composition, and purpose of the farae remain obscure. The term 'fara' is used only once in Lombard *law codes (*Rothari, *Edict*, 177) as a synonym for family. Subsequently it becomes associated with family settlement and survives in a number of place-names, e.g. Farra d'Isonzo. CTH

N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy c.568–774* (2003), 106–7.

Faragola *Villa of the 4th/6th century in the territory of Ausculum of *Apulia (mod. Ascoli Satriano, near Foggia in Puglia). Excavation has provided evidence for *farming on the site, and also an opulent *dining room. The latter featured a masonry **stibadium* richly ornamented with *opus sectile made of cut *marble and *glass. DRB

G. Volpe, G. De Felice, and M. Turchiano, '*Musiva* e *sectilia* in una lussuosa residenza rurale dell'*Apulia* tardoantica: la villa di Faragola (Ascoli Satriano, Foggia)', *Musiva e sectilia* 1 (2004), 127–58.

al-Farazdaq (Abu Firas Hammam b. Ghalib) (*c.*641–732) *Arab *poet of the tribe Tamim. Al-Farazdaq is one of the most celebrated political poets of the *Umayyad period. He was a *court panegyrist in *Damascus, but as he frequently switched political loyalties, he was obliged to move on occasions to other *cities of the *caliphate. Many of his eulogies declare the Umayyad rule to be divinely sanctioned and contain numerous quotations from the *Qur'ān. His polythematic odes often omit the traditional prelude (*nasib*), while others continue to conform to earlier conventions. Al-Farazdaq was strongly committed to tribal *praise poetry, a fact that attests to the continuity of the pre-Islamic poetic tradition and provides a vivid expression of the lasting validity of tribal ties in Arab society of the Umayyad era. Al-Farazdaq's popularity relies to a large extent on the vast corpus of the polemical poems (*naqa'id*) that he composed during his long-lasting rivalry with *Jarir. KDm

EI THREE s.n. al-Farazdaq (Papoutsakis).

ed. A. I. al-Sawi and al-Farazdaq, *Sharh dīwān al-Farazdaq*, 2 vols. (1936).

Faremoutiers-en-Brie (Eboriacum; dép. Seine-et-Marne, France) Female/double *monastery founded *c.*620 by *Burgundofara in collaboration with *Eusthasius of *Luxeuil (*VColumbani* II, 11–22). The nuns probably followed the *Regula Cuiusdam ad Virgines*, one of the earliest monastic rules based on the *Rule of S.*Benedict*. Among its first abbesses were Æthelburh (d. *c.*664) and Sæthryth (d. after 664), daughters of King Anna of East Anglia (*Bede, *HE* III, 8). ADi

M. B. de Jong et al., ed., in R. Le Jan, 'Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (2001), 243–69.

Farghana (Ferghana) Valley in *Transoxiana, surrounded by mountains on three sides, through which the *Jaxartes River flows. Farghana *horses were traded with *China in Antiquity; the rich soil, abundant harvests, and livestock breeding are noted by the Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 30–1). The densely populated valley was

influenced by both *Sogdian and Turkic culture; during the 7th–8th centuries, Farghana was alternately ruled by the Western *Türks, the Chinese, a local Turkic dynasty, and a *Sogdian ruler, the Ikhshid. After initial Arab raids under *Qutabya b. Muslim (712–13), Islamization proceeded slowly, due to Sogdian revolts, and was not completed until the early 9th century. Farghana supplied many troops to the armies of the *'Abbasid caliphate (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūh al-Buldān*, II, 205; al-*Yaqubi, 32, 54–5). Arab and Persian geographers to write about the valley include Ibn Khurdadhbih (21–2); the *Hudud al-Alam* (115–17), and al-*Muqaddasi (238, 243–4). MLD

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.n.* Farghānā (W. Barthold, B. Spuler).
EncIran (1999) *s.n.* Farḡāna (C. E. Bosworth, B. I. Marshak).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 155–65.
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 477–80.

Fāris Ruined village (mod. Khirbat Fāris, Jordan) located in the northern part of the Kerak Plateau, probably abandoned in the 1930s and contiguous with another ancient site known as Khirbat Tadūn. The oldest standing structure at Fāris is a 1st-century AD barrel-vaulted chamber (the 'khan'). Excavations in and around the 'khan' have established a sequence of occupation phases through the Late Antique and Islamic periods. The recovered assemblage is dominated by *pottery wares and faunal and botanical remains with few coins and luxury items. The presence of a Late Antique church is strongly suggested by abundant *mosaic tessarae on the site. MCM

J. Johns et al., 'The Fâris Project: Preliminary Report upon the 1986 and 1988 Seasons', *Levant* 21 (1989), 63–95.
A. McQuitty, 'Khirbat Faris: A Rural Settlement on the Karak Plateau during the Late Antique–Early Islamic Transition', in K. Bartl and Abd al-Razzaq Moaz, eds., *Residences, Castles, Settlements: Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham* (2008), 217–28.

***Farmer's Law* (*Νόμος Γεωργικός*)** Specialized collection of agricultural laws, comprising 85 chapters written in *Greek. The *Farmer's Law* occurs in many manuscripts, frequently in the *Appendix Eclogae* appended to the **Ecloga* of Leo III, accompanied by the **Soldier's Law* and the **Rhodian Sea Law*. The *Farmer's Law* contains regulations concerning land cultivation, relations within a *village (for example trespassing across boundaries, theft, possession of a 'powerful *dog'), *cattle (for example livestock damaging crops), and the produce of land, agricultural implements, and farm buildings. The precise date (7th, 8th, or even later 9th cent.), origin (for example, *Italy, or hilly, inland terrain), and character (for example private collection, or pre-Justinianic rules) are uncertain. ThEvB

Nomos Georgikos. Vizantijskij zemledel'českij zakon: ed. P. Medvedev, E. K. Piotrovskaja, and E. E. Lipšic (Academia scientiarum URSS. Institutum historiae URSS, sectio Leninopolitanae, 1984).
ed. (with ET and discussion) W. Ashburner, *JHS* 30 (1910), 85–108 (edn.), and 32 (1912), 68–95 (ET).
L. Burgmann, 'Die Nomoi Stratiotikos, Georgikos und Nautikos', *ZRVI* 46 (2009), 43–64.
ODB s.v. Farmer's Law (A. Kazhdan).
A. Schminck, 'Probleme des sog. "*Νόμος Ῥοδίων ναυτικός*"', in E. Chrysos, D. Letsios, H. Richter, and R. Stupperich, eds., *Griechenland und das Meer. Beiträge eines Symposions in Frankfurt im Dezember 1996* (1999), 171–8.

farming Specialized production on *estates and even by small-scale peasants was fairly common in the Late Antique Roman and *Persian Empires, and these depended on intensive methods and the ability to generate consistent, marketable surpluses. Up to 90% of Late Antique people lived by farming. The range of climates and topography from Persia to northern Europe required numerous strategies adapted to local conditions. MD

farming, Aksumite Subsistence farming provided the economic foundation for the *Aksumite kingdom. Its methods, and the crops and animals involved, all indicate strong continuity from earlier periods. Archaeological evidence supplements that provided by *inscriptions. *Cattle, *sheep, and *goats were herded, the first being used additionally for drawing *ploughs. 'Beasts of burden' (presumably donkeys) are attested epigraphically. Evidence for *camels and *horses is less certain. Emmer and barley were the staple crops; teff (the modern staple) was cultivated in Aksumite times and perhaps earlier. Free-threshing wheats were adopted, gradually gaining in popularity. These crops were supplemented by varieties originating to the west and south, notably sorghum and finger millet. Grapes may have been cultivated. Cotton was either grown locally or imported from lower altitudes for processing. DWP

A. C. D'Andrea, 'Tef (*Eragrostis Tef*) in Ancient Agricultural Systems of Highland Ethiopia', *Economic Botany* 92 (2008), 547–66.
K. A. Bard et al., 'The Environmental History of Tigray (Northern Ethiopia) in the Middle and Late Holocene', *African Archaeological Review* 17 (2000), 65–86.
Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97*.
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 108–14.

farming, Germanic In areas of Germanic settlement, only rural dwellings (*villages, hamlets, isolated farms) are attested. Here agriculture was the most important economic activity. In the 5th century, fortified hilltop

settlements were established, but only in areas bordering the Romans, such as, for instance, the areas inhabited by the *Alamans.

Settlements were arranged in smaller or larger groups (*Siedlungskammern*), which were surrounded by woods. On the North Sea coast, there were also artificial settlement mounds, located on the edge of the Wadden Sea. Where Celtic Fields (*Ackerparzellen*) are found, no single picture is apparent; there are rectangular, square, and polygonal enclosures. Long rectangular *field systems and strip fields are seldom found.

A peculiarity of the north German lowlands and areas with sandy soils was the method of soil management. In these places, grass was grubbed up and used as stable-bedding in the winter. Then in the spring it was enriched with dung and put on the fields, which then grew slowly to full height. Rye is the crop most often cultivated on this land. Apart from that, systematic crop rotation was practised. Soil improvement, for example by the addition of chalk, is occasionally attested.

All of these types of field were equipped with scratch *ploughs for cultivation; the switchover to the reversible plough came in the 3rd century. Ploughs were drawn by oxen. Archaeological finds indicate a variety of agricultural implements. Attested crops are barley, oats, rye, wheat, and millet. Also attested is the cultivation of beans and some varieties of cabbage, as well as oil seeds (flax and German sesame) and fibrous plants (flax and hemp). *Fruit and *vegetable gardens were not cultivated in Germanic areas. This form of agriculture was first taken over from the Romans in the early Middle Ages. The gathering of wild fruits, nuts, beech nuts, wild grasses, and wild spice plants is occasionally attested. The farm animals attested are *cattle and *horses (of relatively small sizes), *sheep, *goats, pigs, chickens, geese, and ducks. *Bee-keeping was also important. TF

H. Grünert and M. Teichert, 'Die Nahrungsmittelproduktion', in vol. 1, 440–68 and E. Lange, E. Gringmuth-Dallmer, M. Teichert, and H.-H. Müller, 'Die landwirtschaftliche Produktion', in vol. 2, 100–19 of Bruno Krüger et al., eds., *Die Germanen: Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa* (1976).

T. Capelle, 'Die Frühgeschichte (1.–9. Jahrhundert ohne römische Provinzen)', in J. Lüning, A. Jockenhövel, H. Bender, and T. Capelle, *Deutsche Agrargeschichte. Vor- und Frühgeschichte vom Neolithikum bis zur Völkerwanderungszeit* (1997), 375–460.

farming, Persian (MP *warz*) Agriculture of the *Sasanian period in Iran and *Mesopotamia, the core lands of the *Persian Empire, inherited traditions of agriculture pre-dating the Late Antique era by thousands of years, but benefited more immediately from Arsacid investments in *irrigation. *Grain (wheat, barley), many *fruits (including date palms in the lower latitudes), *vegetables, and rice were all cultivated for *food. Sesame was grown to produce oil. Cotton was grown for *textile manufacture in some regions as well.

Climate and rainfall dictated whether fields were irrigated using canals (Mesopotamia) or **qanat*s (Iranian Plateau). Springs in the Zagros mountains were another important source of water for *irrigation but where more than 300 mm of rainfall fell annually, dry-farming (unirrigated) could be practised (e.g. in parts of *Fars, Luristan, Kurdistan, and Azerbaijan; Gilan and Mazandaran received much more rain).

Simple *ploughs (ards) pulled by draught animals (oxen, donkeys, *horses, mules) were used to till the land. Herds of *sheep, *goats, and, to a lesser extent, bovines, were kept as well. Yields are difficult to estimate but *Tabari's discussion of the reforms of *Khosrow I, and many early Islamic sources, contain quantitative information on the *taxation of agricultural produce. Small farms existed throughout the Empire, as did royal estates, but at various points plantations owned by the *aristocracy swelled to enormous sizes at the expense of small farmers until broken up by reformer kings like Khosrow I. DTP

A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration* (rev. edn. 1969).

F. Rahimi-Laridjani, *Die Entwicklung der Bewässerungslandwirtschaft im Iran bis in sasanidisch–frühislamische Zeit* (BI 13, 1988).

Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*.

farming, Roman and post-Roman Farming in the Mediterranean Basin was mostly limited by soil and *water conditions, rather than by temperature. Most of the Mediterranean endured seasonal shortages of water, and, alongside this, longer-term *soil erosion and fertility problems that farmers addressed in a number of ways. *Irrigation was the obvious solution to summer drought and scorching heat that many plants could not survive, and the available evidence indicates a steady investment over the Roman Empire in irrigation works. Most of these were local and small-scale. In Persia, agriculture in the oases and in *Mesopotamia required perennial irrigation and the *Persian Empire made heavy investments in irrigation systems, evidenced by their development of plantations along the Diyala River and elsewhere. In *Aksum and *Arabia, cultivators built systems to capture rainfall runoff or spring discharge in combination with elaborate hillside terracing that supported intensive farming around administrative centres and their dependent villages. Outside of the *Nile flood-plain, which was fertilized annually by the overflow of the river, farmers relied mainly on animal manure to maintain and improve the soil. In much of the eastern Mediterranean, pigeon

guano was especially important; its use is attested by thousands of Late Antique dovecotes in *Egypt, *Cappadocia, the Levant, and Persia. *Sheep and *goats of semi-nomadic groups were welcomed into harvested *grain fields to graze on stubble where they deposited dung. An increase in intensive bovine farming in the Late Roman world increased the local availability of fertilizer. Human waste collected from chamber pots (night soil) was also a common source of fertilizer.

The vast majority of people in Late Antiquity worked on the land and most of them were under the control of large *estates. Broadly speaking, labourers were either free or unfree (slaves). The *slave mode of production continued to be important on landed estates, especially in the West. The *free peasantry was subject to elite power through traditional social and legal means of coercion, namely *patronage (**patrocinium*) or laws that bound them to the estate of their birth (**colonus*). *Coloni* are most commonly referred to as **adscripticii* peasants (Gr. *enapographoi georgoi*) (*CJust* XI, 48; XI, 50), as they who were the fiscal responsibility of the landlords to whose estate they were assigned. *Coloni* were prohibited from leaving the land and could not own property. In Late Roman North *Africa, the colonate seem to have been more prosperous than is often supposed, taking part in certain market activities and in social activities beyond their normal roles as cultivators; their mobility and participation in the church and public life in estate *villages threatened elites and the established order (Dossey, 202–3). In the post-Roman West, the presence of tied tenants on the soil was well established by the 6th century where they are mentioned as *colonus* or *originarius* alongside slaves as the most common farm labourers (**Lex Romana Burgundionum*, VII). In 566, *Justin II (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 4) divided agrarian labourers into legal categories that reflect a complicated and fragmented picture of the legal status of rural workers in the Eastern Empire who are called variously *georgoi* (peasants, often considered synonymous with *colonus*, but this is not always the case), *misthotai* (wage labourers), *emphyteutai* (holders of long-term leases), and *kektemenoi* (free-holders). Sharecropping remained a common means of working the land in the Roman and Persian Empires.

Cereals occupied the bulk of all arable land. Various types of wheat formed the basis of the Roman and post-Roman *diet in most regions and were the most widely grown crops. Several different barley species were grown, their production largely dependent on access to seed stock and the local environment. Barley was consumed mainly by *animals and the *poor. Minor grains, such as any number of millets, rye, rice, and sorghum, were locally important and helped farmers adapt to specific local environmental conditions. The most common *fruits were the grape and the *olive, both characteristic of Roman culture. Since olive and grape could be processed into liquids that kept for considerable periods (olive oil and *wine) and had a range of uses, these plants rounded out the staple diet in most areas. Common fruit crops that continue to be important today include figs, apples, peaches, cherries, and dates. Others, such as quince and myrtle, have since largely fallen out of favour. Numerous plant species, including peach, cherry, durum wheat, artichoke, and cucumber, were spread by the Romans throughout much of Europe, although their cultivation did not always endure in the post-Roman period. Tropical plants, such as sugar cane and cotton, were regionally important in the Persian Empire and sugar was apparently exported in some quantity. Cotton was known in Late Roman *Egypt and was locally signficant in the desert oases.

Animals were an important element in agriculture in the Roman Mediterranean, as well as in the Persian and Islamic worlds. Oxen usually provided traction for *ploughs and carts, while asses and *camels were needed for power on the farm, as well as local and long-distance transport of goods and foods. In most regions, pasture was managed within the cropping regime so that animals could be kept efficiently and provide much-needed fertilizer to the fields. Demand for milk, *meat, and wool was strong throughout Late Antiquity and these commodities led to increasingly specialized *cattle rearing methods and improvement of animal types throughout *Italy and elsewhere.

Late Antique agriculture continued older praxis in nearly every area, but there were modifications to the methods of Mediterranean and Near Eastern agriculture, especially in the continued spread of crops, and intensification as a result of state and market demands. Technologies such as the direct-screw *press and *saqiya* driven chain-of-pots, as well as the large *noria* irrigating water wheel were not new devices, but they achieved significant diffusion in many regions where intensive agriculture was the norm, not only in the eastern Mediterranean where they are most visible in the sources, but also in regions of the Roman West. The **qanat* was an ancient foundational technology of Persian agriculture and continued its diffusion to both East and West throughout Late Antiquity. From the end of the 5th century, urban centres in most parts of the Roman West and *Balkans declined in size and number and a return to more extensive and subsistence-based strategies prevailed. MD

Bowman and Wilson, *Roman Agricultural Economy*.

M. Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth: Agricultural Production and Exchange in the Late Antique East* (2009).

K. Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (2010).

Faroald I (*c.*575–before 591) First *Lombard *Dux of *Spoleto. Little is known of either Faroald or the

circumstances of *Lombard penetration of Umbria. *Paul the Deacon indicates that in the 570s or 580s Faroald captured Classis, *Ravenna's port, and that he was succeeded by Ariulf (*History of the Lombards*, III, 13 & IV, 16). NJC; CTH

PLRE IIIA, Faroaldus.

S. Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi* (1978), 73.

Faroald II *Lombard *Dux of Spoleto 703/5–19/20. With the cooperation of Pope *John VII, Faroald was instrumental in founding the *monastery of Farfa. Between 712 and 719, Faroald captured Classis, the port of *Ravenna, but *Liutprand ordered him to return it to the Byzantines. Subsequently, he was deposed by his son Transamund II. CTH

PBE, Faroald 1.

S. Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi* (1978), 77.

HL VI.44.

farrah *See XWARRAH.*

Fars (MP Pārs; Gk. Persis) South-west Persian province bordering 'Iraq-i Ağami (or *Isfahan) in the north, the Persian Gulf in the south, Kerman in the east, and *Khuzestan in the west. The ancient province (MP **shahr*) was much more extensive than the modern province that bears this name. The name is attested from the 3rd century.

Fars appears at the head of the list of lands ruled by *Shapur I in his *inscription the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*, §2/2) and was the cradle of the *Sasanian dynasty. Its founder *Ardashir I was said to be the son of *Pābag, custodian of the *Anahid *fire temple at Istakhr (MP *Staxr), near the ancient Achaemenid capital Persepolis, the site of the first Sasanian mint. The Sasanians were intensely interested in the Achaemenid remains, reoccupying parts of Persepolis and carving reliefs below the Achaemenid tombs.

Sasanian Fars consisted of the districts of Ardashir-Xwarrah (NP Gōr, mod. *Firuzabad), *Bishapur (near Kazerun), *Darabgird, Istakhr, New-Darab (location unknown), and Weh-az-Amid-Kawad (Arrağan, near mod. Behbehan) under the authority of one or more *governors (MP *āmārgar*). These were largely coterminous with the bishoprics of the Christian *Church of the East attested from the early 5th century onwards (to which must be added Maškenā dhe-Kurdū and *Rev-Ardashir, on the Persian Gulf). Sasanian *rock reliefs are numerous in Fars (at Firuzabad, *Naqsh-e Rajab, *Naqsh-e Rostam, Darabgird, Bishapur, Sarab-e Bahram, Sarab-e Qandil, Barm-e Dilak, Guyum, and *Sar Mashhad), as are *fire temples. Major excavations have revealed palatial, domestic, and military architecture at *Qasr-e Abu Nasr, Istakhr, Naqsh-e Rostam, Bishapur, Firuzabad, and *Hajiabad. DTP

EncIran s.v. Fārs ii. (Wiesehöfer).

M. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran: Achaemenid Sites and Sasanian Identity', *AJA* 114/4 (2010), 563–96.

J. M. Fiey, 'Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe persique', in G. Khouri-Sarkis, *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898–1968)* (1969), 177–219.

Gyselen, *Géographie administrative*, 70–3.

E. Sachau, *Vom Christentum in der Persis* (*Sb.* Berlin 39, 1916), 958–80.

Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*, 82–211.

Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 2–211.

farsakh *See* PARASANG.

Fasti Hydatiani, Fasti Idatiani *See* HYDATIUS.

Fasti Vindobonenses *See CONSULARIA VINDOBONENSIA PRIORA ET POSTERIORA.*

fasting, Jewish and Christian The ascetic practice of regulating quantity and kind of both food and drink for philosophical or religious purposes.

Dietary regulation was a central feature of *Jewish religious practice, with days of fasting appointed each week (Monday and Thursday), fasts associated with holy days, and fasting linked to a personal undertaking (e.g. Nazirite vow). Jewish religious law also regulated kinds of food that were allowable and those that were forbidden. Acceptable animals were those that have a cloven hoof and chew their cud (Leviticus 11:3; Deuteronomy 14:6), thus forbidding e.g. pork, *camel meat, and rabbit. Acceptable *fish were those with scales and fins, thus excluding shellfish. Other rules regulated *birds, insects, and allowable combinations of foods (e.g. *meat could not be eaten with dairy products). Some schools of Hellenistic *philosophy practised dietary selection (the vegetarianism of the Pythagoreans) or moderation (Epicureans and Stoics), often under the influence of medical theories of the effects of particular foods on sexual and general health. Foods were classified in various ways (e.g. 'dry' and 'wet') according to their perceived effects on the bodily humours. *Manichaeans emphasized vegetarianism and abstention from alcohol, and had their own theories about those foods thought to nurture spiritual growth by their higher content of particles of light.

Christians inherited both the religious practice of fasting and the philosophical/medical concerns about the effects of particular kinds of food and drink. A key element of early Christian formation was the abandonment of the Jewish dietary laws (Acts 10: 5–10). The *Didache* reports that Christians fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays to distinguish themselves from the Jews and to observe the day of Jesus' crucifixion. They also

developed a penitential season before the annual celebration of Jesus' resurrection at *Easter. Ultimately fixed at 40 days (though reckoned in various ways), the 'Great Fast' or Lent typically featured abstention from all animal products as well as restriction of the amount of food and drink. Shorter fasting periods were associated with other *festivals. Christian *ascetics practised a generally more severe dietary regimen throughout the year, avoiding both meat and wine. As *monasticism developed, the one daily meal was typically taken at the ninth hour of the day (3:00 p.m.) or even later on fasting days or in penitential seasons. Ascetic avoidance of meat was linked to the control of sexual appetite, and moderation of food and drink in general was seen as the first defence against lust and other disturbing passions. Some recommended consumption of dried foods alone (xerophagy) and others avoided any cooked or processed food (including *olive oil). Heroic monastic fasts of several days or longer are recorded in the literature but the general recommendation was to take one simple meal daily and avoid extremes of both fasting and feasting. CAS

D. Grumett and R. Muers, *Eating and Believing: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Vegetarianism and Theology* (2008).
A. Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, tr. F. Pheasant (1988) (French original, 1983).
T. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (1998).

fasting, Islamic Fasting (Ar. *sawm*) is required every day during the month of *Ramadan (the ninth month of the Islamic calendar), according to *Qur'ān 2: 183–4. It involves abstention from the ingestion of food, drink, and any other substances, as well as from sexual intercourse, from sunrise until sunset. The end of the fast is commemorated in a festival called Eid al-Fitr, the Feast of the Fast-Breaking. Voluntary fasting at times other than Ramadan also follows the sunrise to sunset formula, and was an important feature of Islamic *asceticism. NK

EQ s.v. fasting (Wagtendonk).

Fatima Daughter of *Muhammad by his first wife *Khadija, and wife of Muhammad's paternal cousin *'Ali, who was the fourth *caliph and the first *Shi'i imam. Fatima is revered by *Sunni and Shi'i Muslims alike, though her veneration is much more pronounced in Shi'ism, particularly because she gave birth to Hasan and *Husayn, the next two Shi'i imams after 'Ali. She is often referred to as Fatima al-Zahra', the 'shining one'.

In traditional literature, Fatima is best known for her abstemiousness and the general poverty of her married life with 'Ali, as well as for her role in the early succession disputes in which her husband was involved. She did not seek political power, but was central to the events of early schism as they unfolded, as well as to early adjudication regarding *inheritance and the members of Muhammad's family. NK

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v.* 'Fātima', p. 861–70 (Veccia Vaglieri).
W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (1997).

Fausta (*c.*290–326) Flavia Maxima Fausta, daughter of *Maximian and *Eutropia. Her marriage to *Constantine I in September 307 is celebrated in a surviving *Latin *panegyric (*PanLat* VII [VI]). She bore Constantine three sons, *Constantine II, *Constantius II, and *Constans, and two daughters. Various theories exist about her death in 326 in mysterious circumstances, by suffocation in an over-heated *bath. It followed shortly after the trial and execution of her stepson *Crispus. The credibility of sources (*Zosimus, II, 29, *Zonaras, 13, 2, 38–41) which claim that they were involved in a Hippolytus–Phaedra style love affair is diminished by the fact that by 326 Crispus was living in *Gaul and Fausta in the East. Moreover, *Julian praised Fausta's moral character in a *panegyric (*Oration* I, 9BD). She is depicted on the Great Cameo of Constantine and *Fausta, now in Leiden, formerly in Utrecht. DMG

PLRE I, Fausta.
NEDC 9, 34, 43.
Rodgers and Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 178–210.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 144–50.
P. Stephenson, 'A Note on the Constantinian Cameo, now in Leiden', *BABESCH* 90 (2015), 237–40.

Faustus of Buzanda *See* *BUZANDARAN PATMUTIWNK'*.

Faustus of Riez (400/410–after 484) *Bishop of *Riez 452/62–after 484. Faustus was British by origin, but early in life became a monk at *Lérins in southern *Gaul, where he was abbot from 433/4 until he became bishop. From *c.*477 to 484, after Riez came under the rule of the *Visigoths, he was sent into *exile by *Euric. Faustus was the author of numerous literary works, notably *De Gratia* (473/4), a treatise on grace and predestination which put forward ideas differing from those of *Augustine. After his death it became the object of controversy when it was denounced (*c.*520) by the latter's admirers, such as the Scythian Monks and *Fulgentius of Ruspe. His other surviving works include a treatise on the Holy Spirit, a number of *letters, and probably some of the *sermons in the extensive *'Eusebius Gallicanus' collection. His ideas about the soul prompted *Claudianus Mamertus to write his treatise *De Statu Animae* (*c.*469). DRL

PCBE IV/1, Faustus 1.
RE VI/12 (1909) *s.n.* Faustus 18, cols. 2093–4 (Jülicher).
ODNB 19 (2004), 161–3 (C. Stancliffe).

WORKS (*CPL* 961–5):

ed. A. Engelbrecht (CSEL 21, 1891).
M. Djuth, 'Faustus of Riez', *OGHRA* 3, 490–2.
T. A. Smith, *De Gratia: Faustus of Riez's Treatise on Grace and its Place in the History of Theology* (1990).

Faustus of *Milevis (*c.*340–*c.*390) *Rhetorician and *Manichaean bishop. *Augustine met Faustus in *Carthage *c.*382, but repudiated him and Manichaeism soon after. Faustus was condemned as a Manichaean and exiled in 385/6, but later pardoned. His *Capitula*, attacking Catholic doctrine and the Old Testament and defending Manichaeism, are partly preserved in Augustine's polemical *Against Faustus*. SJL-R

PCBE I, Faustus 2.
P. Monceaux, *Le Manichéen Faustus de Milev* (1933).
G. Wurst, 'Bemerkungen zu Struktur und *genus litterarium* der *Capitula* des Faustus von Mileve', in J. van Oort et al., eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West* (2001), 307–24.
Brown, *Augustine*, 47–8.

Faventinus, M. Cetius Author of a handbook on private construction and architecture, compiled from select excerpts of various architectural authors, mainly *Vitruvius. The book probably dates from the late 3rd or early 4th century. It was known to *Palladius the writer on *farming and to *Sidonius Apollinaris. ER

ed. H. Plommer (with ET), *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals* (1973).
RE 3/2 (1899) *s.v.* Cetius col. 2013 (Gensel).

Faxian (Fa-Hsien) (*c.*337–*c.*422) Faxian was one in a succession of hundreds if not thousands of *Buddhist monks from east Asia whose travels to *India by land and sea in search of texts and teachings are recorded in an early 6th-century Chinese text, *Memoirs of Eminent Monks*. A handful made personal records, Faxian's being the earliest known. His main purpose was to collect *Vinaya*, texts governing monastic life.

Faxian left Chang'an in 399. He followed the *Silk Road around the Taklamakan desert and then crossed the mountains of *Central Asia to Gandhara. From here he went to Buddhist sites in the Ganges Valley, by sea to Sri Lanka, and then back to *China, arriving *c.*412. He travelled with other monks, one of whom remained in India. On his return, Faxian translated texts until his death.

His report gives very brief details of the places and peoples he encountered and the perils of travel—especially by sea—but concentrates on Buddhist events, monasteries and shrines, clergy and practices. He gives distances in terms of days or local measures. He also lists some of the works he obtained. SWh

ed. (annotated with ET) J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; being an account by the Chinese monk Fâ-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in search of the Buddhist books of Discipline* (1886).

Fayyum *See* ARSINOE AND ARSINOITE NOME.

Fayyum portrait In the *Fayyum (*Egypt), commemorative portraits of the *dead were painted on wooden panels in encaustic or tempera technique and affixed over the face of their mummy. These painted wooden portraits—together with painted linen shrouds and, less frequently, stucco masks—depict the individualized features of the dead; they belonged to the tradition of Roman veristic funerary portraiture, but were executed as part of the specifically Egyptian practice of mummification. Many mummies bearing painted panels have been excavated at Fayyum sites; they have also been found elsewhere in Egypt. Comparison with Roman imperial *hair styles, *jewellery, and *dress suggests dates *c.*30–300 AD. Contemporary representations of deities, also painted on wooden panels and depicted in naturalistic style, had a devotional function akin to later Christian *icons. ERO

K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano BII–III: ritratti di mummie* (1969–80).
S. Walker, ed., *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (new edn., 2000).
C. Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (2005).
V. Rondot, *Derniers Visages des dieux d'Egypte: iconographies, panthéons et cultes dans le Fayoum hellénisé des IIe–IIIe siècles de notre ère* (2013).
M. Bierbrier, ed., *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (1997).
M.-F. Aubert, *Portraits funéraires de l'Égypte romaine*, 2 vols. (2004–8).

feasting *See* DINING.

Feddersen Wierde A settlement in the German North Sea marshes north of Bremen, of the type known as a terp or *wierde*, an artificial dwelling mound designed to provide refuge and protection from flooding, inhabited during the 1st–5th centuries. In a comprehensive excavation campaign 1954–63 the settlement was almost completely excavated. The Feddersen Wierde settlement exemplifies a typical artificial dwelling mound in the sea marshes of the Netherlands and northern Germany, like those described by *Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, XVI, 1, 2–4).

The earliest arrangement, of about five farmsteads, was built on a low elevation in the marshes during the early 1st century. In subsequent building phases (during the 2nd to 4th centuries AD), the plateau was artificially

raised with dung and tidal mud layers to create one coherent dwelling mound with fenced farmsteads in a semicircular *village-like arrangement. Thus the settlement could withstand higher levels of flooding. During the 3rd century the Feddersen Wierde complex comprised at least 26 individual farmsteads with an estimated 300 inhabitants and 450 *cattle.

The majority of the *houses in Feddersen Wierde are *longhouses with space for 12–30 cattle. Livestock farming (mostly cattle but also *sheep, *swine, and *horses) was the dwellers' primary source of livelihood; cultivation with barley, oats, flax, or beans was less important, not least because the marsh fields were often too salty. Conditions in the settlement's layers have preserved both the foundations of the wooden houses, fences, and paths and also artefacts of bone, horn, antler, and wood, which were probably household and *farming *tools.

The character of social stratification at Feddersen Wierde is debated. In the village, one farmstead stands out because of the length and capacity of its longhouse and the dimensions of the fenced area around it. Special metal finds suggest workshop activities connected with this farmstead: it is interpreted either as the seat of the village chief or as some sort of communal farm centre. Due to repeated flooding and depopulation of the region, the Feddersen Wierde settlement went into decline in the 4th century and was abandoned during the 5th century. AR

W. Haarnagel, *Die Grabung Feddersen Wierde: Methode, Hausbau, Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsformen sowie Sozialstruktur*, 2 vols. (Feddersen Wierde 2, 1979).

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Feddersen Wierde, VIII (1994), 249–66 (Schmid).

federate troops *See* FOEDERATI.

fees *See* TOLLS AND FEES, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN; *SPORTULAE*.

Felix, Cassius African doctor, probably from *Cirta, whose *De Medicina* (AD 447) provides description and treatment for 82 diseases from the head downwards. *Isidore (*Etymologiae*, IV, 8, 4) and *Bede (*Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*, 38, 8) knew it. ARD

PLRE II, Felix 13.

RE III col. 1723 *s.n.* Cassius (44) (Wellmann).

ed. (annotated with FT) A. Fraisse (2002).

A. Önnerfors, 'Das medizinische Latein von Celsus bis Cassius Felix', in *ANRW* II.37.1 (1993), 336–42.

Felix, Magnus *Praefectus Praetorio in *Gaul 468/9; **patricius* 469. Gallic *senator from *Narbonne, fellow student and friend of *Sidonius Apollinaris, who dedicated a poem (*Carmen* 9) and sent numerous *letters to him, though Felix apparently broke off relations with him after the early 470s, perhaps over the trial of *Arvandus, who was probably his predecessor as Gallic prefect. Felix latterly turned to religion, and corresponded with *Faustus of Riez. CD; STL

PLRE II, Felix 21.

PCBE IV/1, Felix 7.

Harries, *Sidonius*, 5–6, 15–16, 177–9.

R. Mathisen, 'Epistolography, Literacy Circles and Family Ties in Late Roman Gaul', *TAPA* 111 (1981), 22 n. 35.

Felix, S., of Thibiuca On 4 June AD 303, Felix, *Bishop of *Thibiuca, refused to surrender Christian books to the *Curator Rei Publicae. He was given two days to consider, and on 13 June, escorted by a *city councillor, was sent to *Carthage. He again refused to surrender scriptures, was imprisoned for sixteen days, and was then tried by *Anullinus the *Proconsul at the 4th hour of the night. He was beheaded on 15 July, and was buried on the Via Scillitanorum. OPN

PCBE I, **Felix (407–8).

Passio (*BHL* 2893s):

ed. H. Delehaye, *AnBoll* 39 (1921), 268–70, repr. in Knopf, Krüger, and Ruhbach, *Martyrakten.*

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 128–9.

HLL 5, section 596. 3.

Felix of Nantes (512–82) *Bishop of Nantes (549/50–82). Of noble family, Felix succeeded Eumerius, probably his father, in his see. He exchanged *letters and verses with *Venantius Fortunatus, who presents him in a very positive light, celebrating, for instance, his dedication of a new cathedral and his *conversion of pagan *Saxons. But his relations with *Gregory of *Tours, his *metropolitan after 573, appear to have been frosty. Gregory complains of his high-handedness and abusive language in a dispute over church property, and declined to approve Felix's promotion of his nephew as his successor. MJR

PLRE IIIA, Felix 5.

PCBE IV/1, Felix 9.

Felix of Trier *Bishop of *Trier (386–98). He became bishop soon after the condemnation of *Priscillian and his followers on the order of *Magnus Maximus. Felix's approval of Priscillian's execution earned him the opposition of *Ambrose at *Milan, S.*Martin of *Tours, and Siricius at *Rome, and created the 'Felician Schism' within the Gallic Church, ended only by his abdication. His late *Life* (*BHL* 2892–3) suggests he died soon afterwards. MC; STL

BHL 2892–3.

PCBE IV/1, Felix 4.

LThK vol. 3 (1995), col. 1221.

Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism*, 11–18.

H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (1976).

Ferrandus (d. before April 548) *Deacon of *Carthage; a close associate of *Fulgentius of Ruspe, some of whose correspondence he completed upon the *bishop's death. Ferrandus is widely accepted as author of the *Vita Fulgentii*, although the identification is disputed. Ferrandus' *Breviatio Canonum* is an important epitome of early Eastern and African *councils. In his *letters, the deacon also energetically opposed *Justinian I's policy condemning the *Three Chapters. JPC

PCBE I, Ferrandus.

CPL 847–8.

PL 67, 887–962 and PL 65, 117–50, reprinting P.-F. Chifflet (1649).

A. Isola *Vetera Christianorum* 23 (1986), 63–71.

Ferreolus, Tonantius *Praefectus Praetorio in *Gaul (451–2/3), who coped with *Attila's invasion and its aftermath. Of patrician stock, he was a relative and friend of *Sidonius, and one of the representatives of the Gallic provincial council who in 469 successfully prosecuted the Gallic prefect *Arvandus for treasonable dealings with the Gothic King *Euric. JDH

PLRE II, Ferreolus.

Harries, *Sidonius*, 160–2.

Ferreolus of Uzès *Bishop of Uzès *c.*553–581 and member of the senatorial family of the Firmini-Ennodii of *Provence. *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* VI, 7) praised him as the author of several (lost) books of *letters written in the style of *Sidonius Apollinaris. The monastic *Rule* that he wrote for a community he founded on one of his *estates survives. His *Vita* is late, and of doubtful value. BD; STL

PCBE IV/1, Ferreolus 3.

Regula ad Monachos, PL 66, 959–76.

Life (*BHL* 2901–2), ed. B. Krusch in *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicum Latinorum Antiquorum*, vol. 2 (1890), 100–3.

festal letters *Eutychius, a 10th-century *Melkite *Patriarch of *Alexandria, suggests in his *Annales* (PG CXI, col. 989) that it was a tradition of the Egyptian Church, beginning with the episcopate of Demetrius of *Alexandria (*sed.* 189–231/2), for the *Bishop of Alexandria to issue a pastoral *letter annually before *Easter, in which he could address issues of topical pastoral concern.

*Eusebius quotes from several letters of *Dionysius of Alexandria and mentions others as still extant (*HE* VII, 20–2). Eusebius describes them as festal (*heortastikas*) though some were addressed to individuals rather than to the Church at large. One was concerned with calculating correctly the date of Easter and another hailed the *accession of the *Emperor *Gallienus. The *Canonical Epistle* of *Peter of Alexandria comforted Christians during the fourth Eastertide of the Great *Persecution in 306, and laid out a tariff of *penances for those who had, in various ways, failed to witness to the faith.

*Athanasius used his festal letters to warn against association with those he stigmatized as *Arians. The transmission of the text of the fragments of the *Festal Letters* of Athanasius is complicated. A. Camplani has indicated the need to distinguish between the pastoral letters sent in the spring of each year and the brief notification of the date of the following Easter which Athanasius issued each year probably soon after Easter. Letters XVII and XVIII seem to be examples of these festival notifications. The most substantial fragment of the pastoral letters to survive in *Greek is from Letter XXXIX, which lists the books of the Old and New Testaments. Some fragments survive in *Syriac (London, BL Adds. 14569) and some in *Coptic, deriving ultimately from three manuscripts of the *White Monastery. There is also an index, compiled by editors around AD 400, who also assigned an order to the letters and provided subscriptions.

The Patriarchs *Theophilus and *Cyril of Alexandria also employed their festal letters to address in an edifying fashion matters of current concern. The association of the letters with Lent and Easter led to a common emphasis on certain stock themes. Among the most central were: (1) the relation between the Old and the New Testaments and the relation between *Jews and Christians, with an account of how Old Testament types are fulfilled in the person of Christ; (2) the necessity of ascetical striving during the season of Lent as enabling the reception of the grace of salvation; (3) the death and resurrection of Christ as the source and content of Christian salvation.

The official Alexandria festal letters were sent in advance of Easter. *Synesius thanked the Patriarch Theophilus for the Letter of 411 (*ep.* 9) and following the 'ancient custom' of the Church of *Ptolemais sent festal letters to his own clergy (*epp.* 13); in another letter (*ep.* 8), however, he complained that he received no personal Easter greeting from his brother. The Alexandrian custom continued, though actual texts are scarce from later than Cyril of Alexandria. Fragments of festal letters probably for 577 (P. Grenfell II, 112) and for 642 (P. Köln V, 215) survive on *papyrus.

There was a separate practice of exchanging formal greetings after the festival. Fourteen examples survive from *Theodoret (especially *ep.* 72) and there survive also responses to such greetings from *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and examples from *Gaul by *Avitus of *Vienne (*epp.* 58–73). KA; OPN

PETER OF ALEXANDRIA

ET (annotated) of *Canonical Letter* in T. Vivian, *Saint Peter of Alexandria: Bishop and Martyr* (1988), 183–95.

ATHANASIUS

IT of the Syriac index and of all Greek, Syriac, and Coptic fragments (annotated with substantial introd.): A. Camplani, *Atanasio di Alessandria, Anonimo Indice delle Lettere Festali* (2003).

Syriac fragments: ET by J. Payne Smith in A. Robertson, *Athanasius* (NPNF 4, 1891), 500–53.

Coptic fragments: T. Lefort (ed. with FT), *Lettres festales et pastorales en copte*, 2 vols. (CSCO 150–1, Scr. copt. 19–20, 1955).

Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 183–91.

A. Camplani, *Le lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria: studio storico-critico* (1989).

THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA

ET in N. Russell, *Theophilus of Alexandria* (2007), 47–9.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

ed. P. Évieux, W. H. Burns, and L. Arragon (annotated with FT), *Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Lettres Festales I–VI* (tome I, SC 372, 1991), *VII–XI* (tome II, SC 392, 1993), *XII–XVII* (tome III, SC 434, 1998).

ET P. Amidon and J. J. O'Keefe, *Festal Letters 1–12* (FC 118, 2009) and *13–30* (FC 127, 2013).

STUDY

P. Allen, 'The Festal Letters of the Patriarchs of Alexandria: Evidence for Social History in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', in D. Costache et al., *Alexandrian Legacy: A Critical Appraisal* (2015), 174–89.

festivals and calendars The multifarious civilizations of Late Antiquity had many different *eras and contrasting methods of reckoning time, something which the modern world takes largely for granted but which was a matter for copious and learned calculation by chronographers, astronomers, and other scholars from before the time of Julius Caesar to that of the Venerable *Bede (674–735) and beyond. Different senses of the order in which *seasons and times elapse had practical consequences, not least for those engaged in *farming, and so also for the religious festivals through which communities hoped to secure the normal cooperation of the forces of Nature. Calendars and calendar customs are by their nature conservative, but the frequent intensity with which Christians held discussions about the correct way to calculate the date of *Easter is a sign of the complexity of the various factors which underlie the study of chronology. OPN

L. Holford-Strevens, *The History of Time: A Very Short Introduction* (2005).

L. Holford-Strevens and B. Blackburn, *Oxford Companion to the Year* (1999).

festivals and calendars, Arabic and Islamic Muslim festivals and dating follow a lunar calendar, the first year of which (1 AH, that is to say year 1 of the *Hijra or Hegira) corresponds to AD 622. There is no intercalation in the Islamic calendar and festivals therefore appear in different seasons since the lunar year is shorter than 365 days. The Muslim months are: Muharram, Safar, Rabi al-awwal, Rabi' al-thani, Jumada al-ula, Jumada al-akhira, Rajab, Sha'ban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Dhu al-Qa'da, and Dhu al-Hijja. In the pre-Islamic period, various systems distinguished between types of months, depending on whether warfare was either permitted or forbidden. Months in which it was forbidden were in the pilgrimage season. The pre-Islamic calendar had an intercalary month to ensure that the sacred months of the pilgrimage were consistent.

There are two main festivals in the Islamic calendar, though important dates like the birthday of *Muhammad or the last ten days before the beginning of Ramadan are also often commemorated as sacred. The two festivals are called 'Id al-Fitr (the Festival of Breaking Fast, at the end of Ramadan, on 1 Shawwal) and 'Id al-Adha (the Festival of the Sacrifice, on 10 Dhu al-Hijja). NK

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* 'Ta'rīkh', 257–302 (Teule, de La Véronne, Holt, Farouk, Kably).

festivals and calendars, Christian In Late Antiquity, the Christian calendar had two focal points: the Death and Resurrection of Jesus observed in springtime, and his Nativity and *Epiphany remembered in winter. To these were added, as they occurred, commemorations of the anniversaries (*natalis*) of the deaths of *martyrs and other saints. Though Christians relied on, and significantly developed, existing scholarly expertise in astronomy, chronography, and *mathematics in their calculation of seasons, calendars, and *eras, the timing of Christian festivals owes little or nothing to that of pagan observances.

festivals associated with Easter

The most important festival of the Christian year is *Easter (Gk. Pascha), the annual recollection of Jesus' death and resurrection. The date of *Easter was fixed by relation to the Jewish Passover, which is itself fixed by relation to the vernal equinox, so that from the 4th century onwards Easter was fixed by complex calculations on the Sunday after the full moon after the spring equinox. From the earliest days of Christianity the Passover lamb was seen as an antetype of the full final sacrifice achieved by the death of Christ (1 Corinthians 5:7–8; cf. Melito of Sardis, *On the Pasch*). The centre of the celebration was a vigil which combined announcement of Christ's Resurrection with the *baptism of new believers and a festal *Eucharist.

*Eusebius (*On Easter*, 11) thought that every Friday throughout the year should be a day of *fasting and penitence 'for the sake of our previous sins and for the memory of our Saviour's Passion'. But the elaboration of the ceremonies of the Triduum, including

the Veneration of the *Cross on Good Friday, appears to arise in the latter part of the 4th century from the *liturgy of *Jerusalem, as described by *Egeria, who was on *pilgrimage in the *Holy Land and *Egypt in 381–4.

A more prolonged period of preparation before Easter was observed already in the 2nd century, but its duration varied from place to place. A Lent of 40 days appears to have originated in the West by the 4th century and the custom had spread to *Alexandria and Egypt by 339. Ascension was celebrated 40 days after Easter and the *Council of *Nicaea ordered that during this time provincial *councils of *bishops should convene. In 5th-century *Gaul the three days before Ascension, the *Rogation Days, became an occasion for *processions held to ask for God's blessing on the crops. The celebration of Pentecost (Whitsun) comes 50 days after Easter.

festivals associated with Christ's Birth and Baptism

The appearance of God in Christ on earth was initially celebrated at different times in East and West. The first secure mention of *Christmas on 25 December is in the **Codex-Calendar of 354*, which appears to have been relying on a list made some twenty years previously. It therefore coincided with one of the Roman festivals of the Sun, by no means the most important one and quite possibly no older than the 270s; it fell also midway between two significant Roman festivals, Saturnalia and the *Kalends of January. The date, however, is likely to have arisen from characteristic early Christian concern with chronographical accuracy and mathematical elegance. There was a consensus that either the Crucifixion or the Resurrection had taken place on 25 March in the year when the two Gemini were *consuls (equivalent to AD 29), so it was held that this day was the anniversary of the conception of Jesus (though actual celebration of the Feast of the Annunciation is not recorded until the 6th cent.). It followed that his birth occurred nine months later (cf. *Augustine, *On the Trinity*, IV, 5, 9). The celebration of Christmas spread to the East during the course of the 4th century. Advent, a period of preparation for Christmas, is first attested in the 6th century.

In the Greek-speaking Church the winter festival commemorating the Incarnation was the *Epiphany (Gk. revelation). In its earliest form this was a commemoration not of Christ's birth or of the visit to him of the Three Wise Men, but of his Baptism, though in time it became associated with other manifestations of his divinity.

festivals of saints

Christians commemorated those of their number who had perfected their witness as *martyrs on the exact anniversaries of their deaths. In 251 at the height of the *persecution under *Decius, *Cyprian, *Bishop of *Carthage, wrote from his place of concealment to those who were caring for Christians who had been thrown into *prison, asking that they should note carefully the exact days on which 'our blessed brothers pass by the gate of a glorious death to their immortality' so that they too may be celebrated among the memorials of the martyrs (*ep.* 36, 2). *Martyrologies are lists of saints arranged by the day and month, but not the year of their death; the earliest to survive is the *Syriac **Martyrology of 411*.

These anniversaries were marked with local celebrations. By 384 in *Milan and a few decades later in Africa celebration of festivals (*refrigerium*) at the tombs of the martyrs had got so out of hand that they had to be moderated in the interests of sobriety and public order. Numerous *sermons preached by Augustine at festivals of African martyrs survive. In *Cappadocia the sense of civic loyalty generated by love of local martyrs is apparent from sermons on the saints by *Basil of Caesarea and *Gregory of *Nyssa. The notion that saints' days were originally the festivals of pagan gods became popular only during the Reformation. OPN

Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts*.
M. F. Connell, *Eternity Today: On the Liturgical Year* (2006).
A. McGowan, 'How December 25 Became Christmas', *Biblical Archaeology Review* (December 2002).
Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.
T. J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (²1991).
Delehaye, *Origines*, 404–17.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques*.

festivals and calendars, Germanic The principal source for Germanic calendars before the Christian era is the *De Temporum Ratione* of *Bede, a Christian expert on *chronography and *computus*, written in AD 725. Chapter 15 (*De Mensibus Anglorum*) lists pre-Christian names of the months and describes the way *Anglo-Saxons had used *pagan festivals to divide up the year. Whether or not Bede simplified this sequence of festivals, or set out to align them with Christian counterparts, is debated.

Bede refers to twelve lunar months and a leap year called Thri-lidi. Only ten names of months appear, as the months before and after the two solstices used the same names—Giuli corresponding to Roman December and January, and Lida corresponding to Roman June and July. Each month started with the new moon. The year was organized in two cycles—winter and summer—divided by the equinoxes, one half with an increasing, the other a decreasing altitude of the Sun each day.

The main festivals were, according to Bede, the summer and winter solstices and the equinoxes. The calendar arranged around these festivals had significance for

religion, astronomy, *farming, and seafaring and in some cases Bede notes the pagan rites appropriate to the month, such as the cakes offered in Solmonath (February) and the cattle immolated in Blodmonath (November). It is possible that during the winter solstice a main festival called Yuletide took place. Not only does Bede mention two months called Giuli, but also, a fragment of a Gothic calendar survives for late October and November in the Codex Ambrosianus A (Milan, Ambrosianus S. 36 parte superiore), recording festivals of interest to 5th-century *Homoean Christians; this labels November, the 'month before the Julmonth' as *fruma Jiuleis*. RSt

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Zeitrechnung und Zeitbewußtsein, vol. 35 (2007), 866–77 (Reichert).
Simek, *Lexikon*.
A. Borst, *Computus. Zeit und Zahl in der Geschichte Europas* (³2004).
D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (1998).
F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (TTH 29, 1999).

festivals and calendars, Jewish Jewish festival dates were determined according to the moon calendar: they depended on witnesses' observation of the new moon in Roman *Palestine and eventually also *Babylonia. Most of the festivals *Jews observed in Late Antiquity had biblical roots. The three *pilgrimage holidays (Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot) are already mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. How many people actually participated in pilgrimages remains uncertain, though. The rituals and meanings of these holidays changed after the destruction of the Temple. After AD 70 Temple-related rituals became family- and *synagogue-centred rituals and sacrifices were replaced by meals, *prayers, and Torah readings. While the biblical festivals were originally related to the agricultural cycle, they eventually gained salvation-historical and theological meanings. The Passover *seder* (ritual meal) commemorated God's redemption of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt, Shavuot the revelation of the Torah to Moses at *Sinai, and Sukkot the sojourn in the desert and travel towards the promised land. Other festivals with biblical foundations, whose rituals and meanings were further developed by the rabbis, are Rosh Hashanah (the Jewish New Year) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement). Details concerning all of these festivals are discussed by rabbis in the Mishnah, *Tosefta, and *Talmud tractates devoted to them. In addition, Purim (commemorating the biblical Esther and Mordechai's intervention to save Persian Jews from destruction), and Hanukkah (commemorating the victory of the Maccabbees over Antiochus IV Epiphanes) would have been observed by Jews in Late Antiquity. The destruction of the first and second Temple had become a fast day (Tisha be-Av), together with other commemorative fasts. CH

B. M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (1984).
J. L. Rubenstein, *The History of Sukkot in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Periods* (1995).
S. Park, *Pentecost and Sinai: The Festival of Weeks as a Celebration of the Sinai Event* (2008).
S. Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, Second Century BCE–Tenth Century CE* (2001).

festivals and calendars, Manichaean The death of *Mani along with the martyrdom of his immediate successor as leader of the Manichaean Church, Mar Sisin under *Bahram II (*c.*286), precipitated the development of the holiday calendar in Manichaeism, the central feature of which was the festival of the Bema (Gk. 'throne'). The Bema commemorated Mani's martyrdom, with the presence of a throne symbolizing his oversight of the festival and more broadly his continued presence within the Manichaean Church. Fasts, hymns (many surviving in *Coptic in the **Manichaean Psalm Book*), and solemn readings from Manichaean scriptures were the principal features of the festival. A ritual feast for the Elect is also thought to have played some part in the celebrations. The Bema was the culmination of a series of five two-day fasts which began with the full moon and the sun in Sagittarius (i.e. mid-November). These fasts, or Yimkis (from Parthian, 'Twin', i.e. twin fasts), honoured the arch-martyrs of the Manichaean Church, and culminated in the Mani-Yimki, which immediately preceded the Bema during early spring (February–March). In addition, Manichaeans also observed weekly holidays, with *Sunday and Monday serving as the days of fasting for the Hearers and Elect respectively. NJBB

EncIran IX/5 *s.v.* Festivals ii. Manichaean, 546–50 (Sundermann).
G. Wurst, ed., *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library: Psalm Book, Part II, Fasc. 1. Die Bema-Psalmen* (1996).
C. Reck, 'Some Remarks on the Monday and Bema Hymns of the German Turfan Collection', in L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo, eds., *Manicheismo e orientale cristiano antico* (1997), 297–303.

festivals and calendars, pagan The **Codex-Calendar of 354* lists 177 festival days (*festi*) in *Rome, and 56 holidays (*feriae*). Typically, public games (*ludi*)—chariot races, theatrical performances (especially mime and pantomime), and *gladiatorial combat along with wild beast displays—were part of the former. Because these popular celebrations as a rule originated in honour of individual gods (or in recognition of imperial

anniversaries), they originally included *sacrifice, offering, and *prayer. This was particularly disturbing to Christians. Even as Christianity came to occupy the commanding heights of Late Roman civilization and the actions of successive *emperors against pagan practice took effect, some public celebrations survived at Rome.

Local holidays were more likely to persist longer as they drew less negative attention. The *Feriale Campanum*, a calendar inscribed in a amphitheatre at *Capua in 387, notes seven such celebrations. Pagan *processions passed through the *streets of *Calama in *Numidia in 408 (*Augustine, *epp.* 90–1).

The other Late Antique manuscript calendar, that of *Polemius Silvius of 448–9, suggests a significant decline of such celebrations at Rome. But to characterize the Carmentalia, *Lupercalia, Quirinalia, Terminalia, and a few others as 'pagan survivals' is problematic. Tenacious cultural remnants, they were now quite thoroughly secularized. Consular games, at the start of January, continued until 541. While gladiators and **venationes* (beast hunts) disappeared in Late Antiquity, chariot racing in the *circus remained a part of civic life in *Constantinople until the 12th century. MTG

M. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Life in Late Antiquity* (1990).
Cameron, *Pagans*.
R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1990).

festivals and calendars, Persian and Zoroastrian The *Zoroastrian *calendar had twelve months of 30 days, all named after a deity, and five days were added at the end of the year (**Frawardīgān*, *gāhānbār*). The Achaemenid months had indigenous names, and the days are simply numbered in the inscriptions, but the Zoroastrian calendar was presumably introduced under the Achaemenids, being known from the Cappadocian solar calendar in the late 5th century BC, preserved by Greek astronomers. On the days with the same name as the months, festivals were celebrated in honour of their respective deities, in particular *Mihragan on the day of *Mihr in the month of Mihr after the harvest, and Tīragān on the day of Tīr in the month of Tīr (*Tishtriya) at midsummer. Others were the festivals in honour of the waters, the *fire, the deity Wahman (Bahman), and Spandārmad (Esfand), the Earth.

In early winter, the feast of Sada was celebrated, 100 (*sad*) days before New Year (*Nog Roz), and that of Rapithvin (Noon) on the first day of the year. The calendar underwent several reforms throughout the centuries, with the result that, at one stage, New Year was celebrated in the autumn rather than the spring. By the early 18th century, the calendar of the Indian Zoroastrians (Parsis) was one month behind that of the Iranians, and, eventually, one group of Parsis decided to adopt the calendar of the Iranians (the *kadmi*s, 'oldies'), while another retained the current Parsi calendar (the *rasmi*s 'traditionalists' or *shenshai*s 'imperials'). Both groups kept the traditional year count starting at the coronation of *Yazdegerd III, the last Sasanian king, in 631. In Pahlavi manuscripts, the date of the king's death twenty years later is often used. POS

EncIran IX/5 *s.v.* festivals, i. Zoroastrian 543–6 (Boyce).
EncIran IV/6–7 *s.v.* calendars, i. Pre-Islamic calendars, 658–77 (Panaino).
Stausberg, *Religion*, vol. 3, 484–558.

festivals and calendars, secular and political Until the time of *Constantine I festivals and ceremonies in Roman cities which had a secular or political function were naturally and unselfconsciously also imbued with pagan religious significance and observance. If an *emperor made an **adventus* to the city of *Rome he would pass through the crowds to the Capitol, where he would offer *sacrifice. On one of his three visits to Rome as emperor, Constantine declined to do this. He drew the line beween what was proper and what was improper at sacrifice—and it is notable that on the two visits where Constantine had a choice of *Praefectus Urbi, he chose a Christian. There was, throughout the 4th and early 5th centuries, an area of doubt and debate about how an event could be conceived of and enacted as purely secular or political, over what constituted its pagan elements and over the extent to which Christians and Christian ideas should be involved. There was not simply disagreement between Christians and pagans, but among Christians themselves, and different resolutions were reached in different cities.

A telling case was the festival of the *Kalends of January, marking the turn of the year. Celebrations ran from 31 December to 3 January and were enjoyed across the whole Roman Empire. Components catalogued by *Libanius (*Progymnasmata*, 13, 5) included exchanging gifts, banqueting, singing and dancing, practical jokes and putting up seasonal decorations, rest and relaxation (especially dozing and playing dice), nursing hangovers, going to public games or races, continued overeating, and all-night parties. A fancy-dress *procession became an increasingly popular ingredient. *Temple sacrifices, once integral, became illegal in the 4th century. *John Chrysostom condemned the celebrating of the Kalends of January as demonic (*On the Kalends*, 1). *Augustine of *Hippo's attitude was more nuanced; it is possible to see his ideas developing during the course of his ministry as a *bishop (Markus, 110–23). Of course he rejected sacrifice and *gladiatorial games, but in his early years at Hippo he was prepared to think of secular festivals as something to be 'tolerated not loved' (**Sermon* 104, 7). Following a crisis at *Carthage in 399, attitudes polarized and on New Year's Day 404 he preached at Carthage his longest

surviving *sermon (around two and a half hours) which not only expressed his disgust but also provided a rhetorical display which was an alternative to taking part in the ambient secular festivity (*Sermon* 198).

Also susceptible to clerical critique were those public celebrations focused on the *emperor. Paramount among these were the emperor's birthday (*dies natalis*) and the anniversaries of his accession (*see* ANNIVERSARIES, IMPERIAL). Evidence from *inscriptions, *papyri, and elsewhere indicates that these dates were observed across the Roman Empire. But there was evolution under Christian influence. The *dies natalis*, for example, was originally marked by an offering of wine to the emperor's guardian spirit, while public priests offered blood sacrifice and feasted. In the 4th century, sacrifices were removed and public games (*ludi*), also formerly a feature, became more central to the festivities. The games themselves were regulated by law; in the 5th century, there was no chariot racing if the imperial birthday fell on a *Sunday (*CTh* II, 8, 25).

Legislation in 389 (*CTh* II, 8, 19) substantially altered the calendar of public holidays. These were now listed as Harvest Holidays (occurring between 24 June and 1 August), Vintage Holidays (between 23 August and 15 October); New Year; the foundation days of the cities of *Rome and *Constantinople, the *Easter holy days, *Sunday (already made a holiday by Constantine: *CTh* II, 8, 1; *CJust*. III, 12, 2), and imperial birthdays and anniversaries. A range of other pagan holidays was thereby removed from the official calendar, while Easter was added. Well into the 5th century at least, ambiguity and plurality would mark the Harvest and Vintage celebrations. These had traditionally involved physical offerings of thanks to pagan deities, but such practices were condemned by Christian clergy.

Local life was shaped by civic calendars, which helped to bring synchronicity to the reckoning of time. Imperial state holidays were embedded within these. Furthermore, a calendrical culture took public and private forms. Inscribing of at least partial calendars on stone continued in Late Antiquity. Calendars were also painted and inscribed on the walls of temples and houses. The rise of the *codex (i.e. book) by the 4th century fostered the production of ornate private calendars. AGS

P. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (1995).
F. Graf, 'Fights about Festivals: Libanius and John Chrysostom on the *Kalendae Ianuariae* in Antioch', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 13 (2012), 175–86.
M. Harris, *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (2011), 11–24.
M. Kantirea, 'Imperial Birthday Rituals in Late Antiquity', in A. Beihammer et al., eds., *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives* (2013), 37–50.
R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1990), esp. ch. 8.
M. Meslin, *La Fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain* (Collection Latomus 115, 1970).
M. R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (1990).

Festus Author of the shortest surviving *breviarium* of Roman history, written for the *Emperor *Valens in 369 and for the most part devoted to enumerating the *provinces, and then Roman hostilities with the Parthians and Persians. It is therefore quite different in conception and purpose from the other 4th-century *breviaria*, such as those of *Eutropius and Aurelius *Victor.

The commonly reported name 'Ruf(i)us' derives from the second class of manuscripts and has no ancient authority. There is nothing apart from the name and chronology to link this Festus (said in the best manuscript, Bambergensis E III 22, to be *uir clarissimus* and *Magister Memoriae) with the famous Festus of Tridentum, who had a distinguished career as *governor of *Syria and *Proconsul *Asiae.

The author of the *Breviarium* relied on a number of different sources but most important was the **Kaisergeschichte*. There are just under a dozen important manuscripts, including one of the 7th century and four of the 9th, but despite their number the text had little later influence. RWB

PLRE 1, Festus 3.
HLL 5, section 539.1.
ed. J. W. Eadie (annotated with ET), *The* Breviarium *of Festus: A Critical Edition with Historical Commentary* (1967).
ed. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (annotated with FT, 1994), an unreliable introduction and poor edition.
W. Den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians* (1972), 173–223.
Giorgio Bonamente, 'Minor Latin Historians of the Fourth Century A.D.', in Marasco, *Greek and Roman Historiography*, 85–125.
G. Kelly, 'The Roman World of Festus' *Breviarium*', in Kelly et al., eds., *Unclassical Traditions*, vol. 1, 72–89.

feud In the pre-Islamic *Arabian Peninsula and in Germanic lands contrasting forms of feud provided a method of redressing wrongs, by identifying enemies, legitimating hostility towards them and, on occasion, resolving disputes. Feud is particularly associated with kin groups protecting their members from violence by other kin groups through reciprocal violence, *compensation (e.g. *wergeld*), or the threat of *warfare. EMB

feud, Arab Inter- and intra-tribal feuding is a recurring feature in Arabian history during the two centuries before *Islam. Feuds could start over trivial insults such as the wrongful killing of a *camel or cheating in a

*horse race. With honour at stake, the aggrieved party would murder his adversary, prompting the victim's family to seek blood-revenge. Killings might then multiply, occasionally leading to full-fledged war. In practice, violence was probably limited (Conrad, 681); customs for blood-money payment of camels could prevent further killing, or belligerents could seek refuge with a third-party protector (*jar*) who, if powerful enough, could enforce peace terms. *Arabic literature describes a code of conduct that prohibited fighting during four holy months (Muharram, Rajab, Dhu al-Qi'da, and Dhu al-Hijja). *Procopius (*Persian*, II, 16, 18; II, 19, 38) describes a parallel two-month holy season during the vernal equinox during which *Lakhimids refrained from fighting.

Pre-Islamic feuds are recorded in Islamic-era texts which colour them in epic guise with literary flourishes, focusing on personal adventures, not the wider political context (Webb, 122). Muslim writers were fascinated with the wildness of the **Jāhiliyya*, with heroes who flouted the rules, and graphic *poetry ascribed to the warriors celebrated their deeds of arms. Islam abrogated pre-Islamic tribal feuds, though *Umayyad-era factionalism (*'asabiyya*) resurrected memories of pre-Islamic feuds in Islamic-era political rivalries (Hawting, 73–87).

PAW

L. Conrad, 'The Arabs in Late Antiquity', *CAH* XII (2005), 678–700.

G. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).

P. Webb, 'Poetry and the Early Islamic Historical Tradition', in H. N. Kennedy, ed., *Warfare and Poetry in the Middle East* (2013), 119–48.

feud, Germanic Feud furnished a supplementary legal structure for dealing with violent disputes in Germanic society. Rather than placing all the responsibility for deterring and punishing crimes in the hands of officials, Germanic leaders allowed those wronged, or their kin, to exact revenge for themselves, within certain limits. This revenge could be in the form of violent retaliation, up to and including killing the offender, or the exacting of compensation, which was known as *wergeld. The amount of wergeld varied depending on the status of the injured party and the type and degree of injury. Equivalence of blood was expected, meaning that the killing of two persons of low status might be justified as compensation for the murder of one high-status individual. This customary practice coexisted with written *law inspired by Roman models; Germanic law codes composed in the centuries following the *Barbarian Migrations contain numerous examples of it. By regulating rather than prohibiting such vengeance, kings maintained the threat of retribution, which served as a deterrent to violence, but were able to regulate such practices to keep them from spiralling out of control. If an injured party exacted more vengeance than was permitted according to law, he was himself punished.

The term 'feud' as it is used by historians, translating the Germanic words *faehðe*, *faithu*, and *faida*, denotes this Late Antique Germanic practice of legal vengeance rather than broader long-term hostility between warring kin groups which the word 'feud' might be taken to designate, though naturally a hostile relationship might accompany legal vengeance. According to Late Antique sources, feud was not used to resolve all hostilities and violent disputes, and the practices encompassed by the term varied by region and over time. Unless one of the above-mentioned Germanic words appears in a source, it is difficult to determine for certain whether contemporaries would have considered the violence 'feud' or some other form of dispute.

EMB

G. Halsall, ed., *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (1998).

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Stories in Frankish History* (1962).

feudalism The adjective 'feudal' and its abstraction as a system of 'feudalism' have tended to be used in different ways by different historians and differing historiographical schools.

To the great French medievalist Marc Bloch, 'feudalism' was essentially a means of describing a militarized, lord-focused society such as emerged in the aftermath of the break-up of the Carolingian Empire, in which the vertical ties of dependence between a lord and his followers dominated social relations and the lord came to exercise powers that hitherto had been exercised by the state—that is to say, a world in which the private authority of a military *patronus* filled the vacuum left by the disappearance or absence of central state authority.

To F. L. Ganshof, and to other scholars working from a more narrowly legalistic perspective, feudalism was associated with the concept of a particular unit of real property, typically land, known as the *fief*, and the obligations (above all military) owed by a retainer to his lord in return for his possession of it. As Ganshof stated: 'the fief, if not the corner-stone, was at least the single most important element in the graded system of rights over land which this type of society involved.' This very specific model of feudalism (which Ganshof felt able to trace back to the *Merovingian sources) has come under concerted criticism in recent years and has fallen out of favour amongst many medievalists, who, when taking about the 'feudal revolution' around the year 1000, for example, now tend to use the term as shorthand for an intensification of aristocratic power after a manner reminiscent of Bloch.

To Marxists, by contrast, the term feudal is used to refer to pre-industrial societies in which peasant

producers were in effective ownership or control of the subsistence-producing plots which they worked, so that, the argument runs, if surplus was to be extracted from them by an elite, it had to be extracted by force.

The extent to which feudal tendencies were discernible in Late Antiquity therefore depends on the definition adopted by the historian. Analyses which emphasize the weakening of the power of the state by aristocratic interests in the Later Roman Empire, the growing prominence in social relations of cultures of military lordship in the early medieval West, the growing association between military service and landholding across the period *c.*400–700 (in both East and West), or the increased significance of the peasant mode of production in post-Roman conditions, could all fairly be regarded as emphasizing the proto-feudal nature of the period, although those advocating such positions tend to be keen to avoid such teleological categorization. PS

M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2 vols. (1969).
P. Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies: Anatomy of the Pre-Modern World* (rev. edn., 2013).
F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, tr. P. Grierson (1964).
T. N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (2012).
J. F. Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (1993).
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

fibulae Garment fasteners, used to secure a cloak, dress, or shawl. Though some scholars distinguish fibulae from brooches on the basis of their pin mechanism, the terms are often used interchangeably. Brooches in the Late Roman world could take on a variety of shapes—from discs and other geometric figures to flared trumpet shapes or whimsical *animals—and were made from materials as wide-ranging as *bronze, *silver, *gold, precious *stones, and *enamel. Beyond their obvious decorative and utilitarian functions, a fibula could signal the social group of its wearer. The crossbow fibula, for instance, belonged to the insignia of *court and government officials. Some of the finest examples—resplendent pieces of gold pierce-work—have been found in barbarian graves, suggesting the increasing integration of barbarians into the structures and hierarchies of the Late Empire. Related in form to the crossbow brooch were the bow brooches found in the graves of barbarian women. Worn in pairs, these were pinned at the shoulders. They too evince enormous variety, some with finger-like projections and others strewn with garnets. Their widespread diffusion and funerary contexts offer rich possibilities for interpreting the complexities of social, ethnic, religious, and gender identity in Late Antiquity. MH

D. James, 'The Golden Clasp of the Late Roman State', *EME* 5/2 (1996), 127–53.
B. Effros, 'Dressing Conservatively: Women's Brooches as Markers of Ethnic Identity?', in L. Brubaker and J. M. H. Smith, eds., *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900* (2004), 165–84.

field army Modern term commonly used with reference to a distinctive feature of the Late Roman army, whereby significant numbers of military units were withdrawn from the *frontiers to form one or more mobile *armies which could respond to military crises in different locations. One hostile ancient commentator who attributed this development to *Constantine I (*Zosimus, II, 34) regarded it as weakening the Empire, but it can also be viewed as a sensible response to the problem of serious threats on more than one frontier. Field army units, often referred to collectively as **comitatenses*, were regarded as elite troops. In the 4th century, field armies were commanded either by the *emperor or by a *Magister Militum, thereafter (as emperors ceased to campaign actively) by one of the Magistri. ADL

M. J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire: The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople* (1998), 1–82.

field systems, Germanic barbarian Long rectangular fields and strip field systems are already attested from the time of the Roman Empire. However, they are seldom found alongside the much commoner four-sided and many-sided field systems known as Celtic fields (*Ackerparzellen*). Only in Late Antiquity and in the early Middle Ages did strip *farming succeed in replacing the older Celtic field model.

Research suggests that these changes to field systems were associated with the gradual replacement of the simple scratch *plough by the appreciably more complicated and effective reversible plough during the 3rd century. The design of the reversible plough can be understood as a fusion of the Germanic and Roman-Mediterranean approaches to making machinery.

Strip farming is attested especially early in *Saxon territory, and also indeed in the **Lex Salica*. Its early appearance in *Britain is explained by the arrival there of Saxon migrants. In *Britain, the stratigraphic imposition of strip lynchets over Celtic fields is very frequently attested. Elsewhere in areas of Germanic settlement in continental Europe strip farming came to be introduced at various times during the early Middle Ages. TF

H. Beck, D. Denecke, and H. Jankuhn, eds., *Untersuchungen zur eisenzeitlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Flur in Mitteleuropa und ihrer Nutzung. Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1975 und 1976*, 2 vols. (Abh. Göttingen, 3. Folge, Nr. 115, I und II; 1979–80).

J. Henning, 'Zur Datierung von Werkzeug- und Agrargerätefunden im germanischen Landnahmegebiet zwischen Rhein und oberer Donau', *JbRGZMainz* 32 (1985), 570–94.
T. Capelle, 'Ackerfluren', in J. Lüning, A. Jockenhövel, H. Bender, and T. Capelle, eds., *Deutsche Agrargeschichte. Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (1997), 388–92.
Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements.*
H. Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (2012).

Fifty Years Peace Treaty of 561–2 ending *Persian-Roman wars begun in 540. *Menander Protector records the details. The Romans gained *Lazica but paid 30,000 **solidi* a year to Persia. *Justin II's surprise attack of 572 violated this treaty (*Theophylact Simocatta, III, 10). PNB

Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia*, 140–8.
Greatrex and Lieu, 131–3.
Sarris, *Empires of Faith*, 153–7.

fiqh *See* LAW, ISLAMIC.

Filastrius *See* PHILASTER OF BRESCIA.

Filibert (Philibert), S. (616/20–*c.*685) A protégé of *Audoenus from *Aquitaine at the court of *Dagobert I. He became Abbot of Rebais, but his monks disagreed with his austerity, and he left for *Luxueil and *Bobbio, before returning in 654 to establish *Jumièges on land given by *Clovis II. When expelled in a conflict with *Ebroin, he also founded the island-monastery of Noirmoûtier in 676. EJ

LexMA 'Philibert', 4, 447–8 (J.-C. Poulin).
Life (*BHL* 6805), ed. W. Levison in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 5, 583–604.
L. Jaud, *Saint Filibert* (1910).

Filocalus (*fl.* 350–80) Furius Dionysius Filocalus was a Roman aristocrat and calligrapher, known for his association with the *Codex-Calendar of 354 and for the elegant script employed to inscribe on stone some of *Damasus' *elogia*. One of these texts (18, Ferrua), inscribed at the *memoria* of the *martyr Eusebius, proclaimed 'Damasus made it (*fecit*)' and 'Furius Dionysius Filocalus, supporter (*cultor*) and friend (*amator*) of Pope Damasus, wrote it (*scribsit*)'. The dedication page of the Codex-Calendar credits Filocalus with creation of the presentation manuscript (*titulavit*). He may be the Filocalus recorded as '*condens* (founder)' of a *bath building in *Africa (*AnthLat* 120 R = 109 SB). Filocalus was surely a nickname (*agnomen*). DET

PCBE II,/1, Filocalus.
A. Ferrua, 'Filocalo, l'amante della bella lettera', *Civcatt* 90 (1939), 35–47.
A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (1942), 21–35.
A. Cameron, 'Filocalus and Melania', *CP* 87 (1992), 140–4.
Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 202–5.
U. Reutter, *Damasus, Bischof von Rom 366-84* (2009), 12–14.

finance The economy of the Later Roman Empire from the 4th to the 7th centuries was highly monetized, meaning that both state finances and those of private individuals and institutions were heavily dependent on and integrated into the workings of the imperial monetary system. Taxes, for example, were generally reckoned and collected in coin, and localized shortages of coin thus gave rise to highly complex and sophisticated *credit arrangements overseen by both private *patrons and local bankers (**trapezitai* or **argentarii*).

Trans-regional *banking networks and arrangements are also likely to have been in place, although, at the time of writing, research on such 'financial services' in Late Antiquity is in its infancy. It is a striking fact, however, that although we know the economy to have been highly monetized at both conceptual and practical levels yet, as in the 'High Empire', finds of mercantile *shipwrecks rarely seem to reveal large quantities of bagged coin. This surely indicates that credit and banking arrangements must have played an important role in inter-regional trade and commerce. Indeed, there are signs that in the Eastern Empire the significance of bankers was becoming increasingly pronounced, so much so that *Justinian I's alienation of the *argentarii* of *Constantinople led to a conspiracy against him late in his reign (as alluded to by the court poet *Corripus).

At the level of landowning institutions and the agrarian economy the situation is somewhat clearer. The *papyri from *Egypt in the 6th and 7th centuries, for example, reveal that landowners were keen to maximize their own private reserves of cash, and thus sought to limit the sums of coin disbursed to their workforce. Accordingly, sophisticated arrangements were developed whereby agricultural and other workers on an *estate were paid in the form of credit notes or 'cheques'—termed *pittakia*—typically reckoned in subdivisions (*keratia*—*carats) of the *gold *coinage. If need be, these credit notes could be exchanged for coin at the office of the estate cashier (known as the *enoikologos*).

Similar use of *pittakia* is attested beyond the great estates, at the level of the *Senate itself in Constantinople. Imperial officials, private landowners, and ecclesiastical institutions are all recorded as having engaged in money-lending and speculative investment, in spite of imperial *law and complaints in *sermons against usury. Amid the monetary and urban contraction we encounter in the West from the 5th century and in the Eastern Empire from the 7th, the sophisticated financial arrangements of earlier Late Antiquity are likely to have become less common, but a market in credit is nevertheless recorded for the Byzantine Empire in

the 10th-century *Book of the Prefect* (*Eparchikon Biblion*, c. 2–3.)—attesting to the ongoing survival into the 10th century in the imperial capital of financial practices that are likely to have been widespread in Late Antiquity. Such patterns of survival are likely to have been even more pronounced in the early Islamic East. PS

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
Hendy, *Studies*.
Sarris, *Economy and Society*.

finance, government, Roman and post-Roman The financial structure of the Late Roman Empire rested upon three autonomous departments, each with its own sources of revenue and bodies of administrative staff. These three departments were those of the *Praefecti Praetorio, the Sacrae *Largitiones, and the *Res Privata. In historical and functional terms, these three departments existed to handle revenues of different sorts, with the core distinction being that between revenues raised through public *taxation, and those that were in some sense deemed to be the personal revenues of the *emperor or of the imperial office.

Public taxes were the preserve of the Praefecti Praetorio (with the post-Constantinian Empire typically being divided into three or four prefectures: those of *Oriens, *Illyricum, *Italy, and *Gaul) and the Sacrae Largitiones, whilst the Res Privata handled incomes derived from the private property of the emperor (known as his Patrimonium) and crown lands (a distinction which would later be elided). Officials employed by the Praefecti Praetorio had wide-ranging powers over the *dioeceses and *provinces that were placed under their charge, with the Praefectus Praetorio himself emerging as a figure of immense authority, with his office (of military origin) effectively becoming that of chief finance minister. The main source of fiscal revenue with which the offices of the Praefectus Praetorio was concerned was the land tax which, especially from the mid-4th century onwards, was increasingly collected in coin rather than in kind (*see* ADAERATIO).

The office of the Sacrae Largitiones controlled *mining and state warehouses, the production, control, and manipulation of the *coinage, and the levying of customs and other taxes on *trade, mercantile profits and monetized exchange (such as the **collatio lustralis*) which the economic and commercial expansion of the Late Roman world during the 4th century is likely to have rendered increasingly significant. In general terms, however, compared to the office of the Praefectus Praetorio, the Sacrae Largitiones had rather more of the character of an 'expenditure department' rather than an incoming-generating one.

The main revenues of the Res Privata, by contrast, were derived from rents and income on those lands or urban properties (such as *houses, *shops, and warehouses) that belonged to the state or which came into its possession or ultimately that of the emperor by confiscation or forfeiture. Rural properties owned by the Res Privata were partly administered by agents specifically employed for the task, or alternatively were leased out on long-term or perpetual *leases (*see* EMPHYTEUSIS), which members of the imperial *aristocracy of service appear to have been especially eager to acquire, so that by the late 4th century many such *estates had become the *de facto* property of **honorati* who were also in a strong position to evade the land tax which was meant to be levied on their private estates, a fact which increasingly began to destabilize the finances of the Empire as a whole.

In post-Roman conditions, much of the complicated financial machinery of the Late Roman state was progressively dismantled. Estates belonging to the crown or the imperial government, for example, were prime for confiscation amid the troubled conditions of the 5th century, whilst the land tax increasingly became vestigial even in the most traditionally structured of the Romano-Germanic successor kingdoms, as the rank-and-file of the barbarian *armies were increasingly rewarded with land in return for their military service rather than with shares of tax revenue (*see* TAXATION, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN). A concept of both the public sphere and public taxation nevertheless persisted in areas such as *Gaul, *Italy, and *Spain, even as the financial structures inherited from the Empire itself gradually faded away. Likewise, in the Eastern Empire, the military crisis of the 7th century would lead to the dismantling of the office of the Praefectus Praetorio of the East and a root-and-branch reform of the fiscal and financial framework of the East Roman state, which would see both the state and those employed to serve it in a military capacity far more dependent upon revenues and remuneration in kind than had come to be the case in the 4th and 5th centuries. PS

Jones, *LRE* ch. XIII.
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.
J. Durliat, *Les Finances publiques de Dioclétien aux Carolingiens (284–889)* (Beihefte der *Francia* 21, 1990).

fire, regnal, Persian A Parthian–Middle *Persian *inscription at *Bishapur, dated according to the lighting of the fires of Kings *Ardashir I and *Shapur I, suggests that a sacred fire was lit to mark each *Sasanian royal accession. The reverses of Sasanian coins depict the king's fire (a beribboned *fire altar with rising flames, often with two attendants) accompanied by a legend such as 'Ardashir's fire' (MP *ādur ī ardaxšahr*). Sasanian *seal legends mention the regnal fires of Ardashir and Shapur I. DTP

M. Alram and R. Gyselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum (Paris, Berlin, Vienna)*, 6 vols. (2003–); vol. 1 (Denkschr. Wien 317, 2003).
M. Boyce, 'On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians', *BSOAS* 31 (1968), 52–68.
M. Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire', *JAOS* 95 (1975), 454–65.
K. Mosig-Walburg, *Die frühen sasanidischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarathustrischen Religion. Eine Untersuchung der zeitgenitgen der Quellen* (1982), 51.

fire altar Key fixture (MP *ātašdān*) in *Zoroastrian *fire temples commonly shown on *Sasanian *seals and coin reverses, consisting of a stepped plinth and column (mud-brick or stone) supporting a rectangular basin (fire bowl) with a rounded depression in which the fire sat. Fire altars have been excavated in the fire temples at Bandian and *Kuh-e Khwaja. Free-standing stone columns, for example at Shimbar and *Naqsh-e Rostam, may have supported portable fire bowls. DTP

EncIran IX/6 (1999) *s.v.* fire altars 613–19 (Garrison).
J. Choksy, 'Reassessing the Material Contexts of Ritual Fires in Ancient Iran', *IrAnt* 42 (2007), 229–69.
Y. Yamamoto, 'The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire in Archaeology and Literature (II)', *Orient* 17 (1981), 67–104.

fire in Zoroastrianism Venerated by *Zoroastrians, fire (MP *ātaxš*) was considered the seventh 'creation' that animated the world (**Bundahišn*, III, 7–8; 6g, 1). Zoroaster thought of truth (*aša*) when making an offering to fire (*ātaš-zōhr*; *Yasna*, 43, 9) and commanded his followers that they should always pray before some form of it. According to the compilation of Zoroastrian *law, the **Madayan-i Hazar Datestan* (*Mādigān-ī hazār dādestān*), the *Sasanians recognized three grades of sacred fires: Bahram fires (*Ātaxš Warahrān*), lesser fires (*Ātaxš*), and modest fires (*'twrlwk*) established by individuals. DTP

EncIran III/1 *s.v.* ātaš, 1–5 (Boyce).
ed. L. H. Mills (with ET), *The Ancient Manuscript of the Yasna, with its Pahlavi Translation (A.D. 1323)* (1893).
M. Boyce, 'On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians', *BSOAS* 31 (1968), 52–68.

fires of Iran, great The most sacred or 'cathedral' fires of pre-Islamic Iran were Adur (MP Ādur/Ātar) Farnbag, Adur Gushnasp, and Adur Burzen-mihr, associated with the priesthood, the soldiery, and with farmers respectively. Their origins are unknown, though they were probably older than fires with Ātaxš in their name. M. Boyce speculated that they were named after priestly founders and originated in the Achaemenid era, though without evidence. Secure primary-source evidence of the fires (*seals, archaeological material) appears only in the *Sasanian period, although it is possible that some were in existence in the Arsacid period before being moved or reorganized under the Sasanians.

According to the **Bundahišn*, Adur Farnbag originated in *Khwarezm and was moved to the 'shining mountain of Karārvand, in the Kār district' (perhaps Kariyan in southern *Fars). Pahlavi sources place Adur Burzen-mihr in 'Parthia' and its location has been sought near *Nishapur. Adur Gushnasp is the only fire that has been located and for which archaeological, sigillographical, and textual evidence are all available. It was located at *Takht-e Solayman in Iranian Azerbaijan and enthroned in a temple complex founded in the Sasanian period. It was an important place of *pilgrimage. DTP; MPC

EncIran III/1 (1987) *s.v.* ātaš, 1–5 (Boyce).
M. Boyce, 'On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians', *BSOAS* 31 (1968), 52–68.
M. Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire', *JAOS* 95 (1975), 454–65.
M. P. Canepa, 'Building a New Vision of the Past in the Sasanian Empire: The Sanctuary of Lake Kayansih and the Great Fires of Iran', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 5 (2013), 69–94.
Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*, 86–94, 510–12.

fire temples and sacred places, Zoroastrian Fire and water were the most common focal points of sacred places in Late Antique *Zoroastrianism. The **Bundahišn* attests to the veneration of naturally burning naphtha or natural gas fires. Water was venerated in the *Sasanian period, as attested by the subterranean temple with water channels at *Bishapur, numerous *rock reliefs located next to springs, and archaeological evidence of ritual activity.

While fire temples certainly existed in the Parthian period, only in the Sasanian period were they promoted as Zoroastrianism's primary cult sites. The identification of Zoroastrian temples and their association with *fire remains controversial for the pre-Sasanian period. The Zoroastrian 'house of fire' (MP *ātaxš-kadag*) is only clearly and widely attested archaeologically in the Sasanian period. A standard ritual configuration seems to appear in the form of a dedicated room (*ātaxš-gāh*) in which the fire burned and received offerings, an adjacent chamber where ashes were swept (erroneously thought in earlier literature to contain the fire in dormancy), rooms for storage of ritual utensils and firewood, and a hall where the priesthood performed liturgical services. Although the main sanctuary most often took the form of a four-arched, domed structure (**chahar taq*), it is important to note that structurally identical units appear in palatial architecture (e.g. at *Firuzabad, *Qasr-e Shirin, Qaleh-ye Yazdgird, Chahar Deh). Surface reconnaissance has shown, moreover, that seemingly free-standing *chahar taqs* originally stood within walled enclosures.

Fire temples have been excavated or surveyed at *Kuh-e Kwaja (*Sistan), Tureng Tepe (*Gorgan), Bandian (*Khorasan), Mele Hairam (Turkmenistan), and *Takht-e Solayman (mod. Persian Azerbaijan). Previously thought to be *palaces, *Sarvestan and the royal complex at *Bishapur (both in *Fars) are now thought to be fire temples. At *Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan) and *Dvin (*Armenia) the Sasanians modified previous sacred sites to accommodate a fire cult. Apart from the baked brick fire temple at Tureng Tepe, which stands virtually isolated on top of the site, all of the excavated examples formed parts of larger architectural ensembles that included adjacent rooms, probably used by priests for living, storage, etc., and corridors or courtyards giving access to priests and worshippers.

The fire temple at Bandian takes the form of a cruciform room, with benches built into the walls, similar to the one at Tureng Tepe. A plastered, mud-brick *fire altar base at Bandian probably dates from the 5th century. At Mele Hairam in Turkmenistan (1998–2002), excavations revealed a complex whose radiocarbon dating suggested to the excavators that it was one of the oldest, pre-Sasanian fire temples whose use extended into the Sasanian period. It consisted of a small square room, within a larger building complex, which contained the remains of a massive altar base, 1.46 m (4 foot 9 inches) in diameter, of brick and clay, in a sunken pit. The large size of this altar base, surpassing even those at Takht-e Solayman, suggested to the excavator that it was the site of a *Wahram fire (*Ātaxš Warahrān*).

It is possible, though not confirmed, that a fire cult existed in the Parthian period at Kuh-e Kwaja, although this certainly was its focus in the Sasanian period. E. Herzfeld (1922–5) excavated the stepped base and overturned fire basin of a Sasanian *fire altar in the complex's main *chahar-taq*. The sanctuaries of many Sasanian fire temples were surrounded by ambulatories. These passages were used by priests (and kings at major fires), and possibly lay people at lesser fires. Some temples, including Takht-e Solayman and Bandian, appear to have incorporated low barriers at the edge of the sanctuary over which lay people viewed the fire. Attested archaeologically at Kuh-e Khwaja, Takht-e Solayman, Bandian, and Bishapur, the exteriors and interiors of important fire temples contained elaborate ornamental and figural decoration in *stucco, painting, and other media, schemes that were continuous with trends in contemporary palatial architecture.

Most of the extant fire temples from the Sasanian and early Islamic era are located in *Fars, where Zoroastrians continued to fill imporant administrative roles in the first few centuries after the *Arab conquest, followed by the Iraq-e Adjami (the Central Plateau) and *Kirman (Kerman). Given the importance accorded to Zoroastrianism by the Sasanians, and the fact that the dynasty originated in Fars, this may not be surprising. On the other hand, it is important to remember that explorations elsewhere in Sasanian territory have often been less systematic. Until the discovery of the fire temple at Tureng Tepe, for example, none was known in Gorgan. In the mid-1970s, L. Vanden Berghe discovered seven *chahar taqs* over a distance of less than 150 km (94 miles) in the Pusht-i Kuh of Luristan, suggesting that in some areas more intensive survey might alter the distribution map of fire temples. A religious function for all of these *chahar taqs* is not always assured, but many were indeed attached to larger complexes.

Ibn-al Faqi indicates that the fire of Adur Gushnasp at Takht-e Solayman was still venerated up to at least the 10th century AD, but sources like Istakhri and Ibn Hauqal suggest that most active fire temples in the later Islamic period were restricted for the most part to Fars. Some former fire temples, like that at Masjid Solayman, were already ruins by this time, and others had been converted into *mosques. Famous temples like that of Adur Buzen-mihr, near *Nishapur, and eventually Adur Gushnasp, whose abandoned ruins are mentioned by al-*Mas'udi, survived only in the memory of Zoroastrian communities and priestly texts. The relatively recent date of the fire temples of Kirman and Yazd, combined with the absence of ancient examples in those regions (if this is not a consequence of the choice of areas for archaeological exploration), might reflect the eastward drift of many Zoroastrians following the *Arab conquest of the *Persian Empire. DTP; MPC

EncIran III/1 *s.v.* ātaškada, 9–10 (Boyce).

EncIran IV/6 *s.v.* čahartāq, 634–42 (Huff, O'Kane).

R. Boucharlat, 'Chahar taq et temple du feu sassanide: quelques remarques', in J.-L. Huot, M. Yon, and Y. Calvet, eds., *De l'Indus aux Balkans: recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (1985), 461–78.

R. Boucharlat, O. Lecomte, and J. Deshaynes, *Fouilles de Tureng Tepe*, vol. 1: *Les Périodes sassanides et islamiques* (1987).

M. Boyce, 'The Fire-Temples of Kerman', *Acta Orientalia* 30 (1966), 51–72.

M. Boyce, 'On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire', *JAOS* 95 (1975), 454–65.

P. Callieri, *Architecture et représentations dans l'Iran sassanide* (2014).

J. Choksy, 'Religious Sites and Physical Structures', in M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina, eds., *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Zoroastriansim* (2015), 393–406.

B. Kaim, 'Ancient Fire Temples in the Light of the Discovery at Mele Kaim', *IrAnt* 39 (2004), 323–37.

J. Kramers, 'Die Feuertempel in Fars in islamischer Zeit', *ZDMG* 91 (1938), *10–*13.

M. Rahbar, 'Découverte d'un monument d'Époque sassanide à Bandian, Dargaz (nord Khorassan). Fouilles 1994 et 1995', *Studia Iranica* 27 (1998), 213–50.

Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*.
L. Vanden Berghe, 'Nouvelles Découvertes de monuments du feu d'Époque sasanide', *IrAnt* 5 (1965), 128–47.
L. Vanden Berghe, 'Les Chahar Taqs du Pusht-i Kuh Luristan', *IrAnt* 12 (1977), 175–90.

Firmicus Maternus (d. after 360) Iulius Firmicus Maternus was a rhetorician and lawyer who became a Christian. He may have been from *Sicily, and was perhaps a *senator. During the reign of *Constantine I, and before his *conversion, Maternus composed a work on *astrology in eight books, the *Mathesis*, which is addressed to the senatorial aristocrat Lollianus Mavortius (*consul 355). In the first book of the *Mathesis*, Maternus defends astrology against its opponents and claims (erroneously) that he is introducing the study of the subject to *Rome, that is, writing about it in *Latin. The remaining seven books explain and apply the basic principles of the science. Maternus justifies astrology on philosophical grounds, developing notions such as the important role of Fate in determining human life, and the idea of cosmic sympathy by which all parts of the universe, from stars to humans, are related. He presents astrology in terms reminiscent of mystery cults, as bringing the practitioner closer to the gods. He also prescribes a life of rigorous social and personal virtue for the astrologer. Maternus' learning in this work is eclectic, encompassing *Neoplatonic and Stoic *philosophy, Hellenistic science, and a panoply of *Greek and Latin literature. After his conversion, Maternus produced a brief treatise urging the *emperors *Constantius II and *Constans to destroy *paganism forcibly (*De Errore Profanarum Religionum*). A dialogue between a Christian and a pagan (*Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii*), once attributed to Maternus, is probably not by him, and is now dated to the 5th century AD. SJL-R

PLRE I, Maternus 2.
HLL, section 515.
PL 12. 981–1050 reprinting F. Münter (1826).
Mathesis (*CPL* 101): ed. W. Kroll, F. Skutsch, K. Ziegler, *Mathesis*, 2 vols. (1913).
ed. K. Halm (CSEL 2, 1867).
ed. (annotated with FT) P. Monat, 3 vols. (1992).
ET (annotated) in J. Bram, *Ancient Astrology: Theory and Practice* (1975).
De Errore Profanarum Religionum (*CPL* 102):
ed. (annotated with FT) R. Turcan, *L'Erreur des religions païennes* (1982).
ET (annotated) C. Forbes, *The Error of the Pagan Religions* (ACW 37, 1970).
IT (annotated) E. Sanzi, *L'errore delle religioni pagane* (2006).

Firmilian (d. after 268) *Bishop of *Caesarea of *Cappadocia from *c.*230, contemporary of *Gregory the Wonderworker, and follower of *Origen. His only surviving work is a *letter in a *Latin translation (*Cyprian, *ep.* 75) and reveals him as supporting Cyprian in the controversy over rebaptism. SJL-R

ODCC, Firmilian.

Firmus (d. 375) Chieftain of the *Moorish Iubaleni tribe in the Kabylie mountains; younger brother of *Gildo. Fearful of arrest, after Romanus, *Comes *Africae, had denounced him to *Valentinian I, Firmus rebelled in 372. His supporters proclaimed him *Augustus. The rebellion spread east to *Calama and west to the plain of the Chelif River. *Augustine says that he supported the *Donatists. Early in summer 373, *Theodosius Comes, then Magister Equitum in Gaul, was ordered to suppress the revolt. Halted at the *walls of *Tipasa, Firmus went into hiding, was detained by Igmazen, King of the Isaflenses, and committed *suicide (*Ammianus, XXIX, 5). DAC

PLRE I, Firmus 3.
PCBE I, Firmus 1.

Firuzabad Modern city and toponym associated with the *Sasanian city of Ardaxshir-Xwarrah in central *Fars province. It was surveyed by D. Huff in the late 1960s and 1970s.

*Ardashir I refounded the city of Gūr (Arabic Jūr) as Ardaxshir-Xwarrah ('Royal Glory of Ardashir') after he had taken south-western Iran, but before defeating the Parthian King Ardawan (Artabanus) IV. Located on a plain of *c.*10–20 sq. km (4–7 sq. miles) surrounded by mountains, Ardashir I's walled and moated city was designed as a giant circle, *c.*1.95 km (1.2 miles) in diameter with twenty radial streets. A 30-m (nearly 100-foot) high rough stone *tower (the 'Terbal') stood at the centre of a walled inner city. Near it stood what was probably a *fire temple (the Takht-e Nishin) built of rough stone on an ashlar masonry platform incorporating Achaemenid-style columns.

Ardashir I built two architecturally innovative domed and vaulted *palaces. Built first, the Qal'a-ye Dokhtar was a mountaintop fortress that guarded the northern approach to the valley. The Great Palace was built on the plain outside the *city walls after Ardashir I's victory. Both incorporated Achaemenid ornament into their *stuccowork, a visual claim of continuity. The northern gorge preserves two *rock reliefs. The earliest portrays Ardashir I's victory. The second portrays the god *Ohrmazd investing the king. MPC

EncIran IX/6 (1999) *s.v.* Firuzabad, 633–6 (D. Huff).
M. P. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Sasanian Iran', *AJA* 114 (2010), 563–96.
D. Huff, 'Formation and Ideology of the Sasanian State in the Context of Archaeological Evidence', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart, eds., *The Sasanian Era* (Idea of Iran 3, 2008), 31–59.

D. Huff, 'Das Plansystem von Ardašīr-xwarrah', in K. Rezania, ed., *Raumkonzeptionen in antiken* (2014), 153–210.

fish, fishing, and fish farming Fish were a source of food throughout the ancient world, though it is unclear what portion of the diet they formed. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (5, 1) indicates that fish was not cheap—the assigned price for first-quality fish was twice that of pork. Remains recovered from the *harbour excavations at Yeni Kapi (*Constantinople) indicate tuna and swordfish were the most commonly consumed types in 4th–7th century Constantinople (Onar et al.) but many other types were present, including catfish, shark, mackerel, sea bream, sea bass, and bonito. Fresh fish were often consumed grilled or boiled, although the majority of sea fish were probably eaten as fermented fish (as *garon/liquamen* or **garum*). Shellfish (crabs, prawns, crayfish), and molluscs (especially octopus, squid, scallops, and oysters) provided an important source of protein and, in the case of cuttlefish, cheap ink (*Ausonius, *ep.* 14, 76 [Evelyn-White] = 13. 76 [Green]).

Fishing access on the sea, shore, and navigable public waterways was a legal right (**Digest*, I, 8, 4–5). Oppian in the 2nd century AD (*Halieutica*, 3, 72ff.) notes the main ways of catching fish: by hook and line, nets, weels, and trident. Hook fishing was done with hand lines, rods, or floating strings with multiple barbs; the latter were especially used in night-fishing for bream. Nets included casting types, draw-, and dredge-nets. The former types were mostly used for catching surface fish like sardines, and the latter for urchins, oysters, and sponges. Weels were wicker basket traps employed especially to capture eels. These methods persisted throughout the post-Roman West, where the trammel line (a three-layered net with floats on top and a weighted bottom) was also common (*Pactus Legis Salicae*, 27, 27–8). Weirs were installed along shorelines or fresh waterways where they captured swimming fish. Tridents were used to spear fish in shallow fresh and saltwater.

Fish farming was an integral part of *estate management. *Palladius does not cover fish farming, but the **Geoponica* (20, 1) discuss the stocking of artificial fish ponds with freshwater fish. By the sea, these were also stocked with saltwater fish. Byzantine era breeding pools with *amphorae sunken into the walls have been found throughout the Levant. MD

T. Bekker-Nielsen, *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region* (2004).

V. Onar et al., 'A Bridge from Byzantium to Modern Day Istanbul: An Overview of Animal Skeleton Remains Found during Metro and Marmaray Excavations', *Istanbul Universitesi Veteriner Fakültesi dergisi* 39 (2013), 1–8.

fish in art Images of *fish were quite common in Late Roman art, encountered in a variety of media, from floor *mosaics with aquatic themes (marine *thiasoi*) to engraved *ring bezels. Frequent references to fish and fishing in the NT (e.g. Mark 1:17, Matt. 14: 14–21) and the interpretation of *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, *Greek for 'fish', as an *acrostic for Christ (e.g. Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 1, 3) ensured the continuous popularity of the fish in Christian art, where it was employed as a symbol of Christ, an *apotropaic design, or as an *allegorical image with *Eucharistic, *Baptismal, or even *cosmological connotations according to context. MGP

F. J. Dölger, *Die Fisch-Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik, Malerei und Kleinkunst*, vols. 4–5 of his *ICHTHYS*, 2 vols. (1927–43).

J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (2007), 41–9.

fitna ('Trial' or 'Test') The word appears in the *Qur'ān with the sense of 'temptation' or 'punishment' (Qur'ān 8:28; 51:14). It came to be especially associated with the *Arab Civil Wars of the 1st century of Islam, the conflict over the *caliphate in 656–61, and also with two later major conflicts over the same issue (683–92 and 744–7). AM

EI 2 vol. 2 (1960) *s.v.* Fitna, 930–1 (Gardet).

flamen *See* IMPERIAL CULT.

Flaminia et Picenum *Province in the *Dioecesis *Italiae mentioned in the *Verona List (256 recto, 10). It originally included much of the area between *Rome, the Aternus River, and *Ravenna, but it was reduced to the area between Ravenna and the Esino River in the later 4th century when its southern part was made a separate province as *Picenum Suburbicarium and transferred to *Italia Suburbicaria and the jurisdiction of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae. Flaminia et Picenum was governed from Ravenna by a *Corrector (first attested in 325) till the mid-4th century. Thereafter the *governor of Flaminia et Picenum Annonarium was a *Consularis (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *occ.* I, 56; II, 14). MMA

NEDC 162–3, 218–19.

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen in spätantike Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Flavia Caesariensis *Province created in the early 4th century as part of the *Dioecesis of *Britannia and included in the *Verona List and **Notitia Dignitatum*. The *governor was a *Praeses. Its exact boundaries are unclear but its heartland was probably the east Midlands. It is generally assumed that *Lincoln was its capital but there remains no definite evidence. ACR

D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (2006).

Flaviani Senatorial family of noble origin (*Ammianus, XXIII, 1, 4). Several of its members held important offices, including Volusius Venustus, *Vicarius Hispaniarum (362–3), *Nicomachus Flavianus the Elder and the Younger, and Nicomachus Dexter, *Praefectus Urbi before 432. The Flaviani were known for their literary interests and their pagan loyalty. Nicomachus Flavianus wrote a lost *Annals* and Dexter edited Livy (*CIL* VI, 1783, *subscription*). The family's marriage alliance to the *Symmachi was commemorated by the *Nicomachorum–Symmachorum *diptych. DN

PLRE I: stemma 16, p. 1140.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, esp. 241–5.

Cameron, *Pagans*.

Flaviopolis of Cilicia (Flavias) *City founded by the *Emperor Vespasian in the north-eastern part of the coastal plain of *Cilicia, which became the see of a *bishop under *Anazarbus, the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. It should probably be identified with modern Kadirli, a town with few surviving Roman remains, and the site of the Alacamii. This late 5th-/early 6th-century Christian *basilica, situated in the city's eastern necropolis, was built largely from Roman imperial period *spolia in a distinctively Cilician form of church architecture. It became a mosque in 1489. PTa

TIB 5: 378–9.

R. Bayliss, 'The Alacami in Kadirli: Transformations of a Sacred Monument', *AnatSt* 47 (1997), 57–87.

flavius* and *aurelius Designations used, especially in *Egypt, to differentiate those who worked for the imperial civil and military *administrations (Flavii), and those who did not (Aurelii). In the year 212, by the Constitutio Antoniniana (P.Giss. 40), the *Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus (known as Caracalla) had made all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire Roman citizens. It was the custom for those enfranchised as citizens to take the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the official or master who accorded them the citizenship, while they retained their Greek, barbarian, or slave name as a *cognomen*. Aurelius thus became at a stroke the most common *nomen* in the Empire, borne, for instance, by both *Ambrose and *Augustine.

Flavius, the *nomen* of the imperial dynasty inaugurated by Vespasian in AD 69, was revived as the dynastic *nomen* of *Constantine I. Subsequent *emperors retained it in their titulature and it was widely adopted in the 4th and 5th centuries by those holding office, by soldiers, and by the upwardly mobile. Eventually it came to be used as a title of nobility or royal power by *Ostrogoths such as *Theoderic, by *Visigothic kings such as *Reccared (e.g. *ILCV* 1814), and particularly by *Lombard kings from *Authari onwards (*Paul the Deacon, *HL* III, 16). OPN

Bagnall et al. (edd.) *CLRE*, 36–40.

J. G. Keenan, 'The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 11 (1973), 33–63, and 13 (1974), 283–304.

J. G. Keenan, 'An Afterthought on the Names Flavius and Aurelius', *ZPE* 53 (1983), 245–50.

B. Salway, 'What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c.700 B.C. to A.D. 700', *JRS* 84 (1994), 124–45.

fleets, Roman The Roman government continued to maintain fleets in the Mediterranean into the 5th century, when naval bases at Misenum in *Campania, at *Ravenna and *Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic, and on the Rhône and its tributaries, were listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XLII). Large-scale *naval warfare in the Mediterranean before the 5th century was uncommon. No naval response is recorded to the barbarian threats mounted by barbarians coming aong the Black Sea coast in the mid-3rd century (*Zosimus, I, 31–6), but in the civil war of 324 Licinius could gather a fleet of 350 *triremes against Constantine I's 200 triaconters and 2,000 transports (Zosimus, II, 22). The untrustworthiness of such numbers is illustrated by the claim of *Priscus that the force deployed by *Basiliscus against the *Vandals in 468 comprised either 1,100 or 100,000 ships (fr. 42 FGH = 53, 1 Blockley). However, *Procopius personally witnessed the loading of the 500 transports (each holding 3,000 to 50,000 *medimni*) and 92 warships (rowed by 2,000 men) which carried *Belisarius' expedition against the Vandals in 533 (*Vandalic*, III, 11, 15–16). One of the ships wrecked off *Yassi Ada was providing supplies for forces resisting the *Persian invasions of the early 7th century. The *Theme System which evolved in response to the *Arab invasions had a naval element in the form of the *Carabisian Theme, later replaced by the *Cibyrrhaeotic Theme.

In northern waters fleets were active up to the 5th century maintaining Roman *frontiers. The former Classis Britannica progressively disappeared during the 3rd century, incorporated into the *Saxon Shore system, whose dispositions are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XXVIII) together with various other fleets operating on the edge of Ocean (*occ.* XXXVIII, 8; XL, 51; XLII, 23). The *Notitia* also records naval dispositions defending the Danube *frontier (*Pannonia Secunda: *occ.* XXXII, 50–2 and 55–6 and Pannonia Prima: *Valeria: XXXIII, 58; XXXIV, 28 and 42–3; *Scythia: *or.* XXXIX, 35; *Moesia Secunda: XL, 22, 28, and 36; Moesia Prima: XLI, 38–9; *Dacia Ripensis: XLII, 42–3). A law of 412 (*CTh* VII, 17) orders the building of 200 new craft for the Danube patrols within seven years; it may have been too little, it was certainly too late. JC; OPN

O. Höckmann, 'Late Roman Rhine Vessel from Mainz, Germany', *IntJnlNautArch* 22 (2003), 125–35.

B. Rankov, 'Fleets of the Early Roman Empire 31 BC to AD 324', in J. S. Morrison and R. Gardiner, eds., *The Age of the Galley: Mediterranean Oared Vessels Since Pre-Classical Times* (1995), 78–85.
C. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy: 31 B.C. –A.D. 324* (^{3}1993).

Flixborough One of the best-preserved and most intensively studied *Anglo-Saxon settlements, this site was occupied between the 7th and early 11th centuries AD, with six phases of activity. *Timber buildings and two cemeteries, one associated with a structure, characterize the Anglo-Saxon activity. Exceptionally rich material culture and an unusually varied assemblage of faunal remains reflect a high-status estate centre, perhaps with a monastic component during the late 8th and 9th centuries. ARe

K. Dobney, D. Jaques, J. Barrett, and C. Johnstone, *Farmers, Monks and Aristocrats: The Environmental Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Flixborough* (2007).
D. H. Evans and C. P. Loveluck, *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough c. AD 600–1000* (2009).
C. P. Loveluck, *The Early Medieval Settlement Remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The Occupation Sequence, c. AD 600–1000* (2007).
C. P. Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context* (2007).

Flodoard (*c.*893–966) Canon of *Reims, and author of a history of its church which contains much valuable information about earlier periods, including transcriptions of the *wills of its *bishops. MG

ed. M. Stratmann, *Flodoardus Remensis, Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, in MGH SS, 36 (1998).
M. Sot, *Un historien et son église, Flodoard de Reims* (1993).

Florence (Roman Florentia) The gridded *colonia* of Florence was founded *c.*30 BC, and saw monumental growth in the 2nd century AD. It became the seat of the *Corrector *Tusciae et Umbriae in the *Tetrarchy's provincial reorganization. Theatre, *baths, and *aqueducts continued in use, and a *bishop is attested in 313. The *city's Late Antique life focused on the north and south gates and the churches of S. Reparata and S. Cecilia respectively. Excavations at the former revealed a 52 × 25 m (170 × 82 ft) first church with fine floor *mosaics, datable to the early 5th or 6th century. The *city *walls were rebuilt in this same period. Florence was damaged in the Byzantine invasion of Italy (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 5, 7), and declined in comparison to *Lucca which later became the seat of a *Lombard *Dux. Much recent archaeology clarifies Late Antique to medieval sequences at Florence. NJC

F. Cantini, C. Cianferoni, R. Francovich, and E. Scampoli, eds., *Firenze prima degli Uffizi. Lo scavo di via de' Castellani: contributi per un'archeologia urbana fra tardo antico ed età moderna* (2007).
E. Scampoli, *Firenze, archeologia di una città (secoli I a.C. – XIII d.C.)* (2010).
M. Pagni, ed., *Atlante archeologico di Firenze: indagine storico-archeologica dalla preistoria all'altomedioevo* (2010).

Florian M. Annius Florianus was *Praefectus Praetorio of his half-brother *Tacitus and then *emperor for less than three months in 276 after Tacitus died. Like Tacitus, he produced copious *coinage. He confronted *Probus near *Tarsus, where he was killed. OPN

PLRE I, Florianus 6.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 275.
E. Sauer, 'M. Annius Florianus. Ein Drei-Monate-Kaiser und die ihm zu ehren aufgetsellten Steinmonument (276 n. Chr.)', *Historia* 47 (1998), 174–203.

foederati *Latin term used to refer to non-Roman troops in the service of the Roman Empire, especially during the 4th and 5th centuries. This was not a technical term, and the literal meaning 'those with whom a treaty has been made' suggests the wide range of potential relationships covered, including mercenaries, allies, and equal partners. By the late 4th century this term could also refer to an elite corps of *cavalry regiments composed of both Roman and non-Roman recruits. By the 6th century it had further extended to refer to an elite cavalry regiment attached to the Eastern imperial ('praesental') *army. HE

Jones, *LRE* 611–13 (general); 159–60, 182–9 (4th and early 5th cents.); 194, 199–203, 218–19, 244 (5th cent.); 663–8 (6th cent.).
T. Stickler, 'The *Foederati*', in P. Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (2011), 495–514.

foie gras (Fr. fatty liver) A food made from goose liver (duck is sometimes also used). In the 4th/5th century the Roman agricultural writer *Palladius (1, 30, 4) notes that, in the Greek fashion, geese were given diced figs in water for at least twenty days in order to produce large livers. Foie gras production was thus apparently common throughout the Mediterranean basin. MD

P. Faas, *Around the Table of the Romans: Food and Feasting in Ancient Rome* (2002).

foliage in art, Islamic Whilst the use of vine scrolls, laurel wreaths, and other foliate motifs have familiar iconographic meanings in classical and late antique art, there have been many debates as to whether these same motifs are merely decorative or have any significance in Islamic *art. In fact, imagery of kingship, *paradise (both earthly and heavenly), and many other themes can be discerned in early Islamic paintings and

*sculpture of foliage in both stone and *stucco. Such imagery is found in *Umayyad *palace buildings, such as *Qusayr 'Amra and *Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, and in the Dome of the Rock and the Great *Mosque of *Damascus. EL

B. Finster, 'Vine Ornaments and Pomegranates as Palace Decoration in 'Anjar', in B. O'Kane, ed., *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand* (2008), 143–58.

O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (²1987).

foliage in art, Roman and post-Roman Various types of foliage were popular artistic motifs depicted in many media. Plants, flowers, and vegetal decorations allowed artists to incorporate both the intricate details and the lush connotations of abundance into the decorations of objects and interiors.

Derived from the classical Greek artistic tradition, the grapevine was a motif that in Roman times was associated with *Dionysus, the god of *wine. In Christian art, the vine was both a visually pleasing decoration and a symbol of Christ as the 'true vine' (John 15:1). *Mosaics of *inhabited scrolls, vine scrolls populated with *birds, *animals, and figural scenes, adorn the floors of many churches in the eastern Mediterranean, and appear in wall mosaics in both west and east, including the vault over the sanctuary in the Church of S. Vitale in *Ravenna and the *apse of the Church of Mar *Gabriel *Monastery on the *Tur 'Abdin, dated to 512. Vines also decorate architectural *sculpture, including the *capitals of the Church of S. Polyeuctus in *Constantinople.

Acanthus plants, another popular motif, adorn artworks as varied as composite column *capitals, *silver vessels such as those in the *Water Newton Treasure, and mosaics. Trees and plants feature in images of the *Earthly Paradise both in churches and in *Umayyad art, including the wall mosaics of the Great Mosque in *Damascus, which also featured a vine frieze of gilt *marble.

*Choricius describes a now-lost 6th-century Church of S. Stephen at *Gaza which featured images of *Nilotic plants and animals (*Laudatio Marciani*, II, 50–1). In different artistic traditions and media, foliage is variously depicted as naturalistic, as simplified (for instance in the plant scrolls and *rinceaux* on Egyptian *textiles and architectural friezes), or as stylized (including on the *carpet pages of *Insular manuscripts). SVL

H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (1987).

H. Maguire, *Nectar and Illusion in Byzantine Art and Literature* (2012).

G. Mietke, 'Vine Rinceaux', in H. C. Evans with B. Ratliff, eds., *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition, 7th–9th Century* (2012), 175–6.

follis (literally Lat. for 'bag') Late Roman *bronze coin denomination worth 40 **nummi*. The *follis* was introduced in 498 under *Anastasius I and became the most significant bronze denomination of the Empire, except in Alexandria which retained its own denomination system. Prominently marked M (the *Greek number for 40) for its value, it could weigh up to 26 g (0.9 ounces), though size and weight could vary considerably. RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*.

fonds de cabane *See* SFB OR SUNKEN-FEATURED BUILDING.

font *See* BAPTISTERY.

food supply Cereals were the staple food almost everywhere in the Late Antique world. Prominent among the *grains consumed and traded were various varieties of wheat. Barley and oats, usually cheaper than wheat, were also commonly eaten and traded. *Olive oil, *wine, and *meat were also among the basic foods of the Late Antique period. Products such as meat and *vegetables tended to be supplied by the hinterland of *cities, though networks even for fresh produce could be quite extensive. In *Italy, for instance, *swine from *Sardinia and *Lucania et Bruttium furnished most pork destined for consumption in the city of *Rome (*CTh* XIV,4,4; XIV,4,10; *NovVal* 36).

Long-distance, high-volume supply networks for grain, oil, and wine underpinned food supply in Late Antiquity. Grain was chiefly exported from north *Egypt, oil from *Baetica and North *Africa, and wine from Italy, and also from *Greece, *Syria, and *Palestine. These were the core products in an exchange network supplying various Mediterranean markets and populations. They were collected through *taxation or provided by traders and distributed in the larger urban centres, such as Rome, *Alexandria, *Antioch, and *Constantinople, in part as free allowances (*panis gradilis*) and in part by sale under regulated prices and conditions (i.e. *panis Ostiensis* or *fiscalis*; *CTh* XIV, 15). The most imposing system for supplying an urban centre with foodstuffs was that developed in Rome and adapted in Constantinople from 330 onwards, though food distribution was not restricted to these cities; in the early 7th century grain from *Sicily contributed to the relief of *famine in Alexandria.

Rome retained a privileged position as the main recipient of tax-grain from Africa and Sicily, while Egyptian grain fed Constantinople. Numerous sources refer to the supply from Egypt and Africa, but Sicily and also Sardinia, and more generally *Italia Suburbicaria, assumed a significant role in the supply of Rome in the Late Roman period. From the 5th century

onwards the control of Egyptian grain by the imperial *administration in Constantinople and the loss of Africa to the *Vandals (AD 439), presented the city of Rome with increasing difficulty in feeding its population. Food shortage is reflected both in a drop in free distribution levels and in demographic decline, though food supplies continued in a limited capacity under the rule of the *Visigoths, AD 493–554 (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, XI, 39). At the end of the 6th century *Gregory the Great (pope AD 590–604) distributed free Sicilian grain to the Roman population in order to prevent famine in the city (*ep.* I, 70).

In the post-Roman West, however, demographic decline and dispersed settlements affected both production and exchange. The collapse (in the West) or reduction (in the East) of Roman systems of food redistribution appear to have diminished the capacity of communities to cope with food crises in Late Antiquity. PT

S. J. B. Barnish, 'Pigs, Plebeians and Potentes: Rome's Economic Hinterland, *c.*350–600 AD', *PBSR* 55 (1987), 137–85.
P. Delogu, 'La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo', in P. Delogu and L. Paroli, eds., *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo* (1993).
J. Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (1990).
P. Erdkamp, *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire: A Social, Political and Economic Study* (2005).
P. D. A. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Greco-Roman World* (1988).
E. Lo Cascio, 'Canon frumentarius, suarius, vinarius: stato e privati nell'approvvigionamento dell'Urbs', in Harris, *Transformations of Urbs Roma*, 163–82.
R. J. Rowland, 'The "Very Poor" and the Grain Dole at Rome and Oxyrhynchus', *ZPE* 21 (1976), 69–73.
Sirks, *Food for Rome*.

fools for Christ *See* SYMEON THE HOLY FOOL OF EMESA, S.

forgery (*falsum*) Titles in *CTh* (IX, 19; IX, 21–3) and in *CJust* (IX, 22–4) regulate the forgery of documents (especially *wills) and *coinage, both of which were punished under the *Lex Cornelia de Falsis* by confiscation and deportation (or relegation) for **honestiores*, and hard labour or even death for *humiliores*. *Constantine *suspended the immunity of *city councillors from *torture if accused of forgery (*CTh* IX, 19, 1). The counterfeiting of *gold **solidi* that bore the 'sacred image' of the *emperor was assimilated to 'sacrilege' (high *treason) and punished by the aggravated death penalty, often immolation. Both emperors (*CTh* IX, 21, 2) and the *Anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis* suggest that mint officials (*monetarii*) were among the most prolific counterfeiters. JND

J. Heinrichs, 'Zwischen falsum und (laesae) maiestas. Münzdelikte im römischen Recht', *ZPE* 166 (2008), 247–60.
Hendy, *Studies*.
T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (1899), 669–77.
F. Marino, 'Il falso testamentario nel diritto romano', *ZRG (RA)* 105 (1988), 634–63.

formae *See* RANKS IN CIVIL SERVICE.

formulae (formularies) Templates used by scribes for composing documents. They principally survive from *Francia in collections called formularies, over twenty of which are datable from the 6th to the 10th century. Such compilations were informal and drew on original texts, often but not always replacing specifics with indefinite pronouns. Designed to be reused, formularies were reshaped by copyists as needed, something concealed by modern editions which standardize their texts. Formulae exist for diverse acts, including donations, sales, *dowries, *contracts, *immunities, *manumissions, disputes, and *letters, providing norms of practice for recording these transactions in written form.

The best-known formularies are that of *Angers, which contains 60 formulae, probably from the 6th century for everyday local business, and that of *Marculf, which contains 92 formulae in two books, including models for royal *charters, commissioned from an elderly monastic *notary for use by other scribes, perhaps in *S. Denis, during the later 7th century. One Iberian formulary from the earlier 7th century also survives, echoed in the text of the contemporary *Visigothic slates. GDB

ed. K. Zeumer in MGH Leg. V (1886).
ET (annotated) A. Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (TTH 46, 2008).
A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c.*500–1000 (2009).

fornication The criminality of extramarital sex in Roman society depended on the status of the woman. Intercourse with married women was punished as adultery, with severe penalties for both culprits (*see* MARRIAGE, ADULTERY, DIVORCE, AND REMARRIAGE), while intercourse with unmarried women was permissible if the woman was a slave, engaged in *prostitution, or with a tainted reputation. *Concubines formed a half-reputable category. Fornication (Lat. *stuprum*) was a criminal offence if it took place with a free woman who might be married into a family of good standing. Intercourse with a free boy was also penalized as fornication (**Digest*, 48, 5, 35). The Romans did not consider incest a form of extramarital

sex but defined it as a marriage impediment, setting limits to diverse provincial marital customs.

The punishment for fornication was usually less severe than that for adultery, and was death only in exceptional circumstances. Specific penalties are rarely stated in the sources, but in *Justinian I's time upper-class offenders were fined half of their property, while lower-class people were corporally chastised and exiled (*InstJust* IV, 18, 4). *Rape was a capital offence. A guardian who violated his *ward was sent into *exile and lost his property. In 368 imperial officials terrorized *senatorial families at *Rome, executing men and women for sexual affairs, including *stuprum* (*Ammianus, XXVIII, 1). From the 4th century, sex between men was punished by death, in the *Visigothic kingdom by castration.

Premarital sex was uncommon in the Mediterranean area, as women married early. Elopement was severely punished as *raptus*; a law of 320 stated that both parties were deemed guilty even if the girl consented (*CTh* IX, 24). In practice, most cases of fornication concerned *widows. Their affairs with slaves were especially condemned. Many Christian authors attacked the double standard and demanded the same limits on male sexuality (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst*. VI, 23, 23–4; *Jerome, *ep.* 77, 3). This was never realized in law, and the post-Roman kingdoms continued to penalize only adultery and female extramarital affairs. Some Germanic *law codes laid down elaborate lists of fines for the sexual harassment of women. From the 4th century, the chastity of consecrated *virgins and widows gave rise to fresh concerns. AAr

Arjava, *Women and Law*, 193–229.
Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme*, vol. 1, 107–209.

fortifications The most numerous 'public buildings' constructed across the Late Antique world between the mid-3rd and the end of the 6th centuries. The adoption of the new Christian faith by the *emperors ensured a boom in *church architecture from the 5th century, but the new fortified *cities, fortresses, and a range of fortified places far exceeded the scope of church construction in the scale of manpower and resources demanded to shift and construct the literally billions of tons of stone and earth for the new fortified Empire of Late Antiquity.

Imperial projects may have begun under *Gallienus, but *Aurelian's decision to construct an 18 km (12 mile) circuit around the *city of *Rome marked the clearest sign of a radical change in the security of the Roman state (*see* FRONTIERS). The new fortifications were provided with high curtain walls, normally at least 9 m (*c.*30 feet) in height, and with closely spaced bold projecting *towers to facilitate flanking missile fire against attackers. These new fortifications are found on almost all the Empire's frontiers (an exception is *Hadrian's Wall) and there are distinct patterns of construction and design associated with military and urban projects. On the European frontiers from the *Saxon Shore in south and east *Britain to the Danube estuary, major construction is attested from the later 3rd into the 4th centuries, with epigraphically attested programmes under the *Tetrarchy, *Constantine I, and *Valentinian I. In many instances the new fortifications replaced existing principate-style forts often with reduced or reconfigured circuits, and invariably with massive new curtain walls reinforced by great projecting towers of designs varying from the rectangular, to the drum-shaped, and polygonal. The new defences often dwarf the internal structures of the garrisons, but presented an imposing symbol of military resistance.

A significant innovation from *c.*275 was the defence of many urban centres across the western *provinces of *Gaul and *Spain. Many previously undefended cities now acquired new well-built *enceintes* often making use of *spolia from earlier buildings and cemeteries. Over 100 have been identified across Gaul alone, many with reduced circuits defining the core urban settlements which survived into the medieval period. An outstanding question is how far these urban defences constitute imperial initiatives coordinated by the *Vicarii, as seems to be indicated by the near-contemporary frontier works. New urban fortifications are also apparent across the Roman East. *Athens has two separate circuits dating from the 3rd century, but in Asia Minor the majority of the newly walled cites such as *Aphrodisias were not constructed before the later 4th century and these rarely match the building competence of Gallic cities such as Le Mans. Exceptions were those cities selected as imperial residences during the late 3rd century including *Nicaea and *Nicomedia and the later defences of *Antioch where the construction reflects centralized planning and resources.

The greatest fortification of the age was *Constantinople, which acquired defences which were to ensure the city's security for over a millennium. But in the eastern provinces where Rome confronted the aggressive and technically competent power of the *Sasanians a distinctive pattern of fortress cities emerged, acting as strategic 'hard points' in the frontier zone, but also constituting new urban foundations. Foremost amongst these were the great fortified circuits of *Amida in the 4th and *Dara in the early 6th century. New forts typify the system of *Diocletianic frontier *roads in Syria and *Arabia, comparable with those of the European frontiers, though these are less frequently encountered in *Mesopotamia and Roman *Armenia. Major programmes of fortification continued in the *Balkan and eastern frontier zones into the 6th century, together with a number of new barrier *walls. However with

the exception of new fortress cities such as *Justiniana Prima it is often difficult to reconcile the limited extent of the material remains with the claims made by such written sources as *Procopius. Confronted by major incursions throughout the 7th century, especially the *Arab conquests, new patterns of urban defences emerge in *Anatolia, known from *Ephesus, *Miletus, *Ankara, and elsewhere, often with a clear military character. New threats required different responses. JCr

B. S. Bachrach, 'The Fortification of Gaul and the Economy of the Third and Fourth Centuries', *JLA* 3 (2010), 38–64.
Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space.*
P. Niewöhner, 'The Riddle of the Market Gate: Miletus and the Character and Date of the Earlier Byzantine Fortifications of Anatolia', in Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor*, 103–22.
Sarantis and Christie, *War and Warfare.*

fortified farms, African (*gsur*) Dated mainly to the late 3rd and 4th centuries; best known from southern *Tripolitania, but attested across most of the African *frontier zone, from the cultivated lands of *Cyrenaica to the highlands of *Mauretania. A response, perhaps, to raids from the desert, or maybe just to unsettled conditions, they are often associated with *villages, forts, and smaller military outposts. Replete with indications of wealth, they were, for the most part, private *estates, like the *centenarium* built in Tripolitania by a civilian landowner to 'guard and protect the zone' (*IRT* 889). Others seem to have functioned as (semi-)official forts, overseen by the commanders (*principes*) of the frontier *army. There were numerous fortified estates also in the Kabylie mountains south-east of Algiers, including the *castellum* Tulei (*CIL* VIII, 9005–6), and the *castellum* of Flavius Nubel, the father of *Firmus and *Gildo, near Rusguniae (Tametfoust; *CIL* VIII, 9255). DAC

D. J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (1995).

Fortuna of cities *See* PERSONIFICATIONS OF CITIES.

Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia Forty Roman soldiers allegedly martyred at *Sebasteia of *Armenia under *Licinius by standing all night on a frozen lake. An influential homily (19) of *Basil of *Caesarea and three *sermons of *Gregory of *Nyssa describe their witness. Gregory buried his sister *Macrina at a shrine containing *relics of the Forty. Later, the Forty healed *Justinian I's knee. An 'epic' Greek *martyr passion, the martyrs' purported *Testament*, passions in *Armenian, *Syriac, and *Coptic, and two **kontakia* by *Romanos attest to widespread devotion. Feast day 9 March. OPN

BHG 1203–8, *BHL* 7537–42, *BHO* 1203.
M. Mullett, O. Nicholson, and A. Wilson, eds., *The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia* (BBTT, forthcoming).

***forum* (plur. *fora*; Gk. *agora*)** Open public space in a *city used for multiple civic purposes, religious, political, and commercial. A *forum* was generally surrounded by colonnades and flanked by public buildings (e.g. *temples, *basilicas) and *shops. *Fora* were typically rectangular in plan, although some were round or oval, as for instance at *Gerasa. *Rome had several significant *fora*, including the Forum Romanum, decorated with statues of *emperors and *senators and triumphal *arches. *Constantinople had seven imperial *fora*. The *fora* of many cities continued in use through the 6th or early 7th centuries, and sometimes formed part of new urban foundations (e.g. at *Justiniana Prima, founded in the 530s). Legislation of 383 (*CTh* XV, 1, 22) prohibiting private buildings within *fora* indicates a concern with encroachment on public space already by the 4th century. As *streets became important sites of commercial activity, *fora* were turned increasingly to other uses, both residential, as at *Luna, or as places of artistic production, as at *Hierapolis. SVL

D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (1960), 63–8.
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001).
T. W. Potter, *Towns in Late Antiquity: Iol Caesarea and its Context* (1995), 63–102.

Fos-sur-Mer (dép. Bouches-du-Rhône, France) Port east of the Rhône delta. Its site is now submerged, but its potential significance is suggested by its elaborate depiction on the Peutinger *Map, and by a royal *tractoria* of 716 granting the *monastery of *Corbie supplies of a cornucopia of Mediterranean imports from the fiscally administered warehouse at Fos. There is also some archaeological evidence. STL

CAGaule 13/1 (1996), 169–88.

Fragmenta Londiniensia Anteiustiniana Seventeen parchment fragments of a Roman legal work in *Latin, written in an eastern uncial *script, *c.*500. Containing a rubricated title and *rescripts of 3rd-century *emperors, some known also from *Justinian's *Code*, these probably represent the only known remains of a manuscript of the **Gregorian Code*. SJJC

Discussion with partial text: S. Corcoran and B. Salway, '*Fragmenta Londiniensia Anteiustiniana*: Preliminary Observations', *Roman Legal Tradition* 8 (2012), 63–83.

Fragmenta Vaticana Anonymous 4th-century Roman legal miscellany in *Latin, which only survives partially preserved in a palimpsested 5th-century manuscript (Vat. Lat. 5766). It comprises extracts from the classical jurists (Papinian, *Paul, Ulpian) and imperial constitutions, mostly of the 3rd century, arranged under thematic headings, but without additional commentary.

The surviving texts concern topics in private law, such as sale, usufruct, exemptions from tutorship, and gifts between spouses. It was probably written originally in *Italy *c.*320, but later expanded with material dating up to the 370s. It is important as preserving both juristic texts and imperial constitutions independent of the selection and editorial practices of the **Digest* and the Roman law codes. SJJC

CLA I, 45.
HLL 5, 506.
ed. in *FIRA* II, 464–540.
ed. T. Mommsen, *Codicis Vaticani N. 5766 in quo insunt iuris anteiustiniani fragmenta quae dicuntur Vaticana* (1860) [apograph of the palimpsest].
M. de Filippi, *Fragmenta Vaticana: storia di un testo normativo* (²1998).

framed buildings Archaeology is revealing an increased use of large posts for framed buildings in the post-Roman West, especially after the 6th century. Structures supported by external frames, with roofs on crucks or on A-frames, were relatively simple to construct and restore using timber beams. There is, for instance, evidence of cruck construction from the 7th century at Cowdery's Down and Charlton, both in Hampshire. CJG

V. Fronza, 'Edilizia in materiali deperibili nell'alto medioevo italiano: metodologie e casi di studio per un'agenda della ricerca', *Post-ClassArch* 1 (2011), 95–138.

Frampton (England) A probable *villa of uncertain origins on an artificial terrace in the floodplain of the River Frome, Dorset. It has a series of *mosaics, laid out in the 4th century (contemporary with *Hinton St Mary), with geometric designs and figurative panels, in red, black, yellow, and blue on a white background. They drew on a range of pagan and Christian motifs, expressing the cultural and religious knowledge of the owner, including Bacchus, Venus, Neptune, Bellerophon, and an *apse mosaic with a chi-rho and cantharus. It is uncertain whether religious worship took place here. ACR

B. Putnam, *Roman Dorset* (2007).

Francia *See* FRANKS.

francisca The term refers variously to the axes carried by *Frankish warriors. The type featuring a heavy iron blade and a short wooden handle had a terrible effect when hurled en masse (cf. *Procopius, *Gothic*, VI, 25, 3–4). EM

*RGA*2 *s.v.* franziska, IX (1995), 470–6 (U. Dahmlos, W. Hübener).
W. Pohl, in 'Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity', in T. F. X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (2006), 127–35.

Frankish coinage *See* MEROVINGIAN COINAGE.

Franks The kingdom of the Franks (*regnum Francorum*) came to be the most successful and enduring successor state in the post-Roman West. After the political dissolution of the Western Roman Empire in the course of the 5th century, *Clovis I (d. 511), one of several Frankish kings who ruled over relatively limited territories in the north and north-east of *Gaul, managed to extend his rule with remarkable speed over most of the former *provinces of Gaul. His descendants, the *Merovingian kings, established themselves as one of the longest-ruling royal families of the medieval period, controlling roughly the territory of modern France, including some regions along the Rhine that are part of modern Germany. Merovingian rule ended only when members of the Carolingian family (so called from their descent from *Charles Martel, son of the *Mayor of the Palace *Pippin II) replaced them as Frankish kings in the mid-8th century. Among other strategies, the new Carolingian rulers legitimized their usurpation with intensified military expansion. Under the second Carolingian king, Charlemagne (768–814), the Frankish kingdoms comprised most of Western and Central Europe, with modern France and Germany as the core regions of what was soon to become the first medieval Christian Empire in the West.

The division of the Carolingian Empire led to the development of France, Germany, and other medieval and modern European countries and also fostered repeated reconceptualizations of the Roman and Frankish past to legitimize contemporary claims to power. The establishment of modern European nation states only intensified these efforts, as they increasingly sought to justify their independent existence and claim to rule by the construction of continuous histories that traced their origins back to late antique and early medieval peoples (Geary, *Myth*). As a result, the early history of the Franks became a battleground for French and German scholars and politicians in particular, as they rivalled each other in claiming their country to be the true successor of the Frankish kingdom; one revealing example is *Karl der Große oder Charlemagne?*, a collection of essays by eminent scholars of the 1930s which debated whether Charlemagne was German or French (Wood, *Modern Origins*). Since the Second World War, however, early Frankish history has increasingly been seen as offering a common past and foundation for (Western and Central) European states, as emphasized in an exhibition organized at Aachen by the Council of Europe in 1965 on *Karl der Große* and the joint Franco-German project *Die Franken* of 1996, the 1,500th anniversary of the supposed date of the baptism of Clovis.

The name of the Franks

In recent decades, the efforts of earlier historians in national myth-making have been deconstructed. Recent scholarship on Frankish and French history has carefully explored the many discontinuities and breaks in the long history of contradictory and competing appropriations and definitions of the name of the Franks. Already in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages the term 'Franks' applied to several different groupings and this may have contributed to uncertainties about the meaning and etymology of the name of the Franks in Roman sources. The word 'Frank' most likely derives from the Indo-Germanic root *preg*, Germanic *frek* meaning 'fierce', 'bold', rather than 'free', a meaning for 'frank' that developed only in the course of the Middle Ages (Beck in von Welck et al. *Die Franken*, 373). Indeed, some of the earliest Roman sources for the Franks emphasize their fierce nature, although they provide different etymologies and explanations of the name. Others believed that the Franks took their name from one of their mythical leaders, Francio, a *Dux (see the discussion in Nonn, *Die Franken*, 11–15). In the mid-4th century the *rhetor* *Libanius (*Oration*, 59, 27) thought the name had resulted from a misunderstanding—that because of their strong armour, the Franks had originally been called *Phraktoi* (the armour-clad), a term then misrepresented as *Frankoi*. The **Historia Augusta* (XIX, *Vita Firmi et al.*, 13, 5) makes a characteristic pun on the name, stating that the Franks are accustomed to break (*frangere*) their *oaths with a laugh.

The Roman Empire and the Franks

Although these debates are little help in uncovering the original meaning of the Frankish name, they do reflect a process in which it acquired considerable prestige in the Late Roman world. While the earliest references to Frankish groups in the 3rd century mention them in different regions and acting in various capacities, whether as military **foederati*, as raiders along the northern periphery of the Roman Empire, or as *pirates in *Britain and *Spain, they came to be seen as the principal successors of the *Germani* in the course of the 4th century (Pohl, *Germanen*, 35). It seems that the name did indeed fill the same function in Roman politics, historiography, and ethnography as that of the *Germani* had during the Principate, as an umbrella term to describe various *gentes* on the northern *frontiers beyond the Rhine and Danube.

The reorganization of Germania into the territories of the Franks and *Alamans involves more than a change of names, however. It also reflects a social transformation of barbarian societies in these regions, which went hand in hand with the reorganization of the Roman Empire after the 'Third Century *Crisis'. The intensified interaction of Roman politics with the barbarian peripheries brought about the establishment of new *aristocracies in these regions, who knew how to exploit the Roman system by fighting for or against the Empire—something that also enabled them to acquire prestige and power within their own communities. For their part, the Romans reflected this increasing social mobilization and militarization in the frontier regions in the 3rd and 4th centuries by reorganizing the political geography of the barbarian periphery along the Rhine and upper Danube frontiers as *Francia* (and *Alemannia*) (see Pohl, 'Alemannen und Franken'; Halsall, *Migrations*, 74–9; 118–31, with *RGA* 2 *s.v.* Franken § 2 Archäologisches, [H. Ament] 387–414 for further discussion of the archaeological dimensions of this process).

In employing the name Franks, the Romans picked up a Germanic term that may well have been in use as a means of self-identification among an increasingly confident warrior class. But there is no evidence that the name as yet corresponded to a larger *confederation of different groups who identified themselves collectively as Franks. Alliances were based on the common interests of various individual groups rather than on a sense of belonging to a larger Frankish community (Pohl, *Völkerwanderung*, 165–71, Pohl, *Germanen*, 34, Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 118–31; although for a recent revival of the idea of a Frankish confederation see Nonn, *Die Franken*, 15–19).

Frankish solidarities were more important within the boundaries of the Roman world than they were beyond the frontiers, as becomes clear in the second half of the 4th century when several Franks ascended to the highest offices in the Roman army. When the *Magister Militum *Silvanus, the son of a Frankish officer, fell victim to a conspiracy at the *court of *Constantius II, some Frankish officers at the *court tried to support him. Yet when Silvanus discussed his plans to flee to the Franks, the Frankish officers under him advised strongly against it: he would either be killed or sold back to the Romans (*Ammianus, XV, 5). Thus, it seems that Frankish solidarities did not extend beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire. Silvanus was one of the first in a series of Frankish officers who made a splendid career in the Roman army in the later 4th century; others included Charietto, Mallobaudes, *Merobaudes, *Ricomer, *Bauto, and *Arbogast. Unlike Silvanus, most of these men continuously expanded their political networks on both sides of the frontier. Mallobaudes, for instance, was both a Roman officer and a Frankish King. They could draw on their position and connections in the barbarian world to recruit soldiers or to build up alliances for the Roman Empire, while at the same time their position as rulers or commanders of their 'Frankish' group was legitimized by

their rank in the Roman army, so providing them with an additional power and resource base. The especially successful Frankish Magister Militum Arbogast responded to the attempt to depose him by the *Emperor *Valentinian II with a confident rebuke: it was not the emperor but his troops who had elected him as their commander (*Zosimus, IV, 53). Two processes of integration were therefore occurring in parallel: on the one hand, a group of 'Franks' was forming from elements which might have quite heterogeneous ethnic and social origins, and on the other hand, this group was being drawn into the social and political texture of the Late Roman world. When the Roman Empire progressively lost control of the Rhineland and northern Gaul in the course of the 5th century, communities there built on these experiences to reorganize the remaining structures of the Roman world into smaller political units based around cooperation between local or regional *aristocracies and barbarian rulers, which have been termed 'local Romanesses' (Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 432–43, developed further by Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 392–4).

Franks in post-Roman Gaul: from Frankish kingdoms to the Merovingian regnum

Most of these units developed within the framework of the former Roman provinces and *civitates*. In cities such as *Soissons (the base of *Aegidius and his son *Syagrius, remembered about a century later as 'King of the Romans') or *Trier (the base of the *Comes *Arbogast) these armies supported Roman commanders. Elsewhere, barbarian commanders took power for themselves, legitimized by their alliance with the local aristocracy. Frankish kings and groups are well-documented participants in this process along the Rhine and in northern Gaul. Older research has emphasized the importance in the 4th and 5th centuries of two Frankish groups in particular, the Salian and the Ripuarian Franks. But the distinctively high profile retrospectively assigned to these groups has more to do with efforts to trace continuous histories from Salians and Ripuarians to Western and Eastern Franks and eventually to France and Germany (as is shown in *RGA* 2 *s.n.* Salier, § 2 Historisches [H. Reimitz], and Ripuarier [M. Springer]). The evidence instead hints at a much more diverse and discontinuous history, in which a variety of Frankish groups established their rule in *civitates* along the Rhine (such as *Cologne) or in northern Gaul, the most important of which were *Cambrai and *Tournai (Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 38–41; MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, 69–164; Halsall, *Migrations*, 257–84).

Tournai was the centre of one of the most successful Frankish rulers of the second half of the 5th century, namely *Childeric I (d. 481/2) (Lebecq, 'The Two Faces'; Halsall, 'Childeric's Grave'). After his death, the Roman regional aristocracy acknowledged his son *Clovis I as his successor (Wood, *Merovingian kingdoms*, 41–50) and he proceeded to expand his kingdom through a succession of campaigns against Syagrius of Soissons, the Alamans, the *Visigoths in southern Gaul, and other Frankish kings along the northern and eastern periphery of his kingdom. By the end of his life, Clovis ruled over the majority of the former provinces of Gaul. Given that the conquest of all this territory took less than a generation, the social and political coherence of the kingdom that Clovis bequeathed to his successors was remarkable. He laid the foundation for a Merovingian *regnum* that was seen as a common polity for many generations to come, to the extent that it proved capable of surviving its repeated division among several rulers and recurrent civil wars between them and their elites (Wood, *Merovingian kingdoms*, 55–119). One of the most important factors in this coherence was the decision of Clovis to embrace Nicene Christianity and thereby ally himself with the Gallo-Roman Church. Clovis' successors continued this policy, presenting themselves as royal patrons of the Christian Church and making the realization of a Christian kingdom a collective focus for political and social integration (Reimitz, 'Contradictory Stereotypes').

What is less well documented is the role of Frankish identity in this process. It seems Clovis and his successors deliberately left the ethnic and political identity of the *regnum* ill defined, in a way that can be interpreted as a response to the difficulties of integration faced by the new rulers of Gaul. After such rapid conquests, Clovis ruled over a territory inhabited by an ethnically and socially diverse population, among whom Frankish groups were in the minority. Moreover, these Frankish groups themselves lacked political coherence, being diverse entities with varying and possibly competing claims to Frankish identity and history. In this situation, all the evidence indicates that the early Merovingian kings did not build their legitimation around a strong notion of Frankish identity, but instead sought to situate themselves in a position equidistant from the different social and ethnic components of their newly established kingdom. Groups and individuals who identified themselves as Franks formed just one of these components, and had to establish their positions and claims in competition with other social groups and identities as well as in relation to each other.

The situation changed, however, in the last decades of the 6th century in the course of the civil wars between the grandsons of Clovis, where we can observe the increasing salience of the name of the Franks as a common focus for the political and social integration of the whole *regnum*. This in turn intensified conflicts

among different political and social groups over the meaning and conception of Frankish identity, a development that marks the beginning of the medieval history of the Frankish name and the social realities with which it was associated (Reimitz, *History*). HR

*RGA*2, vol. 9 (1995) *s.n.* Franken, 373–461.
*RGA*2, vol. 26 (2003) *s.n.* Ripuarier, 569–73.
*RGA*2, vol. 26 (2003) *s.n.* Salier, 308–13.

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***frawahr* (*fravashi, ferouahar*)** In *Zoroastrianism, the *frawahr* are the heavenly pre-existing souls of all living beings, fashioned by God. They come down to help make new life and at *death, return to heaven. In early texts *frawahr*s, depicted as female warriors, assist the Wise Lord in the (re)creation of the world at dawn and at the new year. By the *Sasanian period their cult had been associated with that of the souls of the faithful departed, and during the festival of *Frawardīgān they were thought to come to earth for ten days to be venerated. They are invoked before all rituals. The notion that they were guardian spirits or *angels has no support in the texts. The interpretation of the Achaemenid winged-disc symbol as the king's *fravashi* is also baseless. POS

M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (1975), 338.
P. O. Skjærvø, 'The "*frawahr*" Symbol', in article M. Alram, M. Blet-Lemarquand, and P. O. Skjærvø, 'Shapur, King of Kings of Iranians and Non-Iranians', in R. Gyselen, ed., *Des Indo-Grecs aux Sassanides: données pour l'histoire et la géographie historique* (2007), 28–9.
Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 18–19, 64–70.

Frawardīgān (MP) *Zoroastrian New Year *festival dedicated to the **frawahr*s. According to the ancient hymn to the *frawahr*s, it lasted ten days (as is still the practice), during which the *frawahr*s of family members were invited into the house and regaled with offerings. POS

EncIran s.v. Frawardīgān, X/2, 199 (Malandra).
M. Boyce, *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism* (1977), 212–35.
Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 256.

Fredegar *Chronicle* The name Fredegar is conventionally assigned (though first attested only in 1579) to the author of a Frankish world *chronicle in four books, running from the Creation down to 642, when it abruptly concludes, although its continuation down to at least *c.*659 had been envisaged (IV, 81). Notwithstanding various attempts to identify multiple authors and perspectives within it, the chronicle as it stands is now usually regarded as the work of a single compiler or author, writing early in the 660s. This hypothetical Fredegar (sometimes known as pseudo-Fredegar) explains in the preface to his fourth book how he had hitherto followed the 'five chronicles' of *Jerome, *Hydatius, 'a certain wise man', *Isidore, and *Gregory (of *Tours); the *Liber Generationis* of *Hippolytus, the chronicles of Jerome, Hydatius, and Gregory's *Histories* certainly provide the spine of the first three books, but the author weaves into these extensive excerpts an intriguing assortment of material of uncertain origin, including two versions of the Trojan origins of the *Franks, the possibility that the *Merovingians were descended from a sea-beast, and tales of the likes of *Clovis I, *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, and the *Emperor *Justinian I.

In Book IV, Fredegar declares his intention to continue where Gregory of Tours left off late in 584 (he had access only to the six-book version of the *Historia Francorum*); his independent account overlaps with Gregory's until 591, and thereafter provides our main outline of Frankish history down to 642. It describes in particular the last phase of *Brunhild's dominance, the reigns of *Lothar II and *Dagobert I, and the emerging importance of the *Mayors of the Palace, including *Pippin I, interspersing its Frankish material with more incidental insights into *Visigothic *Spain, *Lombard *Italy, the reign of the Emperor *Heraclius, and the rise of the *Arabs. The author's emphases and political sympathies suggest a location in *Burgundy, but his identity otherwise remains elusive.

Although it was long assumed that this original chronicle was in turn extended down to 768 by one or more continuators, as enshrined in the MGH edition, it has been demonstrated by R. Collins that the manuscript tradition offers no support for the existence of any such composite text. Instead, an author working *c.*751 under the *patronage of the *Dux Childebrand, uncle of *Pippin III, extensively reworked the 'Merovingian Fredegar' to his own ends, bridged the gap to his own days with material derived from the **Liber Historiae Francorum*, and then extended the chronicle down to *Pippin's coronation as king. This *Historia vel Gesta Francorum*, as it is described in one colophon, was subsequently extended down to 768 on the authority of Childebrand's son. As such, this 'Carolingian Fredegar' should be regarded not as a simple continuation, but rather as a rewriting of the part played in history by the Franks, a text that substantively revised as well as expanded its Merovingian antecedent. It remains to be edited. STL

ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2 (1888).
ed. (with GT) A. Kusternig, *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts* (1982).
ET (annotated) J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations* (1960).
R. Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken* (MGH Studien und Texte 44, 2007).
W. Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', *Speculum* 38 (1963), 206–41.
R. Collins, '*Fredegar*', in P. Geary, ed., *Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West*, IV/13 (1996), 73–138.
I. N. Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter, eds., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (1994), 359–66.
H. Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity* (2015), 166–239.

Fredegund (d. 596/597) Frankish Queen, wife of *Chilperic I, to whom he returned after the death of *Galswintha. She bore him six children, notably *Chlothar II, whose precarious position she successfully defended after Chilperic's assassination in 584. *Venantius Fortunatus eulogizes her many virtues (*Carmen*, 9, 1, 115–33), but *Gregory of *Tours depicts her in a relentlessly negative light, implying her servile origin and adulterous behaviour, and holding her responsible for the assassination of *Sigibert I and the demise of her stepsons Merovech and Clovis, as well as the deaths of Bishop *Praetextatus and several magnates; he also alleges that she conspired repeatedly but unsuccessfully to kill *Childebert II and his mother *Brunhild, Sigibert's widow and Galswintha's sister, and her constant rival. ADi; STL

PLRE IIIA, Fredegundis.
J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels', in J. L. Nelson, ed., *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (1986), 1–48.

free peasantry Peasants were legally free within the Roman Empire, but their actions were circumscribed by *law and by the power of landlords. In the East, the majority of peasants seem to have been 'free' in the sense that, though they worked someone else's land, they were not bound to the landlord legally or by indebtedness, and they often had their own small plots under which they were registered in the *tax registers.

In *Egypt, hired labourers (*misthotoi*) with considerable mobility and autonomy do not seem prominent but neither do unfree (**enapographoi*) labourers feature conspicuously, the latter being attested only in the Oxyrhynchite (Hickey, 83). Instead, most peasants appear to have been rent-paying or sharecropping tenants of varying means. By contrast *Libanius (*On Patronage*, 4) attests to *villages of free peasants in *Syria who apparently owned the lands they worked. The archaeological remains of the *Limestone Massif of northern *Syria, where small farming *villages exhibit high-quality architecture, numerous churches, and *baths seem to represent such free peasant villages.

Free peasants who owed service obligations and rents or shares but who were largely economically autonomous survived in Frankish *Gaul and in *Anglo-Saxon England. In the *Persian Empire and the Early Islamic East free peasants (not bound to the land or strictly controlled by the landlord) were extremely rare. MD

T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012).
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.
Libanius, *On Patronage* (*Peri ton prostasiōn*), ed. (with FT) L. Harmand, *Discours sur la patronage* (1955).

Freer manuscripts Collection of *papyri (P. Freer), acquired in *Egypt in 1906–20 and now in Washington, including *Greek and *Coptic biblical texts, documents, and *letters. LSBM

J. Gascou and L. MacCoull, 'Le Cadastre d'Aphroditô', *TM* 10 (1987–8), 103–58.
L. Hurtado, *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts* (TCS 6, 2006).
W. H. Worrell, ed., *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (UMHS 10, 1916–23).

Freising (Bavaria, Germany) Ducal palace of the Bavarian Agilolfings from *c.*700, and the seat of a *bishop from 739. *Charters from 744 onwards are preserved in a collection of the second quarter of the 9th century. An important scriptorium, including *Anglo-Saxon scribes, developed under Bishop Arbeo (764–83). MDi

H. Stahleder, *Hochstift Freising. Historischer Atlas von Bayern*, Teil Altbayern, Heft 33 (1974).

Friedenhain-Prestóvice group Elbe Germanic group of the 5th century, identified by its characteristic *pottery, as found in two *cremation *cemeteries: one in south-west Bohemia (Prestóvice) and one in Friedenhain bei Straubing (north of the Danube). *Pottery from this group has also been found between Neuberg and Passau in Late Roman forts (Neuberg, Eining, Regensburg, Straubing, Passau) as well as in the *Limesvorland*, the area immediately outside the Roman *frontier. This group may be considered to have been important in the process of ethnogenesis and the formation of *barbarian identity in the second half of the 5th century. TF

Th. Fischer and H. Geisler, 'Herkunft und Stammesbildung der Baiern aus archäologischer Sicht', in H. Dannheimer and H. Dopsch, eds.), *Die Bajuwaren. Von Severin bis Tassilo 488–788: gemeinsame Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern und des Landes Salzburg, Rosenheim/Bayern, Mattsee/Salzburg* (²1988), 61–9.
E. Weinlich, 'Das völkerwanderungszeitliche Urnengräberfeld von Forchheim in der Oberpfalz. Anmerkungen zum Horizont Friedenhain—Prest'óvice', in M. Chytrácek, ed. *Archäologische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Oxtbayern/West- und Südböhmen* 8 Treffen 1998 (1999), 97–114.
Th. Fischer, 'Von den Römern zu den Bayern', in Sigmund Bonk, ed., *Bayern unter den Römern. Facetten einer folgenreichen Epoche* (2009), 23–55.

friendship (Lat. *amicitia*) Friendship continued to define a wide range of male relationships in Late Antiquity, including *patronage relationships, enabling the participants to be represented as equals. Educated men maintained networks of friends and protégés in their own regions and often Empire-wide. The most extensive of these are highly visible in exchanges of *letters. Friends might provide influence in civic or imperial politics, as for *Symmachus or *Libanius, or promote a common doctrinal or ideological stance, as in the networks of such *bishops as *Theodoret of Cyrrhus or *Ruricius of Limoges.

The letters of *Julian show that *emperors also participated in these networks of friendship, but to be called a 'friend of the emperor' was more commonly an acknowledgement of rank and privilege at *court. *Gregory of *Nazianzus (*Oration*, 7, 10) records this status as having been achieved by his brother *Caesarius; conversely, *Augustine of Hippo (*Confessions*, VIII, 6, 15) records the rejection by two imperial officials of the prospect of friendship with the emperor in favour of friendship with God, understood as the founding principle of Christian community.

While some Christians such as *Basil of Caesarea derived Christian friendship from classical models, others emphasized the contrast between mundane friendship and an ideal spiritual friendship shared among believers. This may be found strongly if unsystematically expressed in *Ambrose of *Milan (*De Officiis*, III, 22, 128–38) and *Paulinus of Nola (*ep.* 13, 2). Its chief theorist, however, is Augustine, who explicitly approved Cicero's conception of friendship as agreement on matters human and divine (Augustine, *ep.* 258, 1; Cicero, *Laelius: De Amicitia*, VI, 20), but regarded *amicitia* as having been transformed by Christian *caritas*. It therefore permitted frank criticism as well as a deeper intimacy and affection. MSW

C. Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (2000).
R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (2007).
V. Epp, *Amicitia. Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer, und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter* (1999).
D. Konstan, 'Problems in the History of Christian Friendship', *JECS* 4 (1996), 87–113.
R. Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* (2003).
C. White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (2002).
I. Wood, 'Family and Friendship in the West', in *CAH* XIV (2001), 416–36.

Frigeridus Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus wrote a history in at least twelve books. It covered the early 5th century, was used by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 8 and 9), and is now lost. OPN

PLRE II, Frigeridus.
RE VII (1912) *s.v.* Frigeridus (2), col. 102 (Seeck).

Frigidus, Battle of River Victory won on 5 or 5–6 September 394 by *Theodosius I (379–95) over the *usurper *Eugenius (392–4) and his *Magister Militum *Arbogast in the Julian Alps. Theodosius' **foederati* and desertions from Eugenius' army played a part, as did the Bora wind mentioned in *Claudian's *panegyric on the third consulate of *Honorius (93–5), and also by Christian authors such as *Ambrose (*In Pss.* 36, 25), *Rufinus (*HE* XI, 30), and *Orosius (VII, 35, 11–21), who

present the battle as a victory over *pagans for the Christian *God of battles. *Zosimus (IV, 55, 1–IV, 58, 6) provides a contrasting account. Modern historians disagree about these and other details including the length of the battle. IAPS

Cameron, *Pagans*, 93–126.

A. Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* (1986).

Frisia and Frisians The Frisians appear at the very beginning of the Christian era as a Germanic people settled along the coasts of the North Sea, especially, according Tacitus, on the banks of Lake Flevo (mod. Ijsselmeer). During the period of *Barbarian Migrations, they moved westward through the Zeeland Islands toward the Scheldt estuary. It is likely that many of them participated in the movement of Angles and *Saxons to Great *Britain. From the 6th to 8th centuries, they moved eastward towards the Weser estuary and the so-called Eastern and Northern Frisian Islands off the coasts of Germany and Denmark.

The continental Frisians, who lived in coastal marshlands on artificial mounds, were led by a series of kings, of whom the most famous was *Radbod (*c.*680–719). They were responsible for waging wars, celebrating religious cults, and applying the law. From the 7th to the beginning of the 9th century, the power of the Frisian kings was challenged by the *Franks, especially the Pippinid (then Carolingian) family, who conquered the territory of the Frisians and converted them to Christianity. Most of the missionaries who converted the Frisians (including *Wilfrid, *Willbrord, *Boniface, Liafwine) came from *Anglo-Saxon England, which was closely related to Frisia both culturally and linguistically.

In spite of, or thanks to, the Frankish conquest, Frisians became the most significant seamen and *merchants of north-western Europe, and their port (or *emporium*, or *wic*) *Dorestad, on the Rhine delta, became its principal entrepôt. Connections radiated from it into the European hinterland, where the Frisians had colonies in *Trier, *Mainz, or Worms, to eastern England where they settled in *London or *York, and northwards to Scandinavia, where they created trading posts in Ribe, Haithabu, or Birka. With their Anglo-Saxon trade partners, the Frisians contributed to the spread of *silver currency (the so-called **sceatta*) in northern Europe, helping precipitate the conversion of all Western Europe to silver *coinage. However the wealth of the Frisians attracted Viking piracy, and during the 9th century, Frisia became the main target of Scandinavian raids in continental Europe, which caused the end of the great 'Frisian trade of the Dark Ages'. SL

S. Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Âge*, 2 vols.(1983).

J. Döring et al., eds., *Friezen, Saksen en Denen. Culturen aan de Nordzee, 400 tot 1000 n. Chr.: Katalog zur internationalen Wanderausstellung* (1996).

H. A. Heidinga, *Frisia in the First Millennium: An Outline* (1997).

Fritigern Co-leader with Alavivus of the majority of the *Tervingi *Visigoths who broke with *Athanaric in 376, preferring to negotiate asylum in the Roman Empire than to continue resisting the *Huns. Fritigern led the subsequent Gothic revolt (377) which resulted directly in the Battle of *Adrianople (378). He was still leading the Tervingi *c.*380, but was not involved in the eventual peace negotiations of 382. He was a *Homoean Christian. PHe

PLRE I, Fritigern.

Fritigil Queen of the *Marcomanni who wrote to *Ambrose, asking what she should believe. His *letter advocated (successfully) alliance with Rome. On coming to *Milan, she found Ambrose had died (*VAmbrosii* 56). OPN

Fritzlar (Hesse, Germany) A church and 'little *monastery' founded by S.*Boniface in the 720s, close to the site of the 'Oak of Jupiter', which Boniface famously felled, at Geismar. Its first abbot was Wigbert (d. 737/8). JTP

J.-H. Clay, *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia, 721–54* (2010).

Friuli, Duchy of The regional name Friuli in the modern Italian province of Venezia-Giulia derives from the Roman *colonia* and later Lombard ducal base of Forum Iulii (mod. *Cividale del Friuli). Part of the *Verona List *province of *Venetia et Histria, the territory was bounded to the north by the Carnic Alps—the main pass at Mount Croce Carnico, is 1,362 m (4,469 feet) high—and in the east by the lower, Julian Alps; to the south lay *Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic.

In Late Roman times the territory gained heightened military significance. In the 4th century traffic in the Julian Alps was overseen by defended *road stations (e.g. Ad Pirum), cross *walls, and towers. The Claustra system here saw conflict (mostly civil) in the 380s–390s, but was probably abandoned in the early 5th century. Subsequent defensive reconfiguration included the (re)fortification of key *cities and of new, elevated places such as Cormons, Udine, and Duino.

The *Lombards probably developed many existing sites following the *Lombard invasion of *Italy in 568, and the creation of the Friuli duchy *c.* AD 570. *Paul the *Deacon refers to various *castra* for *c.* AD 610 as both garrison and refuge sites (*HL* IV, 37). Noble groups may have been allocated control of these and associated

lands. Lombard *tombs occur at or near *castra* and major roads (e.g. S. Stefano in Maiano) and privileged *burials in castral chapels (e.g. Ragogna, Osoppo). *Duces of Friuli occasionally played prominent roles in the Lombard kingdom, whether in dynastic struggles (e.g. Lupo, *Aistulf) or in military ventures against Byzantine territories (e.g. *Ratchis; *HL* VI, 52 and 56); the region also faced threats from external forces, notably *Slavs and *Avars (*HL* IV, 37 on 610). The Duces Taso and Caco undertook counter-campaigns in the 620s/30s (*HL* IV, 38) and the Dux Wechtari (r. 666–78) allegedly slew thousands of Slavs who had mistaken him and his 25 companions for the Patriarch and his clergy (*HL* V, 23). NJC

M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (1981).

A. Tagliaferri, 'Il ducato di Forum Iulii', in G. C. Menis, ed., *I Longobardi* (exhibition catalogue, 1990), 102–12, 358–475.

Papers in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI–X). Atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (2001), include S. Gasparri, 'Istituzioni e poteri nel territorio friulano in età longobarda e carolingia', 105–28; N. J. Christie, 'The *Castra* of Paul the Deacon and the Longobard Frontier in Friuli', 231–51; I. Ahumada Silva, 'Necropoli longobarde a Cividale ed in Friuli', 321–55; L. Vila, 'Nuovi dati archeologici sui centri fortificati tardoantichi-altomedievali del Friuli', 825–61.

frontality Representation of a person *en face*. Frontality isolates a figure from the surrounding scenery and addresses the beholder; it creates a timeless, solemn appearance. Frontality established itself in Roman imperial art under the Severan *emperors (as on the Arch of the Argentarii, *Rome). Under the *Tetrarchy and later, it became a regular means of representing the *emperor in ceremonial scenes in relief, but not in sculpture in the round (Arch of *Constantine, Rome; *Missorium of Theodosius; Theodosian *Obelisk base, *Constantinople). Frontality was also used for solemn representations of high-ranking office-holders (as on consular *diptychs). In the mid-4th century this motif from imperial imagery influenced the representation of Christ (*Maiestas Domini*; Christ teaching; Ascension) and occasionally also of *saints (as in the *mosaics at the Rotunda of S. George, *Thessalonica, 5th cent.). On early *icons (6th/7th cent.) frontally placed representations address the beholder and emphasize the sacred attributes of Christ, the Virgin *Mary, or saint. UG

L. Budde, *Die Entstehung des antiken Repräsentationsbildes* (1954).

frontier, Arab–Byzantine Following the *Arab conquest of *Palestine and *Syria by 640, the *Taurus mountain range became the barrier between the Christian Eastern Roman Empire and the Muslim *caliphate. The Romans withdrew from *Cilicia and transformed their side of the range into a thinly populated defensive zone, monitored by local forces, to check the Arab threat to Central *Anatolia. A system of small military districts and fortresses took shape along the Byzantine frontier, where incessant raiding and unstable conditions produced a society dominated by warlords, peopled by various religious and ethnic groups, and only nominally under imperial control. On the more fertile Arab side of the *Taurus Mountains, towns such as *Tarsus, *Mopsuestia, and *Melitene eventually revived under the caliphate and became flourishing commercial centres as well as bases for annual attacks on Byzantine territory. As the Arab dream of capturing *Constantinople faded in the 8th century, these incursions kept alive the martial spirit of the early Islamic conquests and enhanced the prestige of the caliphs who led or sponsored them. In this uneasy coexistence *trade contacts and exchanges were minimal, but evidence of intermarriage and reciprocal cultural influences survives in the tales of the borderlands that have come down in both traditions. EM

R.-J. Lilie, 'The Byzantine–Arab Borderland from the Seventh to the Ninth Century', in F. Curta, ed., *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (2005), 13–21.

J. F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, 'The Arab–Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands', *ZRVI* 19 (1980), 79–116.

frontier, Roman, impact on free Germany The Roman *frontiers on the Rhine and Danube had an enormous impact on the peoples of Germany and led to the formation of *confederations described in written sources for the 3rd and 4th centuries. Some 110,000 soldiers were stationed at the Roman bases on the Rhine and upper Danube around AD 100, and they created a great demand for food and supplies, such as *leather for military gear and tents and *iron for *tools and weapons, much of which was satisfied by *trade across the frontier. At *Feddersen Wierde in north-western Germany, between the 1st and 4th centuries the community expanded its capacity for raising *cattle for export to Roman bases on the Rhine, and status differentiation increased as Roman imports arrived at the site.

Auxiliary troops were recruited from peoples who lived across the frontier. When they returned home after serving with Roman *armies, they brought their earnings in the form of *coinage and other goods, as well as their experience of the world beyond their homelands.

The abundance of Roman luxury goods in richly outfitted graves beyond the frontier attests to the cultural and political impact of the frontier on the barbarian *aristocracies. Graves such as those at Mušov and *Gommern demonstrate familiarity with and desire to emulate Roman cultural practices, especially those involved with *dining. PSW

A. Demandt, 'Die westgermanischen Stammesbünde', *Klio* 75 (1993), 387–406.
T. Grane, ed., *Beyond the Roman Frontier: Roman Influences on the Northern Barbaricum* (2007).
P. S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* (1999).
M. Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric* (2007).
For a catalogue and maps of Roman finds from north of the Danube frontier, *TIR* M-33 Praha (1986), 97–217 with maps B and C.

frontier, Roman military A panegyrist of *Constantius I, praising imperial campaigns beyond *Hadrian's Wall in 306, claimed that the *emperor in his final campaign was 'called by the gods to come to the uttermost edge of the earth' (*PanLat* VI, (VII) 7, 1–2). The panegyrist sees the emperor traversing the frontiers of the Roman Empire and reaching towards Ocean and the edges of the world itself.

Late Antiquity witnessed radical changes to the boundaries of the Roman state, and the concepts of frontiers and defences also changed over time. The term *limes* was applied to frontiers in Roman times, but the current usage of the term is largely a modern construction. Studies have shown that *limes* had various meanings which did not always imply military structures, but by the 4th century *limes* referred to administrative borders and frontier districts, especially on the desert borders with the *Persian Empire (*John Malalas, *Chron*. XII, 40; XVIII, 32).

Territorial losses in *Germania, *Raetia, and *Dacia, meant that by the late 3rd century land frontiers were defined by the rivers Rhine and Danube manned by **limitanei* and *ripenses*. The eastern frontier, however, which formerly followed the Euphrates actually advanced after the Persian victory of *Galerius in 298 into parts of *Armenia and far beyond the Tigris to *Singara and the **Transtigritanae regiones*. Areas further south had relied during the 260s on the forces of the briefly separate Empire of *Palmyra. Under the *Tetrarchy, the Roman authorities implemented a system of patrol roads (the *Strata Diocletiana) linking new legionary bases along the edges of the desert as far south as the Gulf of Aqaba. There was also change in the spatial organization of garrisons, as an increasing number of military fortifications have been identified located within the frontier signifying a greater concern for 'defence in depth'. How this network was garrisoned remains less clear, as the main document for military dispositions across the Empire, the **Notitia Dignitatum* of the early 5th century, differentiates *limitanei* along the existing frontiers from the imperial *field armies (**comitatenses*) within the Empire.

By the end of the 5th century, archaeological evidence along the lower Danube indicates poorly maintained garrisons, although writers such as *Procopius (*Aed*. IV, I, 33) continue to visualize a river frontier. In the East stable relations with the *Persian Empire allowed the frontier garrisons and fortifications to be neglected and it was only with the renewal of recurrent *Persian–Roman wars from 502 that new fortifications and garrisons were required. Throughout the 6th century the eastern frontier depended on a series of fortress cities such as *Amida and *Dara supplemented by a network of fortified settlements. On the desert fringe the Empire relied on *Bedouin allies (the *Ghassanids) with few major defences apart from the oasis strongpoints of *Palmyra and *Sergiopolis-Rusafa; in the 6th century the *strata* survived merely to designate disputed areas of desert grazing (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 1). In *Africa Justinian I's new territories required newly constructed forts and fortresses representing an army of occupation rather than a line of frontier defence. JCr

A. D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (1993).
A. G. Poulter, *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond* (2007).
C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (1994).
C. Zuckerman, 'Sur le dispositive frontalier en Arménie, le "limes" et son évolution, sous le Bas-empire', *Historia* 48 (1998), 108–28.
The series of conferences, held biennially since 1995 mostly in the United States of America, on *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* is concerned only partially with military and geographical frontiers. The series of International Congresses on Roman Frontier Studies, held triennially since 1949, have a more military focus. The proceedings of both are published.

frontier, Roman military, African Roman military deployment in *Latin-speaking *Africa during the High Empire had expanded southwards to encompass the productive Tell. From the late 3rd century it contracted, as the *army withdrew from advanced positions in the pre-desert.

In *Tripolitania, the frontier east of *Leptis Magna was reduced to the coastal road; legionary forts like Bu Ngem (Bu Njem) and Gheria were abandoned, replaced eventually by a large number of *fortified farms (*centenaria*), some of them manned by local troops. *Inscriptions from *Sabratha and *Lepcis Magna record a series of raids by the Austuriani *c*.355–60; another raid in 363 reached the *cities of the coast. Further west, in *Numidia and *Mauretania Caesariensis, some desert posts were abandoned, but other forts were rebuilt (e.g. Ad Maiores, under *Diocletian, *CIL* VIII, 2480) and

new bases were constructed, as at Aqua Viva near Tobna (*AE* 1942/43, 81) under *Constantine I, and at Cellae on the route leading north from Hodna to *Sitifis under *Valentinian I (*CIL* VIII, 10937).

The real threat to security came, not from the desert, but from the mountain ranges of the interior, the Grand Kabylie, the Babors, the Bibans, and the Ouarsenis. Military action against the *Moors is recorded at Tobna in 420 (*Augustine, *ep.* 220, 3 and 12), and again, more broadly, under the *Vandals (*CIL* VIII, 9286). In the mid-6th century, after the *Byzantine invasion and occupation of Africa, the *Magister Militum *Solomon and *John Troglita campaigned against the *Laguatan (Leuethae).

Further West still, in *Mauretania Tingitana, much of the southern part of the province around Volubilis appears to have been evacuated in the period after 280, the army having pulled back to a line of camps along the coastal road from Lixus to *Tingi and the Rif Mountains. DAC

D. Cherry, *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa* (1998).
E. Fentress, 'Romanizing the Berbers', *P&P* 190 (2006), 3–33.
E. Fentress and A. I. Wilson, 'The Saharan Berber Diaspora: The Southern Frontiers of Byzantine North Africa', in S. T. Stevens and J. P. Conant, eds., *North Africa under Byzantium and Early Islam* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia, 2016), 41–64.
G. D. B. Jones and D. J. Mattingly, 'Fourth-Century Manning of the "Fossatum Africae"', *Britannia* 11 (1980), 323–6.
C. R. Whittaker, 'Ethnic Discourses on the Frontiers of Roman Africa', in T. Derks and N. Roymans, eds., *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition* (2009), 189–205.

frontier, Roman military, Danube The Danube flows roughly from west to east, from its confluence with the Inn at Passau to its delta on the Black Sea. In the 4th century it formed the northern boundary of the Empire in the *Balkans, from Castra Regina (mod. Regensburg) in the *province of *Raetia Secunda through the *Dioeceses *Pannoniae, *Moesiae, and *Thraciae to the delta in the province of *Scythia Minor, the modern Dobruja, through which the river flows into the Black Sea. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists over 400 military units along the Danube frontier in what were by then the Dioeceses of *Illyricum, *Daciae, and Thraciae. The terrain varies greatly along the course of the river, from flat farmland west of Vindobona and *Carnuntum to the impassable Iron Gates and on to the low wetlands of the delta.

The Danube frontier in the 1st and 2nd centuries

Rome came to occupy the Danube slowly from the 1st century BC onwards. The security of the *Amber Road, running from the Baltic to *Aquileia, was improved under the *Emperor Claudius I by the stationing of a legion at Carnuntum. Following pressure from barbarians beyond the frontier during the 1st century, Trajan at the beginning of the 2nd century established a province of *Dacia north of the middle Danube which reached far into modern Romania.

After Trajan the dispositions along the frontier were consistent until the reign of *Aurelian (270–5). There were legions based in the four Pannonian and Moesian provinces: those at Vindobona, Carnuntum, and *Brigetio in upper *Pannonia faced the *Suebi, *Quadi, and *Marcomanni, while the three at *Aquincum (Budapest), Singidinum (*Belgrade), and *Viminacium faced the *Sarmatians. In Lower *Moesia, two legions supported the Roman army in Dacia, north of the Danube. For the most part, the Romans systematically dispersed their forts based on travel time and economy of force but there are noticeable points of concentration. In some stretches of flat terrain such as the region west of Vindobona, the Romans placed forts 10 km (6 miles) apart. A tighter concentration was at the Danube bend, north and south of Aquincum, where there was only 8 km (5 miles) between forts. Two further legions were brought to the Danube during the wars against the Marcomanni under Marcus Aurelius (161–80).

3rd-century defence and withdrawal

The recession of the Danubian frontier started in the mid-3rd century. *Decius' attempts to resist invasions on the lower and middle Danube by *Goths and *Carpi in 250–1 ended in his death on the battlefield. Early in the sole reign of *Gallienus (260–8) an invasion of barbarians, described in a fragment of *Dexippus, reached *Thessalonica and caused the pass at *Thermopylae to be fortified. In 267/8 the irruptions of the *Heruli reached *Athens. *Claudius II Gothicus was able to defeat Gothic invaders at *Niš (Naissus) in 269, but died of disease the following year. His successor *Aurelian made the difficult decision in 271 to abandon the province of Dacia north of the Danube (*Eutropius, IX, 15). The legions in Dacia were transferred to Oescus (near mod. Pleven, Bulgaria) and *Ratiaria, and refugees, who included the mother of the future Emperor *Galerius (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 9, 2), were accommodated in two new provinces south of the river, which were given the name of the Dacias.

The Tetrarchy, Constantine and his sons

After the instability of the mid-3rd century, it fell to *Diocletian to reorganize and stabilize the frontier. He reinforced the Lower Danube at *Durostorum, Transmarisca, and Sexaginta Prista in 298–9 and

Halmyris in 301–2, and was passing regularly up and down the frontier between 290 and 296. He also built a significant number of *bridges, and forts north of the river. Galerius campaigned almost annually against Marcomanni, Carpi, and Sarmatians between 299 and 309. *Licinius was permanently in the Balkans from the time of his accession at Carnuntum in November 308 and seems to have restored the monument to a victory of Trajan at *Tropaeum Trajani in the Dobruja.

When *Constantine I took over all the Balkan territories of Licinius except Thrace in 317 after the *Cibalensean War, he was constantly in the cities favoured as imperial residences in the north Balkans, including Niš (his birthplace) and *Serdica, which at one point he described as 'my Rome'. Even after he took control of the East in 324 he passed regularly along the *Via Militaris and the *Via Egnatia, the *roads leading from *Constantinople to the Adriatic, and campaigned against the *Sarmatians, settling over 300,000 of their subject peoples in the Balkans and *Italy (**Origo Constantini*, 31–2). In 328, he built a very long stone *bridge across the Danube from Oescus to Sucidava where the river is 1.3 km (1,422 yards) wide.

The frontier and its troops played a part in the civil wars of Constantine's sons; *Constans I marched along the Danube to repel the invasion of his brother *Constantine II at *Aquileia in 340, *Constantius II marched the same way against the *usurper *Magnentius in 350–1, and *Julian advanced against Constantius by the Via Militaris, until he came to Niš where he heard that his adversary was dead. Forts were repaired and strengthened throughout the 3rd and 4th centuries and river forts were reinforced and supplied by a system of defence in depth, comprising inland forts and civilian sites well within the Balkan territories.

The mid- and late 4th century

Thanks to such dispositions and the constant vigilance which maintained them, the Danube frontier was stable throughout much of the 4th century. Alternative fort designs were developed in the late 3rd–early 4th centuries as the Romans transitioned from the earlier standard 'playing card' shape to designs more prevalent in the medieval period. *Valentinian I ordered the construction of watchtowers to improve surveillance of crossing points on the frontier. A new waterfront was constructed for the fleet located at Brecantia on Lake Konstanz and there is evidence that *Honorius and *Theodosius II continued to maintain a fleet of patrol boats on the Lower Danube.

During the 4th century, the *Goths (already active on the frontier in the 3rd cent.) became the principal presence on the Danube. In the 340s *Ulfilas 'Apostle of the Goths' spent seven years in his native land north of the frontier spreading Christianity, a linking of *diplomacy and mission which had a long future in Roman politics. The character of his political dealings with the confederation of the *Tervingi is not clear, but from this time onwards, Christianity was an element in Roman–Gothic relations. In 376 the Tervingi under *Fritigern sought permission from the Emperor *Valens to settle on the Roman side of the frontier (*Ammianus, XXXI, 4, 1), and *Sozomen states, perhaps correctly, that Ulfilas led the embassy making the request. The request was made, says Ammianus, because the *Huns and *Alani were pressing the Goths from behind (XXXI, 2–3); he also takes a low view of the competence of the Roman commanders who not only failed to make proper provision for the immigrants but by suspending the normal boat patrols on the river permitted the *Greuthungi to cross over as well. The Goths proceeded to terrorize cities south of the frontier. The Emperor Valens, dismissed an embassy led by a Gothic Christian *priest and, without waiting for reinforcements led by his colleague the Emperor *Gratian, confronted a united Gothic force near *Adrianople on 9 August 378. He was disastrously defeated and killed, and his body was never found (Ammianus, XXXI, 12–13). His successor *Theodosius I settled the Goths in Thrace, but under *Alaric they eventually broke free and moved beyond the Danube sphere.

The 5th century

The history of the Danube frontier area in the 5th century is dominated by the threat presented by the Huns. In 422, according to *Marcellinus Comes, they devastated Thrace; five years later, and no less cryptically, he records that the provinces of Pannonia were retaken by the Romans, having been held by the Huns for 50 years—a statement which cannot be literally true. At some point in the first half of the 5th century the residence of the *Praefectus Praetorio was withdrawn from *Sirmium to the greater security of *Thessalonica (*NovJust* 11).

With the accession of *Attila to leadership of the Huns in 435/40 the threat to the lands formerly enclosed by the Balkan frontier worsened. *Priscus of Panium, who accompanied an embassy to Attila in 449, described the devastation surrounding formerly prosperous cities. Viminiacium and Serdica had been sacked and the Huns had besieged and captured Niš which was now the border point between Hun and Roman territory, but the city was empty and the banks of the River Margus were strewn with the unburied bones of those killed in the fighting (fr. 6, 1–2 and 11, 1–2 Blockley). The defeat of Attila at the *Catalaunian Plains in 451, followed by his death two years later, removed the immediate threat, but the construction in *c.*505 of the

Anastasian *Wall as an outer defence for Constantinople itself by that cautious monarch *Anastasius I indicates an awareness that even the imperial city was vulnerable to barbarian threats.

The 6th century

*Justin I (518–27) and his nephew and successor *Justinian I (518–65) were natives of the Balkans and Justinian undertook elaborate refortification of the area. In 535 he embellished his birthplace and renamed it Justiniana Prima (*Caričin Grad) and then created a new administrative entity called the *Quaestura Exercitus which was intended to provide for the security of the lower Danube, and provision the troops guarding it (*NovJust* 11 and 41). The arrangement certainly lasted into the 570s. In addition he constructed numerous fortifications, though the description of these dispositions in *Procopius' *Buildings* (*Aed*. IV) is by no means as exhaustive as the account of the Persian frontier, and indeed frequently degenerates into mere lists of names. In 540 he restored the Anastasian Wall.

Despite all this activity, the military situation was marked by insecurity. The late 6th and early 7th centuries saw the incursions of *Slavs and Avars as well as the final disintegration of the Danubian frontier. The Slavs, specifically the Sclavini and the *Antes, were settled on the northern bank of the Danube by 518 and began to raid Roman territory in conjunction with various *Bulgar groups. In 549, the Sclavini began to capture fortresses south of the Danube for the first time. The Avars first appear during the reign of Justinian in 558 and the *Gepids were only removed, in 567, by the east Romans forming an alliance with *Lombards and Avars. The Lombards then invaded Italy and the Avars quickly occupied the area north of the Black Sea and Danube so that by 570 they controlled Pannonia and had established a federation under *Bayan. The Slavs and Avars together conquered most of the inland cities in the Balkans during the reign of the Emperor *Maurice, and in 626 laid siege to Constantinople itself. Thereafter the Romans never occupied the Danube again. DSW; OPN

R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: The Pontic-Danubia Realm in Antiquity* (2007).
D. J. Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome* (2011).
E. James, *Europe's Barbarians: AD 200–600* (2009).
Heather, *Goths and Romans.*
Gordon, *Age of Attila*.
Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, in particular:
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, 'The Lower Danube Region under Pressure: From Valens to Heraclius', 101–34.
Michael Whitby, 'The Late Roman Army and the Defence of the Balkans', 135–61.
P. Heather, 'Goths in the Roman Balkans *c*.350–500', 163–89.
A. Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars: Campaigning, Diplomacy and Development in Illyricum, Thrace and the Northern World A.D. 527–65* (ARCA 53, 2016).
J. J. Wilkes, 'The Roman Danube: An Archaeological Survey', *JRS* 95 (2005), 124–225.

frontier, Roman military, eastern The history of the Later Roman Empire's eastern frontier, from the time of the rise of the *Sasanian dynasty in the *Persian Empire in the early 3rd century up to the *Arab invasions of the mid-7th century, went through several successive phases, as it responded to the variations in Roman diplomatic and military relations with the Persian Empire on the other side of the frontier, and to Roman relations with the peoples who inhabited the frontier area. Each phase required the Empire to adopt distinctive diplomatic and military policies and dispositions and organize its frontiers accordingly.

These were tempered by the contrasting topographical conditions in the frontier regions. In the north, the Black Sea coast and Caucasus area were an area of active contention principally in the mid-6th century. The mountains and fertile valleys of what is now eastern Turkey (the Late Roman *province of *Armenia Major and the area of the Satrapies, later *Armenia Quarta, to the south of it) was frequently the scene of local tensions; Armenia also provided an east–west route along which emperors could take the fight into the heart of Persian territory as *Galerius did in 298 and *Heraclius in the campaign which culminated in the death of Shahanshah *Khosrow II in 628. But it was south of the *Taurus Mountains, in northern Mesopotamia (the Late Roman provinces of *Mesopotamia and *Osrhoene), that the most serious confrontations between the superpowers occurred, especially along the east–west road running through *Nisibis and *Edessa or *Harran westwards to the Euphrates crossing at *Zeugma, or on the route running from the south-east up the Euphrates Valley, a route which could also form a line of advance for Roman armies counter-attacking into Persian *Mesopotamia, as *Carus probably did in 283 and as *Julian did in 363. Roman defences to the south of this cockpit of empires ran along the *Strata Diocletiana, stretching from *Sura on the Euphrates via *Palmyra to *Bosra, the capital of the province of *Arabia, with further fortifications southwards as far as *Aila on the Gulf of Aqaba; these were supplemented at various times by alliances with the nomad peoples who inhabited the Syrian Desert.

Scholarly understanding of the frontier is hampered by its relative inaccessibility, though the remoteness of some sites has ensured their preservation, and the detailed accounts of intrepid travellers of an earlier generation (e.g. J. G. Taylor, H. F. B. Lynch, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, and Gertrude Bell) often

record remains which have since disappeared. The dating of many sites along the frontier remains arbitrary and often contradictory, but it is often from the location of sites and the routes of *roads that scholarly deductions are made concerning imperial strategy.

The 3rd century

Up to the early 3rd century, Roman–Persian relations had been characterized by occasional conflict, but direct contact was cushioned by client kingdoms lying to the east of Roman territory. These had been brought slowly under Roman direct rule, Armenia Minor and Commagene in the 1st century and the *province of *Arabia in the former kingdom of Nabataea in 106. By 200 a large province of Mesopotamia had been created. This included the *cities of Harran, Nisibis, and *Singara, and also most of the client kingdom of Osrhoene, ruled from Edessa, the centre of *Syriac-speaking civilization, by the Abgar dynasty, although the dynasty did not finally end until 241/2 (Millar, *RNE* 124–6, 150–2).

The rise of the *Sasanian dynasty in the Persian Empire brought a permanent end to this symbiosis. In 240 *Ardashir I, the first Sasanian Shah, captured Hatra, an independent city-kingdom which had a Roman garrison (*Cologne Mani Codex*, 18, 1–16). *Shapur I, Ardashir's son and successor, adopted a regularly hostile policy towards the Roman Empire in campaigns which he celebrated at length in the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, an *inscription in three languages carved at the ceremonial site of *Naqsh-e Rostam in *Fars. Shapur enumerates three campaigns which eventually took him far into Roman territory in *Anatolia. The first resulted in the death of the *Emperor Gordian III (238–44), the burial of that emperor at *Zaitha on the Euphrates, and a humiliating peace treaty for the Emperor Philip the Arab (244–9). In the second, in *c.*253, occasioned by tensions in the kingdom of Armenia, Shapur advanced up the Euphrates to Barbalissus, from where one army struck west capturing *Aleppo and *Apamea while another marched upriver to Zeugma before heading west to sack *Antioch. A concurrent invasion crossed the frontier further north, captured *Satala, and ravaged *Cappadocia. In 256/7 the Persians captured the Roman Euphrates fortress of *Dura Europus. Then, in his third campaign, Shapur captured the Emperor *Valerian in a battle beyond Harran and sacked Roman cities along the south coast of *Cilicia and in the interior of *Anatolia as far north as *Sebasteia. The catastrophe of the capture of a Roman emperor set the pattern of superpower relations for an entire generation. Valerian's son *Gallienus did nothing to rescue his father (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 5); for over a decade the defence of the East was in the hands of an independent regime run from the desert city of Palmyra until it was suppressed by the Emperor *Aurelian in 272. The Emperor Carus sacked the Persian royal residence at *Ctesiphon in 283, but his army retreated to Roman territory after his sudden death.

Diocletian, the Tetrarchy and Constantine I

The early years of Diocletian (284–305), Carus' successor, saw peaceful diplomatic relations between the empires. *Circesium, at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Khabur, was fortified in *c.*287 (*Ammianus, XXIII, 5, 2).

In 290 Diocletian campaigned against the *Arabs of the Syrian desert (*PanLat* XI [III], 5, 4–7) and resettled captives in *Thrace (*PanLat* IV [VIII], 21, 1). Palmyra was refortified and incorporated into the system of defences and roads along what is known as the Strata Diocletiana, a line of defence which has been interpreted as an attempt to create a 'frontier-in-depth' based on a network of sites situated along the approximate line of the 200 mm isohyet (the point where sedentary agriculture becomes unviable through lack of rainfall).

The accession of *Narseh in 293 saw fresh Persian aggression. In 297 the Shah defeated *Galerius between *Callinicum and Harran (P. Argent 480, *Jerome, 227c Helm). The following year Narseh attacked by way of Armenia and was crushingly defeated (according to Armenian sources, in the Pasinler plain east of mod. Erzerum), losing *horses, *elephants, and the women of his *court. The harsh peace terms imposed by Diocletian in 298 again set the diplomatic tone for a generation; in particular the Persians were obliged to cede five strategic areas north and east of the Tigris, the *Transtigritanae Regiones, Nisibis was to be the place where business was transacted, and, apart from a minor Armenian war under *Maximinus Daza, all was quiet on the eastern front until the final year of the reign of *Constantine I (306–37).

Constantius II, Shapur II, and Julian

Throughout the reign of *Constantius II (337–61), *Shapur II (309–79) adopted an aggressive attitude towards the Roman Empire. International relations had become more complicated due to the adoption of Christianity by the rulers of both Armenia and the Roman Empire; Christian subjects of the Persian Shah might well feel that God was on the side of the Christian emperor—indeed *Aphrahat, the Persian sage, said as much, in *apocalyptic tones (*Demonstration*, 5). North of the Taurus, conflict was enmeshed in the complexities of Armenian dynastic politics, and there is evidence of refortification, for instance at *Pağnik Öreni. The Mesopotamian sector of the frontier bore the brunt of the Persian attacks and the strategy of Constantius II was resolutely defensive. *Constantia-Tella (mod. Viranşehir), west of the Khabur between Nisibis and

Edessa, was fortified (*Ammianus, XVIII, 9, 1 calling it Antoninupolis). Amida on the Tigris was built up as a base, and *Cephas (mod. Hasankeyf) and *Bezabde (mod. Eski Hendek), both downstream to the east of Amida, were fortified. About 100 km (*c.*62 miles) south of Cephas across the *Tur 'Abdin plateau, the stronghold of Rhabdion (mod. Hatem Tai Kalesi) on the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mesopotamian plain was fortified. Shapur besieged Nisibis three times, but did not take it, and at least three battles were fought at Singara, which the Persians captured in 360.

Ammianus Marcellinus' account of his own involvement as a staff officer in the Persian invasion of 359 reveals much about the working of the frontier. Particularly noteworthy is his record that in official quarters the Persian objective was assumed to be Edessa. This expectation turned out to be incorrect when Shapur swung northwards and besieged Amida instead, using detailed information about Roman dispositions gained from the traitor Antoninus, owner of a farm at Iaspis (mod. Büyükdere, formerly Hespist) on the Tur 'Abdin.

On the death of Constantius II in 361, Julian reversed many of his predecessor's policies. His invasion of Persian Mesopotamia took the Euphrates route, with his commissariat floating down the river alongside the army; after his death the Romans retreated up the Tigris and *Jovian made a peace for 30 years of which Ammianus (who was there) was ashamed (XXV, 7, 13). Jovian gave up the Transtigritanae Regiones, and promised not to help the Roman ally *Arshak the Great of Armenia against the Persians, a promise which led eventually to the murder of Arshak and the annexation by the Persians of Armenian territory. Most significant of all, Nisibis and Singara were given to the Persians stripped of their inhabitants. *Joshua the Stylite (7) believed that Nisibis was ceded for only 120 years, but the loss had immediate repercussions for the defence of the frontier. The headquarters of the *Dux Mesopotamiae and of Legio Prima Parthica were withdrawn westwards from Nisibis to Constantia-Tella and those of Legio Secunda Parthica, formerly at Singara, to Cephas (**Notitia Dignitatum or.* XXXVI), leaving without major fortification the route the Persian army took to Amida in 359. Local Christians who left Nisibis rather than live under Persian rule included the poet *Ephrem, who settled in Edessa. When, twenty years later, the pilgrim *Egeria wanted to visit Ur of the Chaldees she was told it was not possible for Romans to go into Persian Mesopotamia (20, 12).

After Julian

The conditions created by Jovian's peace held for the most part until the beginning of the 6th century. Amida was enlarged and in 380/1 *Theodosius I fortified the small *colonia* of *Resaina (mod. Ras al 'Ain), south of Constantia, and renamed it Theodosiopolis. In the early 5th century *Marutha of Martyropolis was permitted by Shah *Yazdegerd I to collect the *relics of Christians martyred by earlier Sasanian monarchs and install them at *Martyropolis (mod. Silvan), in Roman territory *c.*88 km (*c.*55 miles) north of the Tigris crossing at Cephas and adjacent to the Persian region of *Arzanene. A short war in 421–2, fought in Arzanene and outside Nisibis, did no permanent damage to relations.

Changes along the Armenian frontier had few repercussions on other aspects of international affairs. At the partition of *Armenia between the Emperor *Theodosius I and Shah *Shapur III in 387, a line was drawn east of modern Erzerum (Armenian Karen), which was subsequently fortified and renamed Theodosiopolis after *Theodosius II. From 428 onwards the Persian portion of Armenia was ruled by a *marzban, though the Armenian nobility (**naxarars*) strongly resisted attempts to impose *Zoroastrianism on them.

Qobad I, Khosrow I, and Justinian I

The international peace of the 5th century came to an end in 502 when *Qobad I invaded the Roman Empire. His pretext was that the Emperor *Anastasius I had not paid money the Persians claimed as a subvention for their garrisons in the Caucasus passes which protected both empires against irruptions of tribes from *Central Asia, such as had occurred in 395 (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 7, 1, cf. I, 10; *John Lydus, *Mag.* III, 52–3). An author based in Edessa and conventionally known as *Joshua the Stylite gives a detailed account of the ensuing war which lasted until 506. Qobad advanced through Armenia, captured Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) without difficulty, and moved south by way of Martyropolis to Amida which he besieged and captured, whilst his Hun and *Arab allies ravaged the countryside. The Romans eventually took Amida back from the Persians in exchange for 1,000 lb of *gold (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* VII, 3–4; Procopius, *Persian*, I, 7–9).

The immediate consequence of this invasion was that *Anastasius I refortified Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) (*Persian*, I, 10, 18–19; *Aed.* III, 5, 4–9) and founded *Dara, a massive fortress-city set as a defence 'in front of the entire Roman Empire' (Procopius, *Aed.* II, 1, 13). The site of Dara is strategically sited, at the foot of the escarpment, about 26 km (*c.*16 miles) west of Nisibis and only 10.4 km (6.5 miles) inside the Roman frontier. A river runs through it. The fullest account of its building, by Zacharias Rhetor (*HE* VII, 6) makes it clear that Thomas, Bishop of Amida, as an agent for the emperor, was given substantial funds to ensure rapid building, despite Persian attempts at obstruction (Joshua the Stylite, 90). Dara was intended to block any future invasion originating from Nisibis; it was

reinforced by a chain of subsidiary fortresses along the frontier, including the Monastery of Mar Gabriel on Tur 'Abdin (Procopius' Banasymeon: *Aed*. II, 4, 14) where Anastasius paid for an *apse *mosaic as well as fortifications. Furthermore, between 514 and 518, *Sergiopolis-Rusafa, already a place of *pilgrimage and of gathering for Arab tribes, particularly the *Ghassanids, ruled by the *Jafnid dynasty, was given the standing of a metropolis, a sign of the increasing involvement of Arab partisans in the Roman frontier system, balancing the *Nasrids (Lakhimids), the Arab allies of the Persians. In the first quarter of the 6th century tensions between the empires began to be felt also in the Caucasus, with the defection of *Iberia to Roman suzerainty in 524, and in southern *Arabia, in the proxy war between the *Himyarites and the Christians of *Najran in 523/4.

Procopius, who had served at Dara with *Belisarius, gives a detailed description of the city, ascribing most of the credit for Dara's formidable strength to *Justinian I, though Croke and Crowe have shown that much of his description does not accord with what can still be seen at the site. The city was first tested in 530. Roman construction of a small fortress at Mindouos 'against the very boundary of Persia' was interrupted by Persian attacks; these were followed by a full-scale invasion and a battle under the walls of Dara which the Romans won (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 13–14). A parallel Persian invasion of Roman Armenia was defeated at *Satala. The following year the Persians invaded up the Euphrates route, bypassing Dara, and won a battle at *Callinicum. They also attacked north of the Tigris against Martyropolis. However the death of King Qobad suggested withdrawal and the new Shah, *Khosrow I Anushirvan, agreed in 532 on an *Everlasting Peace, one of whose conditions was the withdrawal of the headquarters of the *Dux Mesopotamiae from Dara to Constantia-Tella.

Khosrow broke the Eternal Peace in 540. Significantly it was preceded by conflict between the Arab allies of the two empires. Again the Persians took the Euphrates route, so bypassing both Dara and, by staying on the right bank, Circesium, and proceeded to sack Antioch. The Roman counter-attack in 541 barely got beyond Nisbis. In 542 the Persians again advanced up the Euphrates and captured Callinicum. Fighting continued in Mesopotamia till a five-year truce was declared in 545 though fighting between the Ghassanids and the Lakhimids (e.g. in 554) did not stop.

In 540 Khosrow also opened a second front in the Black Sea region, by invading the kingdom of *Lazica, ruled by King *Gubaz (Gobazes) II, a Roman ally who shifted his loyalty to the Persian side. Fighting centred around the Roman fortress of *Petra until it was demolished in 551. Persian policy in the region was hampered by Laz adherence to Christianity. The war in these regions, as described by Procopius and *Agathias, persisted for twenty years, until the laboriously negotiated *Fifty Years Peace of 561. This treaty, whose terms are recorded by *Menander Protector (fr. 11), directed the Persians to protect the Caspian Gates, bound the Arab allies of the two empires to keep the peace, and explicitly permitted the existence of Dara. It was at about this time that Mar *Ahudemmeh, the *Miaphysite Bishop of *Beth-Arabaye, was permitted to build a shrine to S. Sergius, to whom Arab Christians had a considerable devotion, at *Qasr Serij in Persian territory, so providing an alternative place of *pilgrimage to Sergiopolis-Rusafa. The Arab allies of both empires had been increasingly involved in their conflicts.

After Justinian

In 571 Vardan Mamikonean led a revolt against the Persians, fleeing to the court of the Roman Emperor *Justin II (565–78) for protection when the rebellion failed. In 573, Justin II unilaterally broke the Fifty Years Peace, 'and hence came the evil procession of Roman misfortunes' (*Theophylact Simocatta, III, 8, 5). The Romans attacked Nisibis. The Persian counter-attack reached Antioch and sacked *Apamea; then the Persian King came to Dara 'like a hurricane' and after a siege of six months captured it with great slaughter (*John of Ephesus, *HE* VI, 5). Justin II lost his mind and *Tiberius was appointed Caesar. War then continued intermittently on both the Armenian and Mesopotamian fronts until 591, particularly after 578 under the command of *Maurice and then, after Maurice became emperor in 582, under his brother-in-law *Philippicus. Denied Dara, Maurice and Philippicus made inventive use of the frontier topography, invading down the Euphrates (581), swooping on the Persian territory east of Nisibis in *Beth Arabaye from the heights of the Tur 'Abdin, now a Roman salient (584), and making attacks on Persian territory from Arzanene eastwards (582, 585, 586) from bases north of the Tigris such as Martyropolis, a stronghold and residence of a Dux since Justinian I (Procopius, *Aed*. III, 2).

In 589 the Persians actually captured Martyropolis. Events however took a significant turn when in 590–1 Roman forces were able to aid the new Shah *Khosrow II Aparwez to take possession of his throne (as prophesied by S. *Golinduch). In gratitude, Khosrow returned to the Romans not only Martyropolis (as recorded in a lost Greek inscription seen on its walls by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt) and significant territory in Armenia, but also Dara. Maurice reorganized Roman Armenia, and Khosrow sent gifts to the shrine at Sergiopolis-Rusafa.

It was the overthrow of Maurice by *Phocas in 602 which broke the peace. Maurice had adopted Khosrow as his son, so Khosrow set out to avenge his adoptive father in what has been called the Last Great War of Antiquity lasting from 603 to 630. Dara was taken after

a prolonged siege and Edessa was captured for the first time in the long history of Roman–Sasanian warfare. What followed was a systematic war of movement in which entrenched frontiers were irrelevant. Persian armies captured *Jerusalem (614), took control of *Egypt (618–19), and besieged *Constantinople. When the Roman Empire finally struck back, it was with help from Central Asia and by way of Lazica, *Tblisi of *Iberia (627–8), and *Dvin, striking at Ganzak (Shiz, mod. *Takht-e Soleyman) east of the Zagros Mountains and fighting in Armenia and north-west Persia before striking southwards to Ctesiphon.

Muslim forces were first seen in Roman territory in 630 at *Aila, at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. In the next generation, as the *Arab invasions swept across the Levant, their attack took the former Roman frontier in the flank, beginning in that sector which had been the least contested in the long superpower struggle. Roman forces checked the Muslims at the Battle of Mu'ta (629) south of the Wadi al-Mujib, but when Heraclius decided to stop paying subsidies to some allied tribes in southern Palestine, the tribes helped the Muslims to enter *Gaza. Finding a region effectively devoid of Roman forces, progress was relatively unhindered. Roman armies suffered defeats at Pella (634), at the capture of *Damascus (635), and at a decisive Arab victory at the *Yarmuk in 636, when the region passed from Byzantine to Arab control. The *frontier in the *Arab–Byzantine wars of the next two centuries was to be considerably further north and west; to Syria, a long farewell. OPN; PWMF

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frontier, Roman military, Rhine The Rhine frontier (*limes)* extended from Lake Constance to the North Sea, across three *provinces, *Germania Secunda, *Germania Prima, and *Maxima Sequanorum, the last of which was formed into a separate province from territory of the former Germania Prima under the *Tetrarchy. While the lower Rhine remained unchanged as the frontier throughout the Roman Empire, that was not the case on the middle and upper Rhine, the strategic importance of which increased after the abandonment of the advanced frontier in the forests of south-west Germany in the 260s. This was followed by a shift back towards the river as a natural boundary, even if the Rhine itself never formed an economic or cultural barrier. Late Roman sources such as *Ammianus Marcellinus and the anonymous author of **De Rebus Bellicis* show a more definite perception of the frontier than those of the Principate; they were more conscious of geographical space, and consider that the frontier, apart from its fiscal and military role, defined a distinct political limit. The discussions between *Valentinian I and an *Alaman king which took place on a raft in the middle of the river make its liminal status very clear.

Conflict and response

The tempo of conflicts between Romans and barbarians along the *limes* increased during the 4th and 5th centuries. For the barbarians, conflict consisted of pillaging raids, attempts at conquest, and defensive warfare. Most of the battles fought against the *Alamans during

the 4th century occurred in the Rhine Valley, for example at Brumath, *Strasbourg, or Argentaria. The Alaman breakthrough of 352–3, took advantage of the movements of Roman troops under *Magnentius: it began as a raid, then shifted into an attempt to occupy Roman territory. Though more peaceful, the Frankish infiltration of the early 5th century also aimed at permanent settlement. However, the barbarians were obliged to defend themselves against Roman punitive expeditions launched against their home territories, such as those of *Julian and of Valentinian I; these attacks were meant to demonstrate Roman military superiority rather than to take and hold territory.

The pressure put on Roman territory by the *Franks and the Alamans resulted in a series of measures which defined these frontier regions more sharply than before. There were efforts to create along the river a security corridor from which native peoples were to be excluded. But for the most part the opposite policy was adopted, one of encouraging settlement within defined frontier regions of the Empire of authorized barbarian groups (**laeti*, **limitanei*, and other **foederati*) with a recognized treaty status and obligations to serve Roman power. The movement of peoples on one side or other of the Rhine increased notably during the Late Empire. It became increasingly common to reinforce military garrisons by recruiting indigenous warriors from either side of the frontier, organized into ethnic units. The military policies adopted are all the more visible because during the later 3rd and throughout the 4th century the *emperor was often present in person in the frontier regions in order to respond quickly to emergencies arising from new barbarian threats coming from without.

Frontier defence, north to south

From the end of the 3rd century onwards, the *army underwent an unprecedented series of reforms intended to reinforce mobile units. The effectiveness of the garrison troops along the Rhine (*limitanei*) was maintained, and they were now supported by **comitatenses*, significant reserve forces for rapid intervention which were based back in *Gaul until, during the later 4th century, territorial armies emerged, each under the command of a *Dux. Three command headquarters at *Cologne, *Mainz, and Besançon, one for each province, divided responsibility for the defence of the Rhine sector. Even if the notion of a 'Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire' seems more hypothetical than real, the reforms of the army and its adaptation to the changing Late Antique context represent a clear rupture with the policies and practices of the Principate. A defensive strategy reliant on reserve forces and fortifications based far from the frontier, though questioned by some scholars, did in fact exist. It is reflected, for example, in the networks of small *castra* along the main axes of communication linking frontier to interior, as found from *Cologne to *Amiens and *Trier, or from Trier to *Reims, and also in the construction of ramparts around *cities throughout the Gallic provinces during this period. Unlike the frontier fortifications, however, the roadside *castra*, which mostly derive from the period of the *Gallic Empire in the mid-3rd century, were manned only intermittently later in Late Antiquity.

All along the Rhine can be observed contrasting systems of military organization, with construction programmes varying from one region to another and from one period to another. The far north-west was affected by rising sea levels which altered the physical geography of the coast and river deltas, rendering the region inhospitable to settlement and not worth defending in any systematic manner. Here in Germania Secunda the Rhine defences also linked with those of the *Saxon Shore (*litus Saxonicum*). Two upriver sites, Qualburg and Xanten, have provided important information. Qualburg (possibly the Quadriburgium refortified by *Julian in 359: Ammianus, XVIII, 2, 3–6) was the base of the Numerus Ursariensium, attested by *brickstamps, a detachment for which evidence is also found elsewhere on the northern *limes*. The Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix (Tricesimae) was still present at Xanten, albeit reduced in numbers, during the first half of the 4th century. The other legion of Germania Secunda, Legio I Minervia, was stationed at Bonn (Bonna). Recent excavations have provided much new data on other fortified sites including *Krefeld-Gellep, Neuss, Haus Bürgel, and Remagen, as well as for the Constantinian *castellum* of Deutz, opposite Cologne. It is unfortunate that the page of the **Notitia Dignitatum* listing the units of this *province has been lost.

Mainz (Moguntiacum) and Strasbourg (Argentorate) were the military centres of Germania Prima, and the bases at the beginning of Late Antiquity of Legio XXII Primigenia and Legio VIII Augusta, but some of the other major fortresses are better known, including Altrip and, a little back from the Rhine, Alzei. Altrip has a pentagonal plan and was occupied under Valentinian I, whereas Alzei continued in use through the first half of the 5th century. The *Notitia Dignitatum* distinguishes, for this period, between two sectors of the province. The first, under the command of the Dux Moguntiacensis (*occ.* XLI), followed the frontier from Andernach to the north-eastern limit of Germania Secunda, as far as Seltz. Eleven fortresses were occupied by *milites*, except at Worms, where a legion was still stationed. The second sector, the Tractus Argentoratensis, was under the authority of the Comes Argentoratensis (*occ.* XXVII) Both reported directly to the *Magister Peditum.

Maxima Sequanorum (sometimes Sequania or Sequanicum), south of Germania Prima and with an eastern

frontier extending as far as Lake Constance, was defended principally by a network of forts, such as Oedenburg, *Kaiseraugst, Zurzach, and Stein-am-Rhein. The earliest references to this defensive system date from the Tetrarchy (*CIL* XIII 5249 of AD 294 and 5256 of AD 285/305). Although the command centre of Sequanicum was Castrum Rauracense (Kaiseraugst), garrisoned by Legio I Martia, the province was also protected by an impressive series of watchtowers built during two phases of intensive construction, the first under *Diocletian and *Constantine I, the second under Julian and Valentinian I. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVIII, 2) wrote that the latter had fortified the whole frontier from *Raetia as far as the North Sea with a network of towers (*turres*). Around 400, the Comes Argentoratensis was responsible for defending the southern part of *Maxima Sequanorum*.

Military architecture

Each provincial sector of the Rhine frontier has its own history within the common framework of successive phases of construction and reorganization during the Gallic Empire, and the reigns of Diocletian, Constantine, and Valentinian I. The older, more spacious camps sometimes continued to be partially occupied in the northern sector, for example at Bonn. But a new military architecture very quickly appeared, notably under Constantine, characterized, as at Deutz, by square layouts defending a perimeter reduced to 2 ha on average (*c.*5 acres), designed for new military units made up of 1,000 men. This architecture was further developed under Valentinian I, with barracks backed up against the enclosing ramparts and facing onto a central square, as in the case of Alzei. The Krefeld-Gellep fortress was further modified at the beginning of the 5th century. The Rhine frontier was further reinforced by a network of smaller *castra* averaging 10 ha (25 acres) in extent, and by watchtowers. Relatively few of these have been noted in the lower Rhine, but along the upper Rhine 52 of them are well integrated into the overall defensive scheme. We should also note the small bridgehead forts (*burgus*) often built to defend the approaches to *bridges on the right bank of the Rhine. Excavations at several of these various fortifications have yielded 5th-century material, proving that the frontier continued to be defended after the great barbarian breakthrough of 406/7. According to *Zosimus, the usurper *Constantine III (407–11) restored the frontier. Nonetheless, it is difficult to identify and date evidence of reconstruction or reorganization after these dates. It would seem that Roman forces continued to hold the *limes* along the Rhine south of Xanten until about the middle of the 5th century, during the period when the *Patricius *Aëtius kept the upper hand over the barbarians. After his fall, the latter were able to carve out small autonomous territories for themselves. RBr

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frontiers, Persian Like the Parthian Empire before it, *Sasanian Iran faced a 'strategic dilemma' (Howard-Johnston) of confronting powerful and often aggressive opponents on all sides of their Empire. This included the Romans to the west, the *Hephthalites (or White Huns) to the east, and steppe powers to the north such as the *Alans and *Turks.

In the West, the frontier with the Romans in *Mesopotamia was secured from 363 onwards by garrisons commanded by a *marzban at the formerly Roman *cities at *Singara and *Nisibis and a network of dependent fortresses such as *Sisauranon, and increasingly in the 5th to 7th centuries through alliances with the *Persian Empire's *Arab clients the *Lakhimids (*Nasrids). Maintaining the security of the Armenian frontier was perennially bedevilled by internecine competition between the **naxarars* (*nakharars*), the families of the Armenian aristocracy, who were culturally more akin to Iran even though they were Christian from the early 4th century onwards. The defence of the *Caucasus Passes between the Black Sea and the Caspian, particularly those at *Debent and Dariel in Caucasian Albania, was of

paramount importance for preventing intruders from the northern steppes forcing their way into the settled lands of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Financial provision for the maintenance of these defences was a frequent focus of dispute between the Sasanians and the Romans. Remains of the elaborate Sasanian fortifications at Derbent are still visible. Further west, the kingdom of *Lazica was able to prevent incursions from the north along the coastal plain to the east of the Black Sea and diplomatic competition for control of this region turned into war between the Romans and Persians in the mid-6th century, described by *Procopius (*Gothic*, VIII) and *Agathias. The defence of the north-eastern regions from *Khwarezm (Choresmia) on the lower *Oxus to *Bactria in the south was achieved with a combination of massive fortification *walls like those in *Gorgan, intended to halt incursions of horsemen, and garrisons dispersed in a series of fortresses.

The Sasanians' fear of a war on two fronts or even of a strategic alliance of their enemies is evident in the view of the world portrayed in what can be reconstructed of the late Empire's official history, the **Xwāday-nāmag*, and it decisively shaped Persian foreign policy and *diplomacy. *Khosrow II's audacious attempt to absorb the East Roman Empire and completely remake the world order ended in disaster for the Türks, the Romans, and the Persians alike, and was one of the reasons for the early success of the *Arab conquest. JWi; MPC

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ed. (with ET and comm.) F. C. Nock (1946).

ET A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (TTH 26, new edn., 2011, 123–44.

fruit Various sorts of fruit provided staple food. In the Mediterranean, the *olive was the most important fruit. Although grapes were commonly pressed into *wine, some were eaten fresh and others pickled whole to preserve them. In the Roman world common tree fruits included apples, pears, pomegranates, mulberries, cherries, figs, jujubes, apricots, and plums (*Palladius, XIV; *Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XVII, 5–7); prices are given in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (vi). Apples and pears were the most common fruits of the *Merovingian era (**Lex Salica*, 7, 11). In Persia, the **Bundahišn* (tr. Anklesaria, 150–1) attests a comparable mix of fruits in Iran. Dates were grown in the warmer parts of the Roman Empire and were a staple in the desert fringes of North *Africa, the Levant, and *Egypt; the date palm provided food, fibre, and fruit that was easy to preserve and could be rendered into an alcoholic beverage. Muskmelons (*Cucumis melo*, cantaloupe and related cultivars) were grown in gardens and cultivated widely, as was watermelon which had been introduced into Egyptian agriculture in the Pharaonic period. The citron (*Citrus medica*), known as early as Theophrastus (IV, 4, 2–3) and *Pliny (XII, 15–16), was important in Jewish ritual, and seems to have been the only form of citrus cultivated in the Roman world—other citrus fruits apparently arrived in the Islamic era. Fruit trees were typically grown in gardens where they could be irrigated and often propagated through grafting (**Geoponica*, 10). MD

Frumentius First *Bishop of *Aksum. Of Syrian extraction, Frumentius came to Aksum as a youth, probably *c.*320–30. *Rufinus of *Aquileia (*HE* X, 9–11) recorded that Frumentius entered the service of the Aksumite king and continued to serve his successor *Ezana (whose mother served as a regent for him during his minority). Frumentius associated with a group of *Christians at Aksum and, when the young King Ezana assumed full authority, went to *Alexandria to seek the *patriarch's appointment of a bishop for the Aksumite Christians. The Patriarch *Athanasius appointed Frumentius himself. It is likely (although Rufinus does not specifically confirm this) that it was on Frumentius' return that Ezana adopted the new religion. The date at which these events took place has been the subject of much debate, covering the period from 328 (when Athanasius first became patriarch) to 356 when a letter from *Constantius II to Ezana indicates that Frumentius was then serving as bishop. In Ethiopian tradition and writings, other than those of late date that are probably derived from Rufinus, the name Frumentius

is not known, and Aksum's first bishop is called Abba *Salama.

See also CHRISTIANITY, AKSUMITE DWP

Amidon, *Rufinus: HE*, 19–20, 47.

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 89–113.

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 92–3, 98.

Fufuluo (487–541/2) Ruling family of the Gaoche (later Tiele) tribes of *Turfan. They founded a state by rebelling against the Rouran. After skirmishes with the *Hephthalites and the Western Türks, they were eventually removed from power by the Rouran confederacy. KR

Suishu (*History of the Sui Dynasty*), 84.

Wu Yugui, 'Turks in the Gaochang Provisioning Texts', in Luo Xin and R. Covey, eds., *Chinese Scholars on Inner Asia* (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 174, 2012).

fugitives People avoiding capture by state authorities as a result of criminal charges or dereliction of hereditary duties. In addition to criminals (or those accused of crimes) fleeing the law, the continuation of *slavery into Late Antiquity meant that slaves fleeing their masters formed a distinct fugitive category (*CJust* VI, 1, 2). The flight of slaves, for instance as a result of cruel treatment or because their masters were not providing for them, was common in the Late Roman Empire and was not restricted to agricultural slavery (*CTh* II, 1, 8; *Salvian, *De Gubernatione*, 4, 14f.). Even where peasants were legally free they could still become fugitives as a result of abandoning land which they were hereditarily required to farm. JUB

H. Bellen, *Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich* (1971).

Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*.

G. Klingenberg, *Servus Fugitivus* (2005).

Fulda (Hesse, Germany) *Monastery founded in 744 by Sturmi, its first abbot, on the initiative of S. *Boniface, the papal legate for Germany, who was buried there after his death in 754. It received a papal exemption in 752, and was favoured by *Pippin III and Charlemagne, becoming one of the most important spiritual, cultural, and political centres of the Carolingian Empire. HR

J. Raiijmakkers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, 744–900* (2012).

W. Kathrein et al., 'Fulda, "St. Salvator"', in F. Jürgensmeier et al., eds.. *Die benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Hessen* (2004), 213–434.

Fulgentius of Ruspe (462–527 or 467–532) African *bishop and theologian. Of aristocratic birth, he entered a *monastery in early adulthood and was subsequently ordained bishop. Exiled to *Sardinia *c.*508 with other Homoousian (pro-Nicene) leaders, he was recalled briefly *c.*516 to debate against the *Vandal King *Thrasamund. He returned permanently only after Thrasamund died in 523. His surviving works consider Christology, grace, and predestination. *De Fide ad Petrum*, a short catechetical treatise later misattributed to *Augustine, enjoyed wide medieval circulation. A small corpus of *letters testifies to links with Roman aristocrats and African churchmen like *Ferrandus. An anonymous *Vita*, composed shortly after his death, and often attributed to Ferrandus, is the main source for his biography. Attempts to identify him with *Fulgentius the Mythographer are no longer widely accepted. GH

PLRE II, Fulgentius 2.

PCBE I, Fulgentius 1.

HLL, section 754.

CPL 814–46.

ed. J. Fraipont (CCSL 91–91A, 1968).

ed. (annotated with FT) D. Bachelet, *Letters* (SC 487, 2004).

ET (select) R. B. Eno (FC 95, 1997).

Vita (*BHL* 3208, *CPL* 847), ed. (with FT and comm.) G. G. Lapeyre (1929).

G.-G. Lapeyre, *Saint Fulgence de Ruspe: un évêque catholique africain sous la domination vandale, essai historique* (1929).

A. Piras, ed., *'Lingua et ingenium.' Studi su Fulgenzio di Ruspe e il suo contesto* (2010).

Conant, *Staying Roman*, 100–7.

Fulgentius the Mythographer (late 5th or 6th cent.) Fabius Planciades Fulgentius was an allegorist and antiquarian from *Vandal *Africa. He has sometimes, but implausibly, been identified with *Fulgentius, *Bishop of Ruspe. His *Mitologiae*, in three books, offer rationalizing and moralizing explanations of Greek myths, with an elaborate preface in prose and verse. The *Expositio Virgilianae Continentiae* is a *dialogue between the author and the shade of *Vergil, who explicates the *Aeneid* as a moral *allegory. The *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum* illustrates archaic and otherwise obscure words with quotations from earlier authors (some possibly fictional). The *De Aetatibus Mundi et Hominis* is a series of short meditations on biblical and pagan history, based on *Orosius and other sources. Each chapter avoids words containing the corresponding letter of the *Latin alphabet; the extant work breaks off with Book 14 (O). An allegorical explication of Statius' *Thebaid* ascribed to Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, is almost certainly medieval. GH

PLRE II, Fulgentius 3.

HLL, section 710.

ed. R. Helm (1898).

Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum: ed. (annotated with IT) U. Pizzani (1968).

Expositio Virgilianae Continentiae: ed. (annotated with IT) F. Rosa (1997).
De Aetatibus Mundi et Hominis: ed. (annotated with IT) M. Manca (2003).
Expositio Virgilianae Continentiae: ed. É. Wolff (annotated with FT), *Virgile dévoilé* (2009).
Mitologiae: ed. E. Wolff and P. Dain (annotated with FT, 2013).
ET L. G. Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer* (1971)—reviewed R. T. Bruère, *CP* 68 (1973), 143–5.
G. Hays, 'The Date and Identity of the Mythographer Fulgentius', *JMLat* 13 (2003), 163–252.
G. Hays, '*Romuleis Libicisque litteris*: Fulgentius and the "Vandal Renaissance"', in Merrills, *Vandals*, *Romans and Berbers*, 101–32.

Fulrad of S. Denis (d. 784) Abbot of *S. Denis (750–84) and palace chaplain to *Childeric III, *Pippin III, and Charlemagne. In 749 Pippin entrusted him with obtaining papal support for a palace coup against the *Merovingians, and in 756 with overseeing the so-called 'Donation of Pippin'. JTP

LexMA 'Fulrad', 4, 1024–5 (J. Fleckenstein).
A. Stoclet, *Autour de Fulrad de Saint-Denis* (1993).

fundus The primary meaning of *fundus* in *Latin is 'bottom', thus it denotes the root of one's possessions. In antiquity this always meant land, the fundamental element of wealth. *Justinian I's **Digest* (L,16, 60) repeated Ulpian's (d. 228) judgement that a *fundus* included land and also the buildings and improvements upon it. *See also* ESTATE MANAGEMENT. MD

D. Kehoe, *Investment, Profit, and Tenancy: The Jurists and the Roman Agrarian Economy* (1997).

funeral orations, Greek Laudatory speeches about the deceased composed and delivered at (or near) the point and place of the funeral were produced by and for both Christians and pagans in Late Antiquity. The contents and shape of such an oration were prescribed by rhetorical theorists like *Menander Rhetor. Pagan funeral orations adhered fairly closely to the classical archetype; *Themistius' *Oration* 20 *praises his late father's literary and especially philosophical talents. They could also be vehicles for polemic; *Libanius' *Oration* 18 on the *Emperor *Julian is both an extremely lengthy panegyrical biography of the emperor and a fervent argument for preserving traditional religious practices. Christian preachers like *Gregory of *Nyssa and *Gregory of *Nazianzus adapted the format, style, and message of classical funeral orations, writing works which offered not merely laudatory biographical portraits of the dead, but also biblicizing portraits and comparisons, and theological arguments about salvation and resurrection. SJL-R

R. C. Gregg, *Consolation Philosophy: Greek and Christian Paideia in Basil and the Two Gregories* (1975).
T. Hägg and P. Rousseau, eds., *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (2000).
G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (1983).
M. R. P. McGuire, 'The Early Christian Funeral Oration', in J. J. Sullivan and M. R. P. McGuire, *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose* (FC 22, 1953), vii–xxiii.

funeral orations, Latin Speeches of *praise composed and delivered at (or near) funerals were a long-standing and important social and political phenomenon in the Roman world. Their literary and philosophical contours were also shaped by *Greek rhetorical theory and exemplars. In Late Antiquity, the format and contents of traditional funeral orations were reshaped to new Christian ends. The main extant Latin funeral orations were composed and delivered by *Ambrose: two on his brother Satyrus, and one each for the *emperors *Valentinian II and *Theodosius I. Although they show awareness of classical *Greek and *Latin models, they are replete with scriptural allusions and imagery. Ambrose laments and praises the dead, but also argues that Christians need not mourn their dead as pagans do, given the repose of the souls of the dead with God and the certainty of bodily resurrection. SJL-R

S. J. Lunn-Rockliffe, 'Ambrose's Imperial Funeral Sermons', *JEH* 59 (2008), 191–207.
M. R. P. McGuire, 'The Early Christian Funeral Oration', in J. J. Sullivan and M. R. P. McGuire, *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose* (FC 22, 1953), vii–xxiii.
H. Savon, 'La Première oraison funèbre de saint Ambroise et les deux sources de la consolation chrétienne', *REL* 58 (1980), 370–402.

furniture, church The *sermon by *Eusebius of *Caesarea (*HE* X, 4, 2–72) celebrating the dedication of the cathedral in *Tyre in *c.*317 contains the earliest surviving description of church furniture. A wooden trellis separated the *altar, 'the Holy of Holies' (X, 4, 44), from the congregation; it was surrounded by high seats for the clergy and by benches. These are fundamental elements of church furniture. Open-worked wood was also used for the regulation of daylight; Eusebius stresses the importance of *light for the building. The Tyre cathedral had *bronze *doors, *marble pavements, and marble columns. It possessed an atrium with a fountain, used for washing, refreshment, and decoration,

A fountain is mentioned also in the description of the church erected in the Constantinian period at *Laodicea Combusta (*Lycaonia) by M. Julius Eugenius,

described in the *sarcophagus *inscription of its founder (*MAMA* I, no. 170). Eugenius stresses that his church is furnished with different types of stonework, with an entrance door and paintings and *mosaics. The themes of the decoration in Eugenius' church are not indicated.

The inner walls were used for figural decoration since the beginning of monumental church architecture (*Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46, 572C), but not as a general rule (*Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen*, 27, 544). In other churches panel paintings are mentioned (*Asterius of *Amaseia, *Homily*, XI, 2). Hangings and *curtains along the walls contributed to the decoration of churches, as did altar cloths. *Ambos for *chant and the reading of scripture survive from as early as the late 5th century. Tables were used in the church and in annexes for various purposes, both with decoration, as at the Episcopal Basilica in Novae (on the Danube), or without it. *Lamps of different types and shapes lightened the church during morning and night services. *Silver was used for revetments, lighting equipment, and liturgical vessels. Ex-votos, offerings 'in fulfilment of a vow', were made in a variety of materials. Individual areas had particular local forms of church decoration, e.g. the small terracotta tiles with figural representations which decorated ceilings in *Africa Proconsularis. JDW

N. Ben Lazreg, 'Christlicher Bauschmuck aus Ton', in *Das Königreich der Vandalen. Erben des Imperiums in Nordafrika* (2009), 338.

A. B. Biernacki, 'A Marble Sigma-Shaped Mensa from Novae', in G. von Bulow and A. Milceva, eds., *Der Limes an der unteren Donau von Diokletian bis Heraklios* (1999), 75–86.

RAC 22 (2008) *s.v.* Kultgebäude, 287f., 351 (S. de Blaauw).

RAC 20 (2004) *s.v.* Kathedra, 629–31, 635–41, 656–68 (J. Dresken-Weiland).

J. Dresken-Weiland, 'Ein wichtiges Zeugnis zum frühen Kirchenbau in Kleinasien', in *JbAC* 48/49 (2005/2006) [2008], 67–76.

H. Geertman, *Il liber pontificalis e la storia materiale* (Mededelingen, Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Antiquity 60–1, 2003).

M. Martiniani-Reber, 'Tentures et textiles des églises romaines au haut moyen âge d'après le Liber Pontificalis', in *MÉFR-Moyen-AgeTM* 111 (1999), 289–305.

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*.

J. Witt, *'Hyper euches': In Erfüllung eines Gelübdes. Untersuchungen zum Votivwesen in frühbyzantinischer Zeit* (2006), 106–34, 238–55.

L. Sotira, *Gli altari nella scultura e nei mosaici di Ravenna (V–VIII secolo)* (2013).

H. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre* (1992), 67–70, 301, 297 (curtains).

furniture, secular In general, furniture can easily be moved from one place to another, so that when buildings are abandoned what is left is often only broken pieces of low value. In antiquity, few types of furniture—beds, seats, tables, and chests—were in use and they did not change much over the centuries. The wardrobe had existed since Roman time. The *cathedra*, a seat with a higher back, was considered a woman's seat and the folding stool was particularly popular in Late Antiquity. There are more images of furnishing than physical survivals; they frequently depict diners in the Roman fashion reclining while they ate on a **stibadium*, a semicircular couch or cushion. The *villa of Faragola (south *Italy) has a well-conserved *stibadium*.

The new palaces of the elite, with vast rooms and innovative architecture, needed particular furnishing, so that mythological *sculpture depicting gods and heroes, small and life-size, was again produced in the later 4th century. Sets of *tondi*, circular relief sculptures of Hellenistic origin showing heads of gods and heroes, often provided symbolic decoration for entrance halls in the late 4th and early 5th century. Free-standing decorative sculpture also furnished **triclinia*, *baths, and nymphaea. Decorated *marble table tops with figural representations—pagan, conventional, and Christian—were produced in the late 4th and early 5th century to decorate houses, and were probably also used in the context of dining. From the late 3rd century, in contrast to earlier times, *mosaics and wall painting developed a suggestive power and invited the spectator to step into the world of imagery. Wall hangings, curtains, and *silver plates contributed to sumptuous interior decoration. JDW

I. Baldini Lippolis, *La domus tardoantica: forme e rappresentazioni dello spazio domestico nelle città del Mediterraneo* (2001).

A. De Moor and C. Fluck, eds., *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries* (2009).

J. Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten aus theodosianischer Zeit* (1991).

RAC 20 (2004) *s.v.* 'kathedra', 606, 635 (J. Dresken-Weiland).

S. Ellis, 'Shedding Light on Late Roman Housing', in Lavan et al., *Housing* (2007), 283–302.

S. Gütermann, 'Faltstühle in mittelalterlichen Gräbern', *ZAM* 30 (2011), 37–107.

S. Muth, 'Zum Wettstreit der bildlichen Ausstattung im spätantiken Wohnraum', in F. A. Bauer and Ch. Witschel, eds., *Statuen in der Spätantike* (2007), 341–55.

T. Putzeys, 'Domestic Space in Late Antiquity', in Lavan et al., *Housing*, 50–62 (bibliography).

G. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greek, Etruscans, Romans* (1966).

I. Utterhoeven, 'Housing in Late Antiquity Thematic Perspectives', in Lavan et al., *Housing*, 25–66 (bibliography).

G. Volpe, 'Stibadium e convivium in una villa tardoantica (Faragola–Ascoli Satriano)', in *Faragola: un insediamento rurale nella Valle del Carapelle: ricerche e studi*, I (2009), 117–44.

Ch. Vorster, 'Spätantike Bildhauerwerkstätten in Rom. Beobachtungen zur Idealskulptur der nachkonstantinischen Zeit', *JbDAI* 127/8 (2012/13), 393–497.

Fursey, S. (Fursa) (d. 649) Irish monk, known primarily for his visions of the afterlife. He came to *Britain in *c.*630 and eventually went to East Anglia, where King Sigeberht allowed him to found a *monastery at Cnobheresburg (Burgh Castle on the *Saxon Shore). He remained there probably for about ten years. When *Penda attacked East Anglia, Fursey went to Francia, where *Clovis II was his *patron. He died shortly afterwards, and his *relics were translated to Péronne. The anonymous 7th-century *Life* (*BHL* 3209) was reworked by *Bede (*HE* III, 19). HFF

ODNB s.n. Fursa (P. Fouracre).

BHL 3209: ed. B. Krusch, in MGH, SS rer. Meroving. 4 (1902), 423–40.

ET and text: Oliver Rackham (Fursey Pilgrims, 2007).

I. Moreira, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (2009).

Fussala *Castellum* (semi-independent town) in the *territorium* of *Hippo Regius, on a site, now unknown, 40 Roman miles (nearly 60 km) from Hippo to which it was attached ecclesiastically. The area had been strongly *Donatist and *Augustine was keen to provide a Catholic *bishop. After a suitable candidate who could speak *Punic (a useful skill in this rural setting) had dropped out, Augustine put forward the young Antoninus for consecration as Bishop of Fussala. Antoninus, who attended the council of *Milevis in 416, mistreated his congregation and enriched himself illegally, causing a serious international scandal, which is recorded in Augustine, *ep.* 209 and at considerable length in *ep.* 20* Divjak. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 1, 133 and 394; vol. 2, 120.

J. E. Merdinger, *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine* (1997), 154–82.

Fustat The first *Arab capital of *Egypt, founded in 642 on the site of the Roman fortress of *Babylon. This had long been recognized as an advantageous position where the Delta and *Nile Valley join, but the founding of Fustat by the *Arabs as one capital for all of *Egypt represents a definite administrative, organizational, and economic break with the Roman period.

Founded as a garrison city (Ar. **misr*) where the Arab soldiers lived separately from the locals, the town grew quickly, incorporating new Arab immigrants and Egyptians wanting to profit from the new political and economic centre. Although the Coptic patriarchate moved to Cairo only in the mid-11th century, with the building of a palace in Hulwan near Fustat by Patriarch Isaac (r. 689–92), the Church's dependency on Fustat increased.

Archaeological finds and papyrological evidence confirm literary accounts of the founding of churches, the building of *palaces and shipyards (on Rawda island), the replacement of Trajan's Canal, the constant extension of allotments for tribal units settling in the area, and general building activity. The Great *Mosque of 'Amr, founded by the Islamic conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr b. al.-As, and named after him, had to be extended multiple times.

Fustat and Egypt were important partners for, and sometimes competitors with, the Caliphs ruling from *Medina and, after 660, from *Damascus. Egypt's *grain was gathered in Fustat before it was shipped by way of Trajan's Canal to the Red Sea harbour of *Clysma, and from there to *Arabia, a commercial route also used for other products. *Amphorae found at Fustat (Istabl Antar) indicate the continued production and consumption of wine in the new political centre. PMS

W. B. Kubiak, *Al-Fusṭāṭ: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development* (1987).

S. Denoix, *Décrire le Caire: Fustāt-Misr d'après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī: l'histoire d'une partie de la ville du Caire d'après deux historiens égyptiens des XIVe–XVe siècles* (1992).

A. Raymond, *Cairo* (French original 1993, tr. W. Wood, 2002).

F. Morelli, 'Legname, palazzo e moschee: P.Vindob. G 31 e il contributo dell'Egitto alla prima architettura islamica', *Tyche* 13 (1998), 165–90.

D. Dixneuf, *Amphores égyptiennes: production, typologie, contenu et diffusion (IIIe siècle avant J.-C.–IXe siècle après J.-C.)* (2011).

G

Gabala (Kabala) Twenty km (12 miles) south-west of modern Qabala, Azerbaijan; ancient capital of Caucasian *Albania, located at the foot of the Caucasus. In the mid-5th century, persistent invasions of northern nomadic tribes obliged the Albanians to transfer their capital from Gabala to *Partav. NA

Bais, *Albania caucasica.*

Gabala (mod. Jebele, Jebleh, Lebanon) Port in *Syria Prima, and, after *Justinian I's boundary reforms, in *Theodorias, 24 km (15 miles) south of *Laodicea. The first known *bishop attended the *Council of *Nicaea. Bishop *Severian died after 408. *Theodoret describes (*Religious History*, 28; *BHG* 1709) an early 5th-century *holy man called Thalelaios taking over a '*temple of *demons' near Gadara, winning their worshippers over to Christianity, and installing *relics of *martyrs. The city was rebuilt after an *earthquake in 457 (*John Malalas, XV, 4). The *Arab conquest reached Gabala in 637/8. PWMF; OPN

R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria: An Historical Guide* (2009).

T. Boiy, 'Gabala, Jebleh during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', in J. Bretschneider and K. Van Lerberghe, *In Search of Gibala: An Archaeological and Historical Study Based on Eight Seasons of Excavations at Tell Tweini (Syria) in the A and C Fields (1999–2007)* (2008), 5–10.

Gabra Masqal Mid-6th-century Aksumite king. Although no *coinage, *inscriptions, or literary sources note a king of this name, several traditions recall him as successor to his father *Kaleb, and instrumental in the foundation of several churches and *monasteries, including *Debra Damo. A pair of *tombs at *Aksum are traditionally attributed to Kaleb and Gabra Masqal, and there is archaeological support for the 6th-century date thus implied. The absence of written evidence for a King Gabra Masqal may be due to the Ethiopian practice of a king taking a new 'throne-name' on assuming authority; several Ethiopian kings in later times are known to have taken the throne-name Gabra Masqal (lit. = Servant of the Cross), and it is not always easy to differentiate between them. DWP

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 89–113.

Belaynesh Mikael et al., eds., *Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography*, vol. 1 (1975).

Gabriel, Mar (573/4–648) *Syriac Orthodox *bishop and saint originally from Bet Qustān (Turkish Alagöz, Mardin vilayet). He was especially associated with the Monastery of Qart(a)min/Kartmen (Turkish Deyrulumur) in the *Tur ʿAbdin, often known by his name. The *monastery was founded in 397 by the monks Samuel and his disciple Simeon, and received imperial benefactions from *Arcadius and *Honorius, from *Theodosius II and *Anastasius I. Gabriel's *Life* is known in a few *Syriac manuscripts, which refer to something like the 'Covenant of Umar' made directly between the Muslim conquerors and Gabriel when he was bishop to establish certain freedoms for Christians in Tur ʿAbdin under Islamic rule. *Miracles, including raising the dead, were attributed to him, and after his death, to his *relics, including the supposed cessation of a local *plague in 774. ACMc

BHO 307.

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 163.

GEDSH s.v. Gabriel, Monastery of Mor, 214 (Palmer).

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 252–8 (monastery).

ed. E. Aydin (with ET and GT), *Das Leben des heiligen Gabriel: The Life of Saint Gabriel* (2009).

Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier*, with microfiche edition of the *Life* (with ET and comm.).

Gabriel of Singara (d. 610) Doctor of the *Sasanian King *Khosrow II. Gabriel Derustbadh came from the *frontier town of *Singara, became a *Nestorian of the *Church of the East, but reverted to the *Miaphysite (Jacobite) *Syriac Orthodox Church, to the disgust of the author of the **Chronicle of Khuzestan*. His influence

with Queen *Shirin enabled him to promote the spread of the Syriac Orthodox into the *Persian Empire. CJ

J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide (224–632)* (1904).

Gadara (also Antiocheia or Seleucia; mod. Umm Qais) *City in the *province of *Arabia from AD 106, and subsequently of *Palaestina Secunda now in north-east Jordan, *c.*110 km (70 miles) north of *Amman, overlooking Lake Tiberias and the Golan Heights.

Gadara was occupied from the 7th century BC, was an important Hellenistic cultural centre, and became Roman as one of the Decapolis cities. It was an episcopal see from at least the time of the *Council of *Nicaea. The *philosopher *Iamblichus impressed his disciples with a *miracle at the nearby hot springs (*Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 459), and *Epiphanius mentions pagan healings (and mixed bathing) there (*Panarion*, 30, 7, 5). The springs were also visited by the *Piacenza Pilgrim, who found them dedicated to Elijah and used for incubation by leprosy patients (7). S. *Sabas shared a cave near the Water of Gadara (the Yarmuk) with a *lion during his first exile from his *monastery in 503 (*VSab* 33, 119).

The extensive remains date mostly from the 1st century. An *earthquake of *c.*400 initiated the beginning of the city's end, although archaeological research suggests continuity of occupation up to its capture during the *Arab conquest in the 7th century. After it was largely destroyed in *c.*747, the site fell into obscurity and was effectively abandoned by the 11th century. PWMF

T. Weber, *Umm Qais. Gadara of the Decapolis: A Brief Guide to the Antiquities* (1990).

C. Bühring, 'Gadara/Jadar/Umm Qays: Continuity and Change of Urban Structures from a Hellenistic Hilltop Site to an Umayyad Scattered Settlement', in Bartl and Moaz, *Residences, Castles, Settlements*, 97–114.

Gaels *See* SCOTTI

Gāhānbār (MP) Six *Zoroastrian festivals celebrated throughout the year. In the *Avesta, they were associated with divine entities: midspring (Best Order), midwinter (*Tishtar), harvesting time (autumn equinox; Khshathra-vairiya, protector of metals), the time of the return of the flocks (*Mihr), midsummer (*Wahram), and the end of the year at the spring equinox Nowruz (MP *Nōg Rōz) and *Frawardīgān; dedicated to the fifth Gāthā. In the Pahlavi texts, they were associated with the six creations: sky, water, earth, plants, animals, and man. The term was also applied to the five epagomena at the end of the year, celebrated during Frawardīgān. POS

EncIran X/3 *s.v.* Gāhānbār, 254–6 (Boyce).

Gainas Gothic soldier and *Comes Rei Militaris (395–9), having commanded troops for *Theodosius I in the war against the *usurper *Eugenius in 394. He forced the downfall of the *Praefectus Praetorio *Rufinus in 395 and purportedly instigated the rebellion of *Tribigild in 399, an occasion he used to force *Arcadius to appoint him *Magister Utriusque Militiae (399–400) and to dismiss the Praefectus Praetorio *Eutropius. However, in *Constantinople Gainas clashed with the *Patriarch *John Chrysostom and his troops were massacred by a popular revolt. Although Gainas got away, in early 401 he was captured and executed. DN

PLRE 1, Gainas.

J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, 'The Identity of Typhos in Synesius' *De Prouidentia*', *Latomus* 46/2 (1987), 419–31.

Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 104–25.

Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*, 161–75, 199–232.

Galatia and Galatia Salutaris *Provinces of *Dioecesis *Pontica in central western *Anatolia. The *Verona List records only one province of Galatia, which was smaller than the former province because it had lost territory to *Pisidia and *Paphlagonia. Galatia was divided into Galatia and Galatia Salutaris under *Arcadius, who liked to spend his summer holidays in *Ankara (Ancyra), and the two provinces appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* II, 42 and 51; XXV, 16 and 19), governed by a *Consularis and a *Praeses respectively (*or.* I, 69 and 111). Ancyra was the principal *city of Galatia and *Pessinus was the principal *city of Galatia Salutaris, an arrangement reflected in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the 7th century both provinces were merged into the larger *Opsikion *Theme and soon thereafter became part of the Bukellarion Theme.

The geography is characterized by rolling plains and sporadic mountains. A major *thoroughfare, the *Pilgrims' Road, connected *Constantinople to *Antioch, to the *Holy Land, and to the eastern *frontier. The economy was mainly rural and best known for the cultivation of *grain. Christianization was well advanced by the 4th century, as appears from disputes concerning the Montanist movement. The foundations of numerous cities and bishoprics, among them a walled city at *Amorium and a pilgrimage site at *Germia, indicate affluence in Late Antiquity. Ss. *Nilus of Ancyra and *Theodore of *Sykeon attest to prosperity in rural Galatia, where independent and well-to-do farmers lived in *villages, built churches, and founded *monasteries. The few extant monuments include churches at Ancyra, Amorium, and Germia, some of which reflect Constantinopolitan designs and techniques, whilst others were built in a regional style that is also encountered in Lycaonia. PhN

TIB 4 *Galatien und Lykaonien* (1984).

RAC 23 (2010) *s.v.* Lykaonien (Galatien), 763–98 (R. Behrwald).
K. Belke, 'Galatien in der Spätantike', in E. Schwertheim, ed., *Forschungen in Galatien* (1994), 171–88.
S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (1993), vol. 2, esp. 160–1.

Galeata *Villa complex 48 km (30 miles) south-west of *Ravenna in the Bidente Valley of the north-east Apennines. Excavations began in 1942 and have continued more recently under the supervision of the University of Bologna (1998–2006). They have revealed an extensive residential complex, built in the late 5th or early 6th century. This incorporates several independent structures linked by arcaded passageways and open spaces. The most prominent structure was a *bath complex arranged around a large enclosed courtyard paved in sandstone and furnished with a central pool. The courtyard granted access to a series of covered chambers, including possible **triclinia*, and so-called 'summer' and 'winter' bathing complexes. Rooms such as the octagonal *caldarium* show evidence of a *water supply and hypocaust system. Neighbouring independent structures include kilns and a group of chambers of a residential character. The *Vita of Hilary of Galatea* (*BHL* 3913) describes how the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic built a rural palace near a *monastery founded by Hilary (*c.*496). Based on this text, the excavations have been associated with Theoderic's villa. The excavations have not produced positive evidence of this association, although the complex shares elements in common with other 'Gothic' residences such as *Monte Barro and Palazzolo, and fortified villas of the Danube provinces. MSB

ed. F. Zaghini (annotated with IT), *Vita di Ellero* (2004).
P. Bolzani, *Teodorico e Galeata: un'antologia critica* (1994).
S. De Maria, *Nuove ricerche e scavi nell'area della villa di Teoderico a Galeata* (2004).
J. Ortalli, 'L'edilizia abitativa', in A. Carile, ed., *Storia di Ravenna dall'età Bizantina all'età Ottoniana: territorio, economia e società* (1991), vol. 2/1, 167–92.

Galen in Late Antiquity After Galen's death (*c.* AD 216), we have clear evidence of his influence not just in the great medical texts of the period (*Oribasius, *Aëtius of *Amida, *Alexander of *Tralles, *Paul of Aegina), but also in Christian literature, *Greek and *Latin, from the early 4th century onwards. The simplified, abbreviated, systematized form of his doctrines taught by 'iatrosophists' in Late Antique *Alexandria in the 4th to 6th/7th centuries is called 'Galenism' (Temkin). Alternative forms of medical practice remained available alongside Galenism, ranging from late Methodism, as illustrated by Caelius Aurelianus (5th cent.), to various healing cults, magical practices, and demonology. CP

G. Ferngren, *Medicine and Healthcare in early Christianity* (2009).
H. J. Frings, *Medizin und Arzt bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern bis Chrysostomos* (diss. Bonn, 1959).
M. Roueché, 'Did Medical Students Study Philosophy in Alexandria?', *BICS* 43 (1999), 153–69.
O. Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (1973).

Galerius (*c.*250–311) *Caesar 293–305, *Augustus 305–11. G. Galerius Valerius Maximianus, often called Maximianus in the ancient sources and also named Armentarius (herdsman) by Aurelius *Victor (39, 24) and the **Epitome de Caesaribus*, was born *c.*250 at *Romulianum (mod. *Gamzigrad, Serbia) in *Dacia Ripensis (*Epitome de Caesaribus* 39, 2; 40, 1 and 15). His mother *Romula, an enthusiastic pagan, had been a refugee when *Aurelian abandoned the old *province of Dacia north of the Danube (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 9 and 11). He had a sister, the mother of *Maximinus Daza. His daughter Valeria Maximilla married *Maxentius, son of *Maximian, the fellow Augustus of Diocletian. Galerius' son *Candidanus was born *c.*296.

Galerius was a big man, comparable in size and ferocity to his pet *bears, says Lactantius (*Mort.* 21, 5; cf. 9, 1–4), who blamed Galerius for being the moving force behind the Great *Persecution of the Christians. He had a reputation as an outstanding and fortunate soldier (*Epitome de Caesaribus*, 40, 15; *Eutropius, 10, 2) and had served under the *emperors Aurelian and *Probus before the *accession of Diocletian in 284.

Galerius was appointed Caesar on 1 March 293 to serve under the Augustus Diocletian in the East, at the same time that *Constantius I was appointed Caesar to serve under Maximian in the West; the resulting rule of four emperors, dominated by Diocletian, is called the *Tetrarchy. Initially Galerius resided in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens and campaigned in *Egypt in 293/5. In 296/7 he was sent to repel a Persian invasion in *Mesopotamia and was defeated between *Harran and *Callinicum; Diocletian ceremoniously humiliated him by making him walk for a mile in front of his chariot (*Ammianus, XIV, 11, 10; *Jerome, *Chron.* 227c Helm). Galerius collected fresh troops from the Danube *frontier and in 298 inflicted a crushing defeat on the Persian King *Narseh, who had invaded Roman *Armenia (*Mort.* 9, 5–7; *Jerome, *Chron.* 227f Helm; cf. **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, III, 21). He captured the shah's womenfolk, 13 *elephants, and 250 *horses, marched south through Media into southern *Mesopotamia, with the future Emperor *Constantine in his army, and then back north into Roman territory up the Euphrates Valley. When a Persian envoy sought the return of the royal harem Galerius angily reminded him of Persian mistreatment of the captured Emperor *Valerian, and it was the more emollient *Magister Memoriae *Sicorius Probus who secured valuable

strategic advantages in the peace negotiations (*Peter the Patrician, frs. 13 and 14).

Between 299 and 303 Galerius moved to the *Balkans where he campaigned against *Marcomanni, *Carpi, and *Sarmatians. According to Lactantius, however, the Persian victory had made him arrogant (*Mort.* 9, 8). In accordance with his mother's wishes, Galerius persuaded Diocletian to try and bring the Christians into line; he himself gives his motive as being to 'set everything right in accordance with the ancient laws and public way of life (*disciplinam*) of Romans' (*Mort.* 34, 1). The result was the Great *Persecution, which began on 23 February 303 by depriving all Christians of their civil rights and Christians working for the emperor of their jobs (*Mort.* 11–16), and continued in the East in fits and starts until 313.

On 1 May 305, in a ceremony on a parade ground outside *Nicomedia, Diocletian abdicated and Galerius became the new Augustus in the eastern half of the Empire; in a similar ceremony in the West *Constantius I became the new Augustus in the West (*Mort.* 19). The following July, Constantius I died far off at *York and Galerius recognized Constantius' son Constantine I as his successor. Then, in October, Maxentius, son of the former Augustus Maximian, usurped power at *Rome and obliged the Caesar *Severus the Tetrarch to abdicate. Galerius invaded *Italy, but failed to remove Maxentius: 'formerly Roman emperor, now the devastator of Italy' is Lactantius' acerbic comment (*Mort.* 27, 7). Eventually, in late 308 *Licinius, an old comrade-in-arms, was appointed to maintain pressure on Maxentius, and Galerius settled in *Thessalonica.

Here Galerius built a *circus and *palace west of the main *city, between the seashore to the south and the main street (*Via Egnatia). It boasted a *basilica of a similar size to that which survives at *Trier, with the *apse to the south and the main entrance at the north end. This was approached from the west by a ceremonial colonnaded *street flanked by two rotundas, each standing in its own *temenos*, the more southerly of which had a diameter of 100 Roman feet and later had the so-called 'Palace Octagon' built over it. *Baths were built south of the basilica. These buildings were on the same axis as the street joining the tetrapylon known as the *Arch of Galerius, whose surviving piers are richly decorated with scenes showing Galerius engaged in warfare, *ceremony, and *sacrifice, and the so-called Rotunda of S. George, built as a potential mausoleum.

As it turned out, Galerius died in *Dardania (**Codex-Calendar of 354*, XVI = *Chron. Min.* I, 148, 30) and his remains were interred at Romulianum. His last illness, an infection of the nether regions, was protracted and painful and is described by Lactantius and Eusebius with what Gibbon calls 'singular accuracy and apparent pleasure'. On his deathbed Galerius issued an *edict permitting Christians to gather once more for worship, a document reproduced in full by Lactantius (*Mort.* 34) and Eusebius (*HE* VIII, 16) and remarkable for containing a clear statement by a persecutor of his motives for instigating persecution. The edict was published at Nicomedia on 30 April 311, but persecution resumed later that year under Maximinus Daza. Galerius entrusted his *widow, *Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, and his son Candidianus to the care of Licinius (*Mort.* 35, 3); after he took control of the East in 313, Licinius executed them both (*Mort.* 50, 2). OPN; SEB

PLRE I, Maximianus 9.
NEDC 37–8, 61–4.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*.
Barnes, *CE* 17–34.
W. Leadbetter, *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian* (2009).
F. Kolb, 'Chronologie und Ideologie der Tetrarchie', *AntTard* 3 (1995), 21–31.
S. Corcoran, 'Galerius, Maximinus, and the Titulature of the Third Tetrarchy', *BICS* 49 (2006), 231–40.
K. W. Wilkinson, ' A New Satirical Epigram on the Victory Titles of Galerius', *ZPE* 183 (2012), 39–52.

GALERIUS AT THESSALONICA

M. S. Pond Rothman, 'The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs on the Arch of Galerius', *AJA* 81 (1971).
H. P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (1975).
L. S. Nasrallah, 'Empire and Apocalypse in Thessaloniki: Interpreting the Early Christian Rotunda', *JECS* 13/4 (2005), 465–508.
A. Mentzos, 'Reflections on the Architectural History of the Tetrarchic Palace Complex at Thessalonikē', in L. S. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis, and S. J. Friesen, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (HTS 64, 2011), ch. 12.

COINS

RIC VI.

Galilee (Hebrew Gālīl) Divided by the valley of Ramah into Upper and Lower Galilee, this region encompasses the northern part of *Palestine limited by the southern slopes of Lebanon, the plain of Esdrelon to the south, and the Jordan River and Lake of Tiberias to the east. Galilee is a mountainous region, overlooked by Mount Tabor. The region was prosperous, as surveys and excavations starting in the 19th century have shown.

Galilee's significance stems from its role in the formation of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism. In the Roman period, Galilee was a rural region with only three cities, Acco, *Sepphoris, and *Tiberias. Christian presence in Galilee was centred to the north and northwest in the Bet Ha-Karem Valley. In eastern Galilee, Jewish *villages dominated, while Lower Galilee had a

small Christian population primarily located at key holy sites. In Late Antiquity, Galilee flourished, as appears from the construction of churches and *monasteries, and the establishment of shrines in the environs of the Sea of Galilee. The main centre was Hippos-Susita, which acquired a *bishop in the 4th century. After the *Arab conquest it became part of *Jund al-Urdunn (*Jordan). BH

A. Aviam, 'Christian Galilee in the Byzantine Period', in M. Mayers, ed., *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures* (1999), 281–300.
U. Leibner, 'Settlement and Demography in Late Roman and Byzantine Eastern Galilee', in A. Lewin, and P. Pellegrini, eds., *Settlements and Demography in the Near East in Late Antiquity* (2006) 105–29.
U. Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Galilee* (2009).
M. T. Schuler, 'Recent Archaeology of Galilee and the Interpretation of Texts from the Galilean Ministery of Jesus', *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 71 (2007), 99–120.
M. Aviam, 'Horvath Hesheq, a Unique Church in Upper Galilee: Preliminary Report', in G. C. Bottini, L. Di Segni, and V. Corbo, eds., *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries* (1990), 351–78.
R. Reich, 'A Note on the Roman Mosaic at Magdala on the Sea of Galilee', *Liber Annuus* 41 (1991), 455–8.
A. Aviam, 'Large Scale Production of Olive Oil in Galilee', *Cathedra* 73 (1994), 26–35.
B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine: History and Archaeology* (1971).

Gallaecia *Province in north-west *Spain, within the *Dioecesis *Hispaniae, divided from *Tarraconensis in 211/17. Its other neighbours were *Lusitania and Carthaginiensis; its capital was Bracara Augusta (*Braga). It is included in the *Verona List. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* the *governor was a *Praeses. Gallaecia was conquered successively by the *Suebes in 409, the *Visigoths in 585, and the *Arabs, briefly, after 711. GDB

Barrington Atlas, 101E3.
TIR K-29 (1991).

Galla Placidia, Aelia (*c.*388–450) *Empress, daughter, wife, and mother of *emperors. Born at an uncertain date to *Theodosius I and Galla. Her mother died in 394. Her cousin *Serena, wife of Flavius *Stilicho, brought her up from an early age. She was styled *nobilissima* early in life and given her own household and *palace in *Constantinople in Theodosius I's lifetime.

Having moved to the West, Galla Placidia resided primarily in *Italy thereafter. The erudition apparent in her *letters suggests an advanced secular and religious *education. Prior to the Sack of *Rome in 410, the *Visigoths captured Placidia, and she accompanied them through Italy and into southern *Gaul. In the negotiations that followed, *Honorius agreed to a marriage between Placidia and *Athaulf I in January 414. Their only child, Theodosius, died shortly thereafter, followed by Athaulf himself.

Placidia was returned and wed to the **patricius* Constantius (later *Constantius III) in 417, bearing *Honoria and *Valentinian III. During this time, she involved herself in the disputed election to the see of *Rome and aided in her candidate's appointment. Honorius lacked an heir, so in 421 Constantius was declared emperor and Placidia *Augusta; these titles were not recognized in the East nor esteemed by Honorius. Upon Constantius' death in the same year, she temporarily fled to Constantinople.

Only with the death of Honorius in 423 and the usurpation by *John did the Eastern court move to install Placidia's son Valentinian III as emperor. In 425, he was crowned and Placidia's status as Augusta was recognized. For twelve years she served as regent, although she vied for power with the **patricius* Flavius *Aëtius, who became increasingly dominant in the late 430s as Placidia's influence diminished as a result of her failures with the *Vandals and the growth to adulthood of her son Valentinian. However, she remained a political force until her death in 450.

Like other imperial women, Placidia was active in religious *patronage, building churches in *Rome, *Ravenna, and *Jerusalem. *Agnellus (41–2) relates her building of the (lost) Church of the Holy Cross, records the dedication *inscription in the *apse of the Church of S. John the Evangelist which she endowed as a thank-offering for deliverance from danger at sea, and states that she was buried in the *monasterium* of S. Nazarius at Ravenna. The surviving cross-in-square building now known as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna was originally attached to the south end of the Church of the Holy Cross. GSN

PLRE II, Placidia 4.
PCBE II/2, Placidia 1.
S. I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (1968).
V. A. Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la transformazione politica dell'Occidente* (1961).
H. Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress* (2011).
J. E. Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire* (2015).
D. M. Deliyannis, 'Bury Me at Ravenna: Appropriating Galla Placidia's Body in the Middle Ages', *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 289–99.

Gallehus horns Two unique *gold signal or drinking horns of *c.*6.8 kg (15 lb) found in a field in the village of Gallehus in southern Denmark in 1639 and 1734. Both horns were stolen and melted in 1802. They were richly ornamented with figurative motifs; one horn carried a *runic inscription naming its maker. The functions and

owners of the horns are debated. Although Late Antique, specifically East Roman templates can be identified, the choice of motifs, composition, and style as well as the inscription indicate a south Scandinavian manufacture in the early 5th century. AR

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Gallehus, X (1998), 330–44 (Axboe, Nielsen, Heizmann).

Galliae **Dioecesis* formed under the *Tetrarchy to control the north and east of *Gaul (with *Septem Provinciae ruling southern Gaul). In the *Verona List, the Dioecesis of Galliae comprises the *provinces of *Lugdunensis Prima and Secunda, *Belgica Prima and Secunda (correcting the word 'betica'), *Germania Prima and Secunda, Sequania (i.e. *Maxima Sequanorum), and *Alpes Poenninae et Graiae. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists these provinces (and Lugdunensis Tertia and Senonia, which arose from subdivisions under *Constantine I) as governed by the *Vicarius of Septem Provinciae (*occ.* XXII, 4–8, 10–11, and 17–19; cf. I, 68–74 and 106–17). Its territory came gradually under local control during the *Barbarian Migrations of the 5th century, and the final area fell to the *Franks in the 480s. ACR

Jones, *LRE* 373–4.

Gallican Liturgy The Christian *liturgy in use in *Gaul prior to the efforts by *Rome to encourage liturgical uniformity in the 8th century is not well recorded. The fragments of two 8th-century sacramentaries known as the Missale Gallicanum vetus (ms. Vat. Pal. lat. 493) contain masses for the feast of S. *Germanus for Advent, Lent, *Easter, and *Rogation, as well as other rites, but other Gallican missals are mostly from after Late Antiquity.

Other evidence of uniquely Gallican liturgical customs appears in the proceedings of local church *councils toward the end of Late Antiquity, mostly on matters of the duties of particular liturgical ministers and matters of the church year as Gallican timekeeping traditions were established. These include the Councils of Agde of AD 506 (Mansi 8, 725–8), Vaison of 529 (Mansi 8, 319–38), *Tours of 567 (Mansi 9, 947–64), Auxerre of 578 (Mansi 9, 911–19), and Mâcon of 581 and 627 (Mansi 9, 931–40 and 10, 587–90). MFC

CPL 1917–24.

Missale Gallicanum vetus, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg (1958).

A. A. King, 'Gallican Rite', *Liturgies of the Past* (1959), 77–185.

A. A. King, 'Rite of Lyons', *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees* (1957), 1–154.

Gallicanus Ovinius Gallicanus, *Consul 317, and, in 316–17, first known Christian *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome. From a noble family, he was *Curator of Teanum in *Campania, and gave a church at *Ostia *silver and lands worth over 869 **solidi* per annum (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 29). OPN

NEDC 101.

E. Champlin, 'Saint Gallicanus (Consul 317)', *Phoenix* 36/1 (1982), 71–6.

Barnes, *Constantine*, 86.

Gallicanus, Vulcatius Alleged author of the **Historia Augusta* life of Avidius Cassius, *usurper under Marcus Aurelius. OPN

Gallic Empire Term conventionally used by scholars for the pattern of political power which emerged in the *provinces of the Roman Empire north of the Alps at the height of the Third Century *Crisis, beginning in the sole reign of the *Emperor *Gallienus (260–8). The sources for the Gallic Empire are poor, being composed largely of brief notices by late 4th-century *Latin authors who depended for much of their information on the lost **Kaisergeschichte*, of scattered allusions in the first book of *Zosimus, and of information gleaned from the rather copious *coinage minted by the Gallic emperors. The imperial biographies of the **Historia Augusta* interweave fact, invention, and an idiosyncratic sense of humour.

In AD 260 the Emperor *Valerian was carried into captivity by *Shapur I, the Persian King of Kings. Valerian's son and successor Gallenus faced considerable insecurity, with several *usurpers challenging his authority, with the formation of a separate polity centred on *Palmyra in *Syria, and with barbarian threats in the *Balkans and on the Rhine *frontier, the latter including an attack by *Franks which penetrated as far as *Tarragona in *Spain (Aurelius *Victor, 33; *Eutropius, IX, 8). In 259/60 *Postumus, a military commander on the Rhine frontier, attacked and killed Gallienus' son Saloninus at *Cologne (*Zosimus, I, 38, 2) and set himself up as ruler of Gaul, Spain, and *Britain, where, according to Eutropius, he 'restored the almost exhausted provinces through his enormous vigour and moderation' (IX, 9). Despite making two attempts to dislodge Postumus, Gallienus was obliged in general to acquiesce in the usurpation, while posting *Aureolus in northern *Italy to ensure that Postumus did not cross the Alps (Zosimus, I, 40, 1–2). In 268 Postumus was killed by his own *army, because he refused to allow them to sack *Mainz, which had supported a general called *Laelianus who had revolted against him.

Postumus was replaced briefly by a former blacksmith called *Marius, who was in turn eliminated by the general *Victorinus, who faced further opposition at *Autun, a *city he damaged severely in a lengthy siege. Victorinus ruled for two years before succumbing to a military mutiny at Cologne. His mother then persuaded the troops to acclaim as their new emperor *Tetricus, a

Gallo-Roman *senator and *governor of *Aquitaine. Tetricus ruled for two years and had some success against threats to the Rhine frontier. By this time *Aurelian (270–5) was the legitimate Roman emperor and, having secured the eastern frontier by recovering the empire of Palmyra, he turned to Gaul, and in 274 defeated the armies of Tetricus at Châlons-sur-Marne, capturing Tetricus, who survived many years as a private citizen. It is alleged that Tetricus gave up to Aurelian willingly, as he was tired of the frequent mutinies of his army (Aurelius Victor, 35; Eutropius, IX, 13).

Roman imperial administrative forms appear to have been followed in the Gallic Empire. All Gallic emperors followed imperial practice by appointing themselves to *consulships. That the adoption of these titles was accompanied by the normal *ceremonies and public *entertainment may be supposed, but the coinage gives no evidence of games or spectacles. One would expect the consulships to be marked by *donatives to the soldiers. A number of issues with the emperor's head facing left, rather than the normal right, may be part of such donatives. OPN; PJC

CAH XII (2005), 45–6, 52–3 (J. F. Drinkwater).
Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*.

Gallienus Augustus 253–68. P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus was the longest ruling *emperor of the Third Century *Crisis and the object of enduring controversy. Born the son of *Valerian in *c.*218, Gallienus was proclaimed *Caesar and then *Augustus almost immediately upon his father's accession as emperor in 253. He commanded in the West during his father's reign, and campaigned on the Rhine and Upper Danube *frontiers against the *Franks and *Alamans. After Valerian was captured by *Shapur I of Persia in 260, Gallienus faced internal and external crisis. His reign was plagued by *usurpers, exaggerated in the **Historia Augusta* as the so-called '*Thirty Tyrants'. The *frontiers remained weak, and Gallienus was unable to suppress either the breakaway Empire of *Palmyra under Septimius *Odaenathus and his Queen *Zenobia or the *Gallic Empire of *Postumus.

Gallienus focused his energy on consolidating the central territories of *Italy, *Africa, *Egypt, and the *Balkans. Condemned in the sources for indolence and inactivity, he husbanded his remaining resources carefully. Gallienus' *coinage reflects the difficulties of his reign. The heavily debased **antoninianus*, of variable weight and *silver content (often only lightly silver-coated *bronze) became the dominant circulating coin. *Gold issues of varied weights suggest repeated attempts at reform. The military was reorganized, creating a mobile central army with far greater emphasis on *cavalry. Valerian's persecution of *Christians was abandoned (*Eusebius *HE* VII, 13). Gallienus patronized the *Neoplatonist *philosopher *Plotinus (*Porphyry, *VPlot* 12), although how much weight should be placed on this is debated. Sculptors represented him as a figure of classical elegance blended with personal intensity.

In 267 renewed *Gothic attacks over the Black Sea and the Danube ravaged *Greece and sacked *Athens. Gallienus defeated one Gothic force at the Battle of the River Nestus in 268, but in Italy his general *Aureolus had mutinied and Gallienus was murdered by his officers while besieging Aureolus in *Milan. In the Latin tradition of *Lactantius (*Mort.* 5, 5) and the *Tetrarchic *panegyrics (e.g. VIII (V), 10), and later of Aurelius *Victor, *Eutropius, and the *Historia Augusta*, Gallienus is uniformly denounced for sloth, exclusion of *senators from military commands, and failure to rescue or avenge his father. Yet he preserved the Empire in the darkest days of the 3rd century, and laid the basis for the recovery under his successors. DMG

PLRE I, Gallienus 1.
RIC V/1.
L. de Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus* (1976).
Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire.*
Potter, *Empire at Bay.*
G. Mathew, 'The Character of the Gallienic Renaissance', *JRS* 33 (1943), 65–70.

Gallonius, S., and companions Christian *martyrs listed in the **Martyrology of Carthage* for 31 May (martyrs at Timida Regia) and 11 June (Gallonius). The sole manuscript of their *Passion* comes from *Aquileia (now Gorizia, Tesoro del Duomo, 8). It records two trials conducted by *Anullinus, *Proconsul of *Africa. The first, at Timida Regia, a *city which already had a *bishop in 256, resulted in the beheading of eighteen men and six women for attending a Christian meeting, and the burning of two men for shouting abuse. At the second, at Utina (mod. Oudna, a city with a bishop *c.* AD 200), Gallonius again refused under *torture to hand over scriptures and was burned alive, and other Christians were beheaded. The account of the first trial accurately reproduces the technical terminology of a *report of proceedings, that of the second trial less so. OPN

ed. P. Chiesa, *AnBoll* 114 (1996), 241–68.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 129–31.

Gallunianu Treasure A *silver paten, four chalices, and cochlear spoon from 6th-century *Italy, excavated in 1963 near Galognano in Tuscany, now in the Pinacoteca of Siena. According to *inscriptions, the paten was made by Sivigerna 'for her soul' and one of the chalices was offered to the Church of Gallunianu by Himnigilda; the names are German, probably Gothic. OPN

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, 250–4.
O. von Hessen et al., *Il tesoro di Galognano* (1977).

Gallus (325/6–54) *Caesar 351–4. Fl. Claudius Constantius Gallus, son of *Julius Constantius (half-brother of *Constantine I) and Galla, and half-brother of *Julian (sole *emperor 361–3). Gallus and Julian survived the family massacre of 337 but fell under the control of their kinsman *Constantius II. They spent their youth at Macellum of *Cappadocia (probably 342–8). On 15 March 351 Gallus was appointed Caesar, and married his cousin *Constantina by whom he had a daughter (Julian, *Letter to the Athenians*, 272D). As Caesar, he resided at *Antioch, but his administration proved controversial (*Ammianus, XIV, 1). In 354 he was recalled to *Milan and on the journey was executed (Ammianus, XIV, 11) at Pola (*Venetia et Histria), aged 29, leaving Constantius II and Julian as the last male survivors of Constantine I's family. SFT

PLRE I, Gallus 4.

Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 226.

Gallus (486–551) *Bishop of *Clermont 525–51. Member of a Gallo-Roman aristocratic *family in the Auvergne, whose *Life* (*BHL* 3259) was written by his nephew *Gregory of *Tours (*Lives of the Fathers*, 6). A monk, then a *deacon at Clermont, he served at the court of *Theuderic I, who supported his selection as bishop. RVD

PCBE IV/1, Gallus 3.

PLRE IIIA, Gallus 2.

R. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (1993).

Gallus, S. (St.-Gall) (*fl.* 612) Monk and alleged founder of a cell near Lake Constance, which later became the *Monastery of S. Gallen. The three *Lives* of S. Gallus (*VGalli*), written between *c.*750 and 833, describe S. Gallus as a follower of S. *Columbanus who left him after his failed attempt to found a monastery in Bregenz. The historicity of Gallus is contested. ADi

PCBE IV/1 Gallus 6.

Lives of S. Gallus (*BHL* 3245–7), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS. rer. Meroving. 4, 229–337.

M. Schär, *Gallus. Der Heilige in seiner Zeit* (2011).

Galswintha (d. 569/70) *Visigothic Princess, daughter of *Athanagild and sister of *Brunhild, married to the *Frankish King *Chilperic I, who subsequently, according to *Gregory of *Tours, had her murdered. In a poem of lament for Galswintha (*Carmen*, 6, 5), *Venantius Fortunatus studiously avoids assigning culpability for her death MJR

PLRE IIIA, Galsuintha.

Gamzigrad (Serbia) Settlement in *Dacia Ripensis, centred on the fortified *villa Romuliana built by the *Emperor *Galerius. A rampart with 20 round towers (enclosing about 6 ha or 15 acres) enclosed two residential complexes, two *temples, a *bathhouse, a *horreum* (*barn), and associated buildings. A sumptuous complex of three corridor-halls, a peristyle court, an apsidal hall, and a **triclinium* in the north-west part of the fortification was probably the ceremonial part of the *palace. Two mausolea and consecration mounds in the vicinity (Magura) were probably intended for Galerius and his mother *Romula. An extensive settlement including barracks and a *horreum* stretched outside the fortification. The palace probably remained unfinished after the death of Galerius (311). A rural settlement with dwellings and workshops soon took over the site, with a Christian *basilica built over the corridor-halls of the palace. The settlement and church were destroyed in the mid-5th century, but were restored. The walls were repaired under *Justinian I. The site was abandoned in the 7th to 9th century, but reinhabited in the late 9th to 11th centuries. ER

Various articles in *Starinar* 57 (2007) and in G. v. Bülow and H. Zabehlicky, eds., *Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad: spätantike Paläste und Grossvillen im Donau-Balkan Raum* (2011).

Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 22ff.

D. Mladenović, *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior* (2012), 39ff., 98–9.

I. Popović, *Felix Romuliana—Gamzigrad* (2010).

M. Vasić, ed., *Felix Romuliana: 50 Years of Archaeological Excavations* (2006).

M. Vasić and U. Brandl, eds., *Roms Erbe auf dem Balkan* (2007), 33ff.

Ganzak *See* TAKHT-E SOLAYMAN.

gardens and orchards, Persian (MP *bāg* 'garden', 'orchard'; *bōyestān* 'flower garden') Although scant archaeological evidence survives, textual sources attest to the importance of gardens in Persia. Their quadripartite design and water channels influenced Islamic gardens. Late Sasanian *palaces contained elaborate formal gardens often with cosmological symbolism. *Khosrow II was captured in a palace garden known as the 'Garden of India' (*Tabari, V, 1043). There were probably gardens at the *Taq-e Kesra at *Ctesiphon, Bisotun, *Qasr-e Shirin, and *Taq-e Bostan.

*Zoroastrianism considered cultivating the land to be a holy act and harming it a sin (**Menog-e Xrad*, 5, 1–13). *Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, 78) records that the Persians even refrained from destroying enemy gardens and vineyards. A good king ensured the earth was cultivated and the *Persian Empire itself could be described as a garden (*Dinawari, *Kitab al-akhbar at-tiwal*, 114–15; Tha'alibi, *Ghurar*, 722–32). Plantations (**dastgird*) with walled gardens containing plant and animal specimens from all over the world were part of *Sasanian estates, of which Khosrow II's

Dastgird and Qasr-e Shirin stand as the prime literary and archaeological examples. MPC

gardens and orchards, Roman and post-Roman Gardens (Gk. *kepos*; Lat. *hortus*) often lay close to dwellings and were limited in size so as to be walled and worked by a few hands. Orchards were often extensive in scale, planted primarily with *fruit trees whose produce was intended for the table or market, with spaces between the trees sometimes cultivated with crops or grazed by animals. Herbs and vegetables were commonly grown in kitchen gardens. Cash crops, like artichokes, were frequently grown in Roman gardens—the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (vi, 1) set the price of five large artichokes at 10 *denarii* (10 per cent of a baker's daily wage: vii, 12). Garden and orchards also provided space for experiment and selective breeding. *Palladius gives detailed monthly advice about intensive cultivation in gardens, including sowing, the planting out of seedlings, watering, and measures to be used against such pests as moles.

Gardens were common in Late Antique *cities; tree roots were liable to damage houses (*Julian of Ascalon, 49, 1) and urban dwellings were sometimes demolished to make way for gardens (*CJust* VIII, 16, 2). Planned, elaborate gardens and parks for pleasure were common throughout the Late Roman and post-Roman world, as at the Villa Bancroft in *Britain (*c.* AD 340).

In Persia, the garden (*bagh*) was developed as an intensively worked and irrigated food-bearing enclosure under permanent cultivation: gardens were especially features of oasis agriculture. In the pleasure garden ornamental flowers and plants were carefully arranged alongside water features. The *Umayyads drew upon and expanded both Persian and Roman gardening traditions. MD

M. Conan and W. J. Cress, eds., *Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation, and Cultural Changes* (2007).

A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, *Byzantine Garden Culture* (2002).

gardingus Junior officer in the *Visigothic Kingdom, apparently performing a purely military function, perhaps as a member of the king's guard. CMG

A. Isla Frez, 'El *officium palatinum* visigodo', *Hispania* 62 (2002), 845–7.

P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (1972), 56–62.

Gargilius Martialis (3rd cent.) Q. Gargilius Martialis probably came from Auzia in *Mauretania (*CIL* VII, 9047 of AD 260). He wrote a *Latin work on horticulture *praised by *Cassiodorus (*Inst.* I, 28, 6). A fragment of *De Hortis* survives in a 6th-century palimpsest (Naples, A.IV.8). Overlapping with this text is the anonymously transmitted *Medicinae ex Holeribus et Pomis* (= Book 4 of *Medicina Plinii*). It is improbable that he is the 'Martial' or 'Marsial' frequently named by Ibn al-Awwam. RR

De Hortis: ed. I. Mazzini ([1]1978, [2]1988).

Medicinae: ed. B. Maire (annotated with FT, 2002).

Garima Gospels Abba Garima, one of the *Nine Saints of Ethiopia, founded near Adwa a *monastery, which still operates under his name and preserves what is probably the oldest Ethiopian manuscript material still extant. Traditionally believed to have belonged to or to have been written by the saint himself, but not brought to outsiders' attention until the 1960s, the material originally comprised three separate codices. Two, each containing fine portraits of the evangelists, canon tables, architectural images and *Ge'ez gospel-texts, almost certainly date from the 6th century, as is indicated by comparative studies of the canon tables and portraits, linguistic features of the Ge'ez texts and radiocarbon dates for the vellum. The third codex, which incorporates no portraits, is thought to be somewhat later in date, although all the Garima Gospels material is clearly more ancient than any other extant Ethiopian manuscript. It has been suggested that the portraits, canon table, and texts might be of different ages, but recent study effectively disproves this possibility, and the view that the two oldest Garima manuscripts are of 6th-century age is increasingly accepted, this being the time that the *Bible first became available in Ge'ez (*see* CHRISTIANITY, AKSUMITE). Ongoing studies now focus not only on their significance to Ethiopian history but on their relevance over a much wider field; here, the portraits of the four evangelists plus in one case an individual who has been identified as *Eusebius of Caesarea, originator of the canon tables, are of exceptional interest. DWP

M. E. Heldman, 'The Heritage of Late Antiquity', in Grierson, *African Zion*, 117–32.

J. Leroy, 'L'Évangéliaire éthiopien d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie', *CahArch* 12 (1960), 131–43.

J. Mercier, 'La Peinture éthiopienne à l'époque axoumite et au xviiie siècle', *CRAIBL*(2000), 35–71.

J. McKenzie, F. Watson, M. Gervers, et al., *The Garima Gospels: Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia* (2016).

Garivald I (d. *c.*590) Garivald was sent to *Bavaria as *Dux, probably by *Chlothar I *c.*555, who also arranged his *marriage to the *Lombard Princess Waldarada. Garivald established an independent power base, partly in alliance with the Lombards, whose kings *Authari and *Agilulf married his daughter *Theudelinda. He was attacked by a *Frankish army in 589, and died soon afterwards. MDi

PLRE IIIA, Garibaldus 1.
C. I. Hammer, *From 'Ducatus' to 'Regnum': Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and Early Carolingians* (2007), 29–40.

garnet *See* STONES, PRECIOUS.

Garni Armenian fortress on the Azat River. Its fortifications were destroyed by the Romans *c.*58 BC; Trdat I rebuilt them in ashlar *c.* AD 76. An Ionic temple-shaped tomb was built around the late 2nd century. Although *Movses Khorenats'i attributes all Garni to *Trdat III, only the rough-stone *palace complex and Roman-style *baths with *mosaics date to the late 3rd century. Catholicos Nerses III (640–61) built a *tetraconch church over the ruins of the palace. A single-aisled *basilica was built outside the walls in the 4th century, followed by others in the Middle Ages. MPC

A. A. Sahinian, 'Nouveaux matériaux concernant l'architecture des constructions antiques de Garni', *Revue des études arméniennes* 6 (1969), 180–200.
A. A. Sahinyan, *Arkhitektura antichnykh sooruzheniĭ Garni* (1989).
R. D. Wilkinson, 'A Fresh Look at the Ionic Building at Garni', *Revue des études arméniennes* NS 16 (1982), 221–44.

garum* and *salsamenta A basis for many Roman cooking sauces, condiments, and main dishes. Scholars use 'garum' to refer to *fish sauces generally. There were in fact various different types: Greek *garon* is equated with *liquamen* in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (3, 6–7) and consisted of small fishes dissolved in *salt; the best was *haimation* (**Geoponica*, 13, 4, 8) made from the intestines, blood, and gills of tuna. *Garum* was made from salted blood and viscera. *Salsamenta* comprised any kind of fish layered with salt and thus pickled. *Spain, *Mauretania Tingitana, and the Black Sea region were important exporters of various fish sauces and salted fish. MD

S. Grainger, 'A New Approach to Roman Fish Sauce', *Petit Propos culinaires* 83 (2007), 92–102.
R. I. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta* (1991).

Gascons *See* BASQUES.

gasindius In *Lombard *Italy, a freeman who acted as an attendant/servant or follower/retainer to higher-status Lombards. In practice, as Lombard *law indicates, this could be the king or his *gastalds or *Duces in individual localities. The laws of *Liutprand provide for the elevated standing of royal *gasindii* CTH

Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 132–6.

gastald Local administrative and judicial officers associated with the *Lombard kingdom in northern and central *Italy, where they administered the royal fisc and controlled circumscription. Further south in the duchies of *Spoleto and *Benevento gastalds were simply subordinate to the Duces whose representatives they remained. CTH

Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 41–2.

Gaudentius (*fl.* 3rd–4th cent.) Musicologist and author of a *Harmonic Introduction* (*Harmonike eisagoge*), known to *Cassiodorus (*Institutiones*, II, 5, 1, 10) in a *Latin translation by Mutianus (otherwise unattested). The first half of the treatise (1–9) is decidedly Aristoxenian, but the remainder (10–22) is more eclectic, drawing variously on the traditions of *Pythagoras, *Ptolemy, and Aristoxenus, and concluding with a tabular summary of modal notation (in the manner of *Alypius). AJH

PLRE I, Gaudentius 7.
ed. K. von Jan in *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, 317–56.
L. Zanoncelli, ed. and tr., 'Gaudenzio, Introduzione all'armonica', in *La manualistica musicale greca* (1990), 305–69.
O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (rev. edn. 1998), 66–85.
Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 498–509.

Gaudentius of Brescia *Bishop (from *c.*396) of a small church in *Italy, Gaudentius was originally a monk who moved from Italy to the East and travelled through *Cappadocia, where he was given *relics of the *Forty Martyrs by nieces of *Basil of *Caesarea. *Ambrose of *Milan recalled him, against his wishes, to be bishop in what may have been his home town and he lodged his relics in a *Brescia *basilica (**Sermon*, 16). Gaudentius was chosen as an emissary to the East in the *John Chrysostom controversy of 404 due to his knowledge of *Greek, though the mission ended in failure and a brief imprisonment (*Palladius, *Vita Chrysostomi*, 4, 1–4). Twenty-one sermons survive, the first fifteen a single corpus which Gaudentius edited and sent to the imperial delegate Benivolus. These sermons seem to reproduce the preaching of a single complete Easter season. RJM

CPL 215:
ed. A. Glück (CSEL 68, 1936).
ET S. Boehrer, 'Sermons 1–21', Ph.D. thesis (Catholic University of America, 1965).
G. Bruni, *Pasqua, primavera della storia: teologia del tempo nei testi omiletici di Gaudenzio di Brescia* (2000).
D. Keech, *Gaudentius of Brescia on Baptism and the Eucharist* (2013).
C. Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio, Cromazio: testi e contenuti della predicazione cristiana per le chiese di Verona, Brescia e Aquileia (360–410 ca.)* (1985).

Gaul The largest region in the Roman Empire, comprising during the 4th century about one-quarter of the Latin West, and an area about two-thirds that of the

entire Greek East. It connected three important economic and ecological zones in the European sector of the Empire: the Mediterranean heartland, the Atlantic coast, and the Rhine *frontier. From the mid-4th century this vast region became the core of the prefecture of the Gauls, which also included *Spain and *Britain. The administration of the region was divided between two **dioeceses*, *Galliae ('Gauls') in the north and Viennensis or *Septem Provinciae ('Seven Provinces') in the south, each of which included several provinces.

Mediterranean and Alpine Gaul was divided among the provinces of *Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, *Viennensis, *Alpes Maritimae, and *Alpes Graiae et Poeninae. Although many of its important *cities were on or near the coast, including *Narbonne, *Arles, and *Marseilles, the Rhône River, between the Alps and the Massif Central, also linked more northern *cities directly to the Mediterranean. Small seagoing vessels could navigate up the Rhône as far as *Vienne and *Lyons, from where the Saône River was navigable still further north, so that Arles could be said to supply *Trier (**Expositio Totius Mundi*, 58; *Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium*, 73–80).

Western and central Gaul was divided among the provinces of *Novempopulana, *Aquitania Prima and Secunda, and *Lugdunensis I, II, III, and IV (also known as Senonia). Its major rivers, including the Garonne, the Loire, and the Seine, oriented these provinces towards the Atlantic and the English Channel. Important cities on or near the coasts included *Bordeaux, Nantes, and *Rouen, but inland cities further upriver, such as *Toulouse, *Tours, *Orléans, and *Paris, were also linked to the ocean.

Northern and eastern Gaul was divided among the provinces of *Belgica I and II and the frontier provinces of *Germania Prima and Secunda and *Maxima Sequanorum. The Moselle River flows into the Rhine, and the Meuse River empties near the Rhine delta. Here, the proximity of the frontier and the presence of military encampments dominated the economy, and the provinces that bordered the English Channel and the North Sea were oriented toward the supply of the soldiers stationed along the Rhine.

These three geographical zones intersected about midway between Trier and Lyons, at the watersheds of the Moselle, Meuse, Marne, and Saône rivers. Within Roman Gaul an extensive system of *roads both connected and complemented these rivers. This communications network had aided the development of cities and an urban way of life, as well as the extensive exploitation of the countryside.

Late Roman Gaul

In the later 3rd century much of Gaul became, briefly, a separate Roman Empire, termed for convenience by scholars the *Gallic Empire. In 260 the *army in the Rhineland supported *usurpers who represented themselves as Roman *emperors and were recognized throughout Gaul, as well as in Britain and Spain. This 'Empire of the Gauls', as it was labelled by the historian *Eutropius, was an early precursor of the centrifugal tendency of northern Europe to separate itself from the Mediterranean core of the Roman Empire.

After the Emperor *Aurelian restored central control in 274, emperors often established their *courts in Gaul. Three generations of emperors from the Constantinian dynasty led military campaigns against barbarian invaders in northern Gaul, typically residing at Trier. In 359 *Julian as *Caesar even campaigned across the Rhine. *Valentinian I established his court at Trier in 367; in 383 his son *Gratian was killed at Lyons by the troops of the *usurper *Magnus Maximus. Two centuries later the historian *Gregory *Bishop of *Tours still recalled Maximus as 'the emperor at Trier'.

As an imperial residence, Trier flourished with the construction of new buildings and an expanding population. Other cities with imperial connections likewise prospered. Members of the local civic *aristocracy could now aspire to hold offices in the imperial *administration, as *Praefectus Praetorio, *Vicarius, and provincial *governors or as bureaucrats on their staffs, and at the imperial courts. Many of these positions conferred senatorial *rank. During the 4th century thousands of Gauls probably held posts in the imperial administration, including some notables who reached its very top. *Ausonius, a teacher from Bordeaux, was *Praefectus Praetorio of the Gauls and *consul in 379; his pupil, *Paulinus of Nola, became a governor in *Italy. With the expansion of Christianity into central and northern Gaul, local notables could become bishops and clerics. S. *Martin was a former soldier who became Bishop of Tours. His career anticipated the later prominence of bishops, and after his death in 397 he was honoured as a saint.

Gaul had never seemed as 'Roman' as it did during the 4th century. The residence of an imperial court, the promotion of Gallic notables, the teaching of *Latin classical culture, and the increasing prominence of Christianity were characteristics of the Mediterranean heartland. In reality, however, Gaul was already becoming 'post-Roman'.

Living beyond the Rhine *frontier were distinct groups and confederations of Germanic-speaking barbarians. During the 4th century many barbarians moved into Gaul, often with the acquiescence of the imperial administration. *Franks settled in northern Gaul, and by the mid-4th century some had become military officers and in the case of *Magnentius and *Silvanus had even attempted to usurp the imperial office. Other barbarians gradually infiltrated across the

Rhine; in the mid-4th century Julian claimed that 'Germans', probably *Alamans, occupied a strip over 190 km (120 miles) long and almost 65 km (40 miles) wide on the Roman bank of the Rhine. Still other barbarians were recruited directly into the army, and many *veterans received allotments of land in Gaul. By the end of the 4th century barbarians and their descendants made up a significant percentage of the population of Gaul. Rather than sealing the frontiers, the Roman army had become the primary mechanism facilitating the steady *Barbarian Migrations into Gaul.

Barbarians and warlords

The Emperor *Valentinian II published the last known imperial edict issued from Trier, in June 390. The *usurper *Eugenius was the last emperor to campaign in northern Gaul, and the general *Arbogast led the last Roman army to cross the Rhine. In 396 the *Magister Militum *Stilicho removed troops from the Rhine frontier to defend *Italy. At about the same time the residence of the Praefectus Praetorio of the Gauls was transferred from Trier to Arles. During the 5th century the names of very few *governors are known for provinces in Gaul, both north and south, and the army was considerably diminished.

During the winter of 406–7 bands of *Vandals, *Suebes, and *Alans crossed the Rhine and slowly drifted to Spain. A band of *Burgundians settled along the middle Rhine. An army of *Visigoths arrived from Italy in 412, soon moved to Spain, but they were settled in Aquitania Secunda in 418 with a view to their staying there. Roman generals continued to conduct campaigns against barbarians, although often with the assistance of other barbarian groups. *Aëtius resettled the Burgundians in eastern Gaul. In 451 he led a coalition of Romans, Visigoths, and Franks to victory over *Attila and the *Huns at the Battle of the *Catalaunian Plains in central Gaul.

Political authority in Gaul fragmented. The last emperor to visit Gaul was *Majorian (457–61), who resided usually in Arles. During the 460s the Roman general *Aegidius was selected as an interim king for a group of *Franks in northern Gaul. His son *Syagrius was remembered by Gregory of Tours a century later as holding the hybrid title of 'King of the Romans'. The Frankish King *Childeric I was apparently operating in a Roman orbit, and his tomb near *Tournai contained both Frankish weapons and the ornaments of a Roman magistrate. During the 470s the Visigothic King *Euric seized cities on the Mediterranean coast. The historian *Jordanes claimed that Euric wanted to rule Gaul independently of the emperors. As a Roman general *Gundobad had intrigued against emperors in Italy; back in Gaul in the later 5th century he became a King of the Burgundians and controlled the Rhône Valley. In the guise of kings, Roman, Frankish, Visigothic, and Burgundian warlords now dominated most of Gaul.

During the 5th century most of those holding office as Praefectus Praetorio of the Gauls were Gallic *aristocrats, in particular from southern and central Gaul. With the shrinking of the Roman administration, however, aristocrats found other strategies to preserve their standing. Some represented their cities as ambassadors in front of barbarian kings, and others served at the courts of barbarian kings. Other aristocrats, including *senators, became clergymen. After serving as a military officer and a provincial governor, S.*Germanus became Bishop of *Auxerre in 415. S. *Honoratus founded a *monastery at *Lérins before becoming Bishop of Arles in the later 420s. *Sidonius Apollinaris, the son-in-law of the Emperor *Avitus, served as *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome before becoming Bishop of *Clermont during the 470s and 480s. At Tours in the later 5th century three men from the same senatorial family held the episcopacy in turn. As Sidonius commented in adapting to the *zeitgeist*, 'the humblest ecclesiastic ranks above the most exalted secular dignity'.

Sidonius also promoted the importance of *Latin literary culture. Aristocrats who became clergymen applied their learning in the arts of *rhetoric to theological treatises and *sermons. They exchanged *letters and composed poems; *Agroecius, Bishop of Sens, wrote a treatise about the correct *grammar, spelling, and vocabulary of *Latin. At the same time the availability of an *education in classical culture was increasingly restricted. Instead, churchmen were often trained in the biblical and ascetic culture of monasteries. *Caesarius was a Gallic aristocrat who joined the monastery at *Lérins before becoming Bishop of Arles in the early 6th century. In contrast to Sidonius, who had warned against the use of 'barbarisms' in spoken and written Latin, Caesarius preferred a 'lowly speech' (**sermo humilis*) in his sermons that matched the simplified vernacular Latin spoken by members of his audience.

Bishops dominated post-Roman cities. They negotiated with barbarian kings, funded the construction of new churches, and established registers for the care of the *poor and destitute. They also patronized the foundation and enhancement of *shrines in honour of saints. During the 460s Bishop Perpetuus of Tours expanded the cult of S. Martin in his city. He dedicated a new church to the saint and collected stories about his recent *miracles. Devotion to saints' cults provided everyone, including aristocrats, ordinary people, and barbarian settlers, with a shared idiom for creating new communities.

Merovingian and Carolingian Francia

In 507 the Frankish King *Clovis I defeated the Visigoths in *Aquitaine. After his *victory he presented gifts to the Church of S. Martin at Tours and received honours from the Emperor *Anastasius I. During the 6th century Clovis' sons and grandsons established the *Merovingian dynasty and ruled as joint kings. After the conquest of the Burgundian kingdom in 534 and the annexation of *Provence in 537, the Franks controlled the whole of Gaul except for western *Brittany, and Visigothic *Septimania. Under the Merovingian kings, Gallia became Francia. After much dynastic infighting, three major sub-kingdoms had emerged by the 7th century: *Neustria was centred in north-western Gaul, *Austrasia in the Rhineland, and *Burgundy in eastern Gaul, while the cities of *Aquitaine still tended to be partitioned among the various kings.

Bishops remained important local leaders, and some, such as *Arnulf of *Metz, *Eligius of Noyon, and *Audoenus of Rouen, were also influential at royal courts during the 7th century. Bishops and aristocrats founded monasteries, sometimes in honour of saints from their own families. The monk S.*Columbanus imported traditions from *Ireland when he established a monastery at *Luxeuil in Burgundy. Clerics influenced by Luxeuil spread Christianity north and east of the Rhine, and *Anglo-Saxon and *Irish missionaries evangelized the region of the lower Rhine.

Boys were educated at home and, sometimes, at the royal courts. Churchmen and monks provided an education based on the *Bible and ecclesiastical writings but also on classical culture and Roman *law. Monasteries such as Luxeuil and *Corbie collected and copied manuscripts. The royal courts issued *charters and edicts in Latin, and well into the Merovingian period Latin remained the common spoken language. Clerics preached in Latin, albeit typically in a rustic style. But as spoken Latin increasingly diverged from the forms of classical Latin, vernacular Latin slowly developed into various Romance languages during the Carolingian period.

The royal administration included men with the title *Comes who governed cities and the title *Dux ('duke') to oversee larger regions (sometimes referred to in English as duchies). These magistrates collected taxes and administered justice on behalf of the kings. *Chlothar II, who unified the Frankish kingdom as sole ruler in 613, and his son *Dagobert I, who resided primarily in Neustria, were still effective kings. Most of their successors were comparatively weak, however, and their aristocrats, whether members of old Roman families or new Frankish ones, were often more powerful than the royal family. Some of the great notables became bishops and others held royal offices. Often they fought with the kings. During the later 670s *Lupus, the Dux of Aquitaine, may even have claimed to be an independent king of Aquitaine.

In Austrasia the family of *Pippin I, who served as *Mayor of the Palace under Dagobert I and *Sigibert III, became especially prominent. In 687 *Pippin II defeated Neustrian aristocrats in battle and from 717 onwards his son *Charles Martel consolidated his authority as *Mayor over all of Francia. In 751 the last Merovingian king was deposed, and bishops anointed *Pippin III as king. Pippin re-established direct royal rule over the dukedom of Aquitaine and seized the Mediterranean region of Septimania from the *Arabs. The campaigns of his son Charlemagne expanded Frankish rule east into Germany. Charlemagne also became King of the *Lombards in Italy, and in 800 Pope Leo III crowned him emperor at Rome. His Carolingian dynasty would rule in France until the later 10th century. RVD

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Gaulanitis The modern Golan or Jawlan Heights, flanking the Jordan Valley on the east, and stretching from Mount Hermon to the River *Yarmuk and the southern end of the Sea of *Galilee. The basalt plateau of Gaulanitis was densely settled in the Roman and Byzantine periods. *Jews clustered in southern and central Gaulanitis in the 3rd–4th centuries and around the Decapolis city of Hippos, coexisting with Jewish Christians in Eastern Gaulanitis.

In the 4th century, the *Ghassanids established their capital at Jabiyah and a *pilgrimage shrine for S. John the Baptist at al-Ramthaniya (Er-Ramthaniyye). They controlled Gaulanitis until the *Persian invasion of AD 614, losing it during the *Arab invasion after the Battle of the Yarmuk in 636. BH

C. Dauphin, 'Jewish and Christian Communities in the Roman and Byzantine Gaulanitis', *Palestine Expolration Quarterly* 114 (1982), 129–42.
C. Dauphin, 'Pèlerinage ghassanide au sanctuaire byzantin de Saint Jean-Baptiste à er-Ramthaniyye en Gaulanitide', in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, Teil 2 (1995), 667–73.
C. Dauphin, S. Brock, R. C. Gregg, and A. F. L. Beeston, 'Païens, juifs, judéo-chrétiens, chrétiens et musulmans en Gaulanitide: les inscriptions de Na'aran, Kafr Naffakh, Farj et er-Ramthaniyye', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 46 (1996), 305–40.
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R. C. Gregg and D. Urman, *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Golan Heights: Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras* (1996).

Gayane and Rhipsime, Ss. (Gaiane and Hripsime, Ss.) Roman *virgins said to have been martyred in *Armenia with 35 companions at the turn of the 4th century. Fleeing the Great *Persecution in Roman territory, the group numbering 'over seventy' at the outset and being led by Gayane took refuge in *Armenia, eventually hiding in a vat-store near *Valarshapat (present *Edjmiatsin/Etchmiadzin), capital city of *Trdat the Great. According to legend, preserved in the *History* attributed to *Agat'angelos, Rhipsime's beauty and her royal lineage had made *Diocletian want to marry her—another reason for her flight. When the virgins were discovered at the *emperor's behest, Trdat became equally infatuated with Rhipsime, who courageously resisted his advances. This led to her *martyrdom and that of her companions, thus bringing divine punishment upon the king in the form of insanity. In search of a cure, the king's sister Khosrovidukht (Xosroviduxt) was instructed in a *dream that the prisoner *Gregory (later Illuminator of Armenia) could heal Trdat. Released after thirteen to fifteen years of imprisonment, Gregory healed Trdat, a *miracle which led to the king's conversion to Christianity in *c.*301, followed by that of the Armenian people. Gregory, directed by a divine vision, interred the remains of the martyred virgins in three chapels (*martyria), named after Gayane, Rhipsime, and the 'anonymous' virgin martyred at the vat-store. The chapels were replaced with grand churches early in the 7th century. Those named for Rhipsime and Gayane, where their traditional tombs are marked, stand as foremost examples of early Armenian church *architecture. AT

BHO 328–47, 1025–7.
Agat'angelos, *History*, §§137–225; 731–76.
ET (annotated) R. W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory* (2010), 213–91, 337–69.

Gaza *City of *Palaestina Prima with a large agricultural hinterland, famous in Late Antiquity for its fine wine (e.g. *Gregory of *Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, 64), whose distinctive *amphorae have been found as far away as 7th-century England. It exported its produce through the *harbour at *Maiuma, some 6 km (3.7 miles) from the city. Constantine made the port of Maiuma a separate city on account of its fervent Christianity (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 37), but *Julian the Apostate returned it to the jurisdiction of Gaza (*Sozomen, V, 3).

Gaza itself, however, had a reputation for *paganism. *Eusebius records the torture and execution of half a dozen *martyrs in the Great *Persecution, including Silvanus the *Bishop (*MartPal* 3; 8; 13). The *conversion of the city to Christianity was a protracted process. There are serious problems with the historicity of Mark the Deacon's *Life of *Porphyry of Gaza*, which gives a vivid but anachronistic account of *Bishop Porphyry's destruction of its *Temple of Zeus Marnas in the early 5th century. There is, however, solid evidence from other sources, especially from the church historian *Sozomen (*c.*400–after 445), who came from Bethelea

in the Gaza area and whose grandparents' *family was one of the first two in their community to be converted to Christianity having been influenced by the local monk S. *Hilarion (d. 371), who freed one of them from possession by a *demon. All of them were obliged to flee during the reign of the *Emperor *Julian rather than face further persecution by their pagan fellow citizens, who had already dragged three Christians from *prison and lynched them (V, 9). Sozomen praises his grandfather's skill as an exegete of the *Bible and acclaims the 'other family', some of whom he knew when they were very old, for founding the first churches and *monasteries in the area (*HE* V, 15, 14–17; cf. V, 10, 1). The pagans of Gaza were still keen to maintain their temples in the 390s (VII, 11), but *Jerome predicted in a *letter of 403 that the Temple of Zeus would soon fall (*ep.* 107, 2) and in his *Commentary on Isaiah* written in 410 expressed satisfaction that the temple was now a church (Book VII, 17, on Isaiah 17:1–3 = PL 24, 241D).

It was, in fact, by the example of monks, says Sozomen (III, 14, 28), that many in Gaza and the villages of its territory were led to embrace Christianity, as early as the time of *Constantius II. S. Hilarion, a local man from the *village of Thabatha, was inspired by S. *Antony of *Egypt while a student in *Alexandria and returned to become one of the first recorded monks of the Gaza area. Sozomen gives details of his *asceticism. Though he was initially buried on *Cyprus, his *relics were later brought back to Palestine and an annual *festival established in his honour by his pupil Hesychius (III, 14, 21–7), two (Roman) miles from the city; his tomb was still being venerated in the late 6th century, when the *Piacenza Pilgrim found Gaza a splendid city inhabited by decent people who were fond of pilgrims (33).

Hilarion's contemporaries and disciples were followed by many monks who lived in the desert around Gaza (VI, 32), and in the 6th century some of them acquired considerable renown. Foremost among them were the two 'spiritual old men', *Barsanuphius and John who lived as hermits under the aegis of the Monastery of Abba Seridus at Thabatha in the early 6th century and gave level-headed written responses (which survive) to written questions put to them by troubled folk. Their pupil *Dorotheus of Gaza had been trained in *medicine at *Antioch and cared for the sick as well as writing on matters of spirituality. The historical sources mention at least ten monasteries in the area, but so far only two of these are known from archaeological evidence; that of Seridus (Deir e-Nuseirat) south-west of the city, and another near Khirbet Jemameh to the east. This dearth of evidence is due to the fact that the region has remained densely populated down to the present day and many older buildings have therefore been plundered for building materials, thereby destroying much of the archaeological evidence for the ancient surroundings of the city.

At the same time that monasteries were forming in its territory, the city of Gaza itself acquired a renowned concentration of *rhetoricians whose orations and writings combined Christian faith and classical elegance. The **grammaticus* *Timotheus wrote on exotic animals, the *grammaticus* *John wrote a poetic *ecphrasis on a cosmological wall painting in a *bathhouse, the rhetorician *Aeneas wrote on philosophical topics in a manner compatible with Christianity, *Procopius of Gaza (d. 535/6) composed ecphrasis, *panegyric, and numerous *letters, including some which indicate how he maintained his *friendship with former students. *Choricius, a pupil of Procopius, composed an ecphrasis on the Church of S. Stephen and another on the Church of S. Sergius, which were both built in the city during this period. His description of the *mosaics of the Church of S. Sergius includes detail about images of the childhood of Christ which makes them sound like narrative paintings. Though the purpose of ecphrasis is more evocation than accurate and detailed description (A. Grabar), Choricius' account does indeed resemble surviving images. The high-flown description of a wooden vault in the Church of S. Stephen has also attracted scholarly attention (Maguire).

Alongside its prominent Christian comunity, Gaza also maintained a significant Jewish population, whose prosperous condition is illustrated by the presence of a *synagogue discovered on the shore at Gaza-Maiumas. The building is dated by an *inscription in *Greek to 508/9 and was extensively decorated with mosaic pavements. One of these represents King David, identified by a Hebrew inscription, in the robes of a Late Roman emperor and in the iconography commonly employed for the figure of Orpheus, but with a *nimbus, an unusual fusion of artistic associations.

Gaza was brought under Muslim rule very early in the *Arab conquest of Palestine, in the time of the first *Caliph *Abu Bakr (632–4), by the general *Amr b. al 'As (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 167–8 and 213).

EL; OPN

http://ecoledegaza.fr/ is the website of an *équipe* which has also published the following two conference proceedings:

C. Saliou, ed., *Gaza dans l'Antiquité Tardive: archéologie, rhétorique et histoire* (2005).

E. Amato et al., eds., *L'École de Gaza: espace littéraire et identité culturelle dans l'antiquité tardive* (2015).

M. Barash, 'The David Mosaic of Gaza', *Assaph: Studies in Art History* 1 (1980), 1–42.

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M. W. Champion, *Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and Cultural Interaction in Late-Antique Gaza* (2014).
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F. K. Litsas, 'Choricius of Gaza and his Description of Festivals at Gaza', *JbÖB* 32/3 (1982), 427–36.
H. Maguire, 'The "Half-Cone" Vault of St. Stephen at Gaza', *DOP* 32 (1978), 319–25.
L. Di Segni, 'Monastery, City and Village in Byzantine Gaza', *Proche-Orient chrétien* 55 (2005), 24–50.

Gaza, schools and rhetoric at The 4th-century *Expositio Totius Mundi* (32) mentions the quality of listeners (i.e. students) in *Gaza, but it was in the late 5th and early 6th centuries that what is now known as the 'School of Gaza' flourished. The 'School' was a loose grouping of Christian orators and intellectuals some of whom had a teacher–pupil relationship, as in the case of *Aeneas, *Procopius, and *Choricius who taught *rhetoric and served as public orators. Their *letters and speeches reveal their contacts with prominent citizens and dignitaries and the continued role of schools in producing a classically educated Christian elite. Their rhetorical output is characterized by its application of traditional Hellenic forms such as epithalamia and *funeral orations to fit Christian subjects as well as experiments with new forms of poetry and prose composition. Procopius and Aeneas also composed works of *Bible interpretation and *philosophy respectively. RW

B. Bitton Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, eds., *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity* (2004).
G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (1963).
C. Saliou, ed., *Gaza dans l'Antiquité tardive: archéologie, rhétorique et histoire* (2005).

Gaza amphorae and Gaza wine Long, bullet-shaped transport jars with rough loop handles (known as 'LRA 4'), produced in the hinterland of *Gaza and Ashkelon between the late 4th and 6th/early 7th century, widely distributed around the Mediterranean and far beyond, and probably used in the Gaza *wine trade.

Though not mentioned in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict, Gaza wines were esteemed by *Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmen*, 17, 15) and *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, XII, 12, 3) and mentioned by *Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, XX, 3, 7). *Corippus (*In laudem Justini*, III, 88) claims that they (with many others) adorned the imperial table, and *Gregory of Tours categorizes Gaza wines, along with those of Latium, as among the 'more potent' (*HF* VII, 29). Gregory also tells a story (*Glory of the Confessors*, 64) about a dishonest *subdeacon at *Lyons who substituted vinegar for the Gaza wine offered at the *Eucharist by a *widow for the repose of her husband's soul and was discovered when the irate deceased appeared to his widow in a *dream. JV; OPN

S. Decker, 'Export Wine Trade to West and East', in M. Mundell Mango, ed., *Byzantine Trade, 4th to 12th Centuries* (2009), 239–52.

Ge'ez *See* ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGES.

Geiseric *King of the *Vandals (*c.*428–77). Geiseric's origins are obscure. *Sidonius implies that he was illegitimate (*Carmen*, II, 358–60), and succeeded his half-brother Gunderic, at an uncertain date (*Hydatius *s.a.* 428). Geiseric orchestrated the Vandal crossing from *Spain into *Africa, and then a series of campaigns in Africa against *Boniface and later *Aspar, culminating in the agreement made at *Hippo Regius in 435. In 439, Geiseric occupied *Carthage, and began raids into *Sicily and southern *Italy which halted only with formal imperial recognition of the Vandal kingdom of Carthage in 442. The details of this treaty are preserved imperfectly by *Victor of Vita (I, 13) and *Procopius (*Vandalic*, III, 4, 12–15; III, 5, 12–17). Geiseric further consolidated his position by betrothing his eldest son *Huneric to the imperial princess *Eudocia, by completely reorganizing the Vandal army (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 5, 18–21), and by redefining the Vandal law of succession to privilege his own family (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 169).

Geiseric remained active in Mediterranean politics throughout his life. Following the death of *Valentinian III, a period of sustained conflict with both halves of the Empire began. In 455, the Vandals and their allies sacked *Rome and returned to Carthage with considerable plunder, including the imperial princesses *Eudoxia, Eudocia, and *Placidia (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 5, 1–7). Shortly thereafter, the Vandals occupied Sicily, *Corsica, *Sardinia, the *Balearics, and parts of the North African coast and initiated maritime raids which were to continue for more than a decade (Victor of Vita, I, 51). Geiseric successfully repelled imperial expeditions in AD 441, 460, and 468/70, and earned a reputation for military genius (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 3, 24).

Geiseric was a *Homoean ('Arian') and persecuted the Homoousian (Nicene, 'Trinitarian') Church in Africa, although persecution was most intense under his successor Huneric, as Victor of Vita records. Geiseric's reign was a time of political and economic stability in Africa; he passed on a strong kingdom at his death in 477. Said by *Jordanes (*Getica*, 168) to have been of medium height, lame from a riding accident, and somewhat taciturn, he was a brilliant politician

and power broker during a period of considerable upheaval. AHM

PLRE II, Geisericus.

C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (1955).

Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, 49–58, 60–71, 110–24, 180–1.

Conant, *Staying Roman*, ch. 1.

Gelasian Decree A Latin catalogue of acceptable and objectionable texts, including lists of the books of the Old and New Testaments. The catalogue was traditionally attributed to Pope *Gelasius I (*Bishop of *Rome, 492–6). The current scholarly consensus is that several parts of the text may stem from Roman traditions in the era of *Damasus (Bishop of Rome, 366–84), but the current form of the text probably originates from south *Gaul in the first half of the 6th century. The objectionable texts include a large number of pseudonymous books attributed to apostolic authors as well as some popular apostolic acts, including the *Acts of Paul and *Thecla*. GED

ed. E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischem Text herausgegeben und untersucht* (1912).

Gelasius, Pope *Bishop of *Rome 492–6. One of only a handful of post-Constantinian Roman bishops in Late Antiquity who was neither a native of *Rome nor a member of the provincial *aristocracy, Gelasius probably owed his election to his close association with his predecessor, Felix III. Gelasius' tenure coincided with the so-called *Acacian Schism, which severed communion between Rome and the Eastern Churches from 484 to 518. Gelasius famously criticized the Roman *emperor, *Anastasius I (491–518), for his failure to yield to his authority in ecclesiastical matters. His *Ad Anastasium* offers a rhetorically sophisticated, if wishful, assertion of international pre-eminence on the basis of the *see of Rome's connection to S. Peter. Gelasius is also widely known for his condemnation of the *Lupercalia *festival, a *pagan ritual that was still patronized by influential Roman aristocrats. A substantial corpus of *letters and theological treatises survives in overlapping but distinct critical editions and his life is summarized in **Liber Pontificalis*, 51. GED

PCBE II/1, Gelasius 2.

ed. A. Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum Genuinae* (1868), vol. 1, 285–613.

ed. O. Guenther, *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum Aliorum*, I, *epp*. 79–101 (CSEL 35, 1895), 218–464.

ET and study B. Neil and P. Allen, *The Letters of Gelasius I (492–496): Pastor and Micro-Manager of the Church of Rome* (2014).

N. McLynn, 'Crying Wolf: The Pope and the Lupercalia', *JRS* 98 (2008), 161–75.

W. Ullmann, *Gelasius I. (492–496): das Papsttum an der Wende der Spätantike zum Mittelalter* (Päpste und Papsttum 18, 1981).

Gelasius of Caesarea (r. 367–before 400) A nephew of *Cyril of *Jerusalem, Gelasius belonged to the Homoeousian tendency within *Arianism and was deposed as Bishop of *Caesarea in *Palestine in 373 when the *Homoeans reasserted power. Like his uncle, Gelasius realigned himself after 379 with the supporters of the doctrines of the *Council of Nicaea and returned to his see. As early as the late 5th century, Gelasius is said to have written a *Church History* (in particular by *Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 89). Supposedly running from *Diocletian to 387 or 395, this *History* has been seen as the first continuation of the *Church History* of *Eusebius of Caesarea and as the main source for that of *Rufinus. In fact, the extant fragments rely on *Socrates and Rufinus, and are closely related to those of a *Greek translation of Rufinus. The work read by Photius must therefore have been pseudepigraphical. Either the original work had been heavily interpolated or an unknown author composed a compilation about 4th-century church history in the second half of the 5th century.

Gelasius of Caesarea must not be confused with the anonymous author of the so-called *Syntagma*, a 5th-century history of the Council of Nicaea, which used to be attributed to *Gelasius of *Cyzicus. PVN

CPG 3520–1.

List of fragments in: F. Winkelmann, *Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia* (1966).

P. Van Nuffelen, 'Gélase de Césarée, un compilateur du cinquième siècle', *BZ* 95 (2002), 621–40.

F. Winkelmann, 'Charakter und Bedeutung der Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia', *BF* 1 (1966), 346–85.

G. C. Hansen, *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte (Gelasius Cyzicenus CPG 6034)* (GCS NF 9, 2002).

Gelasius of Cyzicus (5th cent.) Name given to the anonymous author of an ecclesiastical history written in *Greek around 480, which survives in part. *Photius (15, 88, 89) attributed this history to one Gelasius of *Cyzicus, to distinguish him from *Gelasius of *Caesarea, continuator of the *Ecclesiastical History* of *Eusebius. The error was compounded by an early editor who mistook a manuscript's marginal 'Gelasius of Cyzicus' for the author's name. The anonymous author was certainly a *priest's son from Cyzicus. His main source was a historical compilation on the *Council of *Nicaea prepared by Dalmatius, *Bishop of Cyzicus. The anonymous history was inspired by an encounter in *Bithynia with opponents of *Chalcedon who were supported by the *usurper *Basiliscus (476). It comprises

three books: the first covers *Constantine I, the second the Council of Nicaea, and the third subsequent events to AD 335. BC

CPG 6034.

ed. G. C. Hansen, *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte (Gelasius Cyzicenus, CPG 6034)* (GCS NF 9, 2002).

ed. (with GT) G. C. Hansen, *Anonymus von Cyzicus. Kirchengeschichte*, 2 vols. (FontChr 49, 2008).

Gelimer *King of the *Vandals and *Alans AD 530–4. Gelimer became king after deposing his distant cousin *Hilderic in a coup, and ruled until the *Byzantine invasion of *Africa in 533–4. His short reign was beset by military crises. There was persistent conflict with the *Moorish polities south of the kingdom; *Lepcis Magna seceded from Vandal control as a direct result of these difficulties, and the garrison in *Sardinia rebelled. A substantial military campaign brought Sardinia back under Vandal control, but this commitment of troops, combined with continuing frontier conflict in the south, fatally compromised Gelimer's military response to the *Byzantine invasion of Africa, led by *Belisarius.

Following his defeat by Belisarius at *Tricamerum in late 533, Gelimer retreated to a Moorish *fortification on Mons Pappua, probably on the *Numidian frontier (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, IV, 3, 1–22; IV, 4, 28–30). After a prolonged siege, Gelimer surrendered and was brought to *Constantinople in triumph. Procopius' comments on Gelimer's eccentric behaviour following his defeat, including bitter laughter at the vicissitudes of Fate and his rejection of the title **patricius*, are best read as a reflection of the historian's own philosophy, rather than of Gelimer's stoicism (Procopius, *Vandalic*, IV, 7, 1–17). Following his public submission to *Justinian I in the *Circus at Constantinople, Gelimer lived, unrepentantly *Homoean in faith, on large *estates granted him in *Galatia (*Vandalic*, IV, 9, 1–15). AHM

PLRE III, Gelimer.

C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (1955), 268–71.

Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, 59–60, 228–33.

Genesis Rabba (Bere'shit Rabba) An anonymous rabbinic commentary on Genesis in Hebrew and Aramaic from 4th–5th-century AD Palestine. It provides at least one quotation-comment unit for most verses in their sequence, and often more than one. The comment statements are mostly paraphrases of the biblical meaning as seen by the interpreter (*see* MIDRASH, 1). Most statements are presented as a *rabbi's utterance, introduced by formulae such as, 'R. X said:…', or 'R. X and R. Y [disagreed about this]'. Adjacent quotation-comment units (*see* MIDRASH, 2) are not integrated with each other, but merely juxtaposed. The sequential quotation-comment units are found alongside information in a variety of other formats, such as additional quotation-comment units for verses from elsewhere in Scripture, hermeneutic parables, and short narrative vignettes about rabbis (usually in Galilean Aramaic). About 100 so-called *parashiot* ('chapters') divide the large work, and their number varies somewhat in the manuscripts. Each chapter begins with one or more Petiḥah-like units (*see* LEVITICUS RABBA), which leads the reader from an apparently unconnected biblical verse to the next Genesis verse in line for treatment. The sequential commentary then continues to the next 'chapter' beginning. These divisions are irregular and do not conform to a known principle. AS

ed. J. Theodor and Ḥ. Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah*, 2 vols. (1912; ²1965 in 3 vols.) [Heb.].

ET H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Midrash Rabbah Translated into English*, 10 vols. (1939).

Midrash Rabbah, 2 vols. (1878; numerous reprints).

ET J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah. The Judaic Commentary on Genesis: A New American Translation*, 3 vols. (1985).

G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, tr. M. Bockmuehl (²1996).

A. Samely, R. Bernasconi, P. Alexander, and R. Hayward, eds., *Database for the Analysis of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Texts of Antiquity* (http://literarydatabase.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/, 2012) [accessed 5 December 2012].

genius Generic term for a minor spirit, 'the natural god of each place or thing or person' (*Servius, *Commentary on *Vergil Georgics*, I, 302), allotted by Nature when the child is born (*Ammianus, XXI, 14, 3) or the *city is founded (*Symmachus, *Relatio*, III, 5 and 8; cf. *Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, II, 70–4). *Lactantius (*Inst.* II, 14, 12–14) says that *Latin *genius* is the equivalent of *Greek *daemon*, but takes a Christian view of such spirits as *demons who attach themselves to all men and houses, appear in *dreams, and cause illness. *Thedosius I in 392 prohibited all offerings to household gods, in particular of unmixed *wine to the genius of the house (*CTh* XVI, 10, 2).

Before *Constantine, Romans swore *oaths on the Genius of the *Emperor (Tertullian, *Apology*, 32; Minucius Felix, 29, 5). The Genius of the Roman People was shown on the reverse of the *bronze *coinage of the *Tetrarchy and the Genius Publicus allegedly appeared to *Julian in a dream to assure him that he should consent to his *acclamation as *Augustus by his *army (Ammianus, XX, 5, 10). Some Christians in the 4th century were prepared to take a secularized view of the genius of their *city: 'I know as well as you do, that it is only a stone,' said *Augustine in a *sermon at *Carthage (62). Elements of the *imperial cult survived, emptied of pagan religious significance, into the 6th century, and similarly *personifications of cities continued to be represented in official *art even longer.

The iconography of Christian *angels, with wings suggesting speed and power, is based on those of depictions of *Victory and of personifications of genius, as well as on descriptions in the *Bible, such as that of Isaiah 6:1–8. OPN

G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902), 154–9.
D. Fishwick, 'Genius and Numen', *HTR* 62 (1969), 356–67.
J.-P. Callu, *Genio Populi Romani (295–316): contribution à une histoire numismatique de la Tétrarchie* (1960).

Gennadius *Magister Militum (*c.*578–85) and first known *Exarch (*c.*591–8) in *Africa, where he had defeated the *Moors in *c.*578. He was a correspondent of *Gregory I, whose evangelizing initiatives in *Sardinia and *Corsica he supported. AHM

PLRE III, Gennadius 1.

Gennadius of Marseilles (*fl.* late 5th cent.) Presbyter and theologian. His most important surviving work is his continuation of *Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* cataloguing Eastern and Western Christian writers of the 5th century. Our sparse knowledge of Gennadius' life derives from that work, where he identifies himself as a presbyter of Massilia (*Marseilles) and contemporary of *Gelasius I of *Rome (492–6). Gennadius also wrote numerous works now lost, including polemics against *Nestorius, *Eutyches, and *Pelagius. He is the probable author of the Pseudo-*Augustine treatise *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum* which circulated widely in the Middle Ages. Gennadius criticized Augustine in *Vir. Ill.* and his theology is often described as 'Semi-*Pelagian'. DMG

Vir. Ill. (*CPL* 957): ed. E. C. Richardson (TU 14/1; 1896), 57–97.
ET E. C. Richardson (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 3, 1892), 385–402.
Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum (*CPL*), 958: ed. C. H. Turner, *JTS* 7 (1906), 78–99, and 8 (1907), 103–14.

Genovefa, S. (early 420s–*c.*502) Consecrated *virgin, known largely from her *Vita*, the earliest version of which is now agreed to be early 6th century. Singled out for her holiness from infancy by *Germanus,*Bishop of Auxerre, she installed herself in *Paris, where she acquired spiritual authority through her exemplary holy life, protecting the *city from the *Huns through her *prayers in 451, intervening with *Childeric I and *Clovis I on behalf of prisoners, relieving the city from *famine, and encouraging the building of the Church of *St.-Denis. Clovis began to erect a church dedicated to the Apostles over her tomb, which became Ste.-Geneviève. ADi; STL

PCBE IV/1, Genovefa.
Vita (*BHL* 3334–8), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Merov. III (1896), 215–38.
ET McNamara and Halborg, *Sainted Women*, 17–37.
M. Heinzelmann and J.-C. Poulin, *Les Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève de Paris* (1986).

genre, literary, Greek Late Antiquity saw the continuation of many existing literary and rhetorical genres as well as innovative developments. In the domain of oratory, many subtypes of epideictic speech for different functions and occasions were defined in treatises by *Menander Rhetor and others. Despite its increased importance, epideictic did not eclipse other rhetorical genres: deliberative oratory, for example, took the form of speeches of advice addressed to civic and imperial authorities by speakers such as *Libanius and *Themistius. The specific needs of Christian communities gave rise to the *sermon, combining exegetical and rhetorical traditions. Still in prose, forms originating in the **progymnasmata*, such as *ecphrasis and *ethopoiia*, came to be independent forms, particularly in 6th-century *Gaza. The increasingly popular genre of *biography (e.g. *saints' lives and lives of *philosophers) reflects the influence of encomium and, occasionally, of the novel (e.g. in the case of the *Life and Miracles of S. *Thecla*). Polemic and apologetics required innovative forms, as in the writings of *Eusebius of *Caesarea incorporating extensive quotations of sources.

Poetry, which had been eclipsed by prose forms during the *Second Sophistic, revived from the 3rd century onwards, particularly in *Egypt. In addition to narrative and didactic poems, *hymns, and *epigrams, the increasing convergence between poetry and *rhetoric is evident in verse encomia by *Pamprepius and others, continuing Hellenistic practice, and encomiastic ecphrases celebrating buildings (by *Paul the *Silentiary and *John of Gaza). The theological and autobiographical poems of *Gregory of *Nazianzus represent a new development that was highly influential in later centuries. In the 6th century, the verse homilies of *Romanus the Melodist represent a new departure, later known as the **kontakion*. RW

genre, literary, Latin Of the major genres of *Latin literature in the classical period, only *epic continues to flourish in Late Antiquity, developing new subgenres (panegyrical, biblical, *hagiographic epic). With the exception of the **Querolus* there is no *drama, and though there are satirical elements in largely non-satirical works, no independent verse satire. Menippean satire is represented by *Martianus Capella, *Fulgentius (*Mythologiae*), and *Boethius (*Consolation of Philosophy*). Although topics from love elegy occur in Late Antique writers, love elegy itself is not written (with the possible exception of *Maximianus). In lyric poetry the most important innovation is the Christian *hymn, as practised pre-eminently by *Ambrose. Generic

indeterminacy is characteristic of much of the poetry of the period. Works like *Ausonius' *Mosella* and *Prudentius' *Peristephanon* combine a wide range of elements that defy a single generic affiliation. Epideictic literary forms are especially productive, not only in the writing of prose and verse *panegyric, but also in *Paulinus of Nola's *Natalicia*, written to celebrate Felix of Nola's annual festival, and in the thriving tradition of verse epithalamia. Christian poetry often combines traditional verse forms with the emerging prose genres of, for instance, apologetic, anti-heretical, and dogmatic treatises, or commentaries on the *Bible. MJR

gentiles Category of *barbarian settlements managed by the western part of the Roman state, similar to **laeti*. The early 5th-century **Notitia Dignitatum*, in an incomplete section (*occ.* XLII), records a number of *praefecti Sarmatarum gentilium* in *Gaul and *Italy. These prefects held administrative positions and were not commanders of military units. Similar settlements of *gentiles* were found in *Africa along the *frontier in the early 5th century. Some guard regiments of **scholares* were also named *gentiles*. (*Not. Dig.*, *or.* XI, 6 and 10). HE

geographical texts, Persian Two Middle *Persian geographical texts survive. The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* (*The Provincial Capitals of Iran*), gives details of the provinces and *cities of the *Persian Empire and beyond, and their historical importance for *Zoroastrianism. It divides *Eranshahr (the land of the Iranians) into four regions (*kusts*), namely *Khorasan (north-east), Khwarwaran (south-west), Nemroz (south-east), and Adurbadagan (i.e. Azerbaijan). The usual term for the north is avoided, perhaps because of the general association of the north with the forces of evil.

There is also a short text entitled *Abdīhud Sāhagīh ī Sīstān* (*Wonders and Magnificence of Sīstān*) which reports the important history of the province of *Sagastan in the south-east of the Persian Empire. TD

EncIran (2008) *s.n. Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* (T. Daryaee).

ed. (with ET) T. Daryaee, *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History* (2002).

ed. B. Utas, 'The Pahlavi Treatise Avdēh u sahīkēh ī sakistān or "Wonders and Magnificence of Sistan"', *ActAntHung* 28 (1983), 259–63.

M. Macuch, 'Pahlavi Literature', in R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch, eds., *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, vol. 1 (2009), 116–96.

geography No geographical genius like *Ptolemy appeared in Late Antiquity. Geographers of the age were mostly concerned to comment upon past achievements, but they also strove to add information about regions unknown to the past, and to imbue descriptions of the world with a Christian consciousness. Geographical theory—the sphericity of the Earth, the Earth as centre of planetary and stellar orbits, and the division of the Earth into *climes and zones—was bequeathed to the Middle Ages by such works as the *De Natura Rerum* of *Isidore of *Seville (*c.*615) and of *Bede (*c.*703). These handbooks included a description of the Heavens as well as the Earth, and linked their movements to the all-important calendrical calculations necessary for finding the date of Easter. A more sophisticated treatment, which attracted numerous glosses, was *Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (5th cent.), where a theoretical exposition of geography came from the mouth of the *personification of *Geometry.

Geographical descriptions appeared as part of histories, such as *Orosius' description of the world in his *Seven Books Against the Pagans* (417). *Jordanes' *De Origine Actibusque Getarum* (551) began with a description of 'Scandza' and Scythia, while Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (731) started out with information on the British Isles, whose matter owed much to Orosius and whose manner something to Isidore's *Laus Spaniae*.

In his *Etymologiae* Isidore (622/33) provided a lengthy list of *provinces, *cities, rivers, mountains, and islands, sorted out by continents. Brief treatises, such as *Julius Honorius' *Cosmographia* (*c.*400), and longer ones, such as the work of the **Anonymi Cosmographia* (Ravenna Cosmographer; *c.*700), covered the Earth with place names largely fossilized at the time of the *Tetrarchy. *Marcian of Heraclea made an effort to bring the work of Ptolemy up to date, substituting distances for coordinates.

Late Roman itineraries and *periploi* (sailing routes) include the *Antonine Itinerary of the late 3rd century. These itineraries may or may not have been based on *maps, or may have been originally accompanied by maps. The Peutinger Map is the only one to have survived in cartographic format, albeit in a medieval copy. *Pilgrimage was a new motive for travel, and the itinerary of the *Bordeaux Pilgrim (333) recounts the measured stages of travel from *Gaul to *Jerusalem and back to *Milan.

*Augustine and *Cassiodorus had been eager to employ the secular knowledge of antiquity for Christian purposes, and geographical theory became involved with intepretation and commentary on the *Bible. The holy places of the eastern Mediterranean were catalogued in the *Onomasticon* of *Eusebius of *Caesarea (*c.*300), translated by *Jerome as *De Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum Liber*. Bede, in *De Locis Sanctis* contributed to this genre. Eventually sites of *martyrdom, noteworthy *monasteries and hermitages, and preaching sites of the Apostles were incorporated in lists of sacred places.

One peculiarly Roman document was the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an illustrated vision of the Roman world divided up in accordance with administrative responsibilities. Although geography had no formal place in the scholarly curriculum, treatises of the type printed in *Geographi Graeci Minores* and *Geographic Latini Minores* were copied and recopied, and used for the study of secular and biblical history. EE

C. Müller, ed., *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2 vols. (1882).
A. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores* (1878).
O. A. W. Dilke in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, *History of Cartography*, vol. 1 (1987), chs. 14–16.
A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (2005).
N. Losovsky, *'The Earth is our Book': Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000* (2000).

geometry Late antique geometry was characterized by meta-mathematical reflection upon canonical works. Its character is best exemplified in the lemmata which *Pappus gathered in his *Collectio* in order to fill in gaps in arguments for specific propositions in treatises of the 'analytical *corpus*'.

Most of these lemmata are of the kind whose representative specimen is constituted by *Euclid, *Elements*, II, 1–10: these propositions assume as given a straight line cut into equal and/or unequal segments and it is required to show that suitable combinations of squares and rectangles constructed by means of these segments are equal. Pappus' approach displays a feeling for the 'structure' of a mathematical proposition: the linear lemmata are the core of a proof and the fact that the same lemma can be applied in disparate configurations testifies to its belonging to an order of mathematical reflection that extracts from a particular configuration its 'essential geometrical content', namely sequences of points on a straight line.

This feeling for structure may derive from such cultural factors as the canonization of certain literary products and the dominance of *rhetoric in the school curriculum, entailing attention to the building blocks of an argument. The lemmata could become a central research tool for those obsessed, as late mathematicians were and Pappus for one was, by the ideology of the 'discovery', and by reconstructing the heuristic (analytical) methods of the 'ancients'.

While not resorting to such 'lemmatic fragmentation', *Serenus carried to an extreme the scholarly approach typical of Apollonius. As well as commenting on Apollonius' *Conics*, Serenus' *Section of a Cone* studies the triangular sections passing through the vertex, a subject that was paid only passing attention in the very first propositions of Apollonius' treatise. Serenus' *Section of a Cylinder* shows that the generic plane section of a cylinder is an ellipse, of course defined as a conic section. Serenus sets out the definitions and the first twenty propositions of this tract in strict parallelism with the corresponding portion of *Conics* I; in this way, he recovers in succession all properties of the ellipse.

*Cassiodorus claims that *Boethius made Euclid known in *Latin (*Inst*. II, 6, 13). For *Isidore of Seville *geometria* was in origin a technology for geographical measurement (III, 10); for *Martianus Capella (*De Nuptiis*, VI) that remained its principal interest. FA

F. Acerbi, *Il silenzio delle sirene: la matematica greca antica* (2010).
F. Acerbi, 'The Geometry of Burning Mirrors in Greek Antiquity: Analysis, Heuristic, Projections, Lemmatic Fragmentation', *ArchHistExSc* 65 (2011), 471–97.
S. Cuomo, *Pappus of Alexandria and the Mathematics of Late Antiquity* (2000).
R. Netz, *The Transformation of Mathematics in the Early Mediterranean World: From Problems to Equations* (2004).

Geoponica (*c.*950) Byzantine agricultural compendium compiled under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–59). With a series of additions and modifications not yet perfectly understood, it largely recasts the 4th-century work of Vindonius *Anatolius and its 6th-century adaptation by *Cassianus Bassus. Ancient authorities named in the context are reliable, while those attached to chapter headings are problematical and apparently reflect a late stage of editorial intervention. In only rare cases do contents post-date Late Antiquity (e.g. 12, 1, discussing growing seasons for *vegetables near *Constantinople). RR

ed. H. Beckh (1895).
ET A. Dalby, *Geoponika: Farm Work* (2011).
On the Syriac version, *GEDSH*, 173 *s.v.* Geoponika (Brock).

George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (d. 724) Noted polymath and *bishop for the *Arab tribes in the area of *Aleppo. George represents the last of the great *Syriac Orthodox (or *Miaphysite) philhellenes of the 7th and 8th centuries.

Born probably around AD 660, George was ordained Bishop of the Arab Nations (*'amme*), or tribes, at the order of Athanasios II of Balad, Syriac Orthodox *Patriarch of *Antioch, in November 687. George's three tribes, called in *Syriac the ʿAqulaye, the Tuʿaye, and the Tanukaye, were *bilingual in Syriac and *Arabic. George himself knew both *Greek and Syriac, and he translated Aristotle's *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, and Books I–II of the *Prior Analytics* from Greek into Syriac and wrote introductions to these texts. George composed other works also, including a verse homily on the life of *Severus of Antioch, scholia to the orations of *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and a commentary on the *liturgy. He also completed the **Hexaemeron* of *Jacob of *Edessa after Jacob's death in 708.

Eleven of George's *letters are extant; covering a number of different topics, they are important for

understanding the development of early *Islamic theology, or *kalām*. George seems to have been a student of Athanasius of Balad and an associate of Jacob of Edessa and *John of Litharb; to judge from his letters, George seems to have lived in an unnamed *monastery. A strong circumstantial case can be made that he spent time at *Qenneshre, the most important intellectual centre of the Syriac Orthodox Church in the 7th and 8th centuries. JT

GEDSH s.v. Giwargi, bp. of the Arab tribes, 177–8 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 169.
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 257–8.

WORKS

Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy, ed. (with ET) R. H. Connolly and H. W. Codrington (1913).
Life of Severus, ed. (with ET) K. McVey (CSCO 530–1, Scr. syr. 216–17, 1993).
GT V. Ryssel, *Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe* (1891).

STUDY

J. Tannous, 'Between Christology and Kalām? The Life and Letters of George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes', in Kiraz, *Malphono*, 671–716.

George, S. (d. *c.*303) Most venerated of the *military saints, believed to have died a *martyr under *Diocletian. The earliest sources identify him as a soldier from *Cappadocia, but nothing more can be said about the historical person. Beginning in the 6th century, *pilgrimage itineraries mention *miracles at his primary shrine in *Lydda/Diospolis (*Theodosius, 4, *Piacenza Pilgrim, 25), and an *inscription of 515 at Upper *Zohar mentions a martyr called George. SEI

BHG 669y–691y.
F. Cumont, 'Le Plus ancienne légende de saint Georges', *RHR* 114 (1936), 5–51.
H. Delehaye, *Saints militaires*, 45–76.
K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (1911).
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 318–21.

George Cedrenus (late 11th/early 12th cent.) A Byzantine scholar who wrote a chronicle (*Synopsis Historiarum*) from Creation to 1057. For Late Antiquity he organizes his content by imperial reign and derives it mainly from the (unpublished) 10th-century *Chronicle* of Ps.-Symeon with other material from *Sozomen, *Procopius of *Caesarea, *Theophylact Simocatta, *John of *Antioch, **Chronicon Paschale*, *Theophanes, and *Georgius Monachus. BC

ed. (with LT) Immanuel Bekker (CSHB, 1838–9). References to Cedrenus' *Chronicle* are cited in *ODLA* by page and line number of this edition.
R. Maisano, 'Note su Giorgio Cedreno e la tradizione storiografica bizantina', *RISBS* 3 (1983), 237–54.

George Monachus Hamartolus (9th cent.) George the Monk and 'sinner', author of a Byzantine *chronicle extending from Creation to 842 and written in the 860s/870s. His compilation drew mainly on the chronicle of *George the Syncellus, as well as utilizing for Late Antiquity *Eusebius of *Caesarea, *Theodoret, *John Malalas, and *Theophanes. The *Chronicle* divides into four books: the first covers the period from Adam to Alexander the Great, the second the historical period covered by the Old Testament, the third Roman history from Julius Caesar to *Constantine I; and the fourth from the 330s to 842 (death of the *Emperor Theophilus). BC

PBE, Georgios 286.
PmbZ 2264.
ed. C. De Boor, 2 vols. (1904; repr. 1978).

George of Cappadocia *Homoean *Patriarch of *Alexandria (February 357–December 361). George began his career as a contractor for military supplies and settled on an estate in *Cappadocia, where he lent books to the future *Emperor *Julian (Julian, *ep.* 23 Wright). He was appointed by *Constantius II to replace the exiled *Athanasius as Patriarch of Alexandria (Athanasius, *Apology for his Flight*, 6–7; *History of the Arians*, 75; *Festal Index*, 29 and 30). Ousted by the populace in October 358 (*Athanasius, *Historia Acephala*, 2, 3–4), he attended the *Council of *Ariminum in 359. After his return in November 361, George persecuted *pagans and Nicene Christians (*Sozomen, *HE* IV, 10, 30). Following the accession of Julian in 361, the Alexandrian populace lynched George (Julian, *ep.* 21, cf. *ep.* 24 Wright; *Ammianus, XXII. 11, 8–11; *Historia Acephala*, 2, 8–10). Julian reacted by sequestrating George's substantial library for his own use (*epp.* 23 and 38 Wright). CJH

Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*.
C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity* (1997), 280–95.

George of Choziba *See* CHOZIBA.

George of Cyprus (*fl.* late 6th/early 7th cent.) Author of the *Descriptio Orbis Romani* written in *Greek in the early 7th century. The *Descriptio* is contained within a 9th-century list of Byzantine bishoprics compiled by Basil the Armenian. The first part of Basil's work is organized by bishoprics of the see of *Constantinople with each headed by its metropolis, while the second consists of a list of civic entities, not bishoprics: *cities, towns, and fortresses organized by *province. It starts with *Italy followed by *Africa, *Egypt, and *Oriens. The south-east European provinces are omitted, probably because the 9th-century manuscript is incomplete. Lapithos is in the list of towns in *Cyprus and Basil notes this as the birthplace

of George, the writer of the latter list (*Descriptio*, 1106–7). Nothing more is known of George. Analysis of the locations and their status suggests the *Descriptio* was written in the early 7th century. BC

ed. H. Gelzer, *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani* (1890), with detailed annotation.

ed. E. Honigmann (with introd. and comm.), *Le Synekdemos de Hierokles el l'Opuscule geographique de Georges de Chypre* (1939).

George of Pisidia (*c.*580–*c.*632) A *deacon of the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople and close to the *Patriarch Sergius. At different points he was responsible for relations with the imperial court (as a **referendarius*) and for patriarchal *archives (as *chartophylax*).

He was recognized by both contemporaries and later Byzantine scholars as an outstanding and skilled poet on both imperial and religious themes. Most of his extant poems were commissioned by Sergius or the *Emperor *Heraclius. His earliest poem (610/11) celebrated the *accession of Heraclius, followed in 613 by the *In Sanctam Resurrectionem* honouring the first birthday of the emperor's son Constantine (later *Constantine III).

His first major work was an encomium in three cantos on Heraclius' 622 expedition against the Persians (*Expeditio Persica*) commissioned by the emperor shortly afterwards and recited at the imperial *court. Now with an established reputation, in 626 George produced a *panegyric for the general *Bonus (*In Bonum Patricium*) entrusted with defending the capital against the besieging *Avars, followed by his eyewitness account of the *siege (*Bellum Avaricum*) commissioned by Patriarch Sergius and attributing victory to the Virgin *Mary. In June 628 George recited his *Heraclias* honouring the victory of Heraclius over the Persians and utilizing bulletins reaching the imperial capital from the military front.

Heraclius next commissioned the *Contra Severum*, a Christological exposition in opposition to the theology of the leading *Miaphysite *Severus, Patriarch of *Antioch in the early 6th century. The *In Restitutionem Sancti Crucis* was a spontaneous composition when the news reached Constantinople of the restoration of the Holy *Cross to *Jerusalem in 630. His longest poem, the *Hexaemeron* (629/30), was an elaborate disquisition concerned with the Six Days of Creation and stimulated by Sergius. George's many other works include *epigrams (including several on local Constantinopolitan buildings) and a prose *panegyric on the Persian military *martyr S. Anastasius.

All his poems are sophisticated in terms of literary devices, especially figurative language, as well as classical and biblical learning, with his panegyrics distinctively constructed in iambic trimeter. They were used by chroniclers such as *Theophanes and remain valuable historical sources for religious and political culture and events in the reign of Heraclius. BC

PLRE III, Georgius Pisides 54.

ed. L. Tartaglia, *Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia* (1998).

ed. (with IT and comm.) A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia. Poemi. I. Panegirici Epici* (1959).

Hexaemeron: ed. (with IT and comm.) F. Gonnelli, *Esamerone* (2003).

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 115–29.

Mary Whitby, 'Defender of the Cross: George of Pisidia on the Emperor Heraclius and his Deputies', in Whitby, *Propaganda of Power*, 247–73.

George of Resaina Very little is known about George (or maybe Gregory) of *Resaina, other than his authorship of an early *Syriac *Life* of *Maximus the Confessor. He claims to have been a contemporary of Maximus in *Palestine in the 630s, and his account was most likely written before 680. Opinion is divided on the value of the life, of *Maronite provenance. Although openly hostile to Maximus, it may contain some accurate historical details. AL

ed. S. Brock, *AnBoll* 91 (1973), 299–346.

George the Syncellus (*fl.* late 8th/early 9th cent.) Chronicler; assistant (*syncellus*) to Tarasius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople (784–806) and later (810) a monk. He wrote a chronicle (*Ecloga Chronographica*), from the Creation to *Diocletian, in which extracts from previous writers (especially Sextus Julius Africanus, *Eusebius of *Caesarea, and his 5th-century *Alexandrian redactors Panodorus and Annianus) were harmonized and integrated. The chronicle was continued by his friend *Theophanes using materials already collected by George. BC

ed. A. Mosshammer (1984).

ET W. Adler and P. Tuffin (2002).

W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (1989).

Georgia A country in the south-western and central foothills of the Caucasus Mountains. Georgians in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages called themselves *Kartli*. After the final unification of Georgia, *Sakartvelo*, a more general term, meaning 'place where Georgians live', was and is still used to designate Georgia. The term 'Georgia' is nowadays usually used to translate *Sakartvelo*, and refers to both eastern and western Georgia. The etymology of the word 'Georgia' is not agreed, but the word is not attested in European languages until the Crusades. It is probably related to the *Grg*, *Jrj*, *Grj* root used in various Semitic languages such

as *Syriac and later *Arabic to refer to *Iberia, and probably in particular to the Armeno-Georgian marchland Gogarene (Arm. Gugark', Geo. Gugareti).

In Antiquity and Late Antiquity, Greeks and Romans used Iberia to refer to the kingdom occupying the territory that roughly coincides with the south central Caucasus. The Georgian word for the same region was *Kartli*, now the central province of Georgia. In Late Antiquity, western Georgia (west of the Likhi range and along the eastern coast of the Black Sea) was known as *Lazica, in Georgian *Egrisi. The root *Egr* is still preserved in the name of the western Georgian province of *Sa-m-egr-el-o*. The two entities, Lazica and Iberia, were formed and developed more or less independently, although medieval Georgian narratives prefer to speak of a pan-Georgian union from the very beginning of Iberian statehood; they attribute the unification of all Georgian lands to the legendary first King of Iberia Parnavaz (4th–3rd cent. BC) and to his legendary Laz ally Kuji. The same role of the unifier of all Georgia was assumed by the late 5th-century King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali, although it is unlikely that either king achieved a unification in reality.

In the 4th century, Lazica became especially prominent and subdued several neighbouring tribes including the *Abasgians, Apsilae, and Sanigs. Lazica also managed temporarily to take over the Iberian lands in western Georgia, such as the dukedom of Argveti. The centre of Lazica was *Archaeopolis (Tsikhe-Goji). The highlight of the second half of the 5th century was the reign of King Vakhtang I Gorgasali, the semi-legendary Georgian king, who, according to the Georgian tradition, was successful in uniting most of the Georgian lands and gained ecclesiastical independence for Iberia, although Lazica remained a metropolis under the *Patriarch of *Constantinople until the 8th century. The unification of the two Georgian churches of Lazica and Iberia took place only after the 9th century, although events surrounding the unification are still a matter of speculation. Despite this, both *Iberia and *Lazica shared similar geopolitical aspirations in their opposition to the *Persian Empire; both kingdoms remained allied to the Roman Empire and both accepted and defended the Christology defined at the *Council of *Chalcedon.

The first half of the 6th century was a period of Persian dominance in Georgia. The monarchy was abolished in Iberia *c.*523, and would be restored only in the late 9th century. In 542, during the so-called Lazic wars, the Persian Shah *Khosrow I invaded Iberia and entered Lazica through the Likhi mountain range, where he met King *Gubaz II, at that point his ally. The war in Lazica ended in 562 with the land remaining under Roman control. The failure to annexe western Georgia also undermined Persian positions in eastern Georgia, as a result of which, in *c.*570, the Iberians were able to reassert their autonomy. The Iberian *Erismtavaris enjoyed Roman sympathy and were honoured with various Roman titles, the most common of which was *Curopalates.

The process of true political and ecclesiastical unification of the Georgian lands and principalities began in the 8th century, when Lazica was integrated into the newly formed kingdom of *Abasgia. During the same period, several other semi-independent state entities were formed in the south Caucasus which gave impetus to the political unification of Georgia: these included the kingdom of Kakheti, which by the end of the 8th century was able to throw off Arab domination and establish local rule. The rulers of Kakheti bore the title, curious for a layman, of *Chorepiscopus, the reason for their use of this title is unknown. East of Kakheti, in the 9th century, the kingdom of Hereti emerged, formed partially on the *Albanian lands and often even referred to as the *kingdom of Albania. This kingdom existed only until the 11th century, when it was annexed by the neighbouring kingdom of Kakheti.

At the beginning of the 8th century, in north-western Georgia, the kingdom of Apkhazeti began to form. In the second half of the 8th century, the ruler of Apkhazeti Leon II declared independence from the Byzantines and received the title of King of Apkhazeti. The capital of Apkhazeti became Kutaisi, later capital of all Georgia. The last Georgian kingdom to be created was that of *Tao-Klarjeti, when the *Erismtavari of Iberia, Ašot *Bagrationi, left central Georgia and escaped south-west. There he restored the fortress of *Artanuji as his capital. The kingdoms of Apkhazeti and of *Tao-Klarjeti became the initiators of Georgian unification. In the mid-9th century, the Church of Apkhazeti gained independence from the Byzantines and united with the catholicosate of *Mtskheta, although the head of the Church of Apkhazeti for a while also retained the title of catholicus. In 978, Apkhazeti seized separate existence when Bagrat III (975–1014), heir of the Bagrationis of both Tao and Apkhazeti, united the Georgian lands and became the first king of united Georgia. NA

Braund, *Georgia*.
C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963).
S. Rapp, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography: Early and Texts and Eurasian Contexts* (2003).
W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (1932).

Georgia, Christianity in The Georgian Church (Georgian Apostolic Autocephalous Orthodox Church) attributes its foundation to S. Andrew the Apostle and Simon of Cannah, who, according to the local tradition, first preached Christianity in western

*Georgia. Although the existence of various Christian communities in *Georgia in the first several centuries AD is attested, Christianity was not declared the official religion until *c.* AD 326 when S.*Nino converted King *Mirian and Queen Nana. The **Conversion of Georgia* and *Juansher's *Life of Vakhtang* attribute the introduction of the office of *catholicus and the acquisition of independence for the Georgian Church to King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali. From the mid-6th century, *bishops appointed to head the Georgian Church as Catholicus were no longer sent from *Constantinople or *Antioch but were chosen from native Georgians. The Church of *Lazica with its *metropolitan at *Phasis remained under Constantinople until the 8th century, before being incorporated into the catholicosate of Apkhazeti (Kutaisi). The 6th century was a period of doctrinal formation in the churches of the Caucasus. By the end of the 5th century, *Georgians, together with *Armenians and *Albanians, accepted the **Henotikon* of *Zeno and remained in communion with the East Romans. By the mid-6th century, the Armenians began to fall away from the *Chalcedonian confession of faith which the Georgians favoured, but Georgian ecclesiastical loyalty to the Chalcedonian formula was probably related to politics, since Constantinople had secured both political and ecclesiastical autonomy for *Iberia by *c.*560. By the end of the 6th century, an ecclesiastical schism occurred between the Armenian and Georgian hierarchs. As a result, the two Churches fell out of communion and, after years of oscillation, the Georgians affirmed the Chalcedonian confession of faith, while the Armenians preferred a more *Miaphysite Christology. In the 8th century, the centre of Georgian Christianity and monasticism temporarily shifted from *Mtskheta to *Tao-Klarjeti, where it rapidly developed under the leadership of S. Gregory of Khandzta. NA

P. Peeters, 'Les Débuts du christianisme en Géorgie d'après les sources hagiographiques', *AnBoll* 50 (1932), 5–58.
T. Mgaloblishvili, ed., *Ancient Christianity in the Caucasus* (1998).
C. Haas, 'Mountain Constantines: The Christianization of Aksum and Iberia', *JLA* 1/1 (2008), 101–26.

Georgia, churches of *Georgia adopted Christianity in the early 4th century and churches began to be built on the sites of earlier pagan shrines, both for patriarchal seats and for *monasteries. Other churches were associated with the activities of monks, notably the *Thirteen Syrian Fathers, who came to Georgia in the 6th century.

Single-nave churches with horseshoe-shaped *apses are datable to the 4th century. According to the chronicles, the first wooden church at *Mtskheta was built by King Mihran in the 4th century, and *Vakhtang I built a stone church on the same spot, later incorporated into the 11th-century Church of Svetitskhoveli (the Life-Giving Pillar).

The *basilica of Bolnisi Sion, firmly dated to 478/93, was constructed of good-quality masonry and its interiors were adorned with reliefs. All of its three naves are under a single roof; the interior is wide rather than elongated. Further basilicas were built in the 6th century in *Tbilisi (Anchiskhati), Urbnisi, and elsewhere. Basilicas whose naves were subdivided by walls rather than by columns were peculiar to early Christian *Iberia.

The main innovation in the 6th century was the development of the domed church plan. This took about a century to develop; the plans included tetraconches, 'free cross' ('croix libre'), and 'inscribed cross' types. What they had in common was a cross-shaped layout and a centralized interior, crowned with a *dome supported by wall projections and surrounded with four *apses and, in the case of the tetraconch structures, with additional chambers.

The Church of Jvari (Holy Cross) in Mtskheta (586–604) is the most accomplished example of the tetraconch type; its side chambers and semicircular apses were distinguished on the *façades by niches. The churches of the early 7th century in Martvili (west Georgia), Old Shuamta, and Ateni (Kartli) closely repeat the Jvari plan. They are built of well-hewn local stone and have distinctive relief decoration. The double-shelled tetraconch type is represented by the mid-7th-century episcopal church of Bana in *Tao-Klarjeti (mod. Artvin province, Turkey). The earliest example of the 'inscribed cross' plan can be still seen in the church of Tsromi from the 630s; it is rectangular in plan and a broad dome rests on four free-standing columns, an arrangement that led to the development of the central-domed architecture of later periods. MO

A. Alpago-Novello, V. Beridze, and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia* (1980).
C. Haas, 'Mountain Constantines: The Christianization of Aksum and Iberia', *JLA* I/1 (2008), 101–26.

Georgia, languages in *Georgia, like the Caucasian region in general, is a linguistically diverse country. As in north-eastern Turkey, the Kartvelian language family is dominant. Soviet scholarship developed a notion of Ibero-Caucasian languages, and proposed a genetic relation between the south and north Caucasian languages. This is less accepted by modern scholars, who prefer instead to speak of either typological or geographic closeness of these two language families.

It is generally accepted that the Proto-Kartvelian language, spoken in the south Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, was further divided, on the one hand, into Svan (*c.*19th cent. BC according to Klimov's dating) and, on the other, into the proto-Georgian and Zan

languages (*c.*8th cent. BC). The Zan language was further divided into the Laz and Megrelian languages, and spread into western Georgia, otherwise known as *Lazica, or *Egrisi, along the east and south-east coast of the Black Sea. Georgian was mostly spoken in eastern Georgia but already in Late Antiquity it had penetrated the west and south-west of the Caucasian region. As for the Svan language, it was confined to the north-western Georgian highlands, roughly coinciding with, but in Antiquity exceeding, the territory of modern *Svaneti. Of the three Kartvelian languages, an alphabet was created only for the Georgian language. The date of the creation of the Georgian alphabet is widely contested and ranges from the 3rd century BC to the 5th century AD, although the latter date is currently more acceptable. With the creation of writing, the Old Georgian language was recorded, and became Georgia's primary literary language until the 11th century, when so-called Middle Georgian was formed. Later, in the 18th century, this in turn was replaced by modern Georgian.

Meanwhile, the Georgian writing system passed through three distinct stages of development. The *Asomtavruli* (Capitals), most widely used in the 5th–9th century, the *Nuskhuri* (Minuscule), 9th–14th centuries, and the *Mkhedruli* (Military) script, which is attested from the 9th century and is still used today. The *Mkhedruli* was apparently used for lay purposes as opposed to *Asomtavruli* and *Nuskhuri* scripts, which were used for ecclesiastical purposes. Apart from the Kartvelian languages, other Caucasian languages, such as Abkhaz and other north Caucasian languages, also spread through the territory of Georgia. After the incorporation of part of Caucasian *Albania into the Georgian kingdom, *Albanian, a north-eastern Caucasian language, spread in eastern *Georgia and was probably still spoken in the Kingdom of Hereti in the 9th–11th centuries. As for the Indo-European languages, *Armenian, *Greek, and some *Persian languages were also spread and spoken in Georgia, as attested by a number of loanwords and toponyms. These languages were popular among aristocratic elites and strongly influenced the Georgian literary language. Armenian enjoyed particularly high popularity in Late Antique *Iberia, especially in the bilingual Armeno-Georgian marchlands of *Tao-Klarjeti and Gogarene. Various Zan loanwords in Armenian also indicate close ties between the Armenian and Kartvelian languages.

Before the creation of the original Georgian writing system, Greek and Aramaic were apparently the official written languages in Iberia, as is attested by archaeological finds from central Georgia. One particular variant of North Mesopotamian Aramaic script (Armazian Aramaic), discovered in the capital of Iberia, *Mtskheta, was also apparently an officially recognized form of writing (along with Greek). There was also a strong community of *Jews in Late Antique Iberia, which is attested by numerous Judaeo-Aramaic epitaphs in Mtskheta and Georgian narrative sources. NA

G. Klimov, *Einführung in die kaukasische Sprachwissenschaft* (1994).

J. Gippert, *Iranica Armeno-Iberica. Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen*, 2 vols. (Sb Wien 606, 1990).

W. Boeder, 'The South Caucasian Languages', *Lingua* 115/1–2 (2005), 5–89.

Georgia, pre-Christian religion of Our knowledge of the pre-Christian Georgian cult derives mostly from two medieval Georgian narratives: the **Moktsevai Kartlisai* (*Conversion of Iberia*) and the *Life of the Kings* (preserved in **Kartlis Cxovreba*, *Life of Georgia*). Another source of knowledge is the exceptionally rich oral tradition still persistent in Georgia, especially in the mountainous regions such as *Svaneti, Khevsureti, and Tusheti, which narrates the early stages of Christian–pagan encounters in Georgia. According to the medieval Georgian narratives, the supreme deity of pre-Christian *Iberia was Armazi, introduced by King Parnavaz (3rd cent. BC). The same deity is known in *Armenian tradition as Aramazd. Armazi's statue or shrine was apparently erected in *Mtskheta on a hill still known as Mount Armazi. Another deity was Zadeni, whose cult was, according to the same tradition, adopted by King Parnajom (*c.*109–90 BC) and apparently erected opposite Armazi, on Mount Zadeni, or Zeda-Zadeni. The same sources speak of unidentified deities Gats and Gai, whose idols also existed in pre-Christian Mtskheta. The *Conversion of Georgia* and the *Life of Georgia* both mention Ainina, introduced by King Saurmag (*c.*234–159 BC) according to the Life of Georgia, and Danina (introduced by King Mirvan, according to the same tradition), which are probably corrupted forms of the names of deities already known. They are often identified with the goddesses Anahit and Nane, the cults of which were widespread in pre-Christian Armenia. We know that already in Late Antiquity, Christianity was closely intertwined with the pagan pantheon. For example, S. *George, or simply Giorgi, was related to a pagan deity. *Jvari* (*Cross) and *Ieso Kriste* (Jesus Christ) are yet other members of the Late Antique mountainous pagan pantheon. NA

G. Charachidze, *Le Système religieux de la Géorgie païenne, analyse structurale d'une civilisation* (1968).

J. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (1987).

M. Tarchnishvili, 'Le Dieu lune Armazi', *Bedi Kartlisa* 11–12 (1961), 36–40.

Georgius *Praefectus Praetorio in *Africa *c.*633–42. He was in dispute with *Constantinople about the fate of some *Miaphysite nuns, refugees at *Carthage from

*Alexandria. *Maximus Confessor supported him (*epp.* 1, 12, 16, 18). He was recalled from his post, apparently in disgrace. AHM

PLRE III, Georgius 50.

georgos *See* COLONUS.

geouchos *See* POSSESSOR.

Gepids An east Germanic people of Gothic descent, attested in the 2nd–6th centuries, and formerly settled in the Vistula delta. By the mid-3rd century they migrated southwards under King Fastida, who, according to *Jordanes (97–100), defeated the *Burgundians but was later beaten by the *Goths. After being subdued by the *Huns, a large force of Gepids took part in *Attila's campaign against *Gaul (451) under King Ardaric, portrayed as a loyal counsellor of the Hun ruler. However, after Attila's death, Ardaric revolted against Attila's sons, conquered them at the Nedao River (454), and freed the Gepids from the Hun yoke, seizing *Dacia—often called Gepidia—and concluding a *foedus* (treaty) with the *Emperor *Marcian. Gepid territory (where characteristic *pottery and *fibulae have been found) extended to the right bank of the Danube, including at times *Sirmium and *Singidunum. As a response to Gepid plundering, *Justinian I formed an alliance with the *Lombards, whom he allowed to settle in *Pannonia and Noricum. After much warring between both peoples, recorded mostly by *Procopius and *Paul the Deacon, the Gepid kingdom fell to a joint attack by Lombards and *Avars in 567. *Alboin, King of the Lombards, made the head of Cunimund, King of the Gepids, into a drinking cup (Paul the Deacon, *HF* I, 27, 4). AA

H. Sevin, *Die Gebiden* (1955).

D. Csallany, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden im Mitteldonaubecken* (1961).

I. Boná, *À l'aube du Moyen Âge: Gépides et Lombards dans le bassin des Carpates* (1976).

Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*.

A. Sarantis, 'War and Diplomacy in Pannonia and the Northwest Balkans during the Reign of Justinian: The Gepid Threat and Imperial Responses', *DOP* 63 (2009), 15–40.

A. Kharalambieva, 'Gepids in the Balkans: A Survey of the Archaeological Evidence', and R. Harhoiu, 'Where Did All the Gepids Go? A Sixth- to Seventh-Century Cemetery in Bratei (Romania)', in Curta, *Neglected Barbarians.*

A. Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars: Campaigning, Diplomacy and Development in Illyricum, Thrace and the Northern World A.D.* 527–65 (2016).

Gerasa (mod. Jerash/Jarash, Jordan) Site of the well-preserved remains of an ancient *city 55 km (34 miles) north of *Amman, Jordan. As Antioch on the Chrysorhoas it was a Seleucid (re-)foundation of a previously fortified site. Its convenient location on trade routes running south–north and east–west meant that the community flourished under Roman suzerainty from the 1st century BC, changing its name to Gerasa when it was a member of the federation of Hellenized *poleis*, known as the Decapolis. With the Roman annexation of Nabataea in 106, the community became part of the province of *Arabia.

The city, important as a caravan city, continued to prosper under the *pax Romana* as judged by the range and lavishness of its public buildings. In the later Roman period Gerasa remained part of the province of Arabia. Earlier Western scholarship regarded the *Persian invasion of 614 followed by the *Arab conquest of 635 as disasters which occasioned a rapid decline in the community's fortunes. Judging by its public buildings, however, the decline of Gerasa started as early as the 3rd century, when the absence of *inscriptions and construction work in general suggests a reversal in fortunes. This is in spite of Caracalla granting Gerasa the status of a colony (as Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana). As one of four episcopal sees under the *metropolitan of *Bosra, the appearance of a number of well-dated ecclesiastical buildings in the 5th and 6th centuries and other rebuilding work suggest a revival from the late 4th century down to the reign of *Justinian I and thereafter. The transfer to Islamic control, again contrary to earlier opinions, seems not to have occasioned disruption. Recent archaeological work complemented by a less prejudiced reappraisal of the literary evidence shows a functioning urban community into the 8th century. Early Islamic histories describe Gerasa as a major administrative centre with its own mint. Excavation hints at contemporary housing and that the city continued to possess thriving regional-scale industries. While no churches appear to have been dedicated after 635, none of the existing churches shows signs of conversion. Instead, the arrival of the Arabs indicates a non-destructive transition, as shown not least by the erection of a large congregational *mosque in the city centre in the early to mid-7th century. The town's eventual disappearance followed a gradual decline intensified by the consequences of a series of *earthquakes in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries. The town was also progressively marginalized as the axis of power in the Muslim world (and so its commercial routes) shifted from the *Arabian peninsula, under the *Umayyads, to *Damascus in the mid-7th century and to Baghdad with the *Abbasids in the 8th. PWMF

C. H. Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (1938).

J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches of Palestine* (1941).

D. L. Kennedy, *Gerasa and the Decapolis: A 'Virtual Island' in Northwest Jordan* (2007).

A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Appraisal* (2007).

Gerasimus (d. 475) Monastic founder in the *Jordan Valley, born in *Lycia. His *lavra and the rule he composed (after 456) merged coenobitic and heremitic ways of life. *John Moschus recounts Gerasimus' friendship with a *lion (107). BBA

BHG 693–6.

Vita Gerasimi anonyma, ed. K. M. Koikylides (1902).

IT L. Di Segni, *Nel deserto accano ai fratelli: Vite di Gerasimo e di Giorgio di Choziba* (1991).

Gerizim, Mount (Ar. Jebel et-Tūr) The sacred mountain of the *Samaritans near *Nablus in *Palestine, 881 m (2,890 ft) above sea level, and the focus of their devotion from pre-Christian times until today. Although currently the Samaritans deny they ever had a temple on the mountain, Josephus describes the building and destruction of a temple in the Hellenistic period (*Antiquities*, 11, 321–4 and *Jewish War*, 1, 62–3, cf. *Antiquities*, 13, 254–6). Archaeological excavations confirm its existence. On the northern, lower peak of the mountain stood a *temple to Zeus, erected probably by Emperor Antoninus Pius and in use until the 4th century. After the revolt by the Samaritans in *c.* AD 484, the *Emperor *Zeno built on the main summit a fortified church, dedicated to *Mary the Mother of God (*Theotokos), the ruins of which, together with the defences added by the Emperor *Justinian after renewed Samaritan rebellion, are still visible. RP

Y. Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, 2 vols. (JSP 2 and 8, 2004 and 2008).

J. Dušek, *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III and Antiochus IV Epiphanes* (CHANE 54, 2012).

Germania Prima and Secunda Late Roman *provinces established under the *Tetrarchy out of Germania Superior (to the south) and Germania Inferior (to the north). Germania Prima was carved out of the northern part of Germania Superior (the southern part became *Maxima Sequanorum), covering the middle and upper Rhine with its key city at *Mainz. Germania Secunda, the renamed Germania Inferior, covered the lower Rhine and was governed from *Cologne. Both appear in the *Verona List and the **Notitia Dignitatum* within the *Dioecesis of *Galliae. Each *governor was a *Consularis. They ceased to function as administrative units during the reign of *Clovis I, King of the *Franks. EMB

NEDC 218.

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 11, *Mayence, Germania Prima*, ed. N. Gauthier et al. (2000); vol. 12, *Cologne, Germania Secunda*, ed. N. Gauthier et al. (2002).

Germanic cultures The earliest surviving description of the peoples who became known as Germans is by Julius Caesar in his *Commentarii* on the Gallic Wars (58–51 BC). All subsequent references to early Germans depend upon his use of the name. The key geographical aspect of Caesar's assertions is that Germans lived (for the most part) east of the Rhine River, Gauls lived to the west. In studies of the peoples east of the Rhine, archaeologists have used geographical designations, such as Elbe Germans, North Sea Germans, Rhine-Weser Germans, and Oder-Vistula Germans, to distinguish regional variations in material culture and practice. The tribes or peoples named in the writings of Caesar, Tacitus, and later authors are not easily matched with the archaeological cultures.

By the time of Caesar, the peoples east of the Rhine practised agriculture, growing such *grains as wheat, barley, and rye. They raised domestic animals, especially *cattle, as well as *swine, *sheep, *goats, *horses, and *dogs. On the North European Plain, *longhouses, where humans occupied one end and livestock the other, were the characteristic *houses. An especially well-documented settlement is *Feddersen Wierde, occupied from the end of the 1st century BC into the 5th century AD. In the hilly uplands of central Europe, smaller rectangular houses were characteristic.

The *dead were disposed of by both inhumation and cremation. From the latter half of the 1st century BC on, it was common practice to place weapons in some men's graves. These *arms included lances and spears, swords, shields, and occasionally helmets. From the 1st century AD on, a few graves were outfitted much more lavishly than most, with *gold and *silver *jewellery, ornate *bronze and sometimes silver vessels from the Roman world, drinking horns, and ornate weapons. Status differences are also reflected in the *weapon deposit sites of northern Europe, such as Hjortspring in southern Denmark, where variations in the types and numbers of weapons indicate difference in the armament of top-rank leaders, lower-level officers, and foot soldiers.

Ritual practices included the deposit of offerings to supernatural powers, especially at the sites of springs, such as that at *Bad Pyrmont, in ponds and lakes, as at *Oberdorla, and in the numerous bog deposits in Denmark and northern Germany, including *Illerup, Thorsberg, and Vimose.

During the 3rd and 4th centuries, major political, economic, and religious centres developed, as at *Gudme in Denmark, *Uppåkra in Sweden, and *Jakuszowice in Poland. During these and subsequent centuries, a new style of ornament emerged, known as Germanic art, characterized by highly stylized representations of

*animals in complex interwined patterns on brooches, *belt buckles, and other ornaments. PSW

L. Jørgensen, B. Storgaard, and L. G. Thomsen, eds., *The Spoils of Victory: The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire* (2003).
B. Krüger, ed., *Die Germanen. Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa*, 2 vols. (1979, 1983; rev. 5th edn. 1988).
E. Künzl, *Die Germanen* (new edn., 2015).
W. Pohl, *Die Germanen* (*Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte*, Bd. 57, 2000).
K. Randsborg, *Hjortspring: Warfare and Sacrifice in Early Europe* (1995).
M. Todd, *The Early Germans* (²2004).
P. S. Wells, 'The Ancient Germans', in L. Bonfante, ed., *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions* (2011), 211–32.

Germanicea *See* MARAŞ.

Germanic languages Group of Indo-European (IE) languages believed to have originated around the Baltic and currently spoken in a large area of north-west Europe. They are divided into:

1. North Germanic, comprising the Scandinavian languages;
2. West Germanic, which includes English, Dutch, German, and Frisian; and
3. East Germanic, now extinct, which included Gothic and Vandalic.

As IE languages, the Germanic languages have features in common with *Latin and *Greek, including related noun classes (*a*, *o*, *i*, *u* stems), and they share its core vocabulary. However, the Germanic languages also share certain features among themselves that distinguish them from other IE languages, among which are:

1. Development of two verb classes which form preterite and perfect tenses in different ways. Weak verbs use a suffix with a dental consonant throughout, while strong verbs build upon a regularized system of vowel alternation in the verb stem (known as ablaut or vowel gradation) to distinguish present, preterite, and perfect tenses.
2. A collapse of IE tense and aspect into a simple verb tense system including only forms for present and preterite, though there is disagreement about the status and development of the perfect tense. Other tenses are circumscribed with auxiliary verbs and/or time expressions.
3. The First Consonant Shift (also known as Grimm's Law), a phonological sound shift of the IE voiceless plosives *p*, *t*, *k* to fricatives *f*, *s*, *h*, voiced plosives *b*, *d*, *g* to voiceless plosives *p*, *t*, *k*, and aspirated plosives *bh*, *dh*, *gh* to voiced fricatives *β*, *ð*, *ɣ*. These shifts explain etymological correspondences, e.g. Lat. *pisces* with Eng. *fish*, Lat. *centum* with Eng. *hundred*, Lat. *dens* with Eng. *tooth*.
4. The ultimate fixing of word stress on word stems (often the first syllable), probably completed before the literary period of the West Germanic languages (but not yet visible in Gothic).

The earliest Germanic language to be recorded in substantial texts is Gothic, spoken by the *Visigoths and *Ostrogoths. Extended parts of a translation of the *Bible survive, mainly in the 6th-century *Codex Argenteus, and attributed to the 4th-century *Bishop *Ulfilas (Wulfila). Gothic declined after the *conversion of the Visigoths in *Spain from *Homoean to Nicene (Catholic) Christianity in AD 589 and became extinct in the late 8th century. The long-term survival of a Gothic dialect in the *Crimea is a matter of dispute; a Flemish diplomat in the 16th century published a description of 86 words in a Germanic language, but his report contains numerous misprints and is based on the testimony of unreliable witnesses.

Some *runic inscriptions from Scandinavia are in an early form of Germanic closely resembling Gothic, probably Proto-Old Norse. They may be older than the surviving records of Gothic, but are very short, formulaic, and sometimes hard to interpret. After the decline of Gothic, it was Franconian, the West Germanic dialect of the *Frankish invaders of *Gaul and southern Germany, that came to dominate the northern borders of the declining Roman Empire. MVDH

H. Beck, ed., *Germanische Rest- und Trümmersprachen* (RGA Ergänzungsbd. 3, 1989).
W. Harbert. *The Germanic Languages* (Cambridge Language Surveys, 2007).
C. J. Hutterer. *Die germanischen Sprachen. Ihre Geschichte in Grundzügen* (⁴2002).

Germanus (before 505–50) Nephew of *Justin I, cousin of *Justinian I, praised by *Procopius (*Gothic*, VII, 40, 9). He made his reputation by defeating the *Antes when *Magister Militum Praesentalis (518–27). Later, as Magister Militum Praesentalis and **patricius* in 536–9, he crushed the mutiny of *Stotzas in *Africa, before being posted to *Antioch in 540 when *Khosrow I broke the *Everlasting Peace. He abandoned Antioch to the Persians. His reputation recovered following the death in 548 of *Theodora, who had feared his political ambitions. Germanus refused to join the conspiracy of *Artabanes and *Arsaces, which may have sought to

make him *emperor (*Gothic*, VII, 32, 7–19). He was restored to imperial favour, and in 550 to a command fighting the Goths. His sudden death at *Serdica ended his plan to retake *Italy. PNB
PLRE II, Germanus 4.

Germanus Native of *Iustiniana Prima and protégé of *Justinian I. He commanded forces defending the Thracian *Chersonnese and defeated the *Huns under *Zabergan (559). PNB
PLRE III, Germanus 4.

Germanus *Magister Militum and **patricius* and possibly a kinsman of *Justinian I. He married Charito, daughter of *Tiberius II, in August 582 and was made *Caesar, along with *Maurice, but then disappears from the sources. PNB; OPN
PLRE III, Germanus 5.
Whitby, *Maurice*, 7, 15.

Germanus *Dux Libani at *Damascus in 588 when the army in *Syria mutinied against the *Emperor *Maurice and threw down his imperial *icons because their new *Magister Militum had insulted them and reduced their pay. Germanus led them successfully against the Persians at *Martyropolis and he and the army were reconciled with the emperor. He may be the same Germanus who commanded at *Dara in 602, and died in 604 after being defeated by the Persians at *Constantina-Tella. PNB
PLRE III, Germanus 6 possibly = *PLRE* III, Germanus 13.
Whitby, *Maurice*, 17, 287–89.

Germanus Senator and **patricius*, whose daughter married *Theodosius, son of *Maurice. In 602, while hunting west of *Constantinople, he was asked by the army of Thrace to make Theodosius *emperor. Confronted by Maurice, he found sanctuary in *Cyrus' Church of the Theotokos and then at the *Holy Wisdom. He subsequently backed *Phocas, was ordained, and then, having plotted with Maurice's widow Constantina, was killed by Phocas. OPN
PLRE III, Germanus 11.
Whitby, *Maurice*,25–6, 168.

Germanus of Auxerre, S. (d. 445–8) *Bishop of Auxerre from 418. A native of Auxerre, Germanus studied *law in *Rome, and began a career in public office. The author of his *Life*, *Constantius of *Lyons, says that his final post was as a *ducatus*: he was perhaps *Dux Tractus Armoricani et Nervicani in military charge of north-west *Gaul. While visiting his home town of Auxerre, he was elected its bishop, and adopted an ascetic life. In 429, alongside *Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, he undertook a mission to deal with the problem of the Pelagian *heresy in *Britain, visited S. *Alban's tomb, and allegedly led the Britons to a bloodless victory over an army of *Picts and *Saxons by inspiring them to use 'Alleluia' as a war cry. The historicity of a second visit is uncertain. He died in 448, on a journey to *Ravenna to persuade *Valentinian III's regime to reduce taxes. His lifetime renown was perpetuated by his cult. EJ
PLRE II, Germanus 1.
PCBE IV/1, Germanus 1.
VGermani (*BHL* 3453), ed. W. Levison in MGH SS. rer. Meroving. VII (1920), 225–83.
ed. (annotated with FT) R. Borius (SC 112; 1965).
ET F. R. Hoare in *The Western Fathers* (1954), 281–320.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 252–6, 307.
E. A. Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain* (1984).

Germanus of Paris (*c.*496–576) *Bishop of *Paris (before 556–76). Born into a family of civic *aristocrats at *Autun, he was abbot of St.-Symphorien there before becoming bishop under *Childebert I, while persisting in his monastic habits. He interceded with *Chlothar I on *Radegund's behalf in 559, and retained links with her Nunnery of the Holy Cross at *Poitiers, visiting to give his blessing to Agnes, its first abbess. Shortly before *Charibert I's death in 567, he excommunicated the king for marrying Marcovefa, a nun and sister of one of his former wives. In 575 Germanus wrote a surviving *letter to *Brunhild asking for her help in ending the civil war between her husband *Sigibert I and *Chilperic I (*Ep. Aust.* 9), and warned Sigibert on pain of death not to seek to kill his brother; Sigibert disregarded the admonition, and was soon assassinated. He was buried in the portico of S. Vincent's church in Paris, and commemorated by a metrical *epitaph (Le Blant, *Inscriptions*, 205). His cult developed at once, and *Venantius Fortunatus, who at Germanus' behest had previously written poems and a *Life* of his predecessor Bishop Marcellus, composed his *Vita*, a richly detailed account of Germanus' travels in *Gaul and his *miracles. By 690, his name was associated with the dedication of the church in which he was buried, and from the 11th century, it came to be known as St.-Germain-des-Prés. PPé; STL
PCBE IV/1, Germanus 3.
Life (*BHL* 3468), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. VII (1920), 337–418.

Germia (mod. Gümüşkonak, formerly Turkish Yürme) *City of *Galatia Salutaris, later an archbishopric. By at least the 5th century, healing waters inspired the foundation of a place of Christian *pilgrimage near two ancient *cities. The most important of several surviving churches and *monasteries was dedicated to the Archangel Michael; it included *hospitals

and homes for the elderly and was donated by the same Studios who built the churches of S. Michael at *Nacolea and *S. John Baptist of Studius at *Constantinople. It was visited by *Justinian I and S. *Theodore of *Sykeon. *Gregory of *Tours had heard that Christ's tunic was there (*Glory of the Martyrs*, 7). PhN

TIB 4 (1984), 166–8 and 247.
Mitchell, *Anatolia*, vol. 2, 128–9.
C. Mango, 'The Pilgrimage Centre of St Michael at Germia', *JbÖB* 36 (1986), 117–32.
P. Niewöhner et al., 'Bronze Age Höyüks, Iron Age Hilltop Forts, Roman Poleis, and Byzantine Pilgrimage in Germia and its Vicinity: "Connectivity" and a Lack of "Definite Places" on the Central Anatolian High Plateau', *AnatSt* 63 (2013), 97–136.
P. Niewöhner, 'Die Michaelskirche in Germia (Galatien, Türkei). Ein kaiserlicher Wallfahrtsort und sein provinzielles Umfeld', *ArchAnz* 2010/1, 137–60.
A. V. Walser, 'Kaiserzeitliche und frühbyzantinische Inschriften aus der Region von Germia in Nordwestgalatien', *Chiron* 43 (2013), 527–619.

Gerontius (d. 411) *Magister Militum and *Comes of the *usurper *Constantine III. Originally from *Britain, Gerontius and the Frankish Magister Militum Edobichus freed Constantine III from the siege of Valence by Sarus in 408 (*Zosimus, VI, 2, 4–5). After subjugating *Spain for the *Caesar *Constans in 408, Gerontius guarded the passes to *Gaul. In 409 Constantine proposed to replace him (Zosimus, VI, 4, 2; VI, 5, 1–2). Gerontius rallied the armies of Spain and the barbarians in Gaul, and arranged for his own *Domesticus Maximus to be proclaimed *emperor at Tarraco. Expelling the usurpers from Spain, he pursued Constans to *Vienne and executed him there in 411. He besieged Constantine at *Arles, but his troops deserted him when an army approached which was loyal to the Emperor *Honorius. Gerontius fled to Spain, was defeated there by deserters, and committed *suicide (*Orosius, VII, 42, 4; *Olympiodorus, fr. 16; *Prosper, *Chron.* 411; *Sozomen, IX, 12, 6–13, 1–7; *Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 9). *Sidonius recalled Gerontius as characterized by perfidy (*ep.* V, 9, 1). GDB

PLRE II, Gerontius 5.
New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 5 (2004) *s.n.* Gerontius 3, col. 817 (K.-P. Johne).
M. Kulikowski, 'Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain', *Britannia* 31 (2000), 325–45.

Gertrude, S. (626–59) First Abbess of *Nivelles, daughter of the *Austrasian *Mayor of the Palace *Pippin I and *Itta, and sister of Begga and of *Grimoald, later mayor. She was associated with a group of Irish monks (S. *Fursey, Foilan, Ultan), and, with her mother, was responsible for founding the *Monastery of the *Scotti at Fosses. She was buried in the Church of S. Peter (S. Gertrude) at Nivelles. Her cult developed rapidly and was one of those particularly favoured by the Carolingians. A *Vita*, written at Fosses after 693, survives in two recensions. ADier

Life (*BHL* 3490), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. II (1888), 447–74.
ET in McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 222–34.
LexMA 4, 1356–7 'Gertrude' (M. van Uytfanghe).
A. Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse, VII^e–XI^e siècle* (1985), 70–6.
E. Petraschka, *Fränkischer Adel und irische* Peregrini *im 7. Jahrhundert. Die Vita der hl. Geretrude von Nivelles* (1999).
A. Dierkens, 'Notes biographiques sur saint Amand', in E. Bozoky, ed., *Saints d'Aquitaine* (2010), 63–80.

Gerunda (mod. Girona or Gerona, Catalonia) *City in *Tarraconensis, with Late Roman *walls (*c.*284–300). *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, IV, 29–30) mentions a *martyr called Felix, who had a significant cult (*BHL* 2864–8), about which *Gregory of Tours tells stories (*Gloria Martyrum*, 91). Six Christian *sarcophagi (*c.*305–25) are preserved in the Church of S. Feliu. Gerunda was the site of a *Visigothic mint and of a church *council in 517. The chronicler *John of Biclar, *Bishop of Gerunda (*c.*589–614), was a Visigothic convert to Catholicism. GDB

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 5 (2004) *s.v.* 'Gerunda' 820–1 (P. Barceló).

Gervasius and Protasius, Ss. *Martyrs, the whereabouts of whose *relics was revealed to *Ambrose at *Milan in 386. The historicity of Ss. Gervasius and Protasius remains uncertain, but subsequent tradition placed their deaths in the later 2nd century. In 386 Ambrose needed support against the imperial *court of *Valentinian II which he regarded as '*Arian'. The miraculous discovery of the martyrs strengthened Ambrose's position, and their relics were translated in triumphal procession to the newly completed Basilica Ambrosiana. Ambrose told the story in a letter (22), as did his biographer *Paulinus of Milan (*VAmbrosii*, 14), and *Augustine (*Conf.* IX, 7, 16; *Civ. Dei*, 22, 8). DMG

BHL 3513–22.
McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*.
Delehaye, *Origines*, 75–8.

Gesta Martyrum (Lat.: 'Deeds of the Martyrs') A group of 5th- and 6th-century *martyr narratives describing the trials and deaths of (largely) pre-Constantinian Christian martyrs at *Rome. The phrase *Gesta Martyrum* is attested from the 6th century, and functioned as a loose literary label for some five or six dozen *martyr passions, each celebrating one or more male and/or female martyrs. Although many show signs

of interdependence, the *Gesta* were penned anonymously and independently. The authors all seem to have lived in (or had significant knowledge of) the *city of *Rome, since many include topographical references (some more accurate than others) to *pagan and Christian monuments in Rome. The influence of earlier hagiographic forms (e.g. Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and the Passions of Martyrs) on the form and content of the *Gesta Martyrum* is also apparent. The *Gesta* were probably read in churches, monastic settings, and perhaps in private homes. KMS

Gesta of individual martyrs are ed. separately in *AASS* and by B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum* (new edn., 1910).

K. Cooper, 'The Martyr, the *Matrona*, and the Bishop: The Matron Lucina and the Politics of Martyr Cult in Fifth and Sixth-Century Rome', *EME* 8 (1999), 297–317.

A. Dufourcq, *Étude sur les gesta martyrum romains*, 5 vols. (1910; repr. 1988).

gesta municipalia Local *archives, well attested in *Ravenna in the 5th and 6th centuries, in *Merovingian sources of the 6th and 7th centuries, and also in earlier *papyrus texts from *Egypt. *Gesta municipalia* offer detailed information about the functioning of local government, especially its judicial practices. *Gesta municipalia* from Egypt often record the dialogue during cases in *courts of law (for instance, P. Heidelberg 311 verso). DSl

F. Ausbüttel, 'Die Curialen und Stadtmagistrate Ravennas im späten 5. und 6. Jh.', *ZPE* 67 (1987), 207–14.

W. Brown, 'On the Gesta Municipalia and the Public Validation of Documents in Frankish Europe', *Speculum* (2012), 345–75.

Gewilib of Mainz (d. after 745) Bishop of *Mainz, who according to legend avenged the death of his father Gerold, the previous *bishop, who had died fighting *Saxons. S. *Boniface denounced him to the pope as a 'false teacher' and unlawful bishop. JTP

F. Staab, '*Rudi populi rudis adhuc presul*. Zu den wehrhaften Bischöfen der Zeit Karl Martells', *in Jarnut et al., Karl Martell*, 249–75.

Ghassanids *See* JAFNIDS.

ghazi Participant in a 'raid against the infidels' carried out by Muslims on the frontiers of the *Dar al-Islam* territory of *Islam. In the early days of Islam, during the initial *Arab conquests, *ghazis* gained status and booty by participation in these religiously and economically motivated raids. Due to their location close to the pagan *Türks, *Khorasan and *Transoxiana were particularly popular with *ghazis*, who often functioned almost like mercenaries, posing a potential threat not only to those they deemed infidels but also to the local Muslim administrative and military establishment. MLD

EI 2 *s.v.* Ghāzī vol. 2 (1965) (I. Mélikoff).

Ghurak *Sogdian ruler (r. 710–37/8) of *Samarkand during the *Arab conquest of *Transoxiana, who alternately cooperated with the *Arabs and sought help against them from *China or the *Türks. When *Qutayba b. Muslim captured Samarkand (712), Ghurak withdrew to Ishtikhan, from whence he later appealed to *Caliph *'Umar II to restore Samarkand to him. Ghurak did not participate in the Sogdian revolt of 722 which caused *Dewashtich's downfall and maintained loyalty to the Arabs during the initial Türgesh invasions under *Suluk. However, he openly allied himself with the latter in the joint Türk–Sogdian capture of Samarkand in 731. Ghurak died in 737/8, shortly before the Arabs recaptured Sogdiana from the Türgesh. MLD

Chavannes, *Documents*, 136, 204–5, 210.

Chavannes, *Notes*, 40, 45–6, 53, 58–9.

M. Hinds, tr., *Tabari* XXIII: *The Zenith of the Marwanid House*, 176–7, 189–98.

D. S. Powers, tr., *Tabari* XXIV: *The Empire in Transition* (1989), 169.

K. Y. Blankinship, tr., *Tabari* XXV: *The End of Expansion*, 54, 78–9.

STUDIES

H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923), 42–8, 55, 59–62, 69–74, 79.

gift giving and treasure, Germanic barbarian Texts from Tacitus to **Beowulf* relate the giving of gifts among Germanic peoples as means of securing loyalty and of gaining status and prestige. While archaeology does not often enable us to identify objects as gifts, a great many objects of special material or manufacture probably functioned as gifts in the contexts where we find them.

Treasures placed in well-outfitted burials and in special deposits are likely to have served as gifts at some stage before they went out of use. Common among the rich *burials of the 4th and 5th centuries are *gold neck rings, gold or gilded *silver *fibulae, and ornaments of gold inset with carved *garnet pieces, including those decorating special weapons. For example, among the objects in the second grave at Apahida in Romania were a purse with an ornate gold and garnet lid, gold shoe buckles with inset garnets, gold beads, and gold strap-ends. The scabbard that held the sword in this man's burial was decorated with gold and garnet, as was his *belt buckle. Another richly equipped grave at Apahida included a solid gold bracelet with widening terminals, one of a group of at least seven nearly identical bracelets found in other

graves of this period, including that of the *Frank *Childeric I at *Tournai in Belgium.

Besides graves, treasures are also recovered from *hoards. A 5th-century hoard found at *Hoxne in England included gold jewellery, silver vessels and tableware, and over 15,000 gold and silver coins. Some treasure hoards contain *bronze tableware and *iron tools. PSW

J. Bazelmans, 'Beyond Power: Ceremonial Exchanges in *Beowulf*', in F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson, eds., *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (2000), 311–75.

C. Hanemann, 'Hortfunde—Römerschätze und Alamannenbeute', in M. Geiberger, A. Stute, and A. Hofmann, eds., *Imperium Romanum. Römer, Christen, Alamannen—Die Spätantike am Oberrhein* (2005), 102–10.

C. Johns, *The Hoxne Late Roman Treasure: Gold Jewellery and Silver Plate* (2010).

A. Wieczork and P. Périn, eds., *Das Gold der Barbarenfürsten. Schätze aus Prunkgräbern des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zwischen Kaukasus und Gallien* (2001).

gift giving and treasure, Persian Empire The presentation of gifts by monarchs of the *Sasanian dynasty was not only integral to the *Persian Empire's system of collecting and redistributing wealth, it was also the material and symbolic way the Persian Empire's aristocratic and courtly hierarchies were ordered. Given in the course of *diplomacy, gifts amplified the grandeur of the Empire among client kings and foreign aristocracies and served as a channel of cross-cultural communication.

Gifts given by the king, such as clothing made of *silk (MP *abrēšom*), and accoutrements that marked an individual as belonging to the nobility or as the holder of an office had a significance beyond their material value. The archmagus *Kerdir's *inscriptions state that *Bahram II gave him a hat (*kolāf*) and belt (*kamar*) when the king ennobled him. Roman accounts of the rise and fall of Persian nobles also stress the importance of such objects and numerous divine investitures on *rock reliefs reflect this political reality. In the medieval remembrance of authors such as the epic poet Ferdowsi (Firdausi) and Ps.-Jahiz, gift giving and displays of generosity were as expected a part of royal display as *hunting. The *Sasanian King of Kings presided over ritual gift giving on the two most important holidays of the year: the New Year (MP *Nōg Rōz) in spring, and the festival of *Mihr in autumn (*Mihragan). During the New Year celebrations, provinces would bring their taxes to the *court and the King of Kings would give public audiences where he gave gifts and invested officials. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 182–3; 190–2.

gifts, diplomatic Gifts were integral to Late Antique *diplomacy, for both their monetary value and symbolism. The exchange of gifts was integrated into the ritual of diplomatic receptions. *Peter the Patrician's detailed description of the protocol for receiving a Persian embassy is preserved in *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De Caerimoniis*. The *Magister Officiorum would inspect the gifts that the Persian embassy intended to give and relay a description of them to the emperor before the audience. During the audience, the envoy and his men would leave the hall and make a second entrance with the gifts. The *emperor's **silentiarii* would receive all the gifts, and after the audience they would be taken to the sacred wardrobe (*vestosacra*), where *vestiarii* would appraise them and create a record, which would be consulted when it was time to prepare gifts for the return embassy (*De Cer.* 1.89.404). No such records survive, and Peter the Patrician's protocol mentions only *textiles and 'decorated objects'.

From the quantity of *Sasanian *silver found on the northern peripheries of the Empire, especially in the *Caucasus, it is likely that the Persians favoured silver plate decorated with bas-relief figural scenes of the sovereign as gifts for *client kings. Roman *missoria*, such as the *Kerch Plate portraying a mounted emperor (possibly *Constantius II), come from these regions and probably served this purpose as well. Various Sasanian *textiles and *luxury objects which were preserved in European church treasuries, such as the *Cup of *Khosrow (Solomon), were possibly Persian gifts kept in the treasury of the Great Palace of *Constantinople redistributed to clients in the West in Late Antiquity or acquired in the Fourth Crusade. The constant flow of objects and images from one court to the other generated a taste for the other's luxury objects and ornament and influenced indigenous traditions of ruler representation. Scattered mentions in references to Persian embassies indicate that *horses or exotic animals such as tigers or *elephants were also given as gifts. Accordingly, the Arch of *Galerius portrays Persians offering exotic animals and silver vessels. These traditions of diplomatic gift giving survived in the diplomatic traditions of medieval Byzantium, Islam, and Western Europe. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes.*

A. Cutler, 'Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies', *DOP* 55 (2001), 247–78.

Gildas (d. 570?) Writer and church father. Gildas was a Briton whose principal surviving work, *De Excidio Britanniae* (or *Brittonum*), is a sermon expounding a providential reading of British history and urging the clergy and laity of his own time to live better Christian lives in order to avoid national catastrophe. In this work he leans heavily on the Old Testament prophetic

tradition and particularly on the example of Jeremiah. *De Excidio* seems to have owed its survival principally to transmission through the Church of *Canterbury. The earliest witness to its existence, *Bede, read its message as legitimizing English conquest as the consequences of British sin. In *Ireland Gildas was famed as a monastic teacher and described as *Sapiens*. After the universal fathers of the Church such as *Augustine and *Jerome he is the authority most cited in the collection of Irish *law known as the *Collectio Canonum Hibernenis*, though from works that do not otherwise survive rather than from *De Excidio*.

At the time of writing *De Excidio*, Gildas seems not yet to have become a monk. Dating the man and his works has become controversial. *Columbanus cites a letter by Gildas to Uinniau, probably either Finnian of Clonard (d. 549) or Finnian of Moville (d. 579), which suggests that he lived into the middle of the 6th century. Examinations of his Latinity and reading, however, show little evidence of any influences written after the middle of the 5th century. The Irish chronicles contain an obit under AD 570, which may not be contemporary. It is tempting to imagine that he had a long multi-phase career analogous to that of *Cassiodorus. AW

ODNB s.n. Gildas (Kerlouégan).

CPL 1319–24:

ed. with ET M. Winterbottom, *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain* (1978).

D. N. Dumville and M. Lapidge, eds., *Gildas: New Approaches* (1984).

K. George, *Gildas's* De Excidio Brittonum *and the Early British Church* (2009).

Gildo (d. 398) Chieftain of the Jubaleni tribe in the Kabylie mountains south-east of Algiers, *Comes Africae and *Magister Utriusque Militiae per Africam, 396–8. Owner of numerous *estates in the region (*CTh* VII, 8, 7 [400]; IX, 42, 19 [405]), he sided with the Romans during the rebellion of his brother *Firmus in 372–3. Late in 397, he announced his intention to transfer *Africa from Western to Eastern imperial control, and began holding up the supply of *grain to *Rome. His supporters included Optatus, the *Donatist *Bishop of *Thamugadi, possibly also a number of *Circumcelliones. The rebellion spread to the Chelif Valley, so a small force was sent against Gildo from *Italy early in 398, under the command of his brother Mascezel, whose two sons Gildo had previously murdered. Routed near *Theveste, Gildo died a fugitive. DAC

PLRE I, Gildo.

PCBE I, Gildo 1.

Gilling (North Yorkshire, England) Gilling West has been identified as the 7th-century *monastery at Ingetlingum (*Bede, *HE* III, 14 and 24), founded by Eanflæd, wife of *Oswy, King of Northumbria, apparently where Oswy had killed Oswine, King of Deira. No archaeological evidence has been found for this monastery; Gilling East has been proposed as an alternative location. HFF

T. Pickles, 'Locating Ingetlingum and Suthgedling: Gilling West and Gilling East', *Northern History* 46/2 (2009), 313–25.

Gisulf Lombard *Dux, previously **strator* (Lombard **marpahis*) to King *Alboin (his uncle), appointed in 569 to create and hold the Duchy of *Friuli, centred on *Cividale (Forum Iulii). He is recorded as requesting select clan groups (**farae*) to control the territory. Many invasion-period and first-generation Lombard tombs are known around Cividale. Gisulf's brother Grasulf succeeded him by 581. NJC

PLRE III, Gisulfus 1.

*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, II, 9, 32.

M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (1981), 31–2.

gladiators Professional fighters matched against each other in single combat in amphitheatres. Originally gladiators were slaves trained in gladiatorial schools (*ludi*) under the supervision of *lanistae*, though free men also joined to fight during the Principate; the latter were deemed *infames personae* on account of their mercenary public self-display. Successful gladiators were highly popular and were thought to exhibit the *virtus* of the Roman people. Stoic *philosophers and Christians, however, criticized gladiatorial games as bloody and morally corrupting. The costs of presenting gladiatorial games were borne by *emperors, magistrates, imperial *priests, and other benefactors (*munerarii*) as part of their civic obligations, while a small bureaucracy developed in *Rome to handle the associated logistics.

In 325, *Constantine I prohibited the traditional practice of condemning criminals to fight as gladiators (*CTh* XV, 12, 1; *Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 25). In 337 *Hispellum in Umbria petitioned *Constans I for a *temple honouring the imperial family and games including gladiators; the emperor granted temple and games but is silent about gladiators (*CIL* XI, 5265). Gladiators continued to fight in the inaugural games of magistrates and high officials, including those of the Syriachs in Antioch *c.*330 (*Libanius, *Oration*, 1, 5). The *Codex-Calendar of 354 lists ten days of games (Lat. *munera*—singular *munus*) in Rome around the time of the *Saturnalia in December. *Valentinian I threatened to punish a judge for condemning a Christian to the *ludus*, which was forbidden regardless of any crime (*CTh* IX, 40, 8: *ludo non adiudicetur*). *Symmachus the Orator bemoaned the mass suicide of 29 Saxon war captives the day before their gladiatorial bout in the quaestorian games of his son in 393 (*ep.* 2, 46). Already in decline, *munera* finally

disappeared around the 440s. In Christian tradition, *Honorius banned the games after the Christian monk Telemachus was killed by angry spectators when he tried to stop the gladiatorial games in Rome's Flavian Amphitheatre (*Theodoret, *HE* V, 26). Some Christian writers claimed that Christianity's triumph ended the murderous games. More likely, their disappearance was due to multiple causes, including changed external circumstances, as well as a shift in popular taste to favour **venationes* and other mass spectacles. RLi; OPN

F. Carlà, 'Condannati a morire nell'arena', in F. Carlà and M. G. Castello, eds., *Questioni tardoantiche: storio e mito dell 'svolta constantiniana* (2010), 264–319.
K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (1983), 1–30.
R. MacMullen, 'What Difference did Christianity Make?', *Historia* 35 (1986), 322–43.
I. Tantillo, 'I munera in età tardoantica', in S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (2000), 120–5.
T. Wiedemann, 'Das Ende der römischen Gladiatorenspiele', *Nikephoros* 8 (1995), 145–59.
T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (1992).
G. Ville, 'Les Jeux de gladiateurs dans l'empire chrétien', *MÉFR* 72 (1960), 273–335.

glass, Persian Glass of the *Sasanian period from archaeological excavations is mainly known from graves in *Mesopotamia (*Kokhe, *Nineveh, Tell Baruda, *Kish, *Babylon, Uruk, Tell Mahuz, Tell Abu Skhair) and to a lesser extent from the Iranian plateau (Tureng Tepe, Shahr-i Qumis). Blown, moulded-blown, and blown and cut flasks, bottles, goblets, and bowls are attested. Popular throughout Eurasia, exported examples have been discovered in Japan and *China (3rd–8th cent.), where some thought that clear glass (*po-li*) was petrified ice, like rock crystal. DTP

EncIran XI/1 (2001) *s.v.* glass 10–14 (J. Kröger).
M. M. Negro Ponzi, 'Sasanian Glassware from Tell Mahuz (North Mesopotamia)', *Mesopotamia* 3–4 (1968–9), 293–384.
D. Whitehouse, 'La Verrerie sassanide', in F. Demange and M. Cernuschi, eds., *Les Perses sassanides: fastes d'un empire oublié* (2006), 139–54.

glass, glass production, and trade The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict shows that by 301 six types of glass material were traded and sold by the pound: *Alexandrian raw glass (colourless) and Judaean raw glass (greenish), Alexandrian and Judaean glass vessels, and glass *windows of first and second quality. To these may be added *mosaic glass cakes of different colours.

As in the Early Roman period, raw glass and objects were manufactured in different workshops. The primary workshops situated in *Syria, *Palestine, and *Egypt produced raw glass in reverbatory tank furnaces, of which a few examples are known (Apollonia, Bet Eliezer). Very standardized when compared to their antecedents known from the excavations in *Wadi an-Natrun, these furnaces produced in one firing an amount of roughly 8 tonnes of glass. This raw glass was traded to the secondary glass workshops which were disseminated across the whole Empire where, up to the 8th century, fresh raw glass was combined with cullet to produce objects.

Three main compositions of raw glass have been identified through chemical analyses: Levantine 1 and 2 and HIMT glass coming from northern *Sinai. The HIMT glass made its appearance on foreign markets by the mid-4th century and until the beginning of the 7th century was in competition with the raw glass from the Levant which earlier dominated the market.

From the mid-3rd to the early 5th century, glass vessels can be divided into two groups: common tableware produced in various places and luxury glass manufactured in a few centres and traded over long distances. The use of glass for containers of perfumed oils, liquid, and solid food was limited. Engraved glass was made principally in the Rhine Valley, *Rome, and Egypt, painted and mosaic glass was manufactured in Egypt, complex applied decoration is known in the Rhine Valley and in Syria-Palestine, mould-blown glass is produced with new techniques such as optic blowing and dip mould-blowing in the Levant and in the Rhine Valley. For common wares, the diversity of individual forms reached its peak in Syria-Palestine at this period, whereas in the West there is a marked decline in diversity after the end of the 2nd century. In the early 5th century, in both the western and eastern Mediterranean, the repertoire of tableware forms and decoration is limited and continues to be so until the 8th century—glass becoming a highly prized and uncommon material in the former Roman north-western provinces. The true innovation of this period is the use of glass *lamps.

Late Antiquity sees the introduction of two new techniques for manufacturing glass windows. The muff technique appears in the West during the 4th century and is followed very soon afterwards by the development in religious buildings of an early form of *vitrail* (flat glass grozed into pieces and reassembled with lead); this early form of stained glass is known from 5th-century Sion (Switzerland). Actual painting of glass appears only in the 8th century. In the East, the muff technique is also attested, but the crown technique prevails, with the use of bluish-green glass, but also of vivid colours, especially in *claustra*.

The use of glass tesserae is known in pavements from the Hellenistic period onwards. Examples of mural glass *opus sectile panels are also present from the mid-3rd century onwards (*Corinth, *Ariminum, *Kenchreai), but the development of mural mosaics between the 4th and 6th century in religious contexts (*Rome, *Ravenna) implies a change of scale, as the entire surface of the

walls was covered with glass tesserae of vivid colours, employing also *gold and *silver foil. MDN

J. Drauschke and D. Keller, eds., *Glass in Byzantium—Production, Usage, Analyses* (2010).

De transparentes spéculations: vitres de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge (Orient-Occident) (2005).

Website: 'The composition of Byzantine glass mosaic tesserae' at http://www.sussex.ac.uk/byzantine/mosaic/.

Glastonbury *Anglo-Saxon *monastery on the edge of the Somerset Levels, once a large expanse of wetlands in south-west England. From an early date the monastery held extensive estates in the nearby hills and marshes, and the main monastic centre had satellite sites at Glastonbury Tor and nearby islands. Extensive archaeological evidence for craftworking includes 7th-century *glass manufacture. Perhaps refounded by *Ine of Wessex (*ASC s.a.* 688), both the Tor and Abbey have yielded 5th-/6th-century Mediterranean *pottery suggesting earlier origins. SCT

L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (1996).

P. Rahtz, *Glastonbury* (1993).

globe cruciger and globe nicephorus Globe surmounted by a *cross (*cruciger*) or image of *Victory (*nicephorus*), often held by imperial figures on *coinage. RRD

L. Brubaker, in J. R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (1982–9), vol. 5, 564.

globes and spheres The term *sphaera* was used by both *Latin and *Greek authors to denote astronomical models. Celestial globes outnumbered terrestrial into the 15th century. The small, bronze celestial globe now in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum at Mainz, dated by Künzl on the basis of engraving to AD 150–220, is one of the few extant complete ancient globes. Possibly found in *Anatolia, it was probably intended to be descriptive and decorative rather than accurate in its depiction of constellations. *Claudian (*Carmina Minora*, 51 (68) *In Sphaeram Archimedis*) refers to an astronomical model made by 'an old Syracusan'; Archimedes' sphere was described by earlier writers (Cicero, *Republic*, I, 21–2, also mentioning Aratus). While Claudian may not have seen an Archimedean sphere, his poem suggests contemporaries would have had some familiarity with such models.

In *On the Construction of an Aratean Globe*, addressed to Theodore, *Leontius (7th cent.) stated he made a globe for Elpidius, depicting constellations described in Aratus' *Phaenomena*. He notes that Aratus' poem did not place constellations precisely, but was nonetheless useful. Leontius did not base his globe solely on Aratus; in the text he refers to *Ptolemy's *Mathematical Syntaxis*, and similarly used a deep colour for the surface (cf. *Mathematical Syntaxis*, 8, 3). Leontius' globe could serve as an aid to readers of Aratus' *Phaenomena* (one of the few *Greek poems translated into *Arabic, as well as *Latin), and also for more practical purposes, including *navigation. Ibn al-Salāh (12th cent.) described a Greek celestial globe he had seen; several features of Leontius' globe are found on Islamicate examples. LCT

E. Dekker, *Illustrating the Phaenomena: Celestial Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (2013).

E. Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes: Their History, Construction, and Use* (1985), 12–15.

Gloria in excelsis (Lat. 'Glory [to God] in the highest') Opening of a *hymn of *praise, first recorded as prescribed for morning prayer in the 4th-century *Greek Syrian *church order **Apostolic Constitutions* (VII, 47) and appended to the Psalms in the 5th-century *Bible manuscript Codex Alexandrinus (London, BL Royal ms. 1 D V–VIII). MFC

Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 346–59.

B. Capelle, 'Le Texte du *Gloria in Excelsis*', *RevHistEccl* 44 (1949), 439–57.

gloriosus *See* TITLES OF HONOUR, POST-ROMAN.

Glycerius Western *emperor (473–4). *Comes Domesticorum proclaimed emperor at *Ravenna by *Gundobad in early March 473, Glycerius issued coins at *Milan and Ravenna (*RIC* X 201–3) and a law against simony (Haenel, *CorpLeg* 260). *Arles and Marseilles meanwhile fell under *Gothic control. Glycerius was deposed and made *Bishop of *Salona by *Julius Nepos, who later sought refuge with him (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 241). SAHK

PLRE II, Glycerius.

CAH XIV (2000), 26–7.

MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, 60–1, 272–3.

gnomons and shadow length tables The *gnomon* is an indicator of the passing of time—specifically one which casts a shadow. It is a free-standing instrument, a stick, a pole, an *obelisk, even a person. Once it had been noted that the direction and length of the shadow change during the course of the day and the year in a repeating pattern, gnomons could be used to mark specific points in these periods. Measuring and tabulating the lengths of the shadows cast throughout the day allowed daytime to be known in whatever hour-system was used. Such tables, deriving from the early classical period (5th–4th century BC), were used throughout the Mediterranean world. In the mid-5th century they became enshrined in the *De Re Rustica* of *Palladius and this ensured their survival and use up to at least the 13th century. Shadow lengths were measured literally in

feet on the assumption that a person is approximately six times as tall as his or her foot is long. AJT

O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 3 vols. (1975), 740–6.

gnosticism Generic term in modern scholarship for a diverse set of religious teachings and sects within and on the margins of Christianity in the 2nd to 5th centuries AD. It includes those opposed by heresiologists from Irenaeus onwards as being 'Gnostics' (from Gk. *gnosis*, a higher knowledge, theoretical or mystical). It encompasses also Valentinians, associates and followers of the Christian teacher Valentinus (*c.* AD 140–60 in *Rome), who adapted earlier gnostic mythology to exegesis of the NT and developed an elaborate sacramental system, and Basilides, an Alexandrian teacher with a similar metaphysical system and interest in exegesis together with his followers. Some scholars also treat as gnostics followers of religious movements that shared comparable elements with these groups, such as Hermetists, *Manichaeans, and *Mandaeans.

Discoveries of codices from the 4th century AD containing *Coptic translations of writings composed by these groups (P.Berol. 8502, the *Nag Hammadi Codices, and the Codex Tchacos) have enabled scholars to compare the reports and fragments preserved in the works patristic opponents of gnosticism with versions used in these groups themselves. For example, Irenaeus' summary of a gnostic myth of origins (*Adversus Haereses*, I, 29) belongs to a widely circulated work, the *Apocryphon of John*, for which we have long and short versions. Irenaeus also mentions a *Gospel of Judas* (*Adversus Haereses*, I, 31), which corresponds to the third tractate in *Codex Tchacos*. The Nag Hammadi Codices contain treatises such as *Allogenes* (Nag Hammadi, XI, 3), *Steles Seth* (Nag Hammadi, VII, 5), and *Zostrianus* (Nag Hammadi, VIII, 1), which *Porphyry (*VPlot* 16) mentions being read in the circle of *Plotinus in the mid-3rd century. These writings and others associated with them which identified the enlightened as belonging to the 'immovable race of Seth' suggest that Irenaeus' gnostics are properly referred to as 'Sethians'. PP

CHECL, 20–7 (Norris).

ed. J. Brankaer and H.–G. Bethge (annotated with GT), *Codex Tchacos: Texte und Analysen* (TU 161, 2007).

ed. J. M. Robinson et al. (annotated with ET), *The Coptic Gnostic Library*, 5 vols. (2000).

ET M. Meyer, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures* (2007).

ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau (annotated with FT), *Irenée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies*, I (SC 263–4, 1979); II (SC 293–4, 1982); III (SC 210–11, 1974); IV (SC 100 and 100 bis, 1965); V (SC 152–3, 1969).

B. Aland, *Was ist Gnosis? Studien zum frühen Christentum, zu Marcion und zur kaiserzeitlichen Philosophie* (WUNT 239, 2009).

D. Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (2010).

P. Perkins, 'What is a Gnostic Gospel?', *CBQ* 71 (2009), 104–29.

goats Goats provided *meat and milk, as well as hair fibre and hides. The peoples of Late Antiquity kept numerous varieties of domestic goat (*Capra aegagrus hircus*); large, long-haired animals are depicted on the *mosaics of the Great *Palace of *Constantinople, and *Timotheus of *Gaza (*De Animalibus*, 16) indicates that Angora goats, which produce extremely fine fibres, were raised in *Cappadocia. Goats were ideally suited to marginal land, where they could browse brushy plants and rough herbage. The *Bedouin goat allowed pastoralists to exploit extreme desert environments. MD

Toynbee, *Animals.*

God-fearers (Gk. *phoboumenoi, sebomenoi, theosobeis, metuentes*; Heb. *yirei shamayim*, 'fearers of heaven') Non-Jews, pagan and (eventually) Christian, who dropped in on Jewish community activities, participating in fasts or feasts, co-celebrating the high holidays, and listening to scripture, read aloud in the vernacular. Their arrangements with local *synagogues were voluntary and *ad hoc*, and could run the gamut from occasional presence to substantial *patronage. God-fearers were not 'converts': they continued in their native cults while showing respect, as well, to the god of Israel. Hostile pagan observers fretted that such voluntary Judaizing could lead to conversion (Juvenal, Tacitus), while Christian observers criticized *Jews for not pressuring such pagans to convert (*Commodian, *Cyril of *Alexandria), and *bishops thundered against their own synagogue-going congregants (*John Chrysostom). As attested by the interdictions of church canons, and by the 4th–5th-century *Aphrodisias donor *inscriptions (which list the names of god-fearers separately from those of converts), Gentile god-fearing, both pagan and Christian, continued well into the late Empire. PFr

M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (1974–94).

L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue* (2000).

P. Fredriksen, 'Judaizing the Nations', *NTS* 56 (2010), 232–52.

B. Wander, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten* (1998).

Godigisel King of the *Burgundians, *c.*474–500. Godigisel was son of King Gundioc, and brother to *Gundobad, *Chilperic II, and Godomar. He shared rule with one or more of his brothers, with his centre at Geneva. In 500 he helped the *Franks overthrow Gundobad, and became sole ruler, but Gundobad soon defeated and killed him (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 32–3). EJ

PLRE II, Godigisel 2.

Gododdin and *Y Gododdin* The Gododdin, a North British people made famous by a substantial medieval Welsh poem (*Y Gododdin)* about their forces' annihilation, which makes Edinburgh their stronghold. They are conventionally identified with the *Otadini* of Ptolemy's 2nd-century 'map' of Britain, whose territory apparently lay in present-day north-east England. Neither the poem nor its poet can be assigned secure dates, and the reliability of its evidence about the inferred 6th-century setting is doubtful. JEF

J. T. Koch, *The* Gododdin *of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain* (1997).

ed. A. Woolf, *Beyond the Gododdin: Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales* (2013).

'God of battles' A traditional Roman *pagan could state confidently that the secret of Roman military success was the favour of the gods, sustained by meticulous performance of rites which centuries of repetition had proved were effective (*Symmachus, *Relatio*, III, 9). A Christian *bishop could respond that it was Roman soldiers who won battles, not gods (*Ambrose, *ep*. 18, 30). *Augustine concurred that it was the strength of Romans which had given them their Empire (*City of God*, V, 12–15), as God did not bestow favours in the mechanistic manner assumed by pagans.

Other Christians were keener to see the hand of divine providence directly rewarding those who adopted Christianity. *Constantine I repeatedly ascribed his success to the fact that he was carrying out God's plan (*letters in *Eusebius, *VCon* II, 26–9; IV, 9*)*; *Constantine's Vision of the Cross famously promised victory. *Clovis resolved to seek *baptism after *prayer to Christ secured him victory over the *Alamanni in 496 (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 31). *Oswald secured victory at Hefenfelth in 633 and the kingdom of Northumbria after a vision of S. *Columba and the erection of a *Cross (*Adomnán, *VColumba*, 8–9; *Bede, *HE* III, 2). Similarly, Allah helped the Muslims at the first battle they fought at *Badr (*Qur'ān, 3: 124). Peace came through victory. OPN

Godomar *Burgundian King, 524–34. Son of *Gundobad, he succeeded his brother *Sigismund, whose *death he avenged by killing the *Frankish King *Chlodomer in battle at *Vézeronce. He and his kingdom were overthrown by Chlodomer's brothers, *Childebert I and *Chlothar I. RVD

PLRE II, Godomarus 2.

M. Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie', *Francia* 10 (1982), 618.

Gogo (d. 581) Trusted counsellor of the *Austrasian King *Sigibert I, whose bride, the *Visigothic Princess *Brunhild, he escorted from *Spain to *Metz. He was subsequently tutor (*nutricius*) of the young *Childebert II. Three *letters survive in the collection **Epistulae Austrasicae* written in his own name, demonstrating his mastery of epistolary etiquette and style; a fourth is composed by Gogo as mouthpiece of the king. He also wrote poetry, none of which survives. *Venantius Fortunatus speaks warmly of Gogo's generosity to *exiles like himself, and of the confidence Sigibert placed in him. MJR

PLRE IIIA, Gogo.

PCBE IV/1, Gogo.

B. Dumézil, 'Gogo et ses amis: écriture, échanges et ambitions dans un réseau aristocratique de la fin du VIe siècle', *RH* 309 (2007), 553–93.

Goiswinth Long-lived, politically active *Visigothic queen, wife of *Athanagild (king 551/5–68) and mother to *Brunhild and *Galswintha. She remarried *Leovigild (king 568–86) and became stepmother to *Reccared (king 586–601) and *Hermenigild (*Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen*, VI, 5, 28–9; *John of Biclar, 569; *Gregory of *Tours, *HF* IV, 38; V, 38; IX, 1). A *Homoean ('Arian'), she supported the *persecution of Catholics in 579/80, trying to force *Ingund, Frankish princess and wife of Hermenigild, to convert (*HF* V, 38). Initially favouring the rebellion of Hermenigild (579–84) against Leovigild (John of Biclar, 579), she was reconciled with Reccared in 586 (*HF* IX, 1), but was revealed as a false convert and conspirator against him in 589, and died, possibly by *suicide, that year (John of Biclar, 589). GDB

PLRE IIIA, Goisuintha.

Göktürks *See* TÜRKS, CENTRAL ASIA.

Golan *See* GAULANITIS.

gold (Lat. *aurum*, Gk. *χρύσος*) Gold-*mining is well attested in the Later Roman Empire. Inscribed gold ingots discovered in Romania and produced at *Sirmium, *Niš (Naissus), and *Thessalonica reflect continued gold extraction in the *Balkans (*AE* 1976: 590 AD [AD 379]; *InscrDacRom* 3/4: 320–2 [late 4th cent.]). This is partly corroborated by evidence for gold smelting at Kraku Lu Jordan (mod. Serbia) from the 4th century and textual attestations for gold-mining in *Thrace (*CTh* X, 19, 7 of AD 370/3; and *Ammianus, XXXI, 6, 5–6). Gold was extracted in *Anatolia in the *Dioecesis *Pontica and the Dioecesis *Asiana (*CTh* X, 19, 12), in *Armenia and at Pharangium in the Caucasus (*Socrates, VII, 18: *John Malalas, XVIII, 54; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 15, 18; I, 15, 27; I, 22, 3; I, 22, 18). It was also mined at the 5th-/6th-century mining settlement of Bir Umm Fawakhir in the eastern *Egyptian Desert, where opencast trenches, tunnels, tools, and rotary stone grinders document intensive exploitation.

There is limited evidence for continued gold-mining in Western Europe after the fall of *Rome: *Athalaric intensified gold-mining in 6th-century Bruttium (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 9, 3); coins indicate mining activities in *Visigothic *Spain; under the *Franks gold was mined in the Massif Central and Loire Valley. *Arabic sources and archaeological finds emphasize the production of gold on the *Arabian Peninsula in the Early Islamic period.

A significant amount of the gold produced and imported was used in the monetary system and coined out as **solidi*. In the Late Roman Empire these were rendered to the troops as pay or *donatives and they were the unit of measure in which taxes were collected. The production and distribution of these coins, ingots, *regalia, and ornaments were the responsibility of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. The use of gold for *dress, brooches, *belts, and so forth was almost exclusive to the *emperor and the imperial *court (*CTh* X, 21, 1; *CJust* XI, 9, 2). Churches were embellished with gold objects, *votive *crosses, and *mosaics (e.g. *Eusebius, *VCon* 3, 40; 4, 58). Late Roman Egypt provides evidence for goldsmiths and their activities (e.g. P.Oxy 3120f., 3765, 3791, 3933; *Sammelbuch*, 13882f.).

Despite laws prohibiting its export (*CTh* IX, 23, 1; *CJust* IV, 63, 2), gold ingots, medallions, coins, table wares, etc. from the Later Roman Empire ended up in central and northern Europe as booty, pay, *tribute, or *gifts (e.g. *Gregory of *Tours, *Historia Francorum*, VI, 2). There, deities were depicted in gold (cf. *bracteates); gold *rings were found in 5th-century high-status male burials. Gold *coinage was introduced under the *Sasanians, and *Arab sources describe Persian *carpets of *silk with gold embroidery, thrones, and *crowns made of gold (al-*Tabarī, *Histories*, 5 [tr. C. E. Bosworth], 237 and 385). Gold was used to gild Persian *silver plates. AMH

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Sasanian coinage (N. Schindel).
*RGA*2 XII (1998) *s.v.* Gold, 308–12 (F. Siegemund).
Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA s.v.* 'mining', 579–80 (J. C. Edmonson).
G. E. Heck, 'Gold Mining in Arabia and the Rise of the Islamic State', *JESHO* 42 (1999), 364–95.
D. Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (1998).
C. Meyer, *Bir Umm Fawakhir*, vol. 2: *Report on the 1996–1997 Survey Seasons* (2011).
E. Porada, *Ancient Iran: The Art of Pre-Islamic Times* (1965).

gold glass (*fondi d'oro*) Term applied to roundels with grozed edges (8–11 cm [3–4.5 inches] in diameter), originally belonging to the bases of dishes, which were set in plaster surrounding *loculi* in the *catacombs of *Rome mostly during the 4th century. They are attested also in other parts of the Empire (the *Balkans, and the Rhine and Moselle valleys). *Gold leaf was cut out and applied to the upper surface of a base disc of *glass before this disc was affixed to the bottom of the dish. About 500 specimens survive, variously decorated with pagan deities, secular subjects, male and female *portraits, portraits of couples or *families, biblical subjects, Christ and the saints, and Jewish subjects. The images are often accompanied by *inscriptions offering good wishes and giving names. The vessels were produced in workshops, together with smaller medallions manufactured following the same techniques and applied to bowls, to be given as presents on important occasions such as weddings and religious *festivals. It has been speculated that vessels with gold-glass bases were used at funerary meals, before the *loculus* was closed up, and that the base of the vessel was mortared into the wall in order to identify by name or by religion individual graves. MDN

H. J. Nüsse and A. Karlsen, 'Römische Goldgläser. Alte und neue Ansätze zu Werkstattfragen', *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 83 (2008), 222–56.

gold in coinage The Roman Empire minted *gold throughout Late Antiquity. Starting with *Diocletian the principal gold coin had a weight of 1/60 Roman pounds. *Constantine I in 310 reduced this ratio to 1/72 and it remained unchanged until the 10th century. Modern usage employs the term **solidus* only for coins of the latter weight, but the term was in use already in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict. Other standards such as the half-*solidus* or *semis* were used only for medallions and festive minting.

A submultiple was introduced, probably in 384 by *Magnus Maximus—the **tremissis* (later also *triens*), equivalent to one-third *solidus* and thus to 1/216 pounds. In the 6th century *lightweight *solidi* were minted. Gold coins, which generally had a very high fine content (over 90 per cent), circulated always on the basis of their intrinsic value; they did not have a fixed exchange ratio to divisional coins and were evaluated according to the fluctuating price of gold. FC

F. Carlà, 'Il sistema monetario in età tardoantica: spunti per una revisione', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 53 (2007), 155–218.
F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (2009).
G. Depeyrot, *Les Monnaies d'or de Dioclétien à Constantin I (284–337)* (1995).
G. Depeyrot, *Les Monnaies d'or de Constantin II à Zénon (337–491)* (1996).

Golinduch (d. 13 July 591) Persian Christian saint, converted from *Zoroastrianism by Roman prisoners of war and baptized as Mary after her husband's death. She was imprisoned and tortured, but was released miraculously and crossed the *frontier into Roman

territory, where she was acclaimed as a 'living *martyr' (*Evagrius, *HE* VI, 20) and met both Domitian, *Bishop of *Melitene and emissary of the *Emperor *Maurice, and the exiled *Khosrow II, whose restoration she is said to have prophesied (*John of Nikiu, 96, 14 and *Theophylact Simocatta, V, 12).

A lost *Life* by Stephen, Bishop of *Hierapolis, is probably the basis of the surviving *Georgian *Life* and of a panegyrical *Life* by *Eustratius (*BHG* 700–1, *CPG* 7521), a native of Melitene and biographer of Eutychius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople. OPN

EncIran XI/1 (2001) *s.n.* Golinduch, 95–6 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 174.
Eustratius, *Vita* (*BHG* 700–1), ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, IV, 149–74; V, 392–5.
Georgian *Life*: ed. G. Garitte (with LT), *AnBoll* 74 (1956), 405–40.
P. Peeters, 'Sainte Golinduch, martyre perse', *AnBoll* 62 (1944), 74–125.

Gommern Richly outfitted man's grave in Saxony Anhalt, Germany, of about AD 300. It contained a set of special personal ornaments, including a *gold neck-ring, two gold *fibulae, and *silver spurs, several weapons, and also an elaborate set of feasting vessels, including silver vessels imported from the Roman world, as well as a tripod and a couch. A Roman gold *coin was also in the burial. Unique is the silver-rimmed shield, with an ornate boss transformed by a local silversmith from a decorated silver bowl of Roman origin. PSW

M. Becker, *Das Fürstengrab von Gommern*, 2 vols. (2010).

Gondeshapur *Sasanian *city in *Khuzestan, 10 km (6 miles) south of Dezful, refounded by *Shapur I after his second capture of *Antioch on the Orontes in 260. Called in Shapur I's *inscription, the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ* 46), 'Better (is the) Antioch of Shapur' (MP *Weh-Andiōg-Šābuhr), the city was also known simply as the military camp (*gund*), after the Parthian military installation that preceded it. According to *Arabic sources (al-*Mas'ūdī, *Hamza al-Isfahani) the refounded city was a Sasanian royal winter residence until midway through *Shapur II's reign (309–79).

The site, now destroyed by agricultural activity, measured *c.*3 × 2 km (1.8 × 1.2 miles) and exhibited a clear Hippodamian grid plan from the air even in the mid-20th century. *Bar 'Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus) says that Shapur I installed his Roman wife, a daughter of the Emperor *Aurelian, there, as well as Greek physicians who founded a medical academy. *Mani met his death there in 276. The city, known in *Syriac sources as Beth Lapat, became the capital of the ecclesiastical province of Beth Khuzaye in 410. At a church *council held at Beth Lapat in 484, the *Church of the East adopted the Christology of *Nestorius and disavowed clerical celibacy. In the upheaval following the *Arab conquest, the *bishop issued an ecclesiastical *coinage. DTP

EncIran XI/2 (2002) *s.n.* Gondēšāpur, 131–5 (A. Sh. Shahbazi, L. Richter-Bernburg).
ed. P. Huyse (with GT), *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šabuhrs I. an der Kaba-i Zardust (ŠKZ)*, 2 vols. (*CII* III 1, 1999), 59.
D. T. Potts, 'Gundešapur and the "Gondeisos"', *IrAnt* 24 (1989), 323–35.
D. T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam* (2015), 415–16.

Good Shepherd Representations of a man carrying a *sheep on his shoulders have a long tradition in Graeco-Roman imagery from the 6th century BC onwards. This neutral motif was adopted in Christian funerary contexts from the late 3rd century onwards, and remained popular in Christian art, as for instance in one of the *Cleveland Marbles. The shepherd is often considered to represent Christ (John 10:11–17; Luke 15:4–7), as in the early 5th-century lunette of the *Galla Placidia Mausoleum at *Ravenna, and is a familiar figure in Christian thought, as in the *pastoral scene evoked as the culmination of *Augustine and Monica's Vision at *Ostia (*Confessions*, IX, 10, 24). UG

W. N. Schumacher, *Hirt und 'Guter Hirt'. Studien zum Hirtenbild in d. röm. Kunst vom 2. bis zum Anfang d. 4. Jh. unter bes. Berücks. d. Mosaiken in d. Südhalle von Aquileja* (Römische Quartalschrift Supplementheft 34, 1977).

Gorgan (Gurgan) Province of the *Persian Empire, located south-east of the Caspian Sea, between Mazandaran and *Khorasan, largely coterminous with ancient Hyrcania. *Tabari reports its conquest by *Ardashir I and the region figured prominently in the *Sasanian wars with the Kushans, *Hephthalites, *Kidarites, and *Chionites. The Gorgan *Wall, thought to have been built by *Peroz I (459–84), ran for over 195 km (121 miles) from Gomishan near the Caspian eastwards across Gorgan. Punctuated by forts, it was meant to secure northern Iran from Hephthalite attacks. DTP

EncIran XI/2 (2002) *s.n.* Gorgān 148–53: iv Archaeology (M. Y. Kiani) and v Pre-Islamic History (A. D. H. Bivar).
J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac i* (1901).
E. Sauer, *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity* (2013).

Gorgan, Wall of *See* WALLS, DEFENSIVE, PERSIAN.

Gortyn (Gortys, *Crete) Extensively excavated *city, and capital of the *province of Crete from the 4th century, seriously damaged by *earthquakes in 365, 618/21, 666/70, and 718.

The Roman gymnasium, with associated stadium, *baths, and public lavatories, was augmented by a civil *basilica after 365, at which time the contiguous

*temple of the *imperial cult was also apparently remodelled. The basilica was rebuilt under *Heraclius, but in the late 7th century *houses and oil-*presses occupied the area till the late 8th century. The Roman *aqueduct was out of use by the 5th century.

Philip, *Bishop of Gortyn in the late 2nd century, received a *letter from Dionysius of *Corinth (*Eusebius, *HE* IV, 25). Eight Early Christian churches are known from Gortyn and its bishop was *metropolitan of Crete.

South of the city, at Mitropoli, was an unusual *triconch church, probably a *martyrium of 5th-century origin. West of the theatre, in archaeological Sector M, was a five-aisled basilica, probably the cathedral; its 4th/6th-century phase was rebuilt in 620/1 with polychrome *mosaic floors after seismic damage, and destroyed in the late 7th-century earthquake.

A defensive wall at least 1.8 m (6 feet) thick around the Acropolis dates from the 7th century, and the first *Arab raid on the island occurred in 671. PA; OPN

R. J. Sweetman, *The Mosaics of Roman Crete: Art, Archaeology and Social Change* (2013), 198–200, 221–5, 295–8.

Gothic War *See* BYZANTINE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF ITALY.

Goths A Germanic *tribe whose name means 'the people', first attested immediately south of the Baltic Sea in the first two centuries AD. At that point the Goths were reportedly a subgroup of the broader *Vandalic confederation, and were ruled by unusually powerful kings. By the later 3rd and 4th centuries the label was attached to populations by then established much further south and east, immediately north of the Black Sea. By then (if not before), the Goths had ceased to be a unified political entity; separate confederations of Gothic subgroups such as the *Tervingi and *Greuthungi are explicitly documented, and several more existed besides.

The rise of *Hunnic power fragmented the Goths still further. Several different Gothic groups made their way onto Roman soil. The largest, in 376, was formed of separate groups of Tervingi and Greuthungi; a further group in 405/6 was under the leadership of *Radagausius. Others followed; the Thracian Goths from the 420s onwards, and then, as the Hunnic Empire collapsed, the Pannonian Goths in 473, led by the *Amali dynasty.

A process of political rearrangement then occurred as these groups (and other recruits besides) looked first to survive in the face of Roman imperial power and then to profit from its collapse. From this emerged two new, unprecedentedly large Gothic confederations, the *Visigoths and *Ostrogoths, responsible in the later 5th century for important *successor states to the Western Roman Empire. At the same time, other, smaller Gothic groups continued to live north of the Black Sea in the *Crimea and beside the Sea of Azov. PHe

Wolfram, *Goths.*
P. J. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).
Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*.

Gourdon Treasure A *gold *hoard unearthed in 1845 near Gourdon (Saône-et-Loire, France). It included a chalice and rectangular paten, the latter decorated in *cloisonné style (both now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris). The most recent of the associated gold coins (now dispersed) was apparently from around 524, so the hoard may have been buried when the *Franks attacked *Burgundy in that year. EJ

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Gourdon, XII (1998), 486 (H. Steuer).

Gourgenes (Guaranes) (571–84) *Erismtavari of *Iberia. He led Georgian armies in a successful anti-Persian rebellion initiated by the *Armenians in *c.*570. Gourgenes is associated with the restoration of political autonomy and creation of the office of Erismtavari in Iberia. NA

C. Toumanoff, 'Iberia on the Eve of the Bagratid Rule', *Le Muséon* 65 (1952).

gout (*podagra*) Long identified as a disease of the indulgent wealthy, gout was probably widespread in Late Antiquity. It is often mentioned in literature and in *miracle collections (such as *Sophronius' *Miracles of* Ss. *Cyrus and John). The disease is commonly discussed by such medical authors as Caelius *Aurelianus (*On Chronic Diseases*, V, 38–48); the treatment was drastic (based on a severe diet, purges, and sometimes cauterization) and often ineffective. Cures were also sought from healing shrines. A specific treatise devoted to gout circulated in *Latin under the name of *Alexander of *Tralles—in fact, it is an excerpt of the main Latin tradition of Alexander, which was widely diffused in the Latin West. This text is the first to mention the autumn crocus (source of colchicine) as a purgative for gout sufferers. CP

D. Gourevitch, *Le Triangle hippocratique dans le monde gréco-romain* (1984).
P. Hassmann, *Zur Medizingeschichte und Sozialpathologie der Gicht* (med. diss. Düsseldorf, 1969).

governor, provincial Roman official sent to govern a *province for a term averaging from one to three years. A governorship was obtained either by going through an established set of public offices, or appointment by the *emperor or *Praefectus Praetorio. In the Later Roman Empire, a governorship was commonly undertaken early in a man's career; in earlier times, governorships were mostly held towards the end of a public career.

By the early 5th century, according to the **Notitia Dignitatum*, there were 116 governors entitled *Praeses, *Corrector, *Consularis, or *Proconsul. A proconsul ranked as *spectabilis*, other governors had the *title *clarissimus*. Governors were diverse in rank and title, so should not be considered a uniform group.

Structural changes to provincial *administration in Late Antiquity caused changes to the function and position of governors. With minor exceptions (*Mauretania Caesariensis), the military authority of earlier governors was transferred to the *Dux, a military official, who exercised military command over the territory of several provinces at a time. Governors thus became purely civil officials with administrative and financial duties, even though officially considered part of the *militia. Much of a governor's work was judicial—governors were often referred to loosely as *judex*. Furthermore, the grouping of provinces into **dioeceses* under the *Tetrarchy made governors subject to the *Vicarius of the *dioeceses* (in *Oriens, the *Comes Orientis), though the three governors with the title of Proconsul, of *Africa, *Asia, and *Achaea, outranked a Vicarius in formal precedence. With the development of regional prefectures under *Constantine I, both governors and Vicarii answered to the *Praefectus Praetorio. DSl

Jones, *LRE* 373–410.

Brown, *Power and Persuasion*.

Antiquité Tardive 6 (1998): *Les gouverneurs de province dans l'antiquité tardive*, in particular C. Roueché, 'The Functions of the Governor in Late Antiquity: Some Observations', *AntTard* 6 (1998), 31–6.

D. Slootjes, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (2006).

governors' residences *Governors were appointed to *provinces for relatively limited periods of a year or two. An official residence was therefore a necessity. These were public property (*CTh* XV, 1, 8 = *CJust* VIII, 11, 4 of 362), and might be used by lesser officials if the governor was not in residence (*CTh* VII, 8, 6 of 400), but it was the responsibility of the governor to maintain the residence (*CTh* I, 22, 4 of 383 and *CTh* XV, 1, 35 of 396).

At *Gortyn, the metropolis of *Crete, the Roman governor's residence, standing at the crossroads at the centre of the city, continued to be used into the 7th century and was rebuilt several times, in particular in 381–3 following the *earthquake of 365. An *inscription of June 382 from the building records the gratitude of the provincial **conventus* for *grain and money donated for the public benefit by the *emperors (*InscrCret* IV, 285; *LSA* 771), the *Consularis Asclepiodotus erected a gallery of statues of emperors and *senators (*LSA* 856–8 and 860–1), and by the entrance further inscriptions were set up 'at the portal of Justice' (*InscrCret* IV, 325 of 412/41; cf. IV, 313 of 382/3, and IV, 323 of 300/65).

At Caesarea of *Palestine, Roman governors used the Promontory Palace, the former Palace of Herod, into the 6th century; a new hot room was supplied for its *baths under the *Tetrarchy and the most recent coins recovered date from 527/38. In the later 6th and 7th century, governors occupied a residence on the site of the former house of the imperial procurator, where there are fine 6th-century *mosaics, though this was not the grandest of the houses in this smart area of the city. The residence was used by the Persian *Marzban following the *Persian invasion of the early 7th century, but by 650, following the *Arab invasion, it was the site of *gardens, rich in organic material.

The design of these residences is similar to that of many other large *houses of the Later Roman Empire, in particular in having at their heart a large apsed audience hall preceded by a courtyard. This similarity has led to other large houses, such as the so-called 'House of the *Dux' at *Apollonia in Libya, the supposed governor's residence at *Ephesus, and the supposed governor's or *bishop's palace at *Aphrodisias being identified as official residences purely because their layout is similar. As early as the 1st century *Vitruvius had said that men of rank need a *basilica at home 'to be compared in magnificence to public edifices' for conducting councils, private trials, and arbitrations (VI, 5, 2); in the 5th century *Olympiodorus observed that private houses at *Rome were the size of a medium-sized city (fr. 41); and the *acclamation of the **Theodosian Code* by the *Senate took place in a senatorial *house. The function of such buildings as the 'Palais de la Trouille' at *Arles or the grand 4th-century hall of S. Pierre-aux-Nonnains at *Metz, turned into a church in the 7th century, is therefore problematic. OPN

L. Lavan, 'The Residences of Late Antique Governors: A Gazetteer', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 135–64.

L. Lavan, 'The Praetoria of Civil Governors in Late Antiquity', in L. Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism* (JRA Suppl. 42, 2001), 39–56.

B. Burrell, 'Palace to Praetorium: The Romanization of Caesarea', in A. Raban and K. G. Holum, eds., *Caesarea Maritima: Retrospective after Two Millennia* (1996), 228–47.

M. Heijmans, Le "Palais de la Trouille" à Arles: palais impérial ou palais du préfet?', *AntTard* 6 (1998), 209–31.

Grado Island *city off the coast of north-east *Italy, founded by the Romans as a port for its neighbour *Aquileia. The core of the city was a fortified military encampment (*castrum*), probably built in the 4th century AD and greatly expanded in the 5th century, the walls of which are still visible. Grado was a place of refuge for Nicetas, *Bishop of Aquileia, who fled there

briefly during the destruction of the city by the armies of *Attila in 452. After Paul, Bishop of Aquileia (557–69), fled to Grado in 568 to escape the invading *Lombards, the city became the official seat of the Bishop of Aquileia (*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, II, 10). Its bishops sided with *Rome against *Constantinople and *Ravenna in the *Three Chapters Controversy until their reconciliation in 606. Aquileia eventually formed an independent patriarchate under Lombard control, to compete with the patriarchate in Grado, which was controlled by the church of *Ravenna.

The first extant Christian buildings in the city were constructed within the *castrum* in the 4th century, including the initial phase of the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie. In the late 4th and 5th century, the inhabitants renovated S. Maria delle Grazie, subdividing the single nave into three naves, and built a *basilica with an associated *baptistery at the Piazza della Vittoria (Piazza della Corte). Also in the 5th century, a small funerary chapel (later S. Eufemia) was built in which a converted Jew named Peter (Petrus) was buried (*CIJ* I, 643a); this building was replaced by a larger basilica with an octagonal baptistery after 452.

The city experienced an architectural boom after 568. Bishop Elias (571–86) expanded the 5th-century basilica and reconsecrated it as the cathedral of S. Eufemia in 579. This church had three annexes, including a small *triconch chapel, possibly a *martyrium, and an apsidal room, possibly the funerary chapel of Elias. The civilian, military, and clerical notables of the city decorated the church with a series of floor *mosaics, which featured *inscriptions in *Latin and *Greek commemorating the names of the donors. Elias inscribed his own name in the main dedicatory inscription in the central nave (*CIL* V, 149). Elias or his successor also oversaw the renovations of the other churches of the city, including S. Maria della Grazie, which was redecorated with floor mosaics, *opus sectile paving, *stucco, and a *marble chancel barrier. SVL

G. Bovini, *Grado paleocristiana* (1973).
G. Brusin and P. L. Zovatto, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado* (1957).
J.-P. Caillet, 'Valorizzazione dell'epigrafia dedicatoria nel sistema decorativo del pavimenti di Aquileia e Grado', *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 62 (2006), 519–34.
G. Cuscito, *Grado e le sue basiliche paleocristiane* (1979).
B. F. Tamaro et al., *Da Aquileia a Venezia: una mediazione tra l'Europa e l'Oriente dal II secolo a.C. al VI secolo d.C.* (1980).
Grado nella storia e nell'arte: Antichità altoadriatiche 17, 2 vols. (1980).
M. Mirabella Roberti, 'Il mausoleo di Elia nel duomo di Grado', *Antichità altoadriatiche* 6 (1974), 107–17.
A. Tagliaferri, *Le diocesi di Aquileia e Grado* (1981).
S. Tavano, *Grado, guida storica e artistica* (1986).
P. L. Zovatto, *Grado, antichi monumenti* (1971).

graffiti* and *dipinti Texts and images inscribed (*graffiti*) or painted (*dipinti*) on surfaces not originally intended for their display. They were not exclusively illicit or crudely executed. The formulae 'pray for' (Lat. *petite pro*) and 'Lord help' (Gr. *κύριε βοήθει*) are common in Christian *prayers. These frequently invoke saints at their *pilgrimage shrines; a *cross and accompanying prayer to S. John the Evangelist is inscribed at his basilica in *Ephesus. *Apotropaic signs and *inscriptions protected the home by warding off harm and attracting fortune; *curses are also common.

Their ubiquity suggests that basic reading *literacy extended beyond elites; abecedarian *graffiti* indicate the practice of *writing. Their subjects provide varied insights into society and everyday life. *Graffiti* 'seating assignments' in the *Aphrodisias stadium and theatre indicate the composition and arrangement of the audience. *Dipinti* *acclamations on the Golden Gate of *Constantinople (*CIL* III, 7405) name specific *infantry units, providing a record of their movements. A *graffito* at *Dura Europus depicts a charging **clibanarius* and details the armour of *horse and rider. *Graffiti* inscriptions in the porticoes of *Athens and Aphrodisias identify individual merchant stalls. CHT

J. A. Baird and C. Taylor, eds., *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (2011).
B. Goldman, 'Pictorial Graffiti of Dura-Europos', *Parthica* 1 (1999), 19–106.
M. Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen. Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung* (2001).
E. D. Maguire, H. Maguire, and M. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (1989).
Roueché, *ALA*.

grafio *See* COMES, POST-ROMAN.

grain dole *See* FOOD SUPPLY; CONSTANTINOPLE FOOD SUPPLY OF; ROME, FOOD SUPPLY OF.

grain fleet The state ensured the provision of *grain for the inhabitants of *Rome and *Constantinople. The Roman system was in place as early as the 1st century BC while that of *Constantinople was put in place by *Constantine I, when he founded the *city and gradually absorbed the majority of the grain surplus of *Egypt, while Rome survived on grain from *Africa and *Sicily. The Egyptian grain was dispatched to Constantinople in a fleet of 1,200 to 1,800 *ships which made up to three trips a year, between April and October. Each voyage lasted about 25 days and followed so far as possible a coastal route, along *Palestine and *Anatolia. Some large Aegean islands served as intermediate ports, and had *barns and granaries for stocking grain on its way to the capital; *Justinian I built such a depot on *Tenedos (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 1, 7–16).

Grain was transported by the *_navicularii_, private merchants under state contract. The enterprise was subsidized by providing shippers with fiscal exemptions and privileges: timber to build their ships was, at times, procured by the state, *_navicularii_ were exempt from duties on other commodities that they transported, and any accidental damages did not burden the shippers. DSt

J. Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 1990).

M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (2001).

A. E. Müller, 'Getreide für Konstantinopel', *JÖB* 43 (1993), 1–20.

grain production The bulk of the calories (up to 70 per cent) consumed in Late Antiquity came from grain. Cereal grains were easily grown and their yields could be stored for relatively long periods, thereby contributing to the maintenance of sedentary populations, while surplus grain could be transported and stored for use in *cities. The production, transport, and trade of cereals were fundamental to the ancient economy and critical to the maintenance of Late Antique societies. *Egypt and North *Africa were the primary grain-producing areas of the Mediterranean world, while southern *Mesopotamia was the breadbasket of the *Persian Empire.

Medical writers such as *Oribasius (*Medical Collections*, 1, 10), following Galen, classified grains in sympathetic–antithetic terms (e.g. whether they were hot or cold, wet or dry) and assigned medical usage accordingly. The character of grain often matched the consumer, e.g. refined wheat for Roman tastes, coarse barley or millet for barbarians. Grain was thus an important sign of cultural allegiance.

Varieties of wheat (*Triticum spp.*), especially *bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), were the most commonly planted crops and the dominant food staples throughout the Roman and Sasanian Empires. Wheat was prized for the quality of grain it produced as it makes finer and more palatable bread than barley. Roman farmers grew wheat, even when barley, which is often more robust, drought-, and cold-tolerant, was more easily cropped. Barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) was always a close second to wheat in the diet and in the acreage of land devoted to it, but it predominated in poor soils and in many highland regions of Rome and Persia. Barley was mainly consumed as groats and poor-quality, 'dirty' breads or cakes. Barley was the grain most commonly fed to animals; humans who ate it were deemed less civilized as it was associated with poverty and the wild state of those who deliberately adopted an *ascetic life. Both wheat and barley were collected in taxation to feed officials, soldiers, imperial livestock, and—in many Roman cities—the urban *poor. Barley groats and *beer were especially important products among Germanic peoples in the *barbarian *Migration Period, though wheat continued to be preferred in *Anglo-Saxon England.

In areas with about 250 mm (10 inches) or more of annual rainfall, wheat and barley could be dry-farmed. In semi-arid and arid environments, such as Egypt and *Syria, *irrigation was needed to grow cereals. In Persia upwards of half of all grains benefited from *irrigation, using **qanats* and other sophisticated technology. Vast Sasanian projects such as the Šadorvan dam near *Susa led to locally higher yields but proved unsustainable due to soil salinity, and by the *Umayyad and *'Abbasid eras many former wheat lands were cropped with barley. The challenge of controlling weeds and pests and maintaining high fertility levels was considerable, so that yields were low by modern standards; the *Nessana *Papyri (P.Ness. 82) indicate a return of about 8 measures of grain for each measure sown.

Other grains, such as various varieties of millet (mostly members of the subfamily *Panicoideae*), oats (*Avena sativa*), and rice (*Secale cereale*), were of secondary importance in the wider economy but were often regional staples. Cereal cultivation changed gradually in many areas, with the expansion of newer crops such as rice and sorghum in the Mediterranean. In some regions of northern Europe, rye displaced barley as the dominant cereal grain, in part due to its superb cold tolerance. MD

M. Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth* (2009).

H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400–900* (2004).

grammar, Greek Attempts at a scholarly analysis of Greek grammar started in *Greece with the Sophists (notably Chrysippus) in the 5th century BC. Important, if at times fanciful, reflections are found in Plato's dialogues (notably the *Cratylus*), appraising language as an epistemological tool. Aristotle, *On Interpretation*, discusses language and logic. More crucially, works by the Stoics anticipated themes of modern (Saussurean) linguistics.

In the Hellenistic period, sophisticated works of long-lasting impact were produced, especially by Alexandrian grammarians (identifying, among others, the regularity of grammar, by the principle of *analogía*). The *Technē Grammatikē* traditionally attributed to Dionysius Thrax (170–90 BC, although the text is thought to date largely from the 3rd cent. AD), a work largely dedicated to morphology, was widely used and influential in Late Antiquity, as well as in Byzantium and beyond, achieving virtually canonical status. Syntax started to be dealt with extensively by a later towering figure of the Alexandrian circles, Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd cent. AD), whose son Herodian was also a distinguished grammarian. Linguistic scholarship in Rome is

also thought to have been a Greek import, introduced by Crates of Mallus (2nd cent. BC). In the Roman Empire, grammarians were primarily teachers and tendentially archaizers; late grammarians of note, with an increasing prescriptive bent, were Theodosius of *Alexandria (4th–5th cent. AD) and his commentator Choeroboscus (6th or 7th cent. AD). PB

P. H. Matthews, 'The Ancient Grammarians', in A.-F. Christidis, ed., *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (2007), 1193–9.

R. H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics* (1997).

Kaster, *Guardians*.

grammar, Latin The Romans came to study their own language under the impulse of Hellenistic *philosophers, especially the Stoics. Interest in grammatical matters at *Rome is first attested in the works of Lucilius and Accius (2nd cent. BC), but Varro's linguistic thought, most fully accessible in the surviving books of *De Lingua Latina*, is the earliest we can reconstruct in any detail. No complete grammatical work survives from the 1st century AD, but Quintilian gives a detailed sketch (*Institutions*, 1, 4–8) and portions of the influential handbook (*Ars*) of Remmius Palaemon (mid-1st century) are quoted by later authors. From the 2nd century there survive tracts on orthography by Velius Longus and Terentius Scaurus and possibly an abbreviated version of Scaurus' *Ars*: if genuine, this is the earliest *Latin grammatical handbook to survive in anything like its original form, a distinction that otherwise goes to the *Ars* of Sacerdos (probably late 3rd cent.). In the 4th to 6th centuries the grammatical tradition continued along the lines laid down by scholars of the early Empire: refinements in doctrine were offered here and there, but the main conceptual categories remained intact. Specially noteworthy texts from Late Antiquity include *Dositheus' bilingual *Ars*, designed to teach Latin to speakers of *Greek; the two versions of Aelius *Donatus' *Ars* (*minor* and *maior*), which gave Europe its most influential linguistic guide down to the 12th century; the dense compilations of Charisius and Diomedes, who gathered substantial excerpts from earlier treatises and arranged them in 'mosaics' of grammatical lore; and the eighteen-book *Institutio* of *Priscian, the most impressive work of linguistic analysis to survive intact from Latin Antiquity. RAK

Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*

Charisius: ed. K. Barwick, *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis Grammaticae Libri* (1922; ²1964).

Dositheus: ed. (with FT and comm.) G. Bonnet (2005).

Donatus: ed. L. Holtz, in *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle) et édition critique* (1981).

Ars of Scaurus: V. Law, *RhMus* 130 (1987), 67–89; fragments in ed. G. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* (1907).

ed. A. Mazzarino, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta Aetatis Caesareae* (1955).

Kaster, *Guardians.*

grammaticus *Latin term (from Gk. γραμματικός = 'literate/educated', hence 'scholar of literature') denoting the professional teacher of language and literature, especially poetry. 'Grammarian' is a convenient, not an adequate, translation. After their initial appearance at *Rome (late 2nd–early 1st cent. BC), Latin *grammatici* came to serve as instructors of upper-class boys at the first stage of formal education, responsible for teaching correct Latinity by way of the grammatical handbook (*ars grammatica*), for giving line-by-line explication of poetic texts, and (often) for providing preliminary exercises in composition, before their pupils advanced to the *rhetor*. Commonly slaves and freedmen in the earliest period (Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 5–24), *grammatici* in Late Antiquity more often belonged to the respectable classes (**honestiores*), like the children they taught. RAK

Kaster, *Guardians*.

S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (1977), ch. 5, 14–17.

gratia In the Later Roman Empire *gratia* acquired the specific meaning of 'especial favour', particularly favour exercised by officials, judges, or other powerful persons. Such favour might result from the promise or performance of a reciprocal favour, perhaps nothing more sinister than the writing of a *letter of recommendation, and was therefore embedded in the *patronage system. In the **Theodosian Code* it is often stigmatized (e.g. I, 16, 3; I, 28, 2; II, 1, 6; VI, 33, 1), though not always (VI, 4, 22, 6–7; VI, 24, 3). Augustine valued it as the way individuals might be rescued from the horror of a judicial process (*ep.* 153 to Macedonius, *Vicarius Africae, 413/14), following the same train of thought by which he thought of *gratia* theologically as characteristic of God's mercy and grace. AGS

R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (1988).

A. Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian Controversy* (2013).

Gratian (359–83) *Emperor 367–83. Flavius Gratianus was born in *Sirmium in 359 to Marina Severa and the Emperor *Valentinian I. *Ammianus Marcellinus characterizes him as eloquent and restrained, and later bellicose (XXXI, 10, 18–19), though he is not generally viewed as a military man. He served as *consul in 366 (Ammianus, XXVI, 9, 1; Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 266–7), and also received the title Nobilissimus Puer (cf. *AE* 1955, 52). He was only 8 years old when his father miraculously recovered from an illness and, in a bid to establish him as heir, made him *Augustus in

August 367. The rhetorician *Ausonius became his personal teacher, a tutorship which Ausonius reflected on in a poem and some *epigrams. This influenced Gratian towards favouring Gallic aristocrats, especially the family of Ausonius. In 374, he married Constantia, the daughter of *Constantius II.

When Valentinian died in *Brigetio on 17 November 375, Gratian was sole Augustus in the West, though one of Valentinian's generals attempted to put forward the young *Valentinian II. When *Valens, brother and co-emperor of Valentinian I, asked for troops to help against the *Goths in *Thrace, Gratian set out for the East. However, Valens engaged the Goths hastily before Gratian's western troops arrived, and, on 9 August 378, lost the Battle of *Adrianople and was killed. *Theodosius I was called to the East and replaced Valens as Augustus there.

In 381, Gratian moved his principal residence from *Trier to *Milan and increasingly allied himself with *Ambrose, *Bishop of Milan. His Nicene orthodoxy became more obviously expressed. He removed the *Altar of Victory from the *Senate House at *Rome and confiscated *pagan cult endowments, though the story told by *Zosimus (IV, 36) that he rejected the traditional robe belonging to the office of *Pontifex Maximus is severely problematic—not least because there was no robe specific to the office of Pontifex Maximus.

The Empress Constantia died probably early in 383 and Gratian married Laeta, daughter of the *Consularis of *Syria. After the military commander *Magnus Maximus revolted in *Britain and created a rival *court in the West, Gratian travelled to engage the *usurper. His army mutinied and joined Maximus. Gratian was ultimately murdered at *Lyons on 25 August 383.

SEB; OPN

PLRE I, Gratianus 2.
Alan Cameron, 'The Imperial Pontifex', *HarvStClassPhilol* 103 (2007), 341–84.
M. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (2013), 23–134.
McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 79–157.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 526–51.

grave-diggers At *Rome, the *fossores* interred the *dead in the *catacombs. In the East, a mix of clerical, para-clerical, and lay grave-diggers participated in the funerary trade, often termed collectively *copiatae*, *decani*, or *lecticarii*. Many came from civic workshops and some received tax incentives in exchange for their services.

SEB

S. E. Bond, 'Mortuary Workers, the Church, and the Funeral Trade in Late Antiquity', *JLA* 6/1 (2013), 135–51.
É. Rebillard, 'Les Formes de l'assistance funéraire dans l'empire romain et leur évolution dans l'Antiquité tardive', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 269–82.
E. Conde Guerri, *Los 'fossores' de Roma paleocristiana: estudio iconográfico, epigráfico y social* (1979).

Great Chronographer Title a scribe attached to the late 8th-century author of fifteen *chronicle extracts later inserted at two separate points into the 10th-century Vatican manuscript containing the **Chronicon Paschale* (*Cod.Par.Lat 1941*). They cover a range of natural phenomena such as *earthquakes; their content is extracted from *Theophanes, and other unknown complementary sources are also deployed. BC

A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (1882), 38–42 (14 extracts).
L. Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. 1 (CSHB 1832), 694–5 (apparatus, 1 extract).
Michael Whitby, 'The Great Chronographer and Theophanes', *BMGS* 8 (1982), 1–20.
Michael Whitby, 'Theophanes, a Great Chronographer', *Dialogos* 5 (1999), 103–5.

Great Church *See* CONSTANTINOPLE, CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES AT; HOLY WISDOM, CHURCH OF THE.

Greece Modern Greece did not constitute an administrative unity in Late Antiquity. It covers the area occupied by all or parts of the *Verona List *provinces of Rhodope (*Dioecesis *Thraciae), of *Insulae (Dioecesis *Asiana), and of *Macedonia, *Thessalia, *Epirus Vetus, Epirus Nova, *Achaea, and *Crete (*Dioecesis Moesiae—by 380 in the *Dioecesis *Macedoniae). These provinces are therefore listed as under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or*. III), except for Rhodope and Insulae which came under the Praefectus Praetorio of *Oriens. The same provinces are listed by *Hierocles in the 6th century, together with their *cities. The *Theme of *Hellas was created between 687 and 695. Although the Theme of *Thrace (not to be confused with the *Thrakesion Theme) was formed *c.*680, it was initially controlled by the *Comes of the *Opsikion Theme.

Communications and settlement

The principal land route passing from west to east through northern Greece was the *Via Egnatia, running from the Adriatic coast to *Constantinople by way of *Thessalonica and *Philippi. Thessalonica acquired a *circus and an imperial *palace under the *Tetrarchy and was subsequently the residence of the *Praefectus Praetorio of Illyricum. Its *harbour gave inhabitants of Roman territory from as far north as the Danube *frontier access to the Mediterranean, and the number and splendour of such surviving churches as the Acheiropoietos *Basilica

and Hosios *David indicate its prosperity and importance in Late Antiquity, prosperity which made it, from the late 6th century onwards, the object of sieges by *Slavs and *Avars. Philippi also boasted grand buildings, in particular its Basilica A on the Acropolis and the monumental Basilica B (with very grand public conveniences) in the lower part of the city.

The principal north–south *road in Greece ran from Thessalonica through *Larisa, the principal city of *Thessalia, and *Boeotia to *Corinth, *Athens, and the Peloponnese. An east–west road branched off at Larisa through the mountains of central Greece to *Nicopolis in Epirus, and it was here, probably in 397, that the men of Thessaly slaughtered 3,000 of *Alaric's invading *Visigoths (*Socrates, VII, 10) who had passed through *Thermopylae as if on 'a plain flat enough for horses' (*Eunapius, *History*, fr. 64, 2 Blockley = 65 Müller *FHG* cf. *Zosimus, V, 7). A defensive *wall built at Thermopylae in the early 5th century was intended to block the southerly progress of future invaders.

The vigour of seaborne *trade in the 4th and 5th centuries is illustrated by the urban expansion and ambitious church building of such ports as Nicopolis on the west coast, Lechaion on the Corinthian Gulf, *Kenchriae on the Saronic Gulf, and Thebai Phthiotides (*Nea Anchialos) on the east coast. Although it was at *Corinth that the *Proconsul of Achaea resided, the intellectual life of *Athens gave that city and its *schools a reputation for learning equalled only by *Alexandria.

The prosperity of Greece between *c.*300 and *c.*600 AD was not confined to cities, but extended in various ways into the countryside. Archaeological survey in Boeotia has indicated the planting of numerous new settlements in Late Antiquity. Similar rural reinvigoration seems to have occurred in Late Antique Attica, though the evidence is much harder to assemble. In Laconia, the city of *Sparta survived, but extensive survey suggests only sparse settlement in the surrounding countryside. Survey at Akra Sophia near Corinth has detected a luxurious Roman seaside *villa and associated settlements of the 4th to 7th centuries.

Fresh prosperity has been most apparent in a large-scale survey of the southern Argolid. Here a decline in population from the Hellenistic period onwards was decisively reversed in Late Antiquity with the creation of a landscape of small settlements and dispersed *villages. Steeper marginal land was brought into production and coastal sites were left unfortified; the presence of *presses and five coastal *pottery kilns, some of which made *amphorae, suggests that *olives were an important product. This prosperity ceased around 600 and the area seems to have been very thinly populated from the 7th into the 9th century.

Events

The stability of Late Roman Greece was interrupted by episodes of destruction when the Danube *frontier gave way under barbarian pressure. In 267/8 the *Heruli invaded Greece, captured Athens (Zosimus, I, 39, 1), and carried on *naval warfare against the coasts of Thessaly (I, 43). The Athenian historian *Dexippus was involved in leading resistance to them. The walls of *Eleusis were strengthened and Athens acquired its so-called 'post-Herulian' wall, while even Sparta, famed since Antiquity for its lack of walls, acquired a protective *enceinte*. After the death of the *Emperor *Theodosius I in 395, *Alaric the *Visigoth broke loose and ravaged Greece and Epirus for two years, despite two expeditions under *Stilicho which attempted to stop him. By contrast the *Vandal capture of Nicopolis in 474 was a limited attempt to gain leverage in negotiations with a diplomatic mission sent to *Carthage from *Constantinople. In 517 the Getae laid waste to Thessaly and Epirus Vetus (*Marcellinus Comes, *s.a.* 517). The *Hun invasion of 540 plundered Thessaly and, when checked at the Thermopylae Wall, found a way round, as the Persians had in 480 BC, with devastating results for the Peloponnese (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 4, 10).

*Slavs were threatening Thessalonica as early as 550 (Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 11, 3), and in 586 and 597 they and the *Avars mounted sieges, though the city was saved, so its citizens believed, through the protection of their *patron, S. *Demetrius. *John of *Ephesus complains that already in the 580s the 'accursed Slavs' were occupying Roman territory 'as if it belonged to them' and after the siege of 597 they began to settle definitively around Thessalonica. It was these Slavic neighbours who launched a massive attack on Thessalonica on 25 July 677. At the same time Slavs settled further south. The Slavs known as the Belegizites, living in Boeotia, provided *grain for Thessalonica during the 677 siege. The confusing testimony of the so-called **Chronicle of Monemvasia* records that Avars drove the people of *Patras to move to Rhegium in *Calabria, the people of Laconia to establish themselves in *Sicily, the Cornithians to settle on the isle of Aegina, and the people of *Argos to go to the island of *Orovi—though archaeology suggests that Argos continued to thrive into the 680s.

Culture and religion

Literary associations made the history of Greece familiar to every educated Roman. The centrality of *rhetoric to the education system drew teachers and students to Athens, and the study of *philosophy, revived in the late 4th century, continued there until the closure of the Athenian *Academy in 529. The *Neoplatonism of Athenian philosophers was allied with the practice of

the science of *theurgy and resisted any alignment with Christianity, although a Christian writer such as Pseudo-*Dionysius the Areopagite was able to adapt the categories evolved in the metaphysics of *Proclus for Christian use. The robust *paganism of the philosophers contributed to the survival of traditional temples such as the Parthenon, which was not turned into a church until the late 5th century.

Other urban centres such as Thessalonica, Corinth, Philippi, and Nicopolis acquired elaborate church buildings from the late 4th century onwards. Traditional celebrations such as the *Olympic Games and the Pythian Games came to an end around the same time. Some famous pagan shrines acquired churches—around AD 400 at *Epidaurus and in the mid-5th century at *Olympia and also in the 5th century at *Brauron, where the Temple of Artemis had stood empty since the 3rd century BC. However, not many rural churches are known, and it seems that *monasteries did not develop until relatively late in southern Greece. PA; OPN

TIB 1 Hellas und Thessalia (Denkschr. Wien 215; 1976).
CAH XIV (2000), 'The Balkans and Greece 420–602', 701–30 (L.M. Whitby).

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D. P. Drakoulis, *Regional Organization of Settlements in the Eastern Roman Empire during the Early Byzantine Period. I: Thrakike—Illyrikon—Asiane* (2009).
J. L. Bintliff et al., *Testing the Hinterland: The Work of the Boeotia Survey (1989–1991) in the Southern Approaches to the City of Thespiai* (2007).
G. [L.] Fowden, 'City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica', *JHS* 108 (1988), 48–59.
G. [L.] Fowden, 'Late Roman Achaea: Identity and Defence', *JRA* 8 (1995), 550–67.
W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R. W. V. Catling, and G. Shipley, *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey*, 2 vols. (2002).
M. Jameson, T. van Andel, and C. Runnels, *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (1994).
A. Avramea, '*Ανέκδοτα μολυβδόβουλλα από τα νησιά του Αργολικού κόλπου*', *Symmeikta* 10 (1996).
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Curta, *Making of the Slavs*.

CULTURE AND RELIGION

P. Athanassiadi, ed., *Mutations of Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (2015).
Watts, *City and School*.
T. E. Gregory, 'The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay', *AJPhil* 107 (1986), 229–42.

Greece, churches in Despite their people in many cases hearing the Christian message from S. Paul himself, the *cities of Greece continued to be dominated by pagan *temples through the 4th century. Numerous churches were constructed in the 5th century. Their layout and decoration were an idiosyncratic mix of influences from the eastern Mediterranean, mainly from *Constantinople, and north *Italy, especially *Ravenna and *Milan.

Most churches built in Greece between the end of the 4th century and the 6th century took the common form of a simple *basilica, sharing features with churches on the west coast of *Anatolia. But they also demonstrate some particularly Greek features: intercolumnations closed by parapets, a semicircular rather than a polygonal *apse, colonnades surmounted by arches resting on impost blocks, an esonarthex separated from the nave by a triple arch, and small rooms attached to the narthex which functioned as a *diaconicon. Examples have been found at *Brauron, *Delphi, *Dodona, *Nea Anchialos (Thebai Phthiotides), *Nicopolis of *Epirus, Voskokhoria in Thessaly, and *Olympia. Masonry typical of the Greek mainland consisted of mortared rubble interspersed with *brick bands. No distinction can be observed between parish and cemetery churches.

Three of the earliest churches are more elaborate than those which follow the standard simple pattern. They are the church at *Epidaurus of *c.*400, the 5th-century Illissos Basilica just outside the walls of *Athens, and the quatrefoil construction in the centre of Athens, which is closely paralleled by the Church of S. Lawrence in *Milan. In the second half of the 5th century important *cities developed more exotic styles of architecture and built larger churches with galleries, such as the basilica at Sparta or the Lechaion Basilica in the Corinthia. The great cities of northern Greece boasted monumental churches of metropolitan pretensions such as Basilicas A and B at *Philippi and the Acheiropoietos Basilica and the Church of S. *Demetrius at Thessalonica as well as small but elaborately decorated structures, such as the church of the Latomos Monastery at Thessalonica associated with Hosios *David. PA

Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*.
R. F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* (1963).

Greek Anthology A repository of Greek *epigram from the Hellenistic Age to the 10th century. Books 1–15, known as the *Palatine Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.*), reproduce the contents of a 10th-century manuscript: Palatinus Graecus, 23 and Paris Suppl. gr. 384. Book 16, known as the *Planudean Anthology* or *Appendix* (*Anth. Plan.*), is a modern appendix comprising epigrams not found in *Anth. Pal.*, but preserved in Marcianus Graecus 481 (1301) and its apographs. These two witnesses are supplemented by the *Syllogae Minores*.

Our extant Byzantine collections derive from an earlier one, now lost but compiled *c.*900 by Constantine Cephalas, who combined and rearranged several ancient anthologies. His sources are also now lost, but they can be identified and reconstructed with varying degrees of confidence.

Cephalas had access to at least two Late Antique anthologies. One was *Agathias' *Cycle* (perhaps 567/8), containing epigrams by Agathias himself and some of his contemporaries, esp. *Julian the Egyptian, *Leontius Scholasticus, *Macedonius Consul, and *Paul the *Silentiary (for minor contributors see Cameron and Cameron; McCail). The other source for Late Antique material is more difficult to identify. Some have posited a sylloge comprising the *c.*150 epigrams by *Palladas (4th cent.) as well as some other *miscellanea*. There is evidence, however, that Cephalas used a more substantial 4th-century anthology containing, in addition to Palladas, excerpts from Hellenistic and early imperial epigrammatists.

Cephalas anthologized rather little from authors who were certainly active between Palladas and Agathias' *Cycle*. These include occasional epigrams ascribed to *Christodorus, *Claudian, *Cyrus of *Panopolis, Damascius, *Julian (*emperor), *Libanius, *Marinus of *Neapolis, Nilus Scholasticus, *Philostorgius, *Proclus, *Synesius, and *Theon of *Alexandria. However, many anonymous epigrams in his anthology, now in Books 9 and 16, were copies of genuine *inscriptions from the 4th to 6th centuries; these include poems commemorating buildings, political figures, and charioteers.

Anth. Pal. contains many Late Antique epigrams that were not in Cephalas' anthology. Book 1 has a few ascribed to some of the poets listed above, *Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Menander *Protector, and *Sophronius of *Jerusalem, as well as several anonymous Late Antique inscriptions. Chief among the latter is a long epigram on the Church of S. *Polyeuctus in *Constantinople (1, 10). Book 2 contains *ecphrastic epigrams by Christodorus on the *Baths of Zeuxippus. The epigrams of Book 3 concerned with the city of *Cyzicus are perhaps from the 6th century. Book 8 is reserved for Gregory of Nazianzus.

Despite the difficulties it presents to scholars, the *Greek Anthology* is a valuable source for the history and literature of Late Antiquity. KWW

ed. P. Waltz et al. (annotated with FT; 13 vols., Budé, 1928–2011).
ed. W. R. Paton (with ET; LCL, 5 vols., 1916–18).
B. Baldwin, 'Notes on Christian Epigrams in Book One of the Greek Anthology', in P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, eds., *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (1996), 92–104.
Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology: From Meleager to Planudes* (1993).
Averil Cameron and Alan Cameron, 'The *Cycle* of Agathias', *JHS* 86 (1966), 6–25.
A. Gow, *The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions* (1958).
M. Lauxtermann, 'The Palladas Sylloge', *Mnemosyne* 50, 4th series (1997), 329–37.
F. Lenzinger, *Zur griechischen Anthologie* (1965).
F. Maltomini, *Tradizione antologica dell'epigramma greco: le sillogi minori di età bizantina e umanistica* (2008).
R. McCail, 'The *Cycle* of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised', *JHS* 89 (1969), 87–96.

Greek fire Incendiary weapon, probably based on natural petroleum, developed for Byzantium *c.*672 by *Callinicus of *Heliopolis, carried on specialized **dromon* *ships and prepared by heating under pressure. It was projected through siphons or nozzles and could burn on water. Though highly effective, it had limited range and required favourable weather conditions. Greek fire was still used in the 12th century. It is illustrated in the Madrid manuscript of Scylitzes (Codex Scylitzes Matritensis Vitr. 26-2; Bild-Nr. 77, f 34 v. b) and the siphon operators in Vaticanus Graecus 1605, fol. 36. RKL

J. Haldon, '"Greek Fire" Revisited: Recent and Current Research', in Jeffreys, *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization*, 290–325.
Pryor and Jeffreys, *Age of the Dromon.*

Greek language Indo-European language spoken in *Greece since the early 2nd millennium BC. By the Classical period, Greek was also used across the Aegean, as far east as *Cyprus, and in Greek colonies on the fringes of *Italy, *Africa, and *Anatolia. In the Hellenistic era it spread through Persia as far as *India, and later constituted the main language of the Byzantine Empire.

Ancient Greek

Greek is the longest attested among Indo-European languages, and has the least interrupted documentation. It is discernibly related to *Armenian, Italic (including *Latin), Germanic, Slavic, and Indo-Iranian (Sanskrit and Persian). The oldest extant form of Greek, Mycenaean (13th to 11th cent. BC), is in a syllabary; since the 8th century BC (the time of the Homeric texts), Greek has been written in a distinctive alphabet.

From the earliest records, Greek shows dialectal divisions, although dialects remained mutually intelligible. By the Classical period, the main dialect groups were: Attic (the variety used in *Athens), Ionic (Asia Minor), Aeolic (Thessaly, Boeotia, Lesbos), Doric (Peloponnese and *Crete), Arcado-Cypriot, and North-West Greek. However, the genre, not the origin of the writer, dictated the choice of dialect in literary writing.

The Attic Greek of the 5th–4th century BC, because of its extensive and outstanding literature and its increasing use in prose outside Attica, is commonly

termed 'Classical Greek', while 'Ancient Greek' covers the whole span from Mycenaean to Hellenistic Greek. The presence of Athenian colonists in many other regions, and the growing cultural, political, and military ascendancy of Athens in the Classical period, gradually gave Attic a privileged position. Attic, however, came to incorporate elements from Ionic, since much of the territory ruled by Athens was Ionic-speaking, and Ionic had long developed a literary form.

In the late 4th century BC, Macedonia took over Greece but embraced its culture and prestigious language (the language of Macedonia was previously different from Ancient Greek as we know it—although unrelated to the Slavic language nowadays often called by the same name). The conquests by Alexander the Great spread Greek extensively: Greek became the language of the many newly founded Greek *cities, despite their multi-ethnic populations. The Greek of this period was a variety based on Attic-Ionic and yet different, usually termed Koiné (lit. 'common'); it was common in that it came to be used, with local variations, for almost all purposes, by Greek speakers (native or not) from the Ionian Sea to the borders of India. It was the standard medium for writing and a necessity for social advancement. Koiné Greek rarely displaced other languages entirely, although it largely supplanted the other dialects in Greece. It is attested in both literary forms (e.g. in Polybius, Plutarch) and, more fully, in informal *inscriptions and *papyri. To this day, Koiné is widely studied on its own because it was in a variety of Koiné that the New Testament was written and the Old Testament was translated (with additional elements from Hebrew and *Aramaic, owing to the Hebrew of the Bible or the background of some of the authors).

However, a forceful revival of Classical Attic began at the end of the 1st century AD. The notion became established that Attic Greek had constituted perfection, and that what had come afterwards was a deterioration that needed to be opposed. This view continued to affect most Greek writing until the late 20th century.

Greek in Late Antiquity

When the multifarious lands that had been ruled by Alexander and his successors came to be governed by the Roman Empire during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, Greek gained rather than lost prestige among Romans. Amongst the (Western) Romans, knowledge of Greek declined steeply only after the 5th century. The Eastern side of the Roman Empire was essentially Greek-speaking; Latin constituted the main source of loanwords—e.g. *hospitium* > Gr. *hospítion* (Modern Greek *spíti* 'house')—but the overall influence of Latin on Greek remained limited.

Greek changed more slowly than Latin. In Late Antiquity, Greek remained, as at the beginning of its history, a language based on a rich system of inflections (variable endings on words), and remains so even today. Nevertheless, it can be inferred that several profound and widespread changes occurred in Greek between the Classical period and Late Antiquity.

Furthermore, in the East Roman world (and even after the fall of *Constantinople) there was sustained inter-ethnic contact and *bilingualism, which resulted in the development of shared features among the languages of the wider *Balkans, in Greek and, to a variable extent, Bulgarian, Romanian/Aroumanian, Serbian, Albanian, Turkish, and Romany.

However, the educated classes (to which many extant Greek authors belonged) in their writing shunned the spoken Greek of their time. The written language in the Late Antique period displays a range of archaizing styles, mostly reproducing strict Attic or literary Koiné, less commonly using an approximation to contemporary speech with added features from the formal language.

As a result, although we have texts from all periods of the history of Greek, the Greek of Late Antiquity is not fully documented. While untutored spoken Greek became increasingly different from Classical Greek, the written language mostly imitated Attic and styles of Koiné. Exceptions before the 11th century were few and somewhat partial, in that they did not accept all features of contemporary Greek. Such texts include the Chronicle of *John Malalas (6th cent.), or the *De Administrando Imperio* by *Constantine Porphyrogenitus (10th cent.). From the 12th century, compositions arguably close to vernacular Greek (mostly poetry, based on oral traditions) became more common, but their vocabulary and morphology present a remarkable multiplicity of forms, and we cannot tell whether the older forms they contain were still used in speech. Classical orthography was generally retained, despite significant shifts in pronunciation.

Greek grammar

Between the Classical and the Late Antique periods, *spoken* Greek underwent profound changes. Some had started very early, especially in Ionic Greek.

Long /e/ (spelt ei) moved towards the sound /i/; by the 1st century BC, /ai/ became /æ/; by the Roman imperial age, diphthongs consisting of long vowels +/i/ lost the /i/, while vowel length distinction faded, and the pitch accent of Ancient Greek became a stress accent. The open sound of the letter η eventually merged with /i/, and the second element in the diphthongs /au/ and /eu/ came to be pronounced as /v/ or /f/. Aspirated plosives and, by the 4th century AD, voiced plosives became fricatives: /p^h/>/f/; /t^h/>/θ/;

/k^{h}/>/x/; /b/>/v/; /d/>/ð/; /g/>/γ/. Initial /h/ faded, and initial unstressed vowels were frequently elided.

The old conjugation of *-mi* verbs was increasingly replaced by the *-ō* type; the perfect and the aorist tense merged, the former being discarded; the optative mood, the future tense, the dual number, and the dative case became obsolete; the second aorist tense forms were replaced with those of the first; the morphologically distinct middle voice of verbs also fell into disuse. Many nouns with unusual declensions were replaced entirely or declined according to more common declensions. The infinitive mostly gave way to finite constructions, and the largely free word order was replaced by Verb-Subject-Object or Subject-Verb-Object. New words, including many adopted from Latin, appeared. PB

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R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (^{2}1983).
A.-F. Christidis, ed., *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (2007).
G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (^{2}2010).
A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* (^{8}1975).
L. R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (1980).

Greek Magical Papyri Modern name for a very heterogeneous group of mostly pagan texts employed to attain a range of instrumental ends by appeal to syncretistic but basically *Egyptian theological and ritual knowledge. Three main groups may be distinguished:

1. edited collections of prescriptions ('formularies'), the most important deriving from a cache buried *c.*350 AD near Karnak-Luxor/*Thebes. The longest text in this cache, with 98 prescriptions, is in Demotic, partly translated back from *Greek;
2. copies of individual prescriptions for exchange among practitioners;
3. 'activated' texts, mainly phylacteries and binding *curses, on precious-metal foil, *papyrus, lead, and other materials.

Examples of group 3 are also found outside Egypt from the 2nd century AD. There is little overlap between the surviving formulary prescriptions and the 'activated' texts, implying the existence of large numbers of production-centres and mainly local circulation. The procedures (Gk. *praxeis*), originally in Egyptian, derive mainly from *temple *libraries; in the Roman period they were adapted into Greek to meet demand from the inhabitants of the Greek-speaking *metropoleis*. The latest pagan texts date from the 6th century; Christian monks adapted the expertise by incorporating biblical material, thus ensuring its appropriation into *Coptic and Byzantine *'magic'. RLG

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Greens *See* FACTIONS.

Gregentius, Life of S. A fictional *Life* included in the dossier of texts relating to S. Gregentius, a 6th-century saint from Lyplianes (mod. Ljubljana, Slovenia). According to the *Life*, Gregentius travelled extensively in the Mediterranean before undertaking missionary activities in *southern *Arabia, where he became Archbishop of Taphar. Although the internal chronology is uncertain, the *Life* assigns Gregentius' mission to Arabia to the reign of *Justin I (518–27). Best described as a 'hagiographical romance' (Sansterre, *Moines*, 1, 133), this complex text comprises two parts. The first (chs. 1 to 8) deals with Gregentius' early life in the *Balkans and his travels to *Sicily, *Italy, and *Egypt. The second (ch. 9) recounts his time in Arabia with more precise chronological and topographical detail. The *Life* was probably produced in *Constantinople in the 10th century, though some have assigned it to 9th-century *Rome. The discrepancy between the vague chronology of the first part and the greater detail of the second can be attributed to the author's use of sources of varying quality. SEI

BHG 705–705d:
ed. (with ET and introd.) A. Berger, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation* (2006).
E. Patlagean, 'Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII–IXe siècles)', *Studi medievali* 3rd series, 5 (1964), 579–602.

Gregorian Code A collection of imperial *rescripts dating from the reigns of Hadrian to the *Tetrarchy. It was first compiled in 291/2, at the *court of *Diocletian or in the West. A second edition, produced at the *court of *Maximin us Daza or in the East, appeared *c.*306. It survives in *Justinian's *Code*, though the extent of any excerpting is unknown. Selections also appear in the *Epitome Codicum Gregoriani et Hermogeniani Wisigothica*. On the seventeen parchment fragments coming all or mostly from the Code which date from *c.*400 and were discovered in 2010, *See* FRAGMENTA LONDINIENSIA ANTEJUSTINIANA.

Gregorius (*fl.* 290s), after whom the Code was named, is otherwise unknown. A speculative career has him serving as *Magister Libellorum, Epistolarum, and Memoriae. SDC

PLRE I, Gregorius I.
HLL 5, 504.
ed. in *FIRA* II, 656–64.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 24–42 and 90.
Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers*, 112–15.

Gregory I, the Great *Bishop of *Rome 590–604. One of the most influential of all popes, and the most prolific Late Antique papal author; styling himself *Servus Servorum Dei*, he embodied the ideal of leadership as service.

Life

Related to two of his predecessors, Felix III (r. 483–92) and *Agapetus (r. 535–6), Gregory belonged to a prominent Roman *aristocratic family. He held high office in the *city, probably as *Praefectus Urbi Romae (*c.*573), but adopted a monastic way of life after the death of his father, Gordianus. He converted the family property on the Caelian Hill into the *monastery of S. Andrew, where he himself resided, and founded six other well-endowed monasteries on family *estates in *Sicily. He was made a *deacon, probably by Pope Benedict I (575–9), and was sent to *Constantinople at the start of the pontificate of *Pelagius I (579–90) as Apocrisiarius, or papal envoy to the imperial *court. There he made influential friends, including the future *Emperor *Maurice (582–602) and *Leander, Bishop of *Seville. He successfully challenged the *Patriarch Eutychius over his views on physical resurrection. On returning to Rome in 586, he advised *Pelagius II on theological questions, attempting to heal the breach with the churches in *Histria which had broken with Rome over the *Three Chapters Controversy, and was elected to succeed him when the pope died of *plague in February 590. He relieved starvation in the city caused by the *epidemic, which persisted into 591, purchasing *grain supplies, and then reorganized the administration of the church estates in southern *Italy, *Africa, and *Provence. Another pressing problem was the threat of *Lombard expansion. The imperial *exarch, resident in *Ravenna, failed to act and Gregory had to appoint his own officers to defend *Naples and Nepi. In summer 592 Ariulf, the new *Dux of *Spoleto, besieged Rome, and was bought off by Gregory with church funds. The following year Gregory negotiated a truce with the Lombard King *Agilulf, who cut the only line of communication between Rome and Ravenna by capturing *Perugia. In 595 Gregory threatened to negotiate a full peace treaty with Agilulf if the exarch continued to procrastinate, resulting in an angry exchange of *letters with the Emperor Maurice. In 596 he sent S. *Augustine (of *Canterbury), the prior of his monastery on the Caelian Hill, with 40 monks to evangelize the *Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent, probably at the request of its King *Ethelbert. The mission, established in Canterbury, extended its work to the kingdoms of the East Saxons and the Northumbrians, and was reinforced by a second party of monks sent by Gregory in 601. He continued to guide its new bishops and the convert kings through a series of letters, many of which were later copied for *Bede (*HE* I, 23–4 and 27–32). In 598 a peace treaty with the Lombards was finally negotiated, with imperial approval, and was instituted the following year, when, however, the plague returned. Gregory's health began to decline in 598, and he was confined to bed for most of his last years, while war with the Lombards resumed between 601 and 603. He died in March 604. His life was written by a monk of *Whitby and by *Paul the Deacon, and is summarized by Bede (*HE* II, 1) and in the **Liber Pontificalis* (66).

Writings

Gregory's most substantial work, his *Moralia* on the Book of Job, dedicated to *Leander of Seville, began as a series of exegetical *sermons to the monks who had accompanied him to Constantinople in 579. He completed the written version in 595. Most of his other compositions belong to the opening years of his reign, his *Pastoral Rule* being the earliest. This was a rule or guide for *rectores*, or those entrusted with pastoral authority in the Church. It became one of his most influential works, especially in the Carolingian period, when it was treated as a manual for bishops. While the *Moralia* was Gregory's only exercise in commenting on an entire book of the *Bible, he delivered exegetical homilies on extracts from others; notably the Gospels (590/1) and the Book of Ezekiel (593). There are two such homilies on the Song of Songs, perhaps intended to be part of a longer collection, but the Commentary on the First Book of Kings, long thought to be by Gregory, has recently been proved to be an Italian work of the 12th century. Gregory's exegetical writing drew heavily on the works of his predecessors, notably *Augustine and *Jerome, but he developed his own approach to commenting on biblical texts, expounding in turn the historical or literal, *allegorical, and spiritual significance of each passage he discussed. His best-known and most widely disseminated work, the *Dialogues* (593), is his only non-exegetical composition and consists of stories of the lives and miraculous deeds of a series of largely Italian *holy men, delivered in the form of a conversation between Gregory himself and a *deacon named Peter. The second book is notable for its extensive account of the life of S. *Benedict, and is the fullest source for this subject. As pope, Gregory was

responsible for the production of numerous letters, some administrative or diplomatic, and some pastoral, entered into annually structured *papyrus rolls, all of which have perished. However, 850 of his letters have survived thanks to copies made in the 8th century. JM

PLRE III, Gregorius 5.

PCBE II/1, Gregorius 9.

Vita: (*BHL* 3637; *CPL* 1722): ed. B. Colgrave (annotated with ET), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (1968).

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ed. M. Adriaen (CCSL 143, 143A, 143B, 1979–85).

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Pastoral Rule (*CPL* 1712):

ed. B. Judic (with FT), 2 vols. (SC 381, 382, 1992).

ET (annotated) H. Davis (ACW 11, 1950).

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Gregory II *Bishop of *Rome, 715–31. The first pope to come from an Italian background in the 8th century, Gregory's pontificate marks a point at which the papacy both negotiated a tricky peace with *Liutprand, King of the *Lombards (712–44), and also opposed the *iconoclast policies of the *Emperor *Leo III (717–41). Gregory sponsored S. *Boniface's (Wynfrith) (680–754) missionary activities in Germanic lands. His life is summarized in **Liber Pontificalis*, 91. CTH

PBE, Gregorios 72.

Gregory III *Bishop of *Rome, 731–41. During Gregory's reign, papal independence from the *Emperor *Leo III in *Constantinople proceeded to crystallize. Gregory opposed Leo's *iconoclast policies vigorously. At the same time Gregory was unable to prevent hegemonic control of *Italy by the *Lombard King *Liutprand; Gregory's appeals to the *Frank *Charles Martel fell on deaf ears. His life is summarized in **Liber Pontificalis*, 92. CTH

PBE, Gregorios 7.

Gregory of Antioch *Patriarch of *Antioch (570–93). A former monk and zealous Chalcedonian, Gregory played an active role in military affairs in the East, defusing an *army mutiny in 589 and enjoying close relations with the *Emperor *Maurice. GBG

A. D. Lee 'Episcopal Power and Perils in the Late-Sixth Century: The Case of Gregory of Antioch', in J. Drinkwater and B. Salway, eds., *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected* (*BICS* supplement 91, 2007), 99–106.

Gregory of Langres (450/1–539/40) *Bishop of Langres 507/8–39/40, and previously *Comes of *Autun for 40 years. His great-grandson *Gregory of *Tours wrote his *Vita* (*Lives of the Fathers*, 7: *BHL* 3665), which presents him as an active bishop and *miracle worker. His preferred residence was Dijon, where he was buried. EJ

PCBE IV/1, Gregorius 1.

Gregory of Nazianzus (Gregory Nazianzen) (*c.*329–*c.*390) *Bishop of *Constantinople (379–81) and one of the 'Cappadocian Fathers', titled 'the Theologian' by the *Council of *Chalcedon for the sublimity of his five Theological Orations (*Orations* 27–31) delivered in Constantinople in 380.

Life

Born into a landholding family near Arianzus/Tiberene in south-west *Cappadocia, Gregory was the heir of fervent Christian domestic piety and a local *aristocracy. His father, Gregory the Elder, was a prominent *city councillor (*curialis*) of Nazianzus. His devout mother, Nonna, won over her husband from the sect of the *Hypsistarii to Christianity in 325. Around 328 the elder Gregory was elected *Bishop of Nazianzus, 13 km (8 miles) north of the family *estate. Three children were born to Nonna and Gregory: Gorgonia, Gregory, and Caesarius. Gregory has left eulogies of his mother and two siblings.

Gregory received the highest Hellenic education, first in the provincial capital, *Caesarea of Cappadocia, around 345, and eventually in *Athens, where he remained for almost a decade in the 350s and cultivated

a friendship with his fellow student and Cappadocian *Basil of Caesarea. He meanwhile studied in *Caesarea of *Palestine and in *Alexandria. Returning home in 357 he was torn between the desire to retire with Basil to the ascetic life and a sense of duty to his father. He spent much of 358–9 in a retreat by the River Iris, composing along with Basil an anthology of *Origen (*Philocalia*) and aiding him in the *Moralia.*

Of a more diffident and vulnerable personality than Basil, Gregory often wavered between unwillingly yielding to others' wishes and then reacting with flight, a strange mixture of compliance and resistance. Thus he fled to stay with Basil in Pontus after his father ordained him a *priest in 362 against his wishes, and then again, ten years later, he so resented Basil's ordaining him a bishop of the insignificant *Sasima (a ploy against Anthimus of *Tyana) that he ignored the place and became estranged from Basil. In 370 he had resolutely resisted all blandishments to attend Basil's election as *Metropolitan of Caesarea, though his own father had made the journey in old age. From 372 Gregory assisted his father at Nazianzus, and, after his death in 374, administered the *diocese for a year. Thereupon he retired to a *monastery in *Seleucia ad Calycadnum of *Isauria, where he prayed and studied issues in Trinitarian theology.

During the late 360s Gregory had helped Basil advance the theology of the *Council of *Nicaea in Caesarea, and through the 370s he maintained contacts with the neo-Nicene circle. Several *letters to *Eusebius of *Samosata survive, whom he addresses as 'Abraham-like father'. We know that Gregory and *Gregory of *Nyssa exchanged many letters over the years, of which only a token number survives. His Christological letters (*ep.* 101–2, 202) were of such importance for their arguments against the doctrines promoted by *Apollinarius of *Laodicea that they circulated in a separate manuscript tradition and became patristic proof-texts in the 5th century. Gregory foreshadowed the decisions later reached at the Council of *Chalcedon, insisting on the full divinity of the incarnate Logos, and a full humanity in all its operations, especially a fully human soul. As to the unity of the person of Christ, Gregory believed that an acknowledgement of *Mary's title as *Theotokos was the touchstone of accurate and saving faith.

Gregory's monastic peace in the mid-370s was soon disturbed again, and this time he rose magnificently to the challenge, occupying a place at the hub of ecclesiastical affairs from 379 to 381. After the death of the *Emperor *Valens in 378, the remnant Nicene flock in Constantinople sent him a pressing invitation to come to their help. Gregory served as the preacher for the small Nicene congregation there, and in 381, with the *acclamation of bishops and the approval of the staunchly Nicene emperor, *Theodosius I, he was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople. The Council of *Constantinople convening in May 381 at first ratified Gregory's position. However, the Egyptian and Macedonian contingent arrived late to the Council and objected, alleging canonical irregularity since Gregory had already been consecrated to another see (namely Sasima). Appalled at the political chicanery, Gregory promptly resigned. His farewell address is preserved as *Oration* 42. Gregory returned to Cappadocia and administered Nazianzus until 384. He then retired to his small estate at Arianzus, where he spent his few remaining years in *prayer and literary activity. He died *c.*390.

Writings

Gregory's orations are his most important works, showing him to be an extraordinary communicator of ideas. The majority of his 44 extant discourses were originally preached at services and *festivals. During his time in Constantinople he preached a body of Five Theological Orations (*Orations* 27–31) which revived the Nicene cause in the imperial capital and gained him lasting renown. On the doctrine of the Trinity Gregory lavished the fruits of years of prayer, and all the resources of his rhetorical skill. He elucidated the 'relations of origin' in the Trinity as definitive of the three *hypostases* (persons) of God, and on this basis he advanced a doctrine of the Holy Spirit in *Oration* 31, which focused on the notion that the Spirit 'proceeds' from the Father, as distinct from the Son who is 'begotten'. He went beyond Basil's formulae by speaking of the Spirit as 'consubstantial' with the Father. His doctrine of salvation championed the notion of *theosis*, the view that the Son became human so that humans could become divine.

Other important orations represent different subgenres. They include his apologetic *sermon following his reluctant ordination as priest (*Oration* 2), two *invectives against the Emperor *Julian the Apostate (*Orations* 4 and 5), and several eulogies for members of his family. An extraordinary ethical treatise, *Oration* 14, *On the Love of the Poor*, calls for generosity toward the *poor and also identifies the destitute poor with the divine nature and body of Christ. *Oration* 43, Gregory's *funeral oration for Basil, is often considered the best such composition since Demosthenes. It was first preached as a eulogy at Basil's *tomb and later edited and expanded as a masterful biography.

Gregory also wrote more than 17,000 verses, infusing Greek poetry with Christian content. In his final retirement he worked through the dilemmas of his life and his sensitive personality in the medium of poetry, notably *On his Own Life* and *On his Own Affairs*. His autobiographical poems are his greatest achievements in verse, but he also composed many *epitaphs and hundreds of *epigrams that form Book VIII of the

Greek Anthology. His orations and poems provided a platform for intense personal reflections as well as some of his harshest criticism of the ecclesiastical establishment. These works reached beyond the pulpit and the local context. In fact, Gregory's works became the acme of poetic and rhetorical style in the Byzantine centuries. They not only attracted scholia and commentaries but were soon translated into *Latin, *Syriac, *Armenian, and later into Slavic languages.

His correspondence reached a wide audience as well. Gregory was apparently the first Greek Christian writer to make a collection of his own letters, of which nearly 250 survive. He included letters to Basil emphasizing their close, albeit complex, relationship and signalling his resonance with his friend's spiritual ideals. His letters are notable for their brevity, concision, wit, and charm. In his letter to Nicobulus (*ep*. 51) Gregory offered advice on letter writing, emphasizing grace and style as well as comprehensibility. The letter collection was published as a schoolbook, and Gregory's subsequent fame is due in part to the use of his writings in the Byzantine curriculum. He was one of the most studied and commented upon of all Greek authors and the most frequently cited after the *Bible in Byzantine ecclesiastical literature. AMS; ALS

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Gregory of Nyssa (331/340–*c*.395) Theologian and *Bishop of *Nyssa of *Cappadocia (372–6 and 378–*c*.395). Gregory, his elder brother *Basil (329/30–79), Bishop of *Caesarea of Cappadocia, and *Gregory of *Nazianzus (329–90) are known as the Cappadocian Fathers. They formulated the neo-Nicene Orthodoxy that prevailed against the *Eunomians at the First *Council of *Constantinople in 381, formally ending the '*Arian' Controversy. Gregory also wrote influential works in monastic and mystical theology.

Life

Gregory and Basil came from a Christian *family who had served as *city councillors in *Neocaesarea of *Pontus. Their paternal grandparents spent the Great *Persecution as refugees in the wooded fastnesses of the Pontic Alps (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration*, 43). Their grandmother passed on the teaching she had heard from *Origen's pupil, S *Gregory the Wonderworker (*Basil, *epp*. 204, 6; 223, 3), of whom Gregory of Nyssa was to write a *Life* (*BHG* 715). The family had a shrine

of the *Forty Martyrs on one of their *estates and it was here that Gregory buried his parents (Gregory of Nyssa, *2nd Homily on the Forty Martyrs*, 8–9; *VMacr* 34).

Unlike Basil, whom their parents sent to *Athens to be trained in *rhetoric, Gregory received no formal schooling. His only education came from his elder sister, *Macrina the Younger, who, after the death of their father, turned the family estate in *Pontus into a monastic community. Largely self-taught, Gregory acquired advanced knowledge of *philosophy and rhetoric and planned to teach rhetoric like his father. In 371, however, Basil, seeking to strengthen the pro-Nicene presence in Cappadocia, consecrated Gregory to the see of Nyssa. After Basil's death in 379, Gregory joined with Gregory of Nazianzus to lead the pro-Nicene cause. Gregory's standing among pro-Nicenes was confirmed when the *Emperor *Theodosius I appointed him to deliver the *funeral oration for Meletius of *Antioch, who died while presiding over the Council of Constantinople in 381.

Theological controversies

The Council of *Nicaea in 325 had sought to resolve disputes about the relationship of the Father and His only-begotten Son. It affirmed the divinity of God the Son by declaring that the Son was of the same being or essence (ὁμοούσιος) and coeternal with the Father. This language was problematic because it failed to express the distinction between Father and Son implicit in the *Bible and because it compromised the uniqueness of the Father. One faction of anti-Nicenes, the Heterousians led by Aetius (*c.*300–370) and his disciple *Eunomius of *Cyzicus (*c.*325–*c.*395), sought to defend the uniqueness of the Father by arguing that the divine essence (i.e. that which makes the Father unique) was that he was 'unbegotten' (ἀγέννητος). Because the Son was begotten by the unbegotten Father, the Son was not of the same essence as the Father. In his *Contra Eunomium* (of 380–3), Gregory of Nyssa countered that because God is infinite the divine nature cannot be comprehended by a finite human intellect, nor could God's essence be reduced to a single attribute or concept such as simplicity, infinity, or immutability. All of these are attributes of the Divine, but none is itself the divine Essence. Therefore, Gregory argued, Eunomius could not claim the Father and the Son are of different essences. This did not mean, however, that God was unknowable and human discourse about God vain. The divine attributes that were the proper object of *theologia* could be known, Gregory argued, not through philosophy and syllogistic reasoning, but through the divine activities (ἐνέργεια) manifest in God's overall plan of Creation and Restoration (οἰκονομία) recorded in scripture. The Son's consubstantial unity with the Father could be proved from a right understanding of this divine economy. The end of God's redemptive plan was divinization or deification (θέωσις), i.e. participation in the divine Nature through fellowship with Christ. This process could go forward only if the Son possessed the divinizing power proper to the divine Nature. Unless the Son and the Spirit shared the Father's nature, human beings could not participate in the divine Nature through them. Gregory therefore preserved the unity of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit as affirmed at Nicaea but made clear the distinction between the three Persons that had been unclear in the formula of 325. In the divine economy, Father, Son, and Spirit work in a 'unity of operations', meaning that all three persons act together simultaneously to accomplish the redemption of humanity. Salvation originates in the Father's will, it is actualized by the Son, and is perfected by the Spirit. In this unity, however, each Person of the Trinity is a distinct 'mode of God's Being'. The Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

Virtue and mysticism

Gregory's earliest work, *De Virginitate*, followed by *De Hominis Opificio* and *De Anima et Resurrectione*, provided a theological explanation for the *asceticism practised in Macrina's and Basil's *monasteries. The monastic goal was the perfection of divinization, i.e. growing in likeness to God through participating in the divine virtues. Ascetic renunciation of sex, family relations, and luxuries and the adoption of a life of *prayer and contemplation freed the soul's desire (ἐπιθυμία) from its corrupt attachment to transitory goods, thus reorienting love toward the eternal goods of God. Gregory's theory of Christian perfection in virtue, described by J. Daniélou as 'epectasy', differs from an Aristotelian understanding of perfection as full actualization of potentiality which brings an end of all movement. Gregory's *Life of Moses* describes perfection as a never-ending progress in imitating the infinite virtues of an infinitely good God. JWS

CPG 2125–3260:

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ET R. Orton, *Anti-Apollinarian Writings* (FC 131, 2015).
ET (annotated) A. Malherbe and E. Ferguson, *Life of Moses* (CWS, 1978).
ET of Letters (with comm. and introd.) A. M. Silvas (Vig-Christ supplements 83, 2007).
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Gregory of Tours (*c.*539–594) *Bishop of *Tours (573–94). He was born Georgius Florentius, to Florentius, a *senator of the *Auvergne (brother to Bishop *Gallus of *Clermont), and Armentaria, the granddaughter of Bishop *Gregory of Langres, who was also closely related to the bishops Tetricus of Langres, *Nicetius of *Lyons, and Eufronius of *Tours. Gregory's extensive writings provide some information about his life. As a young man he moved to Lyons, and became *deacon there. Tetricus and Nicetius, either of whom Gregory might have hoped to succeed, both died in the early 570s and were replaced by opponents; but Gregory was appointed Bishop of Tours by King *Sigibert I in 573. Gregory claimed that he was related to all but five of his predecessors in the see. Nevertheless, Gregory's appointment caused problems in Tours, probably because Sigibert had ignored the local candidate.

Gregory also faced political difficulties because of the geographical situation of his *metropolitan *diocese. In 573 Tours was in Sigibert's territory, although Gregory was the superior of several bishops whose sees were in *Chilperic's territory. When Sigibert was assassinated in 575, Tours itself fell to Chilperic. Gregory had various problems with Chilperic, particularly when several of the king's opponents took sanctuary at the Church of S. *Martin in Tours. Gregory was also harassed by *Leudast, the *Comes of Tours, who sided with disaffected local clergy. Gregory was accused of claiming that Queen *Fredegund was having a love affair with *Bertram, Bishop of *Bordeaux. It emerged during his trial at Berny-Rivière that there was a conspiracy to replace Gregory as bishop. Despite Gregory's opposition to Chilperic, the king was friendly to him, perhaps because he had helped in the political shift at the *court of the young *Childebert II, Sigibert's son, who moved his alliance from one royal uncle to another, abandoning *Guntram for Chilperic. When Chilperic himself was assassinated in 584, Childebert II became Gregory's king again, although the dominant political figure was now Guntram, the only adult *Merovingian

king, who temporarily seized the strategically important territory of Tours for himself.

When Childebert came of age in 585, he was strong enough to get rid of a number of those who had dominated his regency when he was a minor, including Bishop *Egidius of *Reims. It is uncertain how close Gregory was to the plots of Egidius, who had consecrated him in 573, but he was keen to denounce him in the *Histories*. The only political problem that remained for Gregory to deal with thereafter was the revolt of the nuns of the *Monastery of the Holy Cross, which had been founded by Queen *Radegund in neighbouring *Poitiers.

Gregory was active in building churches and supporting the cults of various saints, including Ss. *Julian of Brioude and Nicetius of Lyons, but above all that of S. Martin. His last personal appearance in his own writings is dated to 593 (*Miracles of S. Martin*, IV, 45) when he met Childebert after Guntram's death. He is traditionally thought to have died on 17 November 594.

There was a later *Latin *Life* of Gregory (*BHL* 3682), but more reliable as a source of information are his own writings, which form the most significant and substantial body of evidence for the history of 6th-century *Gaul. Gregory was a masterful and colourful storyteller, and all his works, historical and hagiographical, demonstrate how God and his saints operate in this world. He lists his works at the beginning of the *Glory of the Confessors* (Preface) and at the end of the *Histories* (*HF* X, 31), where he says that he wrote ten books of *Histories*, seven books of *Miracula* (one on S. Julian, four on S. Martin, the *Glory of the Martyrs*, and the *Glory of the Confessors*), *The Offices of the Church*, and the *Life of the Fathers*, a more biographical account of twenty holy people (including one woman), several of whom were his relatives. His *Miracles of S. Julian* was likewise a work of personal piety, S. Julian's shrine at Brioude in the Auvergne being a favourite *pilgrimage site for his family.

The *Histories*, or *Ten Books of Histories*, is more generally known as *The History of the Franks* (*HF*). This is the title it acquired after a 7th-century editor produced an abridged version, which left out much of the ecclesiastical material and turned it into much more of a political history of the Frankish kingdom. There are many manuscripts of this abridged version, which did retain those parts of the *History* that secular readers of Gregory have been interested in. Gregory's own intention was much broader than this, however. He starts with the Creation, and then focuses in on Gaul, introducing the *Franks in Book II. He treats *Clovis in some detail, but thereafter deals with events only sketchily until Book IV, which starts to chronicle the events of his own lifetime. Subsequent books get more and more detailed. Book X, for example, deals with a mere eighteen months. His basic aim was to show evil people the awful fates that await them (in this world and the next), and the rewards which attend those who are faithful to God. There are very few good people who are not clerics; but by no means all clerics, as Gregory presents them, merit the Kingdom of Heaven. EJ

PLRE IIIA, Gregorius 3.
PCBE IV/1, Gregorius 3.

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ET L. Thorpe (1974).
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ET (annotated) R. Van Dam, *Glory of the Confessors* (TTH 5, corrected edn., 2004).
ET (annotated) E James, *Life of the Fathers* (TTH 1, ²1991).
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ET in R. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (1993), 162–95 and 199–303 respectively.

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Gregory Thaumaturgus *See* GREGORY THE WONDERWORKER.

Gregory the Exarch (Flavius Gregorius) *Exarch of *Africa 645; *usurper 646–7. First securely attested as Exarch of Africa in 645, when he oversaw a debate between *Maximus the Confessor and the deposed *Monothelete patriarch, Pyrrhus of *Constantinople, Gregory may have held the post as early as 641, and may perhaps have served previously as *Praefectus Praetorio of Africa. Possibly a relative of the *Emperor *Heraclius, Gregory nonetheless revolted against *Constans II in 646/7 and was declared *Augustus by troops in Africa. The rebellion has been variously understood as a regional self-help movement, prompted by the collapse of the Roman Empire in the East and the *Arab conquest of *Egypt, as the product of *court intrigue, as local separatism, and as an anti-Monothelete

uprising. In 647, Gregory marshalled his forces and those of allied *Berber tribes at *Sufetula (mod. Sbeitla), to resist a Muslim incursion, but was killed in battle against an army led by 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd, the governor of *Egypt. SSF

PLRE IIIA, Fl. Gregorius 19.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 477–8 at AM 6138–9.
P. Booth, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity* (2014), 282–9.
J. Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740* (2016), 197–204.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, vol. 3 (642–68) (1975), 62–73.

Gregory the Illuminator, Collected Homilies of S. There exist 23 homilies that have been attributed to S. *Gregory the Illuminator and compiled in a work entitled *Yatsaxapatum* (*Stromateis*). The collection has also been ascribed to *Mashtots'. The attribution to both is questioned by modern scholarship. The homilies touch on a variety of doctrinal and practical issues including the nature of the Trinity, divine providence, moral conduct, repentance, giving thanks, the teaching of the *martyrs, and a counsel for *ascetics. Although the *History* attributed to *Agat'angelos mentions that Gregory delivered discourses on a multitude of topics (§886), the earliest citations from the work occur in the 7th-century *florilegium* entitled the **Seal of Faith* (*Knik' Hawatoy*, 18–22). SVLa

ed. A. Tēr-Mik'aēlean, Gregory the Illuminator, *Srboy Hōrn Meroy Eranelwoyn Grigor Lusaworč'i Yačaxaptum Ča ṙk' Lusawork'* (1894).
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Gregory the Illuminator, S. (Grigor Lusaworits') (d. *c.*328) 'Apostle of the Armenians'. Gregory converted *Trdat I (Tiridates), King of *Armenia, to Christianity, and Trdat proclaimed Christianity as the state religion *c.*305/14.

The story of S. Gregory (Grigor) 'presents the most complex textual tradition in all Armenian literature, encompassing not only a series of translations, sometimes multiple, into a variety of languages, but also at least three main recensions that developed over the course of 200 years' (Cowe, 303). The most significant of these is the hagiographic *History of the Armenians* by *Agat'angelos (Agathangelos), written in the 5th century.

Agat'angelos relates how the Parthian Armenian nobleman Grigor, brought up in *Cappadocia as a Christian, served King Trdat, who had been educated in *Rome. Refusing to worship *Zoroastrian deities even after *torture, Gregory miraculously survives some fifteen years in a pit of oblivion. Trdat desires the Christian *virgin Rhipsime (Hṙip'sime) but she refuses his advances and is martyred along with her companions. The king then falls ill and changes into a wild boar. Warned in a *dream, his sister Khosrovidukht (Xosroviduxt) frees Gregory, who heals the king in Christ's name. He then gives an exposition of the faith. In a vision he is shown where to build *martyria for the martyred virgins, and a cathedral church—the mother see of *Edjmiatsin (Etchmiadzin). The king is cured, *pagan shrines and *temples are eradicated. Gregory is consecrated *bishop in *Caesarea of *Cappadocia, builds the first churches, and baptizes the king and his people. Gregory's sons (and successors) *Aristakes and Vrt'anes come to Armenia. Gregory evangelizes Armenia, then visits *Constantine the Great in Rome together with King Trdat and Aristakes. Grigor withdraws to the province of Daranałik.

The *Epic Histories* (**Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* III, 2, 14) also place the grave of S. Gregory in T'ordan in the province of Daranałik. No writings can be reliably ascribed to him. The *family of S. Gregory led the Armenian Church until 439.

Agat'angelos's account obfuscates the fact that earlier evangelization of Armenia had taken place from *Edessa. This transpires from the *Epic Histories*, which mentions *Ashtishat (Aštišat) in the province of Taron as the place where the first church was built. Furthermore, the designation 'See of Thaddeus' reflects the story that S. Thaddeus the Apostle had already brought Christianity to Armenia in the 1st century. The legend of S. Gregory's conception on the grave of S. Thaddeus combines the two strands of Armenia's evangelization and together they assert the claim that the Armenian Church is autocephalous. S. Gregory is the subject of various Armenian panegyrics and works of art, and he is hailed as a representative of the universal Church in several Byzantine overtures towards the Armenian Church during times of tension in ecclesiastical politics. TMvL

R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (1976).
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S. P. Cowe, 'Armenian Hagiography', in S. Efthymiadis, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography* (2011), vol. 1, 299–322.
R. Darling Young, 'The Conversion of Armenia as a Literary Work', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 115–35.

T. Greenwood, 'The Discovery of the Relics of St Grigor and the Development of Armenian Tradition in Ninth-Century Byzantium', in Jeffreys, *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization* (2006), 177–91.
A. Terian, *Patriotism and Piety in Armenian Christianity: The Early Panegyrics on Saint Gregory* (2005).

Gregory the Illuminator, Teaching of S. A catechism attributed to *Gregory, who converted the *Armenian King *Trdat to Christianity early in the 4th century. *Agat'angelos, in his *History of the Armenians*, reports that, after the conversion of the king, Gregory instructed the royal court over the course of 65 days. The extant Armenian recension of the *History* contains the supposed text of the first day's sermon. This text, referred to in the later Armenian tradition as the *Teaching*, is omitted in the *Greek and *Arabic translations dependent on this recension, and is either abbreviated or otherwise modified in manuscripts dependent upon a lost Armenian recension. Study of the *Teaching* has revealed numerous parallels with patristic authors, especially *Cyril of Jerusalem and *Ephrem. The only verbatim parallels from an earlier text are with the *De Fide* of *Hippolytus, extant only in *Georgian. Most likely, the *Teaching* was redacted even after the rest of the *History* reached its present form in the 5th century. MBP

Thomson, *BCAL* 126–7, supplement 186.
ET R. W. Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (1970; rev. edn., 2001).

Gregory the Wonderworker (Gregory Thaumaturgus) (*c.*213–*c.*270) *Bishop of Neocaesarea (mod. Niksar) in *Cappadocia, pupil of *Origen, and writer. Born into a *pagan family at Neocaesarea, he studied *rhetoric and *law before meeting Origen in *Caesarea of *Palestine and spending five years studying with him. Whether baptized at Caesarea or before, he was consecrated Bishop of Neocaesarea in the 240s, and proselytized successfully in that *city and beyond during a tumultuous period which included the Decian *Persecution and the *Gothic invasion of the 250s, and he participated in at least one of the synods of *Antioch in the 260s. After his death his fame as a founding bishop of Cappadocia, preacher, and *miracle worker spread, partly through the enthusiastic hagiographies written by *Gregory of *Nyssa (*BHG* 715 a–e; *CPL* 3184) and others, and it was at some point in this afterlife that he came to be known by the epithet 'Wonderworker'. A number of the works attributed to him are probably genuine, such as the *Metaphrase on Ecclesiastes*, the *Address of Thanksgiving* to Origen, a lively account of Origen's methods as a teacher, and the *letter to an unnamed bishop advising him how to deal with Christians who had in various ways been compromised during the Gothic invasion. A number of works are of debatable authenticity, such as his *Creed*, and works addressed to Tatian and Philagrius. His writings appear to have addressed the moral life more thoroughly than matters of doctrine. SJL-R

BHG 715: ed. G. Heil in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera, Sermones*, vol. 1 (GNO 10/1, 1990).
CPG 1763–94:
PG 10.983–1104, reprinting A. Galland (1767).
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ET (annotated) M. Slusser (FC 98; 1998).
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M. Slusser, 'Gregory Thaumaturgus', in Foster, *Early Christian Thinkers*, 154–72.
RAC 12 (1983), 779–83.
V. Ryssel, *Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (1880).

Greuthungi Three groups of Gothic Greuthungi crossed into the Roman Empire: under Alatheus and Saphrax (AD 376), Farnobius (377), and Odotheus (386). Ammianus uses the name Greuthungi in contradistinction to *Tervingi, placing the latter east of the River Dniester (XXXI, 3–5; cf. XXVII, 5, 6). All three were perhaps united prior to the arrival of the *Huns, but this is not certain (*see* OSTROGOTHS). PHe

Heather, *Goths and Romans*, ch. 3.
Wolfram, *Goths*, 24–5.
Matthews, *Ammianus*, 320–1, 324–5.

Grimoald (d. *c.*662) *Mayor of the Palace in *Austrasia (*c.*643–*c.*662). The son of *Pippin I and *Itta, he became *Mayor to *Sigibert III of *Austrasia after the murder of Otto in *c.*643 (*Fredegar, IV, 88), and remained the dominant figure throughout his reign. He and Sigibert founded the *Monastery of Stablo-Malmédy. After Sigibert's death, he allegedly placed his own son *Childebert the Adopted on the Austrasian throne, exiling Sigibert's son *Dagobert II, but was finally overthrown and killed by the *Neustrians (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 43). JHo

PLRE IIIA, Grimoaldus 2.
M. Becher, 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich Grimoalds. Versuch einer Neubewertung', in J. Jarnut et al., eds., *Karl Martell*, 119–47.
R. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1987), 47–65.
B. Krusch, 'Der Staatsstreich des fränkischen Hausmeiers Grimoald I', in *Historische Aufsätze, Karl Zeumer zum 60. Geburtstag* (1910), 411–38.

Grimoald (c.610–671) *Lombard King 662/3–71. Son of the *Dux of *Friuli Gisulf II, Grimoald had ruled the Duchy of *Benevento (648? –662) prior to the civil war which saw Grimoald remove the deceased King Aripert's young sons Godepert and *Perctarit (the latter, however, returning as king in 671). With his son Romuald installed in Benevento, and Grimoald taking Aripert's daughter in marriage, the new king (praised by *Paul the Deacon for his valour as well as his bald head and fine beard) successfully countered the threat of *Constans II's Byzantine troops from *Sicily along with efforts from the *exarchate, uprisings by Duces in *Spoleto and Friuli (against whom Grimoald called in the *Avars), and *Frankish incursions. Paul the Deacon notes Grimoald's settlement of federate *Bulgars in the depopulated northern Benevento territory; related burials have been excavated at Vicenne (Molise). Nine laws of 668 are attributed to Grimoald. NJC

PBE, Grimoald 3.

Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, IV, 46, 51; V, 1–10, 16–21, 26–30, 33.

N. Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards* (1996,) 97–101.

V. Ceglia, 'Lo scavo della necropolis di Vicenne', *Conoscenze* 4 (1988), 31–48.

gromatici *See* SURVEYORS.

Gubaz (Gobazes) I (*fl. c.*450–468) King of *Lazica who gave way to his son *c.*456 under Roman pressure. In winter 455–6 he negotiated with *Leo I at *Constantinople, where his amiable character overcame distrust of his Persian habits (*Priscus, fr. 34). He met *Daniel the *Stylite and wrote to him from Lazica (*VDanStyl* 51). MO

PRLE II, Gobazes.

Gubaz II King of *Lazica (r. 541–55), whose defection to the Persians brought about the Lazic War. After returning to Roman alliance, in 554, he complained to *Justinian I about the general *Bessas. The following year, generals *Martinus, Rusticus, and Buzes suspected Gubaz of treason with Persia, invited him to discuss attacking the Persians at Onoguris, and murdered him (*Agathias, III, 5, 6–III, 8, 3). MO

PLRE III, Gubazes.

Braund, *Georgia*, 308.

Gudme Area on south-east Funen Island in Denmark, with settlements, *cemeteries, and *hoards of precious metals dating mainly from AD 200 to 600 (the Late Roman and *Migration Period) and also up to AD 1200. Gudme is an inland area of the island located beside a small lake, 5 km (*c.*3 miles) from the coast of the Greater Belt. Gudme is related to the contemporary coastal trading port of *Lundeborg. The sites at Gudme and Lundeborg have been known since the 1830s, became well known in the initial period of metal-detector use in the 1980s, and were surveyed and excavated mainly between 1984 and 1991.

Gudme consisted of a magnate's farm surrounded by nearly 50 smaller farms with both *longhouses of the ordinary type and smaller *houses. Neighbouring burial grounds include the Møllegårdsmarken cemetery. Numerous *gold, *silver, and *bronze treasures have been found in fields and bogs, along with substantial finds of skilfully made local craft production and many Roman and *Frankish imports. The long chronological sequence elucidates *settlement patterns and the development of houses and farmsteads in the Gudme area. The settlements were found on hilltops, with cemeteries close to them. The caches of treasure, both those deposited for ritual purposes and those hidden for storage, have been found in the surrounding wetlands.

The place name Gudme (Gud-hem, 'God's home') is sacral, associated with Goðheimr ('home of the gods'). The name, together with the substantial treasures, suggests that Gudme was an important political and religious centre beginning in Late Antiquity. Gudme was an emporium that prefigures the later Carolingian and Viking urban centres and prestigious *villages in southern Scandinavia. KJe

P. O. Nielsen, K. Randsborg, and H. Thrane, eds., *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg* (*Arkaeologiske Studier* 10, 1994).

K. Randsborg, 'Beyond the Roman Empire: Archaeological Discoveries in Gudme on Funen, Denmark', *OxJnlArch* 9/3 (1990), 355–66.

H. Thrane, 'Das Gudme-Problem und die Gudme-Untersuchung. Fragen der Besiedlung in der Völkerwanderungs- und Merowingerzeit auf Fünen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 21 (1987), 1–48.

O. Grimm and A. Pesch, eds., *The Gudme/Gudhem Phenomenon* (Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums 6, 2011).

Guidi Chronicle *See* CHRONICLE OF KHUZESTAN.

guilds (*collegia*) Organization of artisans in a *city or *village. Its members were called *collegiati*. Guilds could be privately organized or regulated by the state.

The 10th-century *Book of the Eparch* indicates that by that date some professions of importance to the state were organized into public guilds and at certain times had the monopoly over those professions in cities (e.g. 9, 6; 11, 8; 12, 4). Membership of such guilds controlled by the state was often hereditary, with legal restrictions that prevented members from leaving. *City authorities could impose obligations on guilds, such as extinguishing fires, mentioned by the 5th-century **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (2, 5) and in

the 6th century by *John Lydus (*Mag.* 1, 50). The imposition of public burdens, or *munera* on *collegiati*, sometimes led craftsmen to leave their home towns (*NovMaj* 8, 3; *CTh* XII, 19, 1; XIV, 27, 2). Egyptian evidence shows some guilds being held responsible for paying members' taxes (P.Oxy. I, 53; I, 85).

Membership of private guilds was not necessary to operate within a profession or trade, but since the state did not act to regulate trades outside those for which it organized guilds, private guilds could prevent fraud and provide mutual assistance (e.g. **Digest*, VI, 1, 39; *CJust* VIII, 12, 8). *Contracts between state officials and guilds show that, even in the absence of state control, the state as customer could impose severe regulations (Grégoire, *Recueil*, 322).

Almost anyone, even a slave, could be a member of a guild. Membership usually depended on having a minimum amount of capital, successfully opening a workshop, or bringing a guarantee of proficiency from one's master. Hired labourers were, however, normally denied admission, and it was not possible to be a member of more than one guild. JUB

Jones, *LRE* 357, 699–705, 708, 734–5, 762, 858–64, 872.

G. C. Maniatis, 'The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries', *DOP* 55 (2001) 339–69.

P. Schreiner, 'Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker', in H. Jankuhn and E. Ebel, eds., *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Abh. [Gött.] 1989), 44–61.

Gundobad *Magister Militum in *Gaul 472, **patricius* in *Italy 472–4, and *Burgundian King, *c.*474–516. Son of Gundioc, he was called into Italy in 472 by his relative *Ricimer to oppose the *Emperor *Anthemius, and was made *patricius* by the Emperor *Olybrius. He elevated *Glycerius as emperor in 473. In 474 he returned to Gaul to share rule over the Burgundians with his brothers *Godigisel, *Chilperic II, and Godomar, the first two of whom he later killed, becoming sole king from 500. He corresponded about theology with *Bishop *Avitus of *Vienne, but apparently remained a supporter of *Homoean 'Arian' Christianity. He was married to *Caretena, and was father of *Sigismund, his successor, and of *Godomar. RVD; STL

PLRE II, Gundobadus 1.

M. Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie', *Francia* 10 (1982), 619–20.

R. Kaiser, *Die Burgunder* (2004).

Gundovald (d. 585) *Merovingian pretender rejected by *Chlothar I, his supposed father. He was taken up by *Childebert I, then *Charibert I, but *Sigibert I exiled him to *Cologne. He escaped via *Italy to *Constantinople, but returned to *Gaul with Byzantine financial backing in 582 at the behest of disaffected magnates. The plot was swiftly abandoned, but Gundovald's claim was revived on *Chilperic's death. Powerful figures such as *Mummolus supported him, but *Guntram refused negotiations and neutralized the pretender's hopes of assistance from *Childebert II. Gundovald was cornered at *S. Bertrand-de-Comminges, betrayed, and killed. The objectives and evolution of the conspiracy remain contentious; *Gregory of *Tours, almost our only source for Gundovald, and a likely sympathizer, is careful to shroud it in a fog of rumour. STL

PLRE IIIA, Gundovaldus 2.

PCBE IV/1, Gondovaldus.

W. Goffart, 'The Frankish Pretender Gundovald, 582–585', *Francia* 39 (2012), 1–28.

Gunthamund *King of the *Vandals in *Africa, AD 484–96. He succeeded his uncle *Huneric according to the Vandal law of succession by agnatic seniority. Numismatic evidence and the dating of the *Albertini Tablets to his reign have led some to propose that Gunthamund instituted major economic restructuring. AHM

PLRE II, Gunthamundus.

Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, 58–9, 161–2, 173–5, 196.

Guntharis Officer in *Africa 540–4, and *Magister Militum (vacans) in 545. Broke into open rebellion in 546, took *Carthage, and assassinated *Areobindus (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, IV, 25, 1–26.33). Guntharis was himself murdered a little over a month later by the Armenian *Artabanes, and imperial control over the city was restored (Procopius, *Vandalic*, IV, 28, 1–30). AHM

PLRE III, Guntharis 2.

Guntram Frankish King (561–92). The son of *Chlothar I, he inherited a share of the kingdom which included much of *Burgundy and south-east *Gaul. His chief residences were at *Orléans and *Chalon-sur-Saône. After *Charibert's death in 567, he came into repeated conflict with his surviving brothers *Sigibert and *Chilperic. In 577, after the deaths of his two sons, he adopted Sigibert's son *Childebert II as his heir, and renewed this arrangement after Chilperic's assassination in 584 left him as the last *Merovingian king of his generation. He defeated the pretender *Gundovald, and sought to dominate his nephews Childebert and the infant *Chlothar II. His lingering disputes with Childebert were partly resolved by the Treaty of *Andelot (587). He was better known as a peacemaker than as a war-leader. *Gregory of Tours

(*HF* IX, 21) startlingly says that Guntram worked *miracles of healing, a very rare claim in this period for a layman who had not died as a *martyr. EJ

PLRE IIIA, Guntchramnus.

Guntram Boso (d. 587) Frankish *Dux, 575–7, 582–3. Guntram Boso nominally served *Sigibert I and his son *Childebert II, but is presented by *Gregory of *Tours as an arch-schemer, greedy and double-dealing, who intrigued with and against Merovech and *Gundovald, and was finally executed in 587 by Childebert II and *Guntram (*HF* IX, 10). RVD

PLRE IIIA, Guntchramnus Boso.

Gurgan *See* GORGAN.

Guthlac, S. (*c.*674–714) *Anglo-Saxon anchorite and saint. Guthlac was born a noble in Mercia and spent his early mature years fighting on the Welsh border. In 698, dissatisfied with the secular life, he took religious orders at Repton. Two years later he sought a solitary life in the Crowland fens, living the life of a famed hermit there until his death in 714. The 8th-century *Vita by Felix* (*BHL* 3723) is the primary source of information about Guthlac; saint and biographer both owed much to the desert tradition exemplified by the *Life* of S. *Antony the Great. Felix's text was translated into Old English prose, and two Old English poems treat the saint's life and death: Guthlac A and Guthlac B, in 'the Exeter Book' compilation of Old English poetry (Exeter, Cathedral Library, ms. 3501). APS

ODNB s.n. Guthlac (Mayr-Harting).

BHL 3723: ed. (annotated with ET) B. Colgrave (1956).

J. Roberts, 'An Inventory of Early Guthlac Materials', *MS* 32 (1970), 193–233.

ed. J. Roberts, *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* (1979).

C. Aggeler, 'A Path to Holiness: Hagiographic Transformation and the Conversion of Saint Guthlac', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 161–83.

gynaeceum A network of *gynaecea*, state *textile **fabricae*, was established in the *provinces (probably under the *Tetrarchy) to provide the *army with standard items of woollen military *dress; *gynaecea* in the *Res Privata supplied *silk and other high-grade garments to the *court. They are listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. The work was normally put out to domestic weavers, but there may also have been central workshops. Christians during the Great *Persecution were condemned to work in the *gynaecea* (*Eusebius, *VCon* II, 34; cf. *Lactantius, *Mort.* 21, 4). JPW

Jones, *LRE* 836–7.

J. P. Wild, 'The *Gynaecea*', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (1976), 51–8.

gynaecology The workings of women's bodies, and women's diseases, especially as related to their reproductive function, continued to be a medical concern in Late Antiquity. The topic was addressed in dedicated treatises, or distinct parts of texts, as well as in a more integrated manner, in both *Greek and *Latin; though patterns diverge between East and West.

*Africa and northern *Italy were the centres for Late Antique medical writing in Latin. Africa produced both the female-focused third book of Theodorus *Priscianus' *Euporista*, for example, and at least one (if not both) of the Latin versions of Soranus' *Gynaecology*, between the 4th and 6th centuries. Italy may be where the key Hippocratic works *Diseases of Women I* and *II* were translated into Latin around the same time. Parts of this material also circulated separately, and were variously reworked in a series of pseudonymous or anonymous Latin tracts of gynaecological content, spreading widely across the early medieval West.

In the Greek East neither Soranus' works nor Hippocratic gynaecology fared so well, as a more integrative approach, based on the works of *Galen, was dominant. Extracts from Soranus do feature in the encyclopedic tradition, most prominently in the final, sixteenth book of *Aëtius of *Amida's 6th-century medical compilation, which is entirely dedicated to gynaecology, which is not the usual pattern in Greek medical texts. Whether or not Soranus' *Diseases of Women* was ever on the syllabus of the medical *school of 6th-/7th-century *Alexandria is unclear. Some more embedded Hippocratic gynaecology was indeed included, as it was placed last on the most extensive list of Hippocratic readings recommended by one teacher, *Stephanus (*In Hippocratis Prognosticum Commentaria*, I, praefatio). There is no hint of commentary, nor of early translation into *Syriac or *Arabic. REF

M. H. Green, 'Medieval Gynaecological Literature: A Handlist', in her *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West* (2000), 1–36.

gynaeconitis Inner part of a house where the *materfamilias* sat spinning (*Vitruvius, VI, 7, 2). The word is used by *Procopius of the women's *stoa* of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople (*Aed.* I, 1, 54–8); the *empress worshipped in the gallery (*Evagrius, *HE* IV, 31). Men and women in Christian congregations were separate during worship (e.g. **Didascalia Apostolorum*, XII, ii, 57; *Augustine, *City of God*, II, 28). OPN

Bingham, *Antiquities*, VIII, 5, 6–7 (1875) II, 294–5.

H

Haarhausen Settlement site in *Thuringia where three 3rd-century kilns incorporating provincial Roman kiln technology have been excavated. Both Roman-style *pottery and pottery of local tradition were fired in these kilns. The site, 200 km (120 miles) east of the Roman *frontier, demonstrates the transfer of technology from the Roman world into Germanic Europe. It is not known whether the kilns were constructed by local people who had learned techniques in the Roman provinces, or by potters brought across the frontier, voluntarily or not. PSW

S. Dušek et al., *Römische Handwerker im germanischen Thüringen. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Haarhausen, Kreis Arnstadt*, 2 vols. (1992).

Hababa Beautiful slave and singer (**qayna*) from *Medina who apparently exercised great influence over the *Umayyad *Caliph *Yazid II (720–4), who was buried next to her. OPN

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.n.* Hababa, col. 2 (Ch. Pelliat).

habit, monastic (Gk. *schema*) According to *Basil of *Caesarea, the monastic habit, just like a soldier's uniform, served to distinguish the monk and helped him maintain the behaviour proper to his profession. The simplicity of a monk's clothes expressed the monk's single-minded espousal of poverty, modesty, and humility, while at the same time they protected his body from cold. A single change of clothes, provided by the *monastery, was adequate for a monk's needs, while the *belt was necessary to permit unimpeded movement (*Regulae Fusius Tractatae*, 22–3).

Evidence suggests that Late Antique monastic habits in the regions where coenobitic monasticism flourished, namely *Egypt, *Syria, and *Palestine, were not uniform in design but varied both in their make-up, materials, and colour, and also as far as the use of more than a single change of clothes was concerned. We are better informed on the monastic habit of Egypt, which appears to have been more elaborate. It could include a tunic, either sleeveless or with sleeves, a belt, a kind of apron made of goatskin (*melote*), a set of straps tied around the body (later called the *schema*), a small cape, a hood, shoes, and a walking staff. With the exception of the *melote* and the straps, variations of the remaining items are also encountered in other monastic traditions. Medieval Byzantine monastic dress was derived from the monastic habit of Late Antique Egypt. MGP

K. C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (1992), 107–29.

Patrich, *Sabas*, 210–20.

Eunice Maguire, 'Dressed for Eternity: A Prelude', in Sellew, *Living for Eternity*, 39–69.

hadith (plur. *ahadith*) Narrated report consisting of a chain of transmitters (**isnad*) and textual account (*matn*), usually relating a statement, action, or anecdote involving the Prophet *Muhammad. The word hadith is also used to refer to the entire corpus of such materials, and, also, the scholarly discipline of collecting and evaluating such materials. Although the gathering and narrating of such reports probably goes back to the first generations of the Muslim community (as a continuation of the pre-existing Arabian oral narrative tradition), the study of hadith became an established discipline around the turn of the 3rd century AH/9th century AD. Around this time, partly as a reaction to the politically ascendant rationalist theologians known as Mu'tazila, a group of scholars known as 'the people of hadith' (*ashab al-hadith*) were formed. Among such scholars, the jurist al-Shafi'i and his circle were influential in forming an approach to Islamic *law which rejected local juristic traditions in favour of legal opinions based mainly on prophetic hadiths. At the same time Ahmad b. Hanbal led a traditionalist reaction against the Mu'tazilites' attempt to reject or explain away hadiths (mainly of an anthropomorphic nature) that did not fit with their theological positions. Without rejecting the hadith corpus in its entirety, many Mu'tazilites were critical of some of the key principles within the methodology of hadith studies such as the idea of the widely transmitted (*mutawatir*) hadith, or

questioned the probity of hadith transmitters who did not share their theological views.

The collection of hadith was also pursued by *Shi'i scholarship, although such scholarship only seriously considered hadiths that were narrated by Shi'i imams or narrators who were associated with Shi'ism. Although only two of the major Sunni schools of law (the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools) committed themselves mainly to the approach of al-Shafi'i and his circle, other schools of law increasingly felt the need to justify their positions by providing additional hadith evidence for their legal positions. Ibn Hanbal and a number of other scholars such as al-Bukhari and Muslim compiled a number of hadith collections, which became, over the centuries, part of a canonical Sunni written corpus of hadith. Although the oral transmission of hadith continued to occur, by the 5th century AH /11th century AD most studies of hadith revolved around this textual canon, leading to a drastic growth in the number of hadith commentaries representing different interests and schools of thought. Scholars such as al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 1071) and al-Shahrazuri (d. 1245) also wrote on the more theoretical foundations of hadith scholarship, and the importance of hadith scholarship reached a peak during the later medieval period, when foundations were instituted specifically for the pursuit of hadith study. Ritual recitations of hadith collections were not only attended by scholars and students, but also by members of the general public keen on acquiring the blessing (*baraka*) of being present at such events. HBR

J. Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (1994).
J. A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (2009).

Hadramawt Large region of southern *Arabia made up mostly of hilly land between the Empty Quarter and the Indian Ocean, sometimes said to include Mahra (extreme eastern Yemen) and Zafar (south-west *Oman). Hadramawt had mixed ethnic and linguistic populations. It was an important source of *incense and was the base of the pre-Islamic *Kinda. PAW

R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).

Hadrian (630/7–709/10) *African abbot of a *monastery near *Naples, when Pope *Vitalian offered him the archbishopric of *Canterbury on the death of Wigheard (then archbishop-elect) in 667 (*Bede, *HE* IV, 1). Hadrian declined, but suggested *Theodore of *Tarsus, and followed him to England, arriving in 670. They established a famous *school, where Hadrian taught for 39 years (*HE* V, 20); *Aldhelm was educated there. HFF

ODNB s.n. Hadrian (Lapidge).
PBE, Hadrianos, 9.

Hadrian's Wall The Roman barrier wall across northern England. Extensive restoration to the curtain wall commenced in the early 3rd century, and it is this *wall which largely survives today. Widespread repairs and rebuilding are attested at forts throughout the *frontier zone from Septimius Severus until Gordian. There is no evidence for large-scale incursions across the frontier, such as are attested for continental Europe, in the mid-3rd century, and little to support theories of invasion and consequent destruction in 296.

The last known building *inscriptions from the Wall date to the *Tetrarchy (*RIB* 1912, 1613). Excavations have shown that in many of the Wall forts there was extensive reconstruction of barracks and other major buildings from the second half of the 3rd century onwards. At about the same time all the civil settlements (*vici*) outside the forts seem to have been abandoned, perhaps indicating greater insecurity. North of the Wall the outpost forts were abandoned by the mid-4th century. The gates and defences of many of the forts underwent restoration and rebuilding throughout the 4th century and it is clear that garrisons remained active and are listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. The most recent coins found date to 402 and direct control ended soon after. Many of the forts were not abandoned and some like Birdowsald formed the centres for local warbands, but the Wall itself ceased to have any military or political function. JCr

R. Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries* (2012).

Hadrumetum (mod. Sousse, Tunisia) *Colonia*, port, and principal *city of *Byzacena until at least *Justinian I. *Mosaics in the Bir El-Caïd *baths indicate an early 4th-century restoration; these baths were in use into at least the 6th century. Several catacombs originating in the 3rd/4th centuries, containing over 12,000 tombs, have been excavated. Two churches in use into at least the 6th century have been identified. *Procopius records the city's refortification under Justinian I (*Aed.*, VI, 6, 1). The **ribat*, probably late 8th century, is the best preserved in North *Africa. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 261–4.
L. Foucher, *Hadrumetum* (1964).
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 168–9, 199–200.

Haemimontus Late Roman *province bordering *Moesia Inferior (north), *Europa (south), the Black Sea (east), *Thracia, and *Rhodopa (west). Both the *Verona List and **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* II, 55) place Haemimontus in the *Dioecesis *Thraciae. The *governor was a *Praeses and *Adrianople was the principal *city. The 6th-century geographer *Hierocles (635, 9–14) lists five cities in Haemimontus. It was lost to the *Slavs around the 7th century. ABA

TIR K–35.
TIB 6 (1991) Thrakien.
Barrington Atlas, map 101.

Hafsa bt. 'Umar b. al-Khattab The daughter of the *Caliph *'Umar I, Hafsa was married to *Muhammad in AD 625 and is considered one of his privileged wives. It is said that she possessed written fragments of *Qur'ānic verses, inherited from Muhammad's *Companion and scribe Zayd b. Thabit. NK
EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ḥafṣa, 63–6 (Veccia Vaglieri).

Hagia Eirene *See* CONSTANTINOPLE, CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES AT; HOLY PEACE, CHURCH OF THE (HAGIA EIRENE).

Hagia Sophia *See* CONSTANTINOPLE, CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES AT; HOLY WISDOM, CHURCH OF THE.

hagiography *See* SAINTS' LIVES.

Hagioi Apostoloi *See* CONSTANTINOPLE, CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES AT; HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE.

hair, Merovingian The carefully combed long hair of the *Merovingian kings (*reges criniti*) was a distinctive and renowned feature of their royal family, ascribed symbolic significance in the Christian (not Germanic) tradition. MDi
M. Diesenberger, 'Hair, Sacrality and Symbolic Capital in the Frankish Kingdoms', in R. Corradini et al., eds., *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (2003), 173–227.

hair, baldness, and beards Late Antique writers such as *Lactantius esteemed hair as part of God's handiwork (*De Opificio Dei*, 4) and advocated that it be arranged decorously 'in accordance with Nature', however that was conceived for a man or a woman. S. Paul insisted on long hair for women (1 Cor. 11:15), a view that was repeated at the Synod of Gangra in 340 (canon 17). Men with long hair were seen as posing a seductive danger to women, so short hair and clean-shaven faces prevailed. Exceptions were made for soldiers on campaign and for teachers and *philosophers, whose unkempt appearance was evidence of their preoccupation with higher matters. The *Emperor *Julian's long hair and philosopher's beard drew disapproval which he countered wittily in his *Misopogon*. *Procopius (*c.*500–*c.*565) likewise sneered at members of the Blue *faction who wore mullets and beards in the *Hun fashion (*Anecdota*, 7, 9).

Women's hair was dressed, though not so elaborately, and not in such identifiable fashions as their 1st- and 2nd-century predecessors. The custom was to comb the hair over the ears from a central parting, braiding it from the level of the nape of the neck. The braids were then drawn up the line of the parting, ending in a topknot or wound around the head in a sort of wreath. In some imperial *portraiture, the ensemble is wrapped in cloth and dressed with ornaments. Such styles apparently satisfied the modesty demanded, for example, by the *Quinisext Council of 691–2 (canon 96).

Baldness, despite having been maligned in ancient times by Dio Chrysostom (AD *c.*40–*c.*114) in his *Encomium on Hair*, was praised by *Synesius (*c.*373–*c.*414) as being a natural sign of wisdom and maturity (*De Calvo*). Monks submitted to partial baldness through the tonsure. The Roman tonsure was a circle of hair removed from the crown of the head. In *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria the Synod of *Whitby of 664 determined that it should supplant the Celtic tonsure, the shaving of the front half of the monk's head. JEH
L. Bréhier, ed., *Le Monde byzantin* (L'Évolution de l'humanité 13, new edn., 1969), vol. 2, 47.
K. Schade, *Frauen in der Spätantike, Status und Repräsentation. Eine Untersuchung zur römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bildniskunst* (2003).

Hajiabad Monumental structure of the 4th century AD *c.*60 km (35 miles) south of *Darabgerd, *Fars. Excavated in the 1970s and 1980s by M. Azarnoush, the mud-brick complex is important for its rich *stucco *sculpture and fragmentary wall painting. A sanctuary room ('Unit 114'), whose niches and classicizing ornament recall features at *Bishapur, was decorated with sculptures of nobles, kings, and the goddess *Anahid. Hajiabad has been dated to the reign of *Shapur II (309–79) based on affinities between the king's numismatic portraits and the stucco portraits from the site. The complex was never finished or used. Its primary function as a sanctuary or villa is still under debate. MPC
M. Azarnoush, *The Sasanian Manor House at Hājiābād, Iran* (1994).
P. Callieri, *Architecture et représentations dans l'Iran sassanide* (2014), 52–3 and 109–17.

Hajj *See* PILGRIMAGE, ISLAMIC.

al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf (661–714) Governor of Iraq (r. 694–714) under two successive Umayyad caliphs. Al-Hajjaj rose to prominence in the Second *Arab Civil War, during which he led what turned out to be the final campaign against *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr at *Mecca. Thereafter *'Abd al-Malik appointed him governor first of *Yemen and the *Hijaz, and then of Iraq (after the previous post-holder, the caliph's brother

Bishr, died). Al-Hajjaj faced down all manner of opposition during his tenure, including several *Kharijite revolts and the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath, and through his allies (*Qutayba b. Muslim) and his kin (Muhammad b. al-Qasim), he was connected with the expansion of the empire in *Central Asia and northern *India. As a prominent representative of the *Umayyad regime, he was a controversial figure both at the time and (especially) after the dynasty's fall in 750, attracting much polemical coverage. NC

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* al-Ḥadjdjādj, 824–32.
al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*.
*Tabari, XXII, XXIII.
al-*Yaqubi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols. (1883).
Fathnama-i Sind, The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sind, tr. M. K. Fredunbeg (1979).
A. A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate 65–86/684–705* (1971).
Julius Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. M. G. Weir (German original, 1902) (1927).
G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).
M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*, vol. 1 (1971).

Halabiyah *See* ZENOBIA.

Halberstadt Diptych *Ivory consular *diptych, perhaps of 417, from *Rome, now in the Cathedral Treasury at Halberstadt (Saxony-Anhalt). The edges, including the *inscription, have been cut down, so the identification of the central figure of each plaque as the *consul of 417, the future *Constantius III, is tentative. Above him the joint *emperors are enthroned between *personifications of Roma and Constantinopolis and Germanic guards. Below are vanquished barbarians. JEH

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 32–3, no. 25, pl. 8.
G. Bühl, 'Eastern or Western, that is the Question: Some Notes on the New Evidence Concerning the Eastern Origin of the Halberstadt Diptych', *ActaIRNorv* 15 (2001), 193–203.
Alan Cameron, 'City Personifications and Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 105 (2015) 250–87.

Hama *See* EPIPHANIA.

Hamadan *Sasanian province in north-west Iran. It was the site of an important Arsacid settlement and their last stronghold. Under the *Sasanians it was administered by a satrap (MP *šahrab*), as attested by the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (ŠKZ), but no longer had a summer palace as it had under previous dynasties. During the *Arab conquest Hamadan was taken by Nu'aym b. Muqarrin in 642/3 (*Tabari, XIV, 20). DTP

EncIran XI/6 *s.v.* Hamadan v–vi. History, Islamic Period, 595–627 (Aḏkā'i).
Gyselen, *Géographie administrative*, 50–1.

Hama Treasure Group of 24 items of Christian liturgical *silver separated from the rest of the *Kaper Koraon Treasure by an antiquities dealer, and presented in 1910 as a single find from the cathedral of Hama (ancient *Epiphania of *Syria). Most of the pieces, which include inscribed chalices, patens, *crosses, *lampstands, and spoons, were sold to Henry Walters of Baltimore in 1929. MH

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium.*

Hamouli Codices About 60 *Coptic codices found by accident in 1910 among the ruins of the *monastery of the Archangel Michael, near the modern village of Hamouli in the *Fayyum. They are the remains of the monastic *library and constitute the largest collection of *Coptic *books ever found together. The large variety of texts include biblical texts, liturgical works, homiletic and hagiographical texts, written in Sahidic and Fayyumic Coptic. The colophons in some of the manuscripts suggest the collection dates from the 9th and early 10th centuries. Most of the codices (P.MorganLib.) are now kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. AFVD

P.MorganLib. catalogued in L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (CIM 4, 5; Orient. ser. 1, 2; 1993).

Hamwic (England) Large urban settlement on the west bank of the River Itchen, downstream from the Roman settlement of Clausentum and across the river from the medieval city of Southampton. Known as Hamwic in contemporary texts and from mint marks, it was founded *c.* AD 700 and largely depopulated by the end of the 9th century due to Viking raids (documented in 842). A *c.*45 ha (*c.*111 acres) area was divided by rectilinear gridded streets, which were regularly resurfaced. Dense housing lined the *streets with latrine and rubbish pits to the rear. Industries included the working of bone, antler, *pottery, *textiles, *leather, and wood. Extensive evidence of trading connections with the Low Countries, northern Germany, and northern France are revealed by imported *pottery, quernstones, coins, and other materials. ARe

P. Andrews, ed., *Excavations at Hamwic*, II (1997).
V. Birbeck, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident St. Mary's Stadium 1998–2000* (2005).
A. D. Morton, ed., *Excavations at Hamwic*, I (1992).

Hamza al-Isfahani (*c.*893–970/71) Philologist and historian of the Buyid period (*c.*930s–1060s). In addition to studies of proverbs, *poetry, *Qur'ānic vocabulary, and a lost chronicle of his home city of *Isfahan, Hamza wrote a world history, the *Ta'rikh sini muluk al-'ard wa al-anbiya'* ('History of the Kings of the Earth

and the Prophets'), based on sources including the *Pahlavi **Xwaday Namag*. Hamza's chief concerns were dating and astrology: he sought to create a single chronological framework for various Persian, Arab, Roman, Egyptian, and other dynasties, and determine how and why each fell. NC

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 156 (Rosenthal).

al-Isfahani, *Ta'rikh sini muluk al-ard wa al-anbiya'*, ed. I. M. E. Gottwaldt (1844). Partial ET U. M. Daudpota, 'The Annals of Hamzah al-Isfahâni', *Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute* 21 (1932), 58–120.

P. Pourshariati, 'Hamza al-Isfahani and Sasanid Historical Geography of *Sini muluk al-ard w'al-anbiya"*, in R. Gyselen, ed., *Des Indo-Grecs aux Sassanides: données pour l'histoire et la géographie historique* (2007), 111–40.

hand gestures Hand gestures are both natural forms of expression, and cultural conventions. Teachers of *rhetoric recommended specific gestures to reinforce different communications (Quintillian, *Inst*. XI, 3, 84–104). Such gestures were often linked to public *ceremony and by extension to religious imagery.

So, by portraying a Roman orator with an upraised hand, with one or two fingers extended, an image could convey, not only that the speaker understood rhetorical devices, but also that he had authority to speak. The imperial *adlocutio*, or address to the troops, carried both these meanings. The same gesture came to be used to show Christ speaking and teaching, but also as a sign of his divine authority to perform *miracles, or to convey a blessing. This developed into the *benedictio Latina*, the raised right hand of Christian priestly blessing.

At times, artists used the hand on its own, issuing from the Burning Bush (as at the *Dura Europus *synagogue) or from a cloud (as in the scene of Moses receiving the Law in the Via Latina *Catacomb) to stand for the *dexter Dei*, the right hand of God the Father, either speaking or exercising his authority.

Before a distinctive repertoire of biblical narratives developed, one pervasive image in Christianity was a gesture that may have grown out of images of *acclamation in imperial art, the *orans* or praying gesture. In early church practice and imagery the customary posture for prayer was to stand with both hands raised and palms open. At the *Sasanian *court, the raised hand of the subject was not so much an acclamation as a sign of submission and respect, and was accompanied by the covering of one's face.

Another imperial and Christian image was that of the arm around the shoulder, which signified protection, and can be found both in the porphyry group of the *Tetrarchy, now in Venice, and in the *icon of Christ and Apa Menas from *Bawit, now in the Louvre. A third conventional gesture with a plausibly natural origin was the *dextrarum iunctio* (Gk. *dexiosis*), or joining of right hands. This is an organic expression of agreement between parties, but as the Romans considered the right hand sacred to Fides, the *personification of fidelity, it also became formalized as the primary symbol of Roman and Early Christian *marriage. It spread from the temporal to the supernatural world to express divine alliances, such as that between Mithras and the *Sun. JEH

L. Reekmans, 'La "dextrarum iunctio" dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 31 (1958), 23–95.

R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage* (1963).

H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Kingship in the Ancient World* (1953).

M. Kirigin, *La mano divina nell'iconografia cristiana* (Studi di antichità cristiana 31, 1976).

J. K. Chosky, 'Gesture in Ancient Iran and Central Asia I: The Raised Hand', *Acta Iranica* 30 (1990), 30–7.

Hanif Arabic: 'upright/true religion'. *Qur'ān 3: 67 equates it with 'Muslim' and with Abrahamic monotheism distinguished from Christianity and *Judaism, suggesting that there were indigenous Arabian monotheistic precursors to *Muhammad's message. PAW

A. Rippen, 'Raḥmān and the Ḥanīfs', in W. B. Hallaq et al., eds., *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams* (1991), 154–68.

U. Rubin, 'Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba', *JSAI* 13 (1990), 85–112.

Hanifa (Hanifa b. Lujaym) Arabian *tribe related to the *Bakr b. Wa'il. The Hanifa lived in Yamāma (east of *Najd) before *Islam, and had a settlement at al-Hajr from which they conducted *trade and political relations with *Persians and *Lakhimids, providing security for caravans between *Mesopotamia and *Arabia. They are famous in Arabic lore for constructing an idol out of dates and flour which they ate during a famine; some pre-Islamic Hanifa were also Christian. They converted to Islam in 630 (*Tabari IX, 95–7), possibly seeking new trading opportunities following the crisis of the *Sasanian dynasty in 628. After *Muhammad's death in 632, most of the Hanifa joined the 'false prophet' *Musaylima al-Kadhdhab; *Khalid b. al-Walid's Muslim army defeated them at the Battle of al-Yamāma, one of the most important campaigns of the *Ridda Wars (Tabari X, 105–33). Following the *Arab conquests, some Hanifa settled in Iraq and *Syria. PAW

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym (Watt).

Hannibalianus Son of Flavius *Dalmatius (*consul 333), so brother of *Dalmatius Caesar. He married *Constantina, daughter of *Constantine I, who in 335

made him king over areas at the northern end of the eastern *frontier, based in *Caesarea of *Cappadocia. He was killed after Constantine's death in 337.

Constantine had a half-brother also called Hannibalianus, son of *Constantius I. OPN

PLRE I, Hannibalianus 2.

Barnes, *NEDC* 8, 43.

S Dodgeon and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 155, 164.

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 459–61.

haras Arabic for 'guard', used of the bodyguard of the *caliph. *Mu'awiya (r. 661–80) is often said to have been the first caliph to appoint a S*ahib al-Haras* ('commander of the bodyguard'). AM

D. W. Biddle, *The Development of the Bureaucracy of the Islamic Empire during the Late Umayyad and Early Abbasid Period* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1972).

harbours On the Mediterranean, Black Sea, and Atlantic coasts, and along such rivers as the Danube, Romans had long used natural harbours, supplemented with artificially constructed seawalls and moles made of rubble and hydraulic concrete, as at *Caesarea Maritima in *Palestine and later at *Constantinople. Roman architects also experimented with solutions to the problem of harbours silting up (as at Portus on the coast of *Italy). Such ports might have a commercial function or a military use (as at *Brigetio on the Danube) or both. They might be supplied with such aids to *navigation as *lighthouses (as at *Corunna and famously at *Alexandria) or adorned with monumental architecture (as at Richborough in Kent, Rutupiae on the *Saxon Shore). Private and ecclesiastical enterprise also made provision for harbours.

Major harbours of Antiquity were still used during Late Antiquity, and new structures were also developed. The Harbour of Eleutherios, one of Constantinople's commercial harbours, built during the reign of *Theodosius I (379–95), was used until the 11th century. Silted-up remains of this harbour have been discovered at Yenikapı, on the Marmara coast of Istanbul, and are being excavated with remarkable results. JC; AG

G. E. Rickman, 'Towards a Study of Roman Ports', in Raban, *Harbour Archaeology* (BAR IntSer 257, 1985), 105–14.

R. Asal, 'Marmaray and Metro Excavations: Saving the Past While Founding the Future', in E. Özdamar and M. Nakanishi, eds., *Seminar & Panel: Urban Archaeology and Transportation Projects—Contributions of Marmaray and Metro Excavations* (2010), 23–9.

R. Ingram and M. Jones, 'The Yenikapı Project: Continuing Research on Two Byzantine Shipwrecks from Constantinople's Theodosian Harbor', *InstNautArchAnnual* 4 (2011), 18–22.

P. Magdalino, 'The Maritime Neighbourhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions: Sixth to Twelfth Centuries', *DOP* 54 (2000), 209–26.

al-Harith b. 'Amr b. Hujr al-Maqsur (d. AD 528) The most renowned of the kings of the *Kinda, al-Harith played a major role in the Roman and Persian *frontier politics at the turn of the 6th century. After launching attacks against the Roman Empire, al-Harith was offered an appointment as a *phylarch in *Palestine, but soon fell out of favour with the regional ruler. Upon his death the 'Kingdom of Kinda' fractured irrevocably. RHos

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Kinda, 118–20 (Shahid).

R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001).

al-Harith b. Jabala (d. AD 569) Perhaps the most famous of all the *Ghassanid rulers, al-Harith b. Jabala was elevated to the rank of supreme *phylarch among the Ghassanids, and honoured with the titles of *gloriosissimus* (the highest rank available to senatorial *aristocracy in 6th-century Byzantium) and *basileus* (king) of the Arabs by *Justinian I. Although a *Miaphysite in religious orientation, he nevertheless served the Romans well, and distinguished himself in combat despite losing against the Persian-sponsored *Lakhimids at the Battle of *Callinicum (AD 531) (*Procopius *Persian* I, 18, 35) and in the Assyrian campaign (AD 541) under *Belisarius. (Procopius *Persian* II, 19, 11–46). At Yawm Halimah, near *Qinnasrin, al-Harith soundly defeated the Lakhimid ruler al-*Mundhir (Procopius *Persian* II, 28, 12–14), which influenced the dynasty's ultimate removal a few years later by the Persians. RHos

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, 222 (Shahid).

R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001).

Shahid, *BASIC*.

M. Whittow, 'Late Roman/Early Byzantine Near East', in *NCHIslam*, vol. 1, 72–97.

al-Harith of Najran *See* ARETHAS.

harness *Leather tack such as reins, bits and bridles, and other equipment was used in Late Antiquity to guide *horses, mules, donkeys, *camels, and oxen, when ridden or when used in traction for pulling chariots, carts, wagons, or *ploughs. An experimental study by Lefebvre des Noëttes (1924; 1931) misled scholars for decades into the erroneous belief that Roman and Late Antique harnessing systems were primitive and limited because they constricted the air supply of animals used in cartage. The basic components of both riding harness and traction harness included bits inserted in the animal's mouth and attached to the bridle and reins through which direction and control could be exercised. The riding *saddle underwent developments in the 5th century.

Roman traction harnesses may be broadly divided into those with a dorsal yoke and those with a neck

yoke. The dorsal yoke consists of an arched metal or wooden fitting that functions as a harness saddle; it is placed on the animal's back, just behind the withers, and attached to the body by a surcingle and a chest strap. The dorsal yoke could be used by a single animal, or to pair animals in tandem (Spruytte, 100). In the neck yoke, an arched metal element was placed atop the neck, forward of the shoulders, and attached via straps on the underside of the neck (Raepseat 1982, 256). Ancient traction harness systems permitted the use of multiple animals in tandem. A law of 356/7 (*CTh* VIII, 5, 8) regulated wagons of the *Cursus Publicus; a *reda carrying its maximum load of 1,000 Roman pounds (about 450 kg) required eight mules to draw it in summer and ten in winter. MD

G. Raepsaet, *Attelages et techniques de transport dans le monde gréco-romain* (2002).
R. Lefebvre des Noëttes, *La Force motrice animale à travers les âges* (1924).
R. Lefebvre des Noëttes, *L'Attelage, le cheval de selle à travers les âges: contribution à l'histoire de l'esclavage* (1931).
J. Spruytte, *Early Harness Systems: Experimental Studies. A Contribution to the History of the Horse*, tr. M. L. Littauer (1983).
G. Raepsaet, 'Attelages antiques dans le Nord de la Gaule: les systèmes de traction par équidès', *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 45 (1982), 215–73.

Harpocration of Panopolis *Sophist and official (4th cent.). Known only from the *letters of his brother, *Ammon scholasticus (P. Köln inv. 4533v), Aurelius Harpocration was a member of the imperial *Comitatus, a *Curator, and Procurator Civitatis. He travelled widely around *Greece, *Rome, and *Constantinople pronouncing (lost) imperial *panegyrics.

The Egyptian poet and **rhetor* of the same name known to *Libanius (*PLRE* I, Harpocration) is a different man. RW

G. M. Browne, 'Harpocration Panegyrista', *IllClassStud* 2 (1977), 184–96.
P. Van Minnen, 'The Letter (and Other Papers) of Ammon: Panopolis in the 4th century AD', in A. Egberts, B. P. Muhs, and J. Van Der Vliet, eds., *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (2002), 177–99.

Harra, Battle of Battle at *Medina in 683 and a key event in the Second *Arab Civil War. A Syrian force, loyal to the *Umayyad *Caliph Yazid (r. 680–3), defeated the Medinese opposition. MCE

H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (2004).
C. Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik* (2005).

Harran Graeco-Roman Carrhae, in the *province of *Osrhoene, and a Roman *colonia* from the time of Septimius Severus onwards. One of the great *cities of northern *Mesopotamia, important from Assyrian to Islamic times. Mongol destruction and later geopolitical change attendant on the Ottoman ascendancy caused its prominence as an intersection on trade routes to diminish (*harran*: 'road, journey'), but in Antiquity the *Silk Road passed through, and it saw Roman–Persian encounters from the time of Crassus (53 BC) through those of Caracalla (who died nearby in 217) and *Valerian (AD 253–60) to that of *Khosrow II.

Abraham and his household are said to have lived in Harran (Gen. 11:31). *Egeria reports that in 384 a few clergy were the only Christians permanently resident in the city; she met the *bishop, who took her to visit a nearby church built on the site of Abraham's house, where she witnessed the *festival of the *martyr S. Helpidius celebrated there every April by monks living in the surrounding desert (20).

The city was famous for the persistence of indigenous *paganism well into the Abbasid period. The *Emperor *Julian during his advance into the *Persian Empire in 363 visited Harran in order to honour the city's *temples (*Ammianus, XXIII, 3, 21); the citizens were so grieved on hearing news of Julian's death that they stoned the messenger to death (*Zosimus, III, 34, 2). In the 5th century, *Theodoret (*Religious History*, XVII, 5) described an *ascetic bishop who overcame the city's persistent paganism, but *Procopius records that in 540 *Khosrow I refused to accept *tribute money from Harran because its residents were adherents of the old religion (*Persian*, II, 13, 7). *Michael the Elder (X, 24) describes an anti-pagan persecution in 580 that seems to have had little effect. By the early 7th century, 'Harranian' had become something of a byword for pagan. A *Syriac work written around 600 uses testimonia from authors like Plato and Sophocles to try to convert 'the uncircumcised Harranians'.

Harran remained a prominent regional centre of traditional religion up to and beyond the *Arab conquest. In 639, for example, the pagans of *Edessa 47 km (29 miles) to the north apparently sought guidance from their more numerous co-religionists in Harran. As late as the 10th century, the Arab scholar al-*Mas'udi visited Harran and commented upon its religious peculiarities. Harran remained a centre for philosophical and medical scholarship in the Syriac language and Harranian teachers played an important early part in the Abbasid *translation movement. The prominence of Harranian scholars and the remarkable persistence of traditional religion in Harran has caused speculation that Harran may have become the new home of the *Neoplatonic *school of *Athens following the return of *Damascius, *Simplicius, and their associates from the Persian Empire after the *Everlasting Peace of 532, but recent investigation has shown that this theory is implausible.

Visible remains of the city's past date mostly to the Islamic period. The complete ground plan of the Great *Mosque, originally built by *Marwan II (744–50) on the site of earlier religious structures, was uncovered by Turkish excavations in the 1980s; several features of the site are in a good state of preservation, notably the *Umayyad *minaret, intact up to 26 m (over 85 feet). A number of building phases have been identified in the citadel, in the south-east of the city, the latest of these a Mamluk restoration of *c.*1315, according to Rice. The Islamic city was enclosed by walls, *c.*4 km (*c.*2.5 miles) in circumference. Eight gates have been identified, the south-western Aleppo Gate being the best preserved. This entrance, and a section of the walls to the south, was restored in 2013 by the Şanlıurfa Museum and Harran University. A monograph on recent archaeological research and restoration work is a desideratum. EW; SGB

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 29–43.
D. S. Rice, 'Medieval Ḥarrān: Studies on its Topography and Monuments, I', *AnatSt* 2 (1952), 36–84.
K. van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (2009), 70–9.
R. Lane Fox, 'Harran, the Sabians, and the late Platonist "Movers"', in A. Smith, ed., *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity* (2005), 231–44.
J. Lameer, 'From Alexandria to Baghdad: Reflections on the Genesis of a Problematic Tradition', in G. Endress and R. Kruk, eds., *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism* (1997), 181–91.
S. Brock, 'A Syriac Collection of Prophecies of the Pagan Philosophers', *OLP* 14 (1983), 203–46.
D. A. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols. (1856; repr. 2011).

Hasan al-Basri (642–728) Leading *Basran preacher and scholar of the *Umayyad period, with a reputation for piety. Numerous sayings containing moral advice are attributed to him in early Islamic prose works of the century following his death. HBR

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 247–8 (Ritter).
S. Mourad, *Early Islam between Myth and History* (2006).

Hashim, Banu A clan of the *Quraysh tribe, whose eponym is Hashim b. 'Abd Manaf, great-grandfather of the Prophet *Muhammad. *'Ali b. Abi Talib (r. 656–61) and the other *Shi'i imams were members of the Banu Hashim, as were the *'Abbasid *caliphs (r. 750–1258). In contrast, *'Uthman b. 'Affan (r. 644–56) and the Syrian *Umayyads (r. 661–750) were members of another branch of Quraysh, the Banu 'Abd Shams. This helps to explain why members of the Banu Hashim are frequently depicted as paragons of virtue in 'Abbasid-era works on 'virtues' (*manaqib* or *fada'il*), e.g. the works of al-*Baladhuri (*Ansab al-Ashraf*) and al-Maqrizi (*Book of Contention and Strife*), and are often contrasted against the vices (*mathalib*) of the Banu 'Abd Shams. The superior merits of the Banu Hashim are variously explained as resulting from divine blessing, natural propensity, and experiential acquisition. AJD

ed. (with ET), C. E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrizi's Book of Contention and Strife Concerning Relations Between the Banu Umayya and the Banu Hashim* (JSS Monographs 3, 1980).
P. Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (2005).

Hassan b. Thabit (d. *c.*670) The *poet Hassan b. Thabit started his career in pre-Islamic times as a poet of his tribe Khazraj in Yathrib (later *Medina) and then of the *Ghassanids and the *Lakhimids. Shortly after the *hijra (AD 622) he converted to *Islam and from that time onwards dedicated his poetic voice to advocating the new religion. As a prominent supporter of the Prophet *Muhammad and the first panegyrist of the *Umayyad *caliph *Muawiya b. Abi Sufyan (r. 661–80), Hassan contributed to the integration of the early Arabic poetic tradition into Islamic culture. The authenticity of much of the poetry attributed to him is in doubt. KDm

Ibn Thabit, *Diwan*, ed. W. Arafat, 2 vols. (1971).
J. T. Monroe, 'The Poetry of the Sīrah Literature', in A. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant, and G. R. Smith, eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983), 368–73.

Hassleben–Leuna group Rich graves of the Late Roman period in the middle Elbe region. Characteristic are inhumation burials in wooden chambers with *gold *jewellery, imported Roman *feasting vessels and gold *coinage, and some local *arms and armour. PSW

W. Schulz, *Das Fürstengrab von Hassleben* (Römisch-germanische Forschungen 7, 1933).
W. Schulz, *Leuna. Ein germanischer Bestattungsplatz der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit* (1953).

Hauran *See* AURANITIS.

al-Haytham b. 'Adi (728–821/4) Early Muslim historian. None of his (apparently numerous) works are extant, but he is extensively cited elsewhere, and is said to have been the first scholar to arrange *akhbar* (historical anecdotes) annalistically. NC

EI 2, vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* 'al-Haytham b. 'Adī al-Ṭā'ī', 328 (Pellat).
S. Leder, 'Authorship and Transmission in Unauthored Literature: The *Akhbār* Attributed to al-Haytham b. 'Adī', *Oriens* 31 (1988), 67–81.
S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haitam ibn 'Adi (st. 207/822). Herkunft, Überlieferung, Gestalt früher Texte der ahbar-Literatur* (1991).

hazarbad Persian military title meaning 'commander of a thousand' and chiefly attested through *inscriptions. The exact functions and duties of the *hazarbad* are unknown. It might have originally been a military title referring to the commander of the royal guard (OP *hazārapati-). The functions of great commander and chief minister have also been suggested. AZ

EncIran V/4 (2011) *s.n.* Chiliarch, 423–4 (P. Gignoux).

headman, village (Lat. *seniores, vici magister*; also Gk. *protokometes, meizon, presbyter, komarchos, kephalotes*, Demotic and *Coptic **lashane, lesonis*) From the 2nd century onwards Egyptians who had the duty (liturgy) of collecting taxes in *villages sometimes transferred their responsibilities to groups of elders. In the 3th–4th century these elders evolved into komarchs (Gk. village-rulers), first attested in 247/8. Their responsibilities included mediation between villagers and communication with imperial representatives.

Remarkably, the **Farmer's Law*, while giving considerable details about the duties of farmers towards one another, about corporal punishment, theft of *fruit, and powerful *dogs, makes no mention of a village headman. KF

Bagnall, *Egypt*.

T. Derda, *ΆΡΣΙΝΟΙΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ: Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule* (2006).

C. A. Grey, *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside* (2011).

A. Tomsin, *Études sur les πρεσβύτεροι κώμης des villages de la χώρα égyptienne* (1952).

hearpe *See* LYRE.

Hebdomon (Gk. 'seventh') Western coastal suburb of *Constantinople (mod. Bakırköy) at the seventh milestone from Constantinople's main square on the *Via Egnatia leading westwards through the Golden Gate. As well as two churches, dedicated to S. John the Evangelist (used in *Gainas's revolt of 400) and *S. John Prodromos (founded after 391), by the end of the 4th century it possessed a *harbour with a mole rebuilt in 552, a forum, *cistern, *circus, and two imperial residences, the Magnaura and the Iucundianae (Secundianae). There was also an extensive military parade ground (the Campus and Castellum of the Theodosiani) where, in 364, *Valens was proclaimed *emperor. From then on, emperors were customarily acclaimed at Hebdomon on their *accession. JPH

Janin, *CPByz*, 139–40, 446–9.

Janin, *Églises CP* 64 (Vincent of Saragossa), 267–9 (monastery of S. John the Evangelist), 413–15 (monastery of S. John Prodromos), 449–50 (Samuel).

R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (1945).

Hegesippus Latinus Author credited with writing a late 4th-century *Latin adaptation of Josephus' *Jewish War*, often referred to as *De Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanae* (*On the Ruin of the City of Jerusalem*). The author of the *De Excidio* freely incorporates material from other sources, particularly the *Jewish Antiquities*, but also other Roman historians. The work consists of five books, the first four corresponding with Books 1–4 of Josephus' *Jewish War*, and the fifth book of the *De Excidio* with Josephus' Books 5–7. The author uses the historical source material to render an account conducive to Christian apologetic. The portions taken directly from Josephus often expand the narrative and even place hypothetical speeches into the mouths of the protagonists. Early medieval historians falsely attributed the work to Hegesippus, most likely a corruption of Iosippus (the Latinized spelling of Josephus), and perhaps also due to the fact that the now lost *Memoirs* of Hegisippus likewise consisted of five books. Some contemporary scholars associate the work with *Ambrose of *Milan, but the lack of evidence has led most to view it as anonymous. AJM

ed. V. Ussani (CSEL 66, 1932).

A. A. Bell Jr., 'The Blending of Classical and Christian Traditions in the Work of Pseudo-Hegesippus', *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 33 (1980), 60–4.

A. A. Bell Jr., 'Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus', in L. H. Feldman and G. Hata, eds., *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (1987), 349–61.

J. P. McCormick, *A Study of the 'Nominal Syntax' and of Indirect Discourse in Hegesippus* (1935).

Heikhalot literature Corpus of Jewish mystical, magical, and liturgical writings in Hebrew and Aramaic, produced in the primary centres of Late Antique Jewish literary culture in *Palestine and *Mesopotamia between the 5th and 9th centuries. The term 'heikhalot' refers to the heavenly palaces or temples through which the visionary ascends to see God and participate in the angelic liturgy. While Heikhalot compositions systematically attribute their teachings to the founders of rabbinic Judaism (e.g. R. Ishmael and R. Akiva), on whose authority they draw, these attributions are quite obviously pseudepigraphic, reflecting the gradual rabbinization of Jewish literary culture after the 5th century rather than a continuous tradition of mystical practice beginning with the earliest rabbinic sages or even before.

The form of religious praxis found in Heikhalot literature is often labelled 'Merkavah mysticism' because it builds upon the prophet Ezekiel's vision of God seated on his chariot-throne (the *merkavah* of Ezekiel 1:10). But the themes of heavenly ascent and visionary experience are only one facet of Heikhalot literature, which accords equal importance to rituals for invoking angelic intermediaries to assist the practitioner in mastering and

retaining scholastic (Torah) knowledge. Heikhalot compositions often also incorporate other subgenres, such as: instructions for the recitation of the gigantic dimensions and secret names of the limbs of God's body (*Shi'ur Qomah*); chains of liturgical hymns (frequently culminating in the *Qedushah* of Isaiah 6:3) to be performed by the angelic host, sometimes in unison with the Jewish community on Earth; and physiognomic, cosmological, martyrological, and apocalyptic traditions, often refashioned for the literature's dominant magico-ritual framework.

No scholarly consensus exists concerning the relationship between Heikhalot literature and various associated textual corpora, in particular early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, classical rabbinic literature, and Jewish liturgical poetry (**piyyut*). Rather than offering a uniform account of the religious function and social location of this heterogeneous literature, scholars increasingly attend to the shifting configuration of religious aims and ideological interests expressed in specific Heikhalot compositions during the protracted process of their composition, redaction, and transmission.

RSB

R. S. Boustan, 'The Study of Heikhalot Literature—Between Religious Experience and Textual Artifact', *Currents in Biblical Research* 6 (2007), 130–60.
P. Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (2009).
P. Schäfer, ed., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (1981).
P. Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (1984).
M. D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (1996).

Helena, Empress Flavia Iulia Helena (248/9–*c.*328) was possibly born in Drepanum, in Bithyna, later renamed *Helenopolis. She was of low social origin (*Ambrose, *On the Death of Theodosius*, 42); *Philostorgius claims that in her youth she was a prostitute (*HE* II, 16). Out of her concubinage or *marriage with *Constantius I was born *Constantine I *c.*272/3. When Constantine became *emperor in 306 she probably joined his *court in *Trier. After 312 she resided in *Rome in the Sessorian *Palace. She bore the title Nobilissima Femina and from 324, when Constantine conquered the eastern half of the Empire, she bore the title *Augusta. In 327/8 she travelled through the eastern *provinces including *Palestine. *Eusebius (*VCon* III, 42–6) presents her journey as a *pilgrimage and credits her with the founding of churches; her journey to the East may have had political as well as religious motives. Her presence in *Jerusalem gave occasion in the second half of the 4th century to the legend that Helena discovered the Relic of the True *Cross. After her journey, Helena died at the age of almost 80 (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 46–7). She was buried at the newly built *basilica of Ss. Marcellino and Pietro by the Via Labicana in *Rome (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 26). Part of the Sessorian Palace was transformed into the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. HJWD

PLRE I, Helena 3.
NEDC 9, 36, 107.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 30–8, 42–5.
F. A. Consolino, 'Helena Augusta: From Innkeeper to Empress', in A. Fraschetti, ed., *Roman Women* (2001), 141–59.
J. W. Drijvers, 'Helena Augusta: Cross and Myth: Some New Reflections', *Millennium* 8 (2011), 125–74.
H. Heinen, 'Konstantins Mutter Helena. Geschichte und Bedeutung', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 60 (2008), 9–29.
H. A. Pohlsander, *Helena: Empress and Saint* (1996).

Helenopolis (mod. Hersek) City located where the Gulf of *Nicomedia enters the Sea of *Marmara. Originally Drepanum of *Bithynia, renamed by *Constantine I after his mother *Helena on account of its association with the *priest *Lucian of *Antioch, martyred at Nicomedia in 312, whose relics were buried in a *martyrium at Drepanum, having allegedly been carried there by a dolphin (*Philostorgius, *HE* II, 12, *Jerome, *Chron.* 231h Helm).

*Palladius, author of the *Lausiac History*, was *bishop here. *Justinian I provided public buildings, *baths, and an *aqueduct when he reformed communications along the *Pilgrims' Road between *Constantinople and the eastern *frontier (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 2, *Anecd.* 30, 8).

JPH; OPN

Janin, *GrandsCentres*, 97–8.
C. Mango, 'The Empress Helena, Helenopolis, Pylae', *TM* 12 (1994), 143–58.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 37–8.

Helenopontus The province of Pontus, capital *Amaseia, created in the second quarter of the 3rd century, became Diospontus in the *dioecesis *Pontica by 314. It was renamed Helenopontus after the death of *Constantine I's mother *Helena in 328 and was governed by a Praeses. In 535/6 it was joined with Pontus Polemoniacus and retained the name Helenopontus, but was now governed by a Moderator (*NovJust* 28). SM

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, II, 159.

Heliodorus Author of the *Aethiopica*, the latest and the most sophisticated of the Greek novels, also known in Antiquity by the names of its hero and heroine, Theagenes and Charicleia. Almost nothing is known of the author or his life beyond what he tells us at the end of his novel, where he identifies himself as a Phoenician from *Emesa, son of Theodosius. Some scholars place him in the 3rd century, while others, on the basis of similarities between an episode in the novel and the siege of *Nisibis in 350, place him in the second half of

the 4th century. *Socrates (V, 22) identifies the author of the *Aethiopica* as *Bishop Heliodorus of Tricca in *Thessaly; however, there are no clear internal indications of the date of composition or the religious affiliation of the author and this identification is generally doubted.

Like the other Greek novels, the *Aethiopica* follows the adventures of a couple in love, in this case a Greek man and a fair-skinned *Ethiopian woman. Set in the classical period, it is a work of stunning narrative complexity, partly modelled on *Homer's *Odyssey*. It opens *in mediis rebus*, with the gaps in the story being supplied by internal narrators. Heliodorus' classicizing style is as complex as his narrative, with long periodic sentences and lively dialogue. The *Aethiopica* differs from other surviving Greek novels in its geographical range, which takes the lovers from Greece to Ethiopia, and in the linear journey undertaken by the hero as he progresses southwards from Thessaly to Ethiopia. The preoccupation with questions of cultural identity and the prominent role given to non-Greek characters could reflect the cultural fluidity of the imperial period in general; two elements, however, are compatible with Christian thought: the emphasis on the *virginity of the male hero and the ending of bloody *sacrifice. RW

PLRE I, Heliodorus 3.
ed. R. M. Rattenbury and T. W. Lumb (with FT by J. Maillon, ³1991).
ET J. R. Morgan in B. P. Reardon, ed., *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (1989).
ed. R. Hunter, *Studies in Heliodorus* (1998).

Heliodorus of Altinum (bp. *c.*381–*c.*407) Member of a proto-monastic group in *Aquileia before becoming *Bishop of Altinum in the Veneto (*Jerome, *ep.* 14). He was at the *Council of Aquileia. Jerome dedicated numerous *translations to him, and wrote him a *consolation (*ep.* 60) on the death of his brother. RJM

ed. (with ET and comm.) J. H. D. Scourfield, *Jerome: Consoling Heliodorus: A Commentary on Jerome Letter 60* (1992).
C. Corsato, 'Cromazio ed Eliodoro tra Girolamo e Rufino', in S. Piussi, ed., *Cromazio di Aquileia* (2008), 280–5.

Heliopolis (mod. Baalbek, Lebanon) *City in the Bekaa Valley, said to have been built by Solomon (1 Kings 9:18; 2 Chron. 8:6). It was apparently incorporated into the territory of the *colonia* of *Beirut (Berytus) in the Early Roman period and settled by legionary veterans. As at Berytus, many public *inscriptions in the Early Empire were in *Latin. Heliopolis began issuing civic coins so had certainly acquired civic status as a *colonia* under Septimius Severus (AD 193–211), who may have granted it independence from Berytus.

Heliopolis was a famous centre of *paganism in Late Antiquity, a city, says *Theodoret, 'where all the demons are worshipped' (*HE* IV, 22). Attempts to eradicate its cults began with *Constantine I, who prohibited its temple prostitution, arranged poor relief, and built a Christian *basilica in the courtyard of the great *Temple of Jupiter (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 58). Under the Emperor *Julian (AD 361–3) the pagan population, in revenge, *Sozomen claims (V, 10), for Constantine's acts, turned on its Christians, stripped the consecrated *virgins naked, disembowelled them, and fed their bodies to *swine.

*John Malalas claims that *Theodosius I destroyed the 'large and famous temple known as Trilithon' and made it a church (XIII, 37; *ChronPasch* ad ann. AD 379). *Zacharias Rhetor describes how in 525 the great temple was struck by lightning and burnt (VIII, 4c). *Dionysius of Tel-Mahre describes the great dismay of the pagan population, but misplaces the event in 555 (III, ad Ann. Gr. 866). As late as 579, an imperial commissioner was sent to clamp down on pagans at Heliopolis who were said to be threatening the Christians of Heliopolis 'who were few and poor' (*John of Ephesus, *HE*, part III, 3, 27). After the *Arab conquest in the 7th century it became an important regional administrative centre and the site of a mint. The walls were destroyed by the *'Umayyad *Caliph *Marwan in 745 (*Theophanes, AM 6237).

The city was dominated by its vast pagan *temples and courtyard complexes, constructed between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD. The largest was dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The god's pre-Roman name is unknown, perhaps indicating how much legionary veterans and their descendants influenced the cult. The colossal scale of the Jupiter sanctuary (which was never completed) meant that it could not easily be destroyed; and the Christian basilica was constructed within the main courtyard rather than utilizing the gigantic temple at the rear of the complex. Other major temples include the so-called Temple of Bacchus (dedicated to an unknown cult or cults) standing adjacent to the Jupiter complex, and a temple (probably dedicated to Mercury) on a hill overlooking the city. KETB; OPN

T. Wiegand, *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1898–1905*, 3 vols. (1921–5).
J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLS* VI: *Baalbek et Beqa'* (1967).
N. Jidejian, *Baalbek: Heliopolis, 'City of the Sun'* (1975).
Y. Hajjar, *La Triade d'Heliopolis-Baalbek*, 3 vols. (1977–85).
F. Ragette, *Baalbek* (1980).
M. von Ess and T. Weber, *Baalbek: Im Bann Römischer Monumentalarchitektur* (1999).

Hellas Theme Element of the *theme system, created by *Justinian II *c.*687–95, perhaps carved out of the *Carabisian, it defended the remaining enclaves of Roman rule in southern and central Greece. The *Strategos, first attested in 695, resided at *Corinth. The theme also hosted a naval squadron. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast*: *History*, 732–3.

Hellespontus *Province of *Dioecesis *Asiana, cut out of the former province of *Asia by the time of the *Verona List. At the *Council of *Nicaea, however, the *bishops of the *cities of Hellespontus were still listed as of Asia. In 396 *Arcadius, in response to representations from the governor's **officium*, moved Hellespontus from the jurisdiction of the *Vicarius of Asiana to that of the *Proconsul Asiae (*CTh* I, 12, 5 of 396). In the **Notitia Dignitatum* the *governor has the title *Consularis. It bordered the Aegean Sea, the Dardanelles, the Propontis/Sea of *Marmara, and the provinces of *Bithynia, *Phrygia, *Lydia, and *Asia. *Cyzicus was its metropolis. PhN

RAC Bd. 25 Lief. 194/201 (2012) *s.n.* Mysia (Hellespontus), 389–403 (P. Niewöhner).

Henana Native of Hadyab (*Adiabene) and Director of the School of *Nisibis from *c.*571. He is praised by *Barhadbeshabba (*Cause of the Foundation of Schools*) as a devoted and inspiring teacher; but the same author admits his tenure was controversial, and in his time, *c.*595, there was an exodus of 300 students from the School. *Babai (the Great) attacked Henana as an *Origenist who believed in fatalism and in the spherical resurrection body, as well as in the Christology, unorthodox in the Persian Church, of one *qnoma* ('one hypostasis'). It is hard to know what substance these accusations had. Henana certainly did set himself against the position of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia as the authoritative biblical exegete in the School and the *Church of the East, although he probably did not go so far as to practise the allegorical method. His extensive commentaries were condemned at councils of bishops in 585 and 596, and are now all lost. JFC

GEDSH s.v. Ḥenana, 194 (Childers).

Treatises on liturgical feasts; ed. (with FT) A. Scher, PO 7 (1909), 53–87.

G. J. Reinink, '"Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth": The School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-Seventh Century', in J. W. Drijvers and A. A. McDonald, eds., *Centres of Learning* (1995), 77–89.

Hengest and Horsa (*fl.* mid-5th century) Brothers, leaders of the Germanic migration to *Britain. According to the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*s.a.* 449) and *Bede (*HE* I, 15 and II, 5), they brought the pagan Angles, Saxons, and Jutes to England, invited by the British leader Vortigern. APS

ODNB s.v. kings of Kent (Yorke).

N. Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (1989; repr. 2001).

Henoticon of Zeno *Letter of July 483, by the *Emperor *Zeno addressed to the *bishops, clergy, monks, and laymen of *Alexandria, *Egypt, *Libya, and Pentapolis. Divided into three sections, the epistle affirmed the Nicene-Constantinopolitan *creed as the only true testimony of faith, condemned *Nestorius and *Eutyches and accepted the twelve anathemas of *Cyril of Alexandria, and adopted a doctrine regarding the nature of Christ favoured by *Miaphysites. The *Council of *Chalcedon was ignored rather than condemned. Formulated by *Acacius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, the *Henoticon* was designed to reconcile pro-Chalcedonian Constantinople with anti-Chalcedonian Alexandria. However, while many Chalcedonians adopted it, hoping to establish unity, *Rome did not accept it, being unwilling to accept a document which overruled the Chalcedonian definition of faith which had been imposed by imperial *edict. Felix III in Rome excommunicated Acacius and Peter Mongus (Patriarch of Alexandria), and Acacius anathematized Felix. This began the *Acacian schism which lasted for 35 years. The *Henoticon* remained in force during the reign of *Anastasius I but was annulled by *Justin I (519). Versions of the *Henoticon* were preserved by various authors, including *Evagrius (*HE* III.14). FKH

ed. E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431. Eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos* (Abh. Bayr., 32, 6, 1927), no. 75.

Frend, *Monophysite Movement*.

Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity*.

S. Salaville, 'L'Affaire de l'Henotique', *Échos d'Orient* 19 (1920), 49–68.

Hephthalites (White Huns, Abdelai, Hayatila, Hua) Inner Asian 'Hunnic' group (or rather dynasty), perhaps of Turkic origin, whose name appears first in 456; by 467 they had displaced the *Chionite Huns, led by the *Kidarite dynasty, in *Tukharistan (*Bactria). Chinese sources (*Han-shu*, 119–23; *Zhou-shu*, 11–12) refer to their origins from the Yuezhi (Yüeh-chih), called Tocharoi by the Greeks. *Zacharias Rhetor (XII, k, ix) and *Theophylact Simocatta (VII, 7, 8) appear to equate them with the Abdelai. The Hephthalites, also known as White Huns, eventually established an empire that stretched north–south from the *Jaxartes to the Indian Ocean and east–west from the *Tarim basin to eastern Iran.

Despite their having helped him overthrow his brother *Bahram V in 457, the *Sasanian Shah *Peroz I subsequently waged three military campaigns against the Hephthalites between 467 and 484, when he was killed in battle against them; the Hephthalite ruler at this time was Khošnavaz (Akhšonvar). The Hephthalite defeat of the Persians enabled the former to expand into Persian territory and exact annual *tribute from the *Persian Empire. When Peroz's son *Qobad I (previously a Hephthalite hostage for several years) was

deposed and imprisoned (496), he fled to the Hephthalites and the latter helped him regain his throne in 498/9 (*Joshua the Stylite, 9–11; *Lazar P'arpets'i, 154–6/213–15; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 3–7; *Agathias, IV, 27, 3–28, 4; Theophylact Simocatta, IV, 6, 10; *Theophanes, AM 5968–9; *Chronicle of Seert, V, 15–16/107–8; XII, 32–3/124–5; XIV, 35–6/127–8; *Tabari, V, 109–20 and 136 tr. Bosworth). Qobad had Hephthalites in his army when he broke through the Roman *frontier under *Anastasius I (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 7, 5–11).

Procopius (*Persian*, I, 3, 3) distinguishes Hephthalites from other Huns, particularly their 'white' appearance and non-nomadic lifestyle; important towns included Badghis, *Balkh, and *Tirmidh, but the sources give conflicting information on Hephthalite urbanization. Although it was not their native language, the Hephthalites used *Bactrian as the language of administration. The Buddhist pilgrim Song Yun described them as 'unbelievers' in 519 (*Faxian, 184–6), but *Buddhism thrived in Tukharistan under them and the *Bamiyan Buddhas dated from Hephthalite times. The Hephthalites even requested and received a Christian *bishop (*c.*550) from Mar *Aba I, the *Catholicus of the *Church of the East (Braun, *Ausgewählte*, 217–18). Notably, Chinese sources mention Hephthalite polyandry, symbolized by female horned headdresses. *Cosmas Indicopleustes had heard that the King of the White Huns had 2,000 war *elephants (370); the **Strategicon* of *Maurice (53) discusses their military practice.

Hephthalite rule quickly extended to Gandhara (460s), *Turfan (479), *Sogdiana (509), and northern *India, the latter under kings Toramana and Mihirakula (*c.*490–540). The Hephthalites were defeated between 556 and 561 by the resurgent Persian Empire under *Khosrow I Anoshirvan, in cooperation with the Türks (*Menander Protector, fr. 6, 1; 10, 1; Theophylact Simocatta, VII, 7, 8); the Hephthalite noble Katulph seemingly played a role in their downfall (Menander Protector, fr. 4, 3). Dividing Hephthalite territory along the *Oxus, the Sasanians claimed Tukharistan, the Türks Sogdiana. Despite their loss of power, smaller Hephthalite kingdoms such as that mentioned by *Sebeos (28, 102–3; cf. *Movses Kaghankatvatsi, I, 27) continued until the *Arab conquest (on which al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 160), especially in the Hindu Kush. An important figure in the resistance to Arab rule was the Hephthalite ruler Tarkhan *Nezak who died in 710; the last Hephthalite embassy to China was in 748. Reflecting dynastic changes in Hephthalite territory, various sources sometimes call them either 'Kushans' or 'Turks'. They were remembered long afterwards in the Persian epic poem the *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi (VII, 163–9, 173–82, 197–9, 328–63). MLD

BT II, Ἀβδέλαι; Ἐφθαλῖται.
EI 2 vol. 3 (1971), Hayātila (A. D. H. Bivar).
EncIran XII/2 (2003) *s.n.* Hephthalites, 198–201 (A. D. H. Bivar).
F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. 2: *Die Hephthaliten in Iran* (1960).
R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* (1948).
F. Grenet, 'Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite Periods', in N. Sims-Williams, ed., *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (2002), 203–24.
M. Grignaschi, 'La Chute de l'empire Hephthalite dans les sources byzantines et perses et le problème des Avar', *ActAntHung* 28 (1980), 219–48.
S. Kuwayama, 'The Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India', *Zinbun* 24 (1989), 89–134.
B. A. Litvinsky in *HCCA* III, 135–83.
D. Sinor, 'The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 298–301.
É. de la Vaissière, 'Is There a "Nationality" of the Hephtalites?', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 17 (2007), 119–32.
G. Widengren, 'Xosrau Anoširvan, les Hephthalites et les peuples Turcs', *Orientalia Suecana* 1 (1952), 69–94.

Heraclaea Lyncestis (mod. Bitola, FYROM) Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique *city, in *Macedonia Prima, where the *Via Egnatia crosses the *road running north-east to *Stobi and *Serdica. Heraclaea had a *bishop by 343; in later centuries its bishops twice represented the Archbishop of *Thessalonica at church *councils. According to *Malchus (fr. 18), *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth sacked the city in 479. Excavated buildings include a *bath, a portico, a theatre (heavily restored), a fortification wall, three 5th–6th-century Christian *basilicas inside the city, an *extra muros* *cemetery basilica, and an episcopal residence sometimes identified as a *monastery. The Small Basilica (A) included a large *baptistery in an early phase; it may later have become part of the complex of spaces associated with the Large Basilica (C), which included a small 6th-century baptistery at its south-east corner. Basilica E came to light in 2008, west of the theatre. *Opus sectile and *mosaic paved many of the church floors; an outstanding mosaic in the *narthex of the Large Basilica shows *animals and trees within a border of panels filled with *fish and water *birds. A fountain dedicated in 561 indicates that building activity continued in the city during the third quarter of the 6th century. CSS

TIR K 34 (1976), 62
G. Cvetković-Tomašević, D. Simoska, E. Maneva, and Dj. Mitrović, *Mosaïques de pavement paléobyzantines dans le palais episcopal à Heraklea Lynkestis* (2002).
A. Djordjievska, *The Path of Heraclea Lyncestis through Time* (2007).
I. Mikulčić, *Heraclea Lyncestis: Ancient City in Macedonia* (2007).

Heraclaea of Thrace (mod. Marmaraereğli, Turkey) *City on the north shore of the Sea of *Marmara, originally named Perinthus. Located at the important strategic junction of the *Via Egnatia and the main trans-*Balkan highway, the *Via Militaris, it flourished during the Roman period as the metropolis of the imperial *province of *Thracia. Renamed after Hercules, the tutelary deity of the *Emperor *Maximian, in the provincial reforms of the *Tetrarchy the city became the metropolis of the province of *Europa. A mint was opened under *Diocletian and issued copper coinage (from 364 with the mint mark SMH) until its closure by *Leo I. A *palace was noted at the time of *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 9, 14–16); it is not known how early it can be dated.

Although the city lost administrative significance with the foundation of *Constantinople, it was not until 380 that the metropolitan see was transferred from Heraclaea to the new imperial capital. A prominent hill overlooked the *harbour, and was the focus for the earlier Greek colony, reminiscent of the situation of the acropolis of ancient Byzantium. On the hillside was a large theatre and at the foot of the later wall are the excavated traces of a *hippodrome, the setting for the planned races between the *Avar *Khagan and *Heraclius in 623 and the 'Avar Surprise' (*Nicephorus the Patriarch, 10). The lower city received new defences in the early 5th century and the acropolis walls and *aqueduct were restored under Justinian I.

JCr; RRD

M. H. Sayer, *Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung* (1998).

Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins, RIC* VI–VIII.

Heracleides, Bazaar of Book by *Nestorius written in *Greek during his *exile (*c.*451), of which only a *Syriac translation survives. In this *apologia*, Nestorius argues that he was unfairly condemned and vigorously articulates his dogmatic position. SW

CPG 5751.

ed. P. Bedjan, *Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (1910).

FT F. Nau, *Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (1910).

ET (annotated) G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, *Nestorius, The Bazaar of Heracleides* (1925).

Heracleopolis (Coptic Ahnas, mod. Ihnasya el-Medina) *City in Middle *Egypt (*province of *Arcadia), on the right bank of the Bahr Yusuf (the canal that brings water from the *Nile to the *Fayyum), old capital of the 20th Upper Egyptian *nome, important since Pharaonic times. Divided into quarters (some characterized by Christian names), Heracleopolis was a lively economic centre with large *estates in the surrounding countryside belonging to aristocratic *families (for instance, the *Apion *family) and to the Church.

Heracleopolis had a *bishop at the time of the *Council of *Nicaea until at least the 15th century; some followed the *Meletian Schism. *Stephen of Ahnas was a vigorous adherent of the *Miaphysite Christology prevalent in Egypt. Three major churches are recorded in *papyri. *Monasteries (esp. of Meletian monks) and ascetic communities were present, especially in the area south of the city (e.g. the 4th-cent. Hathor monastery, probably under the jurisdiction of Heracleopolis).

There was a necropolis to the west of Heracleopolis with tombs from the Pharaonic to Roman periods, and an originally pagan necropolis within the city was also used by Christians from the middle 4th century. The Ahnas sculptures, fragments of architectural *sculpture from small buildings of the 4th–6th centuries, showing both *foliage and mythological figures, have been important to scholarly understanding of Late Antique *art in Egypt. Numerous papyri in *Greek, *Coptic, and *Arabic have been found in the area. MCDP

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Ahnas, col. 73a–77a (L. Török).

L. Török, '"A Heap of Stones": Aspects of the Architectural Sculpture from Heracleopolis Magna/Ahnas', *BullSocArchCopte* 42 (2003), 73–9.

McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt*, 262–6.

P. van Minnen, 'P. Harrauer 48 and the Problem of *Papas* Heraiscus in P. Lond. VI 1914', *Tyche* 16 (2001), 103–5.

Török, *Transformations of Hellenism*, 9–36; 183–93.

Heraclian In 408 Heraclian murdered *Stilicho at *Ravenna with his own hands and was promptly rewarded with command of the *armies of *Africa, where he treated harshly refugees fleeing from *Alaric in *Italy. He opposed the *usurper Priscus *Attalus, but in 413 himself rebelled and sailed a large *fleet to Italy. He was defeated at Utriculum, fled back to *Carthage, and was soon afterwards murdered. OPN

PLRE II, Heraclianus 3.

Heraclius I (*c.*575–641) *Emperor 610–41. Heraclius' reign was a watershed in Roman history, as although he successfully counter-attacked against the Persians he failed to stem the *Arab conquest.

Rise to power

Heraclius was the son of the general *Heraclius who, as *Exarch of *Africa, rebelled against the 'tyrant' *Phocas in 608. The rebels cloaked their revolt under the veneer of senatorial legitimacy, issuing *coinage showing Heraclius father and son dressed as *consuls. Heraclius' cousin *Nicetas was dispatched overland to capture *Egypt, and, once it was secured, Heraclius sailed to *Constantinople in 610. He landed on 3 October; by 5 October Phocas had been abandoned by his supporters

and handed over to Heraclius, who had him executed and his dismembered body paraded around the city. On the same day, Heraclius was crowned by the *Patriarch Sergius and married his first wife *Eudocia, who bore him a daughter, *Ephiphania, and a son, the future *Constantine III. Eudocia died in 612, obliging Heraclius to crown the infant Epiphania *Augusta. In *c.*622 Heraclius controversially married his niece *Martina, with whom he had many children including the future Emperor *Heraclonas. However, the marriage generated scandal and tensions within the imperial house, which would seriously complicate the succession.

The Persian War

At Heraclius' accession the Empire was in a parlous state and his rebellion had only worsened the immediate situation. The *Avars and *Slavs were pressing on the *Balkans, while the Persians had overwhelmed Roman defences in *Armenia and *Mesopotamia. Counter-attacks having failed, in 614 *Jerusalem fell to the Persians and the Relic of the True *Cross was taken to *Ctesiphon, striking a heavy blow to Roman prestige and morale. By 616, Persian troops advanced as far as the *Bosporus, and in 619 Egypt surrendered.

In 622, Heraclius began his counter-attack, taking personal command of the *army and thereby breaking centuries of precedent. Bankrolling his campaigns by melting down church plate, Heraclius restored army morale through drilling, appeals to Christian devotion, and a series of minor victories. In 623, Heraclius attempted to negotiate a treaty with the Avars in person, thereby freeing Roman resources for the Persian war, but the Avars ambushed and almost captured him. Despite this, the Romans bought a temporary truce for 200,000 **solidi*. On 25 March 624, Heraclius left Constantinople, and would remain with the army for the next four years, maintaining contact with the capital through a series of bulletins, while *court publicity, such as the poems of *George of Pisidia, maintained morale. Heraclius headed towards Armenia, where the local Christian notables could succour his forces and from where he could strike at the heart of the *Persian Empire. *Dvin was sacked, and learning that the Shah *Khosrow II was encamped at Ganzak (possibly Shiz/*Takht-e Soleyman), Heraclius advanced, forcing the shah into a humiliating flight and allowing Heraclius to burn the nearby *fire temple in revenge for Jerusalem. In spring 625, Khosrow dispatched three armies against Heraclius which by rapid manoeuvres Heraclius defeated.

However, in 626 a Persian army advanced to *Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople, while at the same time an Avar–Slav force besieged the capital. Heraclius decided to remain in the field, leaving the defence of the city to the Patriarch Sergius, who carried an *icon of the Virgin *Mary around the walls to lift morale and invoke Constantinople's heavenly defenders. In the end, the Avar assaults were rebuffed, and the Persians forced to retreat, giving a huge psychological boost to the Romans.

The pivotal campaign occurred in 627–8, when Heraclius marched into *Iberia to link up with a massive Turkish invasion that threw Persia into terrified confusion. Meeting the Turkish leader at *Tblisi and swearing an alliance, Heraclius turned south accompanied by a Turkish contingent and marched into Persian *Mesopotamia. On 12 December 627 Heraclius routed a Persian army at *Nineveh, and proceeded to ravage the economic heartland of the Persian Empire. These tactics prompted a coup that overthrew Khosrow and the Persians offered terms for peace.

Apogee and the Arab invasions

Persia quickly fell into a succession crisis and Heraclius was able to negotiate a return to pre-war borders. The apogee of his reign occurred in 630 when he was able to restore the True Cross to Jerusalem. This quasi-miraculous victory was broadcast across multiple media, from coins to George of Pisidia's poems. A vividly Christian and biblical ideology was trumpeted, with Heraclius being compared to King David, while in a law of 629 Heraclius drastically simplified and Christianized the imperial titulature. In these years of victory, Heraclius sought to re-establish Roman administration and provincial loyalties weakened by Persian occupation. However, it is now clear that Heraclius did not greatly alter the established administrative structures, and did not introduce the *Theme system formerly credited to him by G. A. Ostrogorsky.

Heraclius also attempted to heal doctrinal divisions within the Church concerning the Nature of Christ by supporting the Patriarch Sergius' compromise formulation known as Monoenergism, which maintained that Christ's two Natures were united in a single energy. However, objections, particularly from *Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, generated a fresh formulation, that of *Monotheletism, that Christ had two Natures but a single will. Heraclius endorsed Monotheletism in the **Ecthesis* of 638.

Events overtook Heraclius' efforts at imperial restoration, for from 634 a new threat appeared in the form of the Arab *armies of *Islam. Striking the weakened Empire on its vulnerable desert flank, the *Arabs quickly overran *Syria and *Palestine, taking Jerusalem (634/5) and defeating the Roman army at the Battle of the *Yarmuk in 636. Heraclius could do little to stem the tide, and at his death in early 641 Egypt was poised to fall to the invaders. Further, Heraclius' marriage to Martina created a succession conflict in 641 that

distracted Constantinople and paralysed Roman opposition to the Arab conquest. Eventually, Heraclius' grandson *Constans II would emerge as sole emperor, but neither he nor his successors would manage to replicate Heraclius' feats against the Persians by defeating the Arabs.

Artistic achievements

Many artistic works were made following Heraclius' Persian triumph. Churches across the Empire were restored, including the shrines at Jerusalem, while the exposed *Blachernae shrine and palace at Constantinople was surrounded by a wall whose gates possibly depicted apt images of *Victory and the Virgin Mary. Multiple *silver vessels were created, including the famous David Plates of the *Cyprus Treasures. These narrate scenes from David's life depicted in a classical style normally associated with court ideology, linking Heraclius to David as the archetype of God-chosen ruler and hero. Heraclius' *coinage is complicated by the opening and closing of various temporary mints in response to military requirements, including during his rebellion against Phocas. His sons appear prominently on coinage from 612 onwards. MTGH; RRD

Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 41–53.
J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'Heraclius' Persian Campaigns and the Revival of the East Roman Empire, 622–30', *War in History* 6 (1999), 1–44.
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*.
Kaegi, *Heraclius*.
Marlia Mundell Mango, 'Imperial Art in the Seventh Century', in Magdalino, *New Constantines*, 109–38.
Ostrogorsky, *History*, 87–113.
G. Reinink and B. Stolte, eds., *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation* (2002).
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, I, 80–353, II.
Grierson, *DOC* II/1.

Heraclius II *See* HERACLONAS.

Heraclius the Elder A general on the Eastern *frontier in 586–8, he defeated the Persians at *Sisauronon near *Nisibis in 589. After service in *Armenia, he was *Exarch of *Africa under *Phocas, and, having secured *Egypt, in 610 sent his son, the future *Emperor *Heraclius, to *Constantinople to overthrow Phocas. MTGH

PLRE III, Heraclius 3.
Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 20–52.

Heraclonas (Heracleonas, Heraclius II) (*c.*626–641) *Emperor 641. The son of *Heraclius I by *Martina, Heraclonas was proclaimed *Caesar in 630. In 638 he was promoted to *Augustus, jointly with his father and elder half-brother *Constantine III. Heraclius I and Constantine III died in 641, leaving Heraclonas as sole emperor, although Martina is depicted as exercising real power. Opposition headed by the general *Valentinus forced first the appointment of Constantine III's son *Constans II as co-emperor, and then the deposition, mutilation, and *exile of Heraclonas and Martina to Rhodes. MTGH

PLRE III, Heraclonas.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 51–2.
Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 265–6.

Herat (Harat, Aria, Harev) *City in the Persian province of *Khorasan. Mentioned in Old Persian texts and *inscriptions, as well as by Strabo (XI, 10) and *Ptolemy (VI, 17), Herat was part of the Achaemenid Empire and is possibly identifiable with Alexandria in Aria. Herat was subsequently ruled by the Parthians and *Sasanians, under whom it was an important regional centre. Due to its location on east–west trade routes, the city was an important trading centre renowned for its *grain and its textiles, as well as a strategic military base for the Persians to keep the *Hephthalites and other *tribes from *Central Asia from invading Sasanian territory. At the time of the *Arab invasion, most inhabitants of Herat were *Zoroastrians, with a significant Christian minority. The city probably submitted to the Arabs during the initial Muslim conquest of Khorasan in 652 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 163; al-*Muqaddasi, 270–2). MLD

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.n.* Harāt (R. N. Frye).
EncIran s.n. Herat: i (Geography), XII/2 (2003), 203–5 (Arash Khazeni and *EIr*); ii (Pre-Islamic Period), XII/2, 205–6 (W. J. Vogelsang); iii (Medieval Period), XII/2, 206–11 (M. Szuppe).
Markwart, *Catalogue*, 11.
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 407–13.

herbed Middle *Persian form of *Avestan *aēθrapaiti-*, a teaching priest, responsible for the transmission of sacred knowledge to students or disciples (*ẖāwišt*) in *Zoroastrianism. Our primary written source for pedagogical instruction and Zoroastrian *education and schools is the *Herbedestan* ('Priestly School'), an Avestan–Pahlavi bilingual text. Failures to memorize or recite correctly on the part of disciples were ultimately the responsibility of the teacher in question (*Herbedestan*, 14, 5). The length of study with a teacher was typically defined as a year (*Herbedestan*, 12, 1). YSDV

EncIran XII/3 (2003) *s.v. hērbedestān*, 227–8 (F. M. Kotwal).
ed. F. M. Kotwal and Ph. G. Kreyenborek with J. R. Russell (with ET), *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān*, 4 vols., *Herbedestan* = vol. 1 (1992).

ed. H. Humbach (with J. Elfenbein) (with GT), *Ērbedestān: An Avesta–Pahlavi Text* (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft NS 15, 1990).

herbedestan *See* EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS, ZOROASTRIAN.

hereditary occupations From the reign of *Constantine I onwards some individuals providing services deemed to be of public benefit were tied to their occupations on a hereditary basis. Such obligations might cover political office, such as membership of *city councils, or trades or professions, usually organized into state-controlled *guilds, such as bakers at *Rome (XIV, 3) and shipowners (*CTh* XIII, 5). Some dependent farmers, *coloni *adscripticii*, were bound to the land they worked, as were their children (e.g. *Augustine, *ep*. 24*, 1*).

It is not certain how far regulations concerning hereditary occupation were enforced. Some members of guilds left their *cities, while opportunities existed to free oneself of such obligations, e.g. by promotion to senatorial rank, though the state tried to regulate those possibilities. The severity of punishments legally instituted for abandonment of such hereditary duties may suggest state concerns over potentially widespread non-compliance. JUB

Jones, *LRE* 699–700 (bakers), 827 (*navicularii*), 1049–53.

heresy, Christian A stress on the danger of false teaching, diverging from the norm inherited from the Apostles, became intense in the churches of the 2nd century in reaction to the varieties of teaching that are nowadays called *Gnosticism (though the ancient use of this term was more restricted) and in reaction to Montanism. Heretical groups, said *Lactantius, could be recognized by being named after a place or a teacher other than Christ (*Inst*. IV, 30, 10).

Already in the pre-Nicene period there was an extensive anti-heretical literature that attempted to survey the whole field. Late antique works that listed and described the heresies in similar fashion include those by *Epiphanius of *Salamis (*fl*. 400), *Augustine, *Theodoret, and *John of *Damascus (*fl*. 730). In the last of these works *Islam itself is treated as a Christian heresy (*Liber de haeresibus*, 100), since it could not be described as a form of *paganism.

Heresy was defined as what was contrary to 'orthodoxy'. Till the 5th century, proof of what constituted orthodoxy relied primarily on scriptural evidence, summed up in brief and variable formulas known as the 'rule of faith'. The condemnation of the *Arian heresy at the *Council of *Nicaea (325) led to two generations of rival formulation, until the First Council of *Constantinople (381) confirmed the Nicene *Creed as the prime expression of Christian doctrine. In the 5th century the decrees of the First Council of *Ephesus (431) and of the Council of *Chalcedon (451) were added to those of Nicaea. The appeal to the consensus of the 'approved fathers', meaning primarily the pro-Nicene champions of the period from 325 to 450, became a standard anti-heretical ploy only gradually: present but subordinate at the Council of Ephesus, it was developed by both pro- and anti-Chalcedonians in the second half of the 5th century, particularly through the production of *florilegia* of excerpts from the fathers. Meanwhile, orthodoxy was defined as the changeless teaching of the Nicene fathers; novelty was treated as in itself evidence of heresy. Alternatively, heretics could be accused of reviving a previous heresy; so *Nestorius was accused of reviving the errors of Paul of Samosata (*fl*. 260), while his opponent *Cyril of *Alexandria was accused of reviving the errors of *Apollinaris of *Laodicea.

Though Tertullian (*c*. AD 200) had considered a heretic to be no longer a Christian (*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 16, 2), Augustine insisted that heresy did not destroy the effect of *baptism. Civil penalties were applied irregularly, and principally to heresiarchs but not their followers; *Priscillian's condemnation for heresy followed by his execution by the *usurper *Magnus Maximus in 385 for sorcery caused revulsion. *Nestorius, after his condemnation in 431, was at first allowed to retire to his *monastery, and sent into *exile (effectively *prison) in *Egypt only in 436. Canon 7 of the Council of Ephesus (431) decreed deposition for clergy and excommunication for laymen who continued to support Nestorius, and later councils imposed similar penalties, but they were rarely enforced. Anti-heretical rhetoric was shrill, but the bark was worse than the bite. Moreover, charges of heresy were not indiscriminate. Even though for most of the period after 451 most emperors (and after 517 all emperors) upheld the definition of the Nature of Christ promulgated at the Council of *Chalcedon, they did not treat its rejection as itself heretical, but until the *Arab conquest they continued to seek a compromise that would reconcile to the imperial Church (known as *Melkites) the non-Chalcedonians of *Syria and *Egypt (known to modern scholars as *Miaphysites).

The notion of heresy eventually took on political importance because of a belief that emperors won divine favour by condemning heresy and lost it by supporting heresy; this was at least as important as the fear of heresy as a cause of social divisions. In the 7th century Pope *Martin I and *Maximus the Confessor gave support to attempts by *usurpers (the *exarchs *Gregory of *Africa and *Olympius of *Italy) to seize control from *Constans II (641–68), whom they accused of *Monotheletism, in the hope that this would win divine assistance for the Empire against Islam. RMP

F. Oehler, *Corpus Heresiologicum*, 3 vols. (1856–61).

Averil Cameron, 'Texts as Weapons: Polemic in the Byzantine Dark Ages', in A. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (1994), 198–215.
J. McClure, 'Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries', *JTS* 30 NS (1979), 186–97.
A. Pourkier, *L'Hérésiologie chez Epiphane de Salamine* (1992).

heresy, Islamic In the period before 750, *Islam was in its formative stages, its major expressions such as *Sunnism and *Shi'ism were still emerging, and there was no established orthodoxy. The power to define acceptable religious behaviour and belief and to punish transgressors was in the hands of the *caliphs, who claimed the right to exercise both religious and political authority over Muslims. Their judgements and attitudes were subject to change, and their opponents contested their legitimacy and claims to authority.

In this situation, political and religious opposition went hand in hand: the caliphs often accused rebels of engaging in acts of disobedience (*ma'siya*) against God and His rightful vicegerent, while rebels accused the *Umayyads of oppression and injustice (*zulm, baghy*), both religiously charged terms. A variety of words could be understood loosely to indicate heresy. *Kufr* (unbelief) was imputed by the rulers to many. Some accused of it are associated with theological views deemed as deviant (such as upholding free will or insistence that God does not have attributes separable from His essence), while others (the *ghulat*) engaged in religious and political activity (sometimes including claims to prophecy) judged, retrospectively, as 'extremist'. *Ilhad* (denial of faith, blasphemy) is another charge sometimes levelled.

Around 750, accusations of *zandaqa* become more common. Originally referring to a follower of *Manichaeism, *zindiq* became a portmanteau term for anyone the caliphs wished to dispose of as a freethinker or atheist. GRH

M. Chokr, *Zandaqa et Zindiqs en Islam au second siècle de l'hejire* (1993).
P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (1986).
W. M. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (1973).

heresy, Jewish 'Heresy' as the opposite of 'orthodoxy' fits uneasily in *Judaism. *Talmudic literature contains at least six terms signifying 'heretic', 'apostate', or 'denier of religion' (*min*—a prominent word also translatable as 'sectarian'—*mumar, meshummad, kofer, apirkos*, and *poshe'a yisra'el*); the Mishnah and *Tosefta relate detailed theoretical grounds for categorizing and excluding *min* (here meaning dissenting Jews) from a 'portion in the world to come'; yet interpreting the rabbinical literature is difficult. In the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods, Jews lacked a single sovereign religious authority, and even before the destruction of the Second Temple, an array of different sects practised Judaism in distinct ways (Josephus mentions Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes: *Bellum Judaicum*, II, 8, 2); these parties were more intent on distinguishing themselves from other Jewish sects than on finding common ground to articulate their distinctiveness from non-Jews. The absence of a drive towards orthodoxy renders 'Jewish heresy' a somewhat obscure conceptual category in Antiquity: terms such as *min* were used idiosyncratically (the etymology of the word is also unknown), and while individual communities could declare members *minim* and exclude them from communal activities, it is proposed that such individuals could integrate into different Jewish communities (Green). 'Heresy' is most meaningful, therefore, on highly localized levels.

Buechler proposed that the growing prominence of Christianity in the 2nd–3rd centuries prompted Jewish groups to employ *min* to describe Pauline Christians (Sperber, 2–3; Kalmin). Christianity and, later, *Islam probably helped rabbinical writers conceptualize a sense of 'Jewishness', but this did not spawn more precise heresiography in Judaism. The shift in the meaning of *min* from Jewish sectarian to Christian entailed that the *min*/'heretic' was transported outside of the Jewish community, and the whole notion of *minut*/heresy, as Boyarin argues (44–5), became external to 'Jewishness' by the outset of the geonic period. Jewish religious identity became increasingly situated in genealogy, leaving scant conceptual space to divide *Jews into heresies. Rabbinical writing would employ notions of 'heresy' to explore the theoretical boundaries of their own group of 'textualists' (Green); these writings laid the groundwork for much later articulations of Jewish orthodoxy. PAW

D. Boyarin, 'The Christian Invention of Judaism', *Representations* 85 (2004), 21–57.
W. S. Green, 'Heresy and Apostasy in Judaism', *Encyclopaedia of Judaism* (2005), vol. 1, 366–80.
R. Kalmin, 'Christians and Heretics in Rabbinic Literature of Late Antiquity', *Harvard Theological Review* 87 (1994), 155–69.
D. Sperber, 'Min', *EncJud*, vol. 6, 2–3.

Hermenefred (d. *c.*531) *Thuringian King; husband of Amalaberga, a niece of *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic. He murdered his brother Berthar (father of S. *Radegund), and allied with the Frankish King *Theuderic I to defeat and kill his brother Baderic. However, he and his kingdom were overthrown by Theuderic and *Chlothar I *c.*531. RVD

PLRE II, Herminifridus.

Hermenigild (d. 585) The eldest son of the *Visigothic King *Leovigild, who entrusted him with authority over southern *Spain. He revolted against his

father in 580 and was defeated in 584. He died in *exile. Hermenigild was converted from *Homoean ('Arian') to Catholic Christianity during the rebellion, and there is some controversy over the part played by this shift of loyalty; *Gregory the Great considered him a *martyr fighting Arian tyranny, but the timing of Hermenigild's conversion which occurred after the revolt had already started calls his religious motivation into question. EMB

PLRE IIIA, Ermenegildus.

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain* (2004), 56–60.

J. N. Hillgarth, 'Coins and Chronicles', *Historia* 15 (1966), 483–508.

Hermes Trismegistus in Late Antiquity A rather diverse group of *Greek texts has been known since the Renaissance as the *Corpus Hermeticum*. In most of them the Graeco-Egyptian deity Thoth-Hermes, lord of wisdom, instructs one of the deities Tat and Ammon in the upward path to knowledge of God in the form of *dialogues. They were composed between the late 2nd and early 5th century AD. The core group of eighteen tracts is known from two 14th-century manuscripts; 40 extracts from these and other texts are preserved by *John Stobaeus. A *Coptic translation of part of another text, the *Teleios Logos* (Lat. *Asclepius*), containing an apocalypse and a final judgement, was found among the *Nag Hammadi texts (cod. VI, 8, of AD 350–70). Mainly cited by Christian writers (Tertullian, *Lactantius, *Cyril of *Alexandria, Stobaeus), they combine Egyptian religious themes with a Platonic anthropology and soft *'Gnostic' cosmology. RLG

ed. (annotated with FT) A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière (1945–54).

ed. P. Scarpi (with introd., comm., and IT), *La rivelazione secreta di Ermete trismegisto*, 2 vols. (2009–11).

J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*, 1–2 (1978–82), 3–53.

ET B. P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation, with Notes and Introduction* (1982).

A. J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 1 (²1950) and II (1949).

G. L. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (1986).

G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Gnostica et hermetica: saggi sullo gnosticismo e sull'ermetismo* (1982).

H.-D. Betz, 'Hermetism and Gnosticism', *Gesammelte Aufsätze* 2 (1998), 206–21.

Hermogenes (d. 535/6) Formerly *assessor to *Vitalian, he became *Magister Officiorum (529–33, 535), **consularis*, and **patricius* (535). He and *Rufinus negotiated the *Everlasting Peace of 532 with the Persians. PNB

PLRE III, Hermogenes 1.

Hermogenes and the Hermogenean corpus in Late Antiquity Hermogenes, the most influential rhetorical theorist of Late Antiquity, is generally identified with Hermogenes of *Tarsus (c.160–c.230), known from *Philostratus' maliciously barbed portrait of a *sophist whose precocious talent for *declamation deserted him in adulthood (*Vitae Sophistarum*, 577–8). Later biographical traditions are speculative and unreliable.

Two authentic works survive, building on transformative 2nd-century innovations in the theory of argument and stylistic theory. *On Issues* (*Peri staseōn*) defines a default strategy for each of thirteen kinds of forensic or deliberative dispute by specifying the heads of argument appropriate to the nature of the dispute (questions of fact, definition, evaluation, etc.). By the end of the 3rd century it had displaced rivals as the standard teaching text, and became the subject of many commentaries. Early commentators, including *Menander Rhetor, felt free to disagree with Hermogenes, sometimes forcefully. From the 5th century onwards his text began to be treated as authoritative.

On Types of Style (*Peri ideōn*) analyses the means by which a range of stylistic effects can be achieved. In this case, the exceptional sophistication of Hermogenes' system may have inhibited pedagogical use. No commentary is attested before *Syrianus in the 5th century. By the 6th century, Hermogenes' increasingly canonical status had led to three other texts being falsely attributed to him. Of these, *On Invention* (a work on the parts of a speech, sometimes cited as under the name of *Apsines) and *On Method* were combined with the two authentic works and *Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* to form a comprehensive rhetorical corpus. The corpus did not include Ps.-Hermogenes *Progymnasmata*, which was transmitted separately. MFH

ed. H. Rabe (1913).

ed. (annotated with FT) M. Patillon (2008–).

ET (annotated) M. Heath, *Hermogenes On Issues: Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric* (1995).

ET C. W. Wooten, *Hermogenes On Types of Style* (1987).

ET G. A. Kennedy, *Invention and Method: Two Rhetorical Treatises from the Hermogenic Corpus* (2005).

ET G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (2003).

M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2006), 3–51.

Hermogenianic Code A compilation of Eastern imperial *rescripts dating mostly to 293–4, with additional texts, some Western, from as late as the 320s added in subsequent versions. It was later incorporated into *Justinian's *Code*, though the extent of the excerpting is unknown. Selections are also found in the *Epitome Codicum Gregoriani et Hermogeniani Wisigothica*.

A number of the **Fragmenta Londiniensia Antejustiniana* may derive from the Hermogenianic Code.

Hermogenian (*fl.* 290s), its author, was *Magister Libellorum probably in both East and West in the 290s and *Praefectus Praetorio to *Diocletian. He was also author of the *Iuris Epitomae*, excerpts from which appear in the **Digest*. SDC

PLRE I, Hermogenianus 2.
HLL 5, 505.
ed. in *FIRA* II, 665.
Lenel, *Palingenesia*, II, 265–78.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 25–42 and 85–90.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 314–16.
E. Dovere, *De Iure: Studi sul titolo 1. Delle Epitomi di Ermogeniano* (2001).
Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers*, 119–32.

Hermonthis (mod. Armant) *City on the west bank of the *Nile in Upper *Egypt. Plenes the *bishop was banished from the city in 356 as an associate of *Athanasius (*On his Flight*, 7; *History of the Arians*, 72). *Pachomius once borrowed *grain from the public granary. The *will and many *letters of *Abraham, the *Miaphysite bishop in the late 6th/early 7th century, survive. Remains of Late Antique houses and a five-aisled *basilica with reused Pharaonic and Roman material survived into the 19th century. *Papyri and *ostraca in both *Greek and *Coptic have been found. MCDP

CoptEnc 1 *s.n.* Armant cols. 233a–234a (R. Stewart and P. Grossmann).
Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 152–82.

Heroninus Archive A set of some 450 published documents written in *Greek on *papyrus which illustrate the nature and management of the large private *estate of Aurelius Appianus in the Fayyum area (*Nome of *Arsinoe) of *Egypt in the mid-3rd century AD. Its core consists of *letters to Heroninus, manager from 249 to 268 of Appianus' holdings at *Theadelphia, and some accounts and other texts. Appianus was a prominent citizen of *Alexandria who owned property in several nomes (regions). His Arsinoite estate was run by local civic notables under a general manager called Alypius, himself a former imperial procurator. It comprised arable land, vineyards, and other properties, grouped into *village-based units called *phrontides* (concerns), each run by a manager (*phrontistes*). Appianus also rented out *sheep, *houses, and utilities. The estate invested in cow-driven waterwheels and other *irrigation works. It had a centrally managed corps of donkeys, oxen, and *camels, for farm work and for transporting crops and supplies, which unified the estate as an economic enterprise. Long-term workers received subsistence, a monthly cash wage, and sometimes accommodation and payment of their tax dues; casual *wage-labourers were also employed. The economy of the estate was monetized, and used multifarious *credit arrangements, including individual accounts for its employees. The *phrontistai* had to prepare standardized monthly accounts for submission to the owner, which represent one of the most sophisticated accounting systems known from the ancient world. DWR

D. W. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (1991).

Hero of Alexandria in Late Antiquity Hero was a Greek mechanical engineer and scientist of the mid-1st century AD, whose treatises on technical matters drew on and largely superseded the work of *Ctesibius and *Philo of Byzantium. His description of a wind-powered pump, primitive steam turbine, and similar experimental devices may have inspired the production of certain medieval automata. Later discussion of hydraulic and military *engineering reflects broad familiarity with Hero's *Belopoeica, Poliocetica*, and *Pneumatica*, which are known in *Latin and *Arabic versions. MLR

ed. W. Schmidt, L. L. M. Nix, H. Schöne, Hermann J. L. Heiberg, 5 vols. in 6 (1899–1914).
A. G. Drachmann, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron: A Study in Ancient Pneumatics* (1948).

Hertford Site of a church *council, convened by *Theodore of *Tarsus, Archbishop of *Canterbury, in 672/3. The canons, recorded by *Bede (*HE* IV, 5), focus on clerical responsibilities, dating *Easter, and agreement to hold synods twice or at least once a year, on 1 August at the (unidentified) site of Cloveshoe. HFF

C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c.650–c.850* (1995).
Canons, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 118–22.

Heruli Germanic tribe with possible origins in Scandinavia (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 23 and 117–19). The Heruli became a serious concern to the Roman administration in 267–8 when, along with other 'Scythians', they attacked *Greece and other parts of the *Balkans (as described by *Dexippus). In the early 5th century, the *Huns subdued them, but in 454/5 they formed an independent *regnum* on the River Morava. In 476, some Heruli fought on the side of *Odoacer against the *Emperor *Romulus Augustus (Jordanes, *Getica*, 242).

Despite their military success, the Heruli did not form a strong polity. By the 6th century, some Heruli had become imperial **foederati* in *Dalmatia while others supposedly headed for Thule in 'the Far

North'. *Procopius describes them as polytheist tribal people who praised physical strength and practised human *sacrifice (*Gothic*, VI, 14). Some, who fought in the Roman *army in the *Byzantine invasion of *Africa, were *Homoean ('*Arian') Christians (*Vandalic*, IV, 14, 12). Some fought on the eastern *frontier against the *Persian Empire, for instance at the Battle of *Anglon (*Persian*, II, 25, 20); others were Roman allies, not always reliable, during the *Byzantine invasion of Italy (*Agathias, II, 9). The rebellion of Sindual, one of the Heruli descended from the allies of Odoacer, was quelled by *Narses in 565 (**Liber Pontificalis*, 63; *Paul the Deacon, *HL* II, 3) and after the arrival of the *Lombards in Italy the Heruli disappear from the sources. ABA

Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*.

R. Steinacher, 'The Herules: Fragments of a History' and A. Sarantis, 'The Justinianic Herules: From Allied Barbarians to Roman Provincials', in S. Sommerer and F. Curta, eds., *Neglected Barbarians* (SEM 32, 2011), 319–60 and 361–402.

Hesychius Illustris (Hesychius of Miletus) (6th cent.) Lawyer and author, born *c.*505 and possibly *pagan, from a wealthy family at *Miletus. At *Constantinople he became a lawyer at the court of the *Praefectus Praetorio of the East which instigated his *title of honour '*illustris*'. *Inscriptions at Miletus commemorate his later benefaction to the *city. He wrote three known works.

First, a summary of Roman and Miscellaneous History (*Chronike Historia*) traversing 1,190 years from ancient Assyria to AD 518 in six parts itemized by *Photius (69), who considered it 'clear concise and pleasant' and adhering to truth but was puzzled as to why Hesychius would support the *Emperor *Anastasius I. The six parts are (1) from Belos, King of the Assyrians, to the Trojan War, (2) from the fall of Troy to the founding of Rome, (3) the kings of Rome, (4) the Roman Republic down to Caesar, (5) the Roman Empire down to the foundation of *Constantinople, and (6) from *Constantine I to the death of the Emperor Anastasius in 518.

Secondly, he wrote an entirely lost contemporary history from the accession of *Justin I in 518 until the early years of *Justinian I, a work interrupted by the death of Hesychius' adult son John.

Thirdly, he composed a *Table of Eminent Writers* (*Onomatologos*), which was an alphabetical compilation of short biographies of famous literary figures including contemporaries such as *Agathias, *Peter the Patrician. *John Lydus, and *Procopius. It was used by the **Suda*, but whether directly or from an already abbreviated version is unresolved. What survives of Hesychius is an extract from *Chronike Historia* on the original foundation of Constantinople. Another fragment on the chronology of Christ's birth (published in Dindorf's edition of *John Malalas, pages lii–liii) is falsely attributed to him. BC

PLRE II, Hesychius 14.

ed. Müller, *FHG* IV, 145–55.

ed. A. Preger, *Scriptores originis Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 1 (1901), 1–18 (fragment on Constantinople).

A. Kaldellis, 'The Works and Days of Hesychios the Illoustrios of Miletos', *GRBS* 45 (2005), 381–403.

W. Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (2007), 270–8.

G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: études sur le recueil des 'Patria'* (1984), 21–9.

Hesychius the lexicographer (5th or 6th cent.) Grammarian from *Alexandria, compiler of a *Greek lexicon of unusual words and phrases based mainly on the lost work of Diogenianus who was the first, according to Hesychius' introductory *letter to a certain Eulogius, to have brought together material from different genres, both literary and non-literary, thus making this information available to readers working without the help of a teacher. Hesychius' own contribution was to add material from other lexica and to give the original source of the words defined. These quotations were omitted in the only surviving manuscript. The result is nevertheless, a unique source of information, particularly about classical proper names and dialect forms, and how these were interpreted in Late Antiquity. RW

PLRE II, Hesychius 15.

ed. K. Latte, P.A. Hansen, and I. C. Cunningham, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, 4 vols. (1953–2009).

E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (2007), 88–90.

Hetan II (d. after 717) *Dux of *Thuringia. Hetan was the last of a ducal dynasty which was condemned for the murder of S. *Kilian. Hetan supported S.*Willibrord and probably also *Charles Martel, but was later accused of tyranny in the *Life of S. *Boniface*. JTP

H. Mordek, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im austrasischen Frankenreich', in Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell*, 345–66.

Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, 110–15.

Hewald the White and Hewald the Black (d. *c.*695) Two *Anglo-Saxon missionaries from Northumbria, distinguished by their hair colour, who died as *martyrs in Saxony. They were buried in *Cologne by *Pippin II (*Bede, *HE* V, 10). JTP

hexaemeron (Gk. six days) The period of six days in which God created the world according to the account in Genesis 1:1–31. From the very beginning of Christianity, this section of the *Bible aroused interest among Christian exegetes who tried to explain the nature and development of God's act of creation. In their analysis, they were influenced not only by Christian tradition

and doctrine, but also by secular philosophy and *cosmology, in particular by Plato's *Timaeus*. In chronological order, the most important extant writings on the *Hexaemeron* are those by Theophilus of *Antioch in the late 2nd century (*Ad Autolycum*, book II), *Basil of *Caesarea (*Hexaemeron*—before 370), *Ambrose (*Hexaemeron*—*c.*386–90) and *Augustine (*De Genesi Adversus Manichaeos*—*c.*389, and *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri 12*—*c.*401–415). Even though these authors propose different theories on the development of creation and the temporal division of the six days in which it happened, they all agree on the crucial point that God created the world out of nothing, that is, made the material itself of his own creation, a conviction also expounded by *Lactantius (*Inst.* II, 5–12).

*Cyril of *Jerusalem (*Catecheses* 3, 5 of *c.*348–50) connects the idea of God's creation of water as the basic matter of the world to catechetical practice. He instructed new converts to see in their *baptism in water the action of a complete regeneration through the basic matter of creation. MC

F. E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (1912).

DTC vol. VI/2 (1913) *s.v.* hexaemeron, cols. 2325–54 (E. Mangenot).

M. Naldini, *Basilio di Cesarea: Sulla Genesi (Omelie sull'Esamerone)* (1990), XXXII–XL.

LThK vol. 5 ([3]1996), cols. 78–9 (J. C. M. van Winden).

Nuovo Dizionario Patristico, vol. 1 (2006), col. 1741.

hexagram *Silver denomination coin introduced by the *Emperor *Heraclius in 615, weighing *c.*6.84 g (0.2 ounces). The *hexagram*, so called because it weighed six *grammata*, was struck in part using silver requisitioned from churches during the long and costly 6th–7th-century wars against the *Persian Empire. The *hexagram* had ceased to be struck by the 680s. RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*.

Hexapla and Syro-Hexapla A manuscript synopsis of the *Greek Old Testament in six parallel columns prepared by *Origen in *Caesarea of *Palestine (*c.*235–45) primarily for exegetical and apologetic purposes. The columns reproduced the Hebrew text, a *Greek transliteration of the Hebrew, the versions of *Aquila and *Symmachus (both 2nd cent. AD), the Septuagint, and the version of *Theodotion (1st cent. AD). For some books (e.g. *Psalms) Origen added other versions, referred to by their respective columns (Quinta, Sexta, and Septima). The Septuagint column included text-critical sigla indicating additions and omissions found in the Hebrew and the other Greek versions. The multi-volume Hexapla remained in Caesarea and was consulted by *Eusebius and *Jerome. It may never have been copied in its entirety and only fragments survive.

However, the Hexaplaric Septuagint column was copied separately. A copy of the Hexaplaric Septuagint including the text-critical sigla and readings from other versions was used as the basis of an influential literal *Syriac *translation prepared in 615–17 near *Alexandria by *Paul of *Tella. This translation, known as the Syro-Hexapla, survives almost completely in 7th- and 8th-century manuscripts. KSH

ed. (with comm.) W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (1968).

ed. A. M. Ceriani, *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus* (Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, vol. 7, 1874).

ed. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, 2 vols. (1875).

ed. (annotated) G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae. Pars Prima: Codex Rescriptus* (1958).

ed. A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla: A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat MS* (CSCO 369, subsidia 45, 1975).

Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*.

S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (1968).

A. Salvesen, *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th [July]–3rd August 1994* (1998).

Hexham Northumbrian *monastery and *bishop's see on the south bank of the Tyne, *c.*4.5 km (2.8 miles) west of Roman Corbridge, England. Established by S. *Wilfrid *c.*672 on land granted by Æthelthryth, virgin queen of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, the complex comprised several churches. The remains of two structures are axially aligned within the later medieval abbey: a small apsidal building lies immediately east of an elaborate crypt with western antechamber and three entrance passages, probably part of Wilfrid's Church of S. Andrew (*Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Wilfridi*, 22). The crypt incorporates reused masonry from nearby Roman monuments. SCT

P. Bidwell, 'A Survey of the Anglo-Saxon Crypt at Hexham and its Reused Roman Stonework', *ArchAel* 5th ser. 39 (2010), 53–145.

Hieracas of Leontopolis Learned Christian ascetic teacher in *Egypt from the late 3rd to 4th century AD. Known chiefly through the *Panarion* of *Epiphanius (67), Hieracas, a calligrapher by trade, was bilingual and well versed in various forms of literature, including the Old and New Testaments. A practised exegete, he composed several (now lost) works. His teachings focused on ascetic perfection, which led to his denial of the Resurrection of the Body and the rejection of *marriage. He developed within the *city itself an ascetic circle of men and women who embraced his

separatist celibate calling. Their practices included the cohabitation of unattached male and female members (*subintroductae*). JEG

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.n.* Hieracas of Leontopolis, cols. 1228b–1229b (A. Guillaumont).

J. E. Goehring, 'Hieracas of Leontopolis: The Making of a Desert Ascetic', in J. E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert* (SAC, 1999), 110–33.

Elm, *Virgins of God*, 339–42.

Karl Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (1936), 58–65.

Hierapolis of Phrygia (mod. Pamukkale, western Turkey) *City of *Phrygia Prima, later known as Phrygia Salutaris, 12 km (7.5 miles) north of *Laodicea ad Lycum, and famous for its warm springs. A serious *earthquake in the 4th century did much damage to the elaborate buildings of the classical city. The fortifications built under *Theodosius I determined the boundaries of the Late Antique city, and they excluded the large Roman agora, where workshops and kilns were established. Inside the new city walls, the new buildings respected the original layout of the *insulae*. They included *houses, a *bath, a three-aisled cathedral, and several other churches.

S. Philip is said (*Eusebius, *HE* III, 31, confounding the Apostle and the *deacon of Acts 21:8–9) to have ended his days living with his daughters at Hierapolis. In the 5th century an elaborate *martyrium in the form of a domed *octagon was dedicated to him on the heights of the eastern necropolis overlooking the city; it was flanked by a square with a fountain. A sumptuous *basilica of the 4th/5th century with *mosaic floors, standing about 36 m (40 yards) from the octagonal building has been found to have at its heart a Roman tomb of the 1st century AD scrawled with *crosses; baths flanked the tomb and a well-worn *marble staircase led to a platform over it, suggesting that it was a place of *pilgrimage. A bread-stamp now in Richmond, Virginia, appears to depict both churches and a pilgrim labelled with the name of S. Philip. The complex was reached from the city by a processional way which passed over a bridge; *votive offerings bearing crosses and images of the saint have been found at the octagonal bathhouse which flanked the foot of the monumental staircase leading up to the shrine.

In the mid-7th century a serious earthquake halted the development of the city, and it became a settlement of scattered hamlets. By 1190 it was ruined and abandoned. PTa; OPN

P. Arthur, *Byzantine and Turkish Hierapolis (Pamukkale): An Archaeological Guide* (2006).

F. D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia (Pamukkale): An Archaeological Guide* (2003).

F. D'Andria, 'Hierapolis of Phrygia: Its Evolution in Hellenistic and Roman Times', in Parrish, *Urbanism of Roman Asia Minor*, 96–114.

Hierapolis of Syria (*Syriac Mabbug; mod. Membij, Syria) Chief *city of the *province of *Euphratensis from the 4th century onwards, on the main road from *Antioch to the Euphrates, about 40 km (25 miles) east of *Batnae. The name derives from the pagan cult of Atargatis, the Dea Syria. Almost nothing is now visible of the ancient city, though *Egeria in the spring of 384 found it a place 'of great plenty' (18, 1).

The position was strategic. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, legions mustered at Hierapolis before advancing down the Euphrates. *Shapur I captured it in 252 (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 13). *Constantius II based himself there in the summer of 343 (*CTh* XII, 1, 35 = VII, 22, 4 and XV, 8, 1). *Julian passed through during his advance into the *Persian Empire (Julian, 401BD; *Ammianus, XXIII, 2, 6; *Zosimus, III, 12, 1–2). *Valens used Hierapolis as a campaigning base (*CTh* I, 29, 5; VII, 13, 6; XVI, 2, 19 all of 370; XIV, 13, 1 of 373; X, 16, 3; VII, 6, 3; and *CJust* XII, 1, 11 all of 377; Zosimus, IV, 13, 2). Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis, supported *Nestorius at the *Council of *Ephesus and died in *exile in *Egypt.

Hierapolis was important in the *Persian–Roman wars of the 6th century; the citizens were rewarded with a tax remission in 505/6 for helping supplies and troops enter *Osrhoene from Euphratesia and *Syria Prima (*Joshua the Stylite, 78). The *Emperor *Anastasius I also funded the construction of a new *aqueduct (*Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyric*,18).

The city was the birthplace of *Philoxenus, the extreme *Miaphysite bishop who, with *Severus of *Antioch, persuaded Anastasius to adopt an increasingly Miaphysite stance. Despite *Justinian I fortifying Hierapolis as a base, the inhabitants bought off *Khosrow I with 2,000 lb of *silver during the invasion of 540 (*Persian*, II, 6; *Aed.* II, 9, 12–17).

The scholar *Thomas of Harkel was *Syriac Orthodox Bishop of Hierapolis in the late 6th century. In 631, the Emperor *Heraclius participated in a church *council there that aimed to reconcile Chalcedonians and Miaphysites. Seven years later, Hierapolis fell under Muslim control. *Agapius, *Melkite Bishop of Hierapolis in the 10th century, was the author of a chronicle. KETB, eds.

Millar, *RNE* 242–7.

G. Goossens, *Hiérapolis de Syrie: essai de monographie historique* (1943).

Hieria (mod. Fenerbahçe, Asiatic Turkey) Suburb of *Chalcedon (not to be confused with *Hieron at the Black Sea end of the *Bosporus), and site of a church, *palace, and *harbour constructed by *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 11, 16–20), favoured as a residence by *Theodora, and later as a summer resort by *Heraclius, one of whose sons was here cured of elephantiasis

by S. *Theodore of *Sykeon (*VTheodSyk* 97). The Iconoclast Council of 754 met at Hieria. JCr

Janin, *CPByz* 148–9, 206, 239, 498–9.
Janin, *Grandscentres*, 35–6.

Hierocles Lawyer who wrote, in response to a request from a friend called Bassus, probably in the 4th century, an amateur and rhetorical treatise on *veterinary medicine in *Greek, intended to amuse. Fragments survive in the **Hippiatrica*. MD

PLRE I, Hierocles 2.
McCabe, *Horse Medicine*.

Hierocles Otherwise unknown author of the *Synecdemus*, a list of the 64 *provinces and their *cities in the Eastern Roman Empire, along with titles of their *governors, arranged in roughly geographical order. The latest city mentioned was founded early in *Justinian I's reign (528), but gaps in information from the four previous reigns suggest that it may be an updated version of a document of 460. The title ('Fellow-Traveller') implies that it might be a shortened version of a once fuller travel account. The *Synecdemus* survived by being incorporated into the *Descriptio Orbis Romani* of *George of *Cyprus (late 6th cent.?) and appended to *De Thematibus* by *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (10th cent.). It was mistaken during the Middle Ages for an episcopal *Notitia*, to which it is sometimes attached, but the list is secular, including many places which were not bishoprics. Twelve manuscripts survive, the oldest of which is 12th century. The epithet 'Grammaticus' appears to be a confusion with another Hierocles. EE

PLRE III, Hierocles.
ed. E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdémos d'Hiéroklès* (1939), with maps.
New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 6, 308 *s.n.* Hierocles 8.
Jones, *Cities*, Appendix III and *passim*.

Hierocles, Sossianus (early 4th cent.) 'Author of and advocate for carrying out *persecution' (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 16, 4). Hierocles had a distinguished career in the imperial *administration. He was promoted from *Praeses of *Augusta Libanensis (293/300) to be *Vicarius of a **dioecesis*, and then stepped down to be *Praeses of *Bithynia, residing at *Nicomedia (*c.*302–3). He was later *Praefectus Augustalis in *Egypt (310–11) where he is attested by *Eusebius of *Caesarea (*Martyrs of Palestine*, 5, 2–3, Long Recension) as condemning Christian virgins to work in brothels, causing him to be assaulted by the Christian *philosopher Aedesius, whom he promptly had tortured and thrown into the sea.

Hierocles published a pair of treatises, *Word of the Lover of Truth*, addressed not against but 'benignly' to the Christians. Though lost, their contents are known from Christian refutations by *Lactantius (*Institutes*, V, 2–3) and Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*; Eusebius of Caesarea's authorship of the latter has been strongly contested. Much of Hierocles' argument, so Eusebius claims, has already been refuted in *Origen's *Contra Celsum*. Eusebius and Lactantius both concentrate on responding to Hierocles' comparison of *Jesus with the 1st-century *miracle worker *Apollonius of *Tyana. DMG; OPN

PLRE I, Hierocles 4.
Barnes, *NEDC* 141, 150, 153.
Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem* (*CPG* 3485):
ed. C. P. Jones (annotated with ET) in *Letters of Apollonius, Ancient Testimonia, Eusebius's Reply to Hierocles* (LCL 458, 2006).
ed. E. des Places (with introd. and FT by M. Forrat), *Eusèbe: Contre Hiéroclès* (SC 333, 1986).
T. D. Barnes, *BICS* (1994), 53–65 at 60.
Digeser, *Threat to Public Piety*.
T. Hägg, 'Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist', *SymbOsl* 67 (1992), 138–50.
A. P. Johnson, 'The Author of the *Against Hierocles*: A Response to Borzi and Jones', *JTS* NS 64 (2013), 574–94.

Hieron Promontory on the Asiatic shore at the northern end of the *Bosporus, overlooking a *harbour settlement (mod. Anadol Kavağı), the site of a famous *temple of Zeus Ourios, associated with the Argonauts, in Roman times boasting a *lighthouse. *Justinian I established a *customs post at Hieron to regulate *trade between the Black Sea and the Bosporus (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 25, 1–6). He also dedicated a church to the Archangel Michael nearby at Mochadium (Procopius, *Aed.* I, 9, 14). OPN

A. Moreno, 'Hieron: The Ancient Sanctuary at the Mouth of the Black Sea', *Hesperia* 77 (2008), 655–709.
Janin, *CPByz* 485.
Janin, *GrandsCentres*, 10.
RE III (1899) *s.v.* Bosporos, cols. 749–50 (E. Oberhummer).
H. Ahrweiler, 'Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance', *REB* 19 (1961), 239–52.

Hierotheus, Book of A mystical treatise written in *Syriac in the early 6th century; attributed to the holy Hierotheus, the alleged teacher of *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. Modern interpreters distinguish two redactional layers in the book. Since the west Syriac tradition attributes the book to *Stephen bar Sudhaili, he may be the author of the first redaction. The vocabulary of the second layer follows that of Sergius of Resh'aina's translation of the Dionysian Corpus and thus depends on the latter. Drawing on *Origen and *Evagrius, the book expresses a radical doctrine according to which all beings come from a primordial essence and are destined to be reabsorbed into it in an act of

commingling. For this to be achieved, the individual mind must go through the life-stages of Christ and follow his descent to Hell and ascension into Heaven. The book was commented upon by Theodosius, *Patriarch of *Antioch (sed. 887–96), and Gregory *Bar Ebroyo (1225/6–86). IP

EAC 2 *s.v.* Hierotheus, 232–34 (Ramelli).

ed. (with ET) F. S. Marsh, *The Book which is called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos* (1927).

K. Pinggéra, *All-Erlösung und All-Einheit. Studien zum 'Buch des heiligen Hierotheos' und seiner Rezeption in der syrisch-orthodoxen Theologie* (2002).

I. Perczel, 'The Earliest Syriac Reception of Dionysius', in S. Coakley and Ch. Stang, eds., *Re-thinking Dionysius the Areopagite* (2009), 27–42.

hija' *Arabic *invective. It may vary in length from a short poetic curse to a long satire and may form part of a larger composition (e.g. **qasida*). Some rulers employed *poets not just to write their *praise, but also to have their foes ridiculed through *hija'*. Literary duels consisting of invectives, e.g. the 40-year poetic exchange between al-*Farazdaq and *Jarir, were highly regarded. KMK

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* 'Hidjā", 352–5 (Pellat).

S. Jayyusi, 'Umayyad Poetry', in A. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant, and G. R. Smith, eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983).

Hijaz Mountainous and desert region of north-west *Arabia containing many oases, including *Mecca and *Medina, the birthplaces of *Islam. From the 8th century BC, sophisticated urban trading kingdoms ruled northern Hijaz (al-Ghabban, 211–307); the Romans annexed part of the region in AD 106, but made little settlement, and after the 3rd century, control of northern Hijaz passed to Arabian semi-nomadic groups with connections to and sometimes alliances with the Eastern Roman Empire. Hijazi history in the three centuries before *Muhammad is obscure: Crone proposed that it lost almost all *trade contact with the Mediterranean; urban settlement was limited, though some trade probably persisted (Heck). The sudden rise of *Islam from the seemingly 'empty Hijaz' (Montgomery) is much debated in modern scholarship. PAW

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ḥidjāz (Z. H. Zaidi).

P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).

A. I. al-Ghabban et al., eds., *Roads of Arabia* (2010).

G. Heck, 'Arabia without Spices', *JAOS* 123 (2003), 547–76.

J. Montgomery, 'The Empty Hijaz', in J. Montgomery, ed., *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy* (2006), 37–97.

hijra In later Islamic tradition, usually *Muhammad's emigration from *Mecca to Yathrib (*Medina) in 622. This flight is said to have been prompted by Muhammad's vulnerability at Mecca following the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Talib. The first day of the lunar year in which the hijra occurred marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar (*Era of the Hijra), introduced seventeen years after the event by *'Umar b. al-Khattab. The Meccans who migrated with Muhammad to Medina are referred to as the 'Emigrants' (**Muhajirun*) and their Medinan hosts as the 'Helpers' (**Ansar*).

During the *Arab conquests of the 7th and early 8th centuries, migration to and settlement in the garrison towns (*amsar*) in the conquered territories could also be referred to as hijra. The garrisons could also be called 'houses of emigration' (*dur al-hijra*) and the migrants referred to themselves as 'emigrants' (*muhajirun*); transcriptions of this term are also found in *Greek and *Syriac texts of the 7th century as the name for the Arabian conquerors.

The emigration to Yathrib is sometimes referred to as the second hijra, as some companions had already left Mecca for *Ethiopia seven years earlier. KMK; AM

P. Crone, 'The First-Century Concept of Hiğra', *Arabica* 41 (1994), 352–87.

F. M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers* (2010).

I. Lindstedt, 'Muhajirun as a Name for the First/Seventh Century Muslims', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 74 (2015), 67–73.

M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (1956).

Hilaria, Legend of A late *Coptic romance about the elder daughter of the *Emperor *Zeno who, disguised as a male, journeys to *Egypt and becomes a renowned monk under the care of S. Pambo. CJH

CoptEnc s.n. Hilaria, Saint, cols. 1230b–1232a (M. van Esbroek).

BHO 379:

ed. (with ET and comm.) J. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends: Hilaria, Archellites, the Seven Sleepers* (1947).

Hilarianus, Q. Iulius Late 4th-century author of two short chronographical treatises on disputed topics: (1) the date of *Easter (*de Ratione Paschae*, written 396/7), where he advocates the Latin method of calculating Easter, and (2) a description of the End of the World (*De Duratione Mundi*, not before 397), reckoning 5,530 years from Creation to Christ's Passion with the last day fixed 101 years hence (498) on 25 March, the exact day and month corresponding to the Creation of the World and Christ's conception and crucifixion. He was possibly *Bishop of Thimida near *Hippo. BC

PLRE II, Hilarianus 3.

PCBE I Hilarianus 2.

CPL 2279–81.

ed. in PL 13, 1097–115.ed. C. Frick, *Chronica Minora* (1892), 153–74.

Hilarion of Gaza (*c.*291/2–371) Palestinian monk, born in the *village of Thabatha, south of *Gaza, where he founded his *monastery. He died in *Cyprus. *Jerome wrote the *Life of Hilarion* (*c.*390), inspired by the Latin version of the *Life of *Antony* by *Evagrius of *Antioch (*c.*375), and by a *letter written by *Epiphanius of *Salamis (*c.*315–403). *Sozomen provided a brief biography of Hilarion as part of his survey of *monasticism and the *conversion of his *family to Christianity (*HE* III, 14; V, 10; V, 15). BBA

Vita Hilarionis (BHL 3879):

ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen and J. W. Smit (annotated, with introd. by C. Mohrmann, and IT), *Vita di Martino; Vita di Ilarione; In Memoria di Paola* (*Vite dei Santi* 4, ²1983), 73–143, 291–317.

ET (of the unsatisfactory text in PL 23) White, *Early Christian Lives*, 85–116.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 184–92.

Hilary of Arles (401–49) *Bishop of *Arles from 430. Born in north-east *Gaul of a *senatorial family, he spent several years in the *monastery of *Lérins, founded by his kinsman *Honoratus, where he supervised the education of the sons of *Eucherius. When S. Honoratus became Bishop of Arles (427), S. Hilary, now a *priest, remained in Lérins, and Eucherius, now Bishop of *Lyons, dedicated his *De Laude Heremi* to him (Hilary, *Epistula ad Eucherium*).

After the death of Honoratus (430), Hilary succeeded him as Bishop of Arles. Probably in 431, he composed a *sermon in honour of his predecessor, which survives (*BHL* 3975). To enforce the claims of the see of Arles to primacy over the *provinces of *Viennensis and *Narbonensis, he organized a series of *councils (Riez, 439; Orange, 441; Vaison, 442). He also intervened several times outside his *diocese but was accused of overreaching his authority and in 445 at *Rome *Leo I deprived Hilary of his *metropolitan jurisdiction (PL 54, 629–38).

Hilary was in contact with several other bishops, including *Germanus of *Auxerre and Eucherius of Lyons, who sent him several books (*Formulae Spiritalis Intelligentiae, Instructiones*, CSEL 31). He had a literary reputation and wrote several works. After his death, he was buried in the Alyscamps at Arles; his verse *epitaph celebrates his holiness (Le Blant, *Inscriptions*, 516). His *Life* was written by the priest *Honoratus of *Marseilles (*BHL* 3882). MHei

PCBE IV/1, Hilarius 3.

WORKS (*CPL* 500–9)

ed. C. Wotke (CSEL 31, 1894), 197–8.

Expositio de Fide Catholica (*CPL* 505):

ed. A. E. Burn, *ZKG* 19 (1899), 179–86.

Sermo de Vita Sancti Honorati (*BHL* 3975; *CPL* 501):

ed. S. Cavallin, *Vitae Sanctorum Honorati et Hilarii Episcoporum Arelatensium* (1952).

ed. (annotated wtih FT) M.-D. Valentin (SC 235, 1977).

ET F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (1954), 248–80.

Sermo de Vita Sancti Genesii (*CPL* 503; *BHL* 503):

ed. F. Glorie, *Eusebius 'Gallicanus': Collectio Homiliarum. Sermones Extravagantes* (CCSL 101A), 651–4.

ed. S. Cavallin, *Eranos* 43 (1945), 165–8.

Miracles of S. Genesius of Arles (*CPL* 504; *BHL* 3307):

AASS Aug. V; 133–4 = PL 50, 1273–6.

COUNCILS

ed. C. Munier, *Concilia Galliae 314–506* (CCSL 148, 2001), 61–104.

SAINT'S LIFE

Honoratus of Marseilles, *Life of S. Hilary* (*BHL* 3882, *CPL* 506):

ed. S. Cavallin, *Vitae Sanctorum Honorati et Hilarii Episcoporum Arelatensium* (1952), 80–109.

ed. S. Cavallin (annotated with FT by P.-A. Jacob), *Honorat de Marseille: la vie d'Hilaire d'Arles* (SC 404, 1995).

Hilary of Poitiers (*fl.* 330) *Bishop, exegete, and polemical writer. Born around the beginning of the 4th century, Hilary was elected Bishop of *Poitiers *c.*350. After attending the *Council of Béziers (356) he was exiled to *Phrygia by the *Emperor *Constantius II, either because of his support of the *usurper *Silvanus or because of his opposition to *Arianism. While in the East Hilary became familiar with the biblical exegesis of *Origen and with the perspective of the Homoiousian party, i.e. those bishops who opposed Arius but who were reluctant to adopt the Homoousian formula of the Council of *Nicaea because of its suspected Sabellian overtones. He became convinced that the Western adherence to Nicaea could be reconciled with the Eastern Homoiousian view and he worked for compromise. After returning to the West in 361, Hilary became a leader of the anti-Arian forces, attempting unsuccessfully with *Eusebius of Vercelli to unseat the *Homoean *Auxentius, Bishop of *Milan. He died in 367, according to *Jerome (*Chron.* ad ann.).

Hilary wrote much polemic, as well as several biblical commentaries. During his exile he produced twelve books *On the Trinity* (*De Trinitate*) and *On the Synods* (*De Synodis*), which reviewed the decisions of the Eastern councils held between 341 and 357. He also issued several sets of writings, sometimes called 'historical' works, that contain documentation on the 'Arian' controversy: *Liber I ad Constantium, Liber II ad Constantium, Liber contra Constantium, Contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolaniensem Liber*, and the *Fragmenta Historica*.

As an exegete Hilary was strongly influenced by the *allegorical *Bible interpretations of Origen. He composed commentaries on the *Psalms, of which just

over 50 survive. He also produced the earliest complete commentary on the Gospel of Matthew to have survived. Hilary's *Tractatus Mysteriorum* is a brief discussion of key figures from the Old Testament, all seen as 'types' of Christ and the Church. Hilary also composed some of the earliest Latin *hymns, of which three have been partially preserved. DGH

CPL 427–64; HLL 5, section 582.

ed. PL 9–10 (1844), reprinting P. Coustant (1693).

ed. A. Feder (CSEL 65, 1916) and A. Zingerle (CSEL 22, 1891).

ed. P. Smulders (CCSL 62–62A, 1979–80) and J. Doignon and R. Demeulenaere (CCSL 61–61B, 1997–2009).

ed. (all annotated with FT) J. Brisson (SC 19bis, 1967), and A. Rocher (SC 334, 1987), and J. Doignon (SC 254, 258, 1978–9), and M. Milhau (SC 344, 347, 1988), and P. Smulders et al. (SC 443, 448, 462, 1999–2001).

ET (annotated) S. McKenna, *Hilary of Poitiers: The Trinity* (FC 25, 1954).

P. Smulders, *Hilary of Poitiers' Preface to his Opus Historicum* (VigChrist supplements 29, 1995).

L. Wickham, *Hilary of Poitiers: Conflicts of Conscience and Law in the Fourth-Century Church: Against Valens and Ursacius: The Extant Fragments, Together with his Letter to the Emperor Constantius* (TTH 25, 1997).

C. L. Beckwith, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity: From De Fide to De Trinitate* (OECS, 2009).

H. C. Brennecke, *Hilarius von Poitiers und die Bischofopposition gegen Constantius II: Untersuchungen zur dritten Phase des arianischen Streites (337–361)* (Patristische Texte und Studien 26, 1984).

J. Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil: Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement et l'épreuve d'une foi épiscopale en Gaule au milieu du IVe siècle* (1971).

E. P. Meijering, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity: De Trinitate I, 1–19,2,3* (Philosophia patrum 6, 1982).

M. Weedman, *The Trinitarian Theology of Hilary of Poitiers* (VigChrist supplements 89, 2007).

Hilderic *King of the *Vandals in *Africa AD 523–30. Hilderic had been promoted to succeed his father *Huneric as king in AD 484, but was bypassed according to the Vandal law of succession by agnatic seniority (*Victor of Vita, III, 19). Consequently he was at least 51 when he became king. Hilderic celebrated his descent from the Theodosian house through his mother *Eudocia, and enjoyed close relations with *Justinian I's court in *Constantinople (*Procopius, *Gothic*, III, 9, 4–5). He was overthrown in a coup by Prince *Gelimer in AD 530. AHM

PLRE II, Hildericus.

D Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, 58–60, 72–6, 228–30.

Hild of Whitby (*c.*614–17 November 680) Former *Anglo-Saxon princess and founder (AD 657) and abbess of the important double *monastery (and school) at *Whitby, home of the Christian Old English poet Cædmon. APS

ODNB s.n. Hild (Thacker).

C. E. Fell, 'Hild, Abbess of Streonæshalch', in H. Bekker-Nielsen et al., eds., *Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium* (1981), 76–99.

Hillel II Jewish patriarch (Hebr. *nasi*) active in *Tiberias in the middle of the 4th century. A *letter written by the *emperor *Julian to the Jewish community in 362 claims that the emperor asked 'my brother Iulus your most venerable *patriarch' to refrain from collecting a tax gathered by the patriarch's emissaries. Medieval Jewish authors ascribed to Hillel II the ratification for posterity of a fixed calendar, thereby no longer requiring lunar observations to determine months or the ad hoc proclamation of Jewish leap years based on climatic conditions. Some recent scholars doubt this attribution, citing divergences from a fixed calendar that continued for centuries. Hillel II is also mentioned by *Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses* 30) who, quoting *Josephus *Comes, a Jewish convert to Christianity, relates that the patriarch was secretly baptized on his deathbed. IMG

M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (1976–84), vol. 2.

S. Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar* (2001).

hillforts Hilltop settlements fortified around the perimeter with a wall of earth or stone, often with timber support, are known from all prehistoric and historical periods from the Neolithic period into early modern times. During the 4th and 5th centuries, hillforts were in use in many parts of upland Europe.

A series of some 50 hillforts in southern Germany is among the most thoroughly investigated. Of these the *Runder Berg is the best studied. Investigations at other sites show that there was a great deal of variation in the character of hillforts. Some, such as the Zähringer Burgberg, have proved to have served a function similar to that of the Runder Berg—as the residence of an elite group and the site for manufacture of objects for elite consumption. Others, such as the Geisskopf near Offenburg, are different. That hillfort has yielded no evidence that it served as a residence of the *aristocracy, but is thought to have been a military camp used by Germanic soldiers. The objects recovered are almost exclusively military in nature—*arms and armour, *tools, attachments for men's *dress, and parts of Late Roman-style military *belts. *Pottery is rare, and ornaments ordinarily associated with women in this period are absent. PSW

K. Fuchs, M. Kempa, R. Redies, B. Theune-Grosskopf, and A. Wais, eds., *Die Alamannen* (1997).

M. Geiberger, A. Stute, and A. Hofmann, eds., *Imperium Romanum: Römer, Christen, Alamannen—Die Spätantike am Oberrhein*, 2 vols. (2005).

Himerius (d. after 383) Greek orator and teacher of *rhetoric from Prusa in *Bithynia where, according to the **Suda*, his father taught rhetoric. Himerius spent most of his adult life in *Athens, first as a student and then as a teacher of rhetoric. *Gregory of *Nazianzus and *Basil of *Caesarea were among his pupils there (*Socrates, IV, 26; *Sozomen, IV, 17). His wife was from a prominent Athenian family who claimed descent from Plutarch (*Oration* 7, 4), and Himerius himself became an Areopagite. According to his contemporary *Eunapius (*Lives of the Philosophers*, 494), Himerius left Athens to join the *Emperor *Julian at the beginning of his reign, returning to Athens after the death of his rival the rhetorician *Proaeresius, at which point he may have obtained the official *chair of rhetoric. He was known to *Libanius who wrote a *letter (*ep.* 469) on his behalf.

*Photius knew of over 70 speeches by Himerius but few have survived complete; extracts of some are given in Byzantine sources, principally Photius' *Bibliotheca*, while others are preserved in a severely damaged manuscript. The surviving corpus represents the principal types of Late Antique speech, being composed either in connection with his teaching, or to mark key moments in the life of the speaker and his circle, or for public events. Himerius' declamations based on historical and fictional themes were composed for his students or for performance at public contests against other sophists. Other speeches addressed to his students respond to conflicts and crises within his school. His epideictic speeches, pronounced in Athens, *Constantinople, *Corinth, and other *cities, include a monody composed on the death of his son Rufinus (*Oration* 8), which survives complete, and addresses to imperial officials such as the *Vicarius Musonius, himself a former teacher of rhetoric at Athens (*Oration* 39) and Scylacius, *Proconsul of *Achaea (*Oration* 25). Among these officials were some of Himerius' former pupils. Unusually, some of these speeches have been transmitted along with their theoretical introductions, explaining how the orator conceived of his task. Himerius' style in his epideictic orations is poetic, rich in metaphor and imagery (allusions to the visual arts are frequent). He often quotes from or refers to the archaic lyric poets, including Sappho and Pindar. RW

PLRE I, Himerius 2.

ed. A. Colonna, *Himerii Declamationes et Orationes cum Deperditarum Fragmentis* (1951).

ET (annotated with study) R. J. Penella, *Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius* (TCH 2007).

Himlingøje *Cemetery of the Late Roman period (2nd and 3rd cents. AD), in Stevns in Zealand, one of the richest such sites in Denmark. The site has been excavated frequently between 1828 and 1985. Approximately 40 inhumation mound graves and cremations in flat ground have been registered. Some of the graves are without grave-goods, while others contain considerable treasures. Those buried include both men and women of all ages. The graves of the rich contain objects of local production, as well as Roman imports—*gold and *silver ornaments, *bronze and gold cups and plates, and assemblages of *glass. This wealth demonstrates the existence of a prominent *aristocracy with contacts with the Continent. The absence of *weapon deposits and military equipment is remarkable. KJe

U. L. Hansen, *Himlingøje—Seeland—Europa. Ein Gräberfeld der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit auf Seeland, seine Bedeutung und internationalen Beziehungen* (Nordiske Fortidsminder. Serie B 13, 1995).

Himyar (Sabaic Hmyrm, Lat. Himyarites, Homeritae) Geographic area in southern *Arabia stretching over the southern highlands of the Yemen, and name of a tribal confederacy ruling over the area, which can be traced back to the 1st century BC (Sabaic *inscription *RÉS* 2687), when the tribe seceded from the kingdom of Qatabān. It was ruled by the dhū Raydān lineage from the capital city *Ẓafār (Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 26, 104; *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 22) and soon appeared as a competing kingdom to that of Saba'. The history of the kingdom may be reconstructed from epigraphic evidence and Christian authors, including the *Syriac Book of the **Himyarites*.

By the late 3rd century AD, Himyar had annexed the rival kingdoms Saba' and *Hadramawt and started to stretch its dominion over the *Hijāz and the *Najd (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 19, 14), subjugating the main tribes in Central Arabia (Ma'add, Mudar). In the 4th century, Himyarite kings embraced and probably imposed a monotheistic creed influenced by Judaism. In this period Jewish elements may be seen in the inscriptions, including the use of divine titles, the word 'Amen', and the name Yosef for a king.

In the early 6th century, Himyarite kings were subjected to the Aksumite Negus. When converted Christian communities supported by *Aksum came into conflict with the ruler *Yūsuf As'ar (Dhu Nuwas), an Ethiopian military intervention ensued (*Cosmas Indicopleustes, II, 140–1). By *c.*535, the Himyarite crown fell to Abraha, the Negus' officer. In about AD 575, Himyar was conquered by the Persians under *Khosrow I and it faded away. JS

I. Gajda, *Le Royaume de Ḥimyar à l'époque monothéiste* (2009).

Himyarites, Book of the Detailed near-contemporary account, wrtten in *Syriac by a *Miaphysite sympathizer, of the martyrdoms in *c.*520 of Christians

and their leader *Arethas at *Najran in southern *Arabia at the hands of *Yūsuf Ash'ar (Dhu Nuwas). OPN

ed. (with introd. and ET) A. Moberg (1924; repr. 2012).
Shahid, *Martyrs of Najran*.

Hind bt. 'Utba Mother of *Mu'awiya, the first *Umayyad *caliph. Until his *conversion in 630, her husband *Abu Sufyan was a fierce opponent of *Muhammad. Hind is said to have mutilated the corpse of Hamza (Muhammad's uncle) and bitten into his liver, in vengeance for his having killed her father in a previous battle. NK

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.n.* Hind bint 'Utba, 455–6 (Buhl).

Hinton S. Mary *Villa in north Dorset, England. A *mosaic floor, similar to those at *Frampton, probably mid-4th century and now in the British Museum, depicts Bellerophon and the Chimaera and at the other end the bust of a man, possibly Christ, embellished with pomegranates and a chi-rho symbol. Little is known about the villa or whether it was used for worship. ACR

B. Putnam, *Roman Dorset* (2007).
J. M. C. Toynbee, 'A New Roman Mosaic Pavement Found in Dorset', *JRS* 54 (1964), 7–14.

Hinzat *Village east of Adwa in Tigray, northern *Ethiopia. Evidence for ancient occupation includes tombs and several stelae (one inscribed) of a form dated elsewhere to the first four centuries AD. The site has not yet been fully investigated. DWP

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 40, 61.
C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia* (1928), pl. xxxix.
Yohannes Gebre Selassie, 'New Data on 'GZ, Son of a King, from a 3rd-Century AD Unvocalised Ge'ez Inscription (Hinzat, Tigray)', *Annales d'Éthiopie* 29 (2014), 13–25.

Hippiatrica A *Greek encyclopedia of *veterinary medicine as it applies to *horses, compiled in the 5th/6th century by an unknown editor, and given its final shape in the 10th century. The sources of the text, sometimes translated between *Latin and Greek, include works by seven authors, many of them practising veterinarians. They are: *Anatolius of *Beirut (probably 4th cent.), whose general agricultural handbook included an important veterinary section; Eumelus (late 3rd/early 4th cent., possibly from Thebes in *Greece); *Apsyrtus, a practising veterinarian of the 3rd/early 4th century whose work forms the foundation of the *Hippiatrica*; *Pelagonius (late 4th cent.); *Theomnestus (early 4th cent.); *Hierocles (4th/5th cent.), and Hippocrates (often confused with the homonymous physician) of unknown date. Several of the source texts survive more fully in *Syriac and *Arabic translations, as yet not fully studied.

The *Hippiatrica* survives in 22 manuscripts. It was a reference work, organized by ailment and author, and comprises the most important veterinary work of Late Antiquity, valuable for insights on veterinary medicine and its practitioners, language, and disease. Common ailments whose symptoms and treatments are discussed include glanders, lameness, cough, and colic. Also included are details of the daily care and maintenance of horses rarely found elsewhere, such as feeding, stable management, and breeding. MD

ed. E. Oder and K. Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* (1924–7).
McCabe, *Horse Medicine*, with considerable discussion of the text.

hippodrome *See* CIRCUS.

Hippolytus (*fl.* 200) Prolific Greek *biblical commentator whose identity, provenance, and corpus have come under considerable scrutiny. *Eusebius of *Caesarea calls him *proestos* (*HE* VI, 20, 22, 46). *Jerome designates him *episcopus* (*Vir. Ill.* 61). Neither knows his church. *Prudentius celebrated a Roman *martyr called Hippolytus (*Peristephanon*, 11). *Theodoret listed Hippolytus the author as eastern (*Eranistes*, 1, 88).

As a commentator he influenced *Origen and subsequent patristic writers. He produced seminal interpretations of canonical texts, some of which are preserved entirely, others in part, including *On the Blessings of Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, David and Goliath, On the Song of Songs, Proverbs, Daniel*, and *On Antichrist*. Additional fragments survive. Throughout he sought the 'mystical' (figurative) meaning and supported a delayed Parousia (Second Coming of Christ). He composed material concerned with *Easter and wrote against *heresies although his hand in the *Elenchus* is disputed.

Proposed locales have ranged as widely as *Palestine, *Rome, *Anatolia, *Egypt, and *Arabia. P. Nautin, M. Simonetti, and J. A. Cerrato favour eastern origins. A. Brent maintains a Roman provenance, accompanied by a thoroughgoing literary reassessment. V. Loi suggested two Hippolyti. Scholars attached his name to the *Apostolic Tradition* a century ago, claiming that it had a Roman context; critics find these connections tenuous.

Advanced research has yielded revised views of the 16th-century 'Hippolytus statue' and Roman shrine artefacts. M. Guarducci demonstrated that the original statue was female. The core of the authentic corpus of Hippolytus' writing is commentary on the *Bible with texts and titles of other genres in contested orbits around this core. JAC

Works (*CPG* 1870–1925):
Hippolytus, *Werke* in GCS: *Exegetica*: ed. H. Achelis et al. (GCS 1, 1897): and ed. M. Richard (GCS NF 7; 2nd rev. edn., 2000).

Refutatio Omnium Haeresium (*CPG* 1899), ed. P. Wendland (GCS 26 1916).
Chronicle (*CPG* 1896), ed. R. Helm (GCS 36 and 46, ²1955).
ET J. H. Macmahon and S. D. F. Salmond (ANCL 6, 1868).
Commentary on Daniel (*CPG* 1873), ed. (with FT and introd. by G. Bardy) M. Lefevre (SC 14, 1947).
Blessings of Isaac and Jacob: of Moses (*CPG* 1874), ed. M. Brière et al. (PO 27/1–2, 1954), 2–16.
On David and Goliath, On the Song of Songs, On Antichrist (*CPG* 1871, 1879), ed. (with LT) G. Garitte (CSCO 263–4; Scr. iber. 15–16, 1965).
On the Antichrist (*CPG* 1872), ed E. Norelli (Biblioteca Patristica 10, 1987).
Refutatio Omnium Haeresium, ed. M. Marcovich (PTS 25, 1986).
ed. M. Richard, 'Une paraphrase grecque résumée du commentaire d'Hippolyte sur le Cantique des Cantiques', *Le Muséon* 77/1–2 (1964), 137–54; 78/3–4 (1965), 257–90; 79 (1966), 61–94; 80 (1967), 327–64.
Apostolic Tradition, ed. (with FT and comm.) B. Botte (SC 11 bis, 1984).
ET ed. (with comm.) A. Stewart-Sykes (SVS Popular Patristics 22, 2001).
U. Volp in Foster, *Early Christian Thinkers*, 141–53.
P. F. Bradshaw, M. E. Johnson, and L. E. Philips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (2001).
A. Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century* (1995).
J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus* (2002).
G. Aragione and E. Norelli, eds., *Des évêques, des écoles et des hérétiques* (2011).
P. Nautin, *Hippolyte et Josipe* (1947).
M. Simonetti, ed., *Nuove Ricerche su Ippolito* (1989).
V. Loi, ed., *Ricerche su Ippolito* (1977).

Hippo Regius (mod. Annaba formerly Bône, Algeria) Important port *city with vast *territorium* in the Roman *province of *Zeugitana but the ecclesiastical province of *Numidia. At least five churches are known from *Augustine's writings. Only one, dating to the pre-*Vandal period and with an associated *baptistery located in the '*insula chrétienne*', has been excavated. *Epitaphs bearing *Germanic names have been found in the church (*AE* 1953, 107; *AE* 1951, 267); the site was used throughout Late Antiquity. There is little evidence of public building in Late Antiquity but the market was reconstructed in 364/7 (*AE* 1982, 943). Augustine's polemic suggests that spectacles were still taking place in the early 5th century. Some houses had late 3rd- to 4th-century *mosaics. There were *city walls before the fourteen-month Vandal siege of 430–1. *Possidius claimed that Hippo was burned by the Vandals (*Vita Augustini*, 28), but there is no archaeological evidence for this and Augustine's library survived. In 436–9 Hippo was *Geiseric's residence. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 113–25.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 263–7.
X. Delestre, ed., *Hippone* (2005).
Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, 188, 262.
E. Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone: ville épiscopale de Saint Augustin* (1958), 23–98.
H.-I. Marrou, *REAug* 6 (1960), 109–54.

al-Hira *Arab settlement, now in ruins, near Najaf in southern Iraq on the fringe of the Arabian Desert. Al-Hira flourished between the 4th and 7th centuries AD. Its foundation date is unknown: Muslim historians believed it was the first Arab *city in Iraq, some dating it to the Neo-Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar; alternative traditions suggest an origin in the Parthian or *Sasanian periods (Bosworth, 597).

Al-Hira's name, meaning 'the walled place' or 'the settlement' in *Syriac and *Arabic, implies its status as a focus of interaction between Arabian *nomads and settled *Mesopotamia. By the *Sasanian period it had become the capital of the *Lakhimids, clients of the Sasanians who patrolled the Empire's Arabian Desert *frontier. The Lakhimids were semi-nomadic and often resided in *palaces further into the Arabian Desert such as al-*Khawarnaq and Sidir; hence al-Hira's population was predominantly Christian Mesopotamian Aramaeans committed to the *Church of the East. The city was the seat of a *bishop; Bishop Hosea attended the church *Council of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410. Al-Hira also attracted settlement of Arabian nomads from various *tribes, some of whom became Christians and became known as 'Ibadis (*Ibadites). The famed pre-Islamic Christian Arabic *poet 'Adi b. Zayd was one such Ibadite, though it is unclear how much Arabic liturgical writing, if any, was produced in al-Hira before *Islam.

The close *Lakhimid–Sasanian relationship transformed al-Hira into a significant cultural and political centre, but in 602 the Sasanian Shahanshah *Khosrow II Aparwez deposed the Lakhimid al-*Nu'man b. Mundhir, the Lakhimids collapsed, and al-Hira's fortunes waned. As a conduit between *Arabia and Mesopotamia, it was one of the first Iraqi cities to surrender to the advancing Muslim armies in 633 during the *Arab conquest. The Muslims established a new city nearby, al-*Kufa, which completely supplanted al-Hira, and it was never again substantially developed.

Al-Hira has been only cursorily excavated: the 1931 English expedition revealed much *stucco work bearing Christian iconography. Okada's exploration of monastic sites near al-Hira further reveals the material culture of pre-Islamic Mesopotamian Christianity. PAW

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.n.* al-Ḥīra (A. F. L. Beeston, I. Shahid).
C. E. Bosworth, 'Iran and the Arabs before Islam', *CambHistIran* III/1, 593–612.

Y. Okada, 'Reconsideration of Plaque-Type Crosses from Ain Shai'a near Najaf', *Al-Rafidan* 11 (1990), 103–12.
I. Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Ḥīra* (2013).

Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik (691–743) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 724–43). Hisham was the fourth of *'Abd al-Malik's sons to become *caliph. He is remembered as a builder and administrator. His building works include the market at Baysan (*Scythopolis)—wrongly dated to the 6th century, until the discovery of a dated *mosaic *inscription (see Khamis, listed in bibliography)—and numerous desert 'palaces' (including *Khirbat al-Mafjar, *Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi). In the latter role, he expanded the state's bureaucratic reach: *papyrological evidence from *Egypt during Hisham's reign shows that a detailed land survey was carried out there, as part of an overhaul of the province's *tax system. His reign also saw a serious revolt among the *Berbers in the west (740–4). NC

EI 2 vol. 3 (1977) *s.v.* Hishām, 493–5 (Talbi).
al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*.
*Tabari, XXVI.
al-*Yaqubi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols. (1883).
K. Y. Blankinship, *The End of the Jihâd State: The Reign of Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads* (1994).
F. Gabrieli, *Il Califatto di Hisham* (1935).
E. Khamis, 'Two Wall Mosaic Inscriptions from the Umayyad Market Place in Bet Shean/Baysan', *BSOAS* 64 (2001), 159–76.
W. al-Qadi, 'Population Census and Land Surveys under the Umayyads (41–132/661–750)', *Der Islam* 83 (2008), 341–416.

Hisn Maslama Islamic sources refer to a town of this name founded by the general and *Umayyad prince *Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was governor of the *Jazira region of *Syria from 708/9. The fact that he was known to have owned several large estates in the area has led to speculation that Hisn Maslama is actually the archaeological site known as Madinat al-Far. This is located approximately 70 km (43 miles) north of *Raqqa near the River Balikh in northern Syria on the Balikh road. The attribution is supported because it was a route that would have been known to Maslama due to his frequent campaigns against the Byzantine army in *Anatolia.

Because he was respected for his pious behaviour and campaigns against the Byzantines, sources claim that Maslama's descendants were allowed to remain at Hisn Maslama after the fall of the Umayyads. This supports the view that Madinat al-Far is the site in question, as evidence of both Umayyad and *Abbasid occupation has been found there. EL

C. P. Haase, 'The Excavations at Madinat Al-Far/Hisn Maslama on the Balikh Road', in H. N. Kennedy, ed., *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period (History of Warfare)* (2005), 54–60.

Hispaniae **Dioecesis* encompassing *Spain and westernmost North *Africa, consisting of the *provinces of *Baetica, *Lusitania, *Carthaginiensis, *Gallaecia, *Tarraconensis, *Baleares, and *Mauretania Tingitana; its capital was Augusta *Emerita. Organized under the *Tetrarchy and included in the *Verona List, by the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum* (**occ.* III, 2 and XXI) the *Vicarius Hispaniae was under the jurisidiction of the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Gaul. Hispaniae was invaded by the *Alans, *Suebes, and *Vandals in 409, and the *Visigoths in 456. GDB

Barrington Atlas, maps 24–7;
TIR:
K-29 (1991) Conimbriga—Bracara—Lucus—Asturica.
K-30 (1993) Caesaraugusta— Clunia—Madrid.
J-29 (1995) Emerita-Scallabis—Pax Iulia—Gades—Lisbon.
J-30 (2002) Valencia, Corduba, Hispalis, Carthago Nova, Astigi.
K/J-31 (1997) Tarraco—Baleares.
New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 6 (2005) *s.v.* Hispania, Iberia, cols. 388–92 (E. Olshausen).
New Pauly Supplements I, vol. 3 (2011), 'The Development of the Roman Provinces on the Iberian Peninsula (2nd cent. BC–5th cent. AD)' (E. Olshausen).

hispánica tardía Fine ware produced in northern *Spain, 3rd to 5th centuries. Unlike the fine-ware industries of *Baetica, *terra *sigillata (t.s.) hispánica* continued over the 3rd and 4th–5th centuries (*t.s.h. tardía)* in various workshops, both rural (La Rioja Valley; Upper Duero) and urban (e.g. Clunia). Mould-made bowls with interlocking 'cartwheel' decoration and open dishes with stamped patterns (copying metalware) are characteristic. Red, then grey vessels were the norm (cf. contemporary Gallic *t.s. paléochrétienne grise*). The ware primarily served its inland market, the region's aristocratic *villas, as well as *cities (e.g. Zaragoza). PR

P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700* (2010), 56–67.
P. Peralta, 'Las producciones de *terra sigillata* hispánica intermedia y tardía', in D. B. Casasola and A. Ribera y Lacomba, eds., *Cerámicas hispanorromanas: un estado de la cuestión* (2009), 497–539.

Hispellum (mod. Spello, *Italy) *City in the Umbrian part of *Tuscia et Umbria, along the Via Flaminia and known as Colonia Julia Hispellum since its colonization under Augustus.

After the creation of the *province of Tuscia et Umbria (attested in the *Verona List) the city requested imperial permission to construct a *temple to the Gens

Flavia, to hold theatrical shows and *gladiatorial games previously held at Volsinii in *Tuscia, and to rename the city in honour of Constantine's family. In 337, a *rescript of the *Caesar *Constans I (*CIL* XI, 5265 = *ILS* 705) granted the building of the temple, provided it never be 'polluted by the deceits of superstition', and permitted the shows to be held at Volsinii in alternate years. The name of the *colonia* was changed to Flavia Constans.

Modern Spello preserves the Roman *street grid and an important Roman sanctuary where the inscription bearing the rescript was found. MMA; OPN

J. Gascou, 'Le Rescrit d'Hispellum', *MÉFRA* 79 (1967), 609–59.

K. Tabata, 'The Date and Setting of the Constantinian Inscription of Hispellum', *Studi classici e orientali* 45 (1997), 369–410.

Van Dam, *Roman Revolution of Constantine*, 363–7, cf. 21–34.

Barnes, *Constantine*, 20–3.

Hisperica Famina *Latin literary pieces written in *Ireland in the 7th century, the *Hisperica Famina* (Lat. 'Western Sayings') survive in one complete recension (A), two fragments (B, D), and a glossary pointing to another recension (C). The works are characterized by (1) bizarre vocabulary, (2) end-stopped lines containing single or double hyperbaton, and (3) synonymy. Although poetically conceived, the lines employ neither quantitative nor rhythmical metre. Three poems, the *Lorica of Laidcend, Rubisca*, and *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*, draw heavily on the vocabulary of the *Hisperica Famina*, but their rhythmical structure differentiates them from the *Hisperica Famina* proper. 'Hisperic' vocabulary comprises neologisms based on *Greek, Hebrew, and Celtic languages, archaisms, and words used in unusual senses. Main sources are *Isidore, *Gildas, and undetermined glossaries.

Each version is a collection of classroom essays on everyday topics and natural objects, reminiscent of *Priscian's *Praeexercitamina*. The versions adhere to a common set of themes, but treatment varies from version to version. Version A contains an introduction describing a contest between two *schools, a list of grammatical faults, and the routine of the school day; then come descriptions of sky, sea, fire, field, wind, the dress and equipment of the scholars, a writing *tablet, a chapel, a *prayer, and an attack by *brigands. The Christian authors seemingly imagined themselves in an ancient Roman school: bands of students engage in rhetorical contests, competing for mastery of 'Ausonian diction'. Mythological names (*Titan, Tithys, Olympus*) figure prominently. MWHe

CPL 1137:

ed. (with ET and comm.) M. W. Herren (A version 1974, Poems 1987).

ed. F. J. H. Jenkinson (all versions, 1908).

Historia Acephala An anonymous Alexandrian work preserved in translation in a *Latin manuscript of *c.*700 in *Verona and given its title by the editor Scipione Maffei in 1738. The extant text provides a concise account of the episcopate of *Athanasius of *Alexandria (*bishop 328–73), covering from 346 until his death. Although the work has passed through a number of revisions, the original was probably composed for the 40th anniversary of Athanasius' election in 368 and drew extensively on the church archives of Alexandria. The *Historia Acephala* is notable for exceptional chronological accuracy and is a crucial source for reconstructing Athanasius' controversial career. DMG

ed. A. Martin with M. Albert (annotated, with FT), *Histoire 'Acéphale' et Index Syriaque des Lettres festales d'Athanase d'Alexandrie* (SC 317, 1985).

Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*.

W. Telfer, 'The Codex Verona LX (58)', *HTR* 36 (1943), 169–246.

Historia Augusta A series of imperial biographies in the mould of Suetonius covering the *emperors from Hadrian to *Carus, *Carinus, and *Numerian, with a lacuna covering Philip the Arab to *Valerian (fragmentary), bearing the names of six different authors who claim to be writing around the very end of the 3rd century or beginning of the 4th. These attributions were accepted until 1889 when H. Dessau demonstrated that the whole was the work of a single author at the end of the 4th century. For almost 90 years this conclusion was resisted or reformulated by scholars, but single authorship is today accepted by all. Though some have argued for an early 5th-century date, general consensus places composition in the late 4th century, perhaps the early 380s.

The author would seem to have begun by writing serious *biography, using a number of different sources, particularly Marius Maximus and an unknown biographer referred to as *Ignotus*. But by the time he reached the reign of Caracalla and the first part of the reign of Elagabalus he had grown bored of copying and reworking, and so gradually gave full rein to his penchant for invention and humour and went back and added the earlier, so-called 'secondary' lives of *usurpers and minor emperors, which are mostly fiction since he lacked any substantial sources. He then continued using Herodian, *Dexippus, *Eunapius, and the **Kaisergeschichte* as his sources, enlivening them with fake documents and *letters, the names and works of fake historians, fabricated events and persons (including usurpers), and slyly humorous comments and puns, many of which make fun of the practice of writing history. As a result, the early 'primary' lives to Caracalla are generally reliable, but the secondary and later lives are generally not. The problem for the modern historian is sorting fact from fiction, which can exist side by side.

We know that the *HA* was employed as a legitimate source once in the early 6th century (by Q. Aurelius Memmius *Symmachus), but it then disappeared until the 9th century, when it reappeared in the form of excerpts in *florilegia* and in the oldest surviving manuscript (Vatican Library, Palatinus 899), which remains the best witness to the text among a large number of later and derivative manuscripts (many from the 14th and 15th cents.) in two main traditions. RWB

ed. E. Hohl, C. Samberger, and W. Seyfarth (Teubner, 1971).
ed. D. Magie (with ET, 3 v., LCL, 1921–32).
ed. by various hands *Histoire Auguste* (annotated with FT and further bibliography, Budé, 1992–).
ed. A. Chastagnol (with FT and further bibliography), *Histoire Auguste: les empereurs romains des IIe et IIIe siècles* (1994).
H. Dessau, 'Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der S.H.A.', *Hermes* 24 (1889), 337–92.
R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1968).
R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (1971).
R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (1983).
Bonner-Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1964/65–1986/89 (published, Antiquitas Reihe IV, 1966-91).
T. D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Coll. Latomus 155, 1978).
Cameron, *Pagans*, 743–82.

Historia Langobardorum Codicis Gothani A short and anonymous history of eleven *capitula* that deals with the *Lombards from their mythical origins up to the rule of *Rothari (636–52). Subsequent Lombard kings are merely listed. The work continues, however, beyond the Frankish conquest of Lombard *Italy concluding with *Pippin's expedition against the Muslims of *Corsica (806). CTH

ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS rer. Lang (1878), 5–11.

***Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (*History of the Monks in Egypt*)** (*c.*400) A travel book recounting a *pilgrimage by seven monks from *Palestine who visited Egyptian monks and *monasteries from September 394 to January 395. The work uses a geographical outline, tracing their journey from south to north. Like *Palladius' *Lausiac History*, it strings together anecdotes about remarkable hermits, healers, and holy men, notably *John of *Lycopolis (d. 394/5). It also accents their aptitude for *miracles, noting the continuity between the 'signs and wonders' of the New Testament and those of the monks of *Egypt. The text offers valuable eyewitness accounts of the monastic settlements of *Nitria and *Kellia. The author of the Greek original is unknown, but he seems to have been connected with *Rufinus of *Aquileia's monastery on the Mount of Olives. Rufinus translated the work into *Latin with modifications and added extra material based on his own experiences. JWH

ed. A.-J. Festugière (with FT and comm.) (SubsHag 34, 1971).
ET (with introd. by B. Ward) N. Russell, *Lives of the Desert Fathers* (CSS 34, 1981).
Frank, *Memory of the Eyes*.
Harmless, *Desert Christians*.
de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*, vol. 3, 317–86.
B. Ward, 'Signs and Wonders: Miracles in the Desert Tradition', *SP* 18 (1982), 539–42.

Historia Tripartita Title of an ecclesiastical history compiled by *Cassiodorus *c.*565 at his *monastery of *Vivarium near Squillace in southern *Italy. Deploying and combining the *Latin translation by his *confrère* *Epiphanius Scholasticus of the *Church Histories* of *Socrates, *Sozomen, and *Theodoret (including that already prepared by *Theodore Lector), he also added a preface. Cassiodorus' *History* covered the period from *Constantine I to 439. The precise division of authorial labour and credit between Cassiodorus and Epiphanius is disputed. The *History* was set out in twelve books and was generally copied together with the *Church History* of *Rufinus of *Aquileia. It became one of the most frequently consulted and widespread texts of medieval Europe (157 extant manuscripts). BC

ed. W. Jakob (with R. Hanslik), *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* (CSEL 71, 1952).
R. Hanslik, 'Epiphanius Scholasticus oder Cassiodor? Zur Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita', *Philologus* 115 (1971), 107–13.

historiography, Armenian The Armenian historiographical tradition, which would become one of the richest genres of medieval *Armenian literature, began soon after the creation of a unique alphabet for the Armenian language *c.* AD 406 by Mesrop *Mashtots'. This was ordered by the *catholicus of the Armenian Church and the *Arshakuni King, ostensibly to aid in the Christianization of *Armenia. The *translations and original compositions that followed can be said, then, to be Christian. Most of the authors who composed histories acknowledged the legends and historical events of pre-Christian Armenia, including its *Zoroastrian past, and incorporated them into narratives shaped by their new Christian faith with its *Weltanschauung* that took account of interpretation of the *Bible and consideration of *chronography. Armenian histories are important testimonies to the growth of the churches in the West and in the East in all their variety and to Armenia's relations with each.

In addition to their all-pervasive religious conditioning, many of these historians reflect a clear bias in favour of a particular noble house (*tun*). The **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, for instance, favours the *Mamikoneans; the *History of the Armenians* by *Movses Khorenatsi'

favours the *Bagratuni clan. They are therefore valuable for reconstructing the political history of Armenia as well as for examining its social structure.

Armenia's geopolitical position also conditions these histories. Constantly surrounded by great powers which influenced Armenian affairs, the historians of Armenia had to concern themselves with the politics and histories of neighbouring empires and peoples. *The History of Armenia* by *Agat'angelos, for example, when used with care, is invaluable for the study of the fall of Arsacid Parthia and the rise of the *Sasanian Persians; the histories of *Lazar P'arpets'i and *Sebeos contribute much to the study of Byzantine–Sasanian relations; and *Levond, when carefully used, is indispensable for the study of the rise of *Islam and the *Arab conquest of Armenia.

The dates of publication of these Armenian histories of Late Antiquity have been subjects of scholarly dispute. The order in which histories are listed in later medieval authors varies widely, and modern scholarship has pushed the dates of composition of many of them later, often by centuries. Nevertheless, this seldom completely negates their usefulness in various areas of study. LA

Thomson, *BCAL* 89–231.
T. M. van Lint in Foot and Robinson, *OHHW* ch. 9.

historiography, Greek and Latin Continuity and innovation mark Late Antique historiography, as well as some apparent ends. Whilst conditioned by social changes, these developments took different forms in individual (sub)genres and various languages. Three main genres can be distinguished: classicizing historiography, ecclesiastical historiography, and chronicles.

Classicizing historiography

Continuing the classical tradition, historians remained attracted by great individuals, such as the *emperors *Constantine I (*Praxagoras of *Athens, Bemarchius of Cappadocian *Caesarea) and *Julian (*Oribasius, *Magnus of Carrhae), and great events, such as the rise of the *Isaurian dynasty in the 5th century (*Candidus the Isaurian, *Capito) and the wars of the 6th century (*Procopius, *Agathias, *Menander Protector, *Theophylact Simocatta), whilst also continuing to write local histories.

Three phenomena mark the genre in this period. First, there were *breviaria*, such as the 4th-century works of *Festus, Aurelius *Victor and *Eutropius, the **Epitome de Caesaribus*, and the lost **Kaisergeschichte of Enmann*. Far from being evidence of declining *education, these summaries of Roman history were ambitious works, intended for readers trained in *rhetoric.

Second, from the 5th century onwards, *Greek historiography became more self-consciously classicizing by taking Thucydides and Herodotus as models; this was achieved through *mimesis of their styles and by purging the vocabulary of non-classical elements, in particular of overtly Christian terminology. Although classicizing history could serve anti-Christian polemic (*Eunapius, *Zosimus) and occasionally Christian apologetic (*Orosius, in *Latin), classicism became a formal rather than an ideological choice.

Third, a persistent antiquarianism marks Latin historiography from the 4th century onwards (e.g. the *Origo Gentis Romanae*, probably by Q. Aurelius *Symmachus the Younger). This becomes pronounced in Greek historiography from the 6th century onwards (*John Lydus, *Hesychius of *Miletus). Greek classicizing history remained vigorous until the early 7th century, when Theophylact Simocatta drifted away from the more rigorous classicism of the age of *Justinian I. Latin classicizing history did not survive long after *Ammianus Marcellinus. *Sulpicius Alexander and *Frigeridus (end 4th/early 5th cent.) are customarily considered the last classicizing historians in Latin, but some later classicizing historians are attested, such as Symmachus the Younger. Christianity and the *Barbarian Migrations transformed Latin historiography. *Cassiodorus composed the first ethnic history of the *Goths, followed by *Jordanes, and then by *Gregory of *Tours and *Isidore of *Seville. In the 6th century, *Gildas' lament over the demise of *Britain is a prophetic appeal for repentance.

Ecclesiastical historiography

Ecclesiastical history is mainly a Late Antique and Eastern genre. Strongly present in Greek from *Eusebius of Palestinian *Caesarea onwards (*Philostorgius, *Socrates, *Sozomen, *Theodoret, *Theodore Lector, *Zacharias Rhetor), the Byzantines did not write in this genre any more after *Evagrius Scholasticus and an epitome of ecclesiastical histories in the 7th century (with the exception of the antiquarian attempt by *Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopolus in the 14th cent.). Closely tied in with the defence of church integrity, the genre became popular in *Syriac and has also left traces in *Coptic and *Arabic. In the West, the genre received its principal impulses from the East: *Rufinus translated Eusebius' *Church History* into Latin and continued it, and Cassiodorus commissioned the **Historia Tripartita*, a Latin epitome of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. The title of *Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* shows how the genre became adapted to a new, medieval world of nations. Ecclesiastical history saw itself as a twin of the genre of classicizing history; that is to say, it used the same methods but focused on a different subject. It did, however, display some formal differences, such as its claim to write in a simpler language, the practice of quoting entire documents, and the absence of fictive speeches—even if not all

church historians conform to that model (e.g. Sozomen and the anonymous author known as *Gelasius of *Cyzicus). The genre was very diverse, ranging from histories with a wide geographical and chronological scope, local histories (e.g. of *Alexandria), and histories that focus on a single *council of the Church or *heresy (*Liberatus). Closely related but not identical to church histories are histories of *persecutions (Eusebius of Caesarea's memoir on the *Martyrs of Palestine* and his lost account of ancient *martyrdoms, Victor de Vita on the *Vandal persecutions), accounts of monks (*Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*; *Palladius *Lausiac History*), and *saints' lives. Church historians tended to assume that it is the Church that is the primary engine of history, an idea that occurs most explicitly in works that are strongly apologetic (Eusebius of Caesarea).

Chronicles

Chronicles figure prominently in Late Antique historiography. As a term, it covers a wide variety of texts, including such secular compilations as **consularia* (lists of *consuls) and *fasti*. It is, however, usually associated with Christianity. Julius Africanus drew on pre-existing classical chronicles to construct a chronicle that formed an apologetic argument for the antiquity of Judaeo-Christian religion, a project that was picked up by Eusebius of Caesarea, after intervening *pagan criticism from *Porphyry of *Tyre. Eusebius' C*hronici Canones* were too complex to survive, but later generations of chroniclers took his work as a starting point, either to translate, continue, or rework (in Latin, successively *Jerome, *Hydatius, *Prosper Tiro; in Greek Annianus, Panodorus; and others in Syriac and *Armenian). Especially in the Syriac and Greek tradition, the numerous continuations and reworkings spin a web that is impossible to disentangle but the results of which are incorporated in the extensive medieval chronicles (*Theophanes, *Theodorus Syncellus, *Michael the Elder, and the Syriac **Chronicle of 1234*). Often chronicles circulated anonymously and were continuously updated, possibly by state officials but most likely by private individuals. From the 6th century onwards they developed into extensive works of history rather than lists of brief entries, as is exemplified in *John Malalas.

Social context

Late Antique historiography was shaped by the educational system and the institutional framework (imperial and ecclesiastical). The interest in certain genres, such as *breviaria*, can be understood by the need to have concise overviews of Roman history for rhetorical education. Stylistic choices, in particular in so-called classicizing history, betray a renewed emphasis on classical models in education. *Rhetoricians often composed histories (*Ausonius, Symmachus, Prohaeresius). *City chronicles are thought by some scholars to have been popular, but more general histories were often generated at the imperial *court, and reflect views held there (*Olympiodorus, Procopius). In particular, *Constantinople develops into a significant centre for historiographical activity in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and possibly Armenian (*Jordanes, *Victor Tonnennensis, *Marcellinus Comes, *John of *Ephesus in the 6th cent.). The Church, being as yet less centralized, generated more varied geographical perspectives: ecclesiastical histories often defend the tradition of one particular *patriarchal see.

Mutations in education and institutions spurred the fundamental changes which the genre underwent. Classicizing history was transformed but remained much more stable in the East than in the more radically changing West, where the Christianization of genres is more rapid and obvious. Ecclesiastical historiography tended to fragment, reflecting various schisms and heresies. Towards the end of Late Antiquity, historiography seems characterized by the merging of genres: there is not much difference between the last book of Evagrius Scholasticus, a church historian, and the secular work of *Theophylact Simocatta. The C*hronike Historia* of *John of Antioch is a world history that pays lip service to the chronicle tradition. *Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* is a national history that takes the form of a church history. This blurring of genres suggests that the social divisions that they reflected had ceased to have significance.

PVN

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Blockley, *FCHLRE*.

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A. Feldherr and G. Hardy, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 1: *Beginnings to AD 600* (2011).

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A. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (2005).

F. Paschoud, *Eunape, Olympiodore, Zosime: Scripta Minora* (2006).

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D. Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (2002).
P. L. Schmidt, 'Zu den Epochen der spätantiken lateinischen Historiographie', *Philologus* 132 (1988), 86–100.
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P. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix et de piété: étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène* (2004).

historiography, Islamic The two terms used most commonly to describe Islamic historical writing are *akhbar* and *ta'rikh*. *Akhbar* are 'reports', discrete anecdotal units ranging from brief statements to lengthy narratives, conventionally attributed to eyewitnesses, and often accompanied by **isnad*s (transmitter chains: 'X heard from Y, who heard Z say . . .'). *Ta'rikh* means both 'dating' and 'historical writing', and is associated with continuous chronological narratives. However, there was no simple progression from oral to written history in *Islam, or from tales of individual heroic ancestors to a bigger picture: many apparent *akhbar* were later literary creations, not eyewitness reports, while chronological *ta'rikh*s like *Tabari's universal chronicle combine personalized anecdotes with an annalistic recitation of history since Creation.

Islamic historical writing has received considerable modern scholarly attention, particularly since 1960s and 1970s revisionism questioned the authenticity of the literary material. This challenge has itself been revised by recent research, but the fact remains that all surviving examples of Islamic historiography post-date 750, being produced in a cultural milieu significantly altered from that of the earliest Muslims. Furthermore, early Islamic historians were engaged in arguing about the past, not simply recording it; as a scholarly discipline, history was tied to *tafsir* (*Qur'ānic exegesis) and related interest in *sira* (biography of the Prophet *Muhammad) as a means to understand the Qur'ān. Narratives and *akhbar* alike could thus be subject to revision and recasting by later author-compilers, as new priorities arose and new interpretations of the past developed. Medieval Islamic historiography was a living, dynamic tradition, and this should be borne in mind when reading it for information on the 7th century. NC

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I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, tr. S. M. Stern (German original, 1889), 2 vols. (1967).
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A. North and L. I. Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition* (1994).
C. F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (2003).
F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (1962).
G. Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam* (2010).

historiography, Persian No continuous histories in Middle *Persian comparable to those in *Syriac and *Armenian survive from the *Sasanian period. The **Ayadgar-i Zarērān* is a poem dealing with the very distant past, and the **Karnamag-e Ardashir-e Pabagan* (*The Book of Deeds of Ardashir son of Pabag*), though it is concerned with *Ardashir I the first Sasanian King of Kings, is a romance which belongs in the realm of legend. These epics tell engaging stories, but they are not factual.

It is clear that *Procopius had access to Persian sources (e.g. *Persian*, I, 6, 9), though he seems to have drawn little from them apart from anecdotes, such as the colourful story of the *pearl (*Persian*, I, 4, 17–31). His continuator *Agathias, on the other hand, obtained material from the royal archives of the *Persian Empire, passed to him and translated by *Sergius the Interpreter, a trusted figure at both the Roman and the Persian *court. The contents of his two digressions on Persian religion (II, 23–7) and on Persian history (IV, 24–30, 5) are likely to be related to what is known from historians of the Islamic period of a lost history entitled the **Xwaday Namag* (*Khvadhaynamagh, Book of Lords*).

The *Xwaday Namag* was a history of *Eranshahr (the realm of the Iranians), composed in Middle Persian during the reign of *Khosrow I in the 6th century AD. The history, which is no longer extant, appears to have outlined the story of Iranians from the Creation to the last Sasanian ruler and the *Arab conquest. The text was later translated into *Arabic by Ibn Muqafa' (d. AD 756/9) during the *Abbasid *caliphate. This work was the basis of the great Persian epic the *Shahnameh* (*Book of Kings*) of Ferdowsi (Firdausi).

So far as it can be reconstructed, the first section of the text described the rule of mythical kings and culture-heroes such as Gayomarth (first man and first king in the *Zoroastrian tradition), followed by Jamshid the great King of Iran who introduced many of the arts and also the Persian New Year (*Nōg rōz) celebration. Because of his hubris Jamshid lost his 'glory' (*farrah, *xwarrah*) and Zahhak, a foreign king, came to the throne and caused death and destruction in Iran. King Fereydun then appears from obscurity and, with the help of a blacksmith named Kaveh, dethrones Zahhak. During Fereydun's rule, the world is divided between his three sons, Iraj, Tur, and Salm. Iraj was given Iran, Tur received Turan, and Salm Rome.

Iraj was murdered by his two brothers and their realms came into collision. The section of the text which follows drew on the epic tradition. The wars between the Iranians and the Turanians, along with the appearance of the great Iranian hero Rustam, is the principal topic of the second section of Iranian history. The third section depicts historical figures, beginning with Dara (Darius) and the coming of *Alexander the Great, followed by a brief interlude on the Arsacids. Most of the historical section concerns the rule of the Sasanians themselves. The book ends with the death of *Yazdegerd III, the last Sasanian ruler, and the Muslim conquest of Eranshahr. TD

EncIran XII/3 (2003) *s.n.* historiography ii. pre-Islamic period, 325–30 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).
EncIran I/6 (1984) *s.n.* Agathias, 608–9 (M.-L. Chaumont).
A. Sh. Shahbazi, 'On the Xwaday-namag', *Acta Iranica* 30 (1990), 208–29.
A. Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sasanians', *DOP* 23–4 (1969–70), 65–183.

historiography, Syriac A vigorous branch of Late Antique Christian history-writing flourished in *Syriac almost continuously between the 6th and the 13th centuries. The very early translation into Syriac of *Eusebius of *Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History* and his *Chronicle* (now lost in its original *Greek form) no doubt played a part in the development of Syriac history-writing.

Those who wrote histories were learned monks and abbots, *bishops (e.g. *John of *Ephesus, Ignatius of *Melitene, Dionysius Bar Salibi, *Bar 'Ebroyo), and even *patriarchs of the *Syriac Orthodox Church (*Dionysius of Tel Mahre, *Michael the Elder), keen to record the history of the Church.

Most west Syriac histories take the form of *chronicles, in particular universal chronicles, starting with the Creation until the author's time. The historical material is organized by date according to the Seleucid *Era of the Greeks (starting in 312/311 BC), sometimes supplemented by other dating systems, depending on their sources. The vast majority of these texts were produced by *Miaphysite authors, although three or four *Melkite and *Maronite chronicles are known. From the 8th century onwards, civil and ecclesiastical events were recorded in two separate books or columns.

In the East (in the *Persian Empire and then in former *Sasanian territory), we find mostly histories of the Church (*Barhadbeshabba Arbaya), starting with Christ. Local histories, such as the *History of *Karka d-bet Slok* (mod. *Kirkuk, Iraq) or the **Chronicle of Arbela* (mod. Irbil), or the histories of major *monasteries (Bet Abe, Monastery of Sabrisho), of schools (*History of the School of *Nisibis*), and of monks (*The Book of Superiors* by Isho'denah of Basra) are organized according to succession of the *Catholicus of the *Church of the East, of bishops, of heads of schools and of *monasteries. They rely heavily upon the numerous hagiographic and biographical texts produced in the Church and give little space to political and civil history. Almost no dates are provided in these texts.

For ancient history, Syriac historiography drew from the *Bible, Greek sources, apocryphal texts and *saints' lives. For nearly contemporary events, the authors relied upon testimonies, *letters and *archives, and their own experience. They also used the historical material of Greek and Islamic fellow historians. Syriac chronicles were translated into *Arabic and thus influenced both Christian Arabic and Islamic histories.

See also CHRONICLES, SYRIAC. MDe

GEDSH s.v. historiography, Syriac, 199–203 (Witakowski).
S. P. Brock, 'Syriac Historical Writing: A Survey of the Main Sources', *Journal of the Iraq Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979–80), 1–30, repr. in Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Study I.
W. Witakowski, 'Syriac Historiography', in Brock and Taylor, *Hidden Pearl*, vol. 3, 167–93.
M. Debié and D. Taylor, 'Syriac and Syro-Arabic Historical Writing, *c.*500–*c.*1400', in S. Foot and C. E. Robinson, eds., *Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 2 (2012), ch. 8, 155–79.
M. Debié, ed., *L'Historiographie syriaque* (Études syriaques 6, 2009).
M. Debié, 'Writing History as "Histoires": The Biographical Dimension of East Syriac Historiography', in A. Papaconstantinou, M. Debié, and H. N. Kennedy, eds., *Writing 'True Stories': Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East* (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 9, 2010), 43–75.
S. P. Brock, 'Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History', *BMGS* 2 (1976), 17–36, repr. in Brock, *Syriac Perspectives*, Study VII.
E. W. Brooks, 'The Sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chronicles', *BZ* 15 (1906), 578–87.
J. J. van Ginkel, 'The End is Near! Some Remarks on the Relationship between Historiography, Eschatology, and Apocalyptic Literature in the West-Syrian Tradition', in W. J. van Bekkum, J. W. Drijvers, and A. C. Klugkist, eds., *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink* (OLA 170, 2007), 205–17.

***History of the Britons* (*Historia Brittonum*)** A history written in Wales in the early 9th century. This text survives in many manuscripts which exhibit significant variation. The Harley recension appears to be the best witness but itself dates from about 1100. The author may have originated in the Wye Valley. He is named as Nemniuus (Welsh *Nyfnwy*, inaccurately popularized as 'Nennius'), though this ascription is not found in the Harley recension. The narrative covers the period from the Creation to AD 685 and it owes a

strong debt to *Bede, though whether the author had a full text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is debatable. Discussions of the British sources of the work and the extent to which it is a compilation or a creative narrative continue. AW

CPL 1325.

ed. with ET, J. Morris, *Nennius: History of the Britons* (1979).

D. N. Dumville, '"Nennius" and the *Historia Brittonum*', *StudCelt* 10/11 (1975/6), 78–95.

History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria Official history of the (*Miaphysite) Coptic church arranged as biographies of the *patriarchs, and composed over several generations by different authors. It starts with S. Mark the Evangelist in the 1st century and continues into the 13th century with further short entries up to the early 20th century. The treatment is uneven, with some biographers focusing on the patriarch's life and character, while others give a full political, economic, and social history of the time. Originally written in *Coptic, the contributions were in *Arabic from the 11th century onwards when the original text was also translated into Arabic. This translation was made by the Alexandrian *deacon Mawhūb b. Mansūr b. Mufarrij (d. *c.*1100), who collected the biographies up to his time, had them translated, and made his own contributions in Arabic. Attributions in the later 'Vulgate' reworked versions to the well-known Coptic theologian Severus b. al-Muqaffa' (d. AD 987) are to be considered later additions. PMS

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 446–8, 717.

Sāwīrus b. al-Muqaffa', *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*: ed. (with ET) B. Evetts, vol. 1 *Saint Mark–Theonas, A.D. 61–300* (PO I/ 2, 1904); vol. 2 *Peter I–Benjamin I A.D. 300–660* (PO I/4, 1907); vol. 3 *Agathon to Michael I 766 A.D. 661–766* (PO V/1, 1910); vol. 4 *Mennas I to Joseph 849 A.D.* 767–849 (PO X/5, 1910). Then *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* (*HPEC*), ed. Y. 'Abd al-Masīḥ, O. H. E. Burmester, A. S. Atiya, and A. Khater (1943–74).

ed. C. F. Seybold, *Severus ibn al-Muqaffa'. Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte von S. Marcus bis Michael I (61–767) nach der ältesten 1266 geschriebenen Hamburger Handschrift im arabischen Urtext herausgegeben* (1912).

ed. (with LT) C. F. Seybold, *Severus Ben el-Moqaffa'. Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (CSCO 52, 59. Scr. arab. ser. 3, 8–9, pts. 1–2, 1904–10).

J. Den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarriğ et l'historiographie copto-arabe* (1989).

D. W. Johnson, 'Further Remarks on the Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria', *OrChrist* 61 (1977), 103–16.

Histria (mod. Istria, Romania) *City of *Scythia Minor on a lagoon of the Pontic coast. It was sacked by the *Goths in 238 and in the late 3rd century. In Late Antiquity, the lower city and its defences were given up and fortification was confined to the ancient acropolis. Excavation has revealed *baths, 4th-century public buildings (interpreted as civil *basilicas, but probably storehouses), extensive residential quarters and workshops of the late 5th and 6th centuries, four churches, including the sumptuous episcopal basilica of the late 5th or 6th century, and large 6th-century *houses. *Brickstamps and *Procopius confirm repairs under *Anastasius I and *Justinian I. Histria was destroyed and abandoned in the 7th century. The city should not be confused with the *province of *Venetia et Histria at the head of the Adriatic. ER

TIR L 35: *Bucarest* (1969), 45–6.

Histria, Monografie Arheologică (1954–2007), esp. vols. 6 (1982) and 13 (2007).

R. Born, *Die Christianisierung der Städte in der Provinz Scythia Minor* (2012), 73–110.

E. Condurachi, 'Quelques maisons byzantines des villes pontiques', in G. Robertson and G. Henderson, eds., *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (1975), 171–83.

C. Domăneanțu, 'Die spätrömische Festungsmauer von Histria', in P. Alexandrescu and W. Schuller, eds., *Histria. Eine Griechenstadt an der rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste* (1990), 263–83.

hoarding food *Grain was the staple element of the Late Roman diet and its production and distribution were subject to considerable fluctuation. Such irregularities were caused by both climatic and human factors. Bad harvests and late supply (e.g. *Ammianus XIX,10 and *Symmachus, *Relationes*, 3, 15 and 18, 2 on *Rome in AD 359 and 384) did not produce serious troubles among the population, unless they were repeated from year to year, or combined with other misfortunes, such as plague, *epidemic disease, or prolonged war (e.g. *Joshua the Stylite, 26, 39, 43, 45, 46 on *Edessa in AD 499–502).

In the short run, however, grain-supply shortage, though connected to marked seasonality in grain prices, might be aggravated by the practice of hoarding large grain stocks for the political and economic advantage of individuals (e.g. *Philostratus, *VApTy* I, 15). Such speculators reduced the market supply to raise the retail price, delaying sales at the end of the season, when the stocks were low and the people threatened by food shortages, for instance at *Antioch in AD 362–3 (*Julian, *Misopogon*, 369). *Ambrose (*De Officiis*, III, 6, 39–44) criticized the casuistical self-justification of landowners who claimed they were emulating the prudence of Joseph by storing up grain; their motive was greed rather than public benefit. In very rare instances storage benefited grain consumers. In 591 *Gregory the Great purchased the harvest in advance at a fixed price

(500 pounds of *gold) in order to distribute it during a future famine he foresaw (*ep.* 1, 70). PT

P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Greco-Roman World* (1988).
R. Hodges, *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (1988).
L. K. Little, ed., *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* (2007).
C. O'Grada, *Famine* (2009).
Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 267.

hoards, coin Two or more coins found in a context indicating intentional deposition together. Low- and high-value *coinage was hoarded throughout Late Antiquity for safekeeping. Deposition could be the result of *disorder, such as war or *famine, or the routine storage of savings. Such hoards survive when circumstances prevented the owners from recovering their property. Alternatively, coins hoarded in ritual contexts, such as grave-goods, were never intended to be recovered.

Hoards may contain coins collected over time, circulating locally at the time of burial, or paid directly from minting authorities without entering general circulation. All three categories yield data concerning coin sequences, dating, and distribution and may testify to socio-economic change such as migration, social upheaval, or *tribute payments.

Late Antique coin hoards provide evidence of *trade and *diplomacy, especially beyond the borders of the two most significant money-issuing powers, the Roman and *Persian empires. Payments of coined metals were negotiated by allies and adversaries of the imperial governments. Coins travelled great distances along trade routes to *China, *India, and Scandinavia, often ending up in hoards combining coins and bullion. RRD

P. Grierson, *Numismatics* (1975).
E. de Bruijn and D. Dudley, 'The Humeima Hoard: Byzantine and Sasanian Coins and Jewelry from Southern Jordan', *AJA* 99 (1995), 683–97.
P. J. Casey and S. Bendall, *Roman and Byzantine Hoards* (1979).
J. Fagerlie, *Late Roman and Byzantine* Solidi *Found in Sweden and Denmark* (1967).
I. Tsukhishvili and G. Depeyrot, *History and Coin Finds in Georgia: Late Roman and Byzantine Hoards (4th–13th c.)* (2003).

holidays *See* FESTIVALS AND CALENDARS.

Holyhead (Caer Gybi) (Anglesey, Wales) A small but solidly built 4th-century fort probably designed to protect a naval base, which seems to have been abandoned *c.*393. Caer Gybi takes its name from S. Cybi who is reputed to have died there in the 6th century. There is no contemporary or near-contemporary evidence for this. AW

Anglesey: An Inventory by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire (1937), 31–4.

Holy Land For *Jews *Palestine (the 'Land of Israel'), with its centre at *Jerusalem and the Temple, was the physical land of their inheritance, from which they had scattered and to which they would return. The concept was biblical (e.g. Deuteronomy 30:1–3; Ezekiel 45:48), and the words 'Holy Land' occur both in Hebrew (Zechariah 2:10–12) and in Jewish texts written in *Greek (2 Maccabees 1:1–10, Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, 202). In Late Antiquity Jewish aspirations still focused on the physical 'Holy Land' and on Jerusalem, where Jews expected the Temple to be rebuilt.

In the 2nd century Justin Martyr (*Dialogue*, 119) and Irenaeus of Lyons (*Against Heresies*, V, 32–3) stated that what God had promised to Abraham was now expanded to become the heritage of Christians. In the 3rd century *Origen wrote of a celestial Jerusalem and a Christian Holy Land in heaven (*Contra Celsum*, VII, 28). *Jerome disagreed with Jews in his day (*c.*400), who he claimed interpreted biblical prophecies about the restoration of Jerusalem in a physical instead of a spiritual sense (*Commentary on Isaiah*, 65, 21).

From the 4th century onwards *pilgrimage to holy places (*loca sancta*) in Palestine created a physical Christian Holy Land. *Eusebius of *Caesarea (*HE* VI, 11.2), perhaps anachronistically, represented as the first known pilgrim Alexander of *Cappadocia, who arrived in Jerusalem *c.*220 'to pray and gain knowledge of the places', but it would appear that such visitors were not numerous. According to J. E. Taylor, most Christian holy places were first recognized in the 4th century. Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (*On the Place-Names of Holy Writ*) makes no allusion to any of *Constantine I's building projects, but that does not necessarily mean it was written before they were started.

There was a fresh impetus following the conquest of the East by Constantine I in 324, fuelled by his building of churches in Palestine, and the journey of his mother *Helena to Jerusalem in 326/7. Constantine ordered the destruction of the pagan *temples built at Jerusalem under Hadrian, which resulted in the discovery of the site of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection on which the Holy Sepulchre or Anastasis (Martyrium) was then built (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 25–40). Helena was responsible for founding churches at the site of Christ's birth at *Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, at the cave where He gave his last teaching and ascended into Heaven (*VCon* III, 41–3). The *Relic of the True *Cross is not mentioned until the mid-4th century and the tale of its discovery by Helena is first recorded in *Ambrose's funeral sermon for *Theodosius I in 395. Constantine's mother-in-law *Eutropia was also active

in founding a church at the Oak of Mamre where God had appeared to Abraham (*VCon* III, 51–3).

Places associated with scripture therefore furnished a geographical focus for Christian devotion. The anonymous *Bordeaux Pilgrim, author of the first pilgrimage narrative—a new literary account—recorded the locations of biblical events visited in 333 all across the land, from the Bath of Cornelius at Caesarea of Palestine (Acts 10), to Joseph's tomb near *Neapolis (Nablus; Joshua 24:32), to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, and on to the new church at Mamre. Later in the century, in 381–4, another pilgrim, a religious sister called *Egeria, wrote home to her sisters probably in *Gaul about the spiritual rewards of 'biblical realism' (E. D. Hunt). Seeing the rediscovered places of the events, standing where the prophets, the apostles, and the Lord himself had stood, touching the actual stones and the wood of the True Cross, she and her companions read the appropriate passage of scripture, and offered *prayer and the *Eucharist. Sometimes they received **eulogiae*, tangible blessings, even if they were just fruit from S. John the Baptist's orchard (15, 6; cf. 3, 7). Members of the imperial *aristocracy came to the Holy Land for the good of their souls. So did crowds of ascetics who settled in Jerusalem, Egeria's *monazontes* and *virgins (24, 1). *Jerome and *Paula established parallel male and female *monasteries at Bethlehem, while S. *Melania the Elder and *Rufinus, and later S. *Melania the Younger and Pinian, created rival communities on the Mount of Olives. Pilgrims of lower social status brought other forms of *asceticism to Palestine, Ss. *Hilarion of *Gaza and Chariton in the 4th century, then S. *Euthymius and his successors from the early 5th century, who created the so-called *lavra communities in the *Judaean Wilderness east of Jerusalem. These were cells for solitaries linked by pathways with chapels for weekly prayer, for the Eucharist, and for meals. Portrayed by *Cyril of *Scythopolis, this form of monasticism reached its zenith with S. *Sabas in the 6th century. It was apparently among these monks that the term Holy Land came to denote Christian Palestine.

Across the Empire both Christian literature and art declared the Holy Land's attractive power. *Gregory of *Nyssa resisted the enthusiasm (*Ep.* 2), but *Paulinus of *Nola encouraged the faithful to 'see and touch the places where Christ was present' (*ep.* 49.14). The contemporary *apse *mosaic in the Church of S. Pudenziana in *Rome represented a jewelled cross, the Sign of the Son of Man at the Last Times, appearing above the hill of Golgotha against the backdrop of the Jerusalem skyline. Returning pilgrims disseminated saints' or *martyrs' relics, oil from the holy places, and dust whose healing properties derived from association with *holy men and holy places. These blessings were contained in boxes or *pilgrimage flasks decorated with motifs evoking visual as well as tactile participation in Holy Land sites. The *Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary at Rome, possibly of the 6th/7th century, is one such box.

After the *Arab invasion and the Muslim capture of Jerusalem in 638, Christians (and Jews) expected the imminent End of the Age and the coming of the Messiah. *John of Damascus among others bore witness to continuing reverence for the physical Holy Land and the Holy City, which Christian inhabitants and pilgrims continued to visit, including the Gallic Bishop Arculf whose impressions of *Umayyad Palestine were recorded by the monk *Adomnán, writing on the island of Iona, out on the edge of the western ocean. KGH

G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, R. L. Chapman III, and J. E. Taylor, *Palestine in the Fourth Century AD: The Onomasticon of Eusebius of Caesarea* (2003).

J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, tr. with comm. (3rd edn. corrected, 2002).

J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, tr. with comm. (rev. illustrated edn., 2002).

R. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (1992).

J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (1993).

T. D. Barnes, 'Eusebius and Legio', *SCI* 27 (2008), 59–66.

E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (1982).

K. Holum, 'Hadrian and St. Helena: Imperial Travel and the Origins of Christian Pilgrimage', in R. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (1990), 66–81.

J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (1987).

K. Weitzmann, '*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine', *DOP* 28 (1974), 31–55.

S. H. Griffith, 'Images, Icons, and the Public Space in Early Islamic Times: Arab Christians and the Program to Claim the Land for Islam', in K. Holum and H. Lapin, eds., *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition, 400–800 C.E.* (2011), 197–210.

holy men, Christian Term coined by P. Brown to refer to certain figures of authority in Late Roman society. Looking back to the pagan precedent of the 'divine man' (Gk. *theios anêr*) and influenced by the notion of 'liminality' derived from the anthropologist V. Turner, Brown's seminal 1971 article portrayed the Christian holy man as a rural *patron, whose status as an 'outsider' enabled him to function as a social mediator in the *provinces of the East Roman Empire, especially in *Syria. Few scholarly articles have achieved such a symbolic status: for example, its twenty-fifth anniversary provoked two symposia and collections of essays, one containing Brown's own retrospective on the topic (1998).

Subsequent scholars, however, including Brown himself, have modified his original portrait in significant

ways. By 1983 Brown had come to see the 'holy man' as the bearer of *paideia* and as an exemplar of holiness, of 'Christ made accessible', who served as a model for imitation and as a vehicle of Christianization. He no longer saw holy persons acting in 'splendid isolation', but rather as 'less dramatically removed from the average ethical life of their fellows' and as bearers of the 'central value system' of a community. By 1995 Brown admitted that his 1971 article had mistakenly taken at face value the one-sided portraits of holy persons presented by the authors of Late Antique *saints' lives. He now emphasized the holy man as 'arbiter of the holy', whose displays of power facilitated the transition from *paganism to Christianity.

More recent scholars have carried Brown's revisions even further, emphasizing, for example, the character of the 'holy man' as a self-conscious literary construction (Cameron). Others have drawn attention to *pagan parallels (Fowden) or analogous figures in *Jewish tradition (Janowitz). Still others have pointed to the overlap and interaction between holy men and other figures with authority, such as the Christian *bishop (Rapp, Sterk, Urbainczyk). Perhaps the most important development in recent decades has been the shift from a socio-anthropological approach to a more literary and rhetorical analysis of the function of 'holy men' (and women) as a narrative device to articulate the intellectual concerns of the author (Clark). DGH

P. R. L. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971), 80–101; repr. with additions in his *Society and the Holy*, 103–52.

P. R. L. Brown, 'The Saint as Exemplar', *Representations* 1/2 (1983), 1–25.

P. R. L. Brown, 'Arbiters of the Holy: The Christian Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in his *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (1995), 57–78.

P. R. L. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971–1997', *JECS* 6 (1998), 353–76.

E. A. Clark, 'Holy Women, Holy Words: Early Christian Women, Social History, and the "Linguistic Turn"', *JECS* 6 (1998), 413–30.

G. L. Fowden, 'The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society', *JHS* 102 (1982), 33–59.

J. D. Howard-Johnston and P. A. Hayward, eds., *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (1999), particularly Averil Cameron, 'On Defining the Holy Man', 27–43.

N. Janowitz, 'Rabbis and their Opponents: The Construction of the "Min" in Rabbinic Anecdotes', *JECS* 6 (1998), 449–62.

C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (2005).

Sterk, *Renouncing the World*.

T. Urbainczyk, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus: The Bishop and the Holy Man* (2002).

B. Ward, 'The Spirituality of S. Cuthbert', in G. Bonner, D. W. Rollason, and C. Stancliffe, eds., *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (1989), 65–75.

holy men, pagan Exponents of claims to knowledge of the divine world acquired independently of civic institutions, poetic inspiration, or philosophic argument. The narrowness of the criteria for admission to elite status in Antiquity meant that the claim to, and active demonstration of personal, usually charismatic religious authority remained attractive from the Archaic period in Greece right through to Late Antiquity as a means of acquiring life-advantages. Success here mainly required social, not technical, skills—maintaining a balance between *asceticism, control of the marvellous (especially divinatory powers), and the promulgation of traditional ethical values. The penalty for failure was to be accused of *thaumatopoeia* ('mere wonder-working'), *atheotes* ('godlessness, atheism'), *asebeia* ('impiety'), and *goeteia* (magical practice). Lucian attacks Peregrinus on grounds of mere showmanship; *Philostratus defends *Apollonius of *Tyana on all these counts. The Cynics provided models of ascetic virtue widely appropriated under the Empire from Nero to *Julian; a wonder-working '*Pythagoras' became a life-model in certain *Neoplatonist circles. In the 4th century the role tends to be associated with *theurgy; prominent examples were *Maximus of *Ephesus and *Chrysanthius of *Sardis (*Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 473–81; 500–5). RLG

L. Bieler, *Theios Aner. Das Bild des "Göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (1935–6).

G. L. Fowden, 'The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society', *JHS* 102 (1982), 33–59.

J. A. Francis, *Subversive Virtue* (1995).

R. Goulet, *Études sur les Vie de philosophes dans l'antiquité tardive* (2001).

R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century* (1990).

P. Pilhofer et al., eds., *Lukian. Der Tod des Peregrinos* (2005).

G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Il sofista e l' "uomo divino"', in her *Modi di comunicazione tra il divino e l'umano* (2005), 247–310.

G. Staab, *Pythagoras in der Spätantike* (2002).

J. Stenger, *Hellenische Identität in der Spätantike* (2009).

holy oil *See* CHRISM.

Holy Translators, Armenian The 5th-century group of monks and scholars gathered by the *Catholicus *Sahak I Part'ew and the *bishop Mesrop *Mashtots to prepare the first *Armenian *translation of the *Bible. The story of the translators and their work is given primarily in the *Life* of Mashtots' by *Koriwn, who names himself as one of the pupils and translators. Near the end of the 4th century, as portrayed in the **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, there remained a great deal

of resistance to the official conversion of *Armenia to Christianity. One of the obstacles was the lack of any written form of the *Armenian language; texts of the Bible were often read in *Syriac (or, less often, *Greek) and translated orally for the people. According to Koriwn, Mashtots' travelled and sent his pupils throughout *Syria and the Eastern Roman Empire in search of biblical and patristic texts to study and translate. The translation of the Bible itself is thought to have been completed around 435; the first wave of Armenian literature, including translations of patristic texts, continued throughout the rest of the century.

The *Life* by Koriwn gives an oblique view of the dual influence of Greek and Syrian Christianity within Armenia and the rest of the Caucasus. His description of the invention of the alphabet itself, wherein Mashtots' finds a Syrian-inspired script inadequate to represent the Armenian language and finally arrives at an alphabetic script, has been taken as evidence that Syrian influence was waning in the Armenian Church at this time. TLA

Life of Mesrop Mashtots: ed. with comm. K. H. Maksoudian, with ET by B. Norehad, *Koriwn: Vark' Mashtots'i* (1985).

Homer in Late Antiquity The poetry of Homer retained a uniquely privileged position in Late Antiquity. In the first instance his *epic narratives and rich word-hoard continued to underpin Greek literary culture. Quintus Smyrnaeus chose to continue the story of the War of Troy from the precise point where Homer had left off at the end of *Iliad* XXIV over 1,000 years earlier. In the central section of the *Dionysiaca*, *Nonnus boldly reintegrated the narrative of the *Iliad* into his own account of the Indian War, in self-conscious emulation of, and in competition with, his 'father Homer' (*Dionysiaca*, XXV, 265).

In contrast, the prose works of *Dictys and *Dares took a more critical stance, seeking to challenge the authority of Homer's poetic narrative with their 'first-hand' accounts of what 'really' happened at Troy. Such overt criticism was unusual, however. A spirit of reverence for the 'divine' figure of the poet can clearly be seen in *Porphyry's *Homeric Questions*, an important work in the history of Homeric scholarship. When faced with textual problems (*zetemata*), Porphyry's solution is not to correct Homer, but to work harder in order to understand what Homer must be saying. In a similar manner, the development of *Neoplatonism in the 3rd century did not lead to a rejection of Homer as a moral and philosophical touchstone, but led instead to a change in the way that Homer was read: the search for meaning was now channelled beneath the surface of the text into the realm of allegorical interpretation. Porphyry's interpretation of the Cave of the Nymphs in the *Odyssey* shows how Homer could be co-opted to the service of Neoplatonism.

The apparent chasm between Homer and Christ could also be bridged by *allegory. The image of Odysseus lashed to the mast, for example, was interpreted as a prefiguring of Christ on the *Cross. 'All the poetry of Homer,' said *Basil, 'is a praise of virtue' (*Ad adulescentes*, 5). RECS

Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*.

F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (1956).

homicide The *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis* of 81 BC, which first defined homicide as a crime in Roman *law, was originally intended to prosecute political murder, but soon encompassed domestic murder also. *Constantine I classed the killing of children *in potestate* as murder (*CTh* IX, 15, 1), as well as the intentional killing of slaves, but not the killing of slaves for 'correction' (*emendatio*) (*CTh* IX, 12, 1–2). Imperial amnesties excluded those convicted of murder (*homicidii crimen*) and its aggravated forms, *parricide, and poisoning (e.g. *CTh* IX, 38, 3).

Late Roman law continued to distinguish between intentional and unintentional killing. A murder charge could only be brought for the former. Evidence for certain methods of violence provided confirmation of intent (*voluntas*): the use of kicks, stones, or sticks pointed towards accidental death, while tools such as swords or axes revealed purposeful killing (**Digest*, XLVIII, 8, 1, 3; *CJust* IX, 16, 5 (6); *Basil, *ep.* 188).

Originally the statutory penalty for homicide had been *exile with loss of citizenship (*deportatio*) or, for the lower classes, hard labour. By Late Antiquity the suggested penalty for murder was *execution, also for convicts of higher rank (*Paul, *Sententiae*, V, 23, 1–2). It cannot be established how frequently these penalties were applied or how many murderers were brought to justice. Relatives of victims sometimes seem to have shunned the expense and risks of a murder trial (*CJust* VI, 35, 9). Murder was frequently included in early Christian catalogues of grave sins. Christian sources also suggest that redress for murder was sought through the ecclesiastical process of *penance, rather than through a public criminal accusation before a magistrate (*Augustine, *sermon*, 82, 11–12). JHi

O. F. Robinson, *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome* (1995), 41–7.

J.-U. Krause, *Kriminalgeschichte der Antike* (2004), 122–35.

homilies, Armenian *Sermons were composed in Armenian from the 5th century onwards. They were originally patterned on *Greek and *Syriac models as established by, among others, *Ephrem the Syrian, *Aphrahat, *Cyril of *Jerusalem, *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, *John Chrysostom, *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and *Basil of *Caesarea. Some of the early *translations into *Armenian from Greek are sufficiently exact for

them to be of use to textual critics engaged in establishing the original Greek text. Translations continued to be made after the Late Antique period.

Among original works, the *Yatsakhpatum* (*Yačaxapatum*), ascribed to S. *Gregory the Illuminator (d. *c.*328) but composed later, addresses practical matters concerning sin, repentance, and holiness. The catechetical instruction known as the *Teaching of S. *Gregory the Illuminator* is a 5th-century exposition of Christian doctrine based on the creed, of the fulfilment of Old Testament promises in the New, and of the need for repentance. Homilies ascribed to the *Catholicus *John (Yovhan) Mandakuni (r. 478–90) may belong to John (Yovhannēs) Mayragomeci (7th cent.); they address various vices, sometimes outside the contemporary Armenian context. The important homilies of *Elishe (Ełišē) Vardapet attract scholarly debate and growing attention. Doctrinal opposition and adversaries of the established Church are addressed, e.g. in the homilies of John Awnetsi' (Yovhannēs Awjnets'i; r. 711–28). TMvL

R. Pane, *Eliseo l'Armeno: sulla passione, morte e risurrezione del Signore* (2010).

Y. Tabakian, *Les Homélies du Catholicos Hovhan Mandakouni* (2000).

R. W. Thomson, 'Armenian Literature through the Eleventh Century', in R. G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times* (1997), vol. 1, 222–3.

R. W. Thomson, *A Homily on the Passion of Christ Attributed to Elishe* (2000).

R. W. Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory* (2001).

Homoeans Upholders of a theological position that emerged in the mid-4th century, was expressed theologically in the 'Dated Creed' of the Council of *Sirmium (*Socrates, II, 37), and ratified at a *council at *Constantinople in 360 (*Philostorgius, IV, 10–12). Favoured by the *Emperor *Constantius II (d. 361) and championed by Acacius of *Caesarea (d. 365) and Eudoxius of *Antioch (d. 370), it asserted that God the Son is 'like' (*homoios*) God the Father without referring to the contentious but important issue of substance (*ousia*). This compromise position had short-lived success and ultimately failed within the Roman Empire to unite the more extreme and radically different theological positions of the Homoousians, who upheld the theology of the Council of *Nicaea, and the *Anomoeans. However, *Ulfilas, apostle of the *Visigoths, accepted the position ratified at Constantinople in 360, with the result that most of the Germanic rulers who came to dominate Western Europe and Latin-speaking *Africa in the 5th century were Homoean in their Trinitarian theology and so were stigmatized as 'Arians' by indigenous Christians. BKS; OPN

Hanson, *Doctrine of God*, 557–97.

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 135–41.

homosexuality Same-sex desire and relationships feature in various Late Antique sources. The *Emperor *Constans I is said to have had a predilection for attractive barbarian boys (Aurelius *Victor, *Caesars*, 41). The *hairy Emperor *Julian comments that he and his entourage disappointed the soft people of *Antioch by not becoming lovers of beautiful youths (*Misopogon*, 365A). The *eunuch *consul *Eutropius was said to be the lover of Ptolemy, who eventually cast him off (*Claudian, *In Eutropium*, I, 61–77). These examples all have pejorative connotations.

The question of an increase in hostility to 'homosexuality' in Late Antiquity is a central concern in modern debate, usually located within the context of the Christianization of the Empire. With the value placed on both chastity and sex within marriage, homosexuality became further castigated and was often associated with the old '*pagan' ways (though traditional views were, in fact, critical of passive homosexuals). Emperors moved against male–male sex. Under *Theodosius I and *Valentinian II a constitution against passive homosexual prostitutes was issued in *Rome in 390 (**Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, 5; *CTh* IX, 7, 6). *Justinian I cracked down on homosexuals both passive and active; the *Bishop of *Diospolis was punished with castration (*John Malalas, XVIII, 18; *Procopius, *Anecd.* 11, 34–6; *NovJust* 77 and 141).

Most of the evidence for homosexuality concerns male couples, but lesbians can be found also. A *letter of the 6th-century monk Paul Helladicus, which discusses the potency of sexual desire and tells a story about a eunuch monk who lusted for his young godson, addresses lesbianism in nunneries. SFT

B. J. Brooten, *Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (1996).

Brown, *Body and Society*.

C. A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality* (²2010).

Homs One of four initial **jund*s ('military districts') established in early Islamic *Syria. The *jund* covered northern Syria and encompassed the territory north of the city of Homs, including *Qinnasrin and the Awasim. Under the Caliph *Yazid I (r. 680–3), the northernmost region of Homs became a separate *jund* named Qinnasrin. MCE

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ḥimṣ, 397–402 (Elisséeff).

J. Haldon, 'Seventh Century Continuities: The Ajnād and the Thematic Myth', in A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East 3* (1995).

Homs (city) *See* EMESA.

honestiores* and *humiliores The distinction between *honestiores* ('those of privileged rank') and

humiliores ('those of low distinction') was traditional in the Roman Empire and exists in the classical jurists, but first becomes prominent in the **Sententiae* of Paul, a legal compilation made around AD 300 in *Africa. However, in the Later Empire the distinction became significant in Roman criminal *law, because the evidence of *humiliores* might be obtained under *torture and if found guilty they might suffer harsher penalties; under the Tetrarchic *Manichaean Law guilty *honestiores* were sent into *exile, whereas *humiliores* went to the *mines. The dichotomy was not systematic, as the legal system permitted substantial discretion to judges who over time imposed ever more violent penalties. KH

Jones, *LRE* 519–21.
P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (1970).
Rilinger, *Humiliores–Honestiores*.

honorati Retired imperial officials with *titles of rank as a reward for service, and others with honorary titles accorded to them by the *emperor as a mark of esteem. From the 4th century those with honorary titles were obliged to furnish *horses (e.g. *CTh* VII, 23, 1; cf. VI, 35, 2; XIII, 5, 15) and from the early 5th century recruits for the *army (e.g. *CTh* VII, 13, 15 and 18).

By custom, *honorati* attended their provincial assemblies (**conventus*), were permitted to sit on the bench with the provincial *governor unless personally involved in the case being tried (*CTh* I, 20, 1 of 408), and were exempt from duties in the local *city council. Illicit purchase of titles occurred. AGS

Jones, *LRE*, 146, 466, 616, and in general ch. 15.
P. Heather, 'New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial Élite in the Eastern Mediterranean', in Magdalino, *New Constantines*, 11–33.
G. A. Cecconi, '*Honorati, possessores, curiales*: competenze istituzionali e gerarchie di rango nella città tardoantica', in R. Lizzi Testa, ed., *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica* (2006).

Honoratus of Arles (d. 429/30) *Bishop of *Arles from 427/8, and founder of the *monastery at *Lérins. Born into a noble Christian family in *Gaul, Honoratus experienced a *conversion to *asceticism as a young man. He founded, probably *c.*410, a monastic community on the island of Lérins, which soon became one of the most influential in Late Antique Gaul; *Eucherius of *Lyons, *Hilary of Arles, *Lupus of Troyes, *Vincent of Lérins, *Faustus of Riez, and *Salvian all spent time there under his leadership. In 427/8, Honoratus left Lérins to become Bishop of Arles. No writings by Honoratus survive, but a *sermon (the *Sermo de Vita Sancti Honorati*) delivered on the first anniversary of his death by his relative, disciple, and successor at Arles, *Hilary, outlines his life. DRL

PCBE IV/1, Honoratus 1.
Hilary of Arles, *Sermo de Vita Sancti Honorati* (*BHL* 3975):
ed. S. Cavallin, *Vitae Sanctorum Honorati et Hilarii Episcoporum Arelatensium* (1952).
ed. (annotated with FT) M.-D. Valentin (SC 235, 1977).
ET F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (1954), 248–80.
Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism*.
M. Labrousse et al., *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Lérins* (2005).

Honoratus of Marseilles (*fl.* 492/6) Disciple and biographer of *Hilary of *Arles, according to a notice interpolated into *Gennadius (*Vir. Ill.* 100), which adds that he wrote other *Vitae* and *sermons, now lost, and was required to satisfy Pope *Gelasius of his orthodoxy. STL

PCBE IV/1, Honoratus.
Life of S. Hilary of Arles (*BHL* 3882; *CPL* 506):
ed. S. Cavallin, *Vitae Sanctorum Honorati et Hilarii Episcoporum Arelatensium* (1952), 80–109.
ed. S. Cavallin (annotated with FT by P.-A. Jacob), *Honorat de Marseille: la vie d'Hilaire d'Arles* (SC 404, 1995).

Honoria, Justa Grata Daughter of Galla *Placidia, and elder sister of *Valentinian III, born 417/18. In 449 she was expelled from the *palace for fornication with her steward and married to the *senator Herculanus (*consul 452). She sent a *eunuch with a ring to *Attila seeking his protection. Attila claimed this constituted betrothal and in 450 and again in 451 demanded her and half the Empire as *dowry (*Priscus frs. 15 and 16). OPN

PLRE II, Honoria.
Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 1–5.

Honorias *Province of north-west *Anatolia, including Hadrianopolis, formerly part of *Paphlagonia and the eastern *cities of Bithynia. It was created between 384 and 387, and governed by a *Praeses. In 535/6 it was combined with Paphlagonia, and placed under a *Praetor (*NovJust* 29) but probably separated again before the death of *Justinian I. An important *inscription refers to abuses perpetrated against the population by armed mounted agents of large landowners (*xylokaballarioi*; *AE* 1985, 816; *SEG* XXXV, 1360). SM

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, vol. 2, 160.

Honorius, Flavius (384–423) Western Roman *emperor (395–423) Younger son of *Theodosius I and Aelia Flaccilla, Honorius was born in *Constantinople on 9 September 384 and was appointed *consul in 386 and *Augustus in 393 (*Socrates, V, 25, 8). In 394 he followed his father to *Italy to suppress *Eugenius (*Zosimus, IV, 58, 1). After Theodosius' death (395) Honorius was appointed emperor, sharing power with

his brother *Arcadius, causing a *de facto* division of the Empire.

Described as a passive emperor isolated in his *palace (*Sidonius, *Carmen*, 5, 358), Honorius at first resided in *Milan, but during the invasion of *Alaric (402) moved the *court to the safety of *Ravenna, which became the residence of Western emperors in the 5th century, and then of the subsequent *Ostrogothic kingdom and Byzantine *exarchate. At court, Honorius was dominated by powerful military advisers, such as *Stilicho, who was appointed regent by Theodosius (*Ambrose, *De Obitu Theodosii*, 5) and whose claims of guardianship over Arcadius led to frequent conflict with the Eastern court. Honorius successively married Stilicho's two daughters: Maria in 398, probably depicted in a *cameo with Honorius (Delbrueck, *Consulardyptichen*, 258–61), and after Maria's death in 408, her younger sister Thermantia. Both marriages were childless. In 408, Honorius came under the influence of the *Magister Scrinii *Olympius, who had Stilicho deposed and executed, but was soon replaced by Jovius the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Italy (409). After this civilian interlude, the general Flavius Constantius became the new power behind the throne, marrying Honorius' sister Galla *Placidia (417) and eventually becoming co-emperor as *Constantius III in February 421 until his death in September the same year.

Honorius' reign was marked by the *Barbarian Invasions. In 401–2 Alaric invaded northern Italy and besieged Milan, but was defeated by Stilicho, who also repelled *Radagausius' invasion in 406. Reportedly on the last day of that year, a *confederation of barbarians crossed the frozen Rhine and, after two years wandering in *Gaul, *Suebes, *Vandals, and *Alans crossed to *Spain (409), while *Burgundians settled in eastern Gaul (*Orosius, VII, 40–3). Honorius' erratic policy towards barbarians, fluctuating between resistance and agreement, was a failure, and eventually led to Alaric's two sieges of *Rome (408 and 409) and the sack of *Rome in August 410 (*Sozomen, IX, 9), which alarmed Romans and sparked controversy between pagans and Christians (reactions recorded in contemporary *sermons of *Augustine as well as his *City of God*, and in the *Histories* of *Orosius). Eventually a treaty permitted the *Visigoths to settle in *Aquitaine as **foederati* in 418, creating the first barbarian kingdom on Roman soil (*Chron. Min.* II, 19), so that by Honorius' death in 423, *Britain and most of Spain and Gaul were lost to direct imperial control.

This instability led to several insurgences and usurpations, some directly orchestrated by barbarian chiefs, as in the case of the *senator Priscus *Attalus, appointed emperor twice, first by Alaric (409) and by Alaric's successor *Athaulf (414). In Britain, abandonment and disaffection led to the successive usurpations of Marcus (406–7), Gratian (407), and *Constantine III (407–11), who crossed to the Continent finding support among the Gallo-Roman *aristocracy. Honorius recognized Constantine as co-emperor in 409, but disagreement in Constantine's ranks led to the rebellion of his general *Gerontius, who appointed *Maximus, probably Gerontius' son, as Augustus in Spain (409). In 411 imperial troops commanded by Constantius defeated both Constantine III and Gerontius, but the power vacuum in Gaul was quickly filled by the usurper *Jovinus, in turn defeated by Athaulf's *foederati* in 413.

Another arena of conflict was *Africa. In 398 *Gildo revolted against Honorius and submitted Africa to Arcadius, but was defeated a year later. In 413 another *Comes Africae, *Heraclian, rebelled and attempted, unsuccessfully, to extend his power to Italy.

A committed Christian emperor, Honorius sought to enhance the privileges of the clergy (*CTh* XVI, 2, 29) and legislated against *paganism (*CTh* XVI, 10, 19), practitioners of *astrology (*CTh* IX, 16, 12), and heresy and schism (*CTh* XVI, 10, 15–18; XVI, 5, 37–61). He also supported *John Chrysostom against *Eudoxia (*CollAvell* 38) and was involved in the controversial election of Boniface as *bishop at Rome in 418 (**Liber Pontificalis*, 44), but his efforts to contain the spread of *Pelagianism were unsuccessful (PL 48, 379–82).

Honorius died on 15 August 423 without a direct successor (*Socrates, VII, 22, 20). The *Primicerius Notariorum *John seized the opportunity to be proclaimed emperor and reigned until *Aspar overthrew him in 425 and reinstated the Theodosian dynasty in the person of *Valentinian III. DN

PLRE I, Honorius.
Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome.*
Cameron, *Claudian*, 63–227.
É. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain, 395–410* (1951).
J. F. Drinkwater, 'The Usurpers Constantine III (407–411) and Jovinus (411–413)', *Britannia* 29 (1998), 269–98.
Heather, *Goths and Romans.*
M. Kulikowski, 'Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain', *Britannia* 31 (2000), 325–45.
M. Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars from the Third Century to Alaric* (2007), 170–84.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 253–328.
M. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (2013), 135–220.
O'Flynn, *Generalissimos*, 13–76.

Honorius I *Bishop of *Rome 625–38. Honorius' interventions in the *Monothelete controversy generated his subsequent condemnation at the Third *Council of *Constantinople (680–1). The **Liber Pontificalis* (72), however, concentrates on his restoration and embellishment of *Rome's churches, notably *S. Agnese fuori le

Mura and the *Vatican, which he reroofed with *bronze taken, with imperial permission, from the *Temple of Rome and Venus. CTH

honour and shame *See* PHILOTIMIA.

Horapollon the Elder (early 5th cent.) *Egyptian *grammarian who once taught in *Constantinople, father of the Alexandrian *philosophers Asclepiades and Heriascus and grandfather of *Horapollon the Younger. EW

PLRE II, Horapollon 1 (correcting *PLRE* I, 442).

Horapollon the Younger (late 5th cent.–early 6th cent.) *Philosopher at *Alexandria, born in *Egypt, son of the philosopher Asclepiades and grandson of *Horapollon the Elder. He married his cousin, the daughter of the philosopher Heraiscus. She left him for a lover and, after she removed property from Horapollon's house, he wrote a *petition seeking legal redress (P.Cairo, 3, 67295). He taught *grammar and philosophy in Alexandria and may be the author of an Alexandrian *chronicle (*Photius, *Bibl.* 280) as well as an extant treatise on hieroglyphics. Brought up as a *pagan, he attracted the attention of an imperial investigation into Alexandrian teachers in the later 480s. He was tortured and his uncle died while in hiding. After the investigation ended, Horapollon is said to have become a Christian 'without any apparent compulsion' (*Damascius, *VIsidori*, 120B). EW

PLRE II, Horapollon 2.

Hieroglyphica:

ed. (with comm.) F. Sbordone (1940).

FT and comm.: B. van de Walle and J. Vergote in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 35 (1943), 39–89 and 199–239.

F. Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo* (rev. edn., with foreword by A. T. Grafton, 1993) translates the Latin text circulating in the Early Modern period, not the original Greek.

J. Maspero, 'Horapollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien', *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Oriental* 11 (1914), 163–95.

Hormisdas (MP Ohrmazd) Son of the Sasanian King *Hormizd II and brother of *Shapur II. In *c.*324 he fled to *Constantine I (*Zosimus II, 27) and was later given military commands by both *Constantius II (whom he accompanied on his visit to *Rome) and *Julian. During Julian's Persian campaign, he regularly acted as negotiator with the Persians. His fate after AD 363 remains unclear; however, he apparently had a son of the same name. A Constantinopolitan palace eventually taken over by *Justinian I was associated with the family. JWi

PLRE I, Hormisdas 2.

EncIran XII/5 (2004) *s.n.* Hormozd, 461–2 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser. Vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n.Chr.* (2009), ch. 4.2.

Hormisdas (d. 523) Italian *deacon, then *Bishop of *Rome (514–23), who sought reconciliation with the East during the *Acacian Schism. With the support of the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic, he sent embassies to the *Emperor *Anastasius I in 515 and 517, both of which failed. A third embassy to *Justin I proved successful in 519, resulting in the acceptance of a papal *libellus* (*Formula Hormisdae*) and the end of the Acacian Schism. He later rejected the Theopaschite formula, causing further controversy. JJA

PCBE II/1, Hormisda.

E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, vol. 2 (1933).

W. Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im acacianischen Schisma* (1939).

Hormizd, Rabban (7th cent.) East Syriac monastic founder. Born in Beth Lapat (*Gondeshapur in *Khuzestan), Hormizd became a disciple of *Bar 'Idta, and later founded north-east of Alqosh the famous *Monastery of Rabban Hormizd, which has survived into modern times. This monastery adopted the reforms of *Abraham of Kashkar and, from the 7th century onwards, became an important centre of the *Church of the East and place of burial for patriarchs. An extant *Life* of Hormizd, written by the monk Simeon in prose and verse (*BHO* 383–4), outlines rivalries between its *Nestorian monks and *Miaphysites, especially those of the Monastery of Mar *Mattai. The monastery was abandoned in 1743, but reoccupied by Chaldaean Catholics in the 19th century. The Syriac manuscripts of its library have survived frequent violence. FJ

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 189–92.

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 194.

GEDSH s.v. Hormizd, Rabban, Monastery of 203–5 (H. L. Murre-van den Berg).

Vita (*BHO* 383–4), ed. (with ET) E. A. W. Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmizd the Persian and Rabban Bar 'Idtâ*, 2 vols. (1902).

Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 2 (1965), 533–48.

F. Jullien, *Le Monachisme en Perse: la réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient* (CSCO 622, Subs. 121, 2008).

A. Harrak, 'Patriarchal Funerary Inscriptions in the Monastery of Rabban Hormizd', *Hugoye* 6/2 (2003).

Hormizd I Ardashir (MP Ohrmazd I Ardaxshir) Persian king (r. 270/2–3) and youngest son of *Shapur I. He was involved in the military campaigns against the Romans of his father Shapur I, and was eventually chosen over his older brothers to follow his father as Shahanshah. He built the city of Ram-Hormizd in

*Khuzestan (*Tabari, V, 833). He was succeeded by his son *Bahram I. TD

EncIran XII/5 (2004) *s.n.* Hormozd I, 462–4 (M. R. Shayegan).

PLRE I, Hormisdas I.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*.

Hormizd II *Sasanian king (302–9), son of *Narseh (293–302), succeeded by his sons Adur-Narseh (309) and *Shapur II (309–79). Not much is known of his reign, but he has been noted for the persecution of *Manichaeans (al-Biruni) and the adoption of Christianity by *Armenia shortly before his accession to the throne. AZ

EncIran XII/5 (2004), 464–5 *s.n.* Hormozd II (A.S. Shahbazi).

PLRE I, Hormisdas II.

Hormizd III Persian king (r. 457–9). He fought with his brother *Peroz over the throne while their mother Denag was regent. During Hormizd III's rule, the Empire lost control of *Albania. His reign ended when Peroz, with the aid of the *Hephthalites, deposed him (*Tabari, V, 872). TD

PLRE II, Hormisdas III.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*.

Hormizd IV Persian king (r. 579–90) and son of *Khosrow I Anoshirvan. He was responsible for decimating the ranks of the high nobility and *Zoroastrian clergy (*Sebeos, 10, 73) and promoting the landed gentry (the **dehqan* class). His general, *Bahram VI Chobin, was able to defeat the *Türks, but because of a minor loss in *Armenia the general was slandered and removed from command, which incited him to revolt and declare himself king. Two Persian nobles, Wistahm and Windoe, conspired to depose and blind Hormizd and brought his son *Khosrow II to power, with the help of the Roman *Emperor *Maurice. TD

PLRE III, Hormisdas IV.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*.

Hormizd V Shahanshah (?630–632) during the confused years following *Heraclius' invasion of the *Persian Empire. Mints in Persian *Mesopotamia issued *coinage in his name over three years. *Sebeos (ch. 40) says he was a grandson of *Khosrow II and was strangled by the *army of *Shahrwaraz. *Theophanes (AM 6120 and 6131) confounds him with *Yazdegerd III, the last *Sasanian Shah. OPN

EncIran XII/5 (2004) *s.n.* Hormozd V, 467–9 (A. Shapur Shahbazi).

Hornhausen Reliefs Sandstone relief *sculptures from Hornhausen, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany. The best preserved of them shows a mounted warrior above an interlaced *animal motif. Fragments of another eight panels are similar, or depict animals including *deer. They probably came from the choir *screen of a chapel of the first half of the 7th century and were later reused as grave markers in the late *Merovingian to Carolingian *cemetery. SMa

K. Böhner, 'Die Reliefplatten von Hornhausen', *JbRGZMainz* 23–4 (1976–7), 89–138.

D. Kaufmann, 'Nachlese zur Erwerbsgeschichte der Bildsteine von Hornhausen, Ldkr. Bördekreis, zugleich ein Blick in die Geschichte des Landesmuseums', *JahresschrMitteldtVorgesch* 90 (2006), 385–99.

Horonon The key fortress on the Roman *frontier with *Tzania, in the *province of *Pontus Polemoniacus. Roman *emperors paid *gold to appease the Tzani. Under *Justinian I, *Sittas defeated them and established a garrison in Horonon and sought to convert them to Christianity (*Agathias, V, 1ff.; *Procopius, *Persian*, II, 30, 12–24). The site of Horonon has not been located. MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 289.

horses and donkeys Neither the Romans nor Persians relied so heavily on equids as did the *Sarmatians, *Huns, and other steppe *nomads. Horse-rearing nomads depended on the mobility provided by equids to drive their herds and to conduct *warfare, and horses were employed throughout many ancient cultures for riding, *draught and *pack work, hides, milk, and *meat. In the Roman and *Persian empires, horses were also used extensively as riding animals, in war, in overland transport, and in sport, especially *chariot racing, *polo, and *hunting. An extensive literature on *veterinary medicine, the **Hippiatrica*, prescribed for their care. Cut marks and other signs of butchery are generally absent from horse remains within the Roman Empire, so it would appear that a taboo against eating horses prevailed. In the *Germanic cultures of post-Roman northern Europe, horsemeat was apparently consumed regularly.

The steppe horses of European and *Central Asian nomads were hardier than the more refined breeds available to the Romans and, unlike the latter, did not need stabling. *Vegetius (*Ars Veterinaria*, III, 6–7; IV, 6) noted that Hun horses were ram-headed, short-statured, heavy-boned animals with long bodies and little fat, possessing great stamina and long lifespans. Famous Roman breeding grounds included *Epirus, *Thessalia, *Sicily, *Spain, *Africa, and *Cappadocia—regions where sufficient pasture made possible the raising of quality stock. Horses were especially important in Cappadocia; extensive imperial stud farms there served both the *army and the *Cursus Publicus; thieves taking these curule horses from *Andabilis north of the *Cilician Gates incurred a fine of one pound of *gold (*CTh*

X, 6, 1). These animals exhibited the same set of general characteristics; they were lighter boned and thus more refined, though taller, heavier, and finer coated than their steppe relatives.

Horses bred in the Persian Empire shared these characteristics, and through intensive selection Persian warhorses (like that carved in stone at *Taq-e Bostan) became notably large, capable of carrying fully armoured horsemen and often barding (horse armour) in addition to the weight of armament and tack. The most famous Persian breed was the Nisaean horse from Media; these were tall, fast horses esteemed as cavalry chargers (*Ammianus, XIII, 6, 30). Although horse culture was well established in pre-Islamic *Arabia, as attested in *poetry (*Mufaddaliyat*, II, p. 235 Lyall), the origins of the Arabian breed(s) are disputed, with various crosses of North *African animals being the most likely ancestors.

The donkey (ass) was the most common riding and pack animal and was also used for turning *mills in both the Roman and Persian worlds. Apuleius' novel *The Golden Ass* illustrates entertainingly their many uses. In Late Roman *Egypt, references to donkeys far outnumber those to *camels (Bagnall, *Egypt*, 4); in the well-watered *Nile Valley, where trips were relatively short, the superiority of the ass is clear. Donkeys were also used for long-haul caravan *trade, for instance by traders who used asses to carry *fruit from the *Negev to Egypt (P. Ness. 90, 91). Likewise, in Persian *Mesopotamia the donkey had an important function in powering mills (*Babylonian Talmud Mo'ed Katan*, 10b), as mounts, and as pack animals (*Babylonian Talmud Baba Mes'ia*, 32b). Mules, crosses between male donkeys and female horses, were widely used in cartage and as riding animals. Cappadocian types were apparently well bred and excellent animals (*Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* 46, 308). MD

A. Hyland, *Equus, the Horse in the Roman World* (1990).
McCabe, *Horse Medicine*.

Horsiesios Head of the Pachomian federation of *monasteries in Upper *Egypt in the latter half of the 4th century. Opposition to his initial appointment in AD 346 created internal divisions that threatened the integrity of the federation and led to his replacement by *Theodorus of *Tabennese. On the latter's death in 368, Horsiesios returned as head of the federation, which he led successfully until his death sometime after 387. His writings include a testament (*Book of our Father Horsiesios*), a series of instructions, four *letters, and a collection of rules suggestive of later developments within the community. JEG

A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, 3 vols. (CSS 45–7, 1980–2), II, III.
H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs. Studien zum frühen Mönchtum* (STGL 5, 1972).
B. Steidle and O. Schuler, 'Der "Obern-Spiegel" im "Testament" des Abtes Horsiesi († nach 387)', *Erbe und Auftrag* 43 (1967), 22–38.

***hospitalitas* (*ius hospitum*)** Roman legal practice permitting the accommodation of soldiers (Lat. *hospites*) within the home of a civilian *dominus* or **possessor*. Soldiers were not usually on campaign when *billeted on private householders. The householder was obliged to surrender one-third of his *house without remuneration (*CTh* VII, 8, 5 of AD 398). The *hospitalitas* was supposed to involve only provision of the relevant rooms, but it seems that, despite legislation (*CTh* VII, 8, 10 of AD 413), these uninvited guests could be demanding, even threatening violence if their hosts did not supply additional items such as *bread, oil, and wood. The tale of **Euphemia and the Goth* suggests what people might be afraid of.

Later on, according to several evidences, the term was used both to refer to the accommodation of soldiers in transit and to describe the allotment of land to a *barbarian. This method of settlement was applied to, or by, the *Visigoths in *Aquitaine, in 418, and later in *Spain (**Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum*), VIII, 5, 5; X, 1, 8–9; XVI), the *Burgundians in *Sapaudia (**Lex Burgundionum*, 38; 55,2), and the *Alans in central and southern *Gaul (*Fredegar, *Chron.* II, 46); and, in *Italy, both by *Odoacer's **foederati* in 476, and subsequently by the *Ostrogoths *c.*490 (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, I, 14, 18; II, 16, 17; VII, 3). The Roman practice of billeting provided a model, which could be developed in the late 5th and early 6th centuries for the settlements of the *barbarians. There is no evidence, however, to show that the *hospitalitas* system, in its original form, was one of the major methods employed to accommodate them. PT

S. J. B. Barnish, 'Taxation, Land and Barbarian Settlement in the Western Empire', *PBSR* 54 (1986), 170–95.
M. Cesa, 'Hospitalitas o altre "techniques of accommodation"?', *AStIt* 140 (1982), 539–52.
W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans: A.D. 418–584. The Techniques of Accommodation* (1980).
H. Sivan, 'On Foederati, Hospitalitas and the Settlement of the Goths in A.D. 418', *AJP* 108 (1987), 759–72.

hospitals Places set apart for the overnight relief and lodging of the impoverished sick and needy, hospitals are one of the significant inventions of Christian Late Antiquity. *Pachomius may have been a pioneer in providing a space for sick monks in his Egyptian *monastery. Yet initiatives directed in a general way at the sick and poor seem to have begun around AD 350 in *Constantinople and certain cities of *Anatolia. The complex of hospital providing some medical assistance, with a poorhouse, and separate leprosarium which S. *Basil established in the 370s outside *Caesarea of

*Cappadocia was an influential model. It shows the range of overlapping functions that might be fulfilled by these houses for the 'nourishment of the *poor', or the 'reception of strangers' as they often came to be called. They represented a visible return for the tax privileges lavished on the clergy by *emperors, disbursing some of the Church's growing wealth, and enabling *bishops to consolidate their urban leadership. In that sense the hospital is an ideological as well as an architectural construction. Founded by clerics and lay persons as well as by emperors, hospitals spread round the Mediterranean, especially to *Italy, *Gaul, and *Africa. PHo

M. A. Anderson, 'Hospitals, Hospices and Shelters for the Poor in Late Antiquity' (diss. Yale, 2012).

A. Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (2005).

P. Horden, 'Poverty, Charity, and the Invention of the Hospital', in S. Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (2012), 715–43.

hostages (Lat. plur. *obsides*) Hostages were often used as guarantors in military and diplomatic negotiations between states, and on a domestic level. In Late Antiquity, the Roman Empire was increasingly a giver rather than solely a receiver of hostages. In particular, hostage relations between the Roman and *Persian empires in the 4th century suggest parity between them, a pivotal instance being the settlement of 363 (*Ammianus, XXV, 7, 13).

Hostages were also taken from *frontier peoples. Ammianus Marcellinus (XVIII, 6, 20) describes a journey with Jovinianus, satrap of *Corduene in the *Transtigritanae regiones, a former Roman hostage (Lat. *obsidatus*). *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth may have been a hostage for the peace between Theodemir and *Leo I in *Constantinople from 461 to 471 (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 281). SEB

A. D. Lee, 'The Role of Hostages in Roman Diplomacy with Sasanian Persia', *Historia* 40 (1991), 366–74.

A. J. Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages* (2012), 1–8, 53–77.

J. F. Matthews, 'Hostages, Philosophers, Pilgrims and the Diffusion of Ideas in the Late Roman Mediterranean and Near East', in F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity* (1989), 29–49.

hostels Various lodgings for travellers were provided in Late Antiquity. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim provides a comprehensive list of official *mansiones* on the roads between *Bordeaux and the *Holy Land by way of the *Via Militaris and *Pilgrims' Road and back again by way of the *Via Egnatia through *Rome to *Milan. Such buildings (Gk. *stathmos*) provided stabling for animals and lodgings for travellers.

The Greek *xenodocheion* had multiple functions. The term was used for guest houses associated with *monasteries, or for *hospitals sponsored by the Church or state, but it generally denoted an urban institution to aid the local *poor. In the 370s, Basil built an elaborate charitable compound outside *Caesarea of *Cappadocia called the *Basileiados* or 'New City'; this was principally a hospital intended to care for the sick, but it also provided accommodation for 'those who visit us while on a journey' (Basil, *ep.* 94; cf. *Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Oration* 43, 63). It was the example set by earlier Christian establishments of this sort which inspired *Julian to write in 362 to his pagan high priest of *Galatia urging him to set up *xenodocheia*, provisioned partly by the state and partly by local pagan ('Hellenic') *villages, to care principally for the poor but also for strangers (*ep.* 22 Wright, 429C–431 B). Some *xenodocheia* also served as more traditional inns (later *khans*), like that built by *Masona, *Bishop of *Mérida (d. *c.*600), in *Spain (*Lives of the Fathers of Merida*, V, 3, 13). The example attested in rural north *Syria at Umm el-Khallahil (Lassus, *Inventaire*, 67) was also probably multifunctional.

The Greek *pandocheion* was generally an inn serving the needs of travellers, but these buildings also served as warehouses, caravan halts, *taverns, and brothels. A rock-cut example comprising a series of caves originally founded in the 3rd century is known from the road between *Batnae (Suruc) and *Edessa (Sanlıurfa) in *Osrhoene (Mango). Rabbinic sources refer to inns (*pundāq*) throughout *Palestine and *Mesopotamia, and caravanserais and inns for merchants are well known from archaeological remains at Roman *Palmyra and *Sasanian *Rayy (near mod. Teheran). In *Umayyad and *'Abbasid times these inns (now called *fundaq*, adopted from the Gk. word) continued to be maintained and used. Innkeeping apparently faded out in the post-Roman West; the medieval *fondaco* was not an inheritance from Roman custom but an institution adopted from contact with *Arab civilization MD; OPN

O. R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (2003).

C. Mango, 'A Late Roman Inn in Eastern Turkey', *OxJnlArch* 5/2 (1986), 223–31.

household The *Latin term *domus* (Gk. *oikos* or *oikia*) denoted the primary socio-economic institution of the Late Roman world, both its people and their property. Members of a household included the nuclear family, in some cases the extended family (e.g. unmarried siblings), slaves, and other dependants (the **familia*). As property, a household constituted all buildings, lands, animals, and slaves owned by its members.

The material size of households varied immensely, but those belonging to the Empire's wealthiest citizens included multiple *villas, urban properties, and even small *villages, as may be appreciated from the **Letters*

of *Symmachus and the *Life* of S. *Melania. Aristocratic householders owned buildings and estates scattered around the Mediterranean basin, which they leased out or, less typically, administered directly. In the East, the elite *estate was a highly sophisticated administrative regime. *Archives of the 6th century from the *Apion households in *Egypt reveal domestic infrastructures encompassing thousands of acres of arable land and multiple dwellings; hierarchically organized agents and stewards oversaw the quotidian business of leasing, farming, and agricultural production; and armies of labourers worked the land and factories.

Because of its centrality in the agrarian-based Late Roman economy, the household was a powerful, male-dominated entity linked conceptually and materially to the public business of governing. A man skilled in the science of household management (*oikonomia*) was thought to have the necessary qualities of a capable statesman. However, women could also legally own property and hence act as a household's chief owner and administrator.

The Late Roman household was a place of religious practice. Pagan householders constructed *temples and Christians chapels on their urban and rural properties for their household's private use. Although Christianity did not radically transform the household (there is no 'Christian household' *per se*), it nevertheless modified it. The rise of *asceticism inspired experiments in domestic life. These ranged from minor alterations in daily routine (e.g. the addition of periods of *prayer and *Bible reading; restricting guests to co-religionists and family members) to more extreme acts of renunciation aimed at core domestic practices. Attempts by Christian authorities to regulate lay households were largely limited. *Bishops exhorted parishioners to treat their slaves more humanely, donate their wealth to the Church, refrain from certain forms of domestic recreation that the Church deemed immodest (e.g. excessive drinking), and marry only once. However, evidence shows that these calls were by no means universally heeded. Generally speaking, the Late Antique household was a deeply traditional institution that was independent from the Church and stood at the centre of Late Roman life. KMS

K. Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (2007).

K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household* (2007).

Sarris, *Economy and Society*.

K. Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (2012).

D. Vera, 'Simmaco e le sue proprietà: strutture e funzionamento di un patrimonio aristocratico del quarto secolo d.C', in F. Paschoud, ed., *Colloque genevois sur Symmaque à l'occasion du mille six centième anniversaire du conflit de l'autel de la Victoire* (1986), 231–70.

houses, barbarian Domestic buildings in Europe beyond the Roman Empire took various forms in different regions. From the Rhine up to southern and western Scandinavia, wooden *longhouses were the focus of many settlements from late prehistory to the early Middle Ages. In the Late Roman Iron Age, structures over 50 m (165 feet) long were not uncommon. The *roofs of these houses were supported by rows of internal posts and the space was divided into separate spaces for people (with hearths) and animals. Although individual longhouses differ from one another, a shared spatial pattern persisted over a long period that was manifest in paired entrances and roof timbers, subdivisions, placement of hearths, and dimensions. After the 5th century both the buildings and the space occupied by animals shrank significantly, as shown by examples from the province of Drenthe in the Netherlands. By the 7th century around the mouths of the Rhine, and by the 10th or 11th century in Scandinavia, bow-sided timber buildings without internal roof-supporting posts had superseded the earlier longhouses.

Archaeological evidence shows that 'short houses' without internal posts or animal byres became increasingly common in northern parts of Europe from the 5th century, as at Wijster (Netherlands) and Nørre Snede (Denmark). Sunken-featured buildings (*SFBs, French *fonds de cabane*, German *Grubenhäuser*) were also common in settlements of this period. The evidence for them consists of oval or oblong features cut into the ground surface, with two or more postholes indicating a timber roof. Debates about functions of SFBs persist: the finds from different examples suggest they were used variously for craftworking, storage, or occupation. In parts of Eastern Europe, large rectangular SFBs with hearths were sometimes the only type of building in a settlement; in Northern and Western Europe, smaller *Grubenhäuser* were normally ancillary to the principal domestic structures.

Various other house types existed elsewhere in northern and western parts of continental Europe in the *Migration Period. In southern Germany settlements with *Grubenhäuser* and rectangular post-built timber houses *c.*12–18m (40–60 feet) long were common. In northern and western *Gaul a growing number of recently excavated sites are providing evidence for settlements with timber post-built houses (often with oval ends) and sunken-featured buildings. Some settlements with many irregular sunken-featured buildings were established on earlier Gallo-Roman sites. Stone began to be used again for domestic buildings in this region from the 7th century onwards.

A similar diversity characterizes the early medieval houses of the British Isles. In the east of *Britain, longhouses are virtually unknown. Instead, the earliest

medieval settlements are typified by relatively short-lived posthole structures, often interspersed with SFBs (as at *Mucking, Essex). Such settlements are labelled *Anglo-Saxon primarily on geographical and chronological grounds, but it is worth noting that timber structures were also the most common form in much of southern and eastern Britain during the Late Roman period. In contrast to the longhouses of continental Europe, most timber buildings of 5th–6th century date in *Britain were small, rarely exceeding 8–10 m (26–33 feet) in length by 4–5 m (*c.*13–16 feet) in width. These structures often had doors facing one another in the middle of their long sides, but there were few internal divisions and evidence for byres is lacking: they closely resembled the 'short houses' of northern Europe. After about 600, other building techniques such as post- or plank-in-trench became more common. *Timber remained overwhelmingly the most common building material, but there was a gradual tendency towards larger buildings with more subdivisions or annexes. Structures also began to be rebuilt on the same site rather than relocated after a few decades. A number of excavated sites provide evidence for buildings laid out in rectilinear patterns around planned yards or enclosures from the late 6th century onwards.

The fragmentary evidence from western Britain shows there were several different types of houses. At Trethurgy, Cornwall, a few relatively large oval houses (over 80 square metres, over 850 square feet) were rebuilt several times and occupied from the mid-2nd to the 6th centuries AD. By contrast, the nearby clifftop site at *Tintagel had many small, oblong buildings. Construction techniques also vary, ranging from stone-walled footings to timbers set in construction trenches.

The early medieval domestic architecture of *Ireland was based on the late prehistoric roundhouse tradition. Buildings were generally small (4–6 m, 13–19 feet, in diameter), though the largest known examples have a floor area of about 35 square metres (*c.*375 square feet). Well-preserved waterlogged examples provide evidence for post-and-wattle or wattle-and-daub walls. Additional structures were sometime appended to existing houses, creating buildings with a figure-of-eight plan. SCT

Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*.

H. Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (2012).

A. O'Sullivan, F. McCormick, L. Harney, J. Kinsella, and T. Kerr, *Early Medieval Dwellings and Settlements in Ireland, AD 400–1100* (2010).

J. Tipper, *The* Grubenhaus *in Anglo-Saxon England* (2004).

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 52–4.

houses, Roman and post-Roman The Late Roman houses we know most about are those of the rich. Contemporary writers sometimes describe their amenities and splendours, while passing over in silence the living conditions of peasants and the urban *poor, and modern archaeologists too have concentrated their energies on houses from the top end of society, drawn to them by their *mosaics, *sculpture, and interesting architectural forms. In the West, the rich divided their time between large urban houses known at the time, and in the modern literature, as *domūs* (singular *domus*) and the equally impressive rural *villas, where they spent their **otium*. In the East the tradition of urban dwelling by the civic *aristocracy was even more deep-rooted, with little tradition of villa life.

Classically, a *domus* was single-storeyed, with extensive use of expensive and exotic decoration in *marble, mosaic, and wall painting. It was often built around a courtyard with surrounding colonnade (a peristyle), and included such features as heated *baths for pleasure and cleanliness, or an external water feature (a nymphaeum) to provide a degree of coolness in the heat of summer. A feature of many aristocratic houses, characteristic of the Late Roman period, was the inclusion in a central location of a splendidly decorated rectangular room with an *apse. It is assumed, probably rightly, that this was a formal reception room, where a *patron, seated in front of the apse, received his clients, a fact which confirms that the houses of notable men (Gk. *dunatoi*, Lat. *potentes*) served not only as private dwellings, but also as the public face of their influence and power. The precise design and decoration of *domūs* varied by region. For instance, extensive carpets of mosaic were a feature in some provinces, and not in others—but, in its essential character, the type of housing inhabited by the rich was the same across the Empire. Aristocrats, whether in *Britain or *Syria, shared the same expectations of cultured domestic ease.

The dwellings of those lower down the social scale are far less well known: for instance, a 4th-century list of the buildings of *Rome suggests that the ordinary inhabitants of the city still lived in the massive *brick-built apartment blocks of early imperial times known as *insulae* (*see* ROME, REGIONARY CATALOGUES OF). There is no way of knowing to what extent these *insulae* had changed in character over the centuries, nor for how long apartment living persisted into the 5th and 6th centuries. For *Constantinople, the bustling metropolis of Late Antiquity, we know virtually nothing about housing below the level of the elite. The Late Roman 'ordinary' dwellings that we know most about are the remarkable stone-built rural houses of the *Limestone Massif of northern Syria, which are often dated by *inscriptions and which were so robustly built that many of them still stand to their full height. These houses are impressive in their solidity, but modest in their size—with lower floors that were given over to animals or to storage and an upper inhabited level of

very few rooms. These Syrian houses are grouped together into *villages, providing a vision of how the majority of people lived outside the carefully planned cities of the ancient world. These villages were unplanned, with winding access between the houses, and could be large, with several substantial and impressive stone-built churches, and occasionally even public amenities such as a bath building.

We have a clearer idea of what happened to housing from the 5th century onwards in the northern *provinces of the former Roman Empire, than in the south and east, because only recently have archaeologists in the Mediterranean region become interested in what would once have been dismissed as 'squatter occupation' and would therefore have been left unstudied. In the north, a characteristic of dwellings in post-imperial times (in both town and countryside) was the near universal abandonment, even for aristocratic dwellings, of mortared stone- or brick-walling, of solid floors, and of tiled roofs. Dry-stone or timber walling, beaten earth floors, and thatched roofs became ubiquitous. The evidence currently available suggests that almost all the *domūs* and villas of the Roman period were abandoned in the 5th century, and that those which survived did so only in severely attenuated form. A visitor to northern Gaul in around 600 would have seen almost nothing still standing that was visibly 'Roman' except for some surviving city walls and a few churches, while in *Britain not even the churches survived (except at *Canterbury and *Whithorn).

Further south, in the Mediterranean region, there was more continuity of Roman styles of domestic building, and at least the rulers in Church and state continued to live in *palaces which were recognizably Roman in their solidity and architectural pretensions, sometimes indeed with such continuing amenities as baths. However, most aristocratic *domūs* were abandoned, sometimes after a period in which their more sumptuous features (such as mosaic flooring) fell into disrepair, and in which their larger rooms and courtyards were subdivided by flimsy walling, turning these large complexes into areas of multi-occupation. Where and how large landowners of the Mediterranean region lived in the 7th century is currently something of a mystery. As far as we can tell, traditional villas and *domūs* were abandoned, but well-appointed houses of a different design, which might have replaced them, are strikingly absent from the record. This absence may in part be a trick of the evidence, since it is possible that upper-class living moved to upper floors, where it would leave little or no trace at ground level for archaeologists of the future to find. But it is also likely that, as in the northern provinces, both town- and country-dwellers increasingly built their houses of wood and other perishable materials, enjoying a lower level of comfort and leaving only ephemeral remains in the archaeological record. BW-P

L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis, eds., *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops* (LAA 3, 2; 2007).

houses, senatorial The *senators of *Rome and *Constantinople maintained lavish houses in the two *cities, which served both as private dwellings and as the public face of their power and prestige—several of Rome's senatorial houses, for instance, contained displays of honorific statuary, donated by grateful *clients and designed to impress visitors. Archaeology has shown that in Rome senators' houses were primarily older, inherited structures, which were continuously embellished through the 4th century. A visitor to Rome at the very beginning of the 5th century observed that some of the city's houses had the same amenities as medium-sized cities. Archaeological evidence, however, suggests that many of Rome's richest houses fell into decay during the 5th century, presumably because of the city's declining power and wealth. In Constantinople, there is much less archaeological evidence, but some 50 aristocratic houses are named in written sources, and the remains of two important houses have been discovered and partially excavated just north of the *Hippodrome. Unsurprisingly, in what was a new capital, these were newly built structures, with complex ground plans in the very latest style (consisting of linked rotundas and multi-*apsed buildings). BW-P

F. Guidobaldi, 'Le domus tardoantiche di Roma come "sensori" delle trasformazioni culturali e sociali', in Harris, *Transformations of Urbs Roma*, 53–68.

J. Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study', *AJA* 101 (1997), 67–95.

Hoxne Treasure Hoard discovered in 1992 by a farmer looking for a lost hammer near Hoxne, Suffolk, England. Meticulously buried in an oak box sometime after AD 407, it includes some 15,000 coins, 29 pieces of *gold *jewellery, and approximately 200 pieces of *silver tableware, and is now in the British Museum. MH

C. Johns, *The Hoxne Late Roman Treasure: Gold Jewellery and Silver Plate* (2010).

P. S. W. Guest, *The Late Roman Gold and Silver Coins from the Hoxne Treasure* (2005).

Hubert of Liège, S. *Bishop of Liège *c.*705–27. A member of a noble *Austrasian *family related to *Plectrude, he succeeded *Lambert as bishop, and in 717 translated his *relics from Maastricht to the emerging centre of Liège, where S. Hubert's own cult developed rapidly after his death. According to his *Vita* of *c.*750, he did missionary work in *Toxandria, the Ardennes, and Brabant. ADier

DHGE 25 *s.n.* Hubert, cols. 21–6 (P. Bertrand).
Vita Hugberti (*BHL* 3993), ed. W. Levison in MGH SS rer. Meroving. VI, Passiones vitaeque 4, 471–96.
M. Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum in frühkarolingischer Zeit* (1980), 275–319.
A. Dierkens and J.-M. Duvosquel, eds., *Le Culte de saint Hubert au pays de Liège* (1990).

Hugo of Rouen (*c.*719–*c.*730) Grandson of *Pippin II of Herstal, and descendant of *Waratto, former *Mayor of *Neustria, who under *Charles Martel accumulated a plurality of ecclesiastical offices, becoming *Bishop of *Rouen, *Paris, and Bayeux, as well as Abbot of *S. Wandrille and *Jumièges. He is regarded as a saint. EJ; STL

Life (*BHL* 4032), ed. F. Lohier and J. Laporte, *Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii* (1936), IV/1.

Hujr b. 'Adi al-Kindi (d. *c.*671) A partisan of *'Ali and his family who rebelled in *Kufa in 671 but was defeated. The *Caliph *Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan (r. 661–80) had him executed. AM

J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (1901), tr. R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer, *The Religio-political Factions in Early Islam* (1975).

Hujrids Arab dynasty well known to Roman and Islamic sources, originating with Hujr 'Ākil al-Murār of the tribe of Kinda in the mid-5th century. Initially clients of *Himyar controlling Ma'add, Hujr's descendants later appear as objects of Roman diplomatic attention in the early 6th century. The best-known Hujrid was al-*Hārith b. 'Amr b. Hujr al-Maqsūr, but Roman agents also won over his relative *Qays (Gk. Caisos) as well as Qays's three sons Mavias, 'Amr, and Yezid during the reign of *Justinian I. GF

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Kinda, 118–20 (A. L. F. Beeston).
G. Fisher, ed., *Arabs and Empires before Islam* (2015).
G. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Ākil al-murār* (1927).

Humayma The *Umayyad-era residence of al-Humayma is unusual in having been comprehensively excavated and published as well as being known from the Arabic sources. Located in the Shara hills of south Jordan, the complex was relatively remote. This is probably because the site owes its importance to the fact that it was the home of 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Abbas, who argued with *Caliph al-*Walid and was patriarch of the *Abbasid clan who took power from the Umayyad dynasty in 750. EL

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* al-Ḥumayma, 574 (Sourdel).
J. P. Oleson, *Humayma Excavation Project, Final Report*, vol. 1: *The Site and the Water-Supply System* (2010).

humiliores *See* HONESTIORES AND HUMILIORES.

Huneric King of the *Vandals (477–84), eldest son of *Geiseric. He married *Eudocia, elder daughter of *Valentinian III; *Hilderic was their son. Huneric's reign was marked by political instability at court, and the secession of *Moorish groups in the Aurès mountains. He is best remembered for persecuting the Nicene Church, as documented by *Victor of Vita. AHM

PLRE II, Hunericus.

huniyagar *Middle Persian term for 'poet-musician', or 'minstrel'; in later texts (e.g. *Mojmal al-tawarik*), closely allied with the Parthian *gosan*. AJH

EncIran XI/2 *s.v.* gōsān, 167–70 (M. Boyce).
M. Boyce, 'The Parthian *Gōsān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition', *JRAS* 89 (1957), 10–45.

Huns A group of Inner Asian (probably Altaic, not Iranian) steppe *nomads who migrated to Eastern Europe in the 4th century. Scholars disagree over the possible equation of the Huns with the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu) mentioned in Chinese sources, and not all of what is in Graeco-Roman sources is easy to credit (*Ptolemy, III, 5; *Eunapius, fr. 41; *Agathias, V, 11, 2–3). The Huns moved westward to the Pontic Steppe *c.* AD 370 under Balamber, where they defeated the *Alans (remnants of the *Sarmatian tribal confederation) and *Ostrogoths (375), thus setting in motion key events in the *Barbarian Migrations (including the movement of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths into the Roman Empire (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 2–3; Eunapius, fr. 42)).

The Huns seemingly lacked central leadership at this time. Some became Roman **foederati* in *Pannonia (380), supporting *Theodosius I against *usurpers. Others raided southwards into *Armenia, *Syria, *Palestine, and *Mesopotamia (395–6), as recorded by *Jerome (*ep.* 60, 16 and 77, 8) and (in *Syriac) by *Cyrillona (Absamya, Quirillona, 72–87). After accumulating significant booty, they returned to the Pontic steppe, where, as in Pannonia, the Hun-led confederation (including Alans, *Goths, and other barbarians) continued to dwell. At times, Hun mercenaries were employed by the Romans against other Huns or Goths. *Aëtius, who was later to be the general who stopped *Attila's invasion of Roman territory at the *Catalaunian Plains in 451, was a hostage with the *Visigoths, and then during this time (*c.*405–8) with the Huns (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 8).

A Hun invasion of *Thrace in 422 under Ruga (*PLRE* II, Rua) resulted in a treaty that guaranteed the Huns an annual payment of *gold. After Ruga

died (434), his nephews Bleda and Attila became joint rulers of the eastern and western halves of Hun territory. When *Constantinople refused to make the agreed gold payments, the Huns attacked Roman territory in 441 and 442 (**Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. AD 442); the war lasted until 447, during which time Attila murdered Bleda (444/5). In 449 an embassy was sent to Attila, which was accompanied by the historian *Priscus; large fragments survive of his vivid description of the ravaged *Balkans, of Attila's wooden palace, and of Hun royal drinking rituals (*Priscus, frs. 1–25 Blockley; ET Gordon; quoted by *Jordanes, *Getica*, XXIV, 123; XXXV, 183; XLII, 222; XLIX, 254). The embassy was unsuccessful, as soon afterwards Attila overran Thrace and came within 48 km (30 miles) of Constantinople; *Theodosius II paid him off with 6,000 pounds of gold and promise of a further 1,000 pounds of gold annually. (*Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. 450; *Theophanes, AM 5942). After the death of Theodosius II and succession of *Marcian in 450, the Romans made no further payments. Responding to pleas from *Valentinian III's sister, Attila invaded the Western Empire, but was defeated by Aetius (451). After another Hun invasion of northern Italy in 452 (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 4), Attila withdrew to Pannonia, where he died in 453 (*John Malalas, XIV, 10).

Fighting amongst Attila's sons for the succession resulted in the *Gepids, and later the Romans proceeding to defeat the divided Huns in 455 and 468 (*Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. AD 469), thus ending Attila's empire. By the late 5th century, the Attilid Huns are absent from the sources, which instead (as with the Scythians before them) use the term 'Hun' to describe other nomadic groups: *Hephthalites, *Kidarites, *Sabirs, *Onoghurs, *Utrigurs, *Kutrigurs, *Bulgars, *Avars, *Türks, Hungarians, and various unidentified steppe nomads. Hun remnants were probably absorbed into later nomadic states in the region, particularly the Bulgars and *Khazars, and it was 'Huns' whom the Persian Empire feared would breach the *Caucasus Passes at Derbend (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 10, 6–8). 'Caucasian Huns' are referred to in *Armenian and Syriac sources in the 6th–7th centuries (*Zacharias Rhetor, XII, 7; *Movses Kaghankatvatsi, II, 39–45; *Sebeos, 4, 10–11, 32–3), either as Persian mercenaries or as converts to Christianity; earlier ones may have been Sabirs, while later ones were unidentified groups under Khazar overlordship. Eastern Christian apocalyptic texts, such as *Ephrem the Syrian (CSCO 321, Scr. syr. 139 (1972), 79–94), Ps.-*Methodius (CSCO 541 Scr. syr. 221 (1993), 24–6), and *Sahdona (CSCO 225, Scr. syr. 113 (1965), 257–8), tend to equate the Huns with the hordes of Gog and Magog, the opponents of Alexander the Great (cf. Ezekiel 38).

Like other Inner Asian steppe dwellers, the Huns were pastoral nomads and excellent mounted warriors, skilled in *archery (*Olympiodorus, fr. 19). The *Emperor *Maurice advises attacking them in February or March when their horses are in poor condition (**Strategicon*, VII, proem). They served, not always willingly or soberly, in Roman *armies (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 12; III, 18; IV, 1; V, 3 and 5 and 27; VI, 1) and were used as light *cavalry in the Persian army (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 26, 5–11).

The ethnic origins of the Huns are still disputed and little evidence of their language remains; personal names recorded in the sources include those of Germanic, Iranian, Turkic, and hybrid or indeterminate origin. Classical accounts indicate the Huns had Mongoloid features, but burial remains suggest that their confederation was a mixture of racial types. The sources provide valuable but limited information on Hun military, diplomatic, religious, and burial practices, all of which conform to typical Inner Asian steppe nomad culture. MLD

BT II, *Οὖννοι*.
EncIran XII/6 (2004) *s.v.* Huns, 575–7 (M. Schottky).
EncIran (2006) *s.v.* Xiongnu (E. de la Vaissière).
Blockley, *FCHLRE*.
Gordon, *Age of Attila*.
D. Sinor, 'The Hun Period', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 177–205.
F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 5 vols. (1959–62).
C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (2009), 94–100.
Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*.
E. A. Thompson, *The Huns* (rev. edn., 1996).
É. de la Vaissière, 'Huns et Xiongnu', *CAJ* 49 (2005), 3–26.
G. Greatrex and M. Greatrex, 'The Hunnic Invasion of the East of 395', *Byzantion* 69 (1999), 65–74.

hunting and hawking, Arab Large mammals, such as gazelle, ibex, and oryx, were abundant in Arabia and the Syrian desert. Such big game was hunted with nets or from horseback or on foot using hounds, especially the Arabian saluki hound, a large gazehound renowned for its stamina. The *Umayyads were keen hunters and drew on Roman and Sasanian practices; during their rule technical literature from both ancient empires was translated into *Arabic. *Yazid II (d. 744) built a hunting lodge at *Qusayr 'Amra on the Jordanian steppe where wall paintings depict scenes of the royal hunt. Cheetahs and caracal lynx were trained as hunting companions and used to take large game such as ostrich, gazelle, and wild ass. The depiction of a hunting hawk in the Hall of Hippolytus (6th cent.) at Madaba indicates that Roman elites there were avid falconers and their knowledge probably passed to the Arabic speakers living in the region. The *Kitab Dawari al-tayr* (*Book of Birds of Prey*) written by the chief huntsman of two

Umayyad *caliphs, al-Ghitrif b. Qudama al-Ghassani, used material drawn from Indian, Mesopotamian, Sasanian, and Roman sources. MD

Z. M. Hasan, *Hunting as Practised in Arab Countries of the Middle Ages* (1937).

G. L. Fowden *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (2004), 85–114.

hunting and hawking, barbarian Hunting was an important pursuit among the *aristocracy of the barbarian states that succeeded the Roman Empire. Its purpose was not only to supply *meat and provide for communal banquets. It was also a noble pastime, which, as the image of war without its guilt and only 25 per cent of its danger, trained men for battle, provided them with exercise, and gave opportunities to deploy martial prowess and display the wealth required to furnish hounds and hunt servants. *Deer, boars, and hares were the principal quarries. These were hunted with a variety of hounds, including tracking hounds, gazehounds for smaller game such as hares, and hounds which brought large game to bay or caught it (**Lex Salica, Karolina*, MGH LL.nat. Germ. 4/2, cap. 47/2). *Frankish kings preserved forests specifically for hunting (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* X, 10).

Knowledge of falconry probably originated in *Central Asia and spread to Germanic and Iranian groups around the Black Sea. By the period of the *Barbarian Migrations, falconry was probably well established among the barbarians of central and northern Europe and by the 6th century at the latest was commonplace: the *Pactus Legis Salicae* (MGH LL. nat. Germ 4/1, cap. 7, 1–3) and the **Lex Burgundionum* (MGH LL. nat. Germ. 2/1, cap. 98) laid down harsh penalties for the theft of hawks. MD

R. Hennebicque, 'Espaces sauvages et chasses royales dans le Nord de la Francie, VIIème–IXème Siècles', *Actes historiens médiévistes* 10 (1979), 35–57.

hunting and hawking, Persian (MP *naxčihr*) The Sasanian *aristocracy were avid hunters and falconers, and the image of the royal hunter was integral to Sasanian royal identity. The subject of the chase appeared frequently in Sasanian art, as in the *rock reliefs of *Bahram II at *Sar Mashhad and *Taq-e Bostan which depict *Khosrow II (r. 590–628) engaged in *deer and boar hunts. *Textiles and numerous *silver vessels depict royal hunts, such as Metropolitan Museum 34.33, which portrays *Peroz (r. 459–84) or *Qobad (Kavadh) I (r. 488–97, 499–531) hunting rams.

*Bahram I is alleged to have remarked that a man who did not hunt or fight was worthless. The **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ* 43, 10 and 50, 12) attests to the 'Master of the Hunt' (MP Naxčihrbed) and 'Master of Boars' (MP Wārāzbed) as offices in *Shapur I's *court, and literary sources describe later kings such as *Khosrow I (r. 531–79) as maintaining professional falconers and hunt servants. As in the Roman and Germanic worlds, hunts in open country in the *Persian Empire relied on hunt servants and hounds, but there were also controlled hunts which took place in permanent or temporary enclosures at country estates (MP **dastgird*). Although hunting was a male pursuit, rock reliefs and poetry portray women watching hunts, especially those held within enclosures. *Ammianus described one round hunting enclosure at *Ctesiphon housing *bears and *lions. *Heraclius' troops marvelled at Khosrow II's estate at *Dastgerd in AD 625/6, which was stocked with ostriches, gazelles, wild asses, peacocks, pheasants, and even lions and tigers (*Theophanes, AM 6118).

These places were remembered long after the *Arab conquest. Ferdowsi's epic poem the *Shahnama* (Davis, 810) portrays Khosrow II as staging elaborate hunts with 500 falconers, whose birds included sparrowhawks and saker and peregrine falcons. Some Sasanian hunting and falconry traditions are preserved in *Arabic manuals such as the *Kitab duwari al-tayr* as well as the medieval Persian treatise *Jawareh nama*. MD; MPC

EncIran IV/1 (1989) *s.v.* Bāzdārī, 53–8 (A. Hūšang).

T. T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (2006).

Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 451.

P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire* (1978).

D. Davis, tr., *The Shahnameh: The Persian Book of Kings* (new edn. 2007).

hunting and hawking, Roman and post-Roman Roman hunting had various objectives.There were the specialists who captured wild beasts for spectacles in urban arenas (Lat. **venationes*; Gk. *kynegesion*). Animals for the beast shows commonly came from North *Africa and *Egypt, though *Syria had vast hunting lands as well. *Elephants, *lions, bears, and ostriches were common quarry, though giraffes and many other species were also captured, including boars.

Scenes of capturing animals are depicted in the 4th-century Great Hunt *mosaic of the Villa Casale (*Piazza Armerina) in *Sicily. A mosaic from El Kef (*Sicca Veneria) shows *deer and ostriches penned up together. There were still lions in areas around the eastern *frontier (*Ammianus, XVIII, 7) and a law of 417 complained that animal trappers under the contol of the *Dux had been habitually outstaying their welcome at *Hierapolis (Mabbog) in *Euphratensis (*CTh* XV, 11, 2).

Hunting was also carried on for pest control, for food, and for sport. The *emperors specifically permitted anyone to kill lions, in the interests of public safety (*CTh* XV, 11, 1 of 414). Skill in hunting was an attribute of a gentleman. Oppian of *Apamea (distinct from

Oppian, author of the *Halieutica*) wrote hunting poetry. *Nemesianus celebrated it as an essential element of noble **otium*. Naucratius, younger brother of *Basil of *Caesarea, abandoned a promising public career to live an *ascetic life in the wooded Pontic hills where he varied the diet of the elderly *poor in the hospice he ran by feeding them on the fruits of the chase (*Gregory of Nyssa, *VMacr* 8). His grandparents had similarly lived on game when taking refuge from the Great *Persecution (*Gregory of Nazianzus, *On Basil*, 7–8). Numerous mosaics in the Levant illustrate aristocratic enthusiasm for hunting there. *Meleager's hunt of the Calydonian Boar remained a popular theme in art. Hunting was one of the favourite pursuits of *Synesius, the 5th-century *Bishop of *Ptolemais in *Libya (*ep.* 148, 80). Hunting mosaics on the floors of churches, as in the 6th-century *Basilica of Doumetius at *Nicopolis of *Epirus, evoked God's plenty. Animals pursued and eaten included boar, hares, and deer.

Imperial enthusiasm for the chase is less well attested for Roman emperors than it is for their *Sasanian contemporaries. *Theodosius II died as the result of a fall from his *horse while out hunting in the Lycus Valley near *Constantinople (*Theodore Lector, *HE* fr. 3, 353). Theodosius, son of the Emperor *Maurice, was hunting at Kallikrateia (Athyras, mod. Büyük Çekmeçe) when the *army asked him to replace his father in 601/2 (*Theophanes, AM 6094). The palace of Damatrys on the Asiatic side of the Sea of *Marmara was certainly equipped with a hunting park by the 10th century, which is said to have been founded by *Tiberius II and certainly existed in 695.

Wildfowling by catching birds on sticks anointed with birdlime had been a pastime since the Hellenistic period. Hawking (falconry) became fashionable during Late Antiquity, perhaps under Germanic or steppe influence. There are mosaics from *Vandal Africa illustrating falconry, and *Luxorius wrote a poem (14) disparaging an acquaintance who starved his hawks to keep them sharp. The mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in *Argos, *Greece, of *c.* AD 500 depict a falcon being used to catch a duck and hare coursing using fast sight hounds, as well as the Labours of the Months. By the 6th century, falconry was already well established in Roman culture in the East and had a long history in the West. MD; OPN

J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (1985).
P. Toohey, *Melancholy, Love, and Time: Boundaries of the Self in Ancient Literature* (2004), 228–53.
M. Merrony, 'The Reconciliation of Paganism and Christianity in the Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements of Arabia and Palestine', *Liber Annuus* 48 (1998), 441–82.
G. Åkerstrøm-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos: A Study in Early Byzantine Iconography* (1974).
K. Lindner, *Beiträge zu Vogelfang und Falknerei im Altertum* (1973).

al-Husayn b. 'Ali (*c.*626–680) Grandson of the Islamic Prophet *Muhammad by his daughter *Fatima and the fourth *Caliph, *'Ali, and regarded as the third imam by most sects of *Shi'a *Islam.

Following the death of his father after the First *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*), he and his elder brother Hasan chose not to challenge the reign of the *Umayyad Caliph *Mu'awiya. However, Husayn refused the caliph's attempts to secure recognition for his son *Yazid as successor. At Mu'awiya's death he again refused and, along with fellow dissenter *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, fled to *Mecca for sanctuary.

Husayn was invited by his father's former Iraqi supporters to come to *Kufa in order to seek the *caliphate himself. During the journey he and many members of his family were killed by an Umayyad *army at *Karbala.

The principal sources are *Tabari (XIX) and al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf* (esp. vol. 2). Much *poetry and literature exists celebrating his supernatural characteristics and remembering his martyrdom. RJL

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Veccia Vaglieri).
H. Halm, *Shi'ism* (2004).
G. J. Kanazi, 'The Massacre of al-Huṣayn b. 'Alī: Between History and Folklore', in S. Ballas and R. Snir, eds., *Studies in Canonical and Popular Arabic Literature* (1998), 23–36.

Huwwarin (Hawwarin) (ancient Evaria in *Syria) Home to two bishoprics after the *Council of *Chalcedon, one espousing the council canons and the other, *Miaphysite in conviction, opposing them. The former ministered to the settled population of the town and the latter to the nomadic tribes surrounding it. Whilst the site has never been comprehensively excavated it has the remains of seven different churches and is dominated by a large square tower. This has been attributed to *Yazid I, following the *Arabic literary sources. However, the structure is constructed of Roman *spolia and its exact date is unclear. EL

J. S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (1990).
D. Genequand, *Les Établissements des élites omeyyades en Palmyrène et au Proche-Orient* (2012).

Hydatius Chronicler of the years from 379 to 469. Hydatius was born in the *civitas* of Lemica (near Xinzo de Limia) in *Gallaecia *c.*400, elected *bishop, probably of Aquae Flaviae (mod. Chaves, Portugal), in 428, and died *c.*470. His life was eventful: he made a *pilgrimage to *Palestine and met *Jerome in 406–7, petitioned *Aëtius in *Gaul for aid against the *Suebes occupying *Gallaecia in 431, was nominated to Pope *Leo I by

Bishop Turibius of Astorga to combat *Priscillianism in 445, and was kidnapped by a Suebic warlord in 460.

His *chronicle continues the tradition of *Eusebius and Jerome, and is the principal witness to the end of Roman rule in *Spain. The work is structured around the *Visigothic invasion of Gallaecia and *Lusitania in 456–7, and must have been begun in its aftermath; he believed the End to be imminent (in 482, based on the apocryphal *letter of Christ to Thomas), and interpreted events accordingly. The chronology is fivefold, given by imperial regnal years, Jubilees from the Ascension, Olympiads, years since the birth of Abraham, and the Spanish *aera* system.

There is no complete manuscript: there are one nearly complete copy, made at *Trier around 830, a late copy of this, and epitomes of variable faithfulness to the text. The interrelationship of these witnesses is highly complex, but the text must be reconstructed from them; interpretation and correction of its chronology has also proven controversial. GDB

PLRE II, Hydatius.

CPL 2263 *s.n.* Idacius.

ed. (with ET) R. W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (OCM, 1993).

Hygelac Geatish king, *Beowulf's uncle, sometimes identified with the Dane 'Chochilaicus', who raided *Frankish territory in *Frisia in 520 (*Gregory of *Tours, *History of the Franks*, III, 3). It is not certain that this is correct. HFF

A. S. Christensen, 'Beowulf, Hygelac og Chlochilaichus. Om beretningskronologien i Beowulf', *Historisk tidsskrift* 105/1, 40–77.

G. Storms, 'The Significance of Hygelac's Raid', *NottMedSt* 14 (1970), 3–26.

hymns, Greek (Christian) There are passages in the New Testament that have been interpreted as evidence of early Christian hymnography (e.g. Eph. 1: 3–8, Phil. 2:6–11, 1 Peter 1:3–5, and the many hymns in the Apocalypse), but only the two songs in Luke's Infancy narrative (the song of Mary: Luke 1:46–55, and of Zacharias: Luke 1:68–79) entered into the Byzantine Office, where they formed the final canticles of Matins.

It is generally thought that early Christian hymnography derived from the Synagogue, though the earliest extant Christian hymn, found on a *papyrus, is the *Oxyrhynchus hymn (P.*Oxy* XV [1922], 1786, 21–5), which is marked to be sung according to one of the classical musical modes. The vesperal hymn **Phos hilaron* (*Φως ἱλαρόν*) is mentioned as ancient by *Basil of *Caesarea in the 4th century (*De Spiritu Sancto*, 73: PG 32: 205A).

Although it is probably not true that early monasticism was opposed to singing, early monastic *chant was doubtless simple. It was in the context of services for lay people, the so-called 'Cathedral Office', that the earliest developments of Greek hymnography took place. The 'sung service' (*ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία*), a vigil service before Sundays and great feasts, is attested from the 4th century; to this service belonged the singing of the canticles (or odes), eventually eight from the Old Testament and two (counted as a single canticle) from the New.

The first major development in Greek hymnography was the **kontakion*, and the greatest composer of such *kontakia* (indeed, maybe the inventor of the genre) was *Romanus the Melodist. Originally from *Syria, he arrived in *Constantinople probably in the early years of *Justinian I's reign, and composed many *kontakia*, verse sermons that were chanted during the *Ἀσματικὴ ἀκολουθία*, with a refrain in which the congregation doubtless joined. Romanus composed *kontakia* on themes and persons from the New Testament, especially on the Person and Life of Christ, as well as on other subjects, including a *kontakion* on 'earthquakes and fires', which alludes to the *Nika Riot (AD 532) and the destruction of the churches of the *Holy Wisdom and the *Holy Peace.

Gradually the vigil service of the Cathedral Office combined with the more sober monastic vigil, and in the 7th century a new form of hymnography, the *kanon*, evolved in monastic circles in *Jerusalem to accompany the singing of the canticles, which now formed part of monastic matins. The *kanon* consisted of verses composed to accompany the closing verses of the canticles at matins; its great exponent was *Andrew of Crete (d. 740). Whereas the *kontakion* usually has a narrative structure, the *kanon* more commonly takes the form of a meditation on the mystery concerned. *Kontakia* continued to be composed, even though the *kanon* became more popular and eventually supplanted the *kontakion*, which was reduced to a couple of verses incorporated into the *kanon*. AL

Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (²1961).

A. Lingas, 'The Liturgical Place of the Kontakion in Constantinople', in Constantin C. Akentiev, ed., *Liturgy, Architecture, and Art in the Byzantine World* (1995), 50–7.

hymns, Jewish Jewish hymns were produced from the Late Roman period onwards in Syro-Palestinian communities. Embellishment of *synagogue liturgy by distinctive genres of congregational hymns became increasingly popular on the Sabbath and holidays. The Day of Atonement was enriched by lengthy compositions, versifying the history of the world from the days of creation to the sacrificial ritual of Aaron the high priest. Similarly, threnodies and penitential hymns were recited on days of mourning and commemoration.

In distinction from biblical psalmody and poetry, synagogue hymns were called *piyyutim*, a term derived from *Greek *poiesis*. The general term is *piyyut* ('synagogue hymnography'), reflecting the fascinating contribution of cantor-poets to Jewish religious culture in the early Byzantine and Islamic periods. Biblical and rabbinic themes are reworked and expanded in mostly strophic poems with the employment of acrostics and rhyme. The language and lexicon is jargonic-poetic Hebrew, at times mixed with elements from Aramaic and *Greek.

Since the discovery of the Cairo Genizah manuscript collection, the study of liturgical poetry has been revolutionized. Modern research has highlighted the status and activities of hymnists like Yannai(-os) who can be called a Jewish Melodist, of the same quality as his contemporary colleague *Romanus the Melodist, the famous composer of **kontakia* for the Christian–Byzantine church *liturgy.

Both Yannai and Eleazar birabbi Kilir (= Kyrillos) occasionally allude to historical circumstances, such as the oppression of the *Jews by the Byzantine *emperor or the decreasing status of Judaism in a Christian world. Additionally, Kilir refers to the arrival of the Arabian kingdom Ishmael, which will lead to deliverance from the wicked kingdom of Edom, Byzantium. The tradition of *piyyut* was to be continued in the world of *Islam, and particularly Kilirian compositions were transmitted from Palestine to the Jewish communities of *Sicily, *Italy, and Germany. WJvB

L. J. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History* (2000).

hymns, Latin Latin hymns in Late Antiquity are almost entirely Christian, liturgical, or paraliturgical in nature. Some texts, such as the *Exultet and *Te Deum, were written in rhythmic *prose, after the example of the biblical Psalms and cantica, while *Marius Victorinus experimented with rhythmic forms and strophic structure. An abecedarian psalm (*Psalmus responsorius*) in rhythmic verse, probably from the late 3rd century, survives on *papyrus; the abecedarian form was later adopted by *Augustine and *Fulgentius of Ruspe to combat *heresy. *Hilary of *Poitiers is the author of the earliest hymns in classical *metres—three survive, though incomplete—but *Ambrose of *Milan gave the liturgical hymn its definitive form. The fourteen hymns that have the best claim to Ambrosian authorship are written in eight four-line stanzas of iambic dimeters, a form that was imitated by *Sedulius, *Ennodius, and *Venantius Fortunatus. Shortly after Ambrose, *Prudentius composed hymns on a more ambitious scale and in a variety of metres in his *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon,* which were modelled on liturgical forms but probably not designed for such use. The end of the period of Late Antiquity also saw the first hymns written in accentual form in imitation of quantitative metres. MJR

ed. W. Bulst, *Hymni Latini Antiquissimi LXXV, Psalmi III* (1956).

ed. J. Fontaine et al., *Ambroise de Milan, Hymnes* (annotated with FT, 1992).

W. Speyer, 'Der bisher älteste lateinische Psalmus abecedarius. Zur edition princeps von R. Roca-Puig', *JbAC* 10 (1976), 211–16.

hymns, pagan and literary For ancient theorists, hymns are vehicles for *praise of gods, corresponding to encomia in praise of men. Despite very different intellectual and spiritual outlooks, some Late Antique hymns continued archaic and classical traditions in respect of form: many continue to employ the hexameter *metre, use epithets (often in asyndetic lists) and relative clauses to identify and define the deity, and make extensive use of *Du-Stil*. *Proclus' seven *Neoplatonic hymns are of this character. Lists of powers and prerogatives are common, especially in aretalogies of *Isis and Sarapis; in general, the predicative style, in which the deity's characteristics are defined and celebrated, prevailed at the expense of mythical narratives and genealogies. Other compositions continue to regard themselves as 'hymns', although formally hardly that: the *Emperor *Julian's *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (composed during her spring *festival in *Constantinople, 362) and *Hymn to King Sun* (written for the Heliaia in *Antioch in December 362) are prose tracts designed to restore pagan wisdom to its ancient honour; it is their celebratory and (in their final sections) supplicatory character that makes them hymnic. Predicative hymns in this period reflect the general tendency towards syncretism (e.g. *Nonnus' Hymn to Heracles Astrochiton, *Dionysiaca* 40, 369–410). Many are directed towards the gods of the traditional pagan pantheon, perhaps under Orphic or Neoplatonic guise; others address *cities (Melinno's celebration of *Rome, possibly Hadrianic), parts of the *landscape (e.g. the *Nile), or components of the cosmos (Ocean, the *Sun, the Moon). JLL

E. Heitsch, ed., *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1961), vol. 1, 153–99.

R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (Philosophia antiqua; v. 90, 2001).

hymns, Syriac According to *Ephrem (*Against Heresies*, 53), *Bardaisan (154–222) was the first person to adapt to *music the **madrasha* (by Ephrem's day, the standard equivalent for 'hymn'). In the *Acts of Thomas* (108–13) *madrasha* is the term used for the 'Hymn of the Pearl', while the sung poem on the Bride of Light (6–7) is called a *zmirta* (compare *mazmure*, 'Psalms'). Ephrem's own *madrashe* are stanzaic poems employing

nearly 50 different isosyllabic metres, each of which had its appropriate melody or *qala*. The titles of the melodies were transmitted with the hymns, but the music was handed down aurally. In his panegyric on Ephrem, *Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) states that his *madrashe* (which had refrains) were sung by women's choirs.

As a poetic form the *madrasha* may have influenced the emergence of the **kontakion* in *Greek. In due course repertoires of *madrashe* were adapted to the eight tones and classified in the *Beth Gazza*, or 'Treasury', a counterpart to the Greek Hirmologion. Several other terms were used for poetry sung (as opposed to chanted) in a liturgical setting, in particular *zmirta* 'song' (the term used of the '*Odes of Solomon'), *quqaya* (named after *Symeon *quqaya*, the Potter, in the 6th cent.), **sogitha* (normally a *madrasha* with a simple metre, often with an *acrostic and/or a dialogue), *teshbohta*, and *qala* (in an extended sense). A collection of 366 *ma'nyatha* (conventionally translated 'hymns') by Severus (d. 538) and others were translated into *Syriac by *Paul of *Edessa *c.*625 and revised by *Jacob of Edessa in 675; subsequently these were provided with indications of the eight tones (and so the collection has sometimes been called an Octoechos). Probably already before the end of the 8th century, Greek canons were being translated into Syriac. By the time of the earliest surviving liturgical manuscripts (*c.*9th cent.) 'hymns' of various types play a very prominent role in most services. SB

For Ephrem's *madrashe*, *see* under EPHREM.

ed. (with ET) E. W. Brooks, *James of Edessa: The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others* (PO 6/1 and 7/5; 1910–1).

S. P. Brock, 'Syriac and Greek Hymnography: Problems of Origins', *SP* 26 (1985), 77–81 (repr. in his *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, Study VI).

S. P. Brock, 'The Transmission of Ephrem's *Madrashe* in the Syriac Liturgical Tradition', *SP* 33 (1997), 490–505.

S. P. Brock, 'Poetry and Hymnography (3) Syriac', in *OHECS* 657–71.

F. Cassingena-Trévedy, 'L'Hymnographie syriaque', in F. Cassingena-Trévedy and I. Jurasz, eds., *Les Liturgies syriaques* (2006), 183–219.

A. Cody, 'The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria', in N. Garsoian, T. F. Mathews, and R. W. Thomson, eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (1982), 89–114.

H. Husmann, 'Zur Geschichte des *Qala*', *OrChristPer* 45 (1979), 99–113.

M. Lattke, *Hymnus. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der antiken Hymnologie* (1991).

K. McVey, 'Were the Earliest *Madrashe* Songs or Recitations?', in G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist, eds., *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity* (1999), 185–99.

Hypatia (*c.*355–415) Mathematician and *philosopher, daughter of the *Alexandrian teacher *Theon and an editor of his commentary on *Ptolemy's *Almagest*. She trained under her father and showed such natural aptitude that she took over his *school. She may also have held a public teaching position in Alexandria. The philosopher and future *Bishop *Synesius of *Cyrene was a student of Hypatia and a number of his extant *letters show how much he valued their relationship. The philosophy that she taught was closer to that of *Plotinus than the teaching influenced by *Iamblichus popular in *Athens in the early 5th century. A letter of Synesius suggests that Hypatia's school competed to attract students with the circle headed by *Plutarch of Athens (*ep.* 136), and her enrolments may have suffered as the reputation of Plutarch's school grew. Because of her reputation for prudence, Hypatia enjoyed frequent audiences with imperial and local officials. In the early 410s, her public activities drew her into a confrontation between *Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Orestes, the *Praefectus Augustalis. She was murdered by Cyril's supporters in early 415, a murder that later pagan sources characterized as a philosophical *martyrdom (*Damascius, *VIsidori* 43E). Some Christians criticized Cyril for his role in her murder (*Socrates, VII, 15), but Egyptian traditions maintained that it was a justified killing of a magician (*John of *Nikiu, 84, 87–103). EW

PLRE II, Hypatia 1.

M. Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria*, tr. F. Lyra (1995).

Cameron, *Wandering Poets*, ch. 9.

C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (1997), 295–317.

Watts, *City and School*, 187–203.

Hypatius The unpopular *Magister Militum per *Thracias at the time of the rebellion of *Vitalian in 514. He retreated from his headquarters at *Odessos to *Constantinople and was replaced by the *Hun Alathar and Flavius *Hypatius, nephew of the Emperor *Anastasius I. OPN

PLRE II, Hypatius 5.

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 166–8.

Hypatius, Flavius Nephew of *Anastasius I. Commander in 502–3 against the Persians, in 514 against *Vitalian, and again in Mesopotamia in 517–18 (when Anastasius died). A pilgrim at *Jerusalem in 516, he gave presents to S. *Sabas and encountered anti-*Miaphysite demonstrations. Again *Magister Militum per *Orientem under *Justin I and *Justinian I (520–5 and 527–9), he conducted diplomatic negotiations. The *Nika rioters of 532 proclaimed him *emperor. Afterwards he and his brother Pompeius were executed and thrown into the *Bosporus. Hypatius was washed up and buried with his kin under an *epitaph by the poet *Julian (*AnthGr* VII, 592). OPN

PLRE II, Hypatius 6.

G. Greatrex, 'Flavius Hypatius, *quem vidit validum Parthus sensitque timendum*. An investigation of his career', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), 120–42.

Hypatius, S. (d. 446) Monk and then hegumen of the *monastery of *Rufinianae, on the eastern shore of the *Bosporus, from *c.*400 till his death in 446. Hypatius is known to us principally from the *Life* written by his disciple Callinicus soon after his death. Originally from *Phrygia, Hypatius became a leading figure in the religious life of *Constantinople; he received visits from the *Emperor *Theodosius II and his pious sisters. His closeness to the *court may account for his notable lack of involvement in the *Nestorian controversy (despite Callinicus' manifest fictions to the contrary), in which many monks of the city protested against the emperor's reluctance to accept Nestorius' condemnation at the *Council of *Ephesus (431). A few years earlier he had used his good relations with the court to defend the newly arrived *Acoemete monks against an attempt by his own *bishop, Eulalius of *Chalcedon, to expel them from his *diocese. His own ascetical teaching was notable for its moderation, while he encouraged the laity to be confident that they could attain salvation in the world. RMP

BHG 760: Callinicus, *Vie d'Hypatios*, ed. G. Bartelink (SC 177, 1971).

Hypsistarii Worshippers of *Hypsistos*, 'the highest god', sometimes Zeus Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos. They are attested mostly in Asia Minor and on the north shore of the Black Sea in the 3rd and 4th centuries. They seem to have constituted a distinct community, perhaps with links to the Jewish proselytes called 'god-fearers' in the Acts of the Apostles. *Gregory of *Nazianzus in 374 describes his youthful father's Hypsistarian rejection of idols, *sacrifice, and certain foods, fire worship, and Sabbath-reverence. *Gregory of *Nyssa mentions Hypsistarii and *Jews together. *Epiphanius of Salamis describes how 'Messalians' or 'Euphemites' gathered for *prayer (*proseuchai*), *lamp-lighting, and *hymn-singing. Many *altars and *votive *inscriptions testify to worship of Hypsistos by simple people. Nothing in the inscriptions suggests that the Highest God was considered an entity which made all things out of nothing or that the Hypsistos Theos was considered the exclusive object of worship, though it is possible that an oracle given by Apollo at *Claros inscribed on the city walls at Oenoanda may refer to this cult. ACFC; OPN

S. Mitchell, 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews and Christians', in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede, eds., *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (1999), 81–148.

Hystaspes, Oracles of A group of fragments, loosely apocalyptic in content, which, according to modern scholarship, may or may not have been composed as a single whole. Themes quoted from the *Oracles* (especially those in the quotations by *Lactantius, *Inst.* VII, 15 and 18) consist essentially of utterances attributed to a certain Hystaspes, a Persian king who is identified in ancient sources as the king who patronized Zardušt (Zoroaster) or the father of Darius I or both (*Agathias, II 24, 6; cf. *Ammianus, XXIII, 6, 32). As with the **Sibylline Oracles*, the fragments are quoted to provide foreign non-Christian corroboration of Christian prophecy (Justin Martyr, 1 *Apology*, 20; 44; Clement of *Alexandria, *Stromata*, VI, 5, 42–3). VD

EncIran XII/6 (2004) *s.v.* Hystaspes, Oracle of, 606–9 (W. Sundermann).

J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* (1938; repr. 2007), vol. 1, 215–22; vol. 2, 359–76.

V. Dobroruka and R. Kraft, 'Oracles of Hystaspes: A New Translation and Introduction', in J. Davila, R. Bauckham, and A. Panoyatov, eds., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (forthcoming), vol. 2.

J. R. Hinnells, 'The Zoroastrian Doctrine of Salvation in the Roman World: A Study of the *Oracle of Hystaspes*', in E. J. Sharpe and J. R. Hinnells, eds., *Man and his Salvation: Studies in Memory of S. G. F. Brandon* (1973), 139–42.

H. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes* (Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 28.3 Amsterdam: Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1929).

S. Freund, *Laktanz Divinae Institutiones Buch 7: De Beata Vita: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berlin, 2009), 53–69, 440–4, 479–84.

I

Iader (Jader) (Gk. Diadora, Italian Zara, mod. Zadar, Croatia) *City of *Dalmatia made a *colonia* under Augustus; signs of centuriation survive. *Bishop Felix attended the *Council of *Aquileia in 381. From the late 5th century the *Ostrogoths controlled Dalmatia, but after prolonged contention finally ceded control to *Justinian I's armies in 553. Despite threats from *Avars and *Slavs (e.g. in 598/9), Iader remained the principal city of Byzantine Dalmatia from the 7th to 9th centuries. An early Christian *basilica, *baptistery, and bishop's palace have been found under the Romanesque cathedral of S. Anastasia, near the Roman forum, and traces of several 5th/6th-century churches nearby. IDS

TIR L-33 *s.n.* Iader, 43.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 6 (2005) *s.v.* Iader cols. 663–4 (M. Šašel Kos).

I. Goldstein, *Bizant na Jadranu* (1992).

Iamblichus (AD *c.*245–*c.*325) *Neoplatonist *philosopher. Details concerning his life are few and mostly contested, mainly because our chief source of information about him is a brief and somewhat fanciful biography by *Eunapius in his *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*. According to this, Iamblichus was born in *Syria at *Chalcis (mod. *Qinnasrin), to a wealthy and prosperous family. *Syria was then at peace under Roman rule but was soon invaded by the Persian King *Shapur I in 256. Iamblichus first studied under Anatolius, before either studying with *Porphyry or reading the works of Porphyry, former student and biographer of *Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism. In time he had a dispute with Porphyry over the practice of *theurgy, religious *magic. He later defended theurgy in his *De Mysteriis*. He returned to Syria, where he founded his own *school either at *Apamea or *Daphne, which, according to Eunapius, became very popular and attracted many devotees. Here he established a standard curriculum which sought to systematize the hermeneutics of Plato and Aristotle and which utilized extensively mathematical ideas. In addition, the order in which Plato's dialogues was to be studied was set down. As with most things about Iamblichus, the date of his death is uncertain, but it is thought that he died *c.*325 during the reign of the *Emperor *Constantine I.

Works

Iamblichus produced a vast body of work, much of which survives only in fragments. The *De Mysteriis* is a response to Porphyry's criticisms of theurgy and may have been written while he was still in contact with Porphyry, or shortly after their separation. There is some dispute, in terms of both style and content, over whether it was written by Iamblichus himself, but, if not, it almost certainly emerged from his school. We also have fragments from his *De Anima* preserved by *John Stobaeus, which may also belong to this early period. Four books and fragments of a fifth from a collection of ten on Pythagorean doctrine also survive (*Vita Pythagorica*, *Protrepticus*, *De Communi Mathematica Scientia*, and *In Nicomachi Arithmeticam Introductionem*). In addition, in the school Iamblichus wrote large-scale commentaries on Platonic and Aristotelian texts, which also survive in fragments; the Platonic fragments have been collected by J. M. Dillon. We also have references to, or fragments from, a number of other works. The most significant is a large commentary on the **Chaldean Oracles*. *Damascius refers to a 28th book of this commentary. We also have fragments in *John Stobaeus from a collection of sixteen letters addressed to various persons. Yet in spite of an impressive array of titles, no definite order can be imposed on the chronology of Iamblichus' writings, nor in truth can we speak with authority about his philosophical development.

Doctrine

Like all Neoplatonists, Iamblichus' philosophy is fundamentally grounded in Platonism, but he introduced to the theory presented by Plotinus modifications which included a strong Neopythagorean *number theory, combined with theurgy from the *Chaldean*

Oracles and a basic denial that rational thought alone can bring the philosopher to the gods. But without a surviving metaphysical work from Iamblichus himself we are left, to a large extent, with what was attributed to him by his successors. It seems, though, that Iamblichus was not satisfied with the original Neoplatonic triad of One, Intellect (*Nous*), and World Soul. Concerned about the transcendence of the One, Iamblichus introduced a higher principle above it, which he termed the Ineffable. Iamblichus also introduced divisions among the lower hypostases to account for further plurality. Some scholars believe, mainly on the basis of what we find in *Proclus, that Iamblichus introduced henads (individual ones, each identified with a traditional god), each of which governs a series of manifestations of itself at lower ontological levels (*seira*), as a means of connecting his transcendent Ineffable with the rest of the chain of being. This multiplication of the ranks demoted individuals in the hierarchy of being and was tied firmly to Pythagorean mathematical proportions, as well as allowing Iamblichus to accommodate numerous Greek and Oriental deities into his system at the various levels. Iamblichus also diverged from Plotinus on the way salvation could be achieved in his system. Against Plotinus, he argued that the soul does descend into matter in its entirety and that its return to its source requires more than the use of dialectical reasoning; return requires also the help of numerous divinities called on through the performance of certain rites collectively known as theurgy.

Influence

Iamblichus at first breathed new life into pagan philosophy. The *Emperor *Julian the Apostate received his soubriquet because of his attempt to reject Christianity in favour of a pagan philosophy based fundamentally on the theurgy of Iamblichus, although Christianity was to win. In the 6th century *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite adapted Iamblichus' philosophical structure, modified by Proclus, to Christianity and these writings were essential in later shaping the development of Christianity, especially through the *Latin translations of Duns Scotus Eriugena Iamblichus' influence was once more felt through the Renaissance Neoplatonists such as Marsilio Ficino. KTMcG

PLRE I, Iamblichus 1.
ed. Emma C. Clarke, J. M. Dillon, and J. P. Hershbell, *Iamblichus: De Mysteriis* (2003).
ed. J. F. Finamore and J. M. Dillon, *Iamblichus, De Anima* (2002).
ed. H. D. Saffrey and A.-P. Segonds (annotated with FT and introd.), *Jamblique: Réponse à Porphyre (De mysteriis)* (2013).
ed. E. des Places (annotated with FT), *Jamblique: Protrepticus* (1989).
ed. J. M. Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta* (1973).
ed. (annotated with ET) J. M. Dillon and J. Hershbell, *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Way of Life* (1991).
ET (annotated) G. Clark (TTH 8, 1989).
ed. (with ET and comm.) J. M. Dillon and W. Polleichtner, *Iamblichus of Chalcis: The Letters* (2010).
H. J. Blumenthal and G. Clark, eds., *The Divine Iamblichus: Philosopher and Man of Gods* (1993).
Emma C. Clarke, *Iamblichus' De Mysteriis: A Manifesto of the Miraculous* (2001).
J. M. Dillon, 'Iamblichus of Chalcis', in *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), 862–909.
J. F. Finamore, *Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (1972).
B. Nasemann, *Theurgie und Philosophie in Jamblichs De Mysteriis* (1991).
D. J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (1989).
G. Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (1995).

Ibadites A branch of the *Kharijites, distinguished from the others by a less actively hostile attitude towards non-Kharijite Muslims: they did not have to be fought and killed if they refused to become Kharijites. Taking their name from the obscure 'Abd Allah b. Ibad (*c.*700), they first emerged in *Basra during the Second *Arab Civil War (684–92) and developed a community there in the following decades. Relations with the *Umayyad *caliphate fluctuated, and they took part in some revolts. From Basra they spread to other places, especially North *Africa and *Oman, where a substantial Ibadi community still flourishes. GRH

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* al-Ibāḍiyya, 648–60 (T. Lewicki).
P. Crone and F. Zimmerman, *The Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān* (2001).

Ibas of Edessa (d. 457) Theologian, translator, and *Bishop of *Edessa (from 436). As a member of the School of Edessa, Ibas initiated the translations of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia (d. 428) into *Syriac. Of Ibas' works, only a *Letter* about Christology, addressed to Mari 'the Persian', survives. Edessa at the time was deeply divided between those (led by Bp. *Rabbula) who favoured the Christological position of *Cyril of *Alexandria and those who advocated a Dyophysite view in the Antiochene tradition, identifying two Natures in Christ. Despite a conflict with Rabbula, Ibas succeeded him in 436 as Bishop of Edessa and initiated a building programme. At the 'Robber' *Council of *Ephesus in 449, the opponents of Ibas effected his condemnation, but the Council of *Chalcedon (451), after reading aloud the *Letter to Mari*, reinstated him as a bishop. Under

*Justinian I (d. 565), the *Letter to Mari* was condemned in the course of the *Three Chapters Controversy. JBe

GEDSH s.v. Hiba, 195–6 (Van Rompay).

WORKS

Letter to Mari, ed. *ACO* II, 1, 3, 32–4 (Gk.); *ACO* II, 3, 3, 39–43 (Lat.).

ANCIENT SOURCES

R. Price and M. Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* (TTH 45, 2005), vol. 2, 258–309 (ET, including *Letter to Mari*).

STUDIES

R. Dolan, *Stewards of the Poor: The Man of God, Rabbula, and Hiba in Fifth-Century Edessa* (CSS 208, 2006) (incl. ET of *Letter*).

C. Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa: Rekonstruktion einer Biographie und dogmatischen Position zwischen den Fronten* (2008).

M. van Esbroeck, 'Who is Mari, the Addressee of Ibas' Letter?', *JTS* NS 38 (1987), 129–35.

Iberia Kingdom of Eastern *Georgia, also known as Kartli, founded in the 3rd century BC with the help of the Seleucid Empire. The capital *Mtskheta lay along major trade routes. The strategic importance of Iberia lay in its control of the *Caucasian Passes. *Scanda and *Sarapanis were important forts at the border of Colchis (later *Lazica). To the south there were frequent border disputes with (Caucasian) *Albania and *Armenia. From the 1st century AD Iberia engaged in active *diplomacy with the Roman Empire. Hadrian exchanged lavish gifts with Parsman II; some survive in burials at Mtskheta. Iberia became a Roman protectorate with the Treaty of *Nisibis, in 298, and remained allied to Rome through the 3rd and 4th centuries. In 326 or 337 Iberia was converted officially to Christianity under *Mirian I. Near the end of the 4th century, following the death of the *Emperor *Julian, most of Iberia returned to Persian control. In 482–5 King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali rebelled against Persian rule and united Iberia with part of Lazica. He made possible an autocephalous Church of Georgia with its seat at Mtskheta, and, with his son Dachi, founded a new capital at *Tbilisi. Iberia was reincorporated into the *Persian Empire from the end of the 6th century. In the 670s the prince of Kartli Guaranes II transferred his allegiance to the Eastern Roman Empire and was given the rank *Curopalates. The Arabs conquered Kartli in the mid-7th century. MO

D. Muskhelishvili, *Sakartvelo 4–8 saukuneebshi* (Georgia in the 4th–8th centuries AD) (2003).

C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963), 257–432.

Ibn al-Kalbi, Hisham (*c.*737–819/821) Polymath from *Kufa. Like his father before him, Ibn al-Kalbi wrote on a large variety of topics but was particularly renowned as a specialist on genealogies. Of his large oeuvre only a few works are extant today: the collection *Jamharat al-nasab* (Genealogical Tables) survives only in fragments, whereas a short treatise on the most famous *horses of the pre-Islamic *Arabs, *Ansab al-Khayl*, and the *Kitab al-Asnam* (Book of Idols) survive in their entirety. In the latter, Ibn al-Kalbi collected information on cults and deities in the pre-Islamic *Arabian Peninsula and thereby created a valuable source on how Muslim traditionists imagined the religious prehistory of *Islam. KMK

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* al-Kalbi, 494–5 (Atallah).

R. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch* (1941).

W. Atallah, *Les Idoles* (1969).

G. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam* (2004).

Ibn Ishaq (*c.*704–767) Medinan collector of biographical material about the Prophet *Muhammad. Ibn Ishaq was born in *Medina, and spent time in *Egypt before settling in Baghdad. He is best known for his association with a *sira* (biography) of the Prophet Muhammad, the *Sirat rasul Allah* or *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, which survives only in a form substantially reconstructed and revised by Ibn Hisham (d. 833). This work details the Prophet's career from the time of his first revelation to his death, covering his preaching in *Mecca, his emigration to Medina, and his military campaigns. The material was drawn from the *Qur'ān, *poetry, oral sources, and perhaps some earlier written works. Two of the most frequently cited informants are *'Abd Allah b. Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 742) and *'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 712). Some later accounts suggest these two wrote their own, earlier biographies of the Prophet, but the evidence is tenuous. Recent work by Görke and Schoeler has largely disproved the case for a book by 'Urwa, and later accounts cannot even agree on whether al-Zuhri approved of writing tradition down at all.

In any case, the book Ibn Ishaq composed is no longer extant; there are several different later recensions, some more complete than others. The fullest version was substantially revised after Ibn Ishaq's death, first by al-Bakka'i (d. 800), and then again by Ibn Hisham. In Ibn Hisham's introduction (shifted by Guillaume, in his translation, to the back of the book, along with other passages he considered to be non-Ibn Ishaq interpolations), he notes that he is 'omitting' various categories of Ibn Ishaq's material from his recension: that which he considers irrelevant, or is not mentioned by the Qur'ān, together with 'things which are disgraceful to discuss' and 'matters which would distress certain people' (*Life of Muhammad*, 691). One notable example of such 'disgraceful' material is the 'Satanic Verses' incident, in which Muhammad was

said to have been tricked by Satan into including verses in the Qur'ān praising a trio of local pagan goddesses, before realizing his error and removing them. *Tabari, cites Ibn Ishaq from other recensions notably those of Salama b. al-Fadl (d. 807) and Yunus b. Bukayr's (d. 814) of which the latter survives, partially, as an independent manuscript. The Satanic Verses episode is included by Tabari, but is omitted by Ibn Hisham. Ibn Ishaq's posthumous reputation was decidedly mixed; while many medieval writers praised him, some accused him of including reports he knew to be false. NC

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ibn Isḥāḳ, 810–11 (Jones).

Ibn Hisham, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. M. Saqqa, I. Ibyari, and 'A. Shalabī (1936), ET A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (1955).

J. Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq* (1925) and 'A Note on the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq', *BSOAS* 18 (1956), 1–4.

J. Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors*, ed. L. I. Conrad (²2002).

M. Cook, 'Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam', *Arabica* 44 (1997), 437–530.

A. Görke and G. Schoeler, *Die ältesten Berichte über das Leben Muḥammads. Das Korpus 'Urwa ibn az-Zubair* (2008).

Ibn Mansur *See* SARJUN.

Ibn Qutayba (828–89) Muslim polymath Ibn Qutayba's surviving works testify to wide-ranging interests. In addition to anthologies (*al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'ara'*, *'Uyun al-akhbar*), literary criticism (*Ma'ani al-shi'r*), and a history compendium (*Kitab al-Ma'arif*), he also wrote on theology, astronomy, philology, *Qur'ānic rhetoric, games of chance, and drinks. NC

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ibn Ḳutayba, 844–7 (Lecomte).

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Kitab ma'ani al-shi'r, 2 vols.(1949).

Kitab al-Ma'arif, ed. T. 'Ukasha (1960).

Kitab al-shi'r wa-l-shu'ara', ed. A. Shakir (1945–50), 2 vols. ed. and tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Introduction au livre de la poésie et des poètes* (1947).

Kitab 'Uyūn al-akhbar, ed. A. Z. al-'Adawi (1925–30).

STUDY

G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba: l'homme, son œuvre, ses idées* (1965).

Ibn Sa'd (784–845) Traditionist and biographer. Ibn Sa'd's *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-kabir* ('The Large Book of the Generations') contains biographies of over 4,000 men and women who had transmitted *hadiths (anecdotes about the Prophet *Muhammad). Individuals are grouped by generation, beginning with Muhammad and his *Companions. NC

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ibn Sa'ad, 922–3 (Fück).

Kitab al-Tabaqat al-kabir, ed. E. Sachau (1904–40), 9 vols.; vols. 1–2 tr. S. M. Haq, *Ibn Sa'd's Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir* (1967–72); 5 and 7 tr. A. A. Bewley, *Men of Medina* (1997–2000); 8 tr. A. A. Bewley, *Women of Medina* (1995).

M. J. L. Young, 'Arabic Biographical Writing', in M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, R. B. Serjeant, eds., *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period* (1990).

Iconium and Konya Plain *City set in a central *Anatolian plain farmed since Neolithic times, in the 4th century in *Pisidia, and from *c.*370 metropolis of *Lycaonia (*Basil, *ep.* 138, 2). The city is overbuilt by Seljuk and modern Konya, but the Alaeddin Mosque and other Islamic buildings contain *marble *spolia.

Ss. Paul and Barnabas passed through (Acts 13: 51–14: 23), and it was at Iconium, according to the legendary late 2nd-century *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, that S. *Thecla first heard S. Paul preach. *Bishops and synods are recorded from the mid-3rd century (*Firmilian of *Caesarea in *Cyprian, *ep.* 75, 7, 4; *Eusebius, *HE* VI, 19, 18; VII, 7, 5; VII, 28, 1). *Amphilochius (bishop *c.*370–after 394), cousin of *Gregory of *Nazianzus, corresponded with *Basil.

*Shapur I captured the city in 260 (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 33). *Brigands from the highlands of *Isauria threatened it regularly. A raid in 353 was revenge for some Isaurians being fed to wild beasts in the Iconium amphitheatre (*Ammianus, XIV, 2, 1)—there was no Lent or *Easter amnesty for Isaurian bandits (*CTh* IX, 35, 7 of 408). S. Thecla averted a later brigand attack (*MirThecl* 6). Nevertheless, rural settlements in the Konya Plain grew in number and size in the 5th to 7th centuries, spreading onto marginal land to accommodate an increased population. Iconium was first overthrown by the *Arabs in 732. PhN; OPN

TIB 4 (1984) *s.v.* Ikonion, 176–8.

D. Baird, 'Settlement Expansion on the Konya Plain, Anatolia; 5th–7th Centuries A.D.', in Bowden et al., *Late Antique Countryside*, 219–46.

H. Mert and P. Niewöhner, 'Blattkapitelle in Konya', *IstMitt* 60 (2010), 373–410.

Iconoclast Controversy The years *c.*726–87 and 815–43 were a period of official imperial support for a religious movement in the Eastern Roman Empire that rejected the veneration of *icons. The full extent of Iconoclasm, including support for policies and oppression of dissenters, is debated. The uncertain chronology of the early sources, which include *letters of the *Patriarch Germanus and the defence of icons by *John of *Damascus, makes the precise development of principles unclear. While arguments evolved, at all times the primary issue was the doctrine of salvation, whether icons were efficacious or instead confused the material and the holy and thus promoted *idolatry.

Although opposition to icons had its roots in Late Antiquity, proximate causes for official Iconoclasm were

views hostile to the practice of *proskynesis* (*adoratio*) before icons, and opposition to broader justifications for icons emerging from the *Quinisext Council (692). The second period of *Arab conquests of the early 8th century and a volcanic eruption in summer 726, in the Aegean Sea between the islands of *Thera and Therasia, also had an effect. Idolatry was identified as the cause of divine disfavour. More broadly, the controversy involved an assertion of imperial authority (if not necessarily Caesaropapism) vis-à-vis the religious hierarchy. Islamic iconoclasm was roughly contemporaneous; its supposed influence on Byzantine policy through Bishop *Constantine of *Nacolea is a tradition that dates to the Second *Council of Nicaea of 787.

Early arguments against icons were based on the Old Testament prohibition against graven images. Imperial policy centred on curbing the inappropriate honour shown in the *proskynesis* before icons, honour which was rightly owed to the *Eucharist, to the Church, and to the *Cross, which was both a divine emblem and a symbol of imperial authority and *victory. The *Emperor *Leo III installed a cross on the Chalke Gate, the main entrance to the Great *Palace in *Constantinople. His alleged order to remove the Christ icon from the gate, however, seems to be a later, polemical interpolation of the early 9th century.

Leo III may have announced his support of iconoclasts publicly in 726. In 730, he convened a *Silentium at which he asked church leaders to subscribe to a new imperial position on images, and the Patriarch Germanus resigned in opposition. He was replaced by his former syncellus, Anastasius, who submitted to the policy. Popes *Gregory II and *Gregory III were also opposed to the imperial position.

Limited opposition to images gained wide clerical support by the 740s, and a letter from Germanus to Thomas of Claudiopolis suggests that the movement was widespread. *Artavasdus may have restored icons during his revolt in 741 against *Constantine V, although political motivations for this cannot be discounted.

The development and institutionalization of Iconoclasm under Constantine V, evidenced by his preaching throughout the Empire and his document the *Peuseis*, were possibly associated with a *plague that swept the Empire 746–50. Arguments in this phase emphasized theological and Christological perspectives, namely that icons threatened to confuse the human and divine natures of Christ by depicting only the former. The *Horos* (Definition) of the Council of *Hieria (754) forbade the display of images in churches or in private homes, and asserted that the Eucharist was the only appropriate image of Christ.

The *Horos* also emphasized the official forms of spiritual authority, vested in the clergy, against unofficial claimants, including monks and *holy men. This marked the division between monks on the one hand and the emperor and clergy on the other that was to be sustained throughout the subsequent history and historiography of the Iconoclast Controversy. The organization of monastic opposition to Iconoclasm before the 9th century is uncertain, though, and there were certainly Iconoclast monks.

There is some evidence of the destruction of images in the period after 754, although it was not systematic. There is also possible evidence of the destruction of texts relating to the theology of images, and of *mosaics, which were replaced by *crosses or whitewashed. A period of limited and selective persecution of monks and *monasteries, beginning with the execution of S. Stephen the Younger in 765 and ending in 772/3, is probably connected to a broader purge of Constantine's political enemies. However, there was a successful propaganda campaign against Constantine and his policies, which underlies the historiographic record of his and his father's reigns. RCW

M.-F. Auzépy, *L'Histoire des iconoclastes* (2007).

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*.

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast Sources*.

A. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (1977).

G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, tr. J. Birrell (2003).

iconography, apocalyptic Apocalyptic images in Late Antiquity anticipate the End of Time and the return of Christ the King rather than a catastrophic destruction of the world. The Books of Revelation, of Daniel, and of Ezekiel are drawn upon and used in various combinations with imperial iconography. Christ is seated either on a *throne or a globe holding an open scroll, or a scroll with seven seals, or an open *book with inscriptions from prophecy or the New Testament. He wears imperial robes of *purple and *gold, and can be either bearded or beardless. The four Rivers of Paradise, the four evangelist symbols, the twenty-four elders, a heavenly *court of *angels and saints, and the *cities of *Bethlehem and *Jerusalem often surround Christ. The *apse *mosaics at Hosios *David in *Thessalonica and S. Vitale in *Ravenna are variations on these themes. The absent Christ, who will return at the End of Time, is represented by the Agnus Dei or the *hetoimasia*, an empty throne with a Jewelled *Cross (*crux gemmata*) or a Gospel Book. A simple cross is found in some church *apses on the *Tur 'Abdin; many early Christian writers thought that the Sign of the Son of Man would be a Cross in the Heavens. Apocalyptic imagery is most often found in apses or *domes of churches, mausolea, or *baptisteries, indicating an anticipation of resurrection at the Second Coming. The Last Judgement is rarely shown

in Late Antiquity, though *sarcophagi do show Christ separating the *sheep from the *goats. DHV; OPN

C. Belting-Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalere. Vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (1992).
J. M. Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (2001).
G. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th Century Apses and Catecheses* (1989).

iconography of New Testament events Christ's life, *miracles, and Passion are major themes derived from Gospel narratives. The earliest 3rd-century scenes emphasize Christ as a miracle worker: for example, Healing the Paralytic and Walking on Water (*Baptistery, *Dura Europos, *c.*245) and Healing the Haemophyliac (*Ss. Marcellino e Pietro *catacomb). Banqueting scenes are frequent on 3rd-century *sarcophagi and *catacomb painting, but it is unclear whether the seven figures seated around a table are shown attending an Agape feast, a **refrigerium* (meal celebrating the deceased), the Last Supper, or a heavenly banquet; it may be that all of these memorial feasts are being represented simultaneously and *typologically. By the 4th century, the repertoire of NT scenes expands with emphasis on specific aspects of Christ's earthly life. The Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi are the most frequent representations of his birth. Christ's *baptism, which initiated his earthly ministry and refers to all Christian baptism, is frequently shown on *sarcophagi and in *baptisteries since both deaths and baptisms are rites of passage between earthly life and rebirth into the Kingdom of Heaven. Christ's most frequently depicted miracles, such as the Raising of Lazarus, restore life or health. Heroic feats such as turning water into wine at the Wedding of Cana and the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes are depicted, perhaps for their *Eucharistic significance. Parables are rarely represented, though that of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. 25:1–13) appears in the *Rossano Gospels because it refers to the return of the Bridegroom. Scenes from the Passion narrative are notable in their focus on triumph. The Entry into Jerusalem (an **adventus*) and Christ Before Pilate (as an equal) are given triumphal overtones. Scenes of torment such as the Flagellation, the Crucifixion with a dead Christ, or the Lamentation are rarely or never shown. The Maries at the Empty Tomb and the Ascension dominate the post-Crucifixion events, as eyewitness testimonies of the Risen Christ. DHV

F. Harley, 'Narrative of Christ's Passion in Early Christian Art', in J. Burke et al., eds., *Byzantine Narrative: Papers in Honour of Roger Scott, 2004* (ByzAus 16, 2006).
Grabar, *Iconography*.
Schiller, *Ikonographie*.

iconography of Old Testament events The earliest surviving Jewish and Christian arts share common Old Testament scenes such as the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Crossing of the Red Sea, though the emphasis is either on Jewish history or Christian typological interpretations: the Sacrifice of Isaac, for example, as Yahweh's covenant with his people or as a prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice and the *Eucharist. The *synagogue at *Dura Europos, *Syria, demonstrates that Jewish communities commissioned a variety of triumphant scenes from Jewish history and Yahweh's covenant with his people. Christian patrons favoured stories with themes of salvation, such as Jonah and the great fish, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, and Daniel in the Lion's Den, found in such funerary contexts as the Roman *catacombs. By the 4th and 5th centuries the repertoire of Old Testament scenes had expanded and was integrated into a system of *typology where antetypes interwove strands from sacred history and the *liturgy. Old Testament narratives and figures offered a dramatic variety of subjects open to iconographic interpretation. At S. Vitale, *Ravenna, scenes of offering by Moses, Melchizedek, and Abel are antetypes of the Eucharistic offering and the offerings of the people in the liturgy. Old Testament events demonstrated God's work through sacred history and its *apocalyptic culmination at the End of Time. The antetypes from Jewish history offered a means of enriching commentary on the liturgy and Christian history because they were viewed as forerunners, or counterparts, of New Testament events. DHV

Grabar, *Iconography*.
R. M. Jensen, 'The Dura-Europos Synagogue, Early-Christian Art, and Religious Life in Dura', in S. Fine, ed., *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction during the Greco-Roman Period* (1999), 174–89.
Schiller, *Ikonographie*.
D. H. Verkerk, *Early Medieval Book Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (2004).
A. J. Wharton, 'Good and Bad Images from the Synagogue of Dura Europos: Contexts, Subtexts, Intertexts', in E. R. Horrman, ed., *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World* (2007).

iconostasis *See* SCREEN.

icons The *Greek word *eikon* may denote any visual image, but in religious contexts it usually denotes a cult or sacred image, particularly the portrait of a god or holy person. Parallel words include the Greek *eidolon* or *agalma*, and the *Latin *imago* or *simulacrum*, also used for memorial portraits of ancestors or *emperors as well as for representations of divinities (*see* FAYYUM PORTRAITS). In Christian practice, the term normally refers to visual depictions of Christ, the Virgin *Mary, *angels, or the saints. Christian icons also depicted biblical narratives related to church feasts (e.g. the

Hospitality of Abraham) or scenes from the life of Christ or a saint. Portrait icons normally present their subjects in a frontal pose (showing part or all of the body) with surrounding details usually limited to identifying attributes, and minimal landscape or architectural structures to provide context. The saint's name also appears.

Icons can be of any size and made from a wide variety of materials (e.g. *ivory, *mosaic, wood, or cloth), but most commonly are portable panel paintings made with egg tempera or encaustic on prepared wood. *Gold leaf may be applied to backgrounds and details (e.g. haloes). Precious metal coverings sometimes protect the images except for their faces and *hands. Portable icons are often placed on stands and changed according to the feast or season. Permanently installed icons decorate church walls, domes, apses, and screens (*iconostases*).

Although Christian pictorial art had emerged by the early 3rd century, the oldest surviving icons (in the strict sense of the term) are those which have been preserved in the *Monastery of Mount *Sinai and include a 6th-century image of Christ and a small image (now in Kiev) of the young *military *martyrs Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus. Although styles evolved through the centuries, icon painters normally based their work on existing models, attempting to produce faithful copies rather than original works. They also tended to eschew naturalism by using broken or inverted *perspective, limiting cast shadows, and indicating garment folds with sharply delineated planes and highlights.

These images were usually produced by trained icon painters (often monks). However, some icons were believed to have miraculous origins—to have been **acheiropoietos*, made without hands. These include the famous *Mandylion, which tradition says was thought to have been created by the impression of Jesus' face on a cloth brought by a messenger from the King of *Edessa, and the *Camuliana image of Christ, imprinted supernaturally upon the veil of a *Cappadocian woman called Hypatia. The originals no longer survive but were copied and reproduced countless times. Although some were known to work *miracles, the primary basis for an icon's sanctity was its reference to the holy person or event which was its prototype, and its significant role in personal and communal devotional practice. Christians accorded these images special veneration by offering *prayers, or such signs of honour as *kisses, prostration, burning candles, or *incense. This honour they understood to be transmitted to the icons' prototypes. Over the centuries such practices were sometimes deemed idolatrous and, during the *Iconoclast Controversies, secular and religious officials sought to destroy the images and to prohibit their liturgical use. RMJ

C. Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (2002).
R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, *Byzantium: 330–1453* (Royal Academy Exhibition catalogue, 2008).
H. Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (1996).
R. Nelson and K. Collins, eds., *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (2006).
R. Ousterhout, and L. Brubaker, eds., *The Sacred Image East and West* (1995).
B. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (2010).
B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (2006).

Ifriqiya Arabic form of Lat. *Africa, designation of *Umayyad province in North Africa, conquered 643–703. Arabic geographers do not define its boundaries precisely. It corresponded roughly with western Libya, Tunisia, and eastern Algeria, from the Mediterranean to the pre-Saharan zone. The capital was *Kairouan. PAW

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ifrīḳiya, 1047–50 (M. Talbi).
E. M. Moreno, 'The Iberian Peninsula and North Africa', in *NCHIslam* vol. 1, 581–622.

Ildefonsus of Toledo *Bishop of *Toledo (657–67). Professed since youth in the suburban *monastery of Agali, Ildefonsus succeeded his teacher *Eugenius as bishop. A prolific author, his *On Illustrious Men* (*Vir. Ill.*) follows in the tradition of *Jerome, *Gennadius of *Marseilles, and *Isidore of *Seville, but focuses as much on the personalities, monasticism, and pastoral endeavours of his episcopal predecessors as on the literary accomplishments of luminaries such as Isidore and *Braulio of Saragossa. Ildefonsus also wrote two surviving theological treatises, *On the Virginity of Saint Mary* and *On the Knowledge of *Baptism*, a guide for the newly baptized, *On the Journey from the Desert*, and contributions to the *liturgy. He is the subject of a biographical eulogy (*BHL* 3917) by *Julian of Toledo, his successor as bishop, and of an early medieval hagiographical life. GDB

CPL 1247–56:
ed. V. Yarza Urkiola, *De Virginitate Sanctae Mariae, De Cognitione Baptismi, De Itinere Deserti, De Viris Illustribus* (CCSL 114A, 2007).
ET of *Vir. Ill.* A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (TTH 26, new edn., 2011), 107–22.

Ildibad (d. 541) King of the *Ostrogoths (540–1). Following the surrender and capture of *Vitigis in 540, Ildibad, a general, was called from *Verona to resist *Byzantine rule. Elevated to the kingship at *Pavia, he recaptured *Liguria and *Venetia, but was assassinated and replaced by *Erarich. JJA

PLRE IIIA, Ildibadus.
Wolfram, *Goths*.

Illerup (Illerup Ådal) Site of large *weapon deposits in Jutland, Denmark. Large-scale excavations since the 1950s have produced more than 10,000 objects from four different sacrifices between *c.* AD 210 and 450. Weapons (spears, javelins, shields, swords, bows and arrows, battleaxes) have been excavated as well as personal *dress fittings, valuables, *tools, horse *harness, and devices for medical treatment. The objects are interpreted as the *arms and belongings of defeated warrior groups, which were collected and sacrificed. The largest deposit, from around AD 210, comprises equipment belonging to a group of about 400 individuals. On the basis of the material quality and production techniques of the weapons and equipment, different social levels of Germanic warriors can be distinguished. Of particular importance is the large quantity of organic items (e.g. shafts, shield boards, *combs). The weapons show evidence of ritual destruction during the sacrifice as well as damage related to previous fighting. AR

J. Ilkjaer, *Illerup Adal*: *Archaeology as a Magic Mirror*, tr. J. F. Davidson (2000).

J. Ilkjær et al., *Illerup Ådal*, vols. 1–2: *Die Lanzen und Speere*; vols. 3–4: *Die Gürtel*; vols. 5–7: *Die Prachtausrüstungen*; vol. 8: *Die Prachtausrüstungen. Grabungsdokumentation und Fundliste*; vols. 9–10: *Die Schilde*; vol. 11: *Die Schwerter*; vol. 14: *Die Münzen* (1990–2011).

A. S. Dobat et al., 'The Four Horses of an Iron Age Apocalypse: War-Horses from the Third-Century Weapon Sacrifice at Illerup Aadal (Denmark)', *Antiquity* 88 (2014), 191–204.

Illus Soldier under the *emperors *Leo and *Zeno. When *Basiliscus seized power in 475, Illus deserted Zeno. After Basiliscus failed to keep his promises, Illus helped restore Zeno to power, though he also kept Zeno's brother *Longinus as a hostage in *Isauria between 475 and 485. In 477 he was appointed *Magister Officiorum and **patricius*, and was made *consul for 478. Upset at Illus' betrayal of her brother Basiliscus, *Verina, Zeno's mother-in-law, tried to have Illus murdered in 478. When the plot failed, Zeno turned her over to Illus who imprisoned her at *Papirius in Isauria. Illus was instrumental in defeating *Marcianus' revolt in 479. Then *Ariadne, Verina's daughter and Zeno's wife, tried to have Illus killed. Zeno moved him to *Antioch in 481 and promoted him to *Magister Militum per *Orientem. However, after this attempt on his life, Illus habitually wore a hat to conceal the loss of an ear.

When Illus refused to release Longinus in 483 he was dismissed from his post. He rebelled in 484 and Zeno sent another Isaurian general, *Leontius, against him. Illus, now with the support of Verina, declared Leontius *Augustus at Antioch in *Syria. After *John Scytha defeated Illus at Antioch he retreated to Papirius in Isauria. In 488 the fortress was betrayed and the heads of Leontius and Illus were impaled on the *walls of *Constantinople.

Illus had two brothers named Flavius Appalius Illus Trocundes and Aspalius, and a half-brother *Lilingis. He was a Christian with two daughters, Thecla and Anthusa. He was 'fond of learning' and was noted for reading during the siege of Papirius. HE

PLRE II, Illus 1.

H. W. Elton, 'Illus and the Late Roman Aristocracy under Zeno', *Byzantion* 70 (2000), 393–407.

illustris *See* TITLES OF HONOUR, ROMAN.

Illyricum Term used by the Late Roman *administration to denote areas of the *Balkans. It is not used in the *Verona List.

The **Notitia Dignitatum* records the *Dioecesis of Illyricum, under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Italy, comprising the north-west Balkan provinces of *Pannonia Prima and Secunda, *Savia, *Dalmatia, and *Noricum Ripensis and Mediterraneum ([*occ.*] II, 2–5 and 7; II, 28–34), that is to say the provinces of the Verona List Dioecesis *Pannoniae, except for *Valeria.

At the same time, the *Notitia* lists the Praefectus Praetorio of Illyricum as controlling the *Dioecesis *Macedoniae and the Dioecesis *Daciae (in modern *Greece and the central north Balkans), with the Dioecesis Macedoniae being administered directly by the Praefectus himself and Daciae having a *Vicarius (*Not. Dig.* [*or.*] I, 3 and 34; III, 1–19).

*Hierocles (638, 1–657, 9) lists the cities of the provinces of the Dioecesis Macedoniae and the Dioecesis Daciae followed by those of the province of *Pannonia, under the heading Eparchia Illyrikou.

Barrington Atlas, 102, 49–50, 55, 57–60.

images, attitude towards At the heart of articulate ancient attitudes toward images (*imagines*) is the tension between visual perception and reality. In the critiques of intellectuals of all kinds, including *pagans, *Jews, and Christians, the influence of Plato's distrust of the sense of sight can be found. Man-made art objects, particularly representations of the gods, were judged to be mere outward appearances to which less-educated viewers mistakenly attributed intrinsic power. Plutarch (*c.*AD 46–120) argued that the ancient Romans believed it was both impossible to perceive a deity with the eyes and disrespectful even to attempt to make such an image (*Life of Numa*, 8, 8). Portraits, even of living humans, were thought to be particularly deceitful. For example, according to his biographer *Porphyry, the *Neoplatonist *philosopher *Plotinus (*c.*205–270) refused to allow his likeness to be recorded, insisting that it would be no more than an image of what was already only an image: his physical appearance

(*VPlot* 1). Porphyry elsewhere defended the anthropomorphic depictions of the gods, arguing that no one actually mistook a statue for a divine being (*Peri agalmaton*, 1). Nevertheless, because honour shown to them was presumed to be transmitted to the immortal or divine beings they represented, most Roman religious rituals were performed in the presence of images of the gods. Similarly, imperial *portraits were a central focus for the conduct of civic ceremonies.

The Jewish philosopher Philo (*c.*280 BC–AD 50) followed Plato in his objection to religious images, arguing that artisans who fashioned images out of earthly materials had led humans into error about the proper conception of the ever-living God, citing the prohibition of images in the Ten Commandments (Exod. 4:20; Deut. 5:8). Other Jewish thinkers, including Josephus, understood the prohibition of figurative art to be definitive, and the Roman introduction of imperial portraits into the *city of *Jerusalem a form of desecration (*Bellum Judaicum*, II, 9, 2). Despite these clear condemnations in documents, archaeological evidence shows that Jews incorporated figurative subjects into the decoration of their *synagogues in the 3rd to 6th centuries (e.g. at *Dura Europos, *Sepphoris, and Beth Alpha). According to the Jerusalem *Talmud, some *rabbis tolerated pictorial images in synagogues so long as congregants did not bow down to them.

Following S. Paul's condemnation of those who worshipped objects made of stone, metal, or wood (Rom. 1: 22), the first generations of Christian teachers believed that the practice of honouring images of the pagan gods was idolatrous. Such writers as Justin Martyr, Clement of *Alexandria, and Tertullian insisted that no man-made artefact could circumscribe the divine being and mocked those who mistook pagan statues for living divinities (e.g. Tertullian, *De Idolatria*). A similar sensibility was expressed in the 36th canon of the *Council of *Elvira, which forbade paintings on the walls of churches, lest viewers be tempted to venerate them. Nevertheless, the emergence of two-dimensional Christian symbolic narrative art in the early 3rd century and the *Cleveland Marbles serve as evidence that some Christians did not regard representational art as in itself idolatrous. As Christianity was adopted by Roman *emperors during the 4th century, religious *iconography blossomed. Monumental depictions of Jesus, the Virgin *Mary, and other holy men and women appeared on the walls of *basilicas and shrines. Some writers continued to denounce visual depictions of the divinity, as in the *letter supposedly written by *Eusebius to *Constantia—a document whose authenticity is controversial. Others cautioned against the potential abuse of saints' portraits. A famous correspondence between *Gregory the Great and Serenus of *Marseilles demonstrates Gregory's conviction that religious pictures had a permissible, didactic use, that Christians should not mistakenly adore them, and that they should not be destroyed (*epp.* IX, 105 and XI, 13). *Icons became widely popular at all levels of society from the 6th century onwards; *Agathias was not alone in writing *epigrams in praise of icons and the spiritual beings they represented.

The representation of Christ continued to be a matter of debate. A canon of the *Quinisext Council (in Trullo) of 692 condemned the use of a symbolic lamb in place of a human representation of Christ, arguing that to do so was to deny the Incarnation. These matters came again to the fore during the *Iconoclast Controversies of the 8th and 9th centuries, when the implications of images for orthodox Christological doctrine were disputed. The Second Council of *Nicaea in 787 was able to assemble a formidable dossier of patristic testimony in favour of Christian veneration (Gk. *douleia*) of icons, distinct from the adoration (Gk. *latreia*) offered legitimately only to God.

Early *Islamic attitudes toward images were more consistently negative than those of either Jews or Christians. The *Qur'ān includes no specific condemnation of artistic representations. But Islamic *hadith maintained that, on the Day of Judgement, those who make images will be obliged to animate their works or be punished. The first historical act of Islamic iconoclasm was *Muhammad's destruction of the images of native Arabian deities, housed in the Ka'aba at *Mecca. (631). Although actual practices varied, the general view is that it is impermissible to depict living (animated) beings, particularly their *eyes. The most important early condemnation was that of the *Caliph *Yazid II, who issued an iconoclastic decree in 732, about the time that the Byzantine Emperor *Leo III began his campaign against Christian images. RMJ; OPN

M. Barasch, *Icon: Studies in the History of an Idea* (1992).
Belting, *Likeness and Presence*.
J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (1998).
S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World* (2005).
P. C. Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (1994).
O. Grabar, *Early Islamic Art, 650–1100* (2005).
R. Jensen, *Face to Face: Portraits of the Divine in Early Christianity* (2005).
C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *DOP* 17 (1963), 53–75.
G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (1964).
P. Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (2003).

images of emperors These were commonplace, particularly in civic settings. They fulfilled various functions. Imperial busts, statues, and coins developed their own, related, iconographies which were subject to stylistic and ideological changes over time, although the three most common types were military (cuirassed), civilian (togate), and heroic (naked). During the reign of an individual *emperor, there was a marked standard for the imperial image across the Empire. The emperor's image was symbolic of his legitimacy and status (in approval e.g. *Lactantius, *Mort.* 25, 1; * Zosimus, II, 9, 2). Destruction of imperial images could indicate disapproval (e.g. *Mort.* 42, 1; *Eusebius, *HE* VIII, 13, 15). Imperial portraits might be reworked with the image of a successor (e.g. *Jerome, *In Abacuc*, III, 14).

The imperial image evoked the emperor himself, and mistreatment of it imperilled its perpetrator. An insurrection might take the form of attacks on imperial images, as during the *Antioch Statue Riots (*Libanius, VII, 23). The symbolic power of imperial images was such that they could be places of refuge for slaves (**Digest*, XXI, 1, 17, 12) or sites of religious portents. An emperor's image could also be the focal point of the *imperial cult; it might be honoured in *temples, and carried in *procession during *festivals. The reverence paid to imperial statues seems to have been influential on the Christian cults of *relics and *icons. *See also* PORTRAITURE, IMPERIAL. RDR

C. Noreña, *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (2010).

S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (1984).

images of gods The personified forms of the pagan gods were represented in multifarious contexts performing various functions. *Mosaics showing Dionysus were a common theme for interior decoration in the *houses of great men in North *Africa and *Antioch. Statues of the gods might be among the amenities of a *bathhouse. Properly consecrated by a competent person, a sculpture might become a cult statue or a statue believed to avert evils, like that of Heracles Alexikakos set up at *Ephesus (*Lactantius, *Inst.* V, 3, 14). It might even, once the appropriate rites had been performed, be able to utter *oracles, like the statue of Neryllinus at Troy (Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 26, 3–4) or the anti-Christian image of Zeus Philios set up by *Theotecnus, *Curator Rei Publicae of *Antioch in the final stages of the Great *Persecution.

What these different kinds of images had in common was that each individual divinity was recognizable by his particular attribute, the lyre of Apollo or the snake-wreathed staff of Asclepius. The learned *Neoplatonist philosopher *Porphyry in his *On Images* (*Peri Agalmaton*), a treatise which survives mostly in fragments cited in *Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, interpreted these emblems as *allegories of the various interlocking natural functions of the gods. He considered that those who could not discern the allegorical significance of the divine images (by whom he presumably means the Christians) were as ignorant as an illiterate man faced with an *inscription (*On Images*, fr. 1), a view in parallel with his estimate of their foolishness in reading *allegory into unpromising texts such as the Bible (Eusebius, *HE* VI, 19, 4), when they could like him be allegorizing *Homer.

In the Christian Empire, images of the gods had various fates. *Constantine I himself took sculptures from many *cities of the Empire to *Constantinople to be displayed not for their pagan significance, but merely as works of art. Before the doors of the new *Senate House stood the statues of Zeus from the *oracle at *Dodona and of Athena from the island of Lindos. A collection of masterpieces displayed by the *court chamberlain *Lausus included the Aphrodite of Cnidus and the statue of Zeus from *Olympia; at Olympia itself, in the 5th century, it seems that a gallery was arranged along the portico at the side of the *temple for the display of ancient bronzes.

Other well-known statues were less fortunate; the chryselephantine Athena was removed from the Parthenon by 'those who move what should not be moved', but it was only in a spiritual sense that she went to live with *Proclus (*Marinus, *Life of Proclus*, 30). Other images were buried ritually, or had *crosses marked on their foreheads to exorcize any lingering *demons. Casual representation of the gods, such as the images stamped on pottery *lamps, came gradually to be supplanted by Christian themes. But Dionysus continued to stagger, hog-whimpering drunk, across the dining-room floors of the great men of Antioch well into the 4th century. OPN

Porphyry J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe néoplatonicien* (1913).

C. P. Jones, 'Neryllinus', *CP* 80/1 (1985), 40–5.

S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (2004).

B. Caesau, 'Religious Intolerance and Pagan Statuary', in Lavan and Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, 479–502.

L. Lavan, 'Political Talismans: Residual "Pagan" Statues in Late Antique Public Space', in Lavan and Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, 439–77.

C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *DOP* 17 (1963), 53–75.

imago clipeata A sculpted round shield carrying a *portrait bust. *Marble *imagines clipeatae* from *Aphrodisias

(*LSA* 206–14, 236, 238, 602–4) and elsewhere continue a longstanding tradition of honouring heroes in this form. *Imagines clipeatae* of the Evangelists survive from late 4th-/early 5th-century Constantinople. UG

R. R. R. Smith, B.P. Ward-Perkins eds. *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016).

R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80 (1990), 127–55.

imitation and allusion, art Romans favoured art which imitated nature. For Quintilian and Vitruvius naturalism was the ultimate goal of the arts; *Pliny the Elder records in his *Natural History* (35, 65) a famous anecdote about grapes painted by Zeuxis which appeared so realistic that they deceived the birds.

Late Antique artists, however, rather than merely copying nature preferred to produce artefacts which could be the object of highly complex symbolic and exegetical interpretation. For *Philostratus the Younger and *Epiphanius of Salamis art cannot be true and images lie. It is against the background of such rhetorical assumptions that *Plotinus and *Proclus elaborated a new understanding of artistic mimesis in an overall philosophical framework. Plotinus in his *Enneads* (V, 8, 1–2) defends art as resulting from the assimilation of a higher archetype. Visible beauty can lead those who contemplate it through metaphysical *mimesis* ('likeness') to higher realms of beauty, beyond physical appearances. Proclus in his commentary of Plato's *Republic* defines the artistic image as a likeness that encompasses morality as well as visible similarity, and therefore intimates a higher spiritual truth.

From the 4th century onwards, Christian wall paintings and *mosaics provided a complex network of allusions to sacred realities. They were able to add typological resonance to the liturgical drama performed between the walls on which they were painted. So, the mosaics in the sanctuary at S. Vitale in *Ravenna which represent Abraham entertaining *angels and preparing Isaac for sacrifice on one side and the Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine on the other served to bring out the significance of the *Eucharist being offered at the *altar below.

With the growing popularity of *icons from the 6th century onwards the faithful were able to look directly at a physical representation and see beyond it to a higher spiritual reality, so that Christians came to recognize the saints they saw in their *dreams from the portraits of them they had seen on panel paintings. The notion that individual representations on icons refer to a higher spiritual archetype, as articulated by *John of *Damascus and other opponents of *iconoclasm, resonated therefore with a broad Christian public. DK; OPN

S. Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (2002), 312–43.

S. Bussels, *The Animated Image: Roman Theory on Naturalism, Vividness and Divine Power* (2012), 57–101.

imitation and allusion, Greek Mimesis of earlier texts was a common feature of much ancient literature. In particular, the demands of high-style Greek prose from the later 1st century AD onwards required authors, whether *pagan or Christian, to engage in imitation of the language of earlier authors. The models were overwhelmingly Attic prose writers and poets, but the *epic dialect originally used in the poems of *Homer and then developed by Hellenistic authors such as Callimachus was used in poetry. This linguistic mimesis, though demanding, was also creative, allowing the formation of new words and the extension of the range of meaning of certain items of vocabulary, as well as the use of words of Hebrew origin. A similar process of creative imitation can be seen at the level of content in the poetry of *Nonnus.

Imitation and allusion constitute communicative systems in their own right. The ability to use the classical language and genres, or to allude to specific texts and narratives, served to mark both author and audience as recipients of classical culture, as *Basil of Caesarea advocated in his *Address to Young Men on How They Might Derive Benefit from Greek Literature*. The use by Christian authors of allusions to classical poetry can be read in this way, but may also function as a means of showing that Christian culture could not only equal but surpass its classical predecessors, as argued by *Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* and, rather differently, by *Theodoret in his *Cure for Greek Diseases*. RW

A. P. Johnson, 'Hellenism and its Discontents', in *OHLA*, 437–66.

G. Agosti, 'Greek Poetry' in *OHLA*, 361–404.

imitation and allusion, Latin Late Antique *Latin authors engaged assiduously with the work of their predecessors in a variety of ways, ranging from allusion and stylistic imitation (*mimesis*) through to extensive reuse of material, often without acknowledgement. Poets such as *Ausonius and *Claudian frequently imitated and alluded to classical forebears, especially *Vergil, as did authors of explicitly Christian poetry, including *Paulinus of Nola, *Juvencus, and *Prudentius, who combined traditional literary forms and tropes with biblical allusions. The *centos of authors such as *Proba, Ausonius, and *Luxorius may be regarded as extreme examples of Late Antique engagement with Vergil.

Similar trends are evident in *panegyrics, especially the *Duodecim *Panegyrici Latini*, in which authors frequently followed earlier models closely (e.g. *Pacatus' borrowings from the *Panegyricus* of Pliny the Younger). Panegyrists also inserted allusions to other ancient prose and verse authors, as did some historians, most notably

*Ammianus Marcellinus (Kelly). More generally, it was usual for writers of narrative histories and epitomes to incorporate unattributed material from earlier authors, as is evident from the number of texts that appear to draw on the so-called **Kaisergeschichte*. Pseudonymous texts, such as the spurious correspondence between *Seneca and S. Paul, also flourished during Late Antiquity, with the most notable example being the enigmatic **Historia Augusta*. RAF

OCD s.vv. imitatio, plagiarism.

S. McGill, 'Latin Poetry', in *OHLA*, 335–60.

H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers* (1958).

G. Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (2008).

R. Rees, ed., *Romane Memento: Vergil in the Fourth Century* (2004).

Roberts, *Jeweled Style*.

immunity Term in Roman public *law for a fiscal exemption from *taxation or other state burdens. It was used in a similar fashion by 6th-century *Frankish kings for reallocating state revenue, ostensibly to offset some other service performed by the immunist and deemed valuable to the state.

A new style of immunity arose in the late 6th and 7th centuries prohibiting judges from entering *estates to collect judicial fines and fees owed to the fisc; these revenues passed instead to the recipient of the exemption. These are conveniently called judicial immunities to distinguish them from the earlier type but they are still fiscal because they involve renders due to the fisc. The relation between late 7th-century *charters documenting judicial exemption and taxation is controversial, as is the relation of immunity to private jurisdictions. Frankish immunities were granted to clerics, churches, and lay magnates. ACM

A. C. Murray, 'Merovingian Immunity Revisited', History Compass 8/8 (2010), 913–28.

imperial cult A term synonymous with '*emperor worship', referring to the performance of religious rituals with a focus on both past and current emperors. Posthumous deification had become the official norm under the Julio-Claudians (excepting 'bad' emperors) in the 1st century AD. Notions about the divinity of a living emperor varied among the general population but offerings were routinely made to the **numen* or **genius* of the living emperor. *Oaths could be sworn by the *genius* of the emperor (Tertullian, *Apology*, 32; Minucius Felix, 29, 5). Under the *Tetrarchy, imperial iconography promoted close associations between *Diocletian and Jupiter, and between *Maximian and Hercules.

Imperial cult was supported by an infrastructure of *temples, and a priesthood which continued to operate in places into the late 5th, and perhaps early 6th century. The adoption of Christianity as the imperial religion challenged but only slowly dislodged traditional practices. Several Christian emperors were styled *divus* after death. These included *Constantine I (*CIL* VI, 1151, dating from 337–40) and *Theodosius I (*CIL* VI, 1783, dating from 431). In *Africa, continuity of imperial cult continued under the *Vandal kings, under whom a priesthood of the imperial cult survived for decades. Practice changed most decisively as East Roman imperial ritual became more emphatically Christian—especially in the 5th to 7th centuries, when coronation by the *Patriarch of *Constantinople, latterly in church, emerged.

The religious character of the imperial cult in Late Antiquity is therefore problematic, and was probably viewed by some Romans as problematic in the course of the 4th century. Offering *incense to the image of the emperor had been from the time of Pliny the Younger in the first decade of the 2nd century onwards (*ep.* X, 96–7) precisely the very simple *sacrifice demanded of Christians to test their willingness to honour the 'natural Gods' and Christians such as Athenagoras in the late 2nd century had demurred, assuring the emperor that they prayed for him, even if they did not pray to him (*Legatio*, 37). There is no evidence of such offerings being continued after Constantine (except under *Julian); indeed when *Constans I gave permission for a *temple for the imperial family to be erected at *Hispellum in 337 he specifically forbade that it be 'polluted with the deceits of any contagious *superstitio*' (*ILS* I, 158–9). It may be argued that the traditional honours paid to the emperor's power came in the 4th century to be 'secularized', along with other apparently pagan activities, from reading *Vergil to decorating the dining-room floor with a *mosaic of Dionysus.

A Christian understanding of imperial power slowly developed in parallel to this process. In his *panegyric celebrating 30 years of Constantine as an emperor, *Eusebius of Caesarea melded Hellenistic political theory with a conviction that emperors owe their authority to the One God of the Christians. Such thoughts came eventually to be expressed in imperial ideology, so that under *Justinian II in 692/5 the face of Christ came to be represented on the obverse of the *coinage. AGS; OPN

D. Boin, 'Late Antique *Divi* and Imperial Priests of the Late Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries', in M. R. Salzman, M. Sághy, and R. Lizzi Testa, eds., *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome* (2015), 139–61.

F. M. Clover, 'Emperor Worship in Vandal Africa', in G. Wirth, ed., *Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit. Johannes Straub zum 70. Geburtstag am 18. Oktober 1982 gewidmet* (1982), 661–74.

K. M. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), ch. 5.

F. C. Trombley, 'The Imperial Cult in Late Roman Religion (*ca.* AD 244–395): Observations on the Epigraphy', in J. Hahn, ed., *Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt* (2011), 19–54.

imperial estates Different types of lands dispersed across all parts of the Empire comprised the Late Roman imperial *estates. There was the *Res Privata in the strict sense, the *Domus Divina, and the Fundi Fiscales or *Tamiaci*. From the mid-4th century AD onwards these terms were often used synonymously, reflecting an increasingly fluid use of these financial resources by the state.

Tenancy was the usual method of exploitation everywhere, though its terms varied. Lands might be managed both by administrators and tenants (**actores* and **conductores*), but remain under the control of imperial agents. Even more frequently the government encouraged conversion of public landed resources into private landed capital by the practice of *ius privato salvo canone* (*CJust* XI, 62, 10) and compulsory purchases of uncultivated land, or **agri deserti*.

Large estates, many of which were imperial lands, generated huge revenues, much of which accrued in cash. In *Africa Proconsularis and in *Byzacena, for instance, imperial estates constituted 18.5% and 15% respectively of the total area of the two provinces (*CTh* XI, 28, 13). In *Cyrrhus, in *Syria, 16% of the taxable land units (**iuga*) of the region belonged to the state. Imperial domains are also attested in *Italy, *Bithynia, *Cappadocia, *Palestine, and, of course, *Egypt. In the latter, large estates, considered part of the Domus Divina, were managed by members of the landed imperial *aristocracy (P.Heid. IV, 219–20; P.Oxy. L 3585; *Sammelbuch*, XX 14091). These men wielded considerable social and economic influence over private as well as imperial estates. **Coloni*, who usually cultivated land as tenants (*CJust* V, 62, 8), increasingly became hereditary workers (*CJust* XI, 68, 1), bound to estates by fiscal liability towards the landlord (P.Oxy. XVI, 1915 of AD 560: **enapopgraphoi georgi*; P.Oxy. L, 3584 of AD 439–62: *paroikos*, both compared with *CJust* XI, 48, 22; *CJust* I, 2, 24; *NovJust* 7, 120). The practice of estate workers paying taxes to the imperial authorities through their landowners progressively became part of a public legal practice whereby such liabilities were associated with an estate's acquisition of privileged fiscal status (**autopragia*). PT

Bagnall, *Egypt.*

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity.*

Delmaire, *Largesses*.

M. Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* (1992).

D. P. Kehoe, *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa* (1988).

Sarris, *Economy and Society.*

D. Vera, 'Conductores domus nostrae e conductores privatorum: concentrazione fondiaria e redistribuzione della ricchezza nell'Africa tardoantica', in M. Christol et al., *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'Empire romain au IVe siècle ap. J.C.* (1992), 465–90.

Imru' al-Qays Arabian military leader known from the Namara tombstone (AD 328), which identifies him as 'King of the Arabs' and *phylarch; it describes his subjugation of Arabian *tribes and victory at *Najran. The Namara tombstone, one of the earliest extant *Arabic-language *inscriptions, is open to various interpretations, prompting debate over the historicity of Imruʾ al-Qays, though he is often linked to the Imru' al-Qays b. 'Amr mentioned in Muslim-era narratives about the *Lakhimids (Retsö, 467–80, Bowersock, 138–42). He is not to be confused with the 6th-century Arabian poet Imru' al-Qays, author of one of the Seven Golden *Odes. PAW

J. A. Bellamy, 'A New Reading of the Namārah Inscription', *JAOS* 105/1 (1985), 31–51.

G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983).

J. Retsö, *The Arabs of Antiquity* (2002).

incantation bowls Plainware *pottery vessels with Aramaic, Mandaic, or *Syriac *inscriptions protecting named men and women from *demons and malevolent beings. Major concentrations occur in southern *Mesopotamia, at Nippur and adjacent cities, including Kish and Babylon. *Nineveh in northern Mesopotamia has also yielded sporadic specimens. They date from the Late *Sasanian to the Early Islamic period (5th–7th cents.), the latter confirmed by their archaeological context at Nippur (WG area). Used by *Jewish, *Mandaean, and *pagan communities, incantation bowls provide information about vernacular religious culture in Mesopotamia. ECDH

J. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913).

C. Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (2005).

J. B. Segal (with E. Hunter), *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (2000).

E. Hunter, 'Two Mandaic Incantation Bowls from Nippur', *BaghMitt* 25 (1994), 605–18.

incense and the incense trade The aromatic resins frankincense and myrrh were harvested from trees which flourished in the Roman period in the Horn of Somalia and the *Arabian Peninsula. They were traded extensively with the Roman Empire, particularly for use in *temples and subsequently in Christian churches. Frankincense and myrrh were priced according to

quality and harvest times and reached the Mediterranean by an overland caravan route through the Arabian Peninsula. Basalt stones used as *ship ballast from the *Hadramawt (southern *Arabia) found at *Myos Hormos and *Berenice suggest a Red Sea *trade route through the *harbour of Qana on the southern Arabian peninsula.

Incense had many uses, from the domestic (cooking, ointment) to the ceremonial. It was buried with the dead and offered in *sacrifice. *Origen (*Exhortation to Martyrdom*, 45) complains that the incense offered to the *pagan gods nourished evil *demons. Even after *Constantine I forbade blood sacrifice, incense continued to be offered by *pagans (*Libanius, *Oratio*, 30, 7). *Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite (*Ecclesiatical Hierarchy*, I, 3, 2 and 4, 2) records Christian clergy censing their congregations, the offerings, and the *altar. *Egeria (24, 10) says so much incense was burned in the Cave of the Anastasis at *Jerusalem that the entire *basilica smelt of it. KS; OPN

D. P. S. Peacock, D. Williams, and S. James, 'Basalt as Ships' Ballast and the Roman Incense Trade', in D. P. S. Peacock and D. Williams, eds., *Food for the Gods: New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade* (2007), 28–70.

DACL 5/1 (1922) *s.v.* encens, cols. 2–21 (E. Fehrenbach).

E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (Alcuin Club Collections 13, 1909).

India and Ceylon Understanding references to 'India' in Late Roman texts is complicated by the flexible use of this term by contemporary authors. 'India' might denote any region south and/or east of the Red Sea, including *China, *Ethiopia (*Aksum), the Indian subcontinent, and South-East Asia. *Rufinus of *Aquileia's account in his *Ecclesiastical History* of the conversion of Aksum to Christianity by the brothers *Frumentius and Aedesius makes this especially clear in his account of the brothers setting out on a voyage to India (= India) before being captured in India (= Aksum) following a rupture of Roman–Aksumite diplomatic relations (I, 9). Book XI of the anonymous 6th-century text known as the *Christian Topography* (often ascribed to *Cosmas Indicopleustes) likewise lists as the plants and animals of India a range of species originating in northern and southern India and East Africa. It is likely that the term 'India' often denoted simply an origin of eastern goods, although some authors could be more specific. *Procopius, for example, provides an account of a mission from *Justinian I to Aksum, asking for aid in breaking the Persian stranglehold on the maritime *silk trade, but concludes that the Aksumites (Ethiopians) could not provide this because the Indians put in at Persian-dominated *harbours (*Persian*, I, 20, 9–12).

It is unlikely that India was in diplomatic contact with the Late Roman Empire, but *Ammianus Marcellinus refers to ambassadors from 'the Indian nations' meeting the *Emperor *Julian (XXII, 7, 10). The Kushan Empire, which flourished in northern India until the 3rd century, may also have based elements of its coin design on Roman models, though whether as a diplomatic gesture or as a convenient model is unknown. The theory that Kushan coinage was struck substantially from recycled Roman *gold and therefore constituted evidence for trade has been conclusively disproven. Diplomatic contact between the *Persian Empire and northern India is depicted at *Naqsh-e Rustam, in the form of an 'Indian' (probably referring to the region of modern Afghanistan) bringing tribute to the Shah (Back, 285–8). It is likely, and lamented bitterly by authors like Procopius, that Persia traded significantly with India. The nature and scope of this trade remains obscure. *Mesopotamian *amphora sherds identified at the port site of Pattanam in Kerala in south India and subsequently identified at other sites in India indicate the potential for future archaeological research.

At the Roman end of these *trade routes, *pottery evidence and excavations on the Red Sea coast of *Egypt have already demonstrated a Late Antique revival in Roman *trade with India, which had declined sharply in the 4th century. Though trade probably did not recover its earlier volume, the sites of *Myos Hormos and *Berenice on the Red Sea coast, which were developed in order to facilitate Roman trade with India, indicate increased activity from the 4th century until the eventual decline of this commerce in the 6th century.

It is less clear how far Sri Lanka (Ceylon) was in direct contact with the Roman Empire, or whether some products reached it by way of India. The most significant textual source for direct communication with Sri Lanka is the 6th-century text *The Christian Topography*. Book XI of the *Topography* refers to traders from the Persian and Roman empires (XI, 15), though little archaeological evidence corroborates this and it is unclear whether the author himself had travelled there. It also contains a second-hand story, in which a friend of the author and a Persian *merchant showed their respective imperial *coinages to the King of Taprobane, earning a favourable judgement of the Roman Empire (XI, 17–20). The incident where Roman *coinage is used to demonstrate Roman virtue to a king of Sri Lanka, however, is a motif possibly modified from *Pliny (*Natural History*, VI, 24, 84–5).

The *Christian Topography* also refers to a Christian community on Sri Lanka, under the jurisdiction of a Persian *bishop (XI, 14). Christianity appears to have arrived in India and Sri Lanka in Late Antiquity, but more is known of its origins and early development in south India, where communities known as Mar Thoma Christians claim a heritage dating in some cases to the proselytizing work of the Apostle S. Thomas. RRD

ed. W. Wolska-Conus (annotated with FT and illustrations), *Cosmas Indicopleustès: Topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols. (SC 141, 1968; 159, 1970; 197, 1973).
Back, *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften.*
P. J. Cherian, ed., *The Seventh Season Pattanam Excavation* (2013).
P. Mayerson, 'A Confusion of Indias: Asian India and African India in the Byzantine Sources', *JAOS* 113 (1993), 169–74.
B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāna Studies: New Perspectives* (2004).
D. Peacock and L. Blue, eds., *Myos Hormos—Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea*, 2 vols. (BAR IntSer 2286, 2006–11).
S. E. Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* (2011).
R. Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper* (2009).
D. P. M. Weerakkody, *Taprobanê: Ancient Sri Lanka as Known to Greeks and Romans* (1997).
D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, 'Sasanian Maritime Trade', *Iran* 11 (1973), 29–49.
G. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade: International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC–AD 305* (2001).

India and south Asia, Christianity in A settled Christian presence in south *India, with some spread to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and further east, is securely attested from the 6th century, but communities had probably existed in India from at least the 4th century. Modern communities, concentrated in Kerala (South India) and called S. Thomas, Syrian, or *Māppiḷa* Christians, claim a 1st-century conversion by S. Thomas, though the Acts of *Thomas (*ATh*) are concerned mainly with areas further north. The *Acts*, composed wholly or partially in the 3rd century, though surviving only in later *Syriac and *Greek versions, describe the Apostle's mission in the Indo-Parthian realm of King Gondophernes/Vindapharna (*c.* AD 30–64) (*ATh* 1) and the territory of the legendary King Mazdai (*ATh* 7).

A strong connection has been posited between early Christian communities in south Asia and Roman, Persian, Ethiopian, and Arabian Far Eastern *trade. Various Roman sources mention Christians travelling these trade routes (e.g. *ATh* 1; *Cosmas Indicopleustes, 11; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 20).

Early communities in India and south Asia apparently had a *Syriac origin and fell under the jurisdiction of the *Church of the East. In the mid-7th century the *Bishop of *Fars was also responsible for a region, called 'India', extending possibly to the Malay Peninsula. It is difficult to discern from the records of the Church of the East details of the size, status, or coherence of these early communities.

Indian sources include *copper plate documents including a 4th-century grant by a Cēra king in Kodungallur of 72 privileges to Syro-Persian Christians, shared with local Jewish *merchants, and also the Tharisa Church or Kollam copper plates dated AD 849 which record landownership by Christians on the Malabar coast. Local traditions provide Late Antique origins for many unusual practices of the modern S. Thomas Christians and other Christian groups in south Asia but Late Antique evidence is elusive. Physical remains from Late Antiquity are limited, but a small number of so-called 'Nestorian' *crosses, some with *Pahlavi inscriptions, of which at least ten have been found in Pilar, Goa, Chennai (Madras), and two at Arunadhapura in Sri Lanka, may date from the 9th century or earlier. RRD; IP

GEDSH s.v. Thomas Christians, 410–14 (Brock).
C. Baumer, *The Church of the East* (2006).
A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1 (1984).
G. Nedungatt, *Quest for the Historical Thomas, Apostle of India* (2008).
T. K. Joseph, 'The Malabar Christian Copper-Plates', *Kerala Society Papers*, series 4 (1930; repr. 1997), 201–4.
S. Neil, *A History of Christianity in India* (1984).
I. Perczel, 'Four Apologetic Church Histories from India', *The Harp* 24 (2009), 189–217.
E. Seland, 'Trade and Christianity in the Indian Ocean during Late Antiquity', *JLA* 5 (2012), 72–86.
D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, 'Sasanian Maritime Trade', *Iran* 11 (1973), 29–49.

indiction and superindiction These are, respectively, regular and irregular periods in the cycle of Late Roman taxation and assessment. Financial bureaux made annual estimates of total government costs (chiefly for the *army, civil *administration, and civic expenses) for the coming year and set tax rates accordingly. This process was called *indictio*. Taxes were then collected each year but only tallied every five years. From the reign of *Constantine I or perhaps even of *Diocletian (AD 297), three five-year periods constituted one revenue indiction.

This span was also used as a dating device; bureaucrats and writers attributed individual events to the appropriate year within the fifteen-year indictional cycle. This practice raises problems for historians, as an event may be ascribed in a source to a particular year within the fifteen-year span of an indiction, but it may not always be clear which fifteen-year span is envisioned.

Not all taxes were collected or tallied on this five-yearly cycle. Some special taxes such as **aurum coronarium* and *aurum oblaticium* were collected every five years from the *emperor's accession, while some such as the **collatio lustralis* (Gk. *chrysargyron*) were collected on a four-yearly basis. These overlapping cycles formed the core of the Late Roman system of *taxation, which made the government increasingly effective at covering ordinary and unexpected needs.

Sudden shortfalls or raised expenses were covered by recourse to *superindictiones* or *indictiones extraordinariae*, synonymous terms for additional levies. These took the form of increased tax rates, local burdens, or the requirement of special services (*munera sordida*). PT

Jones, *LRE* 61, 449–62.
Bagnall, *Egypt*.
J.-M. Carrié, *s.n.* budget, in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA*, 352–3.
Delmaire, *Largesses*.
R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (1994).
Hendy, *Studies*.

Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum A list of *pagan and unorthodox practices drawn up to be discussed at a Church *council under S. *Boniface in the 740s. JTP

ed. G. H. Pertz in MGH Leges I (1831), 19–20.
ET P. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilisation: A Reader* (1993), 3.
A. Dierkens, 'Superstitions, christianisme et paganisme à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne: à propos de l'*Indiculus Superstitionem et Paganiarum*', in H. Hasquin, *Magie, sorcellerie, parapsychologie* (1984), 9–26.

Ine King of the West Saxons 688–726. He consolidated his predecessors' territorial gains in south-west England. Known for his law code (the earliest extant set of English legal decrees outside Kent), which survives only as an appendix to Alfred's laws: the earliest copy is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 173 (which also contains the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*). He was friends with *Aldhelm. In 726, Ine abdicated and went on *pilgrimage to *Rome, perhaps because his power in Wessex was being challenged. He died in Rome, at an unknown date (*Bede, *HE* V, 7). HFF

ODNB s.n. Ine (Wormald).
Laws: Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. 3, 214–18.
B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995).

infanticide and the exposure of children Practices widespread in the Roman Empire as a way of controlling family size and disposing of unwanted infants. Although a **paterfamilias* had *ius vitae necisque* (the power of life and death) over his whole *household, the legal right was generally deployed only at the time of a birth. Children might be exposed or killed outright for various reasons: poverty, questions of paternity, physical defect, ill omen, and gender choice were the most common. Girls were more likely to be exposed, but were also more likely to be taken and brought up, often as slaves or prostitutes. In cases of physical defect, newborns were typically drowned (Seneca, *De Ira*, I, 15, 2). Christians (drawing on Jewish objections) opposed these practices from an early date. Justin Martyr (*1st Apology*, 27) argued that exposure of children might lead to a parent unknowingly engaging in incest with an abandoned child. Almost all apologists declared infanticide a serious sin.

The methods and extent of infanticide and exposure are unclear, but in the 4th century stronger efforts were made to end such practices. Christian writers had moral objections to exposure: *Lactantius considered it *parricide (*Inst.* VI, 20, 17–25). Church *councils condemned the practice; *e.g.* canons 63 and 68 of the Council of *Elvira (305/6). The Church also acted in a positive manner: it became increasingly common for exposed children to be accepted as pledges by *monasteries. The first orphanage was founded in the mid-4th century. There were also state initiatives: *Constantine I severed the *potestas* of fathers who abandoned their children (*CTh* V, 9, 1; cf. V, 10, 1); *Valentinian I explicitly outlawed infanticide (*CTh* IX, 14, 1) and later *Justinian I forbade the enslavement of exposed children (*CJust* VIII, 51, 3). Neither infanticide nor exposure ended, but they became unacceptable. GSN

J. Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (1988).
D. Engels, 'The Problem of Female Infanticide in the Greco-Roman World', *CPh* 75 (1980), 112–20.
J. Evans-Grubbs, 'Church, State, and Children: Christian and Imperial Attitudes toward Infant Exposure in Late Antiquity', in A. Cain and N. Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (2009), 119–31.
W. V. Harris, 'Child Exposure in Ancient Rome', *JRS* 84 (1994), 1–22.
F. Kudlien 'Kindesaussetzung im antiken Roman. Ein Thema zwischen Fiktionalität und Wirklichkeit', in *Groningen Colloquia on the Ancient Novel*, II (1989), 25–44.

infantry, Roman The infantry component of Roman armies during the 1st to 3rd centuries AD was supplied by the *Praetorian Guard, 25–33 *legiones* (of 5,500 men each), and the *cohortes* of the **auxilia* (of 500–800 men each), supplemented by ethnic *numeri* and the contingents supplied by allies and subordinate peoples.

The *legiones* evolved during the 3rd century so that greater emphasis was placed on specialists integrated in their ranks (*archery, *artillery, etc.), but in the 4th century they shrank as these specialists were hived off into separate units. By the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum* the *legiones* were 1,000–1,500 strong, supplemented by formations styled *auxilia*, perhaps 500–800 strong. The old *cohortes* were largely relegated to a lower status in the *frontier forces and had also dwindled in size. Thus the Roman infantry was made up of *legiones* and *auxilia* **palatina*, *legiones* and *auxilia* **comitatenses*, *legiones pseudocomitatenses*, units styled '*milites*' or

'*numeri*', frontier *cohortes*, and barbarian warriors in regular regiments as integrated recruits, in settled bodies of **laeti*, or in large formations under their own leaders (**foederati*).

Estimating the strength of Late Roman armies based on the *Notitia Dignitatum* is notoriously difficult, but some proportional observations may be made, based on minimums for *field army regiments (*legiones* at 1,000, 500 for all others: West 94,500 infantry, 23,500 cavalry; East 89,500 infantry, 25,000 cavalry) and frontier formations (200 for all: West 26,200 infantry, 15,000 cavalry; East 31,000 infantry, 31,600 cavalry). Western forces had a lower proportion of cavalry to infantry than those in the East, unsurprisingly given the traditional cultural bias towards horse-archery in the eastern frontier *provinces. Nevertheless, proportions in the field armies differed only marginally (West 80% infantry, East 78%). The 'mobility' of field armies did not, as often opined, depend on their having an unusually large mounted component, as in fact the rate of strategic movement would have differed little between cavalry and infantry. (Asiatic cavalry armies were a very different proposition.)

Despite textual uncertainties, *Vegetius is the most informative surviving writer on infantry *recruiting, training, equipment, functions, and tactics. Unfortunately, past scholars have uncritically followed his moralizing tone and adopted a model of Late Roman decline in infantry quality and equipment provision (Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 1, 20). On the contrary, the narratives of *Ammianus, *Procopius, *Agathias, *Menander Protector, and the **Strategicon* of *Maurice make it clear that armoured infantry continued to play a pivotal role in both *sieges and open battles. Late Roman foot soldiers fought skilfully and determinedly, even in defeat, as at the battles of *Adrianople in AD 378 and *Callinicum in 531. As a result of the impact of 5th-century *Hun and 6th-century *Avar *warfare, the mounted component did increase proportionally, but in the period of Maurice and *Heraclius field armies were still made up of 71% infantry. Approximately two-thirds of the latter were armoured, close-order troops, the rest missile-armed skirmishers (*psiloi*). JCNC

Jones, *LRE*, ch. XVII.
Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*.
Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army*.
H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (1996).
Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*.
P. Rance, 'The Fulcum, the Late Roman and Byzantine Testudo: The Germanization of Roman Infantry Tactics?', *GRBS* 44 (2004), 265–326.

inflation An economic phenomenon—often perceived as negative—that involves a reduction in the value of currency causing a concomitant rise in the nominal price of goods. A temporary rise in the price of one or more goods due to real or perceived shortage is *not* typically referred to as inflation: inflation refers to changes at the point of currency supply rather than in the supply of goods. Lack of dense price data from Late Antiquity can make it difficult to differentiate between true inflationary periods and seasonal and/or geographical variations in prices. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the 3rd and early 4th centuries saw serious inflationary problems in the Roman currency system.

Inflation is usually perceived as negative due to its destabilizing effect on *monetary systems. It may be devastating for those who hold stores of currency or have fixed wages, which are not quickly adjusted to reflect new values. The real value of *debts is also reduced, however, with positive ramifications for debtors and at least initially those who control the money supply benefit as they are able to buy supplies and pay their employees at a reduced real price. Inflation is thus often caused by governments increasing their supply of money to meet budgetary shortfall.

The Roman treasury was somewhat limited in its ability to increase currency supply by the fact that the monetary system depended upon precious-metal denominations supposedly valued by their metal purity and content. The costs of minting were also not negligible. Unlike a fiat currency, money supply could not be indefinitely increased. Nevertheless, the metal content of coins could be interfered with to stretch precious metal resources further—a process usually referred to as *debasement. Debasement led to inflation as users recognized the reduced actual value of coins and market forces tariffed their buying power accordingly.

Throughout the 3rd century there was a near continual debasement of *silver coinage, such that the **antoninianus*, the successor of the **denarius*, contained less than 5% silver. Among the effects of debasement were the disappearance of *gold from circulation, as those who possessed it hoarded it as a more reliable store of value than *coinage; a return to payment in kind for the *army; and drastic reduction in the real salaries of other public employees. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (301) attempted to regulate inflation by reining in increases in the price of goods, but the failure of the *Tetrarchic Currency Reform to stabilize the value of coinage made its efforts ineffective.

In the first three-quarters of the 4th century the price of gold and other commodities continued to rise, generating a socially destabilizing gulf between those who possessed gold and those who did not. The introduction of the high-purity gold **solidus* by *Constantine I eventually created a reliable standard by which prices could be reckoned. Although the value of *bronze coinage continued to fluctuate and often decrease, the effects and duration of future inflationary periods were hereafter more limited. AAB

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (2009).
A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P. A. Brunt (1974).
Hendy, *Studies*.
G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n.Chr*. (1932).
C. Zuckerman, *Du village a l'Empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphrodito (525/526)* (2004).

Ingenuus Governor in *Pannonia in 260, proclaimed Augustus by troops at *Sirmium after *Valerian's capture by the Persians, then defeated at *Mursa by troops loyal to Valerian's son *Gallienus. OPN

PLRE I, Ingenuus 1.
CAH XII (2005), 43.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 256.

Ingund (d. *c.*585) Daughter of the Frankish King *Sigibert I and his Visigothic wife *Brunhild. She was married in 579 to *Hermenigild, son of the Visigothic King *Leovigild, and seemingly played a part in her husband's *conversion to Catholicism. When Hermenigild's revolt against his father failed, Ingund and her infant son Athanagild fell into Byzantine hands, and were seemingly used as leverage to obtain Frankish military assistance for the Byzantines in *Italy, but Ingund died en route to *Constantinople. BD

PLRE IIIA, Ingundis 2.
Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 171–3.
B. Dumézil, *La Reine Brunehaut* (2008), 269–83.

inhabited scroll An artistic motif used in many media in Late Antiquity in which scrolls of vine or acanthus *foliage frame images of *birds, insects, or *animals, as well as scenes of human figures. The motif was especially popular in the *mosaics which often decorated the floors and *apses of churches, but was also used in architectural *sculpture, paintings, and *metalwork. Inhabited scrolls in Hellenistic art were originally linear patterns. Roman and Late Antique artists decorated entire surfaces of buildings and objects with the inhabited scroll pattern, a development which reached its peak in the Eastern Roman Empire in the 6th century. SVL

C. Dauphin, 'Development of the Inhabited Scroll: Architectural Sculpture and Mosaic Art from Late Imperial Times to the Seventh Century A.D.', *Levant* 19 (1987), 183–212.
Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements*, 111–47.

inheritance and wills In Roman *law an inheritance could be passed on according to the rules of intestate or testate succession. In the case of intestate succession the heirs were called to the inheritance by the rules of the Roman civil law, rather than by the express intentions of the deceased. Roman rules for intestate succession thus effectively operated as a set of default rules which only came into operation when an individual either failed to leave a will, or when the will that had been left failed. The post-classical Roman rules for intestate succession were complex but focused upon ensuring transmission of the patrimony to the deceased person's closest relatives—in most cases these would be the deceased's children, although this would be others if the deceased died childless.

A claim for testate succession, on the other hand, could only be made if it was in accordance with a decedent's express intention, whether that intention had been made known via a written document (a duly witnessed will, a codicil, or even a *letter) or through some unwritten means. Any Roman citizen with full legal capacity could make a will. The fact that Roman law allowed inheritances to pass outside the *family via written testaments, legacies, and *fideicommissa* ('trusts') created a highly complicated set of legal rules and remedies.

Nonetheless, the technical distinctions of classical Roman law—such as those between civilian heirship and praetorian *bonorum possessio*, universal succession and individual legacies and trusts, formal wills and formless written *codicilli*—seem to have become less relevant to later Roman juristic discussion and legal practice.

As regards intestate succession, emancipated children were gradually assimilated to those who were not emancipated from paternal power (*patria potestas*). As regards testate succession, a limited liberty was eventually conceded to the testator for the benefit of concubines and illegitimate children from a concubinate.

Slaves were exempt from intestate succession, nor could they bequeath to anyone; if they were instituted as heirs, they acquired for their masters. The *patron was one of the freedman's intestate heirs.

Besides making provisions for the family and other extraneous persons, wills allowed testators to take care of their salvation. From at least AD 321 (*CTh* XVI, 2, 4) Christian churches were able to inherit; the *portio Christi*, allotments to the *poor and so forth, seem to have been common. Legacy hunters were a phenomenon well known to *Ammianus (XIV, 6, 22–6; XXVIII, 4, 22); attempts by the clergy to obtain the estates of wealthy *widows were countered by *Valentinian I (*CTh* XVI, 2, 20).

By the early 5th century wills were expected to be written instruments, complete with the signature of the testator and the seals of seven witnesses. Later Roman law had a number of formal requirements in order for a will to be considered valid, including that it had to have

been duly witnessed or deposited in the *archive of a municipality or an imperial bureaucratic archive. In 446 the Western *Emperor *Valentinian III confirmed the validity of 'holographic wills'—wills written entirely in the testator's own hand, which did not have to be witnessed, signed, or sealed (*NovVal* 21, 2)—but this constitution was not included in *Justinian's *Code*, nor was it confirmed by any of Justinian I's subsequent *Novels*.

Under the early and late Empire close descendants (or ascendants) who could demonstrate that they had been left less than a quarter of the share that they would have received if the testator had died intestate could pursue a *querela inofficiosi testamenti*: a complaint against an 'undutiful' will. Close relatives who had not been disinherited with good reason could expect to be left what came to be referred to as the 'legitimate portion': 'a quarter of the prospective intestate share'. There was, however, unlimited liability for debts related to the inheritance; the acceptance of an inheritance could only exceptionally be contested in cases of insolvency of the estate (*InstIust* 2, XIX, 6).

*Justinian I fundamentally reorganized the law of succession. He partly followed through the tendencies described above, and partly restored classical structures.

JP; CH

D. Johnston, *The Roman Law of Trusts* (1988).
M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, vol. 2 (²1975), 463–567.
P. Voci, 'Il diritto ereditario romano nell'età del tardo impero: il IV secolo', *Iura* 29 (1978; publ. 1981), 17–113.
P. Voci, 'Il diritto ereditario romano nell'età del tardo impero: il V secolo', *SDHI* 48 (1982), 1–125.
C. Humfress, 'Gift-Giving and Inheritance Strategies in Late Roman Law and Legal Practice (Fourth to Sixth Centuries CE)', in O. A. Ronning, H. M. Sigh, and H. Vogt, eds., *Donations, Strategies and Relations in the Latin West and Nordic Countries* (forthcoming).

initiation, Zoroastrian In the *Sasanian period both women and men underwent an initiation ritual (*navjot*) to become Zoroastrians once they reached the age of puberty. Ritual activities included tying a sacred girdle around the body (MP *kustig*) along with donning a white undershirt (MP *shabig*). The tying of the *kustig* was performed by the priest while reciting the sacred prayers of induction. The inductees then recited prayers and drank *gomez* (bull's urine) to cleanse themselves.

TD

M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina, *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (2015).

insanity Late Antique cultures overall upheld the classical view that mental illnesses reflected either the control of the sufferer by an external force (divine or *demonic), or an unhealthy state of the body. Medical writers in the Methodist tradition and, more influentially, *Galen and his followers classified the principal somatic conditions indicated by mental abnormality as phrenitis, melancholia, and mania, as well as delineating more specific conditions such as lovesickness and lycanthropy. Treatments for these were more likely to include the standard ones for physical ailments—*diet, purging, bleeding—rather than restraint or beating; and might extend to the quasi-psychotherapy of listening to appropriate *music. The daily life of those who had no access to such therapy is hard to reconstruct. The biographies of holy *fools, simulating derangement for spiritual ends, portray urban madmen as among the dregs of society, living very rough and subject to violence. *Hagiography sometimes shows us those who were judged insane (but not possessed) seeking relief at shrines. And some institutional help for the demented may occasionally have been available, even before the rise of *Islam, with which the earliest insane asylums have been associated.

PHo

P. Horden, 'The Late Antique Origins of the Lunatic Asylum?', in P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis, eds., *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (2009), 259–78.
S. W. Jackson, 'Unusual Mental States in Medieval Europe, I: Medical Syndromes of Mental Disorder, 400–1100 AD', *JnlHistMedAlliedSci* 27 (1972), 262–97.

inscriptions, Aksumite Aksumite inscriptions occur formally on *coinage and on stone, informally as **graffiti* on rock surfaces and on *pottery. With the exception of two vellum manuscripts, parts or all of which may be of Aksumite age, no other inscriptions on perishable materials are currently known (*see* GARIMA GOSPELS). The formal stone inscriptions at *Aksum are by far the most informative. They are in two languages, *Greek and *Ge'ez, the latter being written in two scripts, of which one is derived—perhaps as a deliberate archaism—from an earlier southern *Arabian form of writing, the other being early Ethiopic. The known examples come from the 4th, 6th, and 8th/9th centuries. Two almost identical 4th-century inscriptions give effectively the same text in Greek and in both Ge'ez scripts, and were erected beside the roads leading into Aksum from the north and southeast; others were on the sides and backs of monumental thrones. They record the military exploits of King *Ezana in conquering neighbouring peoples, exacting *tribute, and resettling captives, and provide coincidental information relating to religion, including the adoption of *Christianity. Two 6th-century Ge'ez inscriptions provide similar information relating to King *Kaleb and to his son, WZB. The latest inscription dates from the time when Aksum had ceased to be the political capital.

DWP

E. Bernand et al., eds., *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, 2 vols. (1991).

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 89–113.
S. C. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (1991).
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 51–6, 57–65, 94–6.

inscriptions, Persian The 'epigraphic habit' characteristic of the Graeco-Roman world was never as pronounced in the *Persian Empire. *Sasanian shahs made public records of their achievements, notably the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*) inscribed in *Greek, Middle *Persian, and Parthian on the Ka'aba-ye Zardosht at *Naqsh-e Rostam by *Shapur I, and the inscription of *Narseh in Middle Persian and Parthian at *Païkuli, near *Qasr-e Shirin. The powerful **mowbed* *Kerdir (Karter) also recorded his achievements on stone at Naqsh-e Rustam, *Naqsh-e Rajab, and *Sar Mashhad. Inscriptions have also been found on *bridges (for instance at *Firuzabad) and on **daxmags*. Apart from assorted **graffiti* and *dipinti*, particularly from *Dura Europus, most inscriptions from the Sasanian period are on *seals. OPN

EncIran VIII/5 (1998) *s.v.* epigraphy, i. Old Persian and Middle Iranian epigraphy, 478–88 (H. Humbach).
Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part III: *Pahlavi Inscriptions* (1955):
vol. 1: Royal inscriptions with their Parthian and Greek versions.
Texts I. *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, ed. P. Huyse 2 vols. (1999).
vol. 2: Private inscriptions of the classical period.
Portfolio I. *The Inscription of Sar-Mašhad*, ed. W. B. Henning (1955).
Portfolio II. *The Inscription of Naqš-i Rustam*, ed W. B. Henning (1957).
Portfolio III. *Minor Inscriptions of Kartīr, together with the End of Naqš-i Rustam*, ed. W. B. Henning (1963).
vol. 3: Dura-Europos.
Portfolio I. *The Parthian and Middle Persian Inscriptions of Dura-Europos*, ed. R. N. Frye (1968).
vols. 4–5: Ostraca and papyri.
Portfolio I. *Ostraca and Papyri*, ed. J. de Menasce (1957).
Texts 1. *Ostraca, Papyri und Pergamente. Textband 1*, ed. D. Weber (1992).
Texts 2. *Berliner Papyri, Pergamente und Leinenfragmente in mittelpersischer Sprache*, ed. D. Weber (2003).
vol. 6: Seals and coins.
Portfolio I. *Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian Seals and Kushano-Sasanian Coins: Sasanian Seals in the British Museum*, ed. A. D. H. Bivar (1968).
Portfolio II. *Sasanian Seals in the Collection of Mohsen Foroughi*, ed. R. N. Frye (1971).
Partial ET of *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* in Dodgeon and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 34–6, 50, 57.
H. Humbach and P. O. Skjærvø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 3 parts (1978–83).

inscriptions, Roman and post-Roman During the 3rd century the number of inscriptions set up in Roman *cities dropped dramatically from its 1st/2nd-century peak. In many regions the 4th–6th centuries then witnessed a marked increase in inscriptions. Indeed, in *Syria, *Palestine, and western *Britain the 5th–7th centuries marked the peak for the local epigraphic habit. Such cities as *Salona, *Trier, and *Carthage each have more than 1,000 Late Antique inscriptions, while Tarragona and *Naples have several hundred. *Rome itself has over 40,000. In the East, *Corinth has over 600 inscriptions, with similar numbers at *Athens and *Aphrodisias.

Few attempts have been made to explain the initial decline. Some have suggested that the broadening of citizenship in the provinces by the Constitutio Antonina, the *edict of Caracalla of 211 granting citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire, reduced the perceived social benefits of advertising Roman citizenship on inscriptions. Such explanations fail to explain why numbers also fall in *Italy at the same time. Attempts to explain the subsequent rise in the number of inscriptions have been even fewer. The phenomenon is likely to be linked to *conversion to Christianity, though it could not provide a chronology for conversion. Another suggestion is that sociopolitical uncertainty in the 4th–5th centuries made an above-ground legible status symbol attractive for those struggling to maintain or assert a sense of their place in the world (or the next). While this is likely to be true, it makes even more puzzling the relative absence of 3rd-century inscriptions.

Types of inscriptions

In the East official secular inscriptions continued into the late 7th century; indeed, imperial and prefectual *edicts and decrees only became common as inscriptions from the period of the *Tetrarchy. Some laws are found in multiple copies such as the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (some 40 inscriptions), the 6th-century edict for *Cyrenaica from the *Praefectus Praetorio Athanasius (*SEG IX*, nos. 356 and 414), and an edict of *Justinian II of AD 688–9 from *Thessalonica. Civic honorific inscriptions and statues were rare by the early 5th century. The most common form of inscription was the *epitaph.

In the West even in the 4th century inscribed laws and decrees are unknown, but large numbers of secular building inscriptions survive from *Italy and North *Africa (references for Africa in Lepelley, *Cités*). In the later 5th–6th centuries secular public inscriptions are rare although the *Burgundian King *Gundobad recorded

defensive work at Geneva in the late 5th century (*CIL* XII, 2643), and officials of the *Moorish King Masuna recorded building work at Altava in *Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 508 (*CIL* VIII, 9835).

Official Christian inscriptions range from inscribed liturgical calendars in *Spain to records of *relic depositions across North Africa. More common are inscriptions recording church building or donations supporting such activity (e.g. Caillet, Rhoby, et al.). Informal *pilgrim (and other) **graffiti* are attested in this period from sites across *Egypt, *Sinai, *Palestine, *Anatolia, Italy, *Gaul, and Spain, such as the 133 *graffiti* from fragments of wall plaster from the basilica at *Trier published by Binsfeld (*AE* 2006, 848).

The texts of epitaphs

With Christianity came new funerary formulae which tended to convey an image of slumber or peace—*Hic iacet*, *Hic requiescit in pace*, *Dormit in pace*, ἔνθα κῖτε, ὧδε κῖτε, ἐνθάδε ἐν εἰρήνη κεῖτε. These could be regionally distinct, thus *Fidelis in pace* was most common in *Carthage and *Hic requiescit in somno pacis* was specific to *Calabria.

While there are occasional anonymous epitaphs, on the whole the one absolute was a name. Other information included an age at death, mention of family, and a date of death. The many regional, provincial, or civic *eras of Anatolia and the Near East continued to be employed, as did the Spanish *aera* and the Mauretanian *anno provinciae*. In Egypt the *Era of the Martyrs was used. As the period progressed, regnal dates appear on inscriptions carved in the new kingdoms of the West, and on Byzantine inscriptions.

Inscriptions in the Roman *catacombs rarely included the status of the person commemorated, but this pattern was not universal. At *Corycus (Korykos) in *Cilicia over 85% of nearly 600 Christian epitaphs included a status or profession. In the West only the city of *Concordia in Italy can compare in terms of proportions with a recorded status, though elsewhere this information was not rare.

Script

Inscriptions did not often conform to classical capitals. In the West the capitals became narrower and more elongated and often varied in size, with an occasional minuscule letter. In some cases minuscule lettering becomes more frequent, such as at *Hadrumetum (Sousse) in Africa, Vicenza in Italy, and in *Britain and *Brittany. Ligatures are common and can become very involved, while abbreviations (marked by a superlineate line) abound for oft-repeated words such as the *nomina sacra,* or for *p(res)b(yte)r*, meaning a Christian *priest. Greek also moved away from the classical monumental style with greater inclusion of cursive forms of lettering. Typical late forms include the rounded E and S, and cursive forms of A and W.

Decoration

Christian epitaphs often carry Christian decorative elements such as *crosses, a chi-rho, the 'apocalyptic letters' *alpha* and *omega*, palm fronds, doves, or an *orans* figure. MAH

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A. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (2012).

D. Feissel et al., *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987–2004* (TM monographies 20, 2006).

C. Bruun and J. Edmondson, *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (2015).

Guide de l'épigraphiste: bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales ([4]2010).

COLLECTIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS

Annual bulletins of new discoveries appear in *L'Année épigraphique* (1889–1961 published as a section of *Revue archéologique* with the title *Revue des publications épigraphiques*; from 1962 onwards issued as a supplement to *Revue archéologique*), abbreviated *AE*, and in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–), abbreviated *SEG*.

GENERAL COLLECTIONS (LATIN)

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae Editum (16 vols. in 55, 1862–), abbreviated *CIL*.

H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 3 vols. in 5 (1892–1916), abbreviated *ILS* Dessau.

E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3 vols. (1925–7), abbreviated *ILCV*.

GENERAL COLLECTIONS (GREEK)

A. Boeckh, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1828–77), abbreviated as *CIG*.

Inscriptiones Graecae (1873), abbreviated *IG*.

AFRICA

L. Ennabli, *Les Inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage*, 3 vols. (1975–91).

S. Gsell et al., *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, vol. 1 (1922; repr. 1965), vol. 2 (1957), abbreviated *ILAlg*.

J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins et al., *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952), abbreviated *IRT*.

ANATOLIA

H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (fasc. 1 only, 1922).

W. M. Calder et al., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, central Anatolia, mostly Phrygia, 10 vols. (1928–93), abbreviated as *MAMA*; vol. 11 is in progress at http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/index.html.

Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor, II: *North Galatia* (1982), III: *Kibyra Olbasa Region* (1998), IV: *Konya*

Archaeological Museum (2002), V: *Burdur Archaeological Museum* (2007), abbreviated as RECAM.

TitAsMin, I: *Lycia* (1901), II: *Lycia*, 3 vols. (1920–44), III: *Pisidia* (1941), IV: *Bithynia* (1978), V: *Lydia*, 3 vols. 1981, 1989, 2007); often abbreviated *TAM*.

Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien; more than 50 cities have been covered in over 65 volumes (1972–), abbreviated *IK* with city name.

Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions Including Texts from the Excavations at Aphrodisias Conducted by Kenan T. Erim* (*JRS* monograph 5, 1989). Revised edition with same inscription numbers published in 2004 at http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/index.html, abbreviated Roueché *ALA*.

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E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate* (1976), abbreviated *IGLRomania*.

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R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, edited by S. S. Frere, M. Roxan, and R. S. O. Tomlin and contributions by M. W. C. Hassall, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, II: *Instrumentum Domesticum (Personal Belongings and the Like)*, 9 vols. (new edn. 1990–5), abbreviated *RIB* II.

CRETE

F. Halbherr and M. Guarducci, 4 vols. (1935–50), abbreviated *InscrCret*.

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É. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae*, vol. II: *Haut et Bas Empire* (1969), abbreviated *Inscr. Philae* II.

G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (1907).

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E. Le Blant *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe siècle*, I: *Provinces gallicanes* (1856); II: *Les Sept provinces* (1865), abbreviated Le Blant *Inscriptions* I and II.

E. Le Blant, *Nouveau Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe siècle* (1892), abbreviated Le Blant, *Nouveau Recueil*.

H. I. Marrou, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, 3 vols. to date (1975–).

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A. Silvagni, then A. Ferrua et al., eds., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*; A. Silvagni, then A. Ferrua et al., eds., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores, Nova Series*, 10 vols. to date (1922–), abbreviated *ICUR* NS.

A Degrassi et al., *Inscriptiones Italiae* (1931–), abbreviated *InscrIt*.

ORIENS

W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1903–5), *IGLS*.

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J. Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (²1969), abbreviated Vives, *ICERV*.

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G. Woolf, 'Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire', *JRS* 86 (1996), 22–39.

4TH-CENTURY REVIVAL

M. A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750* (2003), 11–14.

C. Galvao-Sobriñho, 'Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West', *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 431–66.

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A. Avramea et al., 'Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance', *TM* (1973), 145–80; (1979), 303–48; (1985), 267–395; (1987), 357–98.

A. Binsfeld, *Vivas in Deo: Graffiti der frühchristlichen Kirchenanlage in Trier* (2006).

J.-P. Caillet, *L'Évergetisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges d'aprés l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IVe–VIIe s.)* (1993).

D. Feissel, *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine, 1987–2004* (2006).

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C. Rapp, 'Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the Light of Epigraphy and Acclamations', in Sullivan et al., *Byzantine Religious Culture*, 291–311.

A. Rhoby et al., *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, 3 vols. to date (2009–).

inscriptions, Semitic Semitic inscriptions from Late Antiquity represent the continuation of an earlier Semitic practice combined with the so-called 'epigraphic habit' of the Roman Empire. They belong to various genres, ranging from well-developed to simple, including administrative, building, legal, funerary, religious, votive, and *graffiti*. (*See* sub-entries under: INSCRIPTIONS, SEMITIC, ARABIC; INSCRIPTIONS, SEMITIC, JEWISH; INSCRIPTIONS, SEMITIC, SOUTH

ARABIAN; INSCRIPTIONS, SEMITIC, SYRIAC.) Inscriptions are also attested for other dialects of Aramaic, especially from the first three centuries AD: Nabataean from the Roman province of *Arabia, exhibiting features from Ancient North Arabian, which probably reflect the spoken language; Palmyrene from the caravan city of *Palmyra (Semitic *Tadmur*) in Phoenice Libanensis (many of these inscriptions are bilingual with *Greek, such as the famous Palmyrene tariff inscription); and Hatran from outside the Roman Empire in northern Mesopotamia. In addition to Aramaic, inscriptions in Classical Ethiopic (*Ge'ez) are attested from the kingdom of *Aksum (modern-day Eritrea and northern *Ethiopia). Inscriptions in Old North Arabian are also found in the *Arabian Peninsula. AMB

E. Bernand, A. J. Drewes, and R. Schneider, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite* (1991).

H. Gzella, 'Das Aramäische in den römischen Ostprovinzen. Sprachsituationen in Arabien, Syrien und Mesopotamien zur Kaiserzeit', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 63 (2006), 15–39.

John F. Healey, *Aramaic Inscriptions and Documents of the Roman Period* (2009).

inscriptions, Semitic, Arabic The *Arabic language is first known from epigraphy. For example, at Dedan in north-west *Arabia, an Arabic-language inscription that dates from before AD 1 is written in a local script derived from South Arabian. During subsequent centuries local scripts such as Nabataean were used in making the few Arabic inscriptions that survive. From the 6th century AD the first very few inscriptions in what is recognizably Arabic script survive in what is now *Syria. A small number of Arabic inscriptions also survive on the *Arabian Peninsula from the same period.

The coming of *Islam in the middle decades of the 7th century coincides with a very marked increase in the number of extant Arabic inscriptions. Several major collections from this period have been published (see bibliography), but no comprehensive edition exists. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam* (Excursus F, 687–93), which was brought up to date in Hoyland (2006), collects the dated *Umayyad-era inscriptions with references. The earliest Islamic-era rock inscription so far discovered is a **graffito* from northern Saudi Arabia, approximately 17 km (10 miles) south of Hegra. Inscriptions from this era can provide important insights into the political and religious development of the early Muslim community. *Qur'ānic phraseology is common across all genres of early inscriptions, but these do not always replicate the canonical text. Perhaps the most famous example of this phenomenon is the mosaic texts of the *Dome of the Rock, commissioned by *'Abd al-Malik (*c.*691). The earliest epitaph yet discovered comes from *Aswan, Egypt, and is dated to *c.*651. It contains language comparable to that found in the Qur'ān, including the common appeal for forgiveness, *ighfir l-*. The same expression is again encountered in a *graffito* from the environs of *Karbala (*c.*683/4). Seven milestones from the time of *'Abd al-Malik (*c.*685–705) are known, one of which contains the *Shahadah*, the Muslim declaration of faith. Two dams commissioned by *Mu'awiya bear dedicatory inscriptions (*c.*661–80), one at Ta'if dated *c.*676 and the other, undated, at *Medina. Other early dedicatory inscriptions are only known from literary sources as the originals are no longer extant (Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 701–3). AMA

É. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, eds., *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (1931).

I. Ghabban, 'The Inscription of Zuhayr, the Oldest Islamic Inscription (24 AH/AD 644–645), the Rise of the Arabic Script and the Nature of the Early Islamic State', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 19 (2008), 210–37.

R. Hoyland, 'New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State', *BSOAS* 69 (2006), 395–415.

R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it* (1997).

R. Hoyland, 'Epigraphy and the Linguistic Background to the Qur'an', in G. S. Reynolds, ed., *The Qur'an in its Historical Context* (2008), 51–69.

Y. D. Nevo, Z. Cohen, and D. Heftman, *Ancient Arabic Inscriptions from the Negev*, vol. 1 (1993).

S. Ory, 'Les Graffiti umayyades de 'Ayn al-Ǧarr', *BMB* 20 (1967), 97–148.

J. Sourdel-Thomine, 'Inscriptions et graffiti arabes d'époque umayyade à propos de quelques publications récentes', *Revue des études islamiques* 32 (1964), 115–20.

inscriptions, Semitic, Jewish There is no consensus as to what exactly defines a Jewish inscription. Noy et al. (vol. 1, v) have suggested a series of features which can be considered typically Jewish, including the use of Hebrew, the presence of distinctively Jewish names, and provenance from a *synagogue. Accordingly, the Jewish inscriptions of Late Antiquity consist mostly of epitaphs and *synagogue inscriptions, although some important **graffiti* exist. The cemetery of *Beth She'arim is one of the best preserved from Late Antique *Palestine. Its catacombs have yielded hundreds of inscriptions, mainly in *Greek but also in Hebrew and Aramaic. Likewise, the *catacombs of Rome contain a rich collection of epitaphs which shed important light on the city's Jewish community. Synagogues are an important provenance for rock and *mosaic inscriptions. The famous synagogue of *Dura Europus contains an exquisite donor inscription dated to *c.*245. The *Sardis synagogue yielded some 85 fragmentary inscriptions, some on the mosaic floor and others on plaques. In northern Arabia, Jewish inscriptions are found primarily at Hegra and Dedan, and consist mostly of *graffiti* and short tomb inscriptions, neither of which contain much

information (Hoyland). In contrast, the epigraphic record of South *Arabia is a rich source of Jewish inscriptions dating from the 4th to 6th centuries AD. AMA

R. Hoyland, 'The Jews of the Hijaz in the Qurʾān and in their inscriptions', in Gabriel Reynolds, ed., *Towards a New Interpretation of the Qur'an* (forthcoming).

L. Levine, 'Jewish Archaeology in Late Antiquity: Art, Architecture, and Inscriptions', in Steven Katz, ed., *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 4 (2006), 519–55.

D. Noy et al., *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, 3 vols. (2004).

C. Robin, 'Le Judaïsme de Ḥimyar', Arabia', *Revue de Sabéologie* 1 (2003), 97–172.

inscriptions, Semitic, Old South Arabian Old South Arabian (also known as Ancient/Epigraphic South Arabian and Ṣayhadic) is a Semitic language attested in inscriptions from the southern part of the *Arabian Peninsula (mod. Yemen and Oman) from the 1st millennium BC until the mid-6th century AD. Though previously classified as a South Semitic language (with *Arabic, Ethiopian Semitic, and Modern South Arabian), Old South Arabian is now considered part of Central Semitic, with Arabic and the North-West Semitic languages, which include Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, etc.). Old South Arabian can be divided into at least four dialects: Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, and Ḥaḍramitic. Sabaic is by far the best attested. Setting aside *graffiti* containing personal names, the majority of Old South Arabian writing occurs on monumental stone inscriptions of various genres (dedicatory, building, funerary, and legal). Texts are also found cast in bronze or stamped on coins as well as written on small wooden sticks and palm-leaf stalks. AMB

A. F. L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary (English–French–Arabic)* (1982).

N. Nebes and P. Stein, 'Ancient South Arabian', in R. D. Woodard, ed., *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (2004), 454–87.

P. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen* (Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel 3, 2003).

inscriptions, Semitic, Syriac Christian inscriptions written in *Syriac script inherited from Edessean Aramaic first appear in *Syria and *Mesopotamia at the end of the 4th century AD. They are engraved on stone (lintels, funerary stelae) or drawn on *mosaic and frescos. An important means of expression in Syriac churches, they still appear today in religious buildings, houses, and on furniture. Syriac inscriptions commemorate the builders and the dead for whom the sanctuaries have been erected or embellished and give details about the construction, including the date. Some describe local events. Inscriptions of the 5th century in the area of *Antioch are dated according to the era of Antioch, but the majority of Syriac inscriptions everywhere are dated according to the Seleucid era. Some medieval inscriptions are dated according to the 'era of the Arabs'.

The oldest dated Syriac inscription is from the Nabgha monastery near Jerablus in north Syria (AD 406/7). The oldest dated inscription in *Osrhoene is that of Bishop *Rabbula (AD 425/6). The principal corpora of inscriptions are found in Syria—mainly in the dead cities of the *Limestone Massif, where the oldest inscriptions are found (5th and 6th cents.)—in the churches and monasteries of *Tur 'Abdin (south-east Turkey), and in Iraq where almost all Syriac churches contain inscriptions dated between the 8th and the 20th centuries. Inscriptions are also found in Lebanon (mainly in *Maronite churches), Commagene, *Armenia, *Palestine, *Egypt, Kyrgyzstan (at the Mongol period), *China (7th and 14th cents.) and Kerala, *India (16th to 20th cents.). AD

F. Briquel Chatonnet, M. Debié, and A. Desreumaux, eds., *Les Inscriptions syriaques* (2004).

insignia People and groups in the Later Roman Empire indicated who they were by the use of a wide range of *symbols. Individuals often used *monograms, like those on the column *capitals of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople. From the 6th and 7th centuries onwards these were often to be found on lead *seals, large numbers of which survive (and are illustrated in line drawings in *PLRE* IIIB).

The civil and military *administration indicated the rank of its officials with appropriate formal emblems. The manuscripts of the **Notitia Dignitatum* illustrate insignia appropriate to each high-ranking official (reproduced in line drawings in the edition of O. Seeck). All of them had been issued with imperial *letters of appointment, their **codicilli*, and these are shown standing set on a table, open like a codex or *diptych. Only the *Praefectus Praetorio and *Praefectus Urbi were accorded an official four-horse carriage. The insignia of many civil administrators included a **theca*, a ceremonial pen-case and inkwell tripod decorated with imperial portraits; al-*Baladhuri tells a story explaining the shift from *Greek to *Arabic in the *Umayyad administration in 703 as the result of the *caliph's anger when a Greek clerk misused an official inkwell (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 301). Others have emblems appropriate to their work. The Praefectus Praetorio has full-length female personifications of the **dioeceses* he oversees, *Vicarii and *governors personifications of the provinces they govern, and the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, the emperor's legal draughtsman, a bundle of rods and a bookcase labelled *Leges Salutares* (Salutary Laws). A poem of *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, X,141–5) enumerates various insignia for high dignitaries,

naming the *fasces* (bundles of rods), *secures* (axes), *lictor* (beadle carrying the *fasces*), *sella* (judgement seat), **toga praetexta*, and *tribunal*, though his list may be self-consciously antiquarian.

The rank and function of officals of the imperial administration were also apparent from their *dress. Both military and civilian officials wore a *belt of office (*cingulum*) signifiying their *militia*, or service under the emperor. The insignia of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum illustrated in the *Notitia Dignitatum* includes belts and buckles, as his department was in charge of their production, at least of those for the higher ranks (*occ*. XI, 2; *or*. XIII, 2). Basic military *dress was the *strictoria* and *chlamys, as well as *arms and armour; the emperor in uniform wore a *cuirass (metal breastplate) and **paludamentum* (military cloak), fastened with the distinctive round imperial *fibula with pendants. There were distinctive shields for particular corps (many of them illustrated in the *Notitia Dignitatum*). **Draconarii* wore gold torcs. Government officials often fastened their chlamys with a crossbow fibula (German *Zwiebelknopffibel*). The chlamys worn by civilian officials would have a coloured *tablion, which might bear a picture of the emperor.

The ceremonial dress of a *consul or suffect consul was the **toga picta* or *trabea*; the Emperor *Gratian presented *Ausonius with a *trabea* decorated with gold thread and an image of *Constantius II to mark his consulship (Ausonius, *Gratiarum Actio*, 11), and they are illustrated on the presentation diptychs of 6th-century eastern consuls. *Senators were forbidden to wear military dress in *Constantinople (*CTh* XIV, 11, 1 of 382). The wearing of trousers in the City of *Rome was forbidden in laws of 399 (*CTh* XIV, 11, 2–3). *Philosophers continued to wear full beards and the philosopher's cloak or **pallium* (*CTh* XIII, 3, 7).

Imperial *regalia took many forms, but its most distinctive features were the *purple and, from *Constantine I onwards, the *crown or diadem. Emperors would grant the right to specific items of regalia to client kings and other rulers. OPN; PMB

J. W. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, et al., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 6 vols. (1991–2001).

P. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (1981).

R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum (Papers Presented to the Conference in Oxford, December 13 to 15, 1974)* (BAR—Suppl. ser. 15, 1976).

D. James, 'The Golden Clasp of the Late Roman State', *EME* 5/2 (1996), 127–53.

H. Löhken, *Ordines Dignitatum. Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstituierung der spätantiken Führungsschicht* (Kölner historische Abhandlungen 30, 1982), esp. 82–111.

D. Schlinkert, *Ordo Senatorius und Nobilitas. Die Konstitution des Senatsadels in der Spätantike* (Hermes Einzelschriften 72, 1996), 144–53.

A. Alföldi, 'Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser', *MDAI(R)* 50 (1935), 1–171.

***Institutiones* of Justinian** The *Institutiones* or 'Institutes' of *Justinian I were published with the *Constitutio Imperatoriam* on 21 November 533 and alongside the **Digest* and *Justinian's *Code* form part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the codification of Roman *law accomplished by Justinian. To complement the codification of imperial constitutions and Roman jurisprudence, Justinian instructed *Tribonian, with the help of *Theophilus and *Dorotheus (professors of law in *Constantinople and *Beirut respectively), to compose an elementary textbook on the model of the *Institutes* of the classical *jurist Gaius. The *Institutiones* were intended to bring the instruction in Roman law into line with the significant changes that had been introduced and granted exclusive validity by Justinian. Since the authors took Gaius as the basis of their text, the *Institutiones* of Justinian are in effect a 6th-century modernization of his classic textbook, albeit with some important modifications. Though only an elementary introduction to Roman law, the *Institutiones* were expressly endowed with the force of law. Like Gaius, the *Institutiones* fall into four books treating (1) the sources of law and persons (status, *family, *marriage), (2–3) things (property, *succession, obligations), and (4) actions (procedure, criminal law). They remained the most widely read introduction to Roman law until the rediscovery of Gaius in 1816. JND

ed. P. Krüger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* I ([11]1954).

ET (with introd.) P. Birks and G. McLeod, *Justinian's Institutes* (1987).

E. Metzger, ed., *A Companion to Justinian's Institutes* (1998).

P. Stein and A. D. E. Lewis, eds., *Studies in Justinian's Institutes in Memory of J. A. C. Thomas* (1983).

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 600–37.

Instrumentarius Imperial official also known as 'keeper of the archives of the court of justice'. He was responsible for documentation relating to the judicial activities of the *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis which was stored, from *Valens's reign (364–78), in rooms beneath the *Circus in *Constantinople. The office had been abolished by the early 6th century (*John Lydus, *Mag*. 3.19). ADL

Insulae The islands of the eastern Aegean, governed by a *Praeses, formed the *province Insulae as part of the *Asiana *Dioecesis in the *Verona List. The capital was at *Samos (*IG* XII, 6, 2 of 584–5). Inscriptions

from Astypalaia (*IG* XII, 3, 180–2 and XII, 3 suppl. P. 278) and *Thera (*SEG* 50 (2000) 745) attest cadastral arrangements in the *Tetrarchic period. SM

G. Kiourtzian, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades* (2000).
P. Thonemann, 'Estates and the Land in Late Roman Asia Minor', *Chiron* 37 (2007), 435–78.

insular manuscripts, illuminated 'Insular' in this context refers to the culture of *Britain and *Ireland, c.550–850. This period witnessed the reception and flowering of the book arts, producing some of the finest early medieval illuminated manuscripts. These drew upon models from the Late Antique Mediterranean and upon the rich preliterate traditions of the Celtic and Germanic peoples to produce a distinctive reflection of the mixture of peoples and influences present in the islands in the aftermath of the Roman Empire. Germanic *animal interlace and Celtic Iron Age La Tène spiralwork combine with Mediterranean figural art and calligraphic local responses to the Roman system of *scripts. In the great Gospelbooks, such as the Book of Durrow and *Book of Kells, the *Lindisfarne and *Echternach Gospels, the Word explodes across the page, becoming an icon in its own right, accompanied by *carpet pages, Evangelist miniatures, and arcaded canon tables. Such 'Hiberno-Saxon' art, encountered in Ireland, Scotland, and Northumbria, also influenced the book arts of southern England, which were also subject to more overtly romanizing trends, as were the Northumbrian scriptoria of *Wearmouth-Jarrow, *Ripon, and *York. This can be observed in Kentish manuscripts, such as the Vespasian Psalter, the Stockholm Codex Aureus, and the Royal Bible, and Mercian books such as the Barberini Gospels and the Book of Cerne. MPB

J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th Century* (1978).
M. P. Brown, *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age* (2008).
M. P. Brown, *The Book and the Transformation of Britain, c.550–1050: A Study in Written and Visual Literacy and Orality* (The 2009 Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, 2011).
R. Gameson, ed., *A History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1: *From the Romans to the Normans* (2012).

intelligence, military Information of military value encompassed a range of material, including knowledge of enemy geography, resources, and military capabilities, forewarning of troop movements, and awareness of tactical deployment. Some of this information was acquired through embassies and undercover *spies, but the *army also had troops whose focus was intelligence-gathering. *Cavalry units of scouts (*exploratores*) came to the fore on the frontiers of western provinces in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, and *exploratores* feature in various 4th-century sources. The **Notitia Dignitatum* suggests that specialized units were no longer prominent by the early 5th century, but *exploratores* appear in *Maurice's **Strategikon* in the late 6th century, albeit used interchangeably with *kataskopoi* and *skoulkatoroi* (9, 5). There is also textual and archaeological evidence for imperial outposts beyond the northern frontiers in the 4th century, which may have functioned as early warning stations. To anticipate waterborne threats, camouflaged scouting skiffs were deployed at sea, particularly off *Britain (*Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 4, 37), and patrol boats were used along the Danube *frontier (and presumably also the Rhine) (*CTh* VII, 17, 1 [412]). It is difficult to generalize about the effectiveness of these various measures: while the disaster at *Adrianople (378) was due in part to poor intelligence about *Gothic forces, good information about the *Vandal fleet contributed to *Belisarius' success in *Africa in 533. ADL

Lee, *Information and Frontiers.*
Austin and Rankov, *Exploratio*, 185–243.

interpreters, diplomatic *See* INTERPRETES.

interpretes Interpreters of 'sundry' or 'all peoples', employed in *diplomacy, attached to the staff (*Scrinium*) of the *Magister Officiorum (**Notitia Dignitatum or.* XI, 52 and *occ.* IX, 46). *Priscus (frs. 7 and 8 Müller = frs. 11 and 14 Blockley) mentions an interpreter named Vigilas who negotiated with *Attila. *Sergius the Interpreter was admired by *Khosrow I (*Agathias, *Histories*, IV, 30, 3–5). JND

Jones, *LRE* 584.
Lee, *Information and Frontiers*, 41, 51, 66–7.

invective (Lat. *vituperatio*; Gk. *ψόγος*) Literary genre characterized by rhetorical abuse, and so the reverse of the *praise offered in *panegyric oratory, whose principal themes it frequently inverted. By comparing individual political figures to accepted political ideals, the extent of their shortcomings could be represented (Flower, 28). Such shortcomings might be serious, such as *Diocletian's lust for building in *Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (*Mort.* 7, 8–10) and *Julian's invasion of the *Persian Empire in *Gregory of *Nazianzus' *Orations* IV and V *Against Julian*, or personal, such as Galerius' resemblance to his own pet *bears (*Mort.* 21, 5–6). In the hands of a panegyrist these matters could easily be occasions for praise.

Late Antique invectives survive in both prose and verse. Christianity added fresh elements to the classical repertoire. For Lactantius, the collapse of the *Tetrarchy

was God's judgement against persecutors (*Mort.* 1 and 52). Contemporaries reading *Procopius' *Secret History* would find most alarming the account of the *Emperor *Justinian I prowling the corridors of the Great Palace as a headless *demon (*Anecd.* 12, 18–32; cf. 18, 1 and 36–7).

Convention, as well as prudence, indicated that the *stilus major* of panegyric (not even history) was the appropriate genre for discussing the regime under which an author was himself living (cf. *Ammianus, XXXI, 16, 9). The invective poems of *Claudian *Against *Eutropius* and *Against *Rufinus*, written in the territories of the Western *Emperor *Honorius, both target ministers of the rival *court in the East. Lactantius denounced the *Tetrarchy after its disappearance; Gregory wrote after Julian was dead. Exceptions are the repetitive vilification of *Constantius II by Lucifer the anti-Arian Bishop of Cagliari and Procopius' *Secret History*, written, though presumably not published, in Justinian's lifetime.

Invective might be directed at groups as well as at individuals. The homilies of *John Chrysostom against the Jews, for instance, employ rhetorical conventions of invective (Wilken, 95–127). SEB; OPN

I. Opelt, 'Formen der Polemik im Pamphlet *De mortibus persecutorum*', *JbAC* 16 (1973), 98–105.

Cameron, *Procopius*, 55–8.

R. Flower, *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective* (2013).

M. T. Gustafson, *Lucifer of Cagliari and Constantius II: a study in religious and political power in the fourth century*, (diss. Minnesota, 1994).

R. L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century* (1983), 95–127.

Iona (est. 563) Island *monastery founded by the Irish saint *Columba. Lying in the Irish territory Dál Riata, Iona was possibly granted to the community by its ruler Conall mac Comgaill. Until the mid-8th century the majority of abbots came from Columba's familial line, Cenél Conaill, members of the powerful Uí Néill dynasty. Iona became the head of the Columban federation with monasteries in *Britain and *Ireland. According to *Bede (*HE* III, 3–4), its abbot Ségéne sent the missionary *Aidan (d. 651) to Northumbria at the behest of King *Oswald. Iona's influence in Britain was compromised by its refusal to adopt the Roman *Easter until 716. Texts produced at Iona include *Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, and the non-extant Iona annals, which form the basis of the *Chronicle of Ireland* up to *c.*740. ED

M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (1996).

Ireland The modern Anglicized name 'Ireland' derives from the island's early Celtic name **Īweriū*, Old Irish *Ériu*. This name is likely to have meant 'the fertile land', and in its original formation is most likely to have expressed the strong associations between the earth, fertility, and the feminine. This fundamental link between the fertility of the land and female fertility is a universal belief that is further expressed in other early names for Ireland which often transmogrified into female personal names. Along with Ériu, Ireland was identified at times with women named Banba and Fótla.

The *Greek *Ierne* and the *Latin form *Hibernia* (*Hivernia*) appear to relate to the ethnic name for the island's people, the *Ivernioi*. These people are historically recognizable as the Érainn, and are first recorded in *Ptolemy's *Geography c.* AD 150 (II, 1). Ptolemy places them quite clearly as inhabiting the south-west of Ireland. Later genealogies and sagas imply that various peoples belonging to the Érainn ruled over other regions and that they were once particularly powerful. The Corcu Loígde ('people of the calf goddess') ruled considerable lands in the south, while the Dál Riata and Dál Fiatach dominated the north-east and parts of western Scotland well into the medieval period. One of the foremost heroic kings in Irish mythology, Conaire Már, was of the Érainn, and his biography describes his seizing the kingship of *Tara, only to lose it and die when he broke all the taboos imposed on him at the beginning of his reign. By the time that early Irish genealogies and laws were committed to writing in the 7th century, three races were designated as the free races of Ireland, namely, the Érainn, the Ulaid (Ptolemy's *Uoluntii*), and Féni. The latter consisted of peoples who rose to power in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, among them the Éoganachta of Munster and the Connachta in the northern half of Ireland. Latin writers of Late Antiquity from outside Ireland often refer to the inhabitants of Ireland collectively as Scotti (*Orosius, I, 2; cf. *Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIV, 6), a term also used of those in western Scotland (*Bede, *HE* I, 1).

The influence of earlier classical observations on Ireland, such as those made by Julius Caesar (*Gallic War*, V, 13) or Strabo (*Geography*, IV, 5, 4), continued to be felt into Late Antiquity. According to these descriptions, Ireland was an island in Ocean on the periphery of the habitable world and barely habitable because it was constantly cold (e.g. 'glacialis Ierne': *Claudian, *De IV Consolatu Honorii* 33), a belief that was reinforced by the association of the name *Hibernia* with the Latin adjective *hibernus* 'wintry'. Its inhabitants were savages who devoured human flesh and were enormous eaters. Indeed, the root of the ethnonym 'Gael', which became the common name for the Irish, is clearly Welsh *Gŵyddyl*, meaning 'wild men, forest people'. Ireland was where the limits of the habitable earth were fixed.

This theme of Ireland being at the ends of the earth is echoed by S.*Patrick and by S.*Columbanus. The latter transformed this apparent disadvantage into the fulfilment of a momentous biblical prophecy: the conversion of the Irish to Christianity heralded the Second Coming, as Christ's message had now spread to the ends of the earth.

As contacts with Ireland increased in Late Antiquity, and especially as the Irish were active in raiding and settling western *Britain, historians of the period provided more accurate and detailed information than their predecessors. *Ammianus Marcellinus, writing about the *Barbarian Conspiracy of 367–8, names the Irish (*Scotti) among the peoples who were attacking Britain, the others being the *Picti and the Atacotti—who also may have been Irish (XXVII, 8, 5). In the 5th century, the Christian historian *Orosius made more benign comments on Ireland, declaring that although smaller than Britain in extent, it was of greater value because of the favourable nature of its climate and soil (I, 2). The 5th century saw the beginnings of Latin *literacy in Ireland, including the gradual dissemination of texts such as Orosius' *History*, and the first accounts to emanate from the island itself. The oldest, and most renowned, of these are the *Confessio* and *Epistola* of the British *Bishop S. Patrick.

S. Patrick provides us with a first-hand account of Ireland, and of the relations between the Irish and their neighbours, particularly along the western coast of Britain. He confirms that raiding for slaves was a common activity on both sides of the Irish Sea. He himself was captured in his father's *villa, and brought to Ireland when he was 16. In his *Epistola*, he admonishes a British king, Coroticus, for taking some of his converts away as slaves. On the structure of authority in the country, he relates how he gave *gifts to kings and judges, and that the sons and daughters of kings travelled with him and became Christian monks and *virgins. This was a society in the throes of a significant cultural and religious change, and, as S. Patrick witnesses, this *conversion process was neither swift nor easy. It was also a conversion of people on the fringes of the Roman world, a point stressed a few times by the British bishop in his declaration that he was living 'as an alien among non-Roman peoples, an exile on account of the love of God' (*Epistola*, section 1).

In regard to the physical characteristics of the countryside and its economy, the archaeology of Late Antiquity in Ireland is only just beginning to yield a coherent picture. During the first centuries AD, intensive *farming seems to have declined and there was a consequent phase of woodland renewal. Settlements are difficult to identify but the methods for disposal of the *dead show a shift from *cremation to extended inhumation, most particularly from the 5th century onwards. This change does not necessarily reflect the adoption of Christianity, as many graves of the period are not situated in known ecclesiastical sites but rather in ancestral burial mounds (*ferta*). An occasional burial is accompanied by grave-goods, which must have a religious significance. A spectacular example is that of a woman buried during the 4th/5th century in a prehistoric mound in Fartagh, County Galway, along with the complete body of a *horse.

Nevertheless, archaeological evidence for contacts with western Christendom is becoming more evident. Roman material in Ireland is broadly divided into two phases. Objects dating to the 1st/2nd centuries AD are often linked to refugee movements from Britain. A later 4th- to 7th-century phase reflects increasing trade contacts with the Late Roman world. Imports of *pottery included containers for *wine, *olive oil, and other provisions and also high-status tableware. Imports of coins and *jewellery, and military payments in the form of *hoards of hack *silver, support the historical record that the *aristocracy in Ireland was well aware of Roman culture and also that it served in the *armies of the Late Roman Empire.

Christianity percolated into Ireland in various ways. The papal missions of Popes Celestine and *Leo I arrived in the person of *Palladius, the courtier sent to Ireland in AD 431 'to those Irish believing in Christ'. Christianity came from Britain through missionaries such as S. Patrick, and through personal contacts, most of which were probably familial.

Significant changes happened to Irish society and its economy during the 6th century. Palaeobotanists and ecologists have identified a narrowing of tree rings in Ireland between AD 536 and 541 caused by some natural phenomenon, either volcanic or climatic, in line with similar evidence for the *Dust Veil of 536 recorded worldwide. Chronological references are made in the *Annals of *Ulster* (536 and 539) to 'a failure of bread' which suggests outbreaks of *famine at that time.

A change in *settlement patterns, which led to the existence of far more visible monuments in the countryside, came with the building of thousands of ring forts or raths and lake dwellings (crannogs). These were the farmsteads of early Ireland that supported a *cattle-based dairying economy and afforded shelter and protection to the free classes. They can be seen dotted throughout Ireland, often with internal mounds surrounded by at least one bank and ditch. Crannogs, small man-made islands built on raft-like foundations and protected with woven wooden palisades, are particularly prevalent in the Midland and northern Lakelands.

The establishment of churches, and most especially monastic communities, contributed to economic and social change. Monasticism appears to have brought industrial *mills and milling to Ireland, while such communities also provided for the *poor in times of

crisis and acted as trade distribution points. Such transformation also caused political upheaval that brought about the downfall of many old dynasties and the rise of new dynasties who were to hold on to power until the 12th century. EB

T. Charles-Edwards, ed., *After Rome (Short Oxford History of the British Isles) c.400—c.800* (2003).

V. Hall, *The Making of Ireland's Landscape since the Ice Age* (2011).

Koch, *Celtic Culture s.v.* Gaelic, 775–6.

D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200* (1995).

K.W. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: An Introduction to the Sources* (1972).

St Patrick's *Confessio* and *Epistola* available at http://www.confessio.ie (a Royal Irish Academy resource).

Irene *Empress. Turkic name possibly Tzitzak/Çiçek, 'flower'. Daughter of the *Khazar *Khagan, possibly sister of *Barjik, who defeated the *Arab *governor of *Armenia. In 733 she married the future *Constantine V, to cement an anti-Arab alliance, and was baptized as Irene. Their son, the future Leo IV (775–80), was born in 750; she died soon after his birth and was buried at the *Holy Apostles in Constantinople. MLD

PBE, Eirene 3.

PmbZ 1437.

P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, vol. 1 (1980), 175–6.

Irenopolis Easternmost *city of *Cilicia Secunda, also called Neroniades. There are hot springs nearby. Irenopolis minted coins up to the time of *Gallienus. *Bishop Narcissus was active at the *Council of *Nicaea (*Theodoret, *HE* I, 7), was involved with the candidature of *Eusebius of *Caesarea for the see of *Antioch in 332 (*Letter of *Constantine in *VCon* III, 62), and opposed *Athanasius in the Christological controversies under *Constantius II. Irenopolis is listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 11, 24) as the site of **fabricae* for manufacturing lances supervised by the *Magister Officiorum. It should not be confused with Irenopolis of *Isauria (mod. Çatalbadem, formerly Yukarı İrnebol). OPN

TIB 5 Kilikien (1990), 245–8.

Irish language and literature Irish belongs to the *Celtic linguistic family of Indo-European. Insular Celtic consisted of two branches, Goedelic which is the basis of Irish, Manx, and Scottish Gaelic, and Brythonic which is the basis of Breton, Cornish, and Welsh. Celtic was spoken in *Ireland by the beginning of the 1st millennium AD, as Ptolemy's *Geography* records recognizable Celtic place names and tribes. The earliest form of written Irish survives in formulaic *ogam inscriptions which record personal names and patronymics. The introduction of *Latin *literacy and familiarity with Roman cursive *script, which developed into a separate insular script, accelerated the need for greater cohesion in Irish. A rapid development of the language during the 5th and 6th centuries led to major orthographical and phonological changes. Between the 6th and early 9th centuries Irish went through various phases categorized as Archaic Irish, Classical Old Irish, and Middle Irish.

Vernacular glosses and texts dating to at least the 7th century survive in contemporary continental manuscripts and in later Irish manuscripts. These are marginal and interlinear glosses on commentaries on the *Bible, the Psalms, church fathers, and Latin *grammar books. The 7th-century 'Cambrai homily', which is probably the earliest continuous religious prose text in Irish, is a *sermon on the Christian way of life and on concepts of *martyrdom. The contemporary *Audacht Morainn* is one of the earliest medieval versions of the Mirror of Princes in which a *king is advised on governing his people. Fragmentary poems composed by Colmán mac Lenéni, founder of the church of Cloyne, County Cork (d. 600), praise kings and worship Christ in concise language and strict *metre. The prosimetric list of the kings of *Tara, *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig*, incorporates elements of Late Antique *rhetoric style while at the same time following native metrical rules. The greatest volume of early vernacular literature survives in heroic tales which range from the epic biographies of heroic kings to finely constructed love stories. *Aislinge Óenguso*, 'The Dream of Óengus', tells of the lovesickness of the deity Óengus for a woman who appeared in a *dream. Óengus, helped by other otherworldly beings, sought her in the fairy mounds of Ireland. He located her and they both returned to his residence at Newgrange in the shape of swans. This beautifully crafted story attests to the sophistication of this literature. The pinnacle of early Irish literature is the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, 'The Cattle Raid of Cooley'. This tale relates the quarrel over their fine bulls between the warrior-queen Medb of Connacht and the heroic King of the Ulaid, Conchobar mac Nessa. The biography of the hero Cú Chulainn is at the heart of the *Táin.* Composed in its earliest form in the 7th century, the *Táin* and most vernacular texts survive only in medieval manuscripts of the 12th century and later. EB

M. Ní Bhrolcháin, *An Introduction to Early Irish Literature* (2009).

K. McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta* (1994).

P. Russell, *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages* (1995).

Irmina of Oeren (d. *c.*706) An important landowner near *Trier, and co-founder of the *Monastery of *Echternach, before becoming Abbess of Oeren. Her daughters probably included *Plectrude, wife of *Pippin II, and Abbess Adela of Pfalzel. JTP

LexMA 5, 662 'Irmina' (H. H. Anton).
M. Werner, *Adelsfamilien im Umkreis der frühen Karolinger* (1982).

iron and ironworking (Lat. *ferrum*, Gk. *σίδηρος*) Iron deposits were exploited throughout the Late Roman Empire. Mines are attested in southern *Gaul (Les Martys, Aude) and near *Autun in the 3rd or 4th century. Written sources document iron *mining in Gaul, in *Noricum, on Elba and *Sardinia (cf. *Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo*, 1, 351–6; *CTh* X, 19,6 [AD 368], 9 [AD 378]), in Dalmatia (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 3.5; **Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, 53), Thrace (*Expositio*, 51), and *Macedonia (*Not. Dig.* [or.] 2, 36; *Expositio*, 51). Some were perhaps located near the **fabricae* at *Niš (Naissus) and *Thessalonica (*Not. Dig.* [*or.*] 11, 36f.). Further evidence points to iron being extracted on *Cyprus (*Expositio*, 63) and at numerous sites in the Taurus Mountains in *Cappadocia. In 372 *Basil of *Caesarea requested the responsible authority to alleviate the tax burden on Cappadocian iron miners (*ep.* 110; cf. *Pliny, *Natural History*, 34, 41); these taxes were levied in kind at the rate of one-fifth of total production (*CTh* XI, 20, 6).

It was forbidden to trade iron beyond the limits of the Empire (*Digest*, 39, 4, 11; *Expositio*, 22 [AD 360]; *CJust* IV, 41, 2 [AD 456]), but iron was probably imported. According to a text attributed to *Zosimus of *Panopolis (3rd cent.), sword blades made of crucible steel were imported from Persia (*Collections Alchimistes*, 3, 347ff. [Gk], 332 [tr.]).

On the orders of the *Praefecti Praetorio iron was supplied to the state *fabricae* (*CTh* X, 22, 2 [AD 388]), which produced shields (*scutaria*), swords (*spatharia*), and/or *arms and armour (*loricaria*, *armorum*) or specialist equipment (*Not. Dig.* [*or.*] 9, 18–39; [*occ.*] 11, 16–39). The wrought iron gained from smelting and subsequent hammering (in order to remove slag) could attain different qualities, some with sufficient quantities of carbon to be classified as steel. For the production of blades, iron and steel rods could be twisted together and hammered repeatedly (pattern welding). Smiths also supplied the markets with a variety of iron implements, vessels, ornaments, etc. Written evidence for iron smiths comes from *Egypt where they formed *guilds (P.Oxy. 84, 2718) and celebrated cultic *festivals (e.g. at Deir el-Bahari/*Thebes). AMH

M. C. Bishop and J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (²1993), 238–42.
J. E. Cooper and M. J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia* (2012), 70–2.
P. T. Craddock, 'Mining and Metallurgy', in Oleson, *OHETC*, 107–9.
A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (2006), ch. 15.
A. Williams, *The Sword and the Crucible: A History of the Metallurgy of European Swords up to the 16th Century* (2012), 26f.

irrigation In much of the Mediterranean world, irrigation was restricted by terrain and lack of surface water. Small-scale watering, especially of *garden crops, and smaller-scale canal and *aqueduct irrigation was practised in *Gaul and *Italy, and *Spain possessed extensive irrigated landscapes (Butzer et al.), especially in the east. Roman systems in Upper *Mesopotamia fell into varying states of disrepair in the 6th and 7th centuries and were rehabilitated only under the *Umayyads, who expanded agriculture settlement through an aggressive programme of canal, dam, and **qanat* building.

*Egypt, though rainless, seemed fabulously rich in Antiquity because of its irrigation-based agriculture. The land, or at least its delta, was, according to Herodotus' famous saying (II, 5, perhaps originating from Hecataeus), 'the gift of the river', *scilicet* the *Nile, with its annual inundation. The river's gentle downward gradient made the principal method that of basin irrigation, the construction and maintenance of parallel and transverse embankments to contain floodwater. This required great labour and therefore, in good times, either the efficiency of a rigidly centralized state administration or the steady application of local knowledge. Which is of more importance is debated; opinion currently favours the latter. Land beyond the floodplain of the Nile, dedicated to orchards and vineyards, was irrigated artificially. In places this was accomplished with the ancient *shaduf* (a scoop at the end of a pole set on a fulcrum). The Hellenistic period saw the introduction of the Archimedean screw and the animal-driven wheel known in *Greek as a *mechane* and in *Arabic as a *saqiya*, whose use spread widely in the Roman and Late Antique periods. The latter development is reflected in a new type of document (5th–7th centuries) recording the replacement of broken or worn-out machinery parts, often axles; P.Oxy. XIX, 2244 is a list of such replacements.

In Persia, *qanats* supplied most irrigation, though the later *Sasanians built large-scale canal projects in the Diyala River and elsewhere in Persian *Mesopotamia; these contributed to salinization and environmental collapse. In southern *Arabia, the breach of the *Marib Dam between AD 575 and 600 spelled the end of the *Sabaean kingdom which had depended on hydraulic agriculture. MD; JGK

A. I. Wilson 'Hydraulic Engineering and Water Supply', in Oleson, *OHETCW.*
Bowman and Wilson, *Roman Agricultural Economy*, 219–306.
WaterHist 4/1 Special issue: Roman and Byzantine Empires (2012).

M. McCormick, 'What Climate Science, Ausonius, Nile Floods, Rye, and Thatch Tell Us about the Environmental History of the Roman Empire', and D. Keenan-Jones, 'Large-Scale Water Management Projects in Roman Central-Southern Italy', in Harris, *Ancient Mediterranean Environment*, 61–88 and 233–58.

J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (Phoenix suppl. 16, 1984).

K.W. Butzer et al., 'Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?', *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 75 (1985), 495–522.

CoptEnc vol. 2 *s.v.* calendar and agriculture, cols. 440a–443b (C. Wissa-Wassef).

L. Tacoma, 'Replacement Parts for an Irrigation Machine of the Divine House at Oxyrhynchus', *ZPE* 120 (1998), 123–30.

P. Christiansen, *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 BC to AD 1500* (1993).

irrigation, Persian and Mesopotamian *Farming in Persian *Mesopotamia in the *Sasanian period depended on irrigation to increase the area of land which could be cultivated. By Late Antiquity, canal irrigation in Mesopotamia and *Khuzestan had been practised for thousands of years, but under the Sasanians it was extended to levels not equalled until modern times. The *Arabic sources refer to the 'cut of the Khosrow' (Al-Ḳātūl al-Kisrawī), which irrigated the area east of the Tigris from a point above modern Samarra to the area south of Baghdad, and the 'canal of *Narseh' (Nahr al-Nars), which ran south of Babylon past Nippur. Such royal names suggest investment by Sasanian monarchs. Canals like these may have been dug during the Sasanian period or they may have been existing watercourses which were repaired, extended, or dredged. Identifying a particular canal in Late Antique Mesopotamia depends greatly on the existence of an alignment of sites that, in the absence of excavations, can be dated by surface *pottery of Sasanian and/or early Islamic date. In addition, water-lifting devices may have been used in some cases, particularly on the Tigris, Karkheh, and Karun rivers.

The situation on the Iranian Plateau was very different. In the absence of perennial streams, most irrigation relied on hand-dug wells or on **qanat*s. Sasanian legal sources (e.g. the **Matigan-i Hazar Datastan*) refer to *qanat*s, which could form part of sophisticated schemes of hydraulic engineering. At the time of the *Arab conquest *qanat*s were encountered by 'Abdallah b. 'Amir's forces in *Khorasan, and in the 9th century, according to Gardizi, the Tahirid ruler Abdullah Tahir commissioned a tract on the law relating to *qanat*s. DTP

R. McC. Adams, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates* (1981).

Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr.*

D. L. Graadt van Roggen, 'Notice sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane', in *Recherches archéologiques: mémoires de la délégation en Perse* 7 (1905), 167–207.

J. de Menasce, 'Textes pehlevis sur les qanats', *Acta Orientalia* 30 (1966), 167–75.

P. Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources en Iran du 7^e^ au 19^e^ siècle* (Bibliothèque iranienne 46, 1996).

P. Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 274.

F. Rahimi-Laridjani, *Die Entwicklung der Bewässerungslandwirtschaft im Iran bis in sasanidisch–frühislamische Zeit* (BI 13, 1988).

M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, 2 vols. (1900–1).

Isaac *Exarch (and **patricius*) of *Ravenna (625/6–643/4). Armenian by origin, he previously held military command in the East. His time in *Italy saw conflict and intrigue with both *Lombards and popes. In 640 Isaac exiled clergy and oversaw the confiscation of treasures from the Lateran Palace. In 643 he crushed a rebellion in *Rome led by the **chartularius* Mauricius. In the mid-620s Pope *Honorius asked Isaac to help restore the Lombard King Adaloald; and in 630 he had the Lombard *Dux Taso killed at *Ravenna, possibly prompted by King Arioald (*Fredegar, IV, 69). In 639 he founded a church at Torcello in the Lagoon of *Venice (*AE* 1973, 245). The **Liber Pontificalis* (75) claims Isaac died of a stroke at Ravenna, but he probably died in the bloody conflict at the River Scultenna at the exarchate's western border where *Rothari was extending Lombard territory. Isaac's *sarcophagus, preserved in S. Vitale at Ravenna, records how he kept hold of Rome and the West (*CIG* IV, 9869). NJC

PLRE III, Isaacius 8.

L. M. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien 540–750* (1889).

Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 52, 122.

O. Bertolini, 'Il patrizio Isacio esarca d'Italia', *Scritti scelti di storia medievale*, 1 (1968), 65–8.

Isaac, Synod of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, PERSIAN EMPIRE.

Isaac of Alexandria *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 689–92) A native of Shubra, Isaac was appointed with the explicit support of the *Arab *governor of *Egypt 'Abd al-'Aziz. Isaac's relationship with the governor remained close and he was able to build a church in the newly founded capital at *Hulwan and have church properties and buildings restored. The end of his rule, however, saw the Arab governor turn against the Church and Egyptian Christians (*HistCoptPatr*, PO 5, 1910). PMS

CoptEnc vol. 5 *s.n.* Isaac, cols. 1303a–1303b (S. Y. Labib).

BHO 539: ET (with introd.) D. N. Bell, *The Life of Isaac of Alexandria and the Martyrdom of Saint Macrobius by Menas of Nikoiu* (CSS 107, 1988).
Swanson, *Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt*.

Isaac of Antioch (5th–6th cent.) Conventional author of a corpus of over 200 metrical homilies and *hymns in *Syriac on biblical, ascetical, monastic, and historical themes, many preserved in 6th-century manuscripts. *Jacob of *Edessa (d. 708) identified three separate authors of this corpus: Isaac of *Amida, who visited *Rome and *Constantinople (early 5th cent.); Isaac 'the Great' from Edessa, who spent time in *Antioch (late 5th cent.); and another, later Isaac of Edessa (early 6th cent.). An additional author, Isaac the Solitary, appears to have also contributed to the corpus. The work of delimiting and studying the corpus is still in its early stages. KSH

GEDSH, *s.n.* Isḥaq of Amid, Isḥaq of Antioch, Isḥaq of Edessa, 212–13 (Mathews).
Kessel, *Bibliography*, 102–3.
ed. G. Bickell, *Sancti Isaaci Antiocheni Doctoris Syrorum Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (1873–77).
ed. P. Bedjan, *Homiliæ S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni* (1903).
T. Bou Mansour, 'Une clé pour la distinction des écrits des Isaac d'Antioche', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 79 (2003), 365–402.
T. Bou Mansour, 'La Distinction des écrits des Isaac d'Antioche: les œuvres inédites', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 57 (2005), 1–46.
T. Bou Mansour, 'Les Écrits ascétiques ou "monastiques" d'Isaac dit d'Antioche', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 59 (2007), 49–84.
E. G. Mathews, Jr., 'A Bibliographic Clavis to the Corpus of Works Attributed to Isaac of Antioch', *Hugoye* 5/1 (2002), 3–14.

Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian) (7th cent.) *Bishop, hermit, and *Syriac mystical writer of the *Church of the East. He originated from Qatar (Beth Qatraye) and was made Bishop of *Nineveh by the *Catholicus George whose term of office (661–81) provides the only firm chronological basis for Isaac's life. A few months after the ordination he left office in order to become a hermit in south-west Iran.

His writings were handed down in at least five 'Parts', of which the first three and the fifth are known to us. His 'First Part' was translated into *Greek at the monastery of S. *Sabas in *Palestine (8th/9th cent.). As a starting point for *translations into several other languages, this version made Isaac a spiritual authority for all the Eastern Orthodox (Chalcedonian) churches. The other 'Parts', rediscovered only in recent years, focus in particular on God's infinite love which contradicts the idea of eternal damnation. For Isaac, the peak of mystical experience is reached in *prayer beyond words and imaginations ('non-prayer'). KP

GEDSH s.v. Isḥaq of Neneveh, 213–14 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 202.
Kessel, *Bibliography*, 103–22.
'First Part', ed. P. Bedjan, *Mar Isaacus Ninivita: De Perfectione Religiosa* (1909).
ET A. J. Wensinck, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh* (1923).
'Second Part', chs. 4–41, ed. (with ET) S. P. Brock (CSCO 554–5, Scr. syr. 224–5; 1995).
FT A. Louf, *Isaac le Syrien: œuvres spirituelles* (2003).
'Third Part', ed. (with IT) S. Chialà (CSCO 637–8, Scr. syr. 246–7, 2011).
ET of selections S. Brock, *The Wisdom of St. Isaac of Nineveh* (1997; repr. with Syriac text TeCLA 1, 2006).
H. Alfeyev, *The Spiritual World of Isaac the Syrian* (CSS 175, 2000).
S. Chialà, *Dall'ascesi eremitica alla misericordia infinita: ricerche su Isacco di Ninive e la sua fortuna* (2002).
P. Hagman, *The Asceticism of Isaac of Nineveh* (2010).
N. Kavvadas, *Isaak von Ninive und seine Kephalaia Gnostika. Die Pneumatologie und ihr Kontext* (VigChr Suppl. 128, 2015).

Isaac the monk Isaac, one of the first monks in *Constantinople, was remembered (truthfully or not) for having rebuked the *Emperor *Valens for supporting the 'Arians' as the emperor was setting out for the disastrous Battle of *Adrianople (378). The two surviving *Lives* are no earlier than the 6th century. RMP

BHG 955–6: *AASS* Maii VII, 244–53 and 254–60.
G. Dagron, 'Les Moines et la ville: le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)' (TM 4, 1970), 229–76.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 242–6.

Isaiah, Asceticon of (5th/6th cent.) Extensive compilation of ascetic literature extant in various *Greek, *Syriac, *Coptic, and *Armenian versions. Probably formed of at least two redactional layers, the primary layer going back to *Isaiah of *Scetis and the other incorporated subsequently, possibly in *Palestine. The *Asceticon* transmits much of the spirit of the *desert fathers of *Egypt, embracing all aspects of the ascetic life and furnishing distinctive teaching on the natural passions and the monk's ascent of the Cross. Notwithstanding affinities with the **Macarian Homilies*, it is an ascetic synthesis of some originality that enjoyed great prestige and popularity in Late Antiquity. MGPe

ed. R. Draguet (with FT and comm.), *Les Cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'abba Isaïe*, 4 vols. (CSCO 289–90, 293–4, Scr. syr. 120–3, 1968).
ed. Augustinos Monachos, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀββὰ Ἡσαΐου λόγοι κθ'* (1911).

ET J. Chryssavgis and P. Penkett, *Abba Isaiah of Scetis Ascetic Discourses* (CSS 150, 2002).
M. Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (2004), 176–212.

Isaiah of Scetis Ascetic of early 5th-century *Scetis recorded in the **Apophthegmata Patrum*. He is possibly to be identified with Isaiah of *Gaza (d. 491). The *Asceticon of Abba *Isaiah* is also ascribed to him. MGPe

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.n.* Isaiah of Scetis, Saint, cols. 1305a–1306b (L. Regnault).
DS 7/2 *s.n.* 'Isaïe de Sceté ou de Gaza', 2083–95 (L. Regnault).
ed (with FT) R. Draguet, *Les Cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'abba Isaïe* (CSCO 289–90, 293–4, Scr. syr. 120–3, 1968).

Isaura Vetus Roman *city (mod. Bozkır) in *Lycaonia. A *bishop, Hilarius, is first attested at the *Council of *Constantinople in 381. The *Vita* of S. Conon the Isaurian (*AnBoll* 103 (1985), 1–34) is set entirely in this area. Archaeological remains are few. After the closing of the mint at *Seleucia ad Calycadnum (mod. Silifke) mint personnel from *Seleucia briefly minted copper **folles* from a single **officina* in Isaura (mint mark ISAYR) in 617/18, during the *Persian invasion of Asia Minor. HE; RRD

P. Wood, 'The Invention of History in the Later Roman World: The Conversion of Isauria in The Life of Conon', *AnatSt* 59 (2009), 129–38.
DOC 2.1.
P. Grierson, 'The Isaurian Coins of Heraclius', *NumChron* 6th series 11 (1951), 56–67.

Isauria and Isaurians A mountainous region of southern *Anatolia lying between *Pisidia and *Pamphylia to the West, *Lycaonia to the north, and *Cilicia to the east. There were over twenty *cities in Isauria, though only the inland cities of Germanicopolis, Claudiopolis, and the coastal city of Anemurium (*Anamur) were of much size, and there is far less archaeological evidence than in similarly located cities in Lycia and Pisidia. The interior was dominated by the Calycadnus River Valley, flowing through the Taurus Mountains to *Seleucia. Although the Late Roman *province, first created as an independent province in the mid-3rd century, was named after the city of Isaura (later *Isaura Vetus), this lay outside Isauria in Lycaonia. The provincial capital was at Seleucia. Isauria is placed in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens in the *Verona List (255 recto, 20) and in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or*. XXII, 31). The governor was often a *Praeses, though he was sometimes assigned troops and in an unusual arrangement made *Dux or *Comes, as in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*or*. XXIX).

The population had a reputation for producing *brigands. *Ammianus Marcellinus records raids in 354, 359, and 368, while a widespread set of raids in 404 are referred to in *letters by both *John Chrysostom and *Jerome. The poverty which encouraged banditry also made this area a productive source of soldiers, with Isaurian regiments being particularly prominent in the Roman *army from the middle of the 5th century onwards, giving its name to various corps under the *Magister Militum Praesentalis (*Not. Dig.* [*or*.] V, 25 and 66) and the Magister Militum per Orientem (*or*. VII, 20 and 56). One of these soldiers, *Tarasicodissa, married the daughter of the *Emperor *Leo I *c.*466 and, having changed his name to *Zeno, himself became emperor in 474. This period saw much *patronage and money flow into Isauria as Zeno promoted his friends and relatives. This prosperity also involved the region in Roman imperial politics, and Roman armies fought in the region in 475–6, 484–8, and 491–8. Following the conclusion of the war under *Anastasius I, some Isaurians were resettled in *Thrace, while others found work as labourers or as monks. Following the rise of *Islam in the 7th century, the region became a sector of the *Arab–Byzantine *frontier in *Cilicia.

Despite its reputation for banditry, and despite the continued presence of a local Isaurian language (though not recorded epigraphically), the region was well integrated into the Roman Empire. *Pottery imports of Mediterranean fine ware reached into the interior, *bishops from the province regularly visited *Antioch and *Constantinople, and several *sermons of Basil, Bishop of Seleucia in the late 5th century, are preserved (*CPG* 6655–74). Isaurians had a reputation as *masons in 6th-century Constantinople. The shrine at Meryemlik, near Seleucia, of S.*Thecla, legendary companion of S. Paul, was visited by the Emperor Zeno himself. The region's remoteness means that many archaeological sites are well preserved, in particular the church complex at *Alahan. HE

H. Elton, 'The Nature of the Sixth-Century Isaurians', in S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex, eds., *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (2000), 293–307.
H. Elton, 'Alahan and Zeno', *AnatSt* 52 (2002), 153–7.
S. Hill, *The Early Byzantine Churches of Cilicia and Isauria* (1996).
N. Lenski, 'Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria from the 1st Century BC to the 6th Century AD', *JESHO* 42 (1999), 413–65.
P. Wood, 'The Invention of History in the Later Roman World: The Conversion of Isauria in *The Life of Conon*', *AnatSt* 59 (2009), 129–38.

Isfahan (MP Spahān 'city/camp of the armies') Fertile and prosperous region of the *Persian Empire north of *Fars on the western side of the Iranian Plateau,

mentioned already in the *inscriptions of the *mowbed *Kerdir. It is attested as Spahān on *Sasanian *seals and appears in the Sasanian text *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*.

Isfahan is the name also of the region's principal fortress-city, though the usual MP name for the city is Jay or Gay. The **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*) mentions a governor (Shahrab) of Gay, and a mint (mint mark GD) is attested from the mid-5th century into the Islamic period. *Movses Khorenats'i (III, 35) records the transfer of *Jews from *Armenia to Isfahan under *Shapur II. The Shahrestan or Gay *Bridge east of the city retains its Sasanian piers. On a rocky eminence 8 km (5 miles) west of the city stand the remains of a tower and a *fire temple which are visible from a considerable distance. There was a *bishop of the *Church of the East already in the 5th century. *Arab armies took the city in the aftermath of their victory at the Battle of *Nahawand in AD 640 (19 AH). DTP; OPN

EncIran XIII/6 (2006) *s.n.* Isfahan, iv Pre-Islamic period, 635–8 (J. Hansman and eds.); vi medieval period 641–50 (H. Kamaly).

T. Daryaee, *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History* (2008), 55.

Gyselen, *Nouveaux Matériaux*, 169–70.

Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 582–670.

Isho'yahb I (d. 595/6) Student at, and from 569 director of, the School of *Nisibis, until he was elected *Bishop of *Arzen in 571. He served as an agent for the Shah *Hormizd IV. Elected *catholicus of the *Church of the East in 582, he convened a synod in 585 which dealt with disciplinary and dogmatic matters. *Canons and theological writings survive. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Isho'yahb I, 218 (Brock).

EAC s.v. Isho'yahb I, 360–1 (den Biesen).

DHGE 26 (1996), 177–8.

ed. (with FT) Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 130–96, 390–455.

S. Brock, 'The Christology of the Church of the East', in G. Dragas, ed., *Aksum Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain* (1985), 136–9 (including ETs).

Isho'yahb II of Gdala (d. 644/5) *Catholicus of the *Church of the East. Isho'yahb II studied and later taught at the School of *Nisibis, but left the school in protest against the theology of its director *Henana. He then led the school of Balad until elected catholicus in 628. In 630, he was sent as ambassador by the Persian Queen *Boran to negotiate peace with the *Emperor *Heraclius in *Aleppo. He is credited with later negotiating with the *Caliph *'Umar al-Khattab a treaty of protection for Christians. His writings, including a Commentary on the Psalms, are largely lost. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Isho'yahb II of Gdala, 218 (Brock).

DHGE 26 (1996), 178–9.

EAC s.v. Isho'yahb II, 361 (den Biesen).

ed. (with FT) L. R. M. Sako, *Lettre christologique du patriarch Isho'yahb II de Gdala* (1983).

Isho'yahb III of Adiabene (*c.*580–659) Theologian, monk, and author; *catholicus of the *Church of the East 649–59. Isho'yahb came from a wealthy family of Kuphlana in *Adiabene. His father Bastomagh, a landowner, was a benefactor of the recently founded *Monastery of Bet 'Abe where Isho'yahb asked to be buried.

Isho'yahb studied at the School of *Nisibis, but left it with others in protest against the *theology of *Henana the director, and joined the *Monastery of Bet 'Abe. Isho'yahb was elected *Bishop of *Nineveh (628), then *Metropolitan of *Arbela. He took an active part in theological controversy, opposing the theology of one *qnoma* in Christ advocated by *Sahdona (Martyrius) and *Syriac Orthodox Christians. In 630 he formed part of the embassy to the Emperor *Heraclius from *Boran, daughter of the defeated and deceased *Khosrow II.

In the early years of *Islam when apostasies increased, he calmed Christians, in particular quelling separatist tendencies in the *dioceses of *Fars and Bet Qaṭraye (Qaṭar). He also reformed the *liturgy and the breviary. Over 100 *letters survive, giving valuable information on ecclesiastical events and relationships between Christians and Muslims. Isho'yahb also wrote *hymns, refutations of *heresies, and historical narratives. *Thomas of *Marga (I, 69–80; II, 123–79) and *Bar 'Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, III, 130–2) both give accounts of him. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Isho'yahb III of Adiabene, 218–19 (Brock).

EAC s.v. Isho'yahb III, 361 (den Biesen).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 174–82.

Letters, ed. (with LT) R. Duval (CSCO 11–12, Scr. syr. 11–12; 1904–5).

H. Teule, in *Christian–Muslim Relations*, vol. 1, 133–6.

J. M. Fiey, 'Īšō'yaw le Grand', *OrChristPer* 35 (1969), 305–33; 36 (1970), 5–46.

D. Winkler, 'Die Christologie des ostsyrischen Katholikos Isho'yahb III. von Adiabene', *SP* 35 (2001), 516–26.

O. Ioan, *Muslime und Araber bei Išojahb III. (649–659)* (2009).

F. Jullien, 'Le Charisme au service de la hiérarchie', in D. Aigle, ed., *Les Autorités religieuses entre charismes et hiérarchie* (2011), 41–51.

S. P. Brock, 'Syriac Views of Emergent Islam', in his *Syriac Perspectives*, Study VIII.

Isidore (mid-5th cent.–early 6th cent.) Philosopher. A native of *Alexandria, Isidore studied *philosophy there under the brothers Heraiscus and Asclepiades before heading to *Athens in 470 to complete his education under *Proclus. In Athens, he read Plato under Proclus and Aristotle under the guidance of *Marinus. He returned to teach philosophy after turning down a

request to succeed Proclus as head of the Athenian school (*Damascius, *VIsidori*, 98C).

Isidore was a mediocre teacher who was quick to criticize and often had trouble explaining his ideas clearly. His analysis of texts relied more on his inspiration than his knowledge of other commentators. He twice attempted to flee Alexandria in 489 rather than compromise in the face of an imperial investigation of *pagan teachers. The first attempt failed when he was discovered loading books onto a boat, but the second attempt, a journey to Athens by land, succeeded. Damascius accompanied Isidore on this journey, saw Isidore's actions as embodying philosophical principles, and was converted to the philosophical life. When Isidore reached Athens, he was prevailed upon to take over as head of the Athenian *Neoplatonic school but left the city soon afterwards (Damascius, *VIsidori*, 151 A–F).

He left no known writings, though Damascius does indicate that he occasionally wrote extremely unpolished poetry. Damascius' *Life of Isidore*, written between 517 and 526, serves to illustrate Isidore's exemplary nature by comparing him explicitly and implicitly to a range of contemporary pagan intellectuals. Aside from a few scattered references elsewhere, most of what is known about Isidore derives from this text. EW

PLRE II, Isidorus 5.

VIsidori: ed. P. Athanassiadi (annotated with ET), *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (1999).

P. Athanassiadi, 'Persecution and Response in Late Paganism', *JHS* 113 (1993), 1–29.

Watts, *Riot in Alexandria*, 52–93.

Isidore of Miletus Engineer, *architect, and mathematician from *Miletus who, with *Anthemius of *Tralles, was chief architect in the rebuilding of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom after 532 (*Procopius, *Aed*. I, 1, 24; *Paul the *Silentiary, *Ecphrasis*, 552–3). They also offered advice on the flood defences of *Dara (*Aed* II, 3, 7–14). Isidore taught in *Constantinople, was mentioned by other mathematicians as their master, wrote a commentary on the lost *Kamarika* of *Hero, and is said to have collated or annotated *Eutocius' commentary on Archimedes' *On the Sphere and Cylinder*. His nephew, also *Isidore, was also an architect (*Aed*. II, 8, 25). ER

PLRE IIIA, Isidorus 4.

Isidore of Miletus the Younger Nephew of the *architect *Isidore of *Miletus and himself an architect. He participated in the fortification of *Zenobia under the architect Johannes (*Procopius, *Aed*. II, 8, 5), and he is perhaps the engineer Isidore mentioned in inscriptions of AD 550 from *Chalcis in *Syria. He was entrusted with the rebuilding of the *dome of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople after its collapse in 558 (*Agathias V, 9, 3–9; *Paul the *Silentiary, *Ecphrasis*, 315–19; *Theophanes, AM 6055; cf. *John Malalas, XVIII, 143). ER

PLRE IIIA, Isidorus 5.

Isidore of Seville (*c.*560–4 April 636) *Bishop of *Seville from 599/601 until his death and voluminous author of works on *grammar, exegesis, church discipline, and history that enjoyed wide diffusion and consistent popularity throughout the Middle Ages.

Life and times

Isidore was born to a family from Cartagena; he succeeded his brother *Leander as Bishop of Seville in *c.*600. He assembled the Second Council of Seville in 619, where the two Natures and single Person of Christ were defined as against the Acephalite heresy, as well as the *Homoean ('*Arian') beliefs recently abjured by the *Visigothic kings. He also assembled the first version of the *Hispana* conciliar collection. The authenticity of his letters is controversial, but he did correspond with *Braulio of Zaragoza, who edited his *Etymologies* and composed a profile of his life and works. Isidore wrote a *Chronicle* and a *History of the Goths, Vandals, and Sueves* under King *Sisebut (r. 611/12–20), revising them under *Suinthila (r. 621–31); he structured his narratives by reign, and fitted the Visigothic kingdom into universal history. While he dedicated his *Etymologies* and *De Natura Rerum* to Sisebut, who replied with a poem on *eclipses, he criticized Sisebut after the king's death for forcibly converting Jews, and transferred his *praise to Suinthila. By virtue of seniority, Isidore presided over the Fourth Council of *Toledo in 633, perhaps drafting the acts. These required bishops to establish episcopal *schools on the model of those at Seville, and the council closed by condemning conspiracy against the king, beginning an alliance between Church and crown. His death is described by Redemptus, *Deacon of Seville. GDB

Works

Isidore's grammatical works include *Differences*, treating distinctions between related words (book 1) and entities (book 2), and *Synonyms*, a meditation on repentance illustrating synonymy. The encyclopedic *Etymologies* (or *Origines*), probably his best-known work, deploys classical and patristic erudition to reveal how a word's 'origin' reveals essential truth concerning the thing itself (I, xxix, 2). Books 1–5 cover the learned disciplines (grammar, *rhetoric, dialectic, *mathematical sciences, *medicine, and *law), leading to a survey of Christian doctrine and worship (6–8). Languages and social groups (9), and adjectives describing humans (10) form the bridge to natural history (11–14, 16), and thence to techniques such as building, *farming,

*warfare, and food preparation (15, 17–20). *The Nature of Things* (*De Natura Rerum)* pairs classical *cosmology with Christian *allegory.

The Book of Numbers (*Liber Numerorum*) applies the same allegorical method to numbers found in the Bible to reveal *number symbolism. Aside from the *Expositions* (or: *Questions*) *on the Old Testament*, Isidore's exegetical output takes the form of handbooks. These are the *Prooemiae* (introductions to the books of the Bible), the *Lives and Deaths of the Fathers* (*De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*), and *Allegories* (typological and moral interpretations of OT and NT figures).

The Origin of Offices covers 'offices' in both senses, i.e. Christian *liturgy, including '*Mozarabic' rites, and the duties of different ranks within the Church. *On Heresies* (perhaps not authentic), *On the Catholic Faith against the Jews*, and the *Rule for Monks* respond to doctrinal and disciplinary challenges in the Spanish Church. Finally, *Sentences* expounds basics of faith and moral theology.

Isidore also composed three works of history: *On Famous Men* (*De Viris Illustribus*), which includes many Spanish Christian authors; a universal *Chronicle*; and *The Origin* (or *History*) *of the Goths*, with addenda on the *Vandals and *Suebes. This last work stands in the tradition of *Latin histories of barbarian peoples, but adopts a perspective peculiar to Isidore's situation. The *Visigoths are furnished with a double *origo*, biblical and classical, but their destined *patria* is *Spain, where they will unite with the Hispano-Romans in a catholic Christian kingdom. This destiny is announced in the *Laus Spaniae*, a prefatory encomium of Spain itself, the fertile 'mother of princes and of peoples'. FW

RAC 18 (1998) *s.n.* Isidor IV, cols. 1002–27 (J. Fontaine).
J. Elfassi et al. in *Te.Tra.* 1 (2004), 196–226 and 2 (2005), 274–417.
CPL 1186–1229a:
PL 81–3, reprinting F. Arévalo (1798–1803).
Allegoriae, ed. (with FT and comm.) D. Poirel, *Les Allegoriae d'Isidore de Séville* (thesis, École nationale des chartes, 1986).
Chron. ed. T. Mommsen (MGH *AA* 11/2), 424–87.
ed. J. C. Martín (CCSL 112, 2003).
Liber Differentiarum II: Liber I: ed. C. Cordoñer (annotated with SpT, *ALMA*, 1992);
Liber II ed. M. A. Andrés (CCSL 111A, 2006).
De Haeresibus, ed. A. C. Vega (1940, repr. *PL Suppl.* 4, 1815–20).
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De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, ed. C. Lawson (CCSL 113, 1989).
ET (annotated) E. T. Knoebel (ACW 61, 2008).
De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, ed. (annotated with SpT) C. Chapparo, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum Vida y muerte de los santos* (*ALMA*, 1985).
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ET G. B. Ford Jr. (²1970).
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ET S. A. Barney et al. (2006).
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II ed. P. K. Marshall (with ET, 1983).
III ed. G. Gasparotto and J.-Y. Guillaumin (with FT, 2009).
V eds. V. Yarza Urquiola and F.J. Andrés Santo (with SpT, 2013).
VI ed. C. Chaparro Gómez (with SpT, 2012).
VII eds. J.-Y.Guillaumin et P. Monat (with FT, 2012).
IX ed. M. Reydellet (with FT, 1984).
XI ed. F. Gasti (with IT, 2010).
XII ed. J. André (with FT, 1986).
XIII ed. G. Gasparotto (with FT, 2004).
XIV ed. O. Spevak (with FT, 2011).
XV ed. J.-Y. Guillaumin and P. Monat (annotated with FT, 2004).
XVI ed. J. Feans Landeira (with FT, 2011).
XVII ed. J. André (with FT, 1981).
XVIII ed. J. Cantó Llorca (with SpT, 2007).
XIX ed. M. Rodriguez-Pantoja (with SpT, 1995).
XX ed. J.-Y. Guillaumin (with FT, 2010).
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Sententiae, ed. P. Cazier (CCSL 111, 1998).
Synonyma, J. Elfassi (CCSL 111B, 2009).
Versus. J. M. Sánchez Martín (with SpT, CCSL 113A, 2000).

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*Ildefonsus *Vir. Ill.* 8.
Scripta de vita Isidori: ed. J. C. Martín (CCSL 113B, 2006).

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M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Introducción', in J. Oroz Reta and M. A. Marcos Casquero, eds., *Etimologías de San Isidoro de Sevilla* (²1993; repr. 2009), 1–257.
M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana: Estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIV centenaro de su nacimento* (1961).
J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et le culture classique dans l'Espane Wisigothique*, 2 vols. (1959 with supplement 1983).

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J. Elfassi, 'Chronique isidorienne 2008–09', *Eruditio Antiqua* 2 (2010), 165–87; 'Chronique isidorienne II, 2010–2011', *Eruditio Antiqua* 4 (2012), 19–63; 'Chronique isidorienne III, 2012–13', *Eruditio Antiqua* 6 (2014), 39–87.
A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia: A Supplemental Bibliography, 1984–2003* (2006), with supplements 2004–6 (2008), 2007–9 (2011), 2010–12 (2014) *s.n.* 'Isidore of Seville'.
J. N. Hillgarth, 'The Position of Isidorian Studies 1936–75: A Critical Review of the Literature', in his *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium and the Irish* (1985).
J. N. Hillgarth, 'Isidorian Studies 1976–85', *Studi medievali* ser. 3, vol. 31 (1990), 925–76.

Isidorus, Aurelius (*c.*270–post 324) Keeper of a large family *archive (*c.*180 *papyri) related to the private and public dealings of himself and his *family in the Fayum *village of *Karanis located in the Arsinoite *nome. Isidorus was one of at least eight children born to Ptolemaeus and Herois. His papers, which also concern the affairs of his brothers, illustrate, in a similar way to the *Sakaon Archive, agricultural activities and *village administration in the last quarter of the 3rd and first quarter of the 4th century. Isidorus was a landholder, tenant farmer, and performer of the civic duties known as liturgies, serving among other functions as village *headman (*komarch*) and *tesserarius*, in the latter capacity overseeing the return of fugitives who had taken shelter in his village (*see* ANACHORESIS). He is representative of a dying breed of citizen farmer who balanced the responsibilities of a demanding and often corrupt liturgical system with diverse farming interests. RA

P.Cair.Isid. = A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie, eds., *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan* (1960).
P.Col. VII = R. S. Bagnall and N. Lewis, eds., *Fourth Century Documents from Karanis* (AmStudPap 20, 1979).
'Aurelius Isidoros', *Trismegistos Archives*,
http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/34 (accessed 18 November 2012).

Isidorus, Flavius Anthemius (*Consul 436) Native of *Egypt and son of the powerful *Praefectus Praetorio *Anthemius, he was *Proconsul *Asiae, then *Praefectus Urbi at *Constantinople in 410–12, before becoming Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum (424) and of *Oriens (435–6). *Isidorus of Pelusium wrote to him. Sozomenus, his *Domesticus, may be the historian *Sozomen. ADL

PLRE II, Isidorus 9.

Isidorus of Pelusium Prolific monastic writer of the late 4th to early 5th centuries. Well educated (probably in *Alexandria), Isidorus appears to have taught *rhetoric in Pelusium until he retired to the desert of *Nitria. Upon his return to *Pelusium, Isidorus was ordained as a *priest, but he spent most of his long career in a *monastery outside the *city. It was there that he penned nearly 2,000 elegantly crafted *letters to a wide assortment of monks, priests, *bishops, local officials, imperial administrators (including *Theodosius II), and assorted laymen, especially throughout the *province of *Augustamnica Prima. He was an admirer of *John Chrysostom, and an ardent advocate of high moral standards among the clergy. Isidorus' letters reveal him to be a sensible exegete and a devout ascetic who remained fully engaged with the lives of his numerous correspondents. CJH

CoptEnc 4 *s.n.* Isidorus of Pelusium, cols. 1308a–1310b (P. Evieux).
CPG 5557–8.
ed. in *PG* 78, 177–1645.
ed. (with FT) P. Evieux, *Isidore de Péluse*: *Lettres*, vol. 1: *Lettres 1214–1413* (SC 422, 1997); vol. 2: *Lettres 1414–1700* (SC 454, 2000).
P. Évieux, *Isidore de Péluse* (1995).

Isis, cult of A shorthand expression for the religious dimension, focused on Isis, Serapis, Osiris, Harpocrates, and Anubis, of a much wider long-term interaction between Hellenized *Egypt and the rest of the Empire. The cult was always strongest in the east Mediterranean, where it often continued to form part of local practice until the late 4th century. At *Rome, *vota publica* coin issues with Isiac motifs were struck until AD 379 and cult practice in the Iseum Campense seems to have continued until *Theodosius I, but explicit evidence for worship is limited to private houses of the *aristocracy. The Serapea of *Menouthis and *Alexandria were destroyed by *Theophilus, *Patriarch of Alexandria, in 389 and 391/2. *Justinian I ordered the closure of the *Temple of Isis at *Philae, a centre of *pagan practice, in 535/7. A synthetic treatment of the topic in Late Antiquity is a desideratum. RLG

L. Bricault, *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques* (2001).
L. Bricault, *Sylloge Nummorum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (2008).
S. Ensoli, 'I santuari di Iside e Serapide a Roma e la resistenza pagana', in S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (2000), 267–87.
J. Hahn, 'Die Zerstörung der Kulte von Philae', in J. Hahn et al., eds., *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (RGRW 163, 2008), 203–42.
K. Kleibl, *Iseion. Raumgestaltung und Kultpraxis in den Heiligtümern gräco-ägyptischer Götter im Mittelmeerraum* (2009).
S. Takács, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World* (RGRW 124, 1995).

Islam Islam became the name for the strand of monotheist belief with an *Arabic scriptural tradition that took shape in the Near East in the 7th and 8th centuries AD. The Arabic word *islam* literally means 'submission' or 'surrender' and is usually understood to refer to the believer's submission to the will of God. Muslim, literally 'one who surrenders', is derived from the same consonantal root. Both terms took some time to become the most common labels used by adherents to the new religious movement. **Muhajir* ('emigrant') and *mu'min* ('believer') are among the more common self-descriptions in the documentary evidence from the 7th and early 8th centuries.

The traditional Islamic sources, which largely date in their extant form from the 9th century AD and later, present Islam as a religious tradition established by *Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah (d. AD 632), a *merchant from the small shrine town of *Mecca in the western highlands of the *Arabian Peninsula. Between about 610 and his death in 632, Muhammad received revelations from the unique God of the Judaic and Christian traditions. Opposed in his home town of Mecca, he founded in 622 a new political community of believers at *Medina (formerly Yathrib), about 300 km (180 miles) to the north. Under his leadership, this Medinan community enjoyed significant political and economic success, uniting many of the *tribes of Arabia in a federation and in AD 629–30 forcing his former opponents in Mecca to recognize his leadership.

Already in the latter years of Muhammad's life, expansionist *warfare had brought his followers into contact with tribes allied with the Roman and *Persian empires. Then, in the decades immediately after Muhammad's death, his west Arabian followers presided over a wave of conquests that broke Greater *Syria and *Egypt away from Roman control, and seized *Mesopotamia and parts of Iran, precipitating the collapse of the *Sasanian dynasty. Many of the later sources state that God's revelations to Muhammad were collected into a written book during these same decades in the middle of the 7th century, and there is mounting documentary evidence that the Arabic *Qur'ān was indeed circulating in this period.

With the conquest of much of Roman and Persian territory, the west Arabians became the leaders of a vast tributary empire. Conflict within the west Arabian elite, combined with tensions within and between the tribes in the conquered provinces, caused two periods of particularly violent unrest, the *Arab Civil Wars, remembered in the later sources as the First and Second **Fitna*s ('trials' or 'temptations') of AD 656–61 and 683–92. The *Umayyad branch of Muhammad's tribe of *Quraysh emerged victorious from both these conflicts, at the expense of their rivals within Quraysh. The Zubayrid branch of Quraysh seems to have abandoned any aspiration to lead the new polity thereafter, while the Hashimite branch became the focus for the aspirations of a number of groups aggrieved by the success of the Umayyads and their Syrian tribal allies. In 750, a rebellion beginning on the eastern frontier of the new empire created by the *Arab Conquests succeeded in overthrowing the Umayyads and in installing the *Abbasid branch of the Hashimite tribe in power, with a new capital in Iraq (*Mesopotamia).

Historical study of this first century or so of Islam has focused above all on two related questions. The first of these concerns the history of the formation of the scriptural tradition of Islam. This includes both the Qur'ān and the traditions about the actions and conduct of Muhammad and his associates, traditions known collectively as the *hadith, as well as *Shi'a traditions about the various Shi'i imams, who were descended from Muhammad's cousin *'Ali and daughter *Fatima. The second question concerns Arabic *historiography, that is to say the historical reliability of these materials and the other elements of the Islamic tradition, notably the *sira* material about the biography of Muhammad and the *akhbar* ('reports') about the early history of Islam, which were compiled in works of *ta'rikh* ('history'). In answering these two questions, many scholars have engaged with the third problem of how early Islam should be related to its wider context: understanding the formation and character of the Islamic tradition has increasingly been seen to demand interpretations that situate it in relation to other religious currents in the Late Antique Near East. Explanations for the development of social and political formations in the early Islamic period have also engaged to varying extents with wider Late Antique political, economic, and social history. In what follows, some of the more important strands of scholarship in relation to early Islam in its Late Antique context are outlined.

Much recent study has considered the extent to which the bundle of religious, social, economic, and political developments in the Near East, often collectively labelled as the 'rise of Islam', belong to 'Late Antiquity' (itself an equally capacious and variously defined category). That the culture of early Islam in some respects belonged to Late Antiquity had been proposed by art historians such as A. Riegl in the late 19th century, and Semiticists such as C. H. Becker. More recently, P. Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971) was an important stimulus to studies of Islam that identified continuities with the Late Roman past, and G. Fowden's *Empire to Commonwealth* (1993) examined interactions between monotheist belief and imperialism in Late Antiquity, noting how the former allowed for the survival of cultural identities long after the collapse of political empire in both Rome and Islam.

Whereas Brown and many of his successors came to the study of Islam from Late Roman Christianity, scholars working primarily on Islam itself and the Arabic sources also brought comparative perspectives and new methods to bear on early Islam in the 1970s. P. Crone and M. Cook's *Hagarism* (1977) and Crone's *Slaves on Horses* (1980) pursued the implications of a very sceptical reading of the later Arabic tradition, and also made conclusions based upon comparison with early medieval developments in Europe and Scandinavia. However, in these works and others, such as Crone and M. Hinds's *God's Caliph* (1986), there was a tendency to emphasize the distinctiveness of the Islamic tradition and its Arabian origins. In *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987), Crone took a similar approach to the economy, suggesting that west Arabia at the time of Muhammad was economically isolated, and that Islam might have had some of the characteristics of a 'nativist' revolt against the Roman Empire.

Since the 1990s scholarship has brought together the implications of Late Antique studies and sceptical source criticism for the early history of Islam. Many of the sceptics' conclusions have been challenged or revised, with more subtle source-critical approaches gaining ground, and more careful consideration of the non-Arabic sources. Important contributions include the work of F. M. Donner and R. Hoyland. Comparative archaeological and historical approaches, such as those by H. Kennedy and C. Wickham, have also led to new consideration of how the Near East fitted into the wider economic and political patterns of Late Antiquity. Source-critical approaches to the hadith and *sira* have been refined, for example by H. Motzki. New approaches to the material evidence for early Islam, such as the studies of early Qu'rān manuscripts by F. Déroche, are also yielding important results. There has also been a return to questions of the relationship between the Islamic scriptural and wider literary tradition and other Middle Eastern traditions. A prominent example of such an approach is the *Corpus Coranicum* project, which has sought to identify intertextualities between the Qur'ānic text and texts of other Late Antique religious traditions.

Because much of the scholarship that prompted a more contextualized approach to Islamic origins was carried out by Late Roman and Byzantine specialists, the legacy of Sasanian Iran and the Asian context for early Islam has been somewhat neglected. However, new archaeological work in Iran and *Central Asia, as well as new consideration of sources for the Islamic east, is beginning to redress this imbalance. Greater attention is also now being focused on the Arabian Peninsula in the period before Muhammad. A growing corpus of pre-Islamic Arabian epigraphic and archaeological evidence promises a more precise context for the early 7th-century developments that led to the coming of Islam. AM

UCL Institute of Archaeology, *Ancient Merv Project* http://www.ucl.ac.uk/merv.
C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien* (1924–32).
P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971).
Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Corpus Coranicum—Textdokumentation und historisch-kritischer Kommentar zum Koran* http://corpuscoranicum.de/.
P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (1980).
P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).
P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism* (1977).
P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* (1986).
F. Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads* (2013).
F. M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins* (1998).
G. Fisher, ed., *Arabs and Empires before Islam* (2015).
G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth* (1993).
G. Fowden, *Before and After Muhammad* (2013).
O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (²1987).
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam.*
H. Kennedy, 'The Middle East in Islamic Late Antiquity', in A. Monson and W. Scheidel, eds., *Fiscal Regimes and the Political Economy of PreModern States* (2015), 390–403.
H. Motzki, 'Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey', *Arabica* 52/2 (2005), 204–53.
A. Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1901).
C. Wickham, 'Tributary Empires: Late Rome and the Arab Caliphate,' in P. F. Bang and C. A. Bayly, eds., *Tributary Empires in Global History* (2011), 205–13.

Islamic invasions *See* ARAB CONQUEST.

L'Isle-Jourdain (dép. Gers, France) A roadside **vicus* in *Aquitaine, perhaps the *mutatio Bucconis* visited by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim. It acquired a church and *baptistery in the 5th century.

Adjacent to this a *cemetery containing high-status burials developed in the first half of the 6th century. The grave-goods deposited in these burials have much in common in their volume and nature (*arms and *weapon deposits, *belt buckles) with those found in cemeteries in north-east *Gaul, and have been plausibly associated with *Frankish military expansion into the region after the Battle of *Vouillé. CD; STL

S. Bach and J.-L. Boudartchouk, 'La Nécropole franque de l'Isle-Jourdain', in X. Delestre, ed., *La Datation des structures et des objets du Haut Moyen Âge* (1998), 213–32.

Isle of Man (Old Irish *Mano* and Old Welsh *Manau*) An island in the Irish Sea. Located on a primary sea route, *Monapia* occurs in classical geographies. In early *Irish and *Welsh literature it is associated with the deity Manannán mac Lir (Manawydan). Its alternative

names, *Emain Ablach*, 'Emain of the apples', and *Ynys Afallach*, 'the isle of apples', and the Arthurian 'Isle of Avalon', reflect its other worldly characteristic. Control of Man vacillated between Irish, British, and Northumbrian dynasties. Kings of Gwynedd ruled it to the 9th century. The 7th-century *Life* of S. *Patrick relates how the saint converted a Cyclops and sent him as bishop to Man to succeed two British *bishops. This suggests that major churches competed to govern Man. The art and *inscriptions of the island, including bilingual *Latin and Irish *ogams, reflects the cultural influence of its various settlers. EB

V. Kneale in Koch, *Celtic Culture*, 673–84 (*s.v.* ELLAN VANNIN).

isnad Arabic-Islamic term, associated with the study of *hadith, used to refer to the chain of narrators who have transmitted a report. The root of the word *isnad* is related to the idea of 'support' or 'backing up', and therefore refers to the main concern of hadith scholars: establishing the degree to which a report is authentic and considered an accurate transmission of the original statement about an event. Although the primary focus of hadith studies was the accurate reporting of prophetic hadiths, the *isnad* is used more widely in Muslim intellectual culture as a tool for establishing scholarly and textual authority. HBR

S. C. Lucas, *Constructive Critics, Ḥadīth Literature, and the Articulation of Sunnī Islam* (2004).

Isocasius *Rhetorician who persisted in *paganism despite being cured by S. *Thecla at *Aegae of *Cilicia (*MirThecl* 39) and corresponding with *Theodoret. He was *Quaestor Sacri Palatii *c.* 465. After disorder in *Constantinople under *Leo I in 467, he was tried for paganism by the *Praefectus Praetorio and *Senate, but after popular intervention released after submitting to *baptism at the *Church of the Holy Wisdom. OPN

PLRE II, Isocasius.

Johnson, *Thecla*, 156–66.

issue marks and privy marks In coin design, these are marks in addition to the *mint mark, possibly indicating the purpose of minting, the quality of the coinage, or the minting personnel. Privy and issue marks appear widely on Roman and post-Roman *coinage. Some, such as *OB and *PS, relating to guaranteed metal purity, are well understood. Others, such as SM (*Sacra Moneta), apparently relate to the authority under which a coin was struck and possibly its bullion source. Various marks such as pellets/dots, stars, and other small shapes in the field of coin designs remain mysterious. They may have indicated people involved in the manufacturing process, smaller mint subdivisions (**officinae*), or have carried no meaning, though they are sometimes useful in identifying the mint of coins with similar overall designs. RRD

DOC 1, II.1, II.2, III.1.

MEC 1.

RIC V/1, V/2, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.

J. van Heesch, 'Control Marks and Mint Administration in the Fourth Century AD',

Revue belge de numismatique 158 (2012), 161–78.

Istakhr and Marv Dasht Plain *See* STAXR AND MARV DASHT PLAIN.

Istanbul *See* CONSTANTINOPLE.

Istemi (Ishtemi, Stembis, Sizabul) (d. 576) Co-founder of the First *Türk Empire (552) and Yabghu Khagan (Qaghan) under his elder brother, *Bumin *Khagan (r. 552). Under Bumin's son Muqan Khagan (r. 553–72), Istemi extended the empire southward to the Iron Gate (north of *Tirmidh), conquering *Sogdiana and reducing *Hephthalite territory to *Tukharistan before, together with *Khosrow I Anoshirvan, destroying Hephthalite power altogether (557–61). Türk rule spread westward across the steppe under Istemi, absorbing or displacing other steppe nomads (*Avars, *Bulgars, *Oghurs, and others). The *Orkhon inscriptions (263–4) describe Istemi's role in organizing the western Türks, perhaps referring to the traditional decimal organization of Turkic armies. He was succeeded by his son *Tardu (r. 576–603, intermittently), under whom the eastern and western halves of the empire separated.

Like Bumin, Istemi's name is probably Iranian, derived perhaps from the *Khotanese for 'land', hence 'Ruler of the Land'. Chinese, Byzantine, and Muslim sources give different variants of his name: Shidianmi (Shih-tien-mi) or Sedimi (Se-ti-mi) in Chinese annals (Chavannes, *Documents*, 38, 47); Stembis-khagan in *Theophylact Simocatta (VII, 7, 9); Sizabulos or Silzibulos in *Menander Protector (fr. 10.1–4, 19.1); and Sinjibu in Markwart, *Catalogue* (10, 38–9) and *Tabari (V, 152–3). The last two probably reflect the title *Sri Yabghu* used by Istemi's Iranian-speaking subjects.

As Menander Protector describes, after unsuccessfully attempting to sell *silk to the Persians, 'Sizabulos' dispatched a Sogdian-led embassy to the Romans in *c.*568. A series of reciprocal Roman–Türk embassies followed, including that of *Zemarchus (569–71/2), who concluded a treaty between Istemi and the *Emperor *Justin II. MLD

BT II, *Σιλζίβουλος*, *Στεμβισχάγαν*.

PLRE III, Sizabulus.

M. Dobrovits, 'Silziboulos', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25 (2008), 67–78.
P. B. Golden, 'Oq and Oğur ~ Oğuz', *Turkic Languages* 16 (2012), 155–99.

Isthmia The *Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia in *Greece and the ruins of the theatre were quarried in the 5th century for construction of the defensive Hexamilion (Six Mile) or Isthmian *Wall. The drains to the Roman *baths became clogged after AD 400, and the building collapsed in the late 6th century. The 5th-century fortress east of the baths and the site of the temple appear to have been occupied by entire families in Late Antiquity, even in times of peace. Evidence of *Slavic habitation indicates the ultimate failure of the Isthmian Wall. PA

T. E. Gregory, *Isthmia*, vol. 5: *The Hexamilion and the Fortress* (1993), pls. 25d, 26a.

Italia Annonaria Vicariate encompassing the northern *provinces of the *Dioecesis Italiae, referred to by the *Verona List as the Diocensis Italiciana. It was divided from *Italia Suburbicaria *c.*298 and governed by the *Vicarius Italiae from *Milan. Although not named in the **Notitia Dignitatum*, it existed in *Ostrogothic and Byzantine times with small geographical modifications. DN

Jones, *LRE* 47, 373.
Barrington Atlas, 101 H2.
TIR L-32 and 33, K-32 and 33.
NEDC 218–19.
W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (1947), 181–2.
A. Chastagnol, 'L'Administration du Diocèse Italien au Bas-Empire', *Historia* 12/3 (1963), 348–79.

Italia Suburbicaria *Division of the *Dioecesis Italiae created along with *Italia Annonaria when the administration of the Dioecesis Italiae, whose *provinces are (lacunosely) recorded in the *Verona List (256, 8–12), was subdivided. It appears in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XIX) as those provinces of the Dioecesis Italiae which came under the *Vicarius Urbis Romae, who resided at *Rome and was the most senior of the western Vicarii, outranking the Vicarius Italiae (*occ.* I, 24) when that office was not folded into that of the *Praefectus Praetorio per Italias, but junior to the *Praefectus Urbi of Rome. The Vicarius had jurisdiction over seven *provinces in central and southern *Italy and the islands of *Sicily, *Sardinia, and *Corsica. MMA

Jones, *LRE* 46–7.
F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).
A. Chastagnol, 'L'Administration du Diocèse Italien au Bas-Empire', *Historia* 12/3 (1963), 348–79.
C. Pavolini, 'Le città d'Italia suburbicaria', in A. Carandini et al., eds., *Storia di Roma* 3.2 (1993), 177–98.

Italy Late Antique Italy comprised the Apennine peninsula and the Po Valley, bounded on the north by the Alps, and the islands of *Sicily, *Sardinia, *Corsica, and Malta.

Administrative organization

Italy was organized by Augustus in the 1st century into eleven regions directly under imperial command, and exempted from *tributum*. Progressively, Italy tended to lose its specific status; at the end of the 3rd century, *Diocletian organized it into *provinces without fiscal privileges. These formed the *Dioecesis of Italy, which, from the 320s on, was under the authority of two *Vicarii: the Vicarius Italiae had charge of the administration of *Flaminia et Picenum, *Aemilia et Liguria, *Venetia et Histria, *Alpes Cottiae, and *Tuscia et Umbria (comprising *Italia Annonaria, intended to supply the needs of the imperial *administration; the *Vicarius Urbis *Romae controlled the southern provinces of *Samnium, *Lucania et Bruttium, *Campania, *Apulia et Calabria (*Italia Suburbicaria, which was to supply *food and *wine for the *city of *Rome). Sicilia, Sardinia, and Corsica are mentioned in some Late Antique lists of Italian provinces. The provinces of *Raetia Prima and Secunda were under the authority of the *Vicarius Italiae. In the 4th century, *governors of Italian provinces had consular rank and the two Italian Vicarii were subject to the *Praefectus Praetorio of Italy, *Africa, and *Illyricum.

Political history

In the 3rd century, *emperors stopped living permanently in Rome. During the *Tetrarchy, they occasionally used *Milan as their imperial residence. Rome was the seat of *Maxentius from 306 to 312. *Constantine I did not stay in Italy after his victory at the Battle of the *Milvian Bridge outside Rome in 312. He visited Rome again in 315 and in 326 for his *Vicennalia. He entrusted the government of Italy to his youngest son, *Constans I, before 335, but Constans stayed in Italy only until 340. In 354, *Constantius II stayed in Italy for a few months after his victory over *Magnentius. The next *emperor to move to Italy was *Valentinian II, who lived in Milan with his mother *Justina from 379 to 383, when *Magnus Maximus marched on Italy. This brought *Theodosius I to Italy in 387 to suppress him. Theodosius was in Italy again to suppress *Eugenius in 394 and died at Milan. After his death, his son *Honorius lived in Italy, moving his residence to *Ravenna. Subsequent Western emperors till 476 divided their time between Ravenna and Rome. These emperors ruled an ever more reduced territory. In addition, the loss of imperial control over *Spain and *Gaul after 409 and the invasion of *Africa by the *Vandals in 429 meant that Italy was missing fiscal

resources, vital for the city of Rome and for the imperial *court.

Italy often saw contests for imperial power. *Philip the Arab and *Decius fought near *Verona in 249, *Aemilianus and *Trebonianus Gallus at Interamma in 253. *Aureolus revolted in the area of Milan in 267. *Galerius raided central Italy when he tried to fight Maximian in 307. Constantine I marched from Gaul to Rome in 312. Control over Italy was a major cause of the conflict between the two sons of Constantine, *Constantine II and Constans, a conflict ending in battle near *Aquileia in 340. When claiming the title of *Augustus in 360, *Julian did not pass through Italy but sent part of his army to besiege Aquileia. In 387, Magnus Maximus invaded Italy to take control of the whole western part of the Empire, and was defeated by Theodosius I near Aquileia. The final battle between Theodosius and *Eugenius was fought in the same area. An army sent from *Constantinople fought the *usurper *John, who had taken over the throne after the death of Honorius in 423, near Ravenna and at Aquileia. *Aëtius fought the *Comes *Boniface in Italy in 432 to obtain control of the army. After the end of the Theodosian dynasty in Italy, *Ricimer defeated Aëtius near Piacenza in 456 and *Majorian near Tortona in 461. In 472, *Ricimer rebelled against the Emperor *Anthemius, besieged Rome, and took the city. The same year, *Orestes, *Magister Militum in Gaul, rebelled against the new Emperor *Julius Nepos and marched on Italy. In 476, the composite army of Orestes proclaimed *Odoacer as king; Odoacer occupied *Pavia, marched against Orestes, and killed him at Piacenza. In 490, Odoacer had to face *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, sent by the Emperor *Zeno. After an initial defeat in the area of Milan, Odoacer fled to Ravenna where he was besieged for three years and killed. Theoderic's reign was peaceful, but the death of *Amalasuintha, regent of *Athalaric the young heir of Theoderic, was the pretext for the *Byzantine invasion of Italy by the army of *Justinian I. It is difficult to decide if this constituted a civil or a foreign war. In any case, it lasted twenty years and brutally devastated the whole peninsula. Ravenna was conquered in 540; in 555, Justinian's *Pragmatic Sanction gave a new administrative framework to Italy, now part of the Byzantine Empire.

Italy was not immune to external threats. In 258, *Alamans raided many Italian cities before being defeated by *Gallienus at Milan. They attacked again in 271 and were defeated by *Aurelian at Piacenza. *Alaric and *Radagausius raided northern Italy in 403 and 405. From 408 to 412–13, Alaric and the *Visigoths invaded the whole peninsula, and sacked Rome in August 410. During the long reign of *Valentinian III, Italy had to face attacks by the Vandals in Sicily in 440 and a raid by the *Huns of *Attila, who sacked the whole Po Valley in 452. In 455, *Geiseric the Vandal landed in *Ostia, captured Rome, and sacked it. In 568, *Lombards conquered most of the northern provinces of Italia Annonaria, so putting an end to Italy as a coherent political unit.

Social and economic evolution of Italy

In 325, Constantine I suppressed the obligation for *senators to own land in Italy. Nevertheless, the most prominent families of the senatorial *aristocracy continued to live in Rome, and to maintain vast properties all over the peninsula. They played an important role in shaping the provincial society of Italian cities. Through *patronage or *governorships, they maintained close links between these cities and Rome. Their considerable wealth was an important factor in general prosperity and their progressive decline caused economic changes. If only a few left after the Visigothic Sack of *Rome in 410, many more decided to leave after the Vandal Sack of *Rome in 455; the loss of large parts of their properties in the western provinces was another reason for their decline. Meanwhile, local churches developed as substantial landowners, especially the church at Rome and, in the 5th century, at Ravenna. The balance of wealth in Italy was completely upset after the end of the 4th century.

Rome remained an abnormally large city until the 5th century. Most of the agricultural production in *Italia Suburbicaria was meant to feed Rome. While Italy lost control over western provinces, the needs of the *court stimulated economic activity in northern Italy until the 6th century. There is strong evidence of a decline in the population at Rome from the second half of the 5th century onwards. The demographic collapse seems to be at least accentuated in the 6th century, first because of the *Byzantine invasion, which caused devastation all over the country, and second because of a series of *epidemics connected with the Justinianic *Plague. The demography of the rest of Italy is even more difficult to understand.

Ecclesiastical Italy

Ecclesiastical Italy is a rather heterogeneous construction. The Bishop of Rome was the *metropolitan in Italia Suburbicaria, where there were many episcopal sees. The Bishop of Milan was metropolitan in Aemilia et Liguria, and the Bishop of Aquileia was metropolitan in Venetia et Histria, both vast ecclesiastical regions with fewer episcopal sees. During most of the 4th century, imperial policy favouring or opposing the definition of the Nature of Christ adopted at the *Council of *Nicaea created confusion in some areas. In 381, the Council of Aquileia established strong Nicene unity among Italian churches, and many new episcopal sees

were founded at the time. *Ambrose as Bishop of Milan began energetic efforts to organize the clergy. Ecclesiastical geography changed according to the personality of bishops and the political function of the churches, with great advantage for Milan until 402, for Ravenna after this time, and always for Rome.

The conquest of Italy by the Byzantines created a new situation for Italian churches. Imperial agreement was now sought for the consecration of bishops of Rome and Ravenna. The Pragmatic Sanction gave bishops an important role in the civil *administration of Italy. The *Three Chapters schism, after 555, separated from communion with the see of *Rome almost all the churches of northern Italy until 568. In the process of reducing the schism, the Bishops of Rome managed to reinforce a centralized ecclesiastical organization under their authority. At the time of Pope *Gregory I the Great, Rome was metropolis for all the churches of Italy, with the sole exception of Aquileia and some of its dependants, which maintained their autonomy until the end of the 7th century. CMS

Jones, *LRE* 47.

CAH XIV (2000), 'Italy, A.D. 425–605', 525–551 (M. D. Humphries).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion* (Studia Historica 23, 1947).

B. P. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300–850* (1984).

C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Authority 400–1000* (1981).

itineraries *Vegetius (III, 6) recommends that military commanders study *itineraria* in their theatres of operations. These should include *itineraria picta*, accurately showing mountains and rivers as well as *roads, so presumably *maps more elaborate than the Peutinger Map, though less grandiose than the world map studied by the pupils of *Eumenius in the portico of the schools at *Autun (*PanLat* IX (IV) 20, 2).

Several written itineraries survive. Some, such as the detailed list of place names and distances recorded by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333, and the itinerary and expenditure account by *Theophanes of Hermopolis from the 320s, certainly record actual journeys. Others may do so; these would include some of the routes in the **Antonine Itinerary*, or the Minnesota *papyrus which lists 62 (surviving) place names from *Heliopolis in *Egypt via *Jerusalem, *Sasima, and the *Pilgrims' Road to *Constantinople and then (fragmentarily) back as far as *Antioch of *Pisidia.

More puzzling are the Vicarello Beakers (*CIL* XI, 3281–4), four *silver cups, found in a large *hoard of votive treasure at a shrine of Apollo near *Rome deposited in the late 4th century. These are engraved with about 100 place names and mileages following a roundabout overland route from Gades (mod. Cadiz) via *Arles and *Ariminum (mod. Rimini) to Rome. Some of them may date from the 4th century, not least because three of them use the word *itinerarium* or *itinerare* which is first attested in the sense of 'list of places visited' in 4th-century texts. It is possible that the information on such itineraries derived ultimately from *tabellaria* inscribed on stones near the gates of important *cities.

The *Anonymi *Cosmographia* of *c.*700, also known as the *Ravenna Cosmography*, lists regions and places from *India to *Ireland without giving mileages and so more closely resembles the *Synecdomus* of *Hierocles.

There were also travel poems, such as *Rutilius Namatianus' elegiac account of his voyage from Rome to *Gaul in 417 and *Lactantius' lost hexameter *hodoeporicum* from *Africa to *Nicomedia (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 80). These sometimes represented banausic mileages with a circumlocution worthy of the *Jewelled Style (e.g. Metrodorus, *Greek Anthology*, XIV, 121). OPN

Itineraria Romana, ed. O. Cuntz, vol. 1: *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense* (1929); ed. J. Schnetz, vol. 2: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica* (1942), both repr. with index by M. Zumschlinge, 1990.

Minnesota Itinerary, ed. M. Perale, 'From Egypt to Constantinople: A Pilgrimage Route in a Forgotten Late Antique Itinerary (SB XXVI, 16607)?', *ZPE* 199 (2016), 155–69.

Vicarello goblets: Manfred Schmidt, 'A Gadibus Romam: Myth and Reality of an Ancient Route', *BICS* 54/2 (2011), 71–86.

R. W. B. Salway, 'Travel, "Itineraria" and "Tabellaria"', in C. Adams and R. Laurence, eds., *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (2001), 22–109.

Itta (Iduberga) (d. *c.*651/2) Wife of *Pippin I, *Mayor of the Palace of *Austrasia, and mother of *Grimoald, Begga, and *Gertrude. After her husband's death in 640, she retired to her estates and, on the advice of Bishop *Amandus, founded a *monastery at *Nivelles, for herself and Gertrude, where she died. She also founded a Monastery of the *Scotti* at Fosses. RLJ

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Nivelles, XXI (2002), 227–31 (A. Dierkens).

R. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1987), 54–61.

ivan *See* AYVAN.

ivory Export of this commodity, which contributed greatly to the prosperity of the *Aksumite kingdom, is recorded from the 1st century AD in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Availability of ivory has been cited as a factor that contributed to the westerly location of the Aksumite capital. After the extinction of the North

African *elephant, the price of ivory in the Roman Empire saw considerable fluctuation, notably in the years preceding the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of 301; these changes were closely mirrored in Aksum's prosperity. *Adulis, in addition to being the principal port through which ivory left Aksumite territory, may also have provided trans-shipment facilities for tusks from further south. Discoveries at *Aksum, notably in the 4th-century 'Tomb of the Brick Arches', also show the artistic and technological expertise that was devoted locally to the working of ivory. The decline of Aksum, and the eastward transfer of the capital in the 7th century, accompanied the severe reduction in *trade between Aksum and the Roman Empire when *Arabs gained control of the Red Sea waterway. DWP

Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt.*

ed. L. Casson (with ET and comm.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1989).

S. C. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (1991).

Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97* (2000).

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 172–4, 195–6.

ivory in art The history of ivory carving is a story not of continuous development but of waves of activity, usually focusing on specific kinds of objects within discrete periods. Ivory was prized in contexts that valued its high density for fine carving, and its creamy, lustrous surface, so much so that in the Later Roman Empire it was used for luxury combs, where bone, a cheaper material, would have been more robust and effective.

The most important use of ivory in Late Antiquity was to make *diptychs, pairs of hinged plaques decorated on the outside surfaces, and designed to encase messages, which would be written on *papyrus attached to the inside of the plaques. They were used for many purposes, for instance, to announce important events in great families (as in the case of the *Nicomachorum-Symmachorum Diptych of 402). In more elaborate examples, larger panels were created by combining multiple plaques.

Ivory diptychs also announced to friends and acquaintances the successful completion of the games held by those assuming office as *quaestor, *praetor, suffect consul, or *consul, or in a *province as the Flamen of the *Imperial Cult. *Theodosius I issued a law in the East in 384 prohibiting the presentation of ivory and *gold in connection with games by anyone but *consuls (*CTh* XV, 9, 1). There is evidence, however, especially from the *letters of *Symmachus, that other office-holders, especially in the West, did send out ivory diptychs.

Over 40 diptychs survive, with dates ranging from 406 until the abolition of the consulate in 541. The 5th-century diptychs come mostly from the West and all known eastern diptychs date from between 506 and 541. Most of the imagery on the surviving specimens, generally showing consuls robed in the *trabea* or **toga picta* of their office and presiding at their inaugural games, was conventional, but those with religious imagery document the shift from pagan religion to Christianity. Like many luxury arts, the style is generally conservative, tending towards classicism.

Pyxides (small circular boxes made from sections of a tusk) usually served Christian users, to judge from the biblical scenes that far outnumber mythological or genre scenes.

Objects such as the *Brescia Casket from the 4th century, and the Throne of *Maximian, *Bishop of *Ravenna (546–57), are rare survivals of what was probably a fairly widespread use for ivory, namely the revetment of furnishings. *Cyril of *Alexandria sent a present of 32 ivory chairs to the *court at *Constantinople in hopes of influencing the outcome of the *Council of Ephesus in 431, and ivory fittings for *furniture have been found at *Kenchriae, the port of *Corinth. Ivory plaques were also used for *book covers, as in the panels known as the Milan Diptcyh, the S. Lupicin Diptych (now BNF Lat. 9384), and the Murano Diptych. The function of the ivory plaque known as the *Translation of Relics Ivory remains unclear.

Ivory was clearly carved at Constantinople, and excavations on the Palatine Hill at Rome have uncovered material from an ivory and bone workshop which into the 5th century produced objects as various as needles and handles, dolls, furniture decoration, and *jewellery. Production outside *Italy or *Constantinople has proven difficult to locate. Workshops at Alexandria and in *Gaul in the 6th century, and a school in *Palestine in the 7th or 8th century, have all been proposed, but with little scholarly consensus. JEH

R. Kanzler, *Gli Avori dei musei profano e sacro della Biblioteca vaticana*, Collezioni artistiche, archeologiche, numismatiche dei palazzi pontifici 1 (1903).

Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*.

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*.

A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 200–1400* (Byzantine Collection 8, 1985).

G. Bühl, A. Cutler, and A. Effenberger, eds., *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs* (2008).

W. O. Stern and D. H. Thimme, 'Nature of the Materials and the Craftsmanship of Late Roman Ivory, Bone and Wood', in W. O. Stern and D. H. Thimme, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth*, vol. 6: *Ivory, Bone and Related Wood Finds* (2007), 13–30.

Izla, Monasteries of Mount Mount Izla, the escarpment which forms the southern edge of the

*Tur 'Abdin, to the north of the Mesopotamian Plain and the modern Turkish–Syrian border, and north-east of *Nisibis, was the home of several *monasteries of the *Church of the East.

The 'Great Monastery', near the highest point of the escarpment, was founded in the mid-6th century by *Abraham of Kashkar, who inspired a monastic revival in the Church of the East. Abraham studied at the *School of *Nisibis, is said to have learned monasticism in *Scetis, then returned to live in a hidden cave on Mount Izla. Many ascetics were drawn to him and, apparently in June 571, he wrote a rule for them. Their distinctive tonsure differentiated them from *Messalian and *Miaphysite ascetics. Abraham was succeeded by his disciples Dadisho (d. *c.*604), who also composed canons, and *Babai the Great (d. *c.*628/30), whose canons partly survive in *Arabic translation. In Babai's time, disputes, particularly concerning married monks, dispersed many brethren who founded other monasteries elsewhere (*Thomas of Marga, I, 8–23; cf. II, 2). Parts of the vertiginous buildings, including architectural *sculpture, survive, despite pillaging in 1926.

On the plateau above the Great Monastery is the massively walled Monastery of Mar Melke, which existed in the 7th century. The church was destroyed in 1926 and rebuilt in 1955. Below the Great Monastery are the monasteries named after John the Bedouin (Mar Yohannan Tayaya) and Mar *Awgen. Some Late Antique elements survive at Mar Awgen, though it was rebuilt in the 13th century; it is now again occupied by monks. ACMc; OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 345–50.

Rules of the Great Monastery: ed. (with ET) Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 150–62.

Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*, 3–6, 79–82, 135, 139–41.

S. P. Brock, 'Notes on Some Monasteries on Mount Izla', *Abr-Nahrain* 19 (1980–1), 1–19.

Fiey, *Nisibe*, 134–59.

Florence Jullien, *Le Monachisme en Perse: la réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient* (2008).

Wood, *Chronicle of Seert*, 143–60.

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THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF LATE ANTIQUITY
A–I **1–800**

VOLUME 2

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THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF LATE ANTIQUITY
J–Z **801–1616**

LATE ANTIQUE RULERS
Principal Roman Emperors and Usurpers 1619
Barbarian Kings 1622
Persian Kings of Kings of the Sasanian Dynasty 1625
Caliphs 1626

BISHOPS OF THE FIVE GREAT PATRIARCHAL SEES
See of Alexandria 1629
See of Antioch 1631
See of Constantinople 1633
See of Jerusalem 1635
See of Rome 1636

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

AD	anno Domini
ad ann.	*ad annum* (Lat. at the year) in chronicles etc., whether AD or AM or other
A.Gr.	anno Graecorum, Year of the Greeks (*see* ERAS)
AH	anno Hegirae, Year of the Hijra (*see* ERAS)
AM	anno Mundi (*see* ERAS)
Ar.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenian
AUC	Ab Urbe Condita (Lat. From the Foundation of the City, *scil.* of Rome)
Avest.	Avestan
b.	born
b. (in Arabic names)	*ibn, bin* 'son of'
BC	before Christ
Bd.	Band (German volume)
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
bp.	bishop
bt. (in Arabic names)	*bint* 'daughter of'
c.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	*confer* (Lat. compare)
chron.	chronicle
cm	centimetre/s
cod.	codex
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commentary
cos.	consul (with date, if any, as year AD)
d.	died
diss.	dissertation
DT	Dutch translation
ed(s).	editor(s), edited
edn.	edition
ep(*p*).	*letter(s)*
esp.	especially
ET	English Translation
et al.	et alii (and others)
f., ff.	and following
fasc.	fascicle
fl.	*floruit* (i.e. approximate age of 30 years old)
fol(s).	folio(s)
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FT	French Translation
ft.	foot/feet
g	gram/s
Geo.	Georgian
Gk.	Greek
GT	German Translation
ha	hectare/s
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica* (Lat. *Church History*)
Hebr.	Hebrew
i.a.	*inter alia* (Lat. among other things)
ibid.	ibidem (Lat. in the same place or work)
id.	idem (Lat., the same person)
introd.	introduction
Iran.	Iranian (Iranian group of languages)
IT	Italian Translation
kg	kilogram/s
km	kilometre/s
l., ll.	line, lines
Lat.	Latin
lb	pound (avoirdupois)
LT	Latin Translation
LXX	Septuagint
m	metre/s
mod.	modern
MP	Middle Persian
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n., nn.	note, notes
n.d.	no date
NF	Neue Folge
no., nos.	number, numbers
NP	New Persian, Farsi
NP T	New Persian translation
NS	New Series, nouvelle série
NT	New Testament
Ol.	Olympiad
OP	Old Persian
orig.	original
OT	Old Testament
oz	ounce/s
p.a.	per annum
Pahl.	Pahlavi

Patr.	Patriarch	*s.a.*	*sub anno* (under the year)
pl.	plate	*s.n.*	*sub nomine* (under the name)
plur.	plural	*s.v.*	*sub verbo* (under the word)
pref.	preface	schol.	scholiast or scholia
prol.	prologue	*scil.*	*scilicet* (Lat. that is to say)
prov.	province	*sed.*	*sedit* (held office as bishop)
ps.-	pseudo-	sel.	selected
pt.	part	ser.	series
q.v.	quod vide (Lat., which see)	sg.	singular
Q.	*Qur'ān	SpT	Spanish Translation
r.	reigned	Syr.	Syriac
ref.	reference	tr.	translation, translated by
Reg.	(Monastic) Rule	*viz.*	*videlicet* (Lat. namely)
repr.	reprint, reprinted	vol.	volume
rev.	revised/by	vs.	versus
S(s).	Saint(s)		

NOTE TO THE READER

ODLA aims to provide information about Europe, Western and Central Asia, and Africa north of the Sahara in the millennium between the mid-3rd and the mid-8th century AD. The very broad range of civilizations involved has often made it difficult to decide what terminology to adopt. The aim has in general been to use the names, words, and spellings that are most familiar to English-speaking scholars of Late Antiquity. It is hoped that the result may not appear excessively eclectic; the cross-references may help readers find what they are looking for.

Some specific observations may also prove helpful.

Abbreviations There are separate lists of general abbreviations and bibliographical abbreviations. The names of ancient authors are not abbreviated, nor are the titles of their works, except for the most obvious (e.g. *Chron.*, *HE*).

Alphabetical order Entries are arranged in alphabetical order of headwords. Arabic al- is ignored in forming alphabetical order and the prefix S. (for saint) is ignored when applied to persons, but not when it forms part of a place name (e.g. Mamas, S. is the martyr but S. Mamas is the harbour on the Bosporus). The sub-entries in areas covering multiple civilizations are sometimes arranged chronologically rather than alphabetically.

Authors The identity of the author of each entry is indicated by initials, and these are recorded in the list of contributors. In cases of multiple authorship, the initials of all authors are given. In particular R. R. Darley has contributed numismatic supplements to numerous entries.

Bibliography Most entries are provided with a brief list of suggestions for further reading. These follow a standard order.

First, if appropriate, stands a brief identifying reference to a standard multi-volume work of reference such as the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (*PLRE*), the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (*EncIran*), or the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*EI* 2 or *EI THREE*). References to names in *PLRE* are generally given not to the full name but only to the name under which an individual is alphabetized in *PLRE* (e.g. Severus 16, not Acilius Severus 16). References to *EI* 2 use its systems of transliteration.

Editions and translations of works written by the subject of the entry (if he is an author) are then listed, followed by details of other ancient sources (such as saints' lives). Such lists of ancient works are not intended to include every edition of an author but they do aim to give details of current critical editions, particularly those which have commentaries. Preference is given to translations into English, but some details of those into other modern languages or into Latin are also furnished.

Finally, modern studies are listed.

Cross-references At the first occurrence in an entry of a name or word that has its own entry in *ODLA* (or in some cases an adjective associated with such a name or word) an asterisk precedes the name or word. It has therefore been necessary to vary the conventional use of the asterisk in historical

linguistics: in *ODLA* a word in an ancient language which is not directly attested in a surviving text but whose existence may be scientifically inferred is marked by a double asterisk, rather than by the conventional single asterisk.

Dates and times All dates are AD unless otherwise stated. There was no 'common era' in Late Antiquity; in fact Justinian I required the date of all laws to be stated in three separate ways. Other eras, such as the era of the Greeks, of the Martyrs, the indiction cycles and so forth are explained in the entry 'eras'.

Periods of time are indicated by an en rule, thus:

Constantine I the Great (*emperor 306–37)

The outer ranges of possible dates concerning which precision is not possible are indicated by a shilling stroke, thus:

Constantine was born in 272/3

The abbreviation *c.* (about) is used only if greater precision is not possible. The abbreviation *fl.* (*floruit*—he flourished) indicates the date when a person was approximately 30 years old.

Measurements are given in metric and imperial (avoirdupois) units. When Roman miles or Roman pounds are meant, they are specified.

Names Uniformity has in general taken a second place to familiarity. In general the forms adopted are those most commonly used in English-language scholarship on Late Antiquity.

Personal names

For persons within the Roman Empire and its successor states English forms are used if they are familiar (e.g. Constantine, Ambrose). If no English form exists, then Latin forms are preferred to Greek (e.g. Procopius, not Prokopios).

Arab, Armenian, Georgian, Persian, and Syriac names are generally rendered in their own forms (e.g. al-Mundhir, not Alamundarus, Trdat not Tiridates, Jacob Burd'oyo not Jacob Baradaeus). This does not apply where an individual is better known by a different name (e.g. Cyrus al-Muqawqas, Patriarch of Alexandria, rather than the Georgian form Kyron of Mtskehta) or there is a familiar English form (e.g. Gregory the Illuminator, S.). Germanic and other barbarian names are not in general Latinized (e.g. Fritigern, not Fritigernus). Persian names are given in their transliterated New Persian form; a list of Middle Persian and Greek equivalents for the names of Persian kings is given in the regnal list at the end of the book.

Saints known for their sanctity are accorded the title S.; those known principally as authors or rulers are not. Variants of names are frequently given following the initial headword and appropriate use has been made of cross-references.

Place names

As with personal names, English forms are used if they are familiar (e.g. Lyons not Lugdunum or Lyon, Aleppo not Beroea or Haleb, Constantinople rather than Konstantinoupolis or Istanbul). This includes the names of modern capital cities (e.g. Ankara not Ancyra or Angora, but exceptionally Serdica rather than Sofia). Places principally known as the objects of archaeological investigation are given the names used by their excavators (e.g. Dağ Pazarı, Amorium).

If there are no familiar English forms, Latin forms are preferred to Greek or other ancient or modern forms (e.g. Ephesus not Ephesos, Hierapolis of Syria rather than Syriac Mabbog or Arabic Membij).

The names of Roman dioeceses are given in either the genitive or in the adjectival form (e.g. Dioecesis Thraciae, Dioecesis Pontica). The names of Roman provinces are given in the nominative forms found in the *Verona List* and *Notitia Dignitatum*.

Terminology Terms employed are those generally familiar to the vast bulk of English speakers, such as 'pagan' (rather than 'heathen' or 'polytheist'). Exceptions made in the interest of theological accuracy are Miaphysite rather than Monophysite and, where appropriate, Homoean rather than Arian. The Christian Church in Persian Mesopotamia is referred to as the Church of the East. A distinction is made between monotheism and henotheism.

Special problems arise with the term 'Byzantine'. Many historians of the Greek world, including the compilers of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire* (*PBE*), use the term Byzantine to refer to the history of the Roman Empire from the reign of Heraclius (610–41) onwards. On the other hand, historians and archaeologists working in Egypt and the Holy Land generally describe as Byzantine the period between the Tetrarchy in the late 3rd century and the Arab conquests of the mid-7th century, and other conventions exist in other bodies of scholarship. J. B. Bury eschewed the term altogether and wrote always of the East Roman Empire. *ODLA* has not gone to that extreme, but in general favours the term 'Roman' and applies the term 'Byzantine' to Late Antiquity only where 'Roman' would sound bizarre, so that Justinian I's Italian wars are termed the Byzantine invasion and occupation of Italy, rather than the Roman invasion of Italy.

Titles of officials and corps in the Roman imperial service These are given in Latin, as there are no universally agreed translations, and literal translation leads to banality (Master of the Soldiers), ambiguity ('chamberlains' might denote *cubicularii* or *castrenses*), or absurdity (Comes Rei Privatae as Count of the Private Thing, *agentes in rebus* as 'doers in things'). In particular, *advocatus* is not translated as barrister.

J

Jabal Says (Jabal Usays) An extinct volcano with a perennial water resource *c.*100 km (60 miles) east of *Damascus, dominated by the remains of a so-called Desert Castle (*qasr*) built by the *Caliph al-*Walid I. Some 50 buildings have been discovered, among them a *mosque, a *bath complex, commercial buildings, and a residential area. Some of the excavated structures can be assigned to a pre-Islamic, *Ghassanid phase of settlement. This evidence can be related to an *inscription mentioning a soldier in the service of the Ghassanid King al-*Harith. The text dates to AD 528/9 and is one of the earliest examples of written *Arabic. KMK

K. Brisch, 'Das omayyadische Schloß in Usais', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 19/20 (1963/5), 141–87 and 138–77.

C. Robin, 'Un réexamen de l'inscription arabe pré-islamique du Ǧabal Says', *Arabica* 49 (2002), 503–10.

F. Bloch, 'Jabal Says—from Frontier Protecting *Castrum* to Cross-Frontier *Qaṣr*?', in A. Moaz, ed., *Residences, Castles, Settlements* (2009), 309–16.

Jacob Baradaeus *See* JACOB BURD'OYO AND JACOBITES.

Jacob Burd'oyo and Jacobites (*c.*500–578) Jacob's name Burd'oyo (Syr. 'of the saddlecloth') is sometimes Latinized as Baradaeus. Anti-Chalcedonian, *Bishop of *Edessa (from 542/3), missionary, and pastor, whose ordinations of bishops led to the establishment of the episcopal hierarchy of the *Miaphysite *Syriac Orthodox Church (called 'Jacobite' after him).

Born in *Constantia-Tella, Jacob was a monk at the *Monastery of Phesilta on Mount *Izla early in his life. He came to *Constantinople in the 530s as a representative of the anti-Chalcedonian communities, and was greatly favoured by the *Empress *Theodora. Upon the request of the *Ghassanids he was ordained Bishop of Edessa by the *Patriarch Theodosius of *Alexandria, and travelled extensively in the eastern provinces ordaining two patriarchs, 27 bishops, and other clergy in *Anatolia, *Syria, *Egypt, and the *Persian Empire. Jacob died in 578 during one of his pastoral visits. Nine of his *letters (some written with other bishops) and other texts attributed to him are preserved in *Syriac, *Arabic, and Ethiopic. RD

DCB 3, 328–32.

GEDSH 'Ya'qub Burd'oyo'.

CPG III, 7170–99.

ANCIENT SOURCES

BHO 392: *John of *Ephesus, 'Lives of the Eastern Saints', chs. 49–50, ed. (with ET) E. W. Brooks, *PO* vol. 18, 488–95; vol. 19, 499–504, 574–614 [the latter is spurious].

ed. (with LT) J.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad Origenes Monophysitarum Illustrandas*, 2 vols. (CSCO 17 and 103; Scr. syr. 2, t. 17 and 52; 1907–33), 90–4, 144–5, 165–7, 179–80, 185–6, 187–9, 189–95, 196–209.

ed. E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 2 (²1847), 332–46.

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M. Heimgartner, 'Jakob Baradai', in W. Klein, ed., *Syrische Kirchenväter* (2004), 191–203.

V. L. Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (2008).

J.-N. Saint-Laurent, *Apostolic Memories: Religious Differentiation and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Syriac Missionary Literature* (doctoral thesis Brown University, 2009), 174–204.

A. van Roey and P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century* (OLA 56, 1994), 267–303.

Jacob of Edessa (Syr. Ya'qub) (d. 708) *Syriac Orthodox *Miaphysite scholar and *Bishop of *Edessa. Originally from the village of 'Ayn Dābā in the territory of *Antioch, in his youth Jacob studied scripture and the church fathers with a periodeutes (a travelling *priest) named Cyriacus and eventually moved to the *Monastery of *Qenneshre where he became a monk. Located across the Euphrates from *Carchemish-Europus/Jirbās, Qenneshre had been an important centre of *Greek–Syriac *bilingualism in the Miaphysite

world since the 6th century and it was at Qenneshre that Jacob initially studied Greek. *Severus Sebokht (d. 667), a learned polymath with interests in both philosophy and science, would probably have been at Qenneshre when Jacob was a young man and it is possible that Jacob studied with Severus.

From Qenneshre, Jacob went to *Alexandria where, according to a short *vita* preserved in the medieval chronicle of *Michael the Elder (Michael the Syrian), he 'gathered wisdom'; in one of his *letters, Jacob refers to the *Jews and 'Hagarenes' (i.e. Muslims) he saw while in *Egypt. From Egypt, Jacob returned to *Syria, to *Edessa, where he was made bishop by the Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Antioch Athanasius II of Balad (d. 686). Athanasius was another bilingual Miaphysite polymath who, like Jacob, had studied Greek at Qenneshre. Jacob spent only four years as Bishop of Edessa before leaving, out of anger that church *canons were not being properly enforced.

From Edessa, Jacob moved first to the monastery of S. Jacob of Kayshoum and from there to the monastery of Bet Malkā/Eusebona where he spent eleven years teaching the Greek language and the scriptures in Greek, before leaving the monastery after conflict with monks there who 'hated Greeks'. From Eusebona, Jacob moved to another monastery, Tell 'Ada, taking seven of his disciples with him. Jacob was at Tell 'Ada for nine years before returning to his position as Bishop of Edessa after the death of Habīb, the man who had replaced him as bishop after he had left Edessa some two decades previously. Jacob would serve as bishop for only a short period, however. Four months after his return to Edessa, Jacob went back to Tell 'Ada to retrieve his library and died there on 5 June 708. Jacob was buried at Tell 'Ada; *miracles were subsequently associated with his *relics.

The Miaphysite Syriac Orthodox Church of the 7th century was characterized by a number of polymathic bishop-scholars who knew Greek and Syriac at very high levels. These men were usually associated with the Monastery of Qenneshre, and it was these individuals who were responsible for making possible Syriac-language Miaphysitism through their *translations and writings. Jacob is perhaps the most distinguished representative of this class and stands out as one of the most gifted philhellenes in the entire history of Syriac literature. Jacob's interests were extremely broad: he translated the *Categories* of Aristotle, made a revised *translation of the *Cathedral Homilies* and *Hymns* of *Severus of *Antioch, issued a revised translation of the Greek Old Testament, translated the *History of the Rechabites*, the *Acts* of the *Council of *Carthage of 256, and may have carried out a translation or a revised translation of the *Homilies* of *Gregory of *Nazianzus. Jacob's writings also include an *Enchiridion* (a guide to the meaning of various philosophical terms), commentaries and scholia on the *Bible, a **Chronicle*, the earliest extant Syriac grammar, polemics against Chalcedonians, and a *Hexaemeron. This latter was completed by *George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (d. 724) after Jacob died, and George, along with John, the learned *stylite of Litarb, belonged to a circle of scholars of which Jacob seems to have been an important part.

Jacob was also an active liturgist and *letter writer. More than 50 of his letters and letter fragments survive and are an invaluable source of information on the social and cultural history of *'Umayyad *Syria, especially in his replies to canonical questions. The letters, along with Jacob's biography, suggest that he was as difficult on a personal level as he was brilliant on a scholarly one. JT

GEDSH s.n. Ya'qub of Edessa, 432–3 (Salvesen).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 223.

ed. J.-B. Chabot: Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (1899–1910), XI, 15: FT: vol. 4, 445–6 = Syriac: vol. 2, 471–2).

ET: 'Fragment of the Charts of James of Edessa', in Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *West Syrian Chronicles*, 36–42.

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 248–56.

S. P. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature* (1997), 57–9, 268–70.

R. B. ter Haar Romeny, ed., *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (2008). including D. Kruisheer, 'A Bibliographical Clavis to the Works of Jacob of Edessa (Revised and Expanded)', 265–93.

Jacob of Nisibis (d. 338) The first known *Bishop of *Nisibis (from *c.*308/9). The poet and *deacon *Ephrem the Syrian, who grew up during Jacob's episcopacy, describes him as an energetic and eloquent leader who nurtured and established the Church in Nisibis. In 325 Jacob attended the *Council of *Nicaea and appears to have promoted Nicene orthodoxy. Ephrem credits Jacob with animating resistance to the siege the Persians carried out for two months in 337/8 (*Carmina Nisibena*, XIII, 17; XIX, 16; cf. *Jerome, *Chron.* 234 d and f Helm; *Theodoret, *HE* II, 30, 2) and that his *relics 'protected Nisibis . . . in the time of her pruning'. His *sarcophagus is still venerated in the *baptistery built by his successor Vologeses. His reputation reached *Gennadius, not wholly accurately (*Vir. Ill.* 1), and later *Syriac and *Armenian legends embellish Jacob's accomplishments. UP

GEDSH s.v. Yaʿqub of Nisibis, 433 (Amar).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 220.

Ephrem, *Carmina Nisibena*, 13–16: ed. (with GT) E. Beck (CSCO 218–19, Scr. syr. 92–3, 1961). ET J. T. S. Stopford (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 3, 1890).

Fiey, *Nisibe*, 21–6.

D. Bundy, 'Jacob of Nisibis as a Model for the Episcopacy', *Le Muséon* 104 (1991), 235–49.

J.-M. Fiey, 'Les Évêques de Nisibe au temps de Saint-Éphrem', *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973), 123–35.
P. Peeters, 'La Légende de saint Jacques de Nisibe', *AnBoll* 38 (1920), 285–373.
E. Keser-Kayaalp and N. Erdoğan, 'The Cathedral Complex at Nisibis', *AnatSt* 63 (2013), 137–54.
J. Gaborit and G. Thébault, 'L'Église Mar-Yaʿqub de Nisibe', in F. Briquel Chatonnet, ed., *Les Églises en monde syriaque* (Études Syriaques 10, 2013), 289–330.

Jacob of Sarug (mid-5th cent.–521) Itinerant *priest and *bishop, titled the 'Flute (or Harp) of the Holy Spirit' in west Syriac tradition, often considered the greatest poet of the *Syriac language after *Ephrem the Syrian. Born in Kurtam on the Euphrates, Jacob was educated at the School in *Edessa, though he did not embrace the Dyophysite ('two natures') Christology advocated by many there. For many years he preached in towns, *villages, and *monasteries of the district of Sarug (south-west of Edessa). In 519, he was consecrated Bishop of *Batnae in Sarug. More than 220 of his verse homilies (**memre*) from a collection reputedly numbering more than 700 have been edited, with many more still unpublished and even unidentified, surviving especially in liturgical manuscripts. Six prose *sermons (*turgame*) on the major *festivals of the Church and 43 *letters have been published. Miscellaneous other texts remain as yet unpublished; three *anaphoras and the *Maronite service of *baptism are also attributed to him.

Jacob's fame rests primarily, and justly, on his extensive homiletic corpus. Here he addressed a wide range of topics: theological, pastoral, ascetic, hagiographical, and liturgical, rendering rich theological reflection in simple yet elegant metred couplets. He drew deeply and widely on the Syriac exegetical and hermeneutical trajectories that preceded him, particularly the writings of Ephrem the Syrian. His brilliance lay in the graceful lyricism with which he crafted cherished themes and images of Syriac tradition into classic formulations. At times prolix, he was an artist of formidable skill, delicately interweaving familiar teachings with boldly original presentations. His homilies on the Virgin *Mary provide ample illustration of these traits.

Among his finest homilies are those that retell biblical stories imaginatively in the form of dramatic narratives. Here Jacob showed tremendous verve and, often, startling emotional power. He took pleasure in elaborating the biblical text with fictive speeches and dialogue, and showed a profound grasp of moral psychology. His love for typology was exuberant. He often exhorted his congregation on the dangers of reading scripture literally, urging them instead to approach the *Bible with humility, love, and discernment (*parushutha*).

Jacob's homilies bear few historical markers; neither dates nor locations are evident. Occasionally a monastic or civic audience is apparent, but most are impossible to place. Passionate, colourful, and sometimes long-winded, he showed no interest in historical controversy. His homilies did not engage the Christological polemics sundering the Eastern Churches in the wake of the *Council of *Chalcedon (451). Similarly, in his series of homilies *Against the Jews*, his *rhetoric lacked the violent invective displayed by *John Chrysostom and others. Instead, he rehearsed standard themes with no real indication of interaction with a living Jewish community. Nonetheless, his homilies illuminate Late Antique city life. Jacob decried the continuing presence of *pagan religion and worried about his congregation's apparent enthusiasm for public *entertainments, with their seductive *music, lascivious plots, and heady atmosphere. In homilies on the *liturgy and on the commemoration of the *dead, he presented invaluable descriptions of liturgical practice along with interesting observations of congregational behaviour. Exasperated by those who were inattentive or restless, he delighted in the glorious singing of the well-behaved congregation. SAH

GEDSH s.v. Yaʿqub of Serugh, 433–5 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 228.
ed. P. Bedjan and S. P. Brock, *Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug/ Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 6 vols. (2006) Now appearing in fascicles with facing ET as *The Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug*, ed. S. P. Brock and G. A. Kiraz (2009–).
ed. (with FT) M. Albert, *Jacques de Saroug, Homélies contre les Juifs*, in PO 38/1 (1976).
ET T. Kollamparampil, *Jacob of Serugh, Select Festal Homilies* (1997).
ET M. Hansbury, *Jacob of Serug, On the Mother of God* (SVS Popular Patristics 19, 1998).
ET C. Moss, 'Jacob of Serugh's Homilies on the Spectacles of the Theater', *Le Muséon* 48 (1935), 87–112.
Letters, ed. (with LT) G. Olinder (CSCO 110/Scr. syr. 57, 1937).
FT M. Albert, *Les Lettres de Jacques de Saroug* (2004).
G. A. Kiraz, ed., *Jacob of Serugh and his Times: Studies in Sixth-Century Syriac Christianity* (2010).
T. Bou Mansour, *La Théologie de Jacques de Saroug*, 2 vols. (1999).

Jacob of Tsurtavi *Georgian *priest and hagiographer of the late 5th century. Author of the *Passion of S. Shushanik* (*BHO* 1107), he had personally witnessed Queen *Shushanik's trial. The *Armenian **Book of Letters* mentions a certain Jacob, Bishop of *Tsurtavi, whom some scholars identify with the hagiographer. NA

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia.*
ET K. Maksoudian and C. H. Zakian, *The Passion of Saint Shushanik* (1999).

Jacob the Newly Baptized (*fl.* 630/40) Author of the *Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizati* (*The Teaching of*

Jacob Newly Baptized), a Christian anti-Jewish polemical tract in *Greek, probably written 634/40 in the context of the anti-Jewish policy of the *Emperor *Heraclius in *Palestine after 628. It supposedly records a *dispute in 634 at *Carthage between Jacob, a *Jew forced to convert, and other Jews, whom he tries to convert to Christianity. The text gives one of the earliest external accounts of *Islam. It mentions a Saracen Prophet who proclaims the advent of a Jewish Messiah, thus contradicting Islamic accounts and suggesting that *Muhammad was perceived by the Romans as a Jewish prophet. IT-N

Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati: ed. with FT, G. Dagron and V. Déroche, 'Juifs et chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle', *TM* 11 (1991), 47–229.

P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism* (1977).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*.

D. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response* (1994).

Jacob the Recluse (d. 421) An 8th-century *Vita* describes Jacob and his ascetic brothers travelling from *Egypt to *Tur ʿAbdin in northern *Mesopotamia, driven by persecution under the *Emperor *Julian. Jacob and his *confrères* build a *monastery at Salah. The *Vita* attributes numerous*miracles to Jacob. The story gives a hagiographical account of relations between Persians and Armenians and monks in northern Mesopotamia and mythologizes the early history of the monastic settlements in Tur ʿAbdin. It is historical in alluding to the Emperor *Constantius II's fortification of *Amida and of the two citadels of *Cephas (Hassan Keyf) and Rhabdion (Hatem Tai Kalesi). JNSL

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 227.

ANCIENT SOURCES

Syriac texts in London BL Add. 12174 and ms. Damascus 12/17, fol. 173a–181a (a 12th-cent. collection of hagiographical texts in the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus).

ed. F. Nau (partial Syriac text and FT), 'Résumé de monographies syriaques', *ROC* 10 (1915–17), 3–12.

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Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 6–7, 231.

Ja'far al-Sadiq (699/700 or 702/3–65) Sixth Twelver *Shi'a Imam (successor to his father, the fifth Imam, *Muhammad al-Baqir), he was a noted *Medinan jurist and *hadith scholar respected across sectarian boundaries. Known for quietist policies, he and his father shied away from the revolutionary ambitions held by other Shi'a, in particular the revolt of *Zayd b. 'Ali.

Ja'far was the final imam agreed upon by both the Twelver and the Isma'ili sects; a major schism occurred thereafter. He named his eldest son Isma'il as successor, who predeceased him; the Isma'ili held to this designation, while the Twelvers believed the imamate passed to his living son, Musa. RJL

S. Arjomand, 'The Crisis of the Imamate and the Institution of Occultation in Twelver Shi'ism', *IJMES* 28 (1996), 491–6.

R. Buckley, 'The Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb and the Abbasids', *Der Islam* 79 (2002), 118–40.

R. Buckley, 'Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as a Source of Shī'ī Traditions', *Islamic Quarterly* 43 (1999), 37–58.

Jafnids The term refers to an *Arab family dynasty, also known as Ghassanids, allied with the Roman Empire in the 6th century, whose leaders were Jabala, al-*Harith b. Jabalah (Arethas), al-*Mundhir b. al-Harith (Alamundarus), and al-*Nu'man b. al-Mundhir (Naamanes III). Other individuals connected to the family are known, such as the brother of al-Harith, Abu-Karib (Abocharabus), and another Jabala (Gabalas), a son of al-Harith (Michael the Elder, *Chron.* IX, 33). There is debate over the accuracy of the title. Contemporary Graeco-Roman sources never allude to 'Jafnids'; instead, like *Nasrid, the term Jafnid is derived from Muslim authors, such as *Hamza al-Isfahani (*Ta'rikh*, 114–15). By contrast, the name Ghassan does appear in pre-Islamic source material. However, the use of the term is desirable as it defines the leaders, for whom we have a reasonable amount of primary source material, against the wider group of people, about whom we only rarely hear, e.g. when rioting at *Bosra (Bostra) after al-Mundhir b. al-Harith was deposed in 582 and the alliance between the Jafnids and the Romans ended (*John of Ephesus, *HE* III, 176–7 Payne Smith). Identifying the Jafnids as an elite stratum has provided some much-needed precision in modern scholarship. In particular, it allow us to provide useful comparisons with the barbarian elites in the post-Roman west, as well as to understand better the integration of the Jafnids into the religious, social, and political structures of Late Roman elites. GF

G. Fisher, *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity* (2011).

G. Fisher, 'Kingdoms or Dynasties? Arabs, History, and Identity Before Islam', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4/2 (2011), 245–67.

R. Hoyland, 'Late Roman Provincia Arabia, Monophysite Monks and Arab Tribes: A Problem of Centre and Periphery', *Semitica et Classica* 2 (2009), 117–39.

F. Millar, 'A Syriac *Codex* from Near Palmyra and the "Ghassanid" Abokarib', *Hugoye* 16 (2013), 15–35.

T. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafnas* (1887).

C. Robin, 'Les Arabes de Ḥimyar, des "Romains" et des Perses (III^{e}–VI^{e} siècles de l'ère chrétienne)', *Semetica et Classica* 1 (2008), 167–208.

Shahid, *BASIC*.

Jāhiliyya Arabic for Age of Ignorance or Passion. The term first appears in the *Qurʾān connoting an ethic of 'not-Islam' (e.g. 5: 50). Later Muslim writers used it to signify the period of history before *Muhammad and the rise of *Islam. PAW

G. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry* (1999).

P. Webb, 'Jāhiliyya: Uncertain Times of Uncertain Meaning', *Der Islam* 91 (2014), 69–74.

Jakuszowice (Nidzica River valley, Southern Poland) Economic and political centre from the 1st century BC to the 5th century AD, and site of an exceptionally rich man's grave of the early 5th century. Though some 300 km (*c.*180 miles) beyond the Roman *frontier, the community had strong links with the Roman provinces. Roman imports include *fibulae, fine *pottery, and *coinage. An onion-head fibula suggests personal contact between Roman officials and the *aristocracy at Jakuszowice. The rich burial includes *arms and other objects ornamented with *gold inlaid with garnets. The grave goods and burial practices combine elements from contrasting traditions, as they blend Eastern equestrian customs with Western ornamentation. PSW

K. Godłowski, 'Jakuszowice: A Multi-Period Settlement in Southern Poland', *Antiquity* 65 (1991), 662–75.

K. Godłowski, 'Das "Fürstengrab" des 5. Jhs. und der "Fürstensitz" in Jakuszowice in Südpolen', in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *La Noblesse romaine et les chefs barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (1995), 155–79.

Jamasp (Zamasp) *Sasanian King of Kings (r. 496–8), and son of *Peroz. The *aristocracy installed him after the deposition of his brother *Qobad I in a *coup d'état* because they were concerned at the prevalence of *Mazdakism and at Qobad's reforms. Qobad returned with a *Hephthalite army; Jamasp abdicated and was pardoned. *Joshua the *Stylite (23–4), writing a decade later, and *Procopius (*Persian*, I, 5–6) provide details, as do *Agathias (IV, 28) and *Tabari (V, 86), who both had access to Persian royal annals. KR

EncIran XIV/5 (2008) *s.v.* Jāmāsp I, 453–4 (J. K. Choksy).

PLRE II, Zamasphes.

Jarir (*c.*653–*c.*732) Jarir b. 'Atiyya b. al-Khatafa (Hudhayfa) b. Badr was an Arab poet who, together with al-*Akhtal and al-*Farazdaq, formed the celebrated triad of *Umayyad poets. Born to a poor family, Jarir reflected social tensions among the *Arabs in his *poetry, as well as the conflicts between Arab and non-Arab Muslims, whom he considered as equal to one another. After extensive travels in search of *patronage, he succeeded as a eulogist at the Umayyad *court in *Damascus. His *panegyrics glorified the power of the Umayyads, but also defended his northern Arab tribe *Tamim, which periodically supported the opposition to the Umayyads, so he was less favoured by the Umayyad *caliphs than al-Akhtal or al-Farazdaq. Jarir's rivalry with both of them took the form of numerous satirical and polemical poems (*naqa'id*), and became legendary, gaining him lasting popularity. KDm

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v.* Djarīr, 479–80 (Schaade and Gätje).

Jarir, *Kitab al-naqa'iḍ Naqa'iḍ Jarir wa-l-Farazdaq*, ed. A. A. Bevan, 3 vols. (1905–12).

Jarrow *See* WEARMOUTH-JARROW.

Jaxartes, River (Syr. Darya, Sayhun) River flowing north-west from the Tien Shan Mountains through the *Ferghana Valley to the Aral Sea, mentioned by Strabo (XI, 7, 4; XI, 8, 2; XI, 8, 8) and *Ptolemy (VI, 12, 1, 4; VI, 13, 3; VI, 14, 6–7, 14). The name Jaxartes probably has its origins in the Pahlavi for 'true pearl'. The *Arabic name Sayhun parallels the Jayhun (*Oxus). Al-Muqaddasi provides an account (23–4). MLD

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997) *s.n.* Sir Daryā i In the early and mediaeval periods (W. Barthold, C. E. Bosworth).

G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 474–89.

al-Jazira ('the Island') *Arabic name for northern Mesopotamia, the fertile lands between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers conquered by the *Arabs in the mid-7th century. The Jazira seems to have been treated as a separate province by the *Umayyads after the 680s. After 750 it was strategically and fiscally vital for the *Abbasids in Iraq. KMK

A. V. Gladiss, *Die Dschazira* (2006).

S. Heidemann, 'The Agricultural Hinterland of Baghdad, al-Raqqa and Samarra', in A. Borrut, ed., *Le Proche-Orient de Justinien aux Abbasides* (2011), 43–58.

C. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquests* (2000).

Jebel Barisha Part of the *Limestone Massif of northern *Syria between *Antioch and *Aleppo. There are extensive ruins of *villages, presenting an almost entire rural landscape. It includes important sites such as *Deches, Meez, Dar Qita, Baaude, and Babisqa. KETB

H. C. Butler, F. A. Norris, and E. R. Stoever, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909. Division I. Geography and Itinerary* (1930), 60–79.

Jebel Seman Part of the *Limestone Massif of northern *Syria, immediately west of modern *Aleppo. On the western side is the peak of the Jebel Sheikh Barakat, an important *pagan cult centre. To the north lies the Christian cult centre of *Qalat Seman, enclosing the remains of the column on which stood S. *Symeon Stylites the Older. KETB

H. C. Butler, F. A. Norris, and E. R. Stoever, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909. Division I. Geography and Itinerary* (1930), 60–79.

Jebu Xak'an (Ziebel) (*fl.* 627–30) *Khazar or Western *Türk Yabghu Khagan and ally of the *Emperor *Heraclius, described as brother and viceroy of the King of the North (*Movses Kaghankatvatsi, II, 11–12; 14; 16) and second in rank after the *Khagan (*Theophanes, AM 6117; cf. *Nicephorus, 18), both probably meaning the Western Türk Khagan. Jebu Xak'an accepted Heraclius' offer of an alliance in 626, leading Khazar forces south into Persian-held Caucasian *Albania in 626/7. He met his new ally Heraclius at *Tbilisi in 627 and they unsuccessfully besieged the city.

Jebu Xak'an and his son, the Shad, returned to besiege Tbilisi in 628 and again in 629, when they finally captured it, slaughtering its inhabitants. Persian and Khazar armies clashed in Khazar-held *Armenia in 629/30, resulting in a resounding Khazar victory, but shortly afterwards Jebu Xak'an was overthrown and Heraclius' daughter, who had been betrothed to 'the Turk', was recalled to *Constantinople. Some scholars have equated Jebu Xak'an with Tong Yabghu Khagan, ruler of the Western Türk Khaghanate (d. 628/9), but more likely he was Tong's older brother/uncle Sipi. Confusion over Jebu Xak'an's identity reflects in part the uncertain transition from Western Türk rule to Khazar autonomy at this time. MLD

BT II, Ζιέβηλ.
PLRE III, Jebu Xak'an.
A. Bombaci, 'Qui était Jebu Xak'an?', *Turcica* 2 (1970), 7–24.
E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (1903), 53–4.
D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954), 28–31.
P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, 2 vols. (1980), vol. 1, 187–90, 218–19.
É. de la Vaissière, 'Ziebel Qaghan Identified', in C. Zuckerman, ed., *Constructing the Seventh Century* (TM 17, 2013), 741–8.

Jeme Town in the western Theban region of *Egypt, across the *Nile from *Thebes. First established as an administrative settlement around the 11th century BC, its size and population vacillated in the following centuries. Jeme was built among the ruins of Medinet Habu, the mortuary *temple of Ramesses III, eventually overtaking the temple's architecture with its conglomeration of multi-level mud-brick houses and its churches.

The town began to flourish around AD 600: the surviving documentary evidence (mainly *Coptic *papyri and *ostraca) shows a busy, vibrant community of men and women engaged in various economic and administrative activities. Although small (*c.*1,000–2,000 inhabitants) and relatively unknown outside western *Thebes, Jeme was important within its own region. The town had administrative, social, and economic associations with the *monasteries that dotted the bordering plains. It was sustained by *farming on the flood plains of the *Nile Valley. By 785, the written record ends; it appears that the town was abandoned around this time. TIC

T. G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (2002).
U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 5: *Post-Ramessid Remains* (1954).

Jerash *See* GERASA.

Jerome (*c.*347–419) Noted translator and Christian writer who laboured in a *monastery in *Bethlehem to produce, among many other works, a *Latin translation of the Hebrew *Bible which became the basis for much of the Vulgate. Aside from his commentaries and translations, he produced other theological works in response to *Jovinian and *Pelagius. His personal relations with female *virgins and *widows, particularly *Paula, who founded the monastery he lived in, represent one example of the *asceticism and multifaceted gender relationships of the period.

Early life

Jerome was born in Stridon, a town on the border of *Pannonia and *Dalmatia. *Prosper of *Aquitaine records his birthdate as 331, but a scholarly consensus has formed around a later date, around 347. His *family seems to have had some wealth, at least enough to send him to *Rome for *education. After living briefly in *Trier, Jerome joined a group of aspiring ascetics in *Aquileia in 369. There he formed friendships with the later *bishops *Chromatius and *Heliodorus, both of whom would fund his production of translations and commentaries. During this period he also grew close to *Rufinus of Aquileia. Jerome would later describe the group as 'a community of the blessed' (*Chron.* 247f Helm).

After residing in Aquileia for only three years, Jerome suddenly departed under suspicious circumstances which would later cause him to write *letters of apology (*epp.* 11–12). Jerome took refuge in the *Syrian desert. After residing with Evagrius of *Antioch for a period, in 375, Jerome withdrew to become a hermit for eighteen months. The period seems to have been a fruitful one for Jerome, but he eventually was drawn into a controversy about episcopal succession in Antioch. Jerome supported Paulinus, who also ordained Jerome as a *priest during this period. Jerome also testifies that it was during his time in the desert

that he had a now-famous vision where he was accused of being 'a follower of Cicero and not of Christ' (*ep.* 22).

In 380, Jerome accompanied Paulinus in order to attend the *Council of *Constantinople. While there he brought *Eusebius' *Chronicle* up to date and translated into Latin select homilies on the Prophets by *Origen, the first Latin translations of works by Origen. Following the council, Jerome travelled to Rome.

There, he acquired a new *patron in *Damasus the *bishop. He also began teaching a group of women in the house of *Marcella, a group that included the most important woman in Jerome's life, the widow Paula, who later founded the monastery that would house Jerome in Bethlehem from 389 onwards. Paula's daughter Eustochium, who was the recipient of many of Jerome's letters, was also part of the group from an early time. Beginning in letters to her and in other tracts, Jerome became a fearsome advocate of *virginity during this time in Rome. After the death of Damasus, Jerome was faced with insinuations concerning his relationship with Paula. The Roman clergy inveighed against him, and he, along with Paula and her daughter, set out for *Palestine in 385.

Bethlehem

Jerome and his party arrived in Palestine in 386, quickly making friends with S. *Melania the Elder and Rufinus. Other than a short excursion to *Egypt to listen to *Didymus the Blind in *Alexandria, they would remain there or nearby for the rest of their lives. Paula founded twin monasteries in Bethlehem by 389, one for men and one for women. The following years saw Jerome produce an enormous burst of commentaries and new translations of first the Psalms and then the rest of the Hebrew Bible from the Hebrew instead of the *Greek of the Septuagint (for a full chronology of Jerome's works see Williams, 267–301). Beginning in 393, Jerome was dragged into the *Origenist controversy. Firmly aligned with *Epiphanius of *Salamis against Origen, Jerome was briefly excommunicated by *John II, *Patriarch of *Jerusalem, and broke off his friendship with Rufinus who was then living on the Mount of Olives with S. Melania the Elder. After Rufinus returned to *Italy, Jerome and he each wrote an *Apology* for their actions, and it was only an intervention by Chromatius of Aquileia in 402 which quieted the feud, though Jerome continued to refer to Rufinus as both 'scorpion' and 'grunting pig' (*ep.* 125). Jerome's work continued to pour forth from Bethlehem though, pausing only briefly in 404 to mourn the loss of his patron Paula, for whom he composed a moving *epitaphium*.

At this time he also began a serious correspondence with *Augustine of *Hippo, which was to last through the Pelagian controversy. Pelagius had found refuge in Palestine after his ideas were condemned in *Carthage. But in 415 the monk Paulus *Orosius arrived bearing two letters from Augustine for Jerome denouncing Pelagius. Jerome took up the attack, quickly dashing off *Dialogue Against the Pelagians.* The act seems to have set off the partisans on Pelagius' side, and in spring 416, they attacked and burned the twin monasteries in Bethlehem. Jerome and Eustochium, joined by a new Paula, the granddaughter of the original, fled to a nearby tower. The attack caught the attention of western writers including Pope Innocent and Augustine, who used the event to condemn Pelagius anew. Jerome and the women returned to the monasteries in Bethlehem by 419. At the time, he was in the process of finishing a commentary on Jeremiah, a work which would have completed a set that covered all the prophets. Unfortunately, Jerome was to leave his last work unfinished. He died on 30 September 419, and was interred in the Church of the Nativity in *Bethlehem very near Paula. RJM

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ed. L. Traube, *Hieronymi Chronicorum Codicis Floriacensis Fragmenta Leidensia Parisina Vaticana* (1902).
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G. L. Archer, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel* (2009).
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D. E. Trout, 'Damasus and the Invention of Early Rome', *JnlMedRenSt* 33 (2003), 517–36.

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Jerusalem (Hebrew Yerushalaym; Gk. (H)ierosolyma, Ierousalēm (LXX); Lat. (H)ierusalem, (H)ierosolyma, Aelia (Capitolina); Arabic Īliyā, al-Quds, i.e. the Holy). Important inland city in *Palestine, located between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea and a holy site to Judaism, Christianity, and *Islam.

Jerusalem is built on hilly terrain and flanked by two deep valleys to the east and south. In Late Antiquity the *city was connected by direct roads to *Neapolis (Nablus) via *Scythopolis to the north, Philadelphia (*Amman) by way of Jericho to the east, *Elusa by way of Hebron to the south, as well as with the Mediterranean coast by way of *Nicopolis (Emmaus), *Lydda-Diospolis, or Eleutheropolis.

In the wake of the Bar Kokhba-revolt (AD 132–5) the city, destroyed by Titus in 70, was refounded by Hadrian as the Roman *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina. A Roman legionary camp of the Legio X Fretensis was garrisoned there from 70 until the soldiers were eventually withdrawn to *Aila at the head of the Red Sea under *Diocletian.

While it was forbidden by law for Jews (and Judaeo-Christians) to enter the city, several Gentile Christian travellers, among them Melito of *Sardis (d. *c.*180), visited the city prior to 325, the year in which *Helena, the mother of *Constantine I, went to Jerusalem on *pilgrimage and supervised the construction of two churches commemorating the last teaching and Ascension of Christ on the Mount of Olives (Eleona) at Jerusalem, and his Nativity in nearby *Bethlehem. At the same time, substantial imperial funds were made available to the *Bishop of Jerusalem to destroy the principal Roman *temple, work which resulted in the discovery of the place of Christ's burial and Resurrection, over which a shrine was built (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 25–43). By the mid-4th century, in the time of *Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.*350–387), the Relic of the True *Cross was treasured in the church at Jerusalem; its veneration on Good Friday is described in the late 4th century by the pilgrim *Egeria who was in the Holy Land between 381 and 384 (*Itinerarium*, 37, 1–3). By 395, it was believed that Helena was responsible for its discovery (*Ambrose, *Funeral Oration on Theodosius*, 40–51).

Helena's journey also marks the onset of the flow of a great number of pilgrims, some of whom decided to settle in Jerusalem. Despite the growing theological importance of the See of Jerusalem, especially during the episcopate of Bishop Cyril, the Church of Jerusalem remained subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of its metropolis in *Caesarea Maritima, the provincial capital of *Palaestina Prima. Imperial engagement after the time of Constantine I ceased almost completely for the rest of the 4th century—leaving aside *Julian's unsuccessful plans to rebuild the Jewish Temple in 363, described by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 1, 2-3) and *Ephrem the Syrian.

At the beginning of the 5th century, Jerusalem received *city walls, perhaps initiated by *Aelia *Eudoxia, the wife of *Arcadius, or by Aelia *Eudocia, the wife of *Theodosius II, who resided in Jerusalem from 442/3 until her death in 460. While *Juvenal of Jerusalem achieved the elevation of his bishopric to the status of a *patriarchate at the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451, the majority of the local clergy and monks rejected the Christological somersault he performed there, so that he was ousted and had to be reinstalled with the aid of imperial troops. During the same period, Jerusalem was adorned with various church buildings and grew continuously not least through the influx of Christian pilgrims initially coming from the West, but—especially in later times—from the East, from as far as *Georgia, *Armenia, and even the *Persian Empire. Various pilgrim *hostels, known from literary sources and some excavations, for example outside the present Jaffa Gate, point to the large number of pilgrims, whereas various tombstones and other *inscriptions, among them the earliest texts in the Armenian and Georgian script, record their varied geographical origins.

*Justinian I commissioned the building of a gigantic church dedicated to the Mother of God (known as the 'Nea') on the south side of the city, which alluded to

Solomon's Temple and was, like many other buildings, most likely destroyed in the *Persian invasion of 614, when Jerusalem's most important *relic, the True Cross, was taken to *Ctesiphon. After his victory over the Persians, *Heraclius brought back the True Cross to Jerusalem in a triumphal procession.

The *Arab conquest followed soon afterwards. Already in 637, however, the city was besieged by the Muslim *armies led by the *Caliph *'Umar b. al-Khattab, and was eventually surrendered by Patriarch *Sophronius. 'Umar spared the Christian population as well as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and all other holy places; the place where he performed his first prayers was commemorated with Jerusalem's first *mosque (although not at the place of the present-day 'Umary Mosque south of the Holy Sepulchre).

Until the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, no Jewish institutions or houses of prayer are attested in the city, except for the ruins of a *synagogue mentioned in the 4th century by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 and by *Epiphanius of Salamis. It is likely that pious Jews visited the city on the Ninth of Av to lament the destruction of the Jewish Temple. There is, however, archaeological evidence that Jewish populations settled in nearby places such as Ramat Rahel, where they lived side by side with veterans of the Legio X Fretensis.

Under *Umayyad rule, Jerusalem was governed from *Damascus. Several administrative buildings south of the Temple Mount date to this period. According to Muslim tradition, Jerusalem was identified with the destination of *Muhammad's Nocturnal Journey (*isra'*; *Qur'ān 17: 1). While it is possible that the *Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra), built under the *Caliph *'Abd al-Malik in 691/2, originally continued in a Jewish tradition to mark the place of God's presence, the building soon commemorated Muhammad's *isra'*—as did the al-Aqsa Mosque, which was completed in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik's son, al-*Walid I, between 706 and 717. While the the al-Aqsa Mosque underwent various alterations, especially in the medieval crusader period, the Dome of the Rock preserves its Umayyad interior decoration. KMK

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S. Weksler-Bdolah, 'The Fortifications of Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period', *ARAM* 18–19 (2006–7), 85–112.
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Jerusalem, Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock

Islamic buildings located on the Temple Mount or Haram al-Sharif. Jerusalem held a special status in early *Islam as the first orientation of *prayer (**qibla*), prior to 624, while the association between the Haram al-Sharif and the *masjid al-aqsa* ('furthest mosque') of the Prophet *Muhammad's Night Journey (*isra'*, Q. 17: 1) seems to have been well known by the early 8th century. While it is possible that a simple *mosque was erected on the site in 638, there is more certainty that one existed by the time of the composition of *Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* (*On the Holy Places*), written before *c.*692.

More conclusive physical evidence comes from the reigns of the *Umayyad (r. 661–750) *caliphs *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) and al-*Walid I (r. 705–15). The Aqsa Mosque was transformed into a large enclosed prayer hall, probably comprising fifteen aisles arranged perpendicular to the *qibla* (south) wall. The central aisle was wider and led to a monumental *dome at the crossing with a transept running parallel to the *qibla* wall. The building underwent further changes during the *Abbasid (r. 750–1258) and Fatimid (r. 909–1171) dynasties. After an *earthquake in 1033 the mosque was reduced to seven aisles. An unusual feature of the Aqsa throughout its history has been the absence of an arcaded courtyard.

The *Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra) is set on a platform near the centre of the Haram al-Sharif. Recent archaeological discoveries, including the Kathisma Church and the *martyrium in *Caesarea, suggest that the *octagonal plan employed in the Dome of the Rock draws upon Late Antique Syro-Palestinian Christian models. The Dome of the Rock encloses an outcrop of rock with two ambulatories, and is entered by four portals located at the cardinal points. The interior is extensively decorated with *mosaics,

comprising *foliage and decorative themes that often rely upon Byzantine and Sasanian prototypes, and long lines of *Arabic written in gold on a blue ground (containing the date of 72 AH, equivalent to AD 691–2). The intended meanings of this monument have been much debated; the surviving *inscriptions are most significant in this regard with their assertions of the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad, and their denial of the Christian concept of the Trinity. Scholars have also made symbolic connections with the Temple of Solomon and pointed to the role of Jerusalem at the end of time. Later dynasties further embellished the Dome of the Rock; for example, the glazed tiles that now cover the exterior were commissioned by the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66).

MCM

R. Grafman and M. Rosen-Ayalon, 'Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus', *Muqarnas* 16 (1999), 1–15.

K. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (rev. edn., J. Allan, 1989).

O. Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (1996).

R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque* (1949).

Jerusalem, churches of The meeting place of the first Christian community of *Jerusalem was located on Mount Sion; nothing of this survives. Literary accounts of Christian *pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the 3rd century point to various holy places on the Mount of Olives and in Gethsemane. With the expansion of Christianity, more and more churches were gradually constructed in Jerusalem with a clear focus on places that commemorated Christ's deeds and Passion. A defining trait of Jerusalem's ecclesiastical landscape was the development of a *stational liturgy on important feast days during which *processions took place and Gospel traditions were enacted by visiting the respective holy places and reading out the corresponding biblical passages. This is attested by the pilgrim *Egeria (381–4) and in the *Armenian and *Georgian *Bible Lectionaries. Processional routes could be altered in order to incorporate new churches. During ordinary weeks, however, the liturgy focused on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hagia Sion.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre/Anastasis

As a result of the interest in Jerusalem of *Constantine I and his *family after the *Empress Helena's journey to the *Holy Land in 326 (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 25–40), the religious heart of the city moved from Mount Sion towards the Sepulchre of Christ, whose discovery was later associated with Helena's visit. The church was constructed by Bishop Macarius on orders from Constantine in the heart of the city on top of a Roman *temple next to the forum. Eusebius' account stresses the careful removal of the polluted soil; the archaeological evidence suggests usage of *spolia in the church's foundations. The compound consisted of two separate churches. The Anastasis Rotunda (diameter 33.7 m, over 110 feet) covers the free-standing Tomb of Christ in the shape of an *aedicula*. East of it was a five-aisled *basilica with a gallery, the only church building in Jerusalem facing west; remains of this can still be seen despite heavy rebuilding over the centuries. The churches were connected by an open courtyard containing the rock of Golgotha. The main entrance was reached from the eastern *cardo* by way of steps and another courtyard. The entire building was used for processions, as attested in the *Catecheses* of *Cyril, *Bishop of Jerusalem, which also are the earliest text to mention the Relic of the True *Cross; Egeria (37, 1–3) describes rhe liturgical veneration of the Cross, and *Ambrose in 395 is the first to associate its Invention with Helena (*On the Death of Theodosius*, 46). By the 6th century many biblical traditions previously associated with the Temple Mount (e.g. the Sacrifice of Abraham and the Altar of Zachariah) had been transferred to the Anastasis. The True Cross was captured in the Persian sack of *Jerusalem in 614 and returned by the Emperor *Heraclius in 629. The *Patriarch Modestus rebuilt the church after it had suffered destruction in 614, adding a tetrapylon to the rock of Golgotha. The compound continued to be the religious centre of Jerusalem after the *Arab conquest. A chapel of Mary is attested near the western courtyard from the late 7th century, and recent excavations in the Coptic Patriarchate have unearthed an annexed three-aisled church with a *dome, most likely dating from early Islamic times, north of the Constantinian basilica.

Other churches in the Old City

Sion

Besides the Anastasis, the Church on Mount Sion was Jerusalem's second most important church in Late Antiquity. While a previous building on this spot is mentioned by Egeria, a monumental five-aisled church (*c.*58 × 38 m) was built around 390, most likely by Bishop *John II with donations from the Theodosian dynasty. The church commemorated the events of Pentecost and was therefore associated with the Holy Spirit. The south-eastern corner became associated with the place of the Last Supper from the 5th century onwards and is the only part still surviving. Sion housed various sacred objects (e.g. the Crown of Thorns, and the Column of Flagellation).

House of Pilate, S. Sophia, and House of Caiaphas, S. Peter in Gallicantu

Little is known about the places of Christ's trial, which were shown to the *Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333. Churches were built on top of these sites perhaps following the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) or under the Emperor *Zeno. In the Christological controversies of the 5th and 6th centuries, the Church in the House of Pilate (Praetorium) was renamed S. Sophia perhaps as a counterpoint to the Church of the Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople. Accounts from the 6th century mention a side chapel of the Flagellation; however, no part of this church is archaeologically attested. Excavations in the church commemorating Peter's denial of Christ in the south of the Old City have brought to light rectangular foundation walls that may be interpreted as a *monastery built above pre-Christian funerary caves.

S. Stephen

Built by the *Empress *Eudocia and consecrated in 460, S. Stephen was Jerusalem's first church dedicated to a specific saint. The church was located outside the northern city *gate (the modern Damascus Gate) and had a complex architectural plan with a three-sided polygonal *apse and floor *mosaics of which large parts are extant. It was adorned with architectural *sculpture influenced by Constantinopolitan patterns. A monastery and *hospital (possibly a leprosarium) connected with the church are attested until the 9th century.

Churches at the pools of Bethesda and Siloam

These two churches were constructed during the first half of the 5th century near the pools of Bethesda (north of the Temple Mount) and Siloam (in the south of the Old City), both of them on pre-Christian sacred sites. The churches were lavishly built: Bethesda at the end of a ramp traversing the pool over large substructures, and Siloam at the culmination of a long processional route dating from the Second Temple period. Initially both were three-aisled churches (22×18 m, 72×59 feet, and 32×18 m, 105×59 feet respectively) commemorating places where Christ worked *miracles. From the 6th century onwards Bethesda was thought to be the birthplace of the Blessed Virgin *Mary.

Kathisma Church and Mary's Tomb

The first places commemorating the Virgin Mary were those of her alleged repose (*kathisma*) on the way to *Bethlehem, and of her tomb, assumed to be located in the Kidron Valley. The veneration of both places probably started in the wake of the dispute over Mary's title as *Theotokos at the Council of *Ephesus (431), while the respective buildings are attested archaeologically soon thereafter. The Tomb of Mary consisted of a cross-shaped lower church centred on the tomb and an octagonal upper church, which was built at the behest of the Emperor *Maurice in *c.*600. The Kathisma Church was initiated by the Roman matron Hicelia in the mid-5th century as an octagonal building centred on the rock of Mary's repose. The church had an ambulatory with adjacent side chapels and was rebuilt in the 6th century when a basin was added around the rock. After the *Arab conquest, a **mihrab* was added when the church became a Muslim place of remembrance for Mary/Mariam; it continued, however, to be visited by Christian pilgrims.

Nea Theotokos

After an initial plan to erect a new (*nea*) church of Mary was abandoned during the patriarchate of Elias due to financial problems, the Emperor *Justinian I took it up. The now much larger church was consecrated in November 543, on the festival of Mary's Presentation in the Temple. It was located at the south end of the *cardo* and became Jerusalem's largest church building measuring more than 75 m (*c.*250 feet) in length. An engineer, Theodore, was sent from *Constantinople, and a completely new *quarry had to be dug for the construction works. The Nea compound contained a hospital, a *library, guesthouses, and a *cistern in which a building *inscription naming Justinian has been discovered.

Churches on the Mount of Olives

Ascension Church (Eleona) and Imbomon

A three-aisled church close to the top of the Mount of Olives or Eleona (Gk. 'olive yard') commemorating Christ's Ascension was founded during Helena's journey in 326 (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 41–7). It contained a courtyard on a platform and the cave where Jesus taught after the Resurrection. The compound was more than 70 m (230 feet) long (church 29.5×18.6 m, 97×81 feet) and seems to have been repaired after the *Persian invasion of 614. This site was apparently not congruent with local traditions, so the Imbomon, located very near the Eleona, commemorated the exact place where the Lord ascended on the highest summit of the Mount of Olives. The place was adorned with a circular structure (diameter 37 m, 121 feet) by the Roman matron *Poemenia and was restored by the Patriarch Modestus (d. 630) after the Persian sack. The footprints of Christ were shown to pilgrims in the centre of the building (first attested by *Paulinus of Nola in 402). *Adomnán recording the observation of the pilgrim Arculf in the 7th century, and Willibald of Eichstätt in the

8th century mentions a rotunda with several concentric ambulatories and an open ceiling.

Lazarion

The first building commemorating Christ's raising of Lazarus from the dead was built *c.*390 on the eastern slope of the mountain. This three-aisled basilica had a courtyard from where the subterranean crypt of Lazarus could be reached. Excavations have unearthed parts of the building decoration and mosaic pavements. The church was rebuilt and domed, most likely in the 6th century.

Ecclesia Elegans

A three-aisled church, dating most probably from the 380s, with three *apses and a courtyard was located on the lower slopes of the Mount of Olives. The central apse and nave enclosed a flat rock (8.8 × 5.3 m, 28 feet 10 inches × 17 feet 5 inches); traces of its mosaics can still be seen in the modern Church of All Nations. The building is most likely to be identified with a church mentioned by Egeria and *Jerome, built over the place of Christ's *prayer at Gethsemane. It seems that the church was damaged in 614 and that the commemoration of its Gospel tradition moved to the area near the modern Dominus Flevit Chapel.

Private chapels and monasteries

Most private foundations in Jerusalem were located on or near the Mount of Olives, e.g. the Monastery of Innocentius (*c.*370) and the *monasteries and nunneries of S. *Melania the Elder and S. *Melania the Younger. Larger chapels were located in the monasteries of Bassa (S. Menas) and Flavia (S. Julian). The Empress Eudocia built a *hostel and old people's home with a large chapel dedicated to S. *George; this is perhaps to be identified with recently excavated remains of a large foundation near Ketef Hinnom outside the city's Western Gate. Armenian monasteries, dating from the 6th century, have been discovered north of the city and on the Mount of Olives. The Iberians (Georgians) kept a monastery and guest houses near the Tower of David and in the city's surroundings (S. Theodore at Bir el-Qutt). UEV; KMK

R. Avner, 'The Initial Tradition of the Theotokos at the Kathisma', in L. Brubaker, ed., *The Cult of the Mother of God* (2011), 9–29.
Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*.
Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*.
K. Klein, 'The Patronage of Aelia Eudokia in Jerusalem', *Wiener Jahrbuch* 60/61 (2011–12), 85–95.
M. Küchler, *Jerusalem. Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zur Heiligen Stadt* (²2014).
M. Piccirillo, 'Churches in Jerusalem', in R. Schick, ed., *Jerusalem before Islam* (2007), 189–99.
I. Shahîd, 'Justinian and the Christianization of Palestine', in F. Evangelatou-Notara, ed., *Kletorion: FS N. Oikomenides* (2005), 373–85.
J. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (1993).
Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed* (1993).
U. Verstegen, *Heiliger Ort—sakraler Raum. Kontinuität und Wandel in der Inszenierung der Herrenorte in Jerusalem* (diss. Habilitation Erlangen-Nuremberg, 2013).
Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*.
P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (OECS, 1989).
M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (1999).

Jerusalem, Persian sack and occupation The Persians captured *Jerusalem in May 614. The *Sasanian commander *Shahrwaraz advanced from *Caesarea to Jerusalem and captured the city after a twenty-day siege. The most important source, the account of *Antiochus Strategus, dates the fall to early May, while other sources put it later in the month. *Heraclius' brother Nicetas had earlier salvaged the Sacred Sponge and Spear, but the Relic of the True *Cross was removed by the Persians, a significant blow to Roman morale.

Resistance to the besiegers was fierce. Christian sources allege *Jews collaborated with the Persians, while the *circus *factions led resistance. Massacres followed the fall, although the figures given are inflated; physical damage may also have been limited. Many were deported to Persia after the siege, including the *Patriarch Zachariah. The Persians allowed rebuilding to take place during their occupation. After he had overthrown *Khosrow II, Heraclius restored the Cross in person on 21 March 630. GBG

Flusin, *Saint Anastase le perse*, 136–40, 151–81, 293–306.
Schick, *Christian Communities of Palestine*, 33–52.
Stoyanov, *Defenders and Enemies of the True Cross*.

Jerusalem, See of Bishopric and patriarchate (from AD 451 onwards), according to Christian tradition the See of James the Just, called the 'brother of the Lord', whose *throne survived till the time of *Eusebius (*HE* VII, 19) and who was martyred in 62 (II, 23). Over the first three centuries Jerusalem's bishopric lost its importance as a centre of Christianity as a result of Roman reactions to the Jewish uprisings of 66–70 and 132–5. Little is known about the leaders of the Jerusalem community that had its centre at Mount Sion. At the *Council of *Nicaea (325) the Church of Jerusalem was credited only with an honorific status; however, the see's rank was not elevated so Jerusalem remained subject to the provincial metropolis of *Caesarea Maritima. Regular conflicts between the Jerusalem *bishops and their superiors at Caesarea occurred until the Council of

Chalcedon (451) when Jerusalem was promoted to the status of a patriarchate.

Macarius I (314–33), bishop for much of *Constantine I's reign, was entrusted with the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. From his episcopate until the time of the Crusades the names of his successors are all known; further information on the majority of them is however sparse. The most notable were *Cyril (*c.*350–387, with interruptions), who promoted the *city ambitiously and was a prolific theological author, and *Juvenal (422–58), who succeeded in raising Jerusalem's status to be a patriarchate, equal in rank with *Constantinople, *Antioch, *Alexandria, and *Rome, and with jurisdiction over the churches in the provinces of *Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia.

From the mid-5th century onwards, most influential clergymen in Jerusalem had started their careers in one of the *monasteries in the *Judaean Wilderness. Both these monasteries and the Church of Jerusalem were staunch supporters of the Christological definition of the *Council of *Chalcedon, even though frictions with *Miaphysites arose frequently, culminating in the apostasy of the years 451–3 and the election of an anti-Patriarch, *Theodosius. KMK

G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* (1988).

E. Honigman, 'Juvenal of Jerusalem', *DOP* 5 (1950), 209–79.

L. Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche* (1980).

Jesus, pagan views of Jesus occurs in Late Antique pagan literature principally in anti-Christian polemic. *Porphyry's *Against the Christians* seems to make a distinction between the Christ of the Gospels and Jesus the sage, and in the fragments securely attributed to him attacks the latter only once (fr. 70 Harnack) while directing most criticism to the former (fr. 65 Harnack). Elsewhere, Porphyry indicates some respect for Jesus as a wise teacher (*On Philosophy from Oracles*, frs. 345–6 Smith), though quoting *oracles of Hecate that designate Jesus a 'dead god' whose sufferings were deserved (fr. 343 Smith).

*Hierocles (at *Lactantius, *Institutes*, V, 2–3; and Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*), best known for comparing Jesus to the *miracle-working sage *Apollonius of *Tyana, also claimed Jesus was a bandit-chief, a practitioner of *magic, and when tried an inept defendant.

The *Emperor *Julian saw Jesus as inconsistent in his approach to the Law and as teaching inanities, while unable to aid his own people (*Contra Galilaeos*, frs. 98, 100, 213bc); Christians worshipped the 'corpse of a Jew' (194d).

The anonymous pagan opponent(s) in *Macarius of Magnesia's *Apocriticus* especially denounced Jesus for inconsistency (3, 18) and for teaching barbaric nonsense (3, 15). APJ

J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (2000).

Jesus Prayer A Byzantine *prayer known most commonly in the form, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me [a sinner]'. The origins are biblical pleas for divine mercy (e.g. Matt. 9: 27 and 15: 22; Luke 18: 13) joined to the practice of invoking the name of Jesus. The latter is traceable to *Diadochus of Photice (mid-5th cent.), who urged the constant repetition of 'Lord Jesus' as a means to focus the mind and attain non-discursive, imageless prayer of the kind recommended by *Evagrius of Pontus. The components of the longer formula are suggested in the *Life of Dositheus* by *Dorotheus of *Gaza (*c.*540). The full development of the spirituality and practice was in the 14th-century Hesychast movement. CAS

K. T. Ware, 'The Origins of the Jesus Prayer' and 'The Hesychasts', in C. P. M. Jones, G. Wainwright and E. Yarnold, eds., *The Study of Spirituality* (1986), 175–84 and 242–55.

jet A black, polishable, and very compact coal used for *jewellery since prehistory. Jet became popular in the 3rd and 4th centuries and again in northern Europe during the Anglo-Scandinavian and Viking periods. The main source for jet was *Whitby on the north Yorkshire coast. AHi

H. Muller and K. Muller, *Whitby Jet* (2010).

Jeweled Style Characterization of prevalent stylistic practice in Late Antique poetry in which authors created jewel-like effects by the ordering and juxtaposition of individual compositional units. Typically enumerative schemes combine with a synonymic sequence of verbs and patterns of antitheses to create a grid-like compositional field that throws into focus the individual word, its choice, and position. Regularity highlights variation within that grid. Individual elements by their prominence and setting contribute colour and brilliance of language. The emphasis on the small-scale, circumscribed compositional unit promotes fragmentation and miniaturization, attention to the refinement of detail. Sometimes such passages are set in a frame by introductory or concluding lines, but their self-contained structure itself is often enough to set them apart. This emphasis on individually circumscribed compositional units finds expression in large narrative poems in their often discontinuous nature, their tendency to break down into independent, loosely connected episodes. The metaphor of jewels/the jewelled for literary style is common in Late Antiquity, as an alternative to flowers/the flowered, showing that elements of a text are understood in terms of *light and colour, as multicoloured jewels the poet manipulates like a jeweller to produce striking effects by means of juxtaposition and contrast.

In art a similar aesthetic was at work, for instance, in the prevalence of enumeration and row composition, the attention to detail at the expense of naturalistic representation, and the ornamentation of geometrically circumscribed spaces. MJR

Roberts, *Jeweled Style*.

jewellery, barbarian At the beginning of the Late Antique period, new eastern elements, including *silver sheet *fibulae, appeared in jewellery along the Danube *frontier. Also, a polychrome style of decoration, influenced strongly by Roman-Hellenistic art, emerged in the 3rd century AD in the Black Sea area. Single-mounted precious *stones and coloured *glass were used in barbarian *metalwork.

Many extraordinarily rich graves of barbarian military leaders are known from the first half of the 5th century. The treasures buried in places such as *Untersiebenbrunn combine steppe nomadic and Mediterranean styles. The richness of the princely culture formed by the **foederati* buried with these treasures is apparent in the Roman *provinces, as may be seen from the Wolfsheim treasure of *c.*378, excavated near *Mainz and now in the Wiesbaden Museum. At the same time it spread quickly into free Germany across the Roman *frontier, as is apparent from the *Pietroasa Treasure. Typical of such treasures are *golden barbarian insignia, such as massive bracelets, *rings, necklaces, and pendants as well as *belt fittings showing Eastern influence, and also Roman badges of civil or military rank, such as crossbow *fibulae. Gold *bracteates and pendants of the type known as berlock pendants (French *breloque*) were also popular in northern Europe.

During the 5th century, the Scandinavian *animal style spread southwards. Simultaneously, the polychrome style began to be used for garnet *cloisonné pieces and became the dominant fashion among the emerging barbarian *aristocracy in all of Europe, as is impressively exemplified by the finds (now mostly lost) from the tomb of the *Merovingian *Childeric I (AD 481/82). Cloisonné objects, especially brooches and *earrings, were worn by women in addition to other jewellery, such as hairpins, *amulet pendants, and necklaces with glass beads and precious stones. After reaching a high point in the 6th century, the animal style vanished from the Continent in the early 7th century, but lingered on in Scandinavia and the British Isles, where examples have been found at *Sutton Hoo and in the *Staffordshire Hoard. AHi

K. Andersson, *Romartida Guldsmide i Norden I–III*, 3 vols. (1993–5).

B. Arrhenius, *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery: Emergence and Social Implications* (1985).

P. Périn et al., eds., *L'Or des princes barbares*: *du Caucase à la Gaule, Ve siècle après J.-C.* (exhibition catalogue: Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Mannheim, 2000–1).

Treasures of the Dark Ages in Europe (exhibition catalogue, Ariadne Galleries, New York, 1991–2).

jewellery, Persian Jewellery was important in Iran both as adornment and as social statement. To Roman eyes, Persians wore a great deal of jewellery (*Ammianus, XXIII, 6, 84; *Agathias, III, 5). Nobles wore bejewelled belts, diadems, necklaces, and *earrings, which the Shahanshah bestowed on them when they were raised to the *aristocracy or appointed to an office (KKZ 4, Ammianus, XVIII, 5, 6–7; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 17, 26–30). Officials displayed such adornments on their *seal portraits (e.g. London, British Museum 119994). As seen at *Taq-e Bostan and in several museum collections, chest harnesses and belts with gold appliqué segments and pendants were important in the late years of the *Sasanian dynasty (BM 134716–134733; Brussels IR 1262; Washington, Freer & Sackler Gallery S1987.201a-ii; Paris, Louvre AO21405). Granulation and repoussé ornament embellished such *gold work. *Rock reliefs of the 3rd–4th century portray necklaces of *pearls or round beads. Others appear inlaid with precious or carved semi-precious *stones (cf. Teheran, Reza Abbassi Museum 2640). The Sasanian King's jewels were described as overwhelmingly magnificent (*Libanius, *ep.* 331, 1; *Theophylact Simocatta, IV, 3; Procopius, *Persian*, I, 4). MPC

jewellery, Roman and post-Roman From the 3rd century, jewellery became progressively more elaborate and was increasingly employed to denote status especially in the case of *belts, *rings, brooches, and *fibulae, and—in the case of *emperors—jewelled diadems.

Crossbow brooches of *gold were, like belts, indicative of high office, and were frequently embellished on the foot or even on the bow with openwork, and sometimes inscribed with an *acclamation in celebration of an imperial *anniversary, having presumably been bestowed on such an occasion. However, most brooches of this type were fashioned from base metal (though they were often gilded) and worn by men of lesser rank who wished to maintain an appearance of rank. Emperors are generally portrayed wearing oval jewelled brooches, often with pendants set with *pearls and precious *stones suspended from them.

Female jewellery was often very elaborate and it too incorporated openwork designs as well as jewels in multiple colours. The parure included *earrings, collars, necklaces sometimes with pendants suspended, embellished with *cameos, body-chains, bracelets ornamented

in repoussé or openwork, and rings. Such jewellery is replicated in works of art such as the *mosaic portrayal of *Theodora and her ladies in S. Vitale at *Ravenna. There were workshops in *Constantinople, in *Italy, and elsewhere.

Unsurprisingly, in broad respects, these fashions were replicated outside the boundaries of the Late Roman state with adapted forms of brooches based on the crossbow type such as the square-headed brooch in 5th-century *Britain and jewelled necklaces with pendants including *crosses suspended from them, though native fashions (such as the penannular brooches, sometimes richly enamelled, in western Britain and *Ireland) continued to be worn. MEH

Age of Spirituality, esp. 297–330.

K. R. Brown, 'The Mosaics of San Vitale: Evidence for the Attribution of some Early Byzantine Jewelry to Court Workshops', *Gesta* 18/1 (1977–8), 57–62.

M. Henig, 'Continuity and Change in the Design of Roman Jewellery', in King and Henig, *West in the Third Century*, 127–43.

A. Yeroulanou, *Diatrita: Gold Pierced-Work Jewellery from the 3rd to the 7th Century* (1999).

C. Entwistle and N. Adams, eds., *'Intelligible Beauty': Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery* (2010).

C. Entwistle and N. Adams, eds., *'Gems of Heaven': Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity c. AD 200–600* (2011).

R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, eds., *Byzantium 330–1453* (2008), 409–18, nos. 119–58.

M. Henig, 'Remaining Roman in Britain AD 300–700: The Evidence of Portable Art', in Collins and Gerrard, *Debating Late Antiquity*, 13–23.

Jews, relations with non-Jews Despite their traditional cultic exclusivity—usually respected by common practice and by Roman *law—*Jews fitted themselves into their *cities of residence, which outside the Land of Israel universally held Gentile majorities. Diaspora Jews considered these cities their *patria*, while *Jerusalem remained the 'mother city' (*mater-polis*; for 1st cent., Philo, *In Flaccum*, 46; 5th cent., **Letter of *Severus* 18, 19). Entanglements with urban gods evidently did not restrict Jewish participation in public life: they served as ephebes, athletes, and *actors; as *city councillors, teachers, and patrons of competitions dedicated to foreign gods. Various *synagogue *manumission *inscriptions opened by invoking the god of Israel while closing with the names of 'lower' (thus, *pagan) deities. Further, Gentiles both pagan and, eventually, Christian, formed part of the foot-traffic through urban synagogues, some of which, as at *Sardis, stood at the architectural and social heart of their cities. In many ways, then, except for their general scruples regarding public cult, Jews were *not* all that separate. All the evidence of two-way socializing suggests that a high degree of social integration coexisted, for Jews as for other groups, with religious (better: ethnic) distinctiveness.

Beyond encouraging and supporting such voluntary Judaizing ('*god-fearing'), synagogue communities both before the Late Roman period and also long afterwards received Gentiles as 'converts'. Antiquity had no word for such 'conversion', and given the ethnic embeddedness of ancient divinities, the idea hardly made sense. How could a non-*Ioudaios* become a *Ioudaios*? The closest Roman analogues were adoption and *marriage, both of which ritually created a bond of (legal but fictive) kinship, creating an obligation on the part of the adoptee or the wife to new deities, rituals, and ancestors (cf. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 140D). Both pagans and Christians complained about such radical affiliations to Judaism, and Christian *emperors ultimately levelled legal disabilities against the Christian, the *nostrae fidei hominem* who chose to convert (*CTh* XVI, 9, 5, of 423).

Rhetorical characterization

The 'rhetorical Jews' constructed by pagan ethnography and later by Christian *martyr passions and polemical treatises do not prepare us for this picture. Graeco-Roman ethnographers charge Jews as antisocial, separate, secretive, clannish, and sexually profligate, sacrificing humans and occasionally eating them. But these ethnographers similarly charged Egyptians, Persians, Scythians, Gauls, Britons, and Germans: the image of the foreign was formed from a reversed portrait of the idealized 'self'. (Indeed, the characterization of the non-Jew as 'the goy' functions identically in rabbinic discourse.) The fact that we know so much more about pagan anti-Jewish stereotypes than we do about the stereotyping of these other ethnicities is directly attributable to the activity of later Christians, who preserved the hostile pagan remarks against Jews while augmenting them with their own (e.g. that Jews instigated pagan *persecutions of Christians). The Jewish mastery, however, of the classical curriculum, their prominence in and evident comfort with majority culture, and their ready reception of pagan and Christian contemporaries—much complained-about—tell against such charges of separateness and hostility.

Law and society

From the mid-2nd century onwards, church *canon law provides glimpses of Roman Jewish–Gentile interactions: Christian Gentiles, like their pagan contemporaries, attended synagogue services and celebrated Jewish *festivals; they married Jews (Council of *Elvira, canon 16), asked *rabbis to bless their fields

(canon 49), accepted Jewish hospitality (canon 50), and enjoyed extra-marital sexual relations with Jews (canon 78). They kept the Jewish Sabbath and worked on *Sundays (Council of *Laodicea ad Lycum, canon 29), received festal gifts and tokens of *matzah* (canons 37–8), tended *lamps in synagogues on *festivals (canon 70), and determined the date of *Easter by reference to Passover. These attest to Christian presence and active interest in synagogue activities.

As the Christianization of the Empire gathered momentum toward the end of the 4th/beginning of the 5th century, the language of imperial *law came to echo the tropes of *contra Iudaeos* theological rhetoric. Judaism became a feral and nefarious sect (*feralis et nefaria secta*: *CTh* XVI, 8, 1; 8, 2; 8, 8; 8, 9). Conversion to Judaism was denounced (XVI, 8, 1; 8, 7; 9, 5), and characterized as polluting oneself with Jewish contagions (*iudaicis semet polluere contagiis*: XVI, 7, 3). Jews were prohibited from holding high office in the military or civil *administration. Legal prescription, however, cannot be equated with social description. For the same period, archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence complicates the black-and-white picture tendered by canonical and secular codes. This evidence includes the construction of new synagogues in Roman *Palestine, inscriptions at *Aphrodisias with public lists of converts to and *patrons of the Jewish community, and the *Letter of Severus of *Minorca*, which names the illustrious figures of Theodorus and Caecilianus). The Christian destruction and appropriation of synagogues, frequently attested in the late 4th–5th century, continued to be for this whole period against the letter of Roman law. From *Theodosius I onwards, emperors were concerned to coerce in the first place, Christian heretics, and in the second place, pagans. By comparison Jews were protected under law (*Iudaeorum secta nulla lege prohibita*: *CTh* XVI, 8, 9 of 393).

Eschatological non-Jews

Jewish *apocalyptic thought—beginning with the late canonical prophets and continuing through the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Epistles of S. Paul, the synoptic Gospels, and the Book of Revelation in the New Testament, through the rabbinic period and beyond—looked forward to an apocalyptic end time when the god of Israel would establish final universal sovereignty, the Kingdom of God. Jewish apocalyptic eschatology scarcely speaks with one voice, but one of its strong themes is the inclusion of other nations, and even of their gods, in endtime events. These eschatological Gentiles are a purely hypothetical construction. They conform to neither of the other two kinds of actual Gentile affiliation with Judaism that we have considered. Like god-fearers, they would remain Gentiles; unlike god-fearers, they would not worship their native gods. Like converts, they would worship the Jewish god alone; unlike converts, they would not assume Jewish ancestral, thus ethnic, practices. Eschatological Gentiles in other words are neither converts nor god-fearers. They represent a unique category. In the Last Days, these people would enter God's kingdom *as Gentiles*, but they would not worship idols any more. Jewish apocalyptic thought, in other words, severed Antiquity's normal and normative correspondence of ethnicity and cult. PFr

T. L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles* (2007).
P. Fredriksen, 'Judaizing the Nations', *NTS* 56 (2010), 232–52.
A. Becker and A. Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways that Never Parted* (2007).
P. van der Horst, 'Judaism in Asia Minor', *Cambridge History of Religions of the Ancient World*, vol. 2: *From the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity* (2013), 321–40.
I. Rosen-Zvi and A.Ophir, 'Toward a Genealogy of "The Goy"', *Diné Israel* 28 (2011), 69–122.

Jews and Judaism In antiquity, relations between heaven and earth were commonly configured along ethnic lines: gods and humans formed family groups, and what we consider 'religion' the ancients saw as an inheritance (Lat. *mos maiorum,* Gk. *ta patria ēthē, paradosis patrikōn* (cf. Paul, Galatians 1: 14). Gods no less than humans were in this sense 'ethnic' also, associated with a particular place and people.

Late Antique 'Judaism' both harmonizes with this generalization and sounds interesting variations on it. Like other gods, the Jewish god was also associated with a specific place and people: the Temple of God in *Jerusalem in Judaea was his particular dwelling place (Habbakuk 2: 20; Matthew 23: 21) and the site of his revealed cult (Paul, Romans 9: 4–5); he was the god 'of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob' and their descendants; his people were known as *ioudaioi* or *iudaei* (translatable both as 'Judaeans' or as 'Jews'). But this very specifically Jewish deity had much broader scope: Jews insisted that their god was also the highest god, the ultimate object of worship for all other gods and peoples (see section below on 'Theology').

Beginning in the 6th century BC, a significant portion of the Jewish people lived in *Babylonia and, eventually, further east, in Persia; in the West, following in the wake of Alexander's victories, Jews spread across *Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Peloponnese, to be found by the Roman period in North *Africa, *Spain, and *Gaul as well. Jews variously adapted to their local environments, preserving in varying degrees a knowledge of Hebrew but assuming Aramaic as their vernacular in the East and in the land of Israel, and *Greek and to a lesser and later extent *Latin further West. Jews became athletes, *actors, and authors of literary

work, they served as generals and as soldiers in foreign armies, and as citizens, they took their place as members of *city councils. Yet across all these centuries, cultures, and vast territorial expanses, they also maintained a discernible and trans-local identity.

Scripture

Ancestral stories and practices were preserved and promulgated through sacred writings, designated in Hebrew *TaNaK*: *Torah* ('Instruction', the first five Books of Moses), *Nevi'im* ('Prophets'), and *Ketuvi'im* ('Writings'). Wherever Jews travelled, they took their texts with them; when their vernaculars shifted, the language of these texts shifted also. Aramaic *targumim* and further West, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures known as the Septuagint (LXX) mediated the older Hebrew traditions. Outside observers both pagan and, eventually, Christian, from one end of the Empire to the other, commented on observable Jewish practices: most mention the Sabbath, observance of the *festivals, avoidance of pork, male circumcision, and avoidance of *pagan cult. Instruction in tradition was a weekly event, when the books of Moses (Gk. *ho nomos*, 'the Law') would be expounded in the community (the *synagogue). This widely available library of sacred texts (*ta biblia,* 'the books') in a sense stabilized tradition and enabled its exportation.

Sectarianism

Texts, however, could also be a destabilizing factor. Their very authority required that they be continuously brought up to date to fit new contexts. Jews throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods variously 'rewrote' the *Bible through translation, re-creations (*Jubilees*, *Testament of Job*, *4 Ezra*), formal commentaries, and *midrashim* (creative extensions of biblical narrative). Contemporaries considered that these various texts attested to the existence of various communities, and that these different communities constituted different 'sects'. Interpretation of texts inevitably affected religious practice. 'There was in Judaism a factor which caused sects to begin,' *Origen remarked in the early 3rd century, 'which was the variety of interpretations of the writings of Moses and the sayings of the prophets' (*Contra Celsum*, III, 12).

One of the most audacious, long-lived, and successful updates of biblical material was the *Mishnah*. Redacted from earlier Hebrew oral traditions in Roman *Palestine *c.*200, its six 'orders' enunciated ways to fulfil divine commandments (*halachah*), often conveying the various opinions and arguments of different teachers (**rabbis*). Ultimately, the *Mishnah* called forth further commentary, the *Gemara*, written in Aramaic. Redacted separately in Roman Palestine and in Babylonia (4th and 5th cents. respectively), Gemara together with Mishnah constitutes the core of the *Talmud, the vital literary legacy that became the foundation for all later forms of rabbinic Judaism. Halackhic authority did not imply literary monopoly; throughout Late Antiquity, Jews in the Eastern Empire produced a vast and varied literature: liturgical poems and *hymns (*piyyutim*), magical techniques (**heikhalot*), sermons, and *midrashim.* For this same period, however, in terms of literature, the Western diaspora falls curiously silent.

Theology

Throughout the vast sweep of biblical narrative, a prime character organizes the action: the Jewish god. Other gods existed, and the Bible attested to them; but tradition asserted that ultimately these gods as well as all other peoples would 'turn' (not 'convert') to the god of Israel (Psalms 97: 7; Isaiah 2: 2–4; Tobit 14: 6–7).

The Jews' insistence that theirs was *the* uniquely universal deity, the supreme or highest God, stood in tension with the canons of philosophical **paideia*, whose highest god was radically transcendent, ethnically non-specific, acorporeal, and certainly uninvolved in matter, change, and time. Educated Jews, availing themselves especially of the LXX, found various ways to square this circle. Two very ancient cultic peculiarities of Judaism further facilitated the god of Israel's philosophical make-over. The first was cultic aniconism: Jewish tradition forbade making visual representations of their god. The second was cultic specificity: though *prayer could be offered anywhere, cult was restricted in principle to the Temple in Jerusalem; with the Roman destruction of the Temple in AD 70, Jewish cult ceased. But long before the destruction, Jews distant from Jerusalem did not offer *sacrifices *in situ* to their god. Even so unsympathetic an outsider as Tacitus, on the basis of the Jews' aniconism and lack of *sacrifice, was persuaded: by worshipping *sola mente*, without offerings or images, he said, Jews paid homage to the highest God (*Histories*, 5, 4). Both subsequent 'Abrahamic' religions, Christianity and *Islam, are later refractions of this idiosyncratically Jewish idea. PFr

S. T. Katz, ed., *Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 4: *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (2006).

P. Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews* (2010), 4–102, 223–34, 357–75.

H. Najman, 'Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the "Canon"', *JSJ* 43 (2012), 497–518.

Jews in Georgia The presence of substantial Jewish communities in Late Antique *Georgia is widely attested by literary, archaeological, and linguistic sources. Georgian tradition, preserved in **Moktsevai Kartlisa* (*Conversion of Georgia*) and the *Life of S. *Nino*, claims that a certain Elioz, a Georgian *Jew,

witnessed Christ's Crucifixion and brought His tunic to *Mtskheta. S. Nino stayed for a while with the Jewish community in southern Georgia before arriving at Mtskheta. According to tradition the first to be converted by S. Nino were also Jews—Abiathar, the future Archpriest of *Iberia, and his daughter Sidonia. Archaeological evidence confirms a strong Jewish presence in Iberia from the end of the 1st century in Urbnisi, and in Mtskheta a century later. In the 3rd and 4th centuries Christian Jews were also prominent in Iberia. NA

T. Mgaloblishvili and I. Gagoshidze, 'The Jewish Diaspora and Early Christianity in Georgia', in T. Mgaloblishvili, ed., *Ancient Christianity in the Caucasus* (1998), 39–59.

Jews in Persian Empire *See* PERSIAN EMPIRE, JEWS IN.

Jews in post-Roman West The situation of Jews in the barbarian kingdoms varied considerably. Individual states and rulers enforced contrasting policies, and local circumstances, such as the attitudes of *bishops, also had an effect. Some communities were subject to forcible *conversion (e.g. *Minorca in 418) or had *synagogues burned down, but in many *cities Jews were a significant economic and political force. Evidence comes almost entirely from Christian sources and codes of *law. Late Roman restrictions on Jews holding positions in government, on their owning Christian slaves, and on their proselytizing and building new synagogues were usually retained but not always enforced, and sanctions against *marriage with Christians were sometimes added.

In the *Visigothic kingdom, a generally tolerant royal attitude ended when King *Sisebut made Jews liable to compulsory *baptism or expulsion (613). This was enforced erratically, but church councils continued to impede the practice of Judaism, and in 693 King *Egica used legislation to cripple the Jews economically. Further attempts at mass enslavement may not have been successful but caused Jewish support for the *Arab conquest (711).

In *Italy, Jews under *Ostrogothic and *Lombard rule usually had legal autonomy, but were sometimes the object of local attacks. At *Naples, the Jews took an active role in defending the city in 537 against the *Byzantine invasion. Pope *Gregory I generally upheld the rights of Jews to undisturbed existence, as did most popes, and objected to forced baptism on the principle that Jews should be converted by persuasion.

In *Gaul, church *councils repeatedly tried to stop Christians from socializing with Jews and celebrating Jewish *festivals. Most *Merovingian rulers allowed Jews legal protection, but when royal authority was weak the Jews could suffer, as when the synagogue at *Clermont was burned and Bishop *Avitus ordered them to convert or leave (576). DNo

B. S. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (1977).
N. Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain* (1994).

Jews in pre-Islamic Arabia and under Islam Jews settled in *Arabia in Antiquity, where the largest influx dates from the 2nd century AD following the Roman destruction of the Second Temple (Newby, 14–21, 30–2). Some Arabians also converted to *Judaism during Late Antiquity. Jewish presence is attested in Arabic literature (and limited archaeological finds) across western Arabia: their most important settlements were in Khaybar, *Yathrib, *Najran, and *Yemen. From the 4th century, Yemeni kings of *Himyar converted to Judaism. An alabaster bust in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York of a high-status figure with a single ringlet on his cheek (1982.317.1), dated 3rd–4th century, attests to the growing power of southern Arabian Jews. The early 6th-century Himyaritic King *Yusuf Ash'ar forcefully asserted the kingdom's Jewish identity, but his persecution of Christians and alliance with the *Sasanians aroused East Roman retaliation: a Christian army from *Ethiopia invaded south *Arabia in *c.*525 and occupied Himyar. The later expulsion of Ethiopians from Yemen *c.*570 does not appear to have accompanied the resurgence of Jewish political power, but Jews remained in Yemen at the dawn of *Islam and stayed for centuries.

In central Arabia, *Muhammad established his first Muslim community in Yathrib amongst a substantial Jewish population. Jewish clans did not convert, and though they entered into a pact with Muhammad guaranteeing their freedom, apparent Jewish breaches of the pact resulted in the expulsion of several (but not all) clans. Arabian Jewish populations declined during the Islamic period, but scattered populations survived, perhaps until the 19th century (Newby, 102–3).

The *Qur'ān calls Jews (as well as Christians) '*ahl al-kitāb*' (People of the Book); Islamic law affords them **dhimmī* status, entitling them to state protection of their religious freedom in return for the payment of *jizya. Jewish communities across the *Abbasid *caliphate participated in *trade; Muslim violence against Jews is not widely attested before the 11th century (Stillman, 51, 59, 281–6). PAW

G. D. Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia* (1988).
N. A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands* (1979).
S. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew* (1995).

al-Jibal (Arabic: 'Mountains') Name given by Muslims to Media, the western part of the Iranian plateau

and the adjoining Zagros mountains. The *Arab conquest reached these parts in 642 and the *Umayyads established their province al-Jibal around the former *Sasanian province of Mah which contained the cities *Hamadan (its principal Sasanian centre), Dinawar, *Nihawand, and Qum, as well as many *tribes practising transhumance.

The province of al-Jibal in the Islamic era often extended south and east as far as the *cities of *Isfahan, *Rayy, and Zanjan (Ibn Hawqal 357–73). With the rise of Seljuk power in the 11th century, al-Jibal became commonly known in *Arabic as 'Iraq al-'Ajam (Non-Arabic Iraq), to distinguish it from the region immediately to its west, 'Iraq al-'Arab (Arabic Iraq), i.e. the western side of the Zagros and the *Mesopotamian plain roughly contiguous with modern Iraq (Yaqut, 2: 99). PAW

Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (1957).
Ibn Hawqal, *Surat al-Ard* (1938).
A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak* (1896).

jizya Muslim poll-tax. The *Qur'ān (11: 29) is the source for the classical definition of a yearly tribute to be paid by non-Muslim adherents of the 'Religions of the Book', i.e. Christians and *Jews, and *Zoroastrians in exchange for protection of life and goods living under Muslim rule. PMS

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v.* Djizya, 559–67 (Cahen).
K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (1981).

John German *Primicerius Notariorum who usurped power in *Italy after *Honorius died in 423. An army from *Constantinople under *Aspar captured him at *Ravenna in 425 and executed him.

PLRE II, Ioannes 6.

John Nephew of *Vitalian, and highly regarded general under *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VI, 10). He assisted *Belisarius in *Italy, where he served with distinction and was credited with inducing the *Ostrogoths to raise the *siege of *Rome (538). He was later (*c.*550) *Magister Militum in *Illyricum. He exhibited strategic vision and tactical flair, but he also illustrates weaknesses in the Roman high command: other Roman commanders resented him, and he had strained relations with Belisarius, though the *eunuch general *Narses was his friend. Definite knowledge of his career ends in 553. PNB

PLRE III, Ioannes 46.

John I *Bishop of *Rome 523–6. Born in Tuscany, son of Constantius. Two *letters attributed to John I have been proven to be forgeries. He took part in a senatorial embassy sent by *Theoderic, King of the *Ostrogoths, to *Constantinople to defend *Arianism. His cooperation with *Emperor *Justin I resulted in his imprisonment in *Ravenna, where he died (**Chronicon Theoderici*, 88–93; **Liber Pontificalis*, 55). BN

Spurious *Letters* (*CPL* 1685): PL 63, 529–34.
J. Pitra, *Analecta Nouissima* (1885), vol. 1, 466.
EncPap 1 *s.v.* Giovanni I, 483–7 (Sardella).

John II of Jerusalem (*bishop 387–417) Successor to *Cyril, whose *Mystagogic Catecheses* he may have edited. *Jerome condemned John for defending *Origen in the *Origenist controversy (*Against John of Jerusalem*, 397) and again when John upheld *Pelagius' orthodoxy in 415. Under John the *relics of S. Stephen the first *martyr were deposited in the Sion Church at *Jerusalem, which he inaugurated on 15 September 394. DMG

M. van Esbroeck, 'Une homélie sur l'Église attribuée à Jean de Jérusalem', *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 283–304.
M. van Esbroeck, 'Jean II de Jérusalem et les cultes de S. Étienne, de la Sainte-Sion et de la Croix', *AnBoll* 102/1–2 (1984), 99–134.

John VII *Bishop of *Rome 705–7. John declined to amend or accept the canons of the *Quinisext (Trullan) *Council (692) which *Justinian II had sent him. This earned him rebuke in the **Liber Pontificalis* (rare in this text) for his 'human weakness' (88). During his time as pope, the *Patrimonium S. Petri in the Cottian Alps was returned by the *Lombards, and a programme was undertaken of building and restoring churches in Rome (notably *S. Maria Antiqua). CTH

PBE, Ioannes 228.

John Athalarich Bastard son of *Heraclius, sent as *hostage to the *Avars in 622, later accused of conspiring against his father with the Armenian *Varaztirots' Bagratuni, maimed and exiled to the Princes' Islands in the Sea of *Marmara.

PLRE III, Ioannes 260.
Kaegi, *Heraclius.*

John bar Aphtonia (*c.*480–537) Abbot of the *Monastery of *Qenneshre. According to a *Syriac *panegyrical *Life* (*BHO* 497) written by a monk of the monastery, John was born in *Edessa, brought up there by his mother Aphtonia, and sent at the age of 15 to the Monastery of S. Thomas in *Seleucia near *Antioch. Between 528 and 531, on account of their anti-*Chalcedonian stance, the monks left Seleucia and established the monastery of Qenneshre on the Euphrates, an important centre of intellectual activity (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* VIII, 5bc). John participated in negotiations between *Miaphysites and *Justinian I in

*Constantinople (Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* IX, 15j). His oeuvre includes *hymns and a commentary on the Song of Songs. JWW

GEDSH s.v. John bar Aphtonia, 229 (Childers).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 237.

Life (*BHO* 497):

ed. F. Nau, 'Histoire de Jean bar Aphtonia', *ROC* 7 (1902), 97–135.

ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *Vie de Jean bar Aphtonia* (Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale 2, 1902), 17–24.

STUDIES

J. W. Watt, 'A Portrait of John Bar Aphtonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre', in Drijvers and Watt, *Portraits of Spiritual Authority*, 155–69.

S. P. Brock, 'The Conversation with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)', *OrChristPer* 47 (1981), 87–121.

John bar Penkaye (*fl.* late 7th cent.) East Syriac monk and author. His *Book of Main Points* is a world history from Creation until the author's own day in fifteen books. The last two parts of this chronicle contain an eyewitness account of the rise of *Islam. John regards the *Arab conquest as divine punishment for Christian sins and errant imperial Christology, and asserts that God later punished the *Arabs in the First *Arab Civil War. He also composed a spiritual treatise (*The Merchant*). MPP

GEDSH s.v. Yoḥannan bar Penkaye, 440 (Brock).

EAC s.v. John bar Penkaya, 426–7 (den Biesen).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 251.

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 194–200.

Book of Main Points (parts 10–15), ed. (with FT of Book 15) A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, vol. 1 (1907), 1–171.

S. Brock, 'North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987), 51–75 (ET of parts of Books 14–15); repr. in Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (1992).

M. Albert, 'Une centurie de Mar Jean de Penkaye', in *Mélanges A. Guillaumont* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20, 1988), 143–51 (FT of part of *The Merchant*).

G. J. Reinink, 'Paideia: God's Design in World History According to the East Syrian Monk John bar Penkaye', in E. Kooper, ed., *The Medieval Chronicle II* (2002), 190–8.

L. Greisiger, in *Christian–Muslim Relations*, vol. 1, 176–81.

John Cassian (*c.*365–*c.*435) Monastic traveller, founder, and author of Latin treatises on the monastic life that proved foundational for Western monasticism.

Biographical details are few and must be inferred from incidental remarks in his writings or from the meagre external evidence. Cassian was most likely born in *Scythia Minor (mod. Black Sea coast of Romania) and was bilingual in *Latin and *Greek from a young age. He went to *Palestine in his late teens with his companion Germanus to become a monk, entering a Greek-language *coenobium* in *Bethlehem. Inspired by the tales of an Egyptian monk, they travelled to *Egypt, visiting *monasteries in the Delta region before settling at *Scetis among monks favourable to the *biblical interpretation and spiritual theology of *Origen. They also became acquainted with monks in *Nitria and *Kellia, among them *Evagrius Ponticus (*c.*345–399), who was the major influence on Cassian's own monastic thought. They left Egypt after the outbreak of the *Origenist Controversy in 399, finding refuge in *Constantinople with *John Chrysostom, who employed and ordained them. Both Cassian and Germanus appear in the list of those sent by Chrysostom to *Rome to plead on his behalf to Pope Innocent I in 404. The period between the Roman mission and Cassian's appearance in *Gaul *c.*415 (without Germanus, who had died) is completely blank. From his new base in Massilia (mod. *Marseilles), Cassian formed links with the island monastery of *Lérins and its founder *Honoratus (*c.*350–429) and with *bishops in the region.

By tradition the founder of monasteries for men and women in Massilia, Cassian is best known as the author of a compendium of monastic instruction intended to provide an authoritative basis for the nascent monasticism of southern Gaul. Cassian's explicit appeal to Egyptian models for both the anchoretic and cenobitic life contrasts with the less organized, more charismatic monasticism of S. *Martin of *Tours in western Gaul. He originally conceived a work in two parts: twelve books of *Institutes* outlining the fundamental practices of the coenobitic life in terms of *dress, initiation, liturgical *prayer, and ascetic discipline. The agenda for the latter is described under the heading of eight principal vices, borrowed from Evagrius' 'eight generic thoughts' of gluttony, lust, avarice, anger, sadness, accidie, vainglory, and pride. To the *Institutes* Cassian added ten *Conferences* attributed to anchorites of Scetis, which were meant to cover spiritual themes characteristic of the anchoretic life. Two additional sets of *Conferences*, including some attributed to coenobites, brought the final total to 24. Notable topics include discernment, unceasing prayer, chastity, grace and free will, spiritual interpretation of the Bible, and analysis of the distinctive features of the various forms of monastic life. Cassian's list of marks of humility (*Inst.* 4, 39) inspired the 'Ladder of Humility' of the **Rule of the Master* and *Rule of S. *Benedict*. Toward the end of his life he also wrote a less successful treatise on Christology, *On the Incarnation of the Lord against Nestorius*, for Pope *Leo the Great.

Cassian's views on grace and free will, though typical of Greek Christian theology, proved controversial among followers of *Augustine, notably *Prosper of *Aquitaine (*c.*390–*c.*455). The accusation of 'semi-Pelagian' clouded his reputation in the West though

his writings remained widely copied and read in monastic circles. CAS

PCBE IV/1, Cassianus 2.

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ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (1886).

ET (with comm.): B. Ramsey, ACW 57 (1997).

INSTITUTES:

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ET (with comm.) B. Ramsey, ACW 58 (2000).

ON THE INCARNATION OF THE LORD AGAINST NESTORIUS:

ed. M. Petschenig, *Iohannis Cassiani De Incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium*, CSEL 17 (1888), 233–391.

ET E. C. S. Gibson, NPNF, 2nd series, vol. 11 (1894), 547–621.

A. M. Casiday, *Tradition and Theology in St John Cassian* (OECS, 2007).

O. Chadwick, *John Cassian* (²1968).

R. J. Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian: Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in Fifth Century Gaul* (OECS, 2007).

C. Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (1998).

John Charax (not before 1st half of 6th cent.) An early Byzantine teacher. His running commentary on the *Introductory Rules* of the *Alexandrian **grammaticus* *Theodosius, preserved in excerpts made by Sophronius, *Patriarch of Alexandria (941–60), originated in a course of lectures. RAK

ed. A. Hilgard in G. Uhlig et al., eds., *GrammGraec* 4/2.

Kaster, *Guardians*, no. 199, 391–2.

John Chrysostom (*c.*350–407) *Patriarch of *Constantinople (398–404). A Hellenized Syrian famous for his preaching and the schism that resulted from his *exile. The epithet *chrysostomos* (Gk. golden mouth) refers to his oratory and dates from the 6th century.

John Chrysostom was born in *Antioch. His mother, at least, was Christian and his father probably a member of the **officium* of the *Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem. He was fully trained in *Greek *paideia* and probably also in *Latin (Ps.-Martyrius (*BHG* 871) 50), with the expectation that he would enter a bureaucratic career. Under the influence of the larger of two local Nicene Christian communities he altered course and subsequently trained till *c.*379 in the *ascetic life. *Palladius' claim that he withdrew from the *city at this point (*Dialogus* (*BHG* 870), 5) has until now been widely accepted, but that he instead trained in exegesis of the *Bible, *prayer, vigils, and *fasting in an urban ascetical school is equally likely (Ps.-Martyrius, 6–7; Illert). Regardless, his ascetical training had a profound influence on his subsequent life and pastoral agenda. In light of Ps.-Martyrius, whether his *baptism took place before or after his ascetical training is now uncertain.

Under Meletius, the Nicene Patriarch of Antioch (360–81), John was appointed *reader, then ordained *deacon (381). In 386 he was ordained *priest by Meletius' successor, Flavian (*bishop 381–407). Over the next twelve years he gained a widespread reputation for preaching and for treatises (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 129), while becoming a close aide to his elderly bishop. When the Patriarch of *Constantinople died in 397, John was elected to the position over the Alexandrian candidate, causing friction. He was a rigorist, who instituted reforms to the clergy and the see's finances, earning hostility in those quarters, while becoming popular for his preaching with many of the laity. The internal politics of the eastern capital were complex and he lasted just five years before being sent into *exile in late 403 by the *Emperor *Arcadius. This occurred not long after the so-called Synod of the *Oak, a tribunal of Egyptian bishops and their eastern allies held in *Chalcedon. The popular outcry was substantial and the exile brief. There was controversy over his resumption of the episcopal throne on his return and John was placed under house arrest in early 404, protesting his innocence. At *Easter 404 there were bloody clashes between his supporters and enemies and in June 404 he was exiled a second time and sent under praetorian guard to Cucusus in *Armenia. He and his supporters continued to protest that the charges against him were illegal. His supporters, particularly closely allied clergy and senatorial women, were arrested and put on trial. His most prominent *patron, the *deaconness *Olympias, was heavily fined and exiled along with a large number of eastern bishops. The alliances among both enemies and supporters extended into both East and West and the more influential Italian bishops and the Emperor *Honorius were drawn into the dispute. John's influence continued from exile and he died in 407 while being moved for a third time. The widespread schism took several decades to resolve. In 438 his remains were finally brought back to Constantinople under *Theodosius II.

John's surviving works are substantial. There is still some dispute over authenticity and genre, but he left more than 820 authentic *sermons, fifteen treatises (many concerning *asceticism), four scriptural commentaries, and *c.*240 *letters (written in exile). The bulk of his homilies are exegetical, but also contain moral exhortation. Because of the events he lived through and his down-to-earth and outspoken style, his works constitute an important historical source for Antioch and Constantinople in the later 4th to early 5th centuries. WEM

Works (*CPG* and *CPG*, Suppl. (1998) 4305–4495; 4412).

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ed. A. Wenger, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites* (SC 50 bis, 2005: reimpression of 1st edn., rev. and corrected, 1957).
ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Sur la providence de Dieu* (SC 79, [2013]; 2000: reimpression of 1st edn. 1961).
ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Lettre d'exil* (SC 103, 2011; ^{1}1964).
ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome: à Théodore* (SC 117, 1966).
ed. H. Musurillo and B. Grillet, *La Virginité* (SC 125, 1966).
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ET: *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians* (*CPG* 4327), P. W. Harkins (FC 68, 1979).
ET: *Apologist* (*CPG* 4326, 4348), M. A. Schatkin (*FC* 73, 1985).
ET: *On Repentance and Almsgiving* (*CPG* 4333, 4382), G. G. Christo (FC 96, 1998).
ET: *Homilies on Genesis* (*CPG* 4409), R. C. Hill (FC 74 [1986], 82[1990], 87 [1982]).
ET: *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist* (*CPG* 4425), T. A. Goggin, 2 vols. (FC 33, 41, 1957).
In the series Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers:
ET by W. R. W. Stephens, R. Blackburn, and T. P. Brandram (with introd. by P. W. Schaff), *On the Priesthood, Ascetic Treatises, Select Homilies and Letters, Homilies on the Statutes* (NPNF, series 1, vol. 9).
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ET (annotated) P. W. Harkins, *Baptismal Instructions* (ACW 31, 1963).
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ET *On Marriage and Family Life*, C. P. Roth and David Anderson (1986).
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Theodore of Trimithus *Vita* (*BHG* 872), ed. F. Halkin (*SubsHag* 60, 1977), 7–68.
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M. Illert, *Johannes Chrysostomus und das antiochenisch-syrische Mönchtum. Studien zu Theologie, Rhetorik und Kirchenpolitik im antiochenischen Schrifttum des Johannes Chrysostomus* (2000).

John Climacus (late 6th–mid/late 7th cent.) Hegumen (abbot) of the *monastery at Mount *Sinai and author of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* (his cognomen is from Gk. *klimax*, 'ladder'); also called John Scholastikos.

The perhaps near-contemporary *Life* by Daniel of *Raithu presents key episodes up to the time when John became abbot but provides no means of dating his career, though it is now generally agreed that his abbacy was in the later 7th century (he is not mentioned by *John Moschus). According to Daniel, John came to the monastery at the age of 16; nothing is said about birthplace or family. After twenty years he withdrew into solitude at the base of Mount Sinai, where he spent 40 years until being called back to the monastery as abbot. Another source reports that he later appointed his brother George to succeed him.

John is most famous for the *Ladder*, written for another abbot, John of Raithu. The work consists of 30 *logoi* organized according to stages in spiritual development: renunciation of the world; elimination of vices and inculcation of virtues; challenges in the *ascetic life; attaining stillness (*hesychia*), *prayer, and passionlessness (*apatheia*); abiding in faith, hope, and love. The *Ladder* shows the influence of the classic *Egyptian monastic authors, especially *Evagrius Ponticus, and became a staple text of Byzantine monasticism. It is still widely read, especially in Lent. A shorter treatise, *For the Shepherd*, a guide for coenobitic abbots, was also dedicated to John of Raithu and is an important work on *spiritual direction. Feast: 30 March. CAS

BHG 882–3.
DictSpir 8 (1974) *s.n.* 'Jean Climaque', cols. 369–89 (Coilleau).
Ladder:
ed. PG 88, cols. 631–1210, reprinting M. Rader (1633).
ET L. Moore (1959, rev. edn. 1978).
ET (annotated) C. Luibheid and N. Russell *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (CWS, 1982).
Life: (*BHG* 882): ed. in PG 88, cols. 595–610.
ET L. Moore (1959, rev. edn. 1978), xxxiv–xxxviii.
J. Chryssavgis, *John Climacus: From the Egyptian Desert to the Sinaite Mountain* (2004).
W. Voelker, *Scala Paradisi. Eine Studie zu Johannes Climacus und zugleich eine Vorstudie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (1968).

John Colobus (*c.*339–*c.*409) Monastic leader of *Scetis. His hagiographical *Life* (*BHO* 509) by *Zacharias of Sakha (7th–8th cent.) portrays him as an example of humility and obedience, speaker of wisdom, healer, and worker of *miracles. John appears, more modestly, in around 50 sayings and stories in the **Apophthegmata Patrum*, about half of which appear in the *Life*, usually in expanded form. About 380/5 John founded his own monastic community. Scetis was sacked in 407/8; John fled to *Clysma and died there. TV

CoptEnc 1359b–1362a *s.n.* John Colobus (L. Regnault and M. van Esbroek).
DictSpir 8 (1974) *s.n.* Jean Colobos ou Le Petit, 390–2 (J. C. Guy).
BHO 509*:* ed. E. Amélineau, *AMG* 25 (1894), 316–410.
ET (with study) M. S. A. Mikhail and T. Vivian, *The Holy Workshop of Virtue: The Life of Saint John the Little* (CSS 234, 2010).

John Diacrinomenus (*fl.* early 6th cent.) Author of a lost ecclesiastical history covering the period from the *Council of *Ephesus (431) to the accession of *Severus as *Patriarch of *Antioch (512). It comprised ten books of which the first five were available to *Photius (41). Only a later summary of each book's contents is extant. Writing in *Constantinople, John dedicated his history to his uncle *Bishop Silvanus, envoy of *Emperor *Anastasius I to the *Himyarites (512). He was a moderate anti-*Chalcedonian, or 'hesitant' (*diakrinomenos*). BC

PLRE II, Ioannes (Diacrinomenus) 52.
ed. G. C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (GCS NF 3, ²1995), 152–7.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 168–9.

John Draskhanakerts'i (Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i) (d. *c.*925) *Catholicus of *Armenia (897–*c.*925), author of a *History of Armenia* from Creation to his own time. John was a key figure in his own era (the late 9th and early 10th cent.), during the re-establishment of the kingdom of Armenia after centuries of *Arab domination. His *History* is therefore valuable as an account of the time during which he was at the

centre of Armenian politics, but it also has value for Late Antiquity. The primary sources used by John for the Late Antique history of Armenia were the *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk' and the *History* of *Movses Khorenats'i, but he also evidently had recourse to lost histories and oral tradition, as well as the works of Late Antique Roman authors such as *Socrates. John, writing probably in the 920s, is the first writer to make explicit reference to the work of Khorenats'i; this piece of evidence is often cited in debates over when Khorenats'i actually wrote.

John was influential in the establishment of the autonomous medieval Armenian kingdom, but found himself caught between the rival princes of the dominant *Bagratuni house of Shirak and the Artsruni house of Vaspurakan, with whom he took refuge at the end of his career. His correspondents included Nicholas Mysticus, Patriarch of *Constantinople, and the Emperor *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* 219–20, supplement 204.
ET K. H. Maksoudian, *Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i: History of Armenia* (1987).

John Gibbus John the Hunchback, consul 499. Native of *Selymbria. General of *Anastasius I in the *Isaurian Revolt of 492–8 and a victor of the Battle of *Cotiaeum. During this war he allegedly condemned to death the future *Emperor *Justin I but reprieved him after warnings in *dreams. OPN

PLRE II, Ioannes 93.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 23–6, 248.

John Lydus (b. 490) Civil servant, historian, poet, and antiquarian. The career and writings of John Lydus provide unrivalled insight into the *administration and culture of the 6th-century Empire. John was born into a wealthy family from Philadelphia of *Lydia, a *city commended by students of the *philosopher *Proclus as a 'little Athens' for its *pagan *festivals and *temples (*Mens.* 4.2). In 511, after a classical education there, he went to *Constantinople to join the civil service. While awaiting a post, he attended lectures by the pagan Platonic *philosopher Agapius.

Through the patronage of his countryman Zoticus, created *Praefectus Praetorio in late 511, he was duly enrolled in the Praetorian Prefecture, where in his first year he earned the enormous sum of 1,000 **solidi*. He also married Zoticus' daughter, who brought him a dowry of 100 lb of *gold (= 7,200 *solidi*). After Zoticus left office, John's career was less meteoric. He served in a wide range of posts in the Prefecture, despite seeking at one point to serve in the *Palace. He eventually retired, probably from the most senior grade, after some 40 years, apparently disillusioned with the civil service, but with the customary rewards and honours. He quotes the decree delivered in his honour by the then Praefectus Praetorio, Hephaestus (*Mag.* 3, 30). He then devoted himself to literature.

His literary career had, however, begun earlier, with a *panegyric of his *patron, Zoticus, for which he was paid a *solidus* a line. As his reputation grew, he was commissioned by *Justinian I to deliver a panegyric to visitors from *Rome, and also to write a history of a recent war where the Persians had been defeated at *Dara, a possible reference to *Belisarius' victory in 530 preceding the *Eternal Peace of 532 (*Mag.* 3, 28). Justinian followed this with a decree, again quoted in full (*Mag.* 3, 29), which let John preserve his career in the prefecture while being appointed by the Praefectus Urbi to a teaching *chair in Constantinople.

His surviving works comprise *De Mensibus* (*Mens.*, *On the Months*), *De Ostentis* (*Ostent.*, *On Portents*), and *De Magistratibus* (*Mag.*, *On the Magistracies* or *On Powers*). The first two are notable for antiquarian learning, and also for John's respect for the customs and intellectual practices, including *divination, of the pagan classical past. This left *Photius, a 9th-century *Patriarch of Constantinople, uncertain as to whether or not Lydus was a Christian (*Bibl.* 180).

Mag., John's most important work, seeks to present in detail and historical sequence the institutions, rights, and fate of the Roman magistracies from Aeneas to Justinian's reign, along with the continuities between older Roman and contemporary institutions. The treatise falls into three parts: the first covers the institutions of Roman government in the time of the kings and the Republic; the second deals with the Empire; the third, and longest, describes the history of the Praetorian Prefecture, and provides much autobiographical material. Beyond the detail about the workings of government, what is most striking is the way Lydus roots the contemporary institutions of the empire in the remote Roman past and the admiration he expresses for 'wise antiquity' (*Mag.* 3, 11). Indeed Lydus criticized many of Justinian's reforms, less from personal or departmental motives, than because they departed from ancient precedent. He also resented the employment in the Prefecture of men of allegedly inferior education (and social origin) and the ascendancy of *John the Cappadocian, Justinian's dynamic minister and tax-collector, whom he denounced as cruel and depraved. The contrast he draws between John the Cappadocian and John's successor as Praefectus Praetorio (after the *Nika Riot in 527), the traditionally minded and generous aristocrat *Phocas, is illuminating, since Phocas committed suicide in 545–6 during a renewed purge of pagans. Notwithstanding his excoriation of John the Cappadocian and the emperor's policies, there is no criticism of Justinian personally in the surviving texts. PNB

PLRE II, Ioannes Lydus 75.
Mag.: ed. (annotated with FT) M. Dubuisson and J. Schamp, 3 vols. (Budé, 2006).
Mag.: ed. (with ET, introd., and comm.) A. C. Bandy, *Ioannes Lydus: On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State* (MAPS 149, 1983).
Mens. ed. R. Wünsch (Teubner, 1898).
Ostent: ed. C. Wachsmuth (Teubner, 1897).
T. F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracy Viewed from Within* (1971).
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*.
C. M. Kelly, 'John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD', *BZ* 98/2 (2006), 431–58.
Maas, *John Lydus*.

John Malalas (6th cent.) Author of the earliest surviving Byzantine Christian world chronicle, extending from Adam to 565 (the ms. breaks off in 563) in eighteen books, surviving in a single manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Baroccianus 182) that is demonstrably lacunose and abbreviated from the original, less annalistic than *Eusebius' *Chronicle*, and with more narrative. It is also the earliest substantial work in medieval *Greek to prefer vernacular to literary language. The chronicle was influential, being frequently quoted in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus *Excerpta*, also becoming the source, directly or indirectly, for later chronicles, not only in Greek but also *Syriac, Slavonic, and other languages which are useful for reconstructing the text. Malalas' name, linked to Syriac for 'rhetor' and 'scholasticus', suggests a legal training and he may have worked for the *Comes Orientis in *Antioch. The chronicle appeared in at least two editions, the first ending around 535 focused on Antioch while the continuation focused on *Constantinople and may be partly by another author. It is, however, stylistically similar though less discursive, and the structure in eighteen books implies overall planning by a single author with Christ's incarnation being pivotal, the Annunciation occurring in book 9's final sentence and the Incarnation in the opening of book 10. Thus books 1–9 cover pre-Christian history; books 10–18 Christian; likewise a structure in three hexads with history formed around *Jerusalem (books 1–6), *Rome (7–12), and Constantinople (13–18) as indicated by individual book titles. Malalas claims he abbreviated earlier chronicles (beginning with Moses) for earlier history. For his own lifetime from *Zeno's reign (Books 15–18) he does not specify his sources but may have used chronicles, eyewitness accounts, and material obtained in the office of the Comes Orientis. Often dismissed as ignorant, the significance of his earlier material lies in revealing an educated 6th-century view of the distant past, while his account of contemporary events, not limited by genre, provides a valuable alternative to *Procopius' classicizing narrative, and though eclectic and superficial is our sole source for various secular and ecclesiastical matters. The Christian framework of the earlier narrative interweaves secular history, including king-lists, *euhemerized accounts of Greek myths, (e.g. Oedipus, Theseus, and the Minotaur), and physical descriptions of Trojan War heroes, parallel to his later descriptions of *emperors. He does not recognize the past as other than an extension of the present, applying anachronistic technical terms and assuming rule by an emperor as the basic requirement of statehood, so including Athenian kings but excluding Athenian democracy and virtually all the Roman Republic before concentrating on Roman imperial history. Sporadic examples of mystic *Gnosticism, often of *pagan predictions of Christianity, occur across the *Chronicle*. Despite the Christian structure Malalas shows virtually no interest in *heresies or synods; his chronicle demonstrates the victory of Christianity rather than of Orthodoxy. A rejection of standard Byzantine eschatology underlies frequent date calculations, with *Anno Mundi* 6000 marking the Crucifixion rather than the World's End. Establishing this idiosyncratic chronology (known also to his contemporary *Hesychius Illustris) may well have provided the motive for writing. Claims that Malalas fraudulently copied *Eustathius of *Epiphania are misguided. John Malalas's *Chronicle* is cited in *ODLA* by chapter and section number. RDS

PLRE III, Ioannes 50.
ed. J. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (CFHB 35, 2000).
ET E. and M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, et al., *John Malalas: A Translation* (ByzAus. 4, 1986; repr. 2004).
E. Jeffreys, ed., *Studies in John Malalas* (ByzAus 6, 1990).
E. Jeffreys, 'The Beginning of Byzantine Chronography: John Malalas', in G. Marasco, ed., *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.* (2003), 497–527.
J. Beaucamp et al., eds., *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas*, 2 vols. (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 15 and 24, 2004–6).
B. Croke, *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th–6th Centuries* (1992).
R. Scott, *Byzantine Chronicles and the Sixth Century* (2012).

John (Yovhan) Mandakuni, *Homilies* of A collection of 23 homiletic pieces, written in *Armenian, attributed upon publication to the *Catholicus Yovhan Mandakuni (r. 478–90). Mandakuni was a contemporary of the *marzban (governor) Vahan I *Mamikonean and was important in negotiating the restoration of Armenian autonomy in 484. His life coincided with the Golden Age of Armenian literature, and he was a contemporary of the *Holy Translators; as such he was influential in the development of the early Armenian *liturgy as well as in *translation work. Mandakuni is credited with writing several works including prayers,

services, and *hymns. Also attributed to him is an encyclical on *fasting in the **Book of Letters* (*Girk' T'lt'ots'*) and canons preserved in the Armenian *Canons (*Kanonagirk'*). Already in the late 19th century Mandakuni's authorship of the homilary was questioned, and it has been proposed that the homilies be credited to the 7th-century *vardapet* and fervent anti-*Chalcedonian Yovhannes Mayragomets'i, although some scholars do not entirely accept this argument. The collection of homilies is nevertheless an important source for the formation of the early Armenian Church. TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* 224–5, supplement 206.
Homilies of Lord Hovhan Mandakuni (1836).
A. Terian, 'Mandakuni's Encyclical on Fasting', in Ervine, *Worship Traditions in Armenia*, 187–96.

John Moschus (*c.*540/50–619 or 634) Also known as John, son of Moschus, or 'Eucratas', an itinerant monk and spiritual writer. Moschus was born in *Cilicia and died at the beginning of one of two eighth *Indictions, probably in *Rome, but possibly in *Constantinople. His chief work, the Λειμῶν (*The [Spiritual] Meadow*), has a prologue, which a contemporary evidently composed, recording that Moschus lived in and visited various *monasteries and eremites in Judaea, *Syria, and *Egypt; and that in 614, when the Persians took *Jerusalem, he sailed from *Alexandria by way of various islands (at least *Cyprus and *Samos) to 'the great city of the Rhomaioi', that is, to Constantinople. The prologue states that he wrote up *The Meadow* in 'Rome'. Before his death he entrusted his compendium to his disciple *Sophronius, who buried his body in Judaea.

The preface dedicates the work to Sophronius and explains the title from the analogy of the lives of holy men and women from which edifying virtues will be picked as flowers from a springtime meadow. The work is an anthology of material from or about chiefly clerics and religious, but some lay people too, that Moschus heard during his travels. It is in the tradition of such works as *Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa*, *Palladius' *Lausiac History*, the anonymous **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, and the various collections of the **Apophthegmata Patrum*, and like them it contains a mixture of edifying tales and utterances. Moschus provides details on such matters as the provenances of people, the exact location of monasteries and churches, and *prices, that are incidentally illustrative of the social history of the Eastern *provinces in the period immediately before the *Arab conquest.

The style of writing is plain and modest. The *Patriarch *Photius read it in the mid-9th century and says (199): 'The style of the piece tends to be more debased and ignorant than that of the previous work' (the Systematic Series of the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*). The text is of linguistic interest precisely because it has no literary pretensions. In the preface, however, the style is more elevated and allusive.

The size and extent of the work is problematic. It enjoyed considerable popularity and occurs in a large number of manuscripts, which have a complex tradition. Photius says that he read it in versions of 304 and 342 chapters. The form of the work was thus even then already uncertain. The most authoritative tradition now known contains 301 chapters, but other manuscripts have tales not in this corpus and certain of these contain evidence that suggests that they are genuine. The ambiguity in the date of the author's death further complicates the process of determining what belongs in the corpus. Subdivision increases the number of chapters, but *The Meadow* appears to have been treated by copyists as a living text to which they might reasonably add new material from other, sometimes identifiable, sources. Translators rendered the work into several medieval languages and certain of these have a role in establishing the corpus and the text.

Moschus, with Sophronius, also wrote the first fifteen chapters of a *Life* of S. *John the Almsgiver, Patriarch of Alexandria 610–*c.*620, completed by *Leontius of Neapolis after 641. PPat

Meadow: (*CPG* 7376; *BHG* 1441–2):
ed. in PG 87/3, cols. 2813–3116, reprinting F. du Duc (1624), J.-B. Cotelier (1681).
New edition by P. Pattenden in preparation (cf. P. Pattenden, 'The Text of the *Pratum Spirituale*', *JTS* 26 (1975), 38–54).
ET (annotated) J. Wortley, *The Spiritual Meadow* (CSS 139, 1992).
S. John the Almsgiver (*CPG* [7377], 7647; *BHG* 886–7): ed. (with FT and comm.) A.-J. Festugière and L. Ryden, *Léontios de Neapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 95, 1974).
ET (annotated) Dawes and Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, 195–206.
H. Chadwick, 'John Moschus and his Friend Sophronius the Sophist', *JTS* 25 NS (1974), 41–74.
B. L. Ihssen, *John Moschos' Spiritual Meadow: Authority and Autonomy at the End of the Antique World* (2014).

John Mystacon *Magister Utriusque Militum in *Armenia, *Thracia, and *Oriens under the *Emperor *Maurice. In 591 John helped restore the Persian King *Khosrow II. MTGH

PLRE III, Ioannes 101.

John of Antioch Chronicler, 6th or 7th century. Fragments survive of the work of one or more authors, either of a classicizing high-style writer covering the period from Adam to 518 or of a chronicler reaching

to 610, who also makes use of the low style normally associated with chroniclers, with a further continuation to the 640s. The work survives in collections of excerpts, either specifically attributed to a John of Antioch or identified as being his because of parallels in language or subject matter. A division over whether or not a single author could be responsible for both styles in a single work is reflected in the two modern editions. Mariev includes only the former, while Roberto accepts all attributed fragments, claiming there is sufficient similarity in approach to treat them as part of a single work and arguing that the lower style results from their being derived from a non-classicizing epitome of the original.

Though the writer usually copies material verbatim, his treatment is original in that he interweaves material from various sources, seemingly using these sources directly rather than through an intermediary. He is unusual for being more knowledgeable about the Roman Republic than other Byzantine authors. Elsewhere he occasionally provides important information not preserved elsewhere, most notably on the reign of *Phocas. He was much used by later chroniclers. RDS

PLRE III, Joannes 299.
ed. (with ET) S. Mariev (CFHB 47, 2008).
ed. (with IT) U. Roberto (TU 154, 2005).
Alan Cameron (review of Roberto edn.), *BMCR* 2006.07.37.
M. Whittow (review of Mariev edn.), *BMCR* 2009.12.06.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 311–29.
[L.] Michael Whitby, 'John of Antioch', *CR* 40 (1990), 255–6.

John of Apamea (John the Solitary) (*fl. c.*430–50) Syrian monk and spiritual writer. He is not to be confused with John of *Apamea, or 'the Egyptian', whom *Philoxenus of Mabbug accused of *Gnostic heresy. From John the Solitary, several treatises, dialogues, and a wide-ranging correspondence are extant. He established a threefold order of the spiritual life, later very popular in *Syriac spiritual literature: the lifestyles or orders according to (1) the body, (2) the soul, and (3) the spirit, corresponding to a process from uttered speech, through spiritual *prayer, to silent, interior prayer; from purity/purification, through limpidity/illumination, to perfection. This threefold structure is reminiscent of both the system of *Evagrius Ponticus (active life, natural contemplation, and vision of the Trinity) and the later elaboration of *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite (purification, illumination, perfection). John's unique Christology is hard to situate on the variegated palette of the 5th century. IP

GEDSH s.v. Yoḥannan Iḥidaya, 442 (Kitchen).
Kessel, *Bibliography*, 142–56.

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Tractates, ed. L. G. Rignell, *Drei Traktate von Johannes dem Einsiedler (Johannes von Apameia)* (1960).
ed. S. Dedering, *Ein Dialog über die Seele und die Affekte des Menschen* (1936).
ET M. T. Hansbury, *John the Solitary On the Soul* (TeCLA 32, 2013).
ET of *Letter to Hesychius*: S. Brock, *Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 78–100.
FT R. Lavenant, *Dialogues et traités* (SC 311, 1984).

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I. Hausherr, 'Un grand auteur spirituel retrouvé: Jean d'Apamée', *OrChristPer* 14 (1948), 3–42 (= I. Hausherr, *Études de spiritualité orientale* (OCA 183, 1969), 181–216).
P. Harb, 'Doctrine spirituelle de Jean le Solitaire (Jean d'Apamée)', *Parole de l'Orient* 2 (1971), 225–60.
B. Bitton-Ashkelony, '"More interior than the lips and the tongue": John of Apamea and Silent Prayer in Late Antiquity', *JECS* 20/2 (2012), 303–31.

John of Asia *See* JOHN OF EPHESUS.

John of Biclar (*c.*540–*c.*620) Author of a *Chronicle*, covering events from 568 to 589 in *Spain and the East, and continuing the *Chronicle* of *Victor Tonnennensis. The climax of the *Chronicle* is the conversion to Catholic Christianity of the *Homoean ('Arian') *Visigoths under King *Reccared, made official at the Third *Council of *Toledo in 589. *Isidore of *Seville gives a few details about John's life in chapter 31 of his *De Viris Illustribus*. John was born at Scallabis of *Lusitania (Santarém, Portugal), and studied seven years in *Constantinople probably around 570–7. After falling into disfavour with the Visigothic King *Leovigild he was exiled to *Barcelona in *c.*580. He founded a *monastery at Biclar, an unidentified site in Catalonia, and wrote a monastic rule and other works that are not extant. He became *Bishop of Girona (*c.*590/1), but nothing is known about the remainder of his episcopate apart from his attendance at church *councils. AF

CPL 1866 (2011), 2261.
ed. C. de Hartmann and R. Collins, *Victoris Tunensis Chronicon. Consularibus Caseraugustanis. Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon* (CCSL 173A, 2001).
ed. (with comm.) J. Campos, *Juan de Biclaro, Obispo de Girona: Su vida y su obra.* (1960).

John of Dalyatha (8th cent.) Monk and *Syriac mystical writer of the *Church of the East. John was born in a village north-east of *Mosul and spent seven years as a monk in the *Monastery of Mar Yozadaq in the Qardu region (*Corduene, east of *Tur Abdin and south of the Bohtan Su). He then withdrew further north into the solitude of the mountains of Dalyatha.

Towards the end of his life the brothers of Mar Yozadaq elected him abbot.

In his writings (*letters, *sermons, and 'Chapters of Wisdom') he reflected on the tradition of mystical thought in the light of his own spiritual experience. He has to be identified with John Saba ('the Elder'), condemned by the synod of *Catholicus Timothy I in 786/7. KP

GEDSH s.v. Yoḥannan of Dalyatha, 441–2 (Colless).
Kessel, *Bibliography*, 130–8.
DictSpir 8, 449–52 [R. Beulay].
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 242.
Homilies 1–15, ed. (with FT) N. Khayyat (2007).
Letters, ed. (with FT) R. Beulay (PO 39/3, 1978).
ed (with ET) M. T Hansbury, *The Letters of John of Dalyatha* (TeCLA 2, 2006).
ET of Selections: Brock, *Syrian Fathers on Prayer*.
R. Beulay, *L'Enseignement spirituel de Jean de Dalyatha* (1990).
B. E. Colless, 'The Biographies of John Saba', *Parole de l'Orient* 3/1 (1972), 45–63.

John of Damascus (*c.*670–*c.*750) Christian, priest, monk, and theologian.

Life

Born in *Damascus, then the seat of the *Umayyad *caliphate, as the son of *Sarjun, a tax official in the *Umayyad tax *administration, John received a good education there and initially followed the family tradition in the administration in Damascus. Probably around 706, Mansur b. Sarjun, as he was then called, left the service of the caliphate and moved to *Palestine to become a monk. Later tradition has him a monk of the *Monastery of Mar *Saba in the *Judaean Wilderness; it is more likely that he joined the monastery of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Anastasis) in *Jerusalem. There he spent the rest of his life. He had a reputation as a fine preacher, and was called John *Chrysorrhoas* by the chronicler *Theophanes. He must have been dead by the time of the *Iconoclast Synod of *Hiereia in 754, for there he was anathematized as a dead heretic.

Theology

John's enduring fame rests on his theological work, his prominent opposition to what he believed to be the imposition of Iconoclasm, and, especially in the Orthodox world, his liturgical poetry. John's theological works are mostly polemical, directed against the Christological heresies of those who opposed the Council of Chalcedon (*Miaphysites, *Nestorians), as well as against *Manichaeism. He also composed a century (a work of 100 chapters) on *heresies. The first 80 chapters are an already existing epitome of *Epiphanius' *Panarion*; the last twenty are John's own. He also added a lengthy dossier on *Messalianism to the brief notice of the *heresy which ended the epitome. Of most interest is the last chapter of *On Heresies*, chapter 100, on *Islam. It is the earliest account of Islam and probably reflects knowledge of Islam gained during his time in the service of the Caliph. It is scathing in its attitude to Islam, but John's knowledge fits with the little we know about the development of Islam at the end of the 7th century, and the central Muslim objections to Christianity are clearly delineated; John knew some of the suras of the *Qur'ān, presumably having read them in *Arabic. There is another work, a dispute between a Christian and a Muslim, associated with John's name, mostly likely a summary of his teaching by another hand.

John also composed a handbook of logic that survives in two forms: a short form in 50 chapters, and a longer form, which seems to be an incomplete revision of it. This belongs to the genre of Christian manuals of logic, prepared to enable theologians to understand the philosophical terminology that had been incorporated in conciliar definitions, and also to assist in the theological debates these had provoked.

John's most influential theological work is his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, another century, which epitomizes the tradition of Greek patristic theology, in many cases using (without acknowledgement) the words of the fathers themselves. It covers the doctrine of the God, the Trinity, creation and the nature of the created order, the Fall and Redemption, which leads into a lengthy discussion of Christology. The treatise ends with a series of chapters on the sacraments, the *Cross, *relics, *icons; there are various suggestions as to what coherence this group of chapters possesses, if any. This work was translated into *Latin in the 12th century, and became a resource for the Greek patristic tradition, much used by Western theologians until at least the 19th century. (The order given is that of most of the manuscripts; others have a variant order for the chapters: this seems to be later, and the purpose is not clear.) For the most part, John summarizes the tradition, explicitly disavowing any intention of 'adding anything of his own'. Nevertheless, his presentation is often compelling, and his priorities illuminating; the use of *perichoresis* in Trinitarian theology, once thought to be borrowed from a work now assigned to the 14th century, is probably original.

Iconoclasm

John is also renowned for his theological opposition to Iconoclasm; his three treatises against the Iconoclasts, together with their patristic *florilegia*, present the clearest statement of the Byzantine justification of icons and their veneration. Drawing on arguments honed in the 7th century against *Jewish objections to the veneration of icons and relics, John argues from the holiness of matter as God's creation, manifested ultimately in

God's assuming a material form in the Incarnation, and the essential place of the image or symbol in any human knowing, that icons are both to be made and venerated. He distinguishes further between veneration implying worship and that expressing honour, the former to be addressed only to God, and he develops a detailed exegesis of the OT passages appealed to by Iconoclasts. He was, however, writing from outside the Empire, and it is unclear what influence his arguments (as opposed to his reputation) had on the controversy itself.

Liturgical poetry

John was one of the first composers of liturgical poetry sung in the monastic office, especially the poetic form called the canon, used at Matins. Many canons are ascribed to him in the manuscript tradition, and some are likely to be genuine, notably the *Easter canon. His *sermons, too, are part of his contribution to liturgical worship; of special interest is their witness to the development of veneration of the Virgin *Mary. AL

V. S. Conticello in R. Goulet, ed., *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, 3 (2000), 989–1012.

CPG 8040–127:

ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes Damaskos*, 5 vols. (PTS 7, 12, 17, 22, 29, 1969–88).

Fount of Knowledge, ET F. H. Chase Jr. (FC 37, 1958).

Against the Iconoclasts, ET A. Louth (2003).

ed. (annotated with FT) R. Le Coz, *Écrits sur l'Islam* (SC 383, 1992).

ed. (annotated with FT) P. Ledrux, *La Foi Orthodoxe* (SC 535, 540, 2010–11).

Vassa L. Conticello, 'Pseudo-Cyrils's "De SS. Trinitate": A Compilation of Joseph the Philosopher', *OrChristPer* 61 (1995), 117–29.

A. Louth, *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (2002).

Mossman Roueché, 'Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century', *JbÖB* 23 (1974), 61–76, and other articles by this scholar.

John of Ephesus (*c.*507–589) Also styled John of Asia, *Miaphysite *Syriac monk, *bishop, and church historian. Born in northern *Mesopotamia and dedicated by his parents to a *monastery as a young child, John came of age during the Chalcedonian persecutions under the *Emperor *Justin I of eastern Christians who rejected the Christology of the *Council of *Chalcedon. For some years, he travelled in *exile through the eastern Roman provinces and in *Egypt. He received ordination as a *deacon in 529 and subsequently as a *priest. In 540 he arrived in *Constantinople among the Miaphysite refugees under the protection of the *Empress *Theodora. In 542, the Chalcedonian Emperor *Justinian I enigmatically chose John for missionary work among *pagans and heretics in *Asia Minor, *Lydia, *Phrygia, and *Caria. With some pride, John claimed to have converted 80,000 pagans and schismatics (notably Montanists), and to have founded 98 churches and 12 monasteries during this effort (*Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 47, PO 18, 681). Around 558, John was ordained titular Bishop of *Ephesus by *Jacob Burdʿoyo (Baradaeus), though he seems never to have visited the city. Instead, with *Constantinople as his base, he became an active and highly visible leader for the *Miaphysites as they worked to establish themselves as an independent church in the wake of fruitless theological negotiations with the imperial *court. Renewed persecutions under *Justin II in the 570s brought exile and imprisonment for John, who spent his final years in captivity.

John's importance lies in his extensive (if untidy) historical writings. A number have been lost, but those remaining provide vivid witness to the extraordinarily turbulent times through which he lived. Perhaps most noteworthy is his lengthy *Ecclesiastical History*, composed in three parts. Part I, largely lost, covered the period from Julius Caesar to the death of *Theodosius II. Significant portions of the second part, continuing to 571, are preserved in later Syriac chronicles. Part III, covering to 588/9, was written and smuggled out of prison during John's final years; it survives intact. Composed under difficult conditions even at its best, John's *History* lacks both literary polish and precision of detail. Yet its flaws are more than compensated by the compelling narratives he provides of religious persecutions under the emperors Justinian and Justin II, the Justinianic *Plague of 542, intermittent war with the *Persian Empire, horrendous natural disasters (*earthquakes, drought, *famine, *epidemics) repeatedly suffered in the eastern provinces throughout the 6th century, and the profoundly fraught efforts to establish an independent *Miaphysite church, the *Syriac Orthodox Church. To these he added intimate knowledge of the imperial courts of Justinian and Justin II, deep familiarity with provincial *villages, and extensive contact with religious and political leaders. A source of singular importance for historians, John's *Ecclesiastical History* significantly counterbalances contemporary *Greek and *Latin sources.

In the late 560s John composed *The Lives of the Eastern Saints*, accounts of 58 *ascetics from *Mesopotamia and *Syria whom he himself had known or met during his lifetime. Written with strong reliance on hagiographical convention, the work is nonetheless vibrantly personal and engaging. Although John gives attention to some monastic and theological heroes of the Miaphysite movement (notably the *patriarchs *Severus of *Antioch, *Theodosius of *Alexandria, and Jacob Burdʿoyo), the majority of his subjects are

otherwise little known: local *holy men and women whose profound commitments earned them the devotion and adulation of others. The first chapters present the *village life of John's youth and early adulthood, brimming with lively personalities, local feuds, inherited customs, and richly enacted piety. Subsequent chapters are set against the backdrop of ongoing persecution, as John and his fellow monastics lived in itinerant exile. The final chapters, set in Constantinople, include fascinating interactions between the Miaphysite refugees and the imperial couple Justinian and Theodora, both of whom John came to know well. His saints include monks, nuns, *stylites, hermits, bishops, and laypeople. Some conducted extensive ministry among *poor and suffering civic populations; some practised idiosyncratic forms of self-mortification. A few were members of the nobility, whose wealth and status lent strength to Miaphysite efforts. The accounts are dramatically varied, offering a rare and poignant window into 6th-century religious life in the Christian East. SAH

PCBE III, Ioannes 43.
GEDSH s.v. Yuḥanon of Ephesus, 445 (Harvey).
Hist. Eccl. ed. (with LT) E. W. Brooks (CSCO 104, Scr. syr. 53, 402–20; CSCO 105–6, Scr. syr. 54–5; 1935–6).
ET of Part III, R. Payne Smith (1860).
Lives of the Eastern Saints, ed. (with ET) E. W. Brooks, PO 17/1 (1923), 18/4 (1924), and 19/2 (1926).
S. A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (1990).
J. J. van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus: A Monophysite Historian in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (1995).

John of Epiphania Syrian lawyer, kinsman of *Evagrius Scholasticus, adviser to *Gregory *Patriarch of *Antioch (590), and later honorary *Praefectus Praetorio. His *History* of the *Persian–Roman War of 572–92 was probably a source for *Theophylact Simocatta; one fragment survives. *See also* EPIPHANIA. PNB

PLRE III, Ioannes 162.
ed. Müller, FHG IV, 273–6.
Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. 1, 312.

John of Gaza Poet and teacher active in the first half of the 6th century. He wrote a verse *ecphrasis of a cosmological painting in the *baths at *Gaza or perhaps at *Antioch as well as anacreontic poems. The sole manuscript of the ecphrasis (ms. Paris Suppl. Gr. 384) identifies John as a teacher of *grammar and poetry (**grammaticus*). The poem itself, in 703 hexameters in *epic dialect preceded by a short iambic prologue, represents the transposition into poetic language and form of a rhetorical genre, the encomiastic description (ecphrasis) of *cities and monuments pronounced at a public occasion. John's evocation of the *personifications and *pagan deities depicted in the baths contains many echoes of the language of *Nonnus. The anacreontic poems were composed for poetic competitions and for other occasions, in particular the Rose *Festival celebrated in Gaza and, like the ecphrasis, testify to the continuing tradition of poetic performance in the 6th century. RW

ed. (annotated with IT) F. Ciccolella in *Cinque Poeti Bizantini: Anacreontee dal Barberiniano greco 310* (2000).
ed. D. Lauritzen, *Jean de Gaza, description du tableau cosmique* (2015).
Alan Cameron, 'On the Date of John of Gaza', *CQ* 43 (1993), 348–51.

John of Gaza (holy man) *See* BARSANUPHIUS AND JOHN.

John of Hermopolis Late 6th-century *Bishop of Hermopolis Magna (al-Ashmunein), mentioned in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* (PO 2/1; 14), and author of two highly stylized *Coptic encomia praising S. Mark the Evangelist and S. *Antony the Great. John was a contemporary of the *Miaphysite *Patriarch Damianus (*r.* 569–605), and chose the subjects of his encomia to exalt the status of Egyptian saints in the face of ongoing conflict with the imperial Chalcedonian Church. CJH

CoptEnc 4 *s.n.* John of Shmun, cols. 1369a–1369b (T. Orlandi).
ed. (with FT) G. Garitte, 'Panégyrique de Saint Antoine par Jean évêque d'Hermopolis', *OrChristPer* 9 (1943), 100–34, 330–65.
ed. T. Orlandi (with IT), *Studi Copti, 1: un encomio di Marco Evangelista* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 22, 1968).

John of Litharb (d. *c.*737/8) *Syriac Orthodox *stylite who lived in northern *Syria (modern Athārib, near *Aleppo). John's correspondence with *Jacob of *Edessa and *George of the Arabs reflects a lively intellect which was engaged in a broad variety of subjects, and he seems to have been part of a circle of *Miaphysite intellectuals living in northern Syria during the *Umayyad period. A fragment of one of John's *letters, on Daniel 49: 10, is still extant; John also wrote a *chronicle which no longer survives, but which *Michael the Elder used in his great *Chronicle*. There is scholarly disagreement as to whether John, the Stylite of Litharb, should be identified with another John the Stylite, from Mar Z'ura in Sarug, the author of a grammatical treatise and of a dispute with a Muslim. JT

GEDSH s.v. Yuḥanon of Litarba, 445–6 (van Rompay).
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 258–9.
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 516–17.
H. Suermann, 'John the Stylite of Mār Z'urā at Sarug', in *Christian–Muslim Relations*, 1 (2009), 314–15.

John of Lycopolis (d. 394/5). Famed recluse of Asyut in the Egyptian *Thebaid. Having served his monastic apprenticeship in *Scetis, John had himself enclosed as a hermit from *c.*346 but allowed limited visits and communicated with *emperors, assuring *Theodosius I of victory over both *Magnus Maximus and *Eugenius and persuading him to pardon the city of *Lycopolis after a period of civil *disorder. John was visited in 394 by *Palladius (author of the *Lausiac History*) and by the author of the **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, both of whom recorded the occasion. MGPe

CoptEnc 4 *s.v.* John of Lycopolis, Saint, cols. 1363b–1366a (P. Devos).

John of Nikiu Author of a *Chronicle*, Coptic *Miaphysite *Bishop of *Nikiu in the *Nile Delta, north-west of *Fustat, and church administrator *c.*690. According to the **History of the Patriarchs*, his severe punishment of a monk who died of beatings resulted in his being removed as supervisor of the *monasteries and bishop. His *History* from the Creation to the end of the *Arab conquest was originally composed in Coptic and translated at an unknown date into *Arabic. Only the Ethiopic translation of 1602 is preserved (in two manuscripts); an English translation was made in 1916. This long transmission history explains the disorder of part of the text as well as the occurrence of anachronistic formulations and words such as 'Muslims'.

The first part of the *History* consists of a standard version of the (legendary) history of Near Eastern empires and the Roman Empire. John made good use of earlier Greek sources, especially *John Malalas. He adds details about *Egypt's history and culture and offers a favourable image of *emperors more tolerant of the Miaphysites, whose persecutions by the Emperor *Heraclius are presented as the cause of the *Arab invasion. John presents details of the repercussions in Egypt of *Phocas' usurpation and of Heraclius' assumption of power in *Constantinople. A lacuna in the text for the years 610–39/40 affects his coverage of the *Persian invasion of Egypt and the Byzantine reconquest of c. 628. His detailed eyewitness account of the *Arab conquest is especially valuable. John's account attributes more military depth and strategy to *'Amr b. al-'As's military movements than do the Muslim sources. He shows that the invader struck first at *Oxyrhynchus and the province of *Arcadia, thereby cutting off Lower Egypt from the rest of the province, and only later took possession of *Babylon and the area around it. John recounts how the local population reacted to the conquest, some fleeing, others being forced to serve the Arabs, and yet others joining the conquering forces or even converting to *Islam. Heraclius was forced to concede Arab superiority and granted *Cyrus al-Muqawqas, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, the power to negotiate peace for the whole of Egypt. PMS

ed. (with FT) H. Zotenberg (1883).
ET R. H. Charles (1916).
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 152–6.
J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*.

John of Parallos (*c.*540–610/20) Egyptian theologian and controversialist. John was born in Lower *Egypt and was highly regarded for his early charitable works. He became a monk at the *Monastery of S. Macarius at *Scetis and was consecrated as *Bishop of Parallos at the mouth of the Sebennytic branch of the *Nile. A staunchly conservative theologian, John opposed both *Gnostic teachings and heretical folk beliefs. His principal surviving homiletic work, in fragments, denounces various apocryphal books regarding angelic visitations and revelations. John strongly supported the *Patriarch *Damianus in his ongoing dispute with *Peter of *Callinicum. Other homilies, of less certain attribution, survive in Ethiopic or *Arabic translation. CHJ

CoptEnc 4 *s.n.* John of Parallos, Saint, cols. 1367b–1368b (C. D. G. Müller).
ed. A. van Lantschoot, 'Fragments coptes d'une homélie de Jean de Parallos contre les livres hérétiques', *Misc. Mercati* 1 (ST 121), 1–31.
C. D. G. Müller, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur ars praedicandi der alten koptischen Kirche', *Le Muséon* 67 (1954), 231–70.

John of Tella (John bar Qursos) (482/3–538) *Miaphysite *Bishop of *Constantia-Tella in the Roman *province of *Mesopotamia. Born into a noble family of *Callinicum, John became a soldier and then worked in the Roman civil *administration. He was converted after reading the *Acts of S. *Thecla* and joined the *Monastery of Mar Zakkai. In 519, he was ordained Bishop of Constantia-Tella by *Jacob of Sarug, but was expelled from his see by the Chalcedonians in 521/2. From then on he lived an itinerant ascetic life, ardently propagating the nascent Miaphysite movement in *Syria and the area around *Singara and ordaining many clergy, so acting as a precursor to *Jacob Burd'oyo. He was captured at Singara in 536 and died at *Antioch two years later.

An extensive *Life* (*BHO* 524) composed by his travelling companion Elias survives, as does a life by *John of Ephesus (*Lives of the the Eastern Saints*, 24). John of Tella wrote canons for the clergy, 48 questions on the *Eucharist, a profession of faith, and a commentary on the *Trisagion *Hymn. FJ

GEDSH s.v. Yuḥanon of Tella, 447–8 (Menze).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 233.

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Canons, ed. (with ET) A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents* (PETSE 11, 1960), 55–61.

Profession of Faith, ed. (with ET) V. Menze and K. Akalın (TeCLA 25, 2009).

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Life by John of Ephesus, ed. E. W. Brooks (with ET) (PO 18/4, 1924), 311–24/515–26.

Life (*BHO* 524), ed. E. W. Brooks (with LT), *Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas Celeberrimorum* (CSCO 7–8 Scr.Syr. III, 25, 1907), 31–95.

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N. Andrade, 'The Syriac Life of John of Tella and the Frontier Politeia', *Hugoye* 12 (2009), 199–234.

V. Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (2008).

John Philoponus (*c.*490–*c.*570) Prolific *Alexandrian philosopher and theologian whose work inserted him into many of the most divisive philosophical and theological controversies of the early and mid-6th century. The name 'Philoponus' may refer to his association with the *philoponoi*, an order of Egyptian lay Christians who played specific liturgical roles and were occasionally involved in Alexandrian scholastic life. His interests were broad and his surviving works trace his impressive intellectual development from an Aristotelian commentator whose writings depended upon the teaching of *Ammonius into a Christian theologian. His development can properly be divided into three phases.

Follower of Ammonius

Philoponus' first surviving works appear in the mid-510s, a period when he was still associated with the *school of his teacher Ammonius. Between approximately 510 and 517, Philoponus wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *De Anima*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *Categories*, and *Physics* as well as Nicomachus' *Introductio Arithmetica*. All of these followed his teacher's interpretative lead and clearly reflect Ammonius' influence. Notably, they also largely affirmed the eternity of the world. This point had become a source of persistent disagreement between Alexandrian *Neoplatonists and some of the Christians who studied under them. Philoponus' early adherence to Ammonius' eternalist teachings highlights his fidelity to his teacher.

The anti-eternalist phase

In the 520s Philoponus' position on the eternity of the world changed and he began work on a series of polemical works designed to counter *Neoplatonic and Aristotelian arguments to this effect. The first such work, the massive *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum*, was completed sometime in 529 (*De Aeternitate* 579, 14–17) and offered a thorough refutation of arguments for the world's eternity offered by the *Athenian Neoplatonist *Proclus. The second text in this series, the *Contra Aristotelem*, was completed sometime between 534 and 536 and offered a nine-book long refutation of Aristotelian eternalist arguments. A third, non-polemical work explained Philoponus' alternative, anti-eternalist arguments and most likely appeared in the later 530s. The reasons for Philoponus' intellectual shift in this period are somewhat unclear, but his move roughly coincided with the death of Ammonius, the accession of his young and inexperienced pagan successor *Olympiodorus, and growing imperial attention to the nature of *pagan philosophical teaching. The similarity of some of John's arguments to those offered previously by Alexandrian Christians criticizing Neoplatonic eternalist teaching further suggests that this doctrinal shift may be part of an attempt to appeal to Christians alienated by Platonic eternalist teachings.

The Christian theologian

Whatever the reason for Philoponus' shift from loyal exponent of Ammonian eternalist teaching to its leading critic, it is clear that Philoponus' attention had moved elsewhere by the early 550s. In the 550s and 560s his interests shifted to Christian theological questions. Sometime before the *Council of *Constantinople in 553, Philoponus wrote the *Arbiter*, a critique of the Council of *Chalcedon commissioned by Sergius, the future Anti-Chalcedonian *Patriarch of *Antioch. When Chalcedonian theologians used some points made in the *Arbiter* to buttress their own positions, Philoponus felt compelled to follow it with a series of clarifications containing ever more vociferous critiques of Chalcedonian positions. In the early 560s, Philoponus waded further into Christian theological controversies when he agreed to write a series of treatises in support of Tritheism, a doctrine that quickly came to be condemned by the wider Church.

Legacy

Philoponus left a substantial philosophical legacy that proved controversial both in his life and after his death. Both the pagan *Simplicius and the Christian *Cosmas Indicopleustes strongly criticized Philoponus during his lifetime. Later *Arab scholars speculated that Christian pressure must have caused his shift from eternalist to anti-eternalist teachings. His theological work also provoked contention, and his tritheist writings earned him condemnation at the Council of Constantinople in 680. EW

ed. R. Hoche, *Commentary on Nicomachus' Introduction to Arithmetic*, Part I/II (1864/5), Part III (1867).

ed. H. Rabe, *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum* (1899; repr. 1984).
ed. W. Reichardt, *De Opificio Mundi* (1897).
ed. H. Hase (with ET and comm. by A. Symonds), *Traité de l'astrolabe* (1981).

COMMENTARIES ON WORKS OF ARISTOTLE IN THE SERIES CAG

On Aristotle's 'On Generation and Corruption', ed. H. Vitelli, CAG XIV 2 (1897).
On Aristotle's 'De Anima', ed. M. Hayduck, CAG XV (1897).
On Aristotle's 'Categories', ed. A. Busse, CAG XIII 1 (1898).
On Aristotle's 'Prior Analytics', ed. M. Wallies, CAG XIII 2 (1905).
On Aristotle's 'Posterior Analytics', ed. M. Wallies, CAG XIII 3 (1909).
On Aristotle's 'Physics', ed. H. Vitelli, CAG XVI–XVII (1887–8).
On Aristotle's 'Meteorology', ed. M. Hayduck, CAG XIV 1 (1901).

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Watts, *City and School*, 232–56.
C. Pearson, 'Scripture as Cosmology: Natural Philosophical Debate in John Philoponus' Alexandria' (diss. Harvard, 1999).
U. M. Lang, 'Nicetas Choniates, a Neglected Witness to the Greek Text of John Philoponus' *Arbiter*', *JTS* 48 NS (1997), 540–8.
K. Verrycken, 'The Development of Philoponus' Thought and its Chronology' in R. Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle Transformed* (1990), 233–75.
R. Sorabji, ed., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science* (1987).

John Rufus (*fl. c.*480) Anti-Chalcedonian ascetic and writer. Rather a shadowy figure, John Rufus was probably born around the middle of the 5th century and probably in *Arabia, where he had family connections (*Plerophoriae*, 22). He became a *priest before the end of the usurpation of *Basiliscus (476) and was then living in *Antioch (*Vita*, 79 Raabe). In the early 480s, he encountered *Peter the Iberian, whose faithful and enthusiastic disciple he became (*Vita*, 82 Raabe).

He is the author of three—or perhaps one should say two and a half—works with a monastic flavour and a strong anti-Chalcedonian edge. The *Plerophoriae*, or *Assurances*, is a collection of edifying tales and cautionary anecdotes, rich in everyday detail and psychological interest, relating the perils of adhering to a faith that there were two Natures in Christ and gleefully recounting stories of miraculous conversions to the anti-Chalcedonian cause. The *Life of Peter the Iberian* is (unlike the *Plerophoriae*) without attribution in the manuscript tradition, but its close affinities with the *Plerophoriae* (it too revolves around tales of Peter the Iberian) make the identification all but certain. Both works are preserved only in *Syriac, though John in all probability wrote in *Greek: a detail which *Evagrius claims to draw from 'the writer of the life of Peter the Iberian' (*HE* II, 8) sounds very like *Vita*, 68 Raabe. A short piece on the death of *Theodosius of *Jerusalem forms a sort of codicil to the *Life*. PMP

Plerophoriae: ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *PO* VIII/1 (1912).
Vita Petri Hiberi (*BHO* 955): ed. (with GT) R. Raabe (1895); ET (annotated) C. B. Horn and R. R. Phenix Jr. (WGRW, 2008).
Narratio de Obitu Theodosii Hierosolymitani (*BHO* 1178): ed. E. W. Brooks, in *Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas Celeberrimorum* I (CSCO 7, Scr. syr. III/25, 21–7, 1907; LT: CSCO 8, Scr. syr. III/25, 15–19, 1907).
ET (annotated) Horn and Phenix (2008).
C. B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christology in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (2006).
J.-E. Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture* (2002).
E. Schwartz, *Johannes Rufus, ein monophysitischer Schriftsteller* (*Sb.* (Heid.) 16, 1912).

John Scytha *Magister Militum per *Orientem under *Zeno 483–98. He replaced *Illus, who promptly rebelled against Zeno. John defeated Illus near *Antioch in September 484 and besieged him for four years at *Papirius in *Isauria. In 491–8, John and *John Gibbus were both commanders for *Anastasius I against Isaurian rebels, winning the Battle of *Cotiaeum in 492. As reward, John was made *consul for 498. OPN

PLRE II, Ioannes 34.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 20, 22–8.

John Stobaeus (5th cent.) Author of arguably the most important anthology to have come down from Greek Antiquity. A connection to *Stobi is indicated by 'Stobaeus', while the name John suggests a Christian background, although he incorporates no explicitly Christian references. His name is supplied to us by *Photius who gives essential information in *Bibliotheca* (cod. 167) about the structure and contents of the *Anthologion*. The original was in two volumes (Books 1 and 2: *Eclogae*; Books 3 and 4: *Florilegium*), transmitted separately and incompletely in the manuscripts.

Stobaeus compiled the work for his son. It begins with God and ends with *death, in between ranging over questions of metaphysics, natural philosophy, and the ethical and social 'forms' of *philosophy through hundreds of thematically arranged excerpts from Greek literature, including authors and works otherwise lost. There are selections from lyric poets such as Sappho,

Archilochus, and others; tragic and comic poets such as Eupolis, and many others; orators, historians, and philosophers (e.g. long extracts from Musonius Rufus). Stobaeus is an important doxographical source (cf. Mansfeld and Runia); he is also an important indirect witness to the transmission of works surviving in independent manuscript traditions, including many classical authors. Although many excerpts may derive directly from the works cited, it is clear that Stobaeus made use of previous compilations. Most scholars have been interested in Stobaeus as a transmitter of fragments of earlier works. A small number of scholars have recently begun to study Stobaeus as a transmitter of a cultural heritage and an influence on subsequent ages (cf. Piccione and contributors in Reydams-Schils). A few have revisited the textual tradition, but the edition by Wachsmuth and Hense has yet to be superseded.

DMS

ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium*, 1–4, 5 vols. (1884–1923, repr. 1958).

J. Mansfeld and D. T. Runia, *Aëtiana: The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer, I: The Sources* (1997).

R. M. Piccione, 'Encyclopédisme et *enkyklios paideia*? À propos de Jean Stobée et de l'*Anthologion*', *Philosophie Antique* 2 (2002), 169–97.

G. Reydams-Schils, ed., *Thinking through Excerpts: Studies on Stobaeus* (2011).

John the Almsgiver, S. Chalcedonian *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 610–19/20). John was a widower and an aristocratic layman from Amathus on *Cyprus at the time of his appointment to the see of Alexandria by *Heraclius. His extraordinary deeds of charity in Alexandria endeared him to both *Chalcedonians and *Miaphysites. He established numerous *hostels, infirmaries, and maternity *hospitals, and supported large numbers of refugee clergy and monastics who had fled the *Persian invasions of the Levant. Despite his initial political appointment, John displayed over the course of his patriarchate an increasingly independent attitude. John may have tried to broker the peaceful surrender of Alexandria to the advancing Persian armies. He fled prior to the city's capture in June of 619 and died on Cyprus in November 620, where he was buried at the shrine of the *miracle-worker S. Typhon, concerning whom he had composed a *panegyric. An early *Life* composed *c.*620 by *Sophronius and *John Moschus was expanded and continued by *Leontius of Neapolis (*c.*641–2). CJH

BHG 886–9; *BHO* 511.

CPG 7977 = *BHG* 1859–60: *Life of Tychon*: ed. (with study) H. Usener, *Sonderbare Heiligen I: Der heilige Tychon* (1907).

Anonymous Life of John the Almsgiver (*BHG* 887v: ed. H. Delehaye, 'Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumonier', *AnBoll* 45 (1927), 19–25.

Epitome of the Life of John the Almsgiver: ed. E. Lappa-Zizicas, 'Un épitomé de la Vie de S. Jean l'Aumônier par Jean et Sophronius', *AnBoll* 88 (1970), 265–78.

Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver* (*BHG* 886; *CPG* 7882): ed. (with FT) A. J. Festugière in Festugière and L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (1974–7), 343–409.

ET (with some omissions) by E. A. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (1948).

P. Booth, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity* (2013).

C. Rapp, 'All in the Family: John the Almsgiver, Nicetas and Heraclius', *Nea Rhome* 1 (2004), 121–34.

John the Cappadocian (before 500–after 548) *Praefectus Praetorio in *Oriens (531–2 and 532–41), **consularis*, **patricius*, and *consul in 538. Despite his provincial origin and lack of higher *education (*paideia*), John rose rapidly in the civil *administration under the *Emperor *Justinian I. His first prefecture was ended by the *Nika Riot (532), but he was rapidly restored. As prefect he was responsible for copious reforming legislation. Contemporary sources accuse him of avarice and other vices, but even *Procopius, who detested him, conceded his outstanding administrative ability. Justinian held him in high regard: he had sufficient standing to oppose the emperor's plans to invade *Africa. Above all, his ability to raise revenue, often using his personal staff, financed Justinian's expensive policies (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 24–5; *Vandalic*, III, 13, 12). Hence his unpopularity amongst those, of all classes, required to pay more tax or otherwise hurt by his reforms, however sensible, like *John Lydus (*Mag.* 2, 20; 3, 58), whose legal department was trimmed. He lost office when the *Empress *Theodora, his rival for influence over Justinian, with the help of *Antonina, *Belisarius' wife, framed him in an alleged plot to make Belisarius emperor. He was exiled to *Cyzicus and forcibly ordained. Theodora later tried to convict him of the murder of the local *bishop. This charge led to *exile in poverty in *Egypt, although he was later recalled to *Constantinople, where he died. PNB

Jones, *LRE* 270–3, 279–85, 294, 666.

PLRE III, Ioannes 11.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 12–17, 35–6, 56–63.

Maas, *Lydus*, 21–2, 27, 70–3, 79–88.

Cameron, *Procopius*, 51, 69–70, 173, 244–6.

John Troglita Distinguished Roman general and hero of *Corippus' *epic *Iohanni*s. He served in the *Byzantine invasion of *Africa, and may, under *Belisarius' successor *Solomon, have become *Dux of *Tripolitania or *Byzacena (534–7). In *Mesopotamia from 541, he seems to have successfully defended *Theodosiopolis

and *Dara (*Iohannis*, I, 60–75), though his performance at *Nisibis was more equivocal (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 18.). He returned to *Africa as *Magister Militum (546–52). After an initial victory over the *Moors, his army was destroyed by them at Marta (547), but he mounted a counter-offensive which defeated them decisively in 548. He may have been created **patricius* for this. He managed to retake *Sardinia from the *Ostrogoths, after its recent capture by *Totila (552). Nothing is known of his later career. PNB

PLRE III, Ioannes 36.

ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, *Corippus, *Iohannidos* (1970).

Peter Riedlberger, *Philologischer, historischer und liturgischer Kommentar zum 8. Buch der Johannis des Goripp nebst kritischer Edition und Übersetzung* (2010).

Cameron, *Procopius,* ch. 10 (1985).

Jonas of Bobbio (Jonas of Susa) (d. after 659) Monk in *Bobbio, perhaps later Abbot of Marchiennes, renowned author of *saints' lives. His *Life* of S.*Columbanus is an important source for *Merovingian political history, especially regarding the downfall of *Brunhild and the rise of *Chlothar II, and also for the early history of the monastic movement led by S. Columbanus. Its second book relates the *Lives* of S. Columbanus' successors *Athala, *Bertulf, and *Eusthasius, and stories about *Burgundofara and the nuns of *Faremoutiers-en-Brie. His *Life of John of Réôme*, commissioned by the monks of Réôme, is fictional, but an important source for Columbanian monastic ideals. Jonas' authorship of the *Life* of S. Vedast is contested; he may also have been the author of the *Regula Cuiusdam ad Virgines* (*PL* 88, 1053–70). His work shows remarkable erudition and high literary quality. ADi

Lives of Ss. Columbanus (*BHL* 1898), Iohannes (*BHL* 4424), and Vedast (*BHL* 8501); ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS. rer. Germ. 37 (1905) 1–294, 321–44, 295–320 respectively.

ET *VColumbani* D. C. Munro (1993, originally 1895).

ET *VColumbani* (annotated) I. Wood and A. O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast* (TTH 64, 2017).

Partial ET by I. Wood in T. Head, *Medieval Hagiography* (2000), 111–35.

FT A. de Vogüé, *Aux sources du monachisme colombanien*, vol. 1 (1988).

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A. Diem, 'Monks, Kings and the Transformation of Sanctity', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59.

A. Diem, 'The Rule of an Iro-Egyptian Monk in Gaul', *Revue Mabillon* 80 (2008), 5–50.

A. O'Hara, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', *EME* 17 (2009), 126–53.

A.-M. Helvétius, 'Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la *Vita Vedastis* attribuée à Jonas', *Revue du Nord* 93 (2011), 671–89.

Y. Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul* (2014).

Jordan (Ar. *al-Urdunn*) One of the original Syrian **jund*s ('military districts') established during the *Arab conquests in the 630s and a principal support base for *Marwan I b. al-Hakam (r. 684–5), the founder of the Marwanid *Umayyad dynasty. Jordan's administrative centre was *Tiberias. MCE

J. Haldon, 'Seventh Century Continuities: The *Ajnad* and the Thematic Myth', in A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III* (1995), 379–423.

H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).

Jordanes Author of two extant historical works, both in *Latin and written at *Constantinople in *c.* AD 550. His compilation of Roman history, known as the *Romana*, is so highly derivative that it has been little studied. Much more discussed is his shorter work of Gothic history—the *Getica*—which is again at least partly a compilation. Here, the loss of what Jordanes describes as his main model—the *Gothic History* of *Cassiodorus—makes the degree of dependence more difficult to assess.

This issue is at the heart of one major controversy which dominates the scholarly literature. According to Jordanes' own account, he was able to borrow Cassiodorus' *History* only for three days (from his steward), and, as a result, he could not always recall it in full detail, although he had faithfully followed it in outline. Some have found this account suspicious, especially since Jordanes was writing in Constantinople on the eve of the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy which finally destroyed *Ostrogothic independence. For Momigliano, Jordanes was really an Italian *bishop and a close acquaintance of Cassiodorus who employed the pretence of distance to add credibility to an attempt to sway *Justinian I's court towards a negotiated end to the Gothic war. Goffart was equally suspicious, but argued almost the exact reverse: Jordanes was only pretending to be close to Cassiodorus to win over an Italian senatorial audience for his overall argument—laid out in the *Romana* and *Getica* combined—that the Goths ought to be subservient to Roman might. The point was to discourage them from proffering any further support to their Gothic overlords on the eve of the departure of Narses' expedition.

However, history (especially if you had to read all of both works) is a clumsy and lengthy vehicle for propaganda, and it is also hard to imagine Jordanes' everyday *Latin gaining much purchase among highly educated Italian *senators or Constantinopolitan *court grandees. It is much more likely that Jordanes was simply telling the truth. A former military secretary of Gothic origins,

who had moved on to a more religious way of life, he produced a brief account of Gothic history at a moment when *Justinian's final campaign was substantially set to go. There are also enough correspondences between the *Getica* and what can be reconstructed of Cassiodorus' *Gothic History* from his *Variae*, and enough of a gulf between their levels of Latinity, to give overall credence to Jordanes' assertion that his relationship to the great Italian *senator was limited.

A second controversy stems from the fact that the *Getica* contains much unique information. It is our only source for three fundamental points about the ancient Gothic past: that the Goths had originated in Scandinavia, that the *Amal family of *Theoderic the Ostrogoth had been providing Gothic kings for centuries, and that this family had ruled all Goths in one united kingdom prior to the arrival of the *Huns (although Jordanes also reports the alternative view, which he attributes to a certain *Ablabius, that the Goths had already been divided into *Visigoths and Ostrogoths before 376).

On closer inspection none of these reference points stands up to careful scrutiny. Jordanes himself was clearly suspicious of the supposed Scandinavian origin he posits for the Goths, offering Scandinavia only as his preferred identification of a mysterious northern island homeland, where others had suggested *Britain or Thule instead. In addition, most commentators find that any attempt to trace back the archaeological trail left by the Goths northwards from north of the Black Sea, where they are securely attested in the later 3rd and 4th centuries, goes cold in northern Poland, with no convincing evidence of any earlier Scandinavian phase. Also, contemporary Roman histories other than Jordanes are episodic in nature, but they demonstrate both that the Goths were far from united prior to the arrival of the *Huns, and that the political pre-eminence of the Amal family dates only from the collapse of the Hunnic Empire in the third quarter of the 5th century. Whether Jordanes had access to a properly Gothic account of the distant past (which he refers to, but which has itself occasioned scholarly disagreement) fades into relative insignificance next to the basic fact that he was fundamentally ill informed about Gothic history prior to the arrival of the Huns. Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and even Amal pre-eminence all first came into existence in the 5th century as Hunnic conquest and/or the need to survive in the face of hostile Roman power generated a fundamental revolution in the Gothic world. PHe

PLRE IIIA, Jordanes 1.
CPL 912–13:
ed. T. Mommsen (MGH Auct. Ant. 5/1, 1882).
Getica: ET (annotated) C. C. Mierow (1915, repr. 1966).
A. Momigliano, 'Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of his Time', *PBA* 41 (1955), 207–45.
W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (1988), part 1.
Heather, *Goths and Romans*, chs. 1–2.

Joseph Hazzaya (Syr 'the Seer') (*c.*710–after 786/7?) Monk and *Syriac mystical writer of the *Church of the East. Joseph was born of *Zoroastrian parents in Nemrod (south-east of *Mosul). At the age of 7 he was sold into slavery when the troops of *Caliph *'Umar II b.'Abd al-'Aziz laid siege to his hometown. Attracted by the example of monks, he eventually himself became a Christian and a monk, living in different *monasteries and hermitages in northern *Mesopotamia. In his writings he developed a coherent system of the mystical ascent, combining the teachings of *John of *Apamea (5th cent.) and *Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399). KP

GEDSH s.v. Yawsep Ḥazzaya, 437 (Kitchen).
DictSpir 8 (1974), 1341–9 (Beulay).
Kessel, *Bibliography*, 157–64.
ed. (with FT) P. Harb, F. Graffin, and M. Albert in PO 45/2, 1992).
GT (annotated) G. Bunge, *Rabban Jausep Ḥazzaya. Briefe über das geistliche Leben und verwandte Schriften* (1982).
T. Olickal, *The Three Stages of Spiritual Realization According to Joseph Hazzaya* (2000).

Josephus Comes *Epiphanius of *Salamis (*Panarion*, 30, 4–12) heard the story of Josephus from the man himself while staying at Josephus' house in *Scythopolis. Josephus was a Jew from *Tiberias, an 'apostle' in the entourage of the Jewish *Patriarch, whose secret deathbed *baptism he witnessed. He supervised the upbringing of the Patriarch's son (and designated successor) and exercised considerable influence in the Jewish community. He was however impressed by reading Hebrew versions of the Gospels he found in the Patriarch's treasury, he witnessed the power of the sign of the *Cross, and Jesus came to him in a *dream, so he moved gradually towards *conversion to Christianity, despite understandable Jewish opposition. He was baptized and visited *Constantine I at *court, who accorded him the rank of **comes* and gave him leave and funds to build churches, which he did at Tiberias (where he converted a half-finished *bathhouse) and in Diocaesarea (*Sepphoris). He was about 70 when Epiphanius visited him late in the reign of *Constantius II. *Eusebius, the exiled *Bishop of Vercelli, who shared his opposition to *Arianism, was a fellow guest. Grant and Menzies argue that there is no need to associate Josephus with the text known as the *Hypomnesticon* of Josippus. OPN

PLRE I, Josephus.
R. M. Grant and G. W. Menzies (ed. with ET and study), *Joseph's Bible Notes = Hypomnestikon* (SBL Texts and Translations 41, 1996).

Joshua the Stylite (Syr. Yeshu the Stylite) Name given to the author of a Syriac text entitled 'A Historical Narrative of the Period of Distress which Occurred in Edessa, Amid, and all Mesopotamia'. It is transmitted only as a discrete section within the **Chronicle of Zuqnin*, which concludes in AD 775. 'The priest Mar Joshua the Stylite' is mentioned only in a note on a leaf written by a certain Elisha of Zuqnin and substituted for an original (presumably damaged) folio in the unique manuscript of this *Chronicle*. The meaning of the note is disputed, and 'Joshua' has been variously understood as the author or scribe of the shorter or longer work. Irrespective of its interpretation, however, in modern scholarly literature 'Joshua the Stylite' usually refers to the author of the shorter work, sometime denoted as 'Pseudo-Joshua'.

The 'period of distress' in its title covers the years 494 to 506, and the 'distress' is caused, first by *plague and *famine in *Edessa from 494 to 502, and then by the *Persian–Roman war of 502–6. The three main divisions of the work are an account of the internal revolts within both Roman and *Persian empires and the disputes between the two of them in the years preceding the war, a chronicle of the events of the years 494–502 in Edessa, and an account of the war which, although divided by year headings in the manner of chronicles, has more affinity with the genre of a continuous political history. Internal evidence points to the author being an eyewitness of events in Edessa, and to the composition of the work soon after the end of the war. On account of its wealth of detail it is an extraordinarily valuable document of the period, and is also of interest as the earliest extant work of Syriac *historiography. JWW

GEDSH 438–9 *s.n.* Yeshu' the Stylite (Watt).

ed. W. Wright (with ET), *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (1882; repr. 1968).

ET F. R. Trombley and J. W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* (TTH 32, 2000).

Study with GT and historical comm. A. Luther, *Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 49, 1997).

Jouarre (Seine-et-Marne, France) Double *monastery founded around 630, by Abbess Theudechild. The crypt now contains carved *sarcophagi, including those of Theudechild and her brother *Agilbert (*Bishop successively of *Dorchester (Oxfordshire) and *Paris), which are perhaps the finest works of *Merovingian *sculpture. EJ

M. de Maillé, *Les Cryptes de Jouarre* (1971).

Jovian Short-lived *emperor (27 June 363–17 February 364), a Christian from *Singidunum. His father was the *Comes Domesticorum Varronian, and his father-in-law the general Lucillian. Jovian was a **protector domesticus* under *Constantius II and became Primicerius Domesticorum under *Julian. He was on Julian's Persian expedition and the *army selected him as *emperor after Julian's death. Jovian's infant son Varronian was his father's consular colleague for 364. *Ammianus blames Jovian for the disadvantageous treaty with the Persians which gave them *Nisibis. Jovian died suddenly (and apparently naturally) on the return journey to *Constantinople, aged 33. SFT

PLRE I, Fl. Iovianus 3.

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 183–8.

Jovinian (*fl. c.*390) Roman monk, condemned by synods at *Rome under Pope *Siricius and at *Milan under *Ambrose (393). Jovinian taught that all baptized Christians were equal in God's sight and would receive an equal reward in heaven. Therefore he opposed the notion that sexual continence or *fasting earned a Christian higher status. According to Ambrose, he also held that *Mary could not have remained a virgin while giving birth to Jesus. Jovinian's teaching received a vigorous response from *Jerome in *Adversus Iovinianum*, for which Jerome himself was severely criticized. DGH

W. Haller, *Iovinianus. Die Fragmente seiner Schriften, die Quellen zu seiner Geschichte, sein Leben und seine Lehre* (*TU* 17/2, 1897).

Y.-M. Duval, *L'Affaire Jovinien: d'une crise de la société romaine à une crise de la pensée chrétienne à la fin du IV^e^ et au début de V^e^ siècle* (Studia ephemeridis augustinianum 83, 2003).

D. G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (OECS, 2007).

Jovinus *Usurper, 411–13. Gallic aristocrat, proclaimed *emperor in the Rhineland with the support of the *Burgundian King Guntiarius and the *Alan King Goar, as well as *Franks and *Alamans. After elevating his brother Sebastianus as co-emperor, he was besieged by the *Visigothic King *Athaulf, a former supporter, and executed at *Narbonne by *Dardanus, *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum. RVD

PLRE II, Iovinus 2.

M. Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie 260–527', *Francia* 10 (1982), 630.

R. Scharf, 'Iovinus-Kaiser in Gallien', *Francia* 20/1 (1993), 1–13.

Juansher Medieval Georgian historian. Author of the *Life of King *Vakhtang Gorgasali*, a part of the *Life of Georgia* (**Kartlis Cxovreba*). Until recently, he was considered to be an 11th-century author, but a date in the 8th century is now widely accepted. According to the colophon to the *Life of Vakhtang*, Juansher was the husband of the niece of the 8th-century King S. Archil.

The *Life of Vakhtang* is a quasi-historical text, abounding with folk and epic motifs. Despite this, Juansher's work remains an important source for the study of the Late Antique Caucasus. NA

Rapp, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography.*
Braund, *Georgia*, 283.

Judaean Wilderness, monasteries in the Founded in the 4th–6th centuries in the eastern part of Judaea, in a strip with low rainfall and few *villages, *c.* 80 km (50 miles) long from Phasael in the north to Masada in the south, and 20–5 km (*c.*15 miles) wide from the *Jordan and the Dead Sea to the Judaean hills. A number of springs dot the wilderness and collection of rainwater in cisterns provides enough water for drinking and watering gardens all year round. The earliest *monasteries were founded near springs and *villages in the first half of the 4th century by S. Chariton (*BHG* 301) from *Lycaonia; he established the *lavra of *Pharan east of *Jerusalem, Duca in an ancient fort above Jericho, and Suca ('The Old Lavra') near Thecoa. In 411 the next founder, S. *Euthymius from *Melitene (377–473; *BHG* 648), established a **coenobium* headed by his companion Theoctistus, where the next generation of monastic founders—among them S. *Sabas—was trained. Having mastered the technique of collecting rainwater, they no longer needed to locate their monasteries near springs. Euthymius marked the southernmost boundary of the Judaean monasteries by fixing a temporary abode in Masada, and was instrumental in developing *Jordan River monasticism through his follower S. *Gerasimus (d. 475; *BHG* 693–4). At its peak, the Judean Desert contained some 70 monasteries and hermitages. LDS

J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631* (OECS, 1994).
D. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (1966).
Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries.*
Y. Hirschfeld, 'List of Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert', in G. C. Bottini, L. Di Segni, and E. Alliata, eds., *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries. Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo* (1990), 1–90.

Judaeo-Greek Jewish use of *Greek developed in the Hellenistic period, both in *Palestine and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, and the importance of Greek in *Egypt led to the translation of the *Bible (the Septuagint, abbreviated as LXX) and to the writing of literature in Greek. While the Jews did not have a distinct dialect, they inevitably developed a religious vocabulary for *festivals and practices. In the Roman Empire Greek was the prime language of Jews, as seen in the majority of Jewish *inscriptions being in Greek, and in the Byzantine world Jews in *Greece continued to use the language.

Translations of the Bible were made in the 2nd century AD, attributed to *Aquila of *Sinope, *Symmachus the Ebionite, and *Theodotion, where the influence of the source language is prominent. Aquila was said to be the pre-eminent Jewish translation (*Origen, *Letter to Africanus*) and a version of it was still in use in the 5th century as seen in a Genizah palimpsest. Judaeo-Greek in the form of Greek written in Hebrew characters becomes characteristic of Jewish writings in the Byzantine Empire and has been preserved in glossaries, commentaries, word lists, and some translations. These are important sources for vernacular Greek of the period, and while they display calques from Hebrew they represent standard Greek of the time. JKA

N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (1996).
N. de Lange, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Greek Bible Translations in Byzantine Judaism* (2015).
J. G. Krivoruchko, 'Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations: A Linguistic Perspective', in J. K. Aitken and J. Carleton Paget, eds., *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire* (2014), 152–70.

Judaism *See* JEWS AND JUDAISM.

judices pedanei Judicial deputies, not necessarily with any legal training, appointed by provincial *governors. Their use was restricted by *Diocletian (*CJust* III, 3, 2), and formalized in 539 by *Justinian I who appointed a permanent panel of twelve experts to deputize for high-ranking officials in *Constantinople (*NovJust* 82). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 501–2.

jugatio* and *jugum Assessment for *taxation of land for the **annona*. *Jugatio* was based on a regionally variable unit introduced by *Diocletian known as the *jugum* ('yoke', Gk. *zyga*). By the early 4th century, the *jugum* was equated with the unit (*caput*) of the poll-tax (*capitatio*). After this, the terms *jugatio* and *capitatio*, and *jugum* and *caput*, are often used interchangeably in the legal sources. In *Syria, which had the most elaborate system, the *jugum* consisted of varying numbers of *jugera* (acres) of different qualities of land. JND

Jones, *LRE* 63–5, 453–4, 820.
A. H. M. Jones, '*Capitatio* and *Iugatio*', *JRS* 47 (1957), 88–94.
Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen*, 28–43.

jugerum* and *jugum The *jugerum* (0.2518 ha or 0.62 acres) was the traditional standard Roman measurement of farmland. The *jugum*, made universal under *Diocletian, was a standard fiscal unit of farmland, of

varying acreage according to the nature and quality of the land, which enabled taxes (**jugatio*) to be assessed at a uniform rate per *jugum*. DWR

R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (1990), 199–210.

TLL VII (1956–79) *s.vv. jugerum* (cols. 627–9) and *iugum* (cols. 639–44).

Julian 'the Apostate' *Caesar under *Constantius II 355–61, sole *Augustus 361–3.

Despite the brevity of his reign, Julian is one of the most written about *emperors of Late Antiquity. This is because Julian was the last pagan Roman emperor, and sought to reverse changes his uncle *Constantine I, the first Christian emperor, had initiated. Julian's reign thus represents a watershed. His project and its failure have fascinated successive generations, from the composers of the *Syriac **Julian Romance* to English political propagandists in the Exclusion Crisis of the 1680s and the Victorian poet A. C. Swinburne.

Numerous ancient authors provide contrasting views. of Julian. He is central to the writings of such pagans as *Ammianus Marcellinus, *Libanius, and *Eunapius. Christian writers, such as *Gregory of *Nazianzus and *Ephrem the Syrian, were vigorous in their denunciation. Many of Julian's own writings also survive. He had benefited from a wide-ranging *education. A variety of tutors (including the *eunuch Mardonius) taught him as a boy and he studied in Asia Minor with *Neoplatonic *philosophers (such as *Maximus of *Ephesus, who is credited with converting Julian to *paganism), and at *Athens. He wrote in various genres, including *panegyric, *letters, *hymns, *invective, religious tracts, satires, and a *consolation. His most famous works are his *Caesars* (more accurately *Symposium*, which reviews previous emperors as guests at a symposium held by the gods) and the *Misopogon* (more accurately *Antiochikos*, ostensibly a satire on himself in response to the mockery of him by the people of *Antioch during his stay there in 362–3, but in reality an attack on the values of the Antiochenes themselves).

Despite these extensive sources not much is known about Julian, and the chronology and details of his early life are still debated: even the year of his birth (331 or 332) is uncertain. His father was *Julius Constantius (the son of *Constantius I and *Theodora, and thus the half-brother of Constantine I) and his mother Basilina. Julius Constantius also had children by a previous wife, Galla, so Julian had half-siblings, including his half-brother *Gallus. Julian's mother died soon after his birth, and in the summer of 337 he lost his father and many other male relatives in the massacres which followed the demise of Constantine, as Constantine's sons, most lastingly Constantius II, asserted their possession of the Empire.

For much of his life Julian was under the control of Constantius. He was sent to Macellum in *Cappadocia for six years (probably 342–8), and was appointed Caesar in 355 after the execution, in 354, of the previous Caesar, Gallus. Julian was married to his cousin Helena and sent to *Gaul. There he proved an effective commander and a capable administrator. He won a celebrated victory over the *Alamanni in 357 at the Battle of *Strasbourg, concerning which Julian wrote an account (now lost), and put Gaul on a secure and more prosperous footing. In 360 he was acclaimed Augustus by his troops in *Paris, following a request from Constantius II for a transfer of men to the eastern *frontier. Civil war was halted by the sudden death of Constantius in November 361, the emperor reputedly nominating Julian his heir on his deathbed.

As sole emperor Julian sought to promote paganism and diminish the place of Christianity. Some of his most famous measures have been called into question in recent scholarship. The idea that he aimed to create a 'pagan church' has been challenged by van Nuffelen (2002) who argues that the crucial evidence (a letter to Evagrius) is a 5th-century Christian forgery (*contra* Bouffartigue). Julian banned Christians from teaching classical literature. McLynn has represented this as more a provocative challenge than a law of general application. Some pagan contemporaries thought Julian's attempts to revive traditional religion were flawed since his brand of paganism was too esoteric, too affected by his *Neoplatonic interests, especially *theurgy: Ammianus Marcellinus criticized his excessive sacrificing and the influence over him of his philosopher friends. The question remains as to whether Julian's project could have succeeded had he lived longer, or whether it was too alienating or simply too late.

Julian had concerns beyond religion, including the continuing functioning of *city councils, and the reduction of waste at *court; he dispensed with the use of *eunuchs as well as other superfluous personnel. In particular, he reduced the imposing *ceremony of the court, presenting himself more as an accessible citizen ruler, although this was a source of criticism by some of his contemporaries, accustomed to the Late Roman representations of imperial power. He also changed the *coinage, introducing two new billon and *bronze coins and reducing the number of **officinae* at several imperial mints. His coinage included pagan symbols, including the unique image of a bull, which were apparently ridiculed at Antioch (*Misopogon* 355 D).

The largest enterprise of Julian's reign was his attack on the *Persian Empire. The response of his predecessor Constantius II to the aggression of *Shapur II had been essentially defensive. Julian proceeded on the principle that the most effective defence was attack. His invasion of Persian *Mesopotamia down the River

Euphrates was punctuated by devotional detours to such pagan shrines as *Harran, and, according to the eyewitness account of Ammianus, by adverse omens which were serially misinterpreted by the theurgical philosophers and accurately by traditional experts learned in the traditions of Etruscan *divination. The campaign culminated in the fatal wound Julian sustained by an unknown hand in a skirmish on the journey out of Persia.

Julian had no son to succeed him, and seems to have nominated no heir, though it was rumoured that he had advised his kinsman *Procopius to take power, which Procopius eventually attempted to do in 365. The immediate consequence of Julian's death was the treaty concluded by his short-lived successor *Jovian, by which the Roman Empire lost strategically important territory, including much won in the campaign of *Galerius in 298, and which set the conditions of *diplomacy between the Roman and *Persian empires for nearly a century and a half. SFT; OPN; RRD

PLRE I, Iulianus 29.
RIC VIII.
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 226–8 (itinerary 354 to December 361).
ed. (annotated with FT) J. Bidez, C. Lacombrade, and G. Rochefort, 4 vols. (1924, 1932, 1963, 1965).
ed. (with ET) W. C. Wright, 3 vols. (LCL, 1913 and 1923).
P. Athanassiadi, *Julian: An Intellectual Biography* (²1992).
N. Baker-Brian and S. Tougher, eds., *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate* (2012).
J. Bouffartigue, 'L'Authenticité de la Lettre 84 de l'empéreur Julien', *Revue de philologie* 79 (2005), 231–42.
G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (1978).
J. M. Carrié, ed., *L'Empéreur Julien et son temps* (AntTard 17, 2009).
S. Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome* (2012).
S. N. C. Lieu et al., *The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic* (TTH 2, ²1989).
K. Rosen, *Julian. Kaiser, Gott und Christenhasser* (2006).
Rowland Smith, *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (1995).
H. C. Teitler, *The Last Pagan Emperor: Julian the Apostate and the War against Christianity* (2017).
P. van Nuffelen, 'Deux fausses lettres de Julien l'Apostat (La lettre aux Juifs, Ep. 51 [Wright], et La lettre à Arsacius, Ep. 84 [Bidez]', *VigChrist* 56 (2002), 131–50.

Julian Julianus son of Sabarus, rebel 529. Recognized leader of the *Samaritan revolt in 529, crowned in *Neapolis, where he presided over chariot races. Julian fled from a Roman army led by *Theodore, *Dux *Palaestinae, but was apprehended and killed, and his head and diadem were sent to the *Emperor *Justinian I. SSF

PLRE IIIA, Julianus 3.
R. Pummer, *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism* (2002), 259–76, 284–95, and 306–13.

Julian Diplomat under *Justinian I, praised by *Choricius of *Gaza in a *panegyric of Julian's brother *Summus.

In 530/1 Julian led an embassy to the Christian rulers of the *Himyarites and *Aksum, seeking aid against the *Persian Empire (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 20, 9–13). *John Malalas drew on the ambassador's account of the 'Indian emperor', who received him wearing a gold-threaded linen loincloth and standing on a gilded carriage borne by four *elephants surrounded by flute-players (XVIII, 56, copied by *Theophanes, AM 6064, who names Julian, but mistakes the date).

As *A Secretis he was sent to *Antioch in 540 to treat with *Khosrow I (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 7, 14–16). He will have been one of the ambassadors who saw Khosrow burn the *city (II, 9, 17–18), and subsequently negotiated the Persian withdrawal (II, 10, 10–24; II, 11, 3–4; II, 13, 1). OPN

PLRE III, Julianus 8.
Shahid, *BASIC*, 144–8.
I. Kawar (Shahid), 'Byzantium and Kinda', *BZ* 53 (1960), 57–73.
Bowersock, *Throne of Adulis*, 108.

Julian *Praefectus Urbi Constantinopolitanae (580), after governing the *Quaestura Exercitus. When investigating *riots in *Constantinople which followed the acquittal of alleged *pagans, he punished *Jews and heretics severely but treated Christians leniently. He was, however, replaced following allegations that he was himself a pagan. PNB

PLRE III, Julianus 20.

Julian of Ascalon (probably 6th cent.) *Architect and author of a work, designed around the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water, which records architectural designs and local civic regulations for the maintenance of public areas such as *streets and colonnades, and the segregation of such potential nuisances and fire hazards as private *baths, *glassworks, limekilns, *taverns, and brothels. He contrasts practice in *Caesarea of *Palestine with that of the *city of Ascalon. Sections survive in various Byzantine compilations, Julian may be identical with the inventor of a *garden pump who is addressed in a *letter of *Aeneas of *Gaza. OPN

ed. C. Saliou (with FT and comm.), *Le Traité d'urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon: droit et architecture en Palestine au VIème siècle* (TM monographies 8, 1996).
J. Geiger, 'Julian of Ascalon', *JHS* 112 (1992), 31–43.
B. S. Hakim, 'Urban Form in Traditional Islamic Cultures: Further Studies', *JSAH* 60/1 (2011), 4–25.

Julian of Brioude, S. Legendary saint in the *Auvergne, supposedly a *martyr of the later 3rd or early 4th century. His cult at Brioude was especially prominent during the 6th century, when *Gregory of *Tours compiled a collection (*BHL* 4541) of the *miracles of his 'special patron' (cap. 50). RVD

Anon. *Passio* (*BHL* 4540) and Gregory of Tours (*BHL* 4541), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 1/2 (1885), 879–81 and 562–84.

ET R. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (1993), and 162–98.

Julian of Eclanum *Pelagian polemicist and *Bishop of Eclanum in southern *Italy. Son of a bishop (Memor), Julian was married to the daughter of a bishop (Aemilius) (*c.*405), an event commemorated in an epithalamium of *Paulinus of Nola (*Carmen*, 25). In 417 Pope Zosimus issued his *Tractoria* condemning the teaching of Pelagius. When Julian refused to subscribe, he was condemned and exiled along with eighteen other Italian bishops (418). Julian sought refuge in the East, first with *Theodore of *Mopsuestia and later with *Nestorius. From this point on he engaged in literary controversy with *Augustine, especially regarding the latter's notions of original sin and sexual concupiscence. In addition to several letters, Julian composed four books, *Ad Turbantium* (to which Augustine responded in his six books *Contra Iulianum*), and eight books, *Ad Florum* (to which Augustine responded in his *Opus Imperfectum contra Iulianum*). Julian defended the natural created goodness of the sexual drive and argued that Augustine's view of sexual concupiscence was '*Manichaean'. Julian composed his own commentaries on the *Bible, as well as a *Latin translation of Theodore's commentary on the Psalms. DGH

PCBE II, Julianus 8.

CPL 773–777a.

ed. L. de Coninck and M. J. d'Hont (CCSL 88, 1977).

Libri IV ad Turbantium (*CPL* 774). Fragments in Augustine, *Answer to Julian* ET: J. J. Teske (annotated), WSA 1/24 (1998).

Libri VIII ad Florum (*CPL* 773); see Augustine, *Unfinished Work in Answer to Julian*, ET J. J. Teske (annotated) WSA 1/25 (1999).

G. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar zu den Propheten Osee, Joel und Amos. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese* (Analecta Biblica 9, 1958).

A. E. Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum, sein Leben und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus* (TU 15.3, 1897).

J. Lössl, *Julian von Aeclanum. Studien zu seinem Leben, seinem Werk, seiner Lehrer und ihrer Überlieferung* (VigChrist supplements 40, 2001).

Julian of Egypt Poet and former Prefect, active in the mid-6th century. Several of his poems were included in the *Cycle* of *Agathias. He wrote epigrams on the deaths of prominent contemporaries, including Flavius *Hypatius, while other poems celebrate performers and notables. They are collected in the **Greek Anthology*. RW

PLRE III, Julianus 11.

Averil Cameron and Alan Cameron, 'The Cycle of Agathias', *JHS* 86 (1966), 6–25.

Julian of Halicarnassus (d. *c.*527) An early anti-*Chalcedonian collaborator of the monk *Severus (later *Patriarch of *Antioch), Julian helped depose Macedonius, the Chalcedonian Patriarch of *Constantinople, in AD 510. When the *Emperor *Justin I (518) restored Chalcedonian Christology, Julian and Severus were exiled to *Egypt, where they engaged in debates about the corruptibility of Christ's body, Julian maintaining that it had always been immune to corruption, suffering, and death. None of Julian's works survives, but much of them can be reconstructed as orthodox from quotations by Severus. Dubbed Aphthartodocetae (incorruptible), or Gainanites (after Gaianus, Patriarch of *Alexandria), Julian and his followers were influential particularly in Egypt and *Armenia. PAl

R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche: étude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale* (1924) includes edition of the fragments.

Grillmeier, 2/2 (tr. J. Cawte and P. Allen, 1995; German original, 1989), 79–111.

Julian of Toledo (*c.*640–*c.*680s) One of the most illustrious writers of 7th-century *Visigothic *Spain, Julian's life is known principally from a eulogy written by Felix, *Bishop of *Toledo, which lauds his *asceticism and literary erudition. In 680 he was made Bishop of Toledo by King *Wamba, and under Julian's leadership at the Twelfth *Council of Toledo (680/1) the See of Toledo was granted primacy over all the Church in Spain. He wrote a eulogy of King Wamba entitled *Historia Wambae* that covers the early part of his reign but not the calamitous events that led to his eventual abdication and refuge in a *monastery. Another work dedicated to King *Ervig written in 686, *On the Proof of the Sixth Age*, rebuts arguments advanced by *Jews against *Jesus being the Messiah and proposes an apocalyptic interpretation of human history. His works were deeply influenced by the church fathers, in particular *Augustine. Julian presided as Bishop of Toledo over four councils of Toledo, the twelfth (680/81), thirteenth (683), fourteenth (684), and fifteenth (688), and wielded great influence at them. AF

CPL 1258–62: ed. J. N. Hillgarth, B. Bischoff, and W. Levison (CCSL 115, 1976).

ET (*CPL* 1258) T. Stancati (annotated with study), *Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi* (ACW 63, 2010).

History of Wamba (*CPL* 1262), ed. W. Levison (MGH SS rer. Meroving V, 1910), 501–26.
ET (annotated with introd.) J. Martínez Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba, Julian of Toledo's Historia Wambae Regis* (2005).

Julian Romance Christian polemical work of historical fiction directed against the *Emperor *Julian (361–3), important in forming a negative image of Julian. It consists of three parts. The first, short and fragmentarily preserved, describes Julian taking over the government from *Constantine I and his son. The second part, set in *Rome, relates Julian's attempts to have Eusebius, *Bishop of Rome, renounce Christianity. The third and longest part, set in the East, recounts Julian's war with *Shapur II and his *persecution of Christianity. His counterpart is the Christian *Jovian, Julian's successor, presented as a New Constantine and saviour of Christendom.

The text survives in a London manuscript (BL Add. 14,641). It was composed in *Syriac by an unknown author, probably in *Edessa *c.*500. A 'second' *Julian Romance* is preserved in another London manuscript (BL Rich Add. 7192) and is dated to the 7th or 8th century. HJWD

GEDSH s.v. Julian Romance, 236–8 (Butts).
ed. J. G. E. Hoffmann (1880).
ET H. Gollancz (1928).
An English translation is being prepared by Emmanuel Papoutsakis (forthcoming).
Th. Nöldeke, 'Über den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian', *ZDMG* 28 (1874), 263–92.
J. W. Drijvers, 'Religious Conflict in the Syriac Julian Romance', in Brown and Lizzi Testa, *Pagans and Christians*, 131–62.
J. W. Drijvers, 'Ammianus, Jovian, and the Syriac *Julian Romance*', *JLA* 4/2 (2011), 280–97.
E. Papoutsakis, 'The Making of a Syriac Fable: From Ephrem to Romanos', *Le Muséon* 120 (2007), 29–75.

Julianus antecessor (*fl.* 550) Professor of *law (*antecessor*) and occasional poet. Three mocking epigrams by him survive (*AnthGraec* XI, 367–9). He is praised in another poem (*Anth. Plan.* IV[a] 1, 2 = *AnthGraec* XVI, 32b) as the 'light of the law' beheld by *Rome and Beroe (i.e. *Constantinople and *Beirut), where he presumably taught. He is best known for his *Epitome of the *Novels of Justinian*, completed after 555. JND

PLRE III, Iulianus 10.
ed. G. Haenel, *Iuliani Epitome Latina Novellarum Iustiniani* (1873).
Alan Cameron and Averil Cameron, 'The Cycle of Agathias', *JHS* 86 (1966), 14.
W. Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani. Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtsunterricht* (2004).

Julianus Argentarius (*fl.* 530–49) Greek banker who funded the construction of several churches at *Ravenna including S. Vitale and S. Michael of Phrygia (S. Michele in Africisco; reproductions of the *mosaics are in the Bode Museum, Berlin). SAHK

PLRE III, Iulianus 7.
PCBE 2/1 Iulianus 25.
Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I, 220–5; II, 47–206.
Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, 200, 224–5, 250–4.
P. Grossmann, *S. Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna* (1973).

Julianus Pomerius (*fl.* 490) Grammarian, *rhetor*, and *priest (Ps.-*Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.* 99; *Isidore of Seville, *Vir. Ill.*12). Pomerius emigrated from *Vandal *Africa in the late 5th century to *Arles, where he taught *grammar to *Caesarius in the late 490s (*Vita Caesarii*, 1, 9). Early in the following decade *Ruricius of Limoges (*epp.* 1, 17; 2, 9–11) and *Ennodius of *Pavia (*ep.* 2.6) attempted to recruit him to their *cities. Author of *De Vita Contemplativa*, which survives complete, *De Natura Animae et Qualitate Eius*, fragments of which survive in *Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi*, and several lost works. He was an important interpreter of *John Cassian's *asceticism and promoted ideals of lay and clerical behaviour which Caesarius later advocated as *bishop. His reform ideas were taken up by Chrodegang of Metz and other Carolingian churchmen. WEK

PLRE II, Pomerius.
CPL 998, 998*a.*
PL 59 cols. 411–520, reprinting J.-B. Le Brun and Luc Urbain Mangeant (1711).
ET (annotated) M. J. Suelzer, *Julianus Pomerius: The Contemplative Life* (ACW 4, 1947).
IT (annotated) M. Spinelli, *Giuliano Pomerio: la vita contemplativa* (1987).
Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 184–203.
Kaster, *Guardians of Language*, 342–6, no. 124.
Klingshirn, *Caesarius*, 73–7.
C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (2000).

Julius Constantius (*consul 335) Son of *Constantius I and *Theodora, so brother of Flavius *Dalmatius (consul 333) and half-brother of *Constantine I. He was among those killed in the comprehensive massacre of Constantine's family in 337, after the death of Constantine, though his infant sons the future *Caesar *Gallus and future *Emperor *Julian were spared. SFT

PLRE I, Iulius Constantius 7.
NEDC 37, 45, 108.
Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 204–5.

Julius Honorius (*fl.* late 4th cent.) Author of a *Cosmography*, a geographical work and globe which one of

his students actually compiled from the lecture notes of 'an expert and without any doubt a most learned teacher' (*GLM* 51). The *Cosmography* divides the world into four oceans (Eastern, Western, Northern, and Mediterranean) and lists within each its seas, islands, mountains, provinces, *cities, and rivers (including where each flows, its origin, and sometimes length). The work pre-dates the 6th century, when it was known to both *Jordanes and *Cassiodorus. The earliest manuscript is also 6th century. Honorius' provincial nomenclature and boundaries imply a date of composition in the late 4th century. BC

PLRE II, Honorius 2.

ed. (with prolegomena) A. Riese, *GLM* 24–55.

C. Nicolet and P. Gautier Dalché, 'Les Quatre sages de Jules César et la mesure du monde selon Julius Honorius', *JS* (1986), 157–218.

Julius Nepos (d. 480) Western *emperor 474–5. Nephew of the general *Marcellinus, he in turn became general in *Dalmatia, from where he invaded *Italy in 474 to depose and replace the Emperor *Glycerius. He strengthened his position by negotiating a peace treaty with the *Gothic King *Euric in southern *Gaul, but thirteen months after his accession, Nepos' general in Gaul, *Orestes, attacked Nepos himself, who fled back to Dalmatia. He unsuccessfully sought aid from *Constantinople to regain the throne (477/8) and was killed by some of his own retainers at *Salona (480). ADL

PLRE II, Nepos 3.

Julius of Aqfahs (Julius of Kbehs) Author of Coptic legendary 'epic' *martyr passions (e.g. Ss. *Paese and Thecla, Shenoufe and his Brethren). He is said to have been a Roman army officer whose convictions led him to care for the *martyrs and oversee the collection of their physical remains for burial. He allegedly saw to it that scribes were placed in *courts throughout *Egypt so that they could prepare records of saints' trials, which he collected and edited into an ongoing collection in *Latin (e.g. Shenoufe and his Brethren). Eventually he became a Christian martyr himself, tortured to death and resurrected twice, before fulfilling his martyrdom on 22 Thoth (19/20 September), an event which is said to have caused a mass *conversion followed by a mass execution. GS

CoptEnc vol. 5 *s.n.* Martyrs, Coptic, cols. 1550b–1559b (A. S. Atiya).

ed. (with ET) E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns (with ET), *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (1973).

D.-L. O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (1937).

T. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus. Der Martyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und im Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche* (1972).

Jumièges (dép. Seine-Maritime, France) In 654 *Clovis II and Queen *Balthild gave S. *Filibert land beside the Seine, 20 km (12.5 miles) west of *Rouen, for the founding of a *monastery. Filibert was forced to leave after coming into conflict with *Ebroin in the mid-670s, but the monastery remained an important centre of religious life until its destruction by Vikings in 841. EJ

LexMA 5, 'Jumièges', 806–7 (H. Donnat).

J. Le Maho, 'Le Monastère de Jumièges (France) aux temps Mérovingiens (VIIe–VIIIe siècle): les témoignages des textes et de l'archéologie', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 9 (2003), 315–22.

***jund* (plur. *ajnad*)** A *Qur'ānic term of Iranian origin denoting an armed troop, which came to refer to the administrative districts of Islamic *Syria during the 630s or 640s. The soldiers constituting each *jund* were maintained by the proceeds of local revenues. The *jund* system was probably an adaptation of existing Roman administrative practices. The first *jund*s were *Damascus, *Homs, *Jordan, and *Palestine; a restructuring of the system under the *Caliph *Yazid I (r. 680–3) created *Qinnasrin, a *jund* detached from Homs. MCE; AM

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v.* Djund, 601–2 (Sourdel).

J. Haldon, 'Seventh Century Continuities: The *Ajnad* and the Thematic Myth', in A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, ed., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III* (1995), 379–423.

H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).

Junillus (d. 549) Successor to *Tribonian as *Quaestor Sacri Palatii *c.*542, serving *Justinian I for seven years until his death. He in turn was succeeded by *Constantinus. During his term in office, at the request of *Primasius, *Bishop of *Hadrumetum, he wrote in *Latin an introduction to the *Bible called *Handbook of the Basic Principles of Divine Law* (*Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*), adapting and presenting in question-and-answer form a *Greek text by one *Paul, a Persian who had studied interpretation of the *Bible at *Nisibis. Junillus' *Instituta* was known to *Cassiodorus and circulated in the Middle Ages. Junillus came from *Africa and corresponded with *Ferrandus of *Carthage. He wrote during the *Three Chapters controversy, supporting the Chalcedonian position of Justinian. *Procopius (*Anecd.* 20, 17) reviles him as ignorant of the *law, ignorant of *Greek, and unabashedly venal. JND

PLRE III, Iunillus.

CPL 872: ed. J. Kihn (1880), repr. with ET in M. Maas and E. G. Mathews, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* (2003).

A. H. Becker, 'The Dynamic Reception of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the Sixth Century: Greek, Syriac and Latin', in S. F. Johnson, ed., *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (2006), 29–47.

Junius Bassus Leading Roman *senator of the early 4th century, *Praefectus Praetorio in 318–32 and *consul for 331. Several superb *opus sectile *mosaics are preserved from the *basilica he built on the Esquiline Hill at Rome; one shows a consul riding in his chariot, scattering a **sparsio* and escorted by horsemen in the colours of the four *circus *factions. His Christian son of the same name was buried in the *sarcophagus of *Junius Bassus. DMG

PLRE I, Bassus 14.
NEDC 104, 129.
CLRE 196–7.
Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 53.

Junius Bassus signo Theotecnius (317–59) *Senator and son of *Junius Bassus (a Christian and *consul 331), Bassus was himself *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome in 359, but died in office (*Ammianus, XVII, 11, 5). He was buried in a monumental *marble *sarcophagus in the Vatican necropolis. The epitaph on the lid specifies that he was baptized on his deathbed: 'neofitus iit ad deum'. Bas-reliefs in two superimposed registers decorate three faces, *putti* harvesting and vintaging on the sides and ten Old and New Testament scenes framed by colonnettes on the front. The subjects and the *typology of their arrangement suggest a sophisticated visual exegesis. SMS

PLRE I, Bassus 15.
E. S. Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (1990).
RCAS I, *Rom und Ostia*, no. 680.

Jupiter Dolichenus The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, centred on Doliche (mod. Dülük, north of Gaziantep, Turkey), was extremely popular in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, particularly among soldiers as far afield as *Britain, the *Balkans, and *Africa. Doliche was sacked by *Shapur I in 252 (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 17) and the city had a Christian *bishop by the time of the *Council of *Nicaea in 325. The last dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus is from *c.*300 at *Ratiaria of *Moesia Superior. ACFC; OPN

A. Collar, 'Military Networks and the Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus', in E. Winter, ed., *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene = Dolichener und kommagenische Forschungen* IV (AMS 64, 2011), 217–46.
M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (EPRO 106, 1987).
M. Speidel, *The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (EPRO 63, 1978).

Jura fathers (*fl. c.*435–514) Collective term for three early abbots of a group of *monasteries which grew up in the 5th century around Condat (now S. Claude) in the Jura mountains of eastern *Gaul. They were Romanus, who founded the first monastery *c.*435 and died *c.*455, his brother Lupicinus (d. *c.*480), and Eugendus (d. 512/14), who reorganized the community along more coenobitic lines. Shortly after Eugendus' death, at the behest of ascetics at *Agaune, the three were commemorated in the *Lives of the Jura Fathers* by an anonymous monk from one of the monasteries. *Gregory of *Tours gives a somewhat different account of Romanus and Lupicinus (*Lives of the Fathers*, 1). DRL

PCBE IV/1, Eugendus.
PCBE IV/2, Lupicinus 4.
PCBE IV/2, Romanus 3.
DACL 8, 430–8.
Lives (*BHL* 7309, 5073, 2665):
ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 3 (1896), 131–66.
ed. (with FT and notes) F. Martine (SC 142, 1968).
ET K. Vivian, T. Vivian, and J. B. Russell, *The Lives of the Jura Fathers* (CSS 178, 1999).
I. Wood, 'A Prelude to Columbanus: The Monastic Achievement in the Burgundian Territories', in H. B. Clarke and M. Brennan, eds., *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (1981), 3–32.

jurists Experts on *law who constituted a specialized professional group, and produced a considerable body of legal literature. Papinian, Ulpian, and Paul from the High Roman Empire were the most famous. In accordance with the various *Laws of Citations promulgated in 321, 322, and 426, the works of these and other jurists were cited as authoritative in *courts of law during Late Antiquity. Their writings are excerpted in the **Digest* compiled under *Justinian I.

The law schools of *Beirut, *Rome, and *Constantinople were from the late 3rd century onwards the most important places for training jurists. The state generally controlled the legal profession, and in 425 *Theodosius II reorganized legal *education. Having qualified, jurists usually gained practical experience as **advocati* and then entered public service. In the later Empire the number of jurists in official posts increased, especially perhaps in the East from the late 4th century onwards.

Jurists working for the imperial bureaux were the most influential. They were responsible for imperial constitutions and were the inspiration behind, and eventually the compilers of, the large codifications. The jurist *Antiochus Chuzon played an essential part in composing the **Theodosian Code*. *Tribonian, a jurist who held office as *Magister Officiorum and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, was the principal contributor to *Justinian's *Code*.

The *Barbarian Migrations of the 5th century unsettled the legal profession in the West. Romans in the successor communities did, however, continue to some extent to arrange their legal affairs. RvdB

OCD ([4]2012) *s.v.* lawyers, Roman (T. Honoré).
W. Kunkel, *An Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*, tr. J. M. Kelly ([2]1975).
F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (1953).

Justasas (5th cent.) Leader of the *Samaritan revolt under the *Emperor *Zeno. *John Malalas (XV, 8 = *Excerpta de insidiis*, 162) and the **Chronicon Paschale* (AD 484) call him a 'brigand chief'. To the Samaritans he was probably a king, as his presiding over chariot races in *Caesarea and his wearing of a *crown indicate. The Romans defeated and executed him. Although Samaritan chronicles describe the persecution under Zeno, they mention neither a rebellion nor Justasas. *Procopius of Caesarea mentions the uprising, but not Justasas (*Aed.* V, 7, 5–9). RP

PLRE II, Iustasas.
R. Pummer, *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism* (2002).

Justin Son of *Germanus and kinsman of the *emperors *Justinian I and *Justin II. He was *consul (540), while still young. Cleared of conspiring against Justinian (549), he was later *Magister Utriusque Militum in *Armenia (557) and on the Danube (561–6), where he thwarted an *Avar invasion (566). Justin II recalled him and banished him to *Alexandria, where he was murdered (568), possibly as a perceived rival to the emperor. PNB

PLRE III, Justinus 4.

Justin I (*c.*450–527) *Emperor 518–27 after a long career as a Roman general. Born in a village near *Naissus he sought military employment at *Constantinople and was involved in wars with *Isaurians (490s) and Persians (502–5). Later he became *Comes of the **excubitores* and led Roman forces against the *usurper *Vitalian in 515. Although vilified by *Procopius, Justin was engaged and successful as emperor, despite his age and the political insecurity of his *accession when the nephews of his predecessor *Anastasius I (491–518) were outmanoeuvred. With his wife *Euphemia he was actively involved in settling the *Acacian Schism with Pope *John I at Rome in 518–19, thereby strengthening links with the West and potentially destabilizing the regime of the *Ostrogothic *King *Theodoric, who was a *Homoean ('Arian'). Justin sponsored the *conversion to Christianity of the King of *Lazica in 522, he refused to adopt the son of the Persian king (the future *Khosrow I) in 525, and he detached the King of *Iberia from his traditional Persian alliance. All this led to war with the Persians in the *Caucasus by 526. Justin also expanded diplomatic relations with *Saracens in *Arabia, with *Himyarites in *Yemen, and with *Aksum (*Ethiopia) through personal envoys. He further provided military support for the Christian Aksumite king by intervening in southern *Arabia on behalf of persecuted Christians in 525. His nephew *Justinian I (527–65) was not the power behind the throne but only progressively acquired increased status and authority until crowned *Augustus by a weakening Justin on 1 April 527. BC

PLRE II, Iustinus 4.
RAC 19, 763–78 (Rosen).
Vasiliev, *Justin.*
B. Croke, 'Justinian under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign', *BZ* 100 (2007), 13–56.

Justin II *Emperor 565–78. The son of *Justinian I's sister Vigilantia, Justin was married to *Sophia, niece of the *Empress *Theodora. He was created **consularis* in 552/3, and held the high-ranking post of *Curopalates in 552–65. Justinian entrusted him, sometimes with others, with such tasks as trying to persuade Pope *Vigilius to rejoin the Second *Council of *Constantinople in 553, escorting *Hun invaders back across the Danube in 559, or suppressing factional violence in *Constantinople in 562–3.

The poet *Corippus describes in his *In Laudem Justini Minoris* how, on Justinian's death, Justin became emperor in a peaceful aristocratic coup, with the support of the *patriarch. He denounced Justinian's financial policies, which had allegedly exhausted the treasury and damaged military effectiveness. He nevertheless waived taxes and repaid Justinian's debts to *bankers (*NovJust* 148 of 566). He also provided that provincial *governors were to be appointed by local magnates and *bishops (*NovJust* 149 of 569). In his religious policies, where he followed his predecessor, he came close to reconciling the conflicting factions of Chalcedonians and *Miaphysites (*Evagrius, *HE* V, 4), but the schism proved too entrenched. He continued the trend towards the sacralization of the imperial office.

Abroad, he stopped subsidizing barbarians. The *Avars and *Arab client states were early victims of this policy change. In the West, his handling of the Avars and *Gepids only facilitated the eventual *Lombard conquest of much of *Italy. In the East, the *Fifty Years Peace laboriously negotiated with the *Persian Empire by Justinian in 561–2 'was destroyed and cut short by the great folly' of Justin (*Theophylact Simocatta, III, 9, 5). He refused to continue to pay the negotiated subsidy to the Persians, and in 572 he ordered attacks on *Arzanene and *Nisibis. The Persian counter-attack reached the *Antioch area and led in 573 to the disastrous loss of *Dara. The loss made Justin insane (Theophylact, III, 11, 1–4). Faced with his continuing mental debility, he accepted Sophia's advice to appoint the *Comes of the **excubitores*, *Tiberius, as *Caesar (574). He, with Sophia, then ran the Empire until Justin's death in 578 when he in turn became emperor. PNB

PLRE III, Justinus 5.
Cameron, *Corippus*.
Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia*.
Greatrex and Lieu.
Sarris, *Economy and Society*.
Sarris, *Empires of Faith*.

Justina (d. 387) *Empress and possibly a member of the Constantinian dynasty. She was married to the *usurper *Magnentius in 351/2–3 and after his death became in 369 the second wife of *Valentinian I. With him she had three daughters and one son, *Valentinian II. She had a strong influence on the young Valentinian, and brought him into conflict with *Ambrose in the 380s over the co-option of church buildings in Milan by *Homoeans ('Arians'). Ambrose compared her treatment of him to the persecution of Elisha by Jezebel (*ep.* 20, 18). SJL-R

PLRE I, Iustina.
McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 158–219.

Justinian I (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus) (*c.*482–565) One of the most renowned and controversial of Eastern Roman *emperors (527–65), nephew and successor of *Justin I (517–27), under whom he served as *Comes et *Magister Militum Praesentalis (520–7).

Career before accession (c.482–527)

Justinian was born in Tauresium, in the *Balkan *province of *Dardania, the son of Sabbatius. Before 518 he served in *Constantinople among the Scholares and was proposed for the throne upon *Anastasius I's death, but refused. Although *Procopius (*Anecd.* 6, 11; 9, 50) insists that Justinian was the dominant figure of his uncle's reign, his career advanced only gradually; not until 1 April 527 was he promoted to the rank of *Augustus, ensuring an easy transition to sole rulership following the death of Justin on 1 August 527. He had earlier, probably in 525, married *Theodora, a former actress, despite opposition from Justin's wife *Euphemia.

Early years of the reign (527–40)

The opening of Justinian's reign was marked by an astonishing burst of activity. The new military commanders he appointed, notably *Belisarius and *Sittas, enjoyed several successes in the war with the *Persian Empire, which had flared up in the late 520s. The emperor was therefore able to agree the *Everlasting Peace with the *Sasanians in 532, which allowed him to redeploy substantial forces to the West, where they were able first to reconquer North *Africa (533–4) from the *Vandals and then to retake *Italy (535–40) from the *Ostrogoths (*see* BYZANTINE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF AFRICA, ITALY).

Justinian chose similarly talented collaborators, notably the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii *Tribonian, for his grandiose project of systematizing Roman *law. The first edition of the *Codex Justinianus* appeared already in April 529, while the **Digest* appeared in 533, a yet more ambitious undertaking (*see* JUSTINIAN'S *CODE*). The emperor saw it as his duty constantly to eliminate corruption, *paganism, and *heresy. This led naturally to the introduction of many administrative measures; even after the publication of the second edition of the *Codex Justinianus* in 534, Justinian continued to issue an abundant stream of laws, known as *Novellae* (*NovJust*; *see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN*). In these reforms his leading collaborator was the *Praefectus Praetorio *John the Cappadocian; like Justinian's other ministers, John was of humble origin.

Justinian's reforming zeal inevitably sparked resistance among the imperial *aristocracy, while his attempts to clamp down on factional violence also met opposition. The *Nika Riot of January 532, which brought together these elements, nearly toppled the emperor and laid waste much of Constantinople. Justinian therefore had the opportunity to draw on the skill of further collaborators, the *architects *Anthemius and *Isidore, to rebuild (*inter alia*) the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom, Hagia Sophia, which was consecrated on 27 December 537. Throughout his reign Justinian undertook numerous building projects, especially the construction of churches and of defensive works, as Procopius relates in *De Aedificiis*.

Like his uncle Justin, Justinian firmly supported the *Council of *Chalcedon. Already during Justin's reign he took an active role in negotiations with the papacy, constantly seeking solutions to the longstanding differences between supporters and opponents of the council. Once established as sole ruler, he redoubled his efforts to bring about reconciliation with those of *Miaphysite views, culminating in negotiations in Constantinople in 532. The anti-Chalcedonian stance of his wife Theodora was an asset in this process. But although Justinian tried to accommodate the Miaphysites, he met with increasing resistance from the newly reconquered western territories and therefore explicitly condemned the anti-Chalcedonian *Patriarch *Severus of Antioch in 536.

The period of crisis (540–51)

Justinian's western conquests in Africa and Italy left the eastern *frontier vulnerable. The Sasanian King *Khosrow I took the opportunity to break the Everlasting Peace and overrun the eastern provinces, sacking *Antioch in June 540. Justinian dispatched Belisarius to the East in 541, who stabilized the situation. Neither side gained a decisive victory; most of the fighting took

place in *Lazica and *Armenia, as the Persians sought to restore control of the *Caucasus Passes. For much of the 540s North Africa was in revolt, while in Italy the Ostrogothic leader *Totila retook almost the whole peninsula; Roman forces were inadequate and poorly led.

The Empire was gravely weakened in this period by the appearance of the Early Medieval Pandemic (EMP) or Justinianic *Plague in 541, which spread from central Africa to all parts of the Empire, striking *Alexandria in September 541 and Constantinople in March or April. This first outbreak of bubonic plague had a wide-ranging impact. It eliminated a sizeable proportion of the population, particularly in the *cities, not only in the Empire but beyond it; and it continued to resurface for two centuries thereafter. Justinian himself contracted the plague, but recovered.

Final years (551–65)

Another longstanding collaborator of Justinian, the *eunuch general *Narses, defeated Totila and reconquered Italy. The emperor was able also to conclude a *Fifty Year Peace with Persia in 561 through negotiations led by his faithful *Magister Officiorum, *Peter the Patrician. Roman armies even occupied parts of southern *Spain, exploiting *Visigothic divisions. But Justinian's energies were consumed largely in seeking to resolve the doctrinal differences that still plagued his Empire, leading to the Second *Council of *Constantinople of 553, at which an attempt was made to mollify opponents of the Council of Chalcedon by condemning certain works associated with it, the *'Three Chapters'. Although Pope *Vigilius was browbeaten into assenting, the Council's decisions met with vigorous opposition in the West and failed to reconcile the Miaphysites. The end of Justinian's reign was marked by unrest in Constantinople and *court conspiracies, the result probably of his failure till the very end to designate a successor. GBG

Justinian I in art and coinage

The only secure surviving portrait of Justinian I is the standing figure in the wall *mosaic at S. Vitale *Ravenna (*c.*546). Fragments of a *bronze cuirassed statue have been found at *Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima, mod. Serbia) and statue bases survive from northern *Greece, *Anatolia, and northern *Syria. Two standing statues are known from Constantinople. The high-relief equestrian figure on the *Barberini *diptych (now in the Louvre) may be Anastasius I (as the treatment resembles that of the *Ariadne *ivories) but is more probably Justinian. Three equestrian statues are known to have stood at Constantinople. The colossal statue on a column in the Augustaeum of *c.*543 (Procopius, *Aed.* I, 2, 5) is depicted on a 15th-century drawing in Budapest University Library, and was perhaps a reused statue of *Theodosius or *Arcadius. The two others, both from the *Hippodrome, are known from dedicatory *inscriptions (*Anth. Plan.* 62, 63). Justinian is represented similarly on a *gold 36-*solidi* medallion, probably of 534, which is now lost, though electrotypes survive. Justinian I opened twice as many mints as were opened under Justin I. Brief production of lightweight **solidi* (*c.*3.7 g/0.13 ounces) probably reflects financial strain. RKL; RRD

PLRE II, Iustinianus 7.
Coins: *DOC* 1.
B. Croke, 'Justinian under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign', *BZ* 100 (2007), 13–56.
J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (1996).
H. Leppin, *Justinian. Das christliche Experiment* (2011).
L. K. Little, ed., *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* (2007).
M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (2005).
M. Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians. Kontingenzerfahrung und Kontingenzbewältigung im 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr.* (²2004).
M. Meier, ed., *Justinian* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011).
P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (2006).
Stein, *Histoire*, vol. 2 (1949).

Justinian I (as theologian) Like many Byzantine emperors, Justinian took an interest in theology. His main concern was to heal the divisions in the Church (especially the East) caused by the definition of the Nature of Christ promulgated at the *Council of *Chalcedon of 451. His first involvement, concerning the Theopaschite controversy of 518/19, was indecisive. Its central concern, to make clear the unity of Christ by affirming that 'one of the Trinity' suffered in the flesh, is, however, a central contention of the so-called Neo-Chalcedonianism that Justinian supported in his (vain) hopes of reuniting the Church and reconciling those of *Miaphysite views. Linked with this was his condemnation of the *Three Chapters, which together with the condemnation of *Origenism in his Letter to Menas, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, were the concerns of the Fifth Ecumenical *Council (the Second Council of *Constantinople of 553). In his final years, Justinian seems to have embraced some form of Aphthartodocetism. AL

Justinian's theological writings (*CPG* 6885): ed. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians* (Abh. (Bayr.), NF, 18 (1939).
ET K. P. Wesche, *On the Person of Christ: The Christology of Emperor Justinian* (1991).
Grillmeier, 2/2 (1995), 317–475.

Justinian II (*c.*669–711) *Emperor 685–95 and 705–11. The son of *Constantine IV, Justinian became sole emperor in July or September 685. Capitalizing on *Arab civil war, in *c.*686 Justinian forced *'Abd al-Malik to buy peace through a huge *tribute and shared sovereignty over *Cyprus, *Armenia, and *Iberia. In return, Justinian evacuated the troublesome Mardaites from the Lebanon.

The East secured, in 687/8 Justinian himself led an expedition to *Thessalonica, capturing numerous *Slavs who were transferred to depopulated areas of *Anatolia and enrolled in the army. Justinian also transferred many Cypriots, in violation of the treaty with the Arabs, settling them to defend the *Bosporus in a new *city christened Nea Iustinianoupolis. Meanwhile, in *Constantinople Justinian constructed a new ceremonial hall at the *palace.

Justinian also sought to extend the success of the *Second Council of Constantinople (the Sixth Ecumenical Council) convoked by his father, by convening in 691/2 the *Quinisext Council (also called the Council in Trullo), thereby burnishing his Orthodox credentials and securing divine support. However, the papacy rejected Quinisext, and when Justinian ordered the pope's arrest, imperial troops in *Italy mutinied.

In *c.*690/2, Justinian placed Christ's image on the **solidus* for the first time, in a move perhaps linked to the Quinisext Council and contemporaneous reforms by *'Abd al-Malik.

Justinian's advances in the East were decisively reversed in 692/3 when the reunited Caliphate renewed hostilities, and defeated a Roman army at *Sebastopolis after the defection of the recently enlisted Slavs. Transcaucasia swiftly slipped from imperial control, and Arab raids into *Anatolia resumed.

His prestige critically damaged, Justinian was increasingly unpopular, especially due to his harsh fiscal policies. In 695 a coup overthrew him, crowning *Leontius emperor. Justinian had his nose slit, hence his nickname *Rhinotmetos*, and was banished to *Cherson. In exile, Justinian married the daughter of the *Khazar *Khagan, *Theodora. However, due to imperially sponsored plots, Justinian was compelled to flee to the *Bulgar ruler *Tervel. With his aid, in 705 Justinian managed to retake Constantinople, and executed Leontius and *Tiberius III Apsimar. Theodora and their young son *Tiberius were recalled and crowned. Justinian then unleashed a reign of terror, though he did manage to restore friendly relations with the papacy. Finally, in 711 a mutiny by an expedition dispatched against Cherson led to Justinian's flight, capture, and murder. MTGH

A *wall painting in S. *Demetrius, *Thessalonica may commemorate Justinian II's *adventus there in 688. Two statues in *Constantinople were identified as Justinian II in the **Parastaseis Syntomoai Chronikai* (37) and the **Patria* (III 79), the latter because of its damaged nose. The attribution is implausible; the practice of erecting statues ceased after *c.*600, even in Constantinople. RKL

PBE, Ioustinianos 1.
P. B. Englezakis, *Cyprus Nea Justinianoupolis* (1990).
F. Görres, 'Justinian II und das römische Papsttum', *BZ* 17 (1908), 432–54.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 70–8.
C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (1972).
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 257–66, 297–311, 496–501, 508–11.
Ostrogorsky, *History*, 128–46.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, vol. 5, 1–74, 103–78.
A. Vasiliev, 'An Edict of Emperor Justinian II, September, 688', *Speculum* 18 (1943), 1–13.
J. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (1959).
G. J. Theocharides, 'Justinian II. oder Basileios II? Eine neue Losung zu älteren Problem', *Byzantion* 46 (1976), 75–118.

Justiniana Prima *See* CARIČIN GRAD.

Justinian's *Code* (*Codex Iustinianus*) A codification of imperial constitutions from the time of Hadrian down to *Justinian I arranged in twelve books. Justinian's *Code* both inaugurated and concluded the great project of codifying Roman *law which the *Emperor Justinian (527–65) instigated soon after his *accession. The version that survives is not the original. The *Code* was first conceived in 528, nearly 100 years after *Theodosius II had proposed to unite in one code all imperial legislation, with works of *jurists attached to it (*CTh* I, I, 5). Justinian ordered a commission of ten men to execute the project. Seven high officials, among them the great legal scholar and future *Quaestor Sacri Palatii *Tribonian, two **advocati*, and *Theophilus, professor of law in Constantinople, completed the *Code* in just fourteen months. It was promulgated on 7 April 529. Justinian's *Code* was the first part of a much ampler codification project that was entrusted to Tribonian in 530, which resulted in the **Digest* and the **Institutiones* of Justinian (*InstJust*). Justinian's ambition was to combine all valid imperial legislation in one codex in harmonized form, permitting no redundancy or contradiction (*Constitutio Haec*). The work would stand alongside the *Digest* of Roman jurisprudence. A collection of later legislation (**Novels*) was envisaged but not realized. A true synthesis of all these works was not achieved until the *Basilica* compiled initially by Leo VI.

Justinian continued to legislate after the promulgation of the *Codex Vetus* or first *Code*. Among the most important enactments were the *50 Decisions* (*Quinquaginta Decisionses*) in 531/2, with which he sought to

resolve longstanding juristic controversies. Thus, when the *Digest* and the *Institutiones* were complete, the first *Code* already required extensive revision. Justinian ordered the creation of a second edition (*Codex Repetitae Praelectionis*), which was undertaken again by Tribonian and a commission of experts. The second *Code* was published on 16 November 534 and is the version that survives. A *papyrus (P.Oxy. XV 1814) indicates the contents of some titles of the first book of the first *Code*. From this evidence the deletion and insertion of constitutions in the second *Code* may be observed.

Justinian's *Code* relied on a variety of sources: the **Theodosian Code* and the imperial *novels of emperors subsequent to Theodosius II, later legislation including Justinian's own, and the codes compiled under the *Tetrarchy but excluded from the *Theodosian Code*: the **Gregorian* and **Hermogenianic Codes*. Justinian's *Code*, in contrast to the *Theodosian Code*, thus ignores the different nature of the constitutions these collections contained, presenting in harmonized form both private *rescripts (from the *Gregorian* and *Hermogenianic Codes*) and official *letters and *edicts (from the *Theodosian Code* and later legislation). It was enough that an emperor had written the words. Justinian's *Code* is in fact the primary source for the reconstruction of both the *Gregorian* and *Hermogenianic Codes*. All past collections of imperial legislation and any stray constitutions not received in the *Code* were formally superseded after Justinian's *Code* came into effect and were henceforth inadmissible in *courts of law. It is for this reason that most of these earlier codes, with the exception of (most of) the *Theodosian Code* itself and of the post-Theodosian imperial novels, have been lost.

Justinian's goal was to facilitate the citation of imperial legislation by uniting all of it in one convenient codex and by eliminating obsolete law. The result, theoretically, would be a law code free of contradiction and redundancy. A Roman seeking clarification would need to consult only a single source. Tribonian and his commission were free to divide constitutions into several parts and distribute them throughout the *Code* under appropriate titles. They were also authorized to make the texts consistent with current law by changing their wording. These alterations are known as interpolations. As in the case of the *Digest*, though somewhat less urgently, the interpolations in the *Code* have been more or less carefully identified and catalogued. Thanks to the independent tradition of the *Theodosian Code* it is possible to compare many constitutions in Justinian's *Code* with the originals directly.

The structure of Justinian's *Code* mainly follows that of its predecessors, particularly the *Theodosian Code*, but with some significant differences. Legislation pertaining to Christianity and the Church had been collected in the last book of the *Theodosian Code*. In Justinian's *Code*, it stands ostentatiously in the first book before the titles dedicated to the sources of law and the imperial *administration. Books 2 to 8 are dedicated to private law. Book 9, as in the *Theodosian Code*, is dedicated to criminal law. The final three books, books 10 to 12, are dedicated to the imperial administration, particularly *taxation and civic liturgies and the ranks and privileges of imperial officials.

When Justinian confirmed the *Code*, he allowed for future legislation, which would be promulgated piecemeal as the *Novels* (*NovJust*). Otherwise, litigants were compelled by law to cite imperial legislation exclusively in the new *Code*. Justinian reasoned (*Constitutio Cordi*) that the consultation of his *Code* and potentially the *Digest* should suffice. As in the case of the *Digest* and *Institutiones*, Justinian sought to guarantee the reliability of the work by criminalizing the use of abbreviations. His wishes would not be fulfilled: abbreviated versions proliferated after his death; Western copies omitted the *Greek constitutions, and yet other later copies omitted the whole of the last three books, the quickest to become obsolete. The *Latin of most of the *Code* required interpretation and translation in the *Greek-speaking East. Justinian's *Code* was eventually incorporated in the later Byzantine collections the **Ecloga* of *Leo III and the *Basilica*. JND

Editio Maior: ed. P. Krüger, *Codex Iustinianus* (1877); *Editio Minor*: ed. P. Krüger, *Codex Iuris Civilis* II ([11]1954).

ET with text F. H. Blume, B. W. Frier, et al., *The Code of Justinian*, 3 vols. (2016).

I. Avotins, *On the Greek of the Code of Justinian* (1989).

G. Broggini, *Index Interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Codicis Inesse Dicuntur* (1969) with *SDHI* 36 (1970), 503.

S. Corcoran, 'Anastasius, Justinian, and the Pagans: A Tale of Two Law Codes and a Papyrus', *JLA* 2 (2009), 183–208.

J. Harries, 'Roman Law Codes and the Roman Legal Tradition', in J. W. Cairns and P. du Plessis, eds., *Beyond Dogmatics* (2007), 85–104.

P. Krüger, *Kritik des justinianischen Codex* (1867).

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 569–76, 638–51, 688–92.

Justinianus (b. *c.*525/530) Great-nephew of *Justinian I. As **patricius* (572), and *Magister Utriusque Militum in *Oriens (575–7), he emphasized military training and led several campaigns against Persia, but was defeated in 577 and replaced with *Maurice. PNB

PLRE III, Iustinianus 3.

Jutes Germanic *tribe from the eponymous Jutland in Denmark, possibly the Eudoses mentioned in Tacitus's *Germania*. They are said by *Bede to have settled in Kent, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire (*HE* I, 15). It has been suggested that certain types of *metalwork

and funerary traditions are 'Jutish' but the evidence is equivocal. JFG

A. Richardson, 'The Third Way: Thoughts on Non-Saxon Identity South of the Thames AD 450–600', in S. Brookes, S. Harrington, and A. Reynolds, eds., *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Antiquities and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch* (2011), 49–54.

B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995).

Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem (probably 422–58) Having previously supported *Cyril, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, Juvenal supported *Dioscorus of Alexandria at the 'Robber' *Council of *Ephesus in 449, but abandoned him at the Council of *Chalcedon in 451. He was rewarded by having the title of Patriarch accorded to the *bishops of Jerusalem. His return to *Jerusalem was blocked for twenty months by militant anti-Chalcedonian monks. PMP

E. Honigmann, 'Juvenal of Jerusalem', *DOP* 5 (1950), 209–79.

Juvencus (*fl.* 329) Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Iuvencus, a Spanish *priest of *senatorial family, probably from *Elvira, is the author of the earliest biblical *epic, the *Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor*, a hexameter version of the Gospels following mainly S. Matthew. He generally paraphrases closely the biblical text, but will amplify or abbreviate the original and on occasions omit some details. Recent scholarship has detected the influence of Christian exegesis on Juvencus' work, especially of *Origen, although the exegesis is rarely overt, and in most cases exegetically uninformed readers, who made up the bulk of his audience, were unlikely to be aware of its presence. Juvencus' poem shows the strong influence of *Vergil, and to a lesser extent Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. The prestigious idiom of epic was well suited to attract an educated audience who might find the style of the Old Latin *Bible unappealing. Juvencus' poem begins with an important preface, the first formulation of a Christian poetics; it concludes with a dedication to the *Emperor *Constantine I. MJR

NEDC 98, note 39.

HLL 5, section 561.

CPL 1385:

J. Huemer (*CSEL* 24, 1891).

Fontaine, *Naissance*, 67–80.

Green, *Latin Epics*, 1–134,

R. Herzog, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike. Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung*, vol. 1 (1975).

Juvincourt-et-Damary (Aisne, France) *Merovingian hamlet found during highway construction in 1978, featuring 60–70 Sunken-Featured Buildings (*SFBs) in association with several above-ground timber-frame rectangular buildings. Occupation began in the earlier 6th century and continued until the site was totally abandoned in the late 8th or early 9th century. The settlement focus shifted north over this period, with a 30 m-(98 foot-)long complex becoming dominant in the late phase. The SFBs were often used for *textile working but could also have stored *tools or foodstuffs or sheltered animals or, in the later phase, people. Evidence of a palisade was noted. BKY

D. Bayard, 'Le Village mérovingien du "Gué de Maucamp" à Juvincourt-et-Damary', in *Archéologie: grands travaux. Autoroute A26. Bilan des recherches archéologiques dans le département de l'Aisne (1982–1987)* (1989), 101–10.

K

Ka'ba In Islamic tradition, the cube-shaped shrine at *Mecca is believed to be the place that Abraham was asked by God to sacrifice Ishmael, his son by the slave woman Hagar (*Qur'ān 37: 99–109) or, in some reports, Isaac, his son by his wife Sarah (cf. Genesis 22, 1–19). When an angel stopped his hand, Ishmael survived to become the father of the *Arabs. The Prophet *Muhammad designated the Ka'ba the holiest place on earth and enjoined every Muslim to make a pilgrimage there.

It is difficult for scholars to reconstruct how the shrine operated in the time of the Prophet and his followers, but early Islamic sources claim that the sanctuary was home to a series of idols during the **Jahiliyya* (period of ignorance; the time before the coming of *Islam). It has been argued that the cult initially centred on the pagan god Hubal, but by the time of the Prophet it was dedicated to the 'Great God' known as Allah. The worshippers would circumambulate the Ka'ba and kiss the black stone in the eastern corner of the cube, which is thought to be a meteorite. The Prophet is said to have destroyed the idols on the site in 629–30 but to have maintained similar ritual practices in and around the sanctuary. EL

EI 2, vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Kaʿba, 317–22 (Wensinck).

G. R. D. King, 'The Sculptures of the Pre-Islamic Haram at Makka', in W. Ball and L. Harrow, eds., *Cairo to Kabul: Studies Presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson* (2002), 144–50.

Kairouan (al-Qayrawān) Military post and capital of *Ifriqiya, 184 km (114 miles) south of modern Tunis. The name of the town refers to its foundation as a military camp at the time of the *Arab Conquest. In the mid-7th century, several generals were attracted to the site's inland elevation and the Roman building materials there available for reuse. Medieval sources describe twin foundations some distance apart, one due to Mu'āwīya b. Hudaydī, the other to 'Uqba b. Nāfi'. The settlement by the famous conqueror Sīdī 'Uqba began with the domination of a wild landscape and included a Great *Mosque and *palace. Extensive remains of *irrigation systems, buildings, and perhaps even a church are attested by Arab geographers and archaeology. CJG

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* 'al-Kayrawān', 824–32 (Talbi).

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Kitāb Futūḥ Misr wa al-Magrib wa al-Andalus*, ed. C. C. Torrey (1922), partial FT in A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne* (1942, 2nd rev. edn. 1948).

Al-Bakrī, *Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, partial edn. and ET in Mac Guckin de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par Abou Obeïd el-Bekri* (1965).

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 48–9.

Kaiseraugst and Kaiseraugst Treasure Castrum Rauracense (mod. Kaiseraugst, nr. Basel, Switzerland) lies at a strategic Rhine crossing, adjoining an earlier Roman fortress, Augusta Raurica. Fortification probably occurred under *Diocletian, and sections of the walls and ramparts survive. The *Alamanni invaded *c.*350, though local settlement continued into the 8th century.

A hoard of over 270 early 4th-century coins and *silverware, including two plates with elaborate central medallions (featuring the Achilles cycle, *hunting, and *sea scenes), discovered inside the ramparts during building work in 1961–2, is now in the Römermuseum in Augst. Initially considered a single table service, it is now understood to constitute the amassed wealth of several army officers. HAHC

L. Berger, *Führer durch Augusta Raurica* (2012).

H. Cahn and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, eds., *Der Spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, 2 vols. (1984).

B. Rütti and C. Aitken, *Der Schatz. Das römische Silber aus Kaiseraugst neu entdeckt* (2003).

Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 40–3.

***Kaisergeschichte* of Enmann** A hypothetical *breviarium*, also known as KG or EKG, describing the lives of the Roman *emperors from Augustus, whose existence was posited by A. Enmann in 1884. In its first edition it seems to have finished around 359,

though there is some internal evidence that it may have concluded with the death of *Constantine I (337), but it was continued (perhaps by other authors) at various dates down to at least 378. It was an important source for Aurelius *Victor, *Festus, and the authors of the **Historia Augusta* and the **Epitome de Caesaribus*, as well as for *Polemius Silvius in the 5th century, and, in combination with an epitome of Livy, for *Eutropius and *Jerome. There is some anecdotal evidence, not yet fully analysed, to suggest that there may have been a *Greek translation in circulation in the Byzantine period. Although its existence was controversial for almost a century following the first proof by Enmann, its existence is now universally accepted by scholars. RWB

HLL 5, section 536.

A. Enmann, 'Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser und das Buch de viris illustribus urbis Romae. Quellenstudien', *Philologus*, Suppl. 4 (1883), 335–501.

R. W. Burgess, 'A Common Source for Jerome, Eutropius, Festus, Ammianus, and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* between 358 and 378, along with Further Thoughts on the Date and Nature of the *Kaisergeschichte*', *CP* 100 (2005) = Burgess *Chronicles, Consuls, and Coins* study VII, 166–92 (including earlier bibliography).

Cameron, *Pagans*, 665–8, 685, 687.

Kalabsha (Roman Talmis) *Nubian town, *c.*50 km (*c.*30 miles) south of Aswan, mostly known for its Augustan *temple of Mandulis, which was still used by *Blemmyan tribes into the 5th century and was subsequently turned into a church, possibly in the 6th century. JHFD

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Talmis, cols. 2200a–2200b (W. Y. Adams).

P. Grossmann, 'Christliche Einbauten im Tempel des Mandulis von Kalabs', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 143–50.

Dijkstra, *Philae*, 159–67, 313.

Kalamoun *Monastery founded *c.*638 in the southwest *Fayyum on an earlier site by *Samuel of Kalamoun after his stay at *Scetis, Neklone, and Takinash and two periods of *Berber captivity, one at Siwa. Attacked more than once in its history by *Bedouin tribes (Maxyes or *mšwš*), it had to be protected, as 11th-century *Arabic documents show. The only building partly to survive 19th-century reconstruction was the Late Antique monastery keep. AAl

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dayr Anba Samu'il of Qalamun 758a–760b (R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin, and P. Grossmann) and vol. 7 *s.n.* Samu'il of Qalamun, Saint, cols. 2092a–2093b (A. Alcock).

N. Abbott, *The Monasteries of the Fayyum* (1937).

Y. Ragib, 'Les Archives d'un gardien de Qalamoun', *Annales islamologiques* 29 (1995), 25–57.

Kalb A tribal group occupying the Syrian Desert in Late Roman and early Islamic times who converted to Christianity and allied with the East Roman Empire. After the *Arab conquests, Kalb developed close ties with the *Umayyad branch of the ruling family of *Quraysh. *'Uthman b. 'Affan (r. 644–56) married a Kalbi woman, as did *Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan (r. 661–80), who moved the capital of the *caliphate to *Syria. Mu'awiya's son by his Kalbi wife, *Yazid I (r. 680–3), also married into the *tribe. A Kalbi chief was instrumental in the success in the Second *Arab Civil War (683–92) of *Marwan I (r. 683–4), progenitor of the Marwanid branch of the Umayyads.

After the Second Civil War, the Kalb, at the head of the federation of Quda'a, were engaged in a long-running *feud with *Qays, who had backed the Zubayrid opponents of the Umayyads. The former traced their ancestry to the 'southern' tribes descended from Qahtan, the latter to the 'northern' tribes descended from Ishmael. This feud was crucial in destabilizing Umayyad power in Syria in the 740s. RJL; AM

EI 2, vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Kalb b. Wabara, 492–4 (Fück and Dixon).

al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf.*

A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate* (1971).

F. M. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).

E. Orthmann, *Stämme und Macht* (2002).

Kaleb King of *Aksum *c.*512–*c.*540. Greek writers referred to him as Ellasbas or other variant forms of his alternative *Ethiopian name Ella Atshaha. He is remembered both for his Christian devotion and for his military intervention in southern *Arabia. This latter operation brought him into *diplomatic contact with the Roman Empire under both *Justin I and *Justinian I. A description of Kaleb's court at Aksum, as reported by *Julian, is preserved by *John Malalas (*Chronicle*, 18, 56). Kaleb is the only Aksumite king known to have abdicated, when he retired to a *monastery and donated his crown to the Holy Sepulchre in *Jerusalem. DWP

PLRE II, Elesboas.

Shahid, *Martyrs of Najran.*

Gajda, *Royaume de Himyar à l'époque monothéiste.*

Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 82–6, 189–92, 202–6.

Kalends of January 1 January, which opened the festival of Janus, god of doors and gates, had political importance from 153 BC as the day when *consuls and other annually appointed magistrates in *Rome took office, and so was celebrated in *cities which had the status of *colonia*. Such celebration, including games and gift-giving (*strenae*), spread across the Roman world (*Symmachus, *ep.* X, 28; *Gregory of *Nazianzus, *ep.* 14, 1–3 to *Libanius). *Emperors both gave and received *strenae* (Ausonius, *ep.* 10 Green = 13 Peiper; *CTh* VII, 24). Despite its non-Greek origin, Libanius

(*Oration*, IX) praised this *festival, and in the 4th century it was widely enjoyed as a 'secular' celebration, though *bishops from *Ambrose to *Caesarius of *Arles spoke against it. MTG

M. Meslin, *La Fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain* (Collection Latomus 115, 1970).
R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1990).

Kalila and Dimna A widely dispersed collection of *animal fables of Indian origin. Two *Syriac versions survive, the earlier translated from the lost 6th-century *Pahlavi version of Burzōe, the second, made in the 10th or 11th century, from the 8th-century *Arabic version of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (the source of most subsequent versions). The stories, often nested within one another, are cast as a kind of wisdom literature to teach manners and shrewdness in the manner of a mirror for princes. Kalila and Dimna, the book's main characters, are two jackals. The later Syriac version shows that the work had been expanded. ACMc

GEDSH s.v. Kalila and Dimna, 241–2 (Brock).
EncIran XV/4 (2010) *s.v.* Kalila wa Demna, 386–97.
EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Kalīla wa-Dimna, 503–506 (C. Brockelmann).
ed. of earlier Syriac version (with GT), F. Schuluthess, *Kalila und Dimna*, 2 vols. (1911).
ET of later Syriac version I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalīlah and Dimnah, or the Fables of Bidpai: Being an Account of their Literary History, with an English Translation of the Later Syriac Version of the Same, and Notes* (1885).

Kaper Koraon Treasure A large hoard of Christian liturgical *silver discovered in 1908 in Stuma, Syria. In the years following the Treasure's discovery, its 56 components were divided and sold as four separate treasures purportedly originating from different nearby sites—a ruse deployed to avoid government seizure and to elevate the pieces' commercial value. American museums were largely the beneficiaries (or dupes) of this arrangement. Though a few pieces from the so-called *Stuma Treasure were sent to the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, the most significant works attributed to the *Riha, *Hama, and *Antioch Treasures are now housed at Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, DC), the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore), and the Metropolitan Museum (New York) respectively. Some stray components have ended up elsewhere, including Bern, Paris, and Jerusalem. Scholarly detective work in the 1980s determined that all these works were probably unearthed together and assigned them to the Church of S. *Sergius in the *village of Kaper Koraon (modern Kurin) on the basis of inscriptions that appear on several of the Baltimore pieces.

The hoard included multiple examples of liturgical wares, all dating from AD 540–640: patens, chalices, flabella (fans), *lampstands, spoons, ewers, and wine strainers. All are technically and compositionally similar, and most are adorned with engraved and *repoussé* decoration. Some bear official *silver stamps, while others do not. The average weight of the pieces was one Roman pound; the silver in each would therefore have cost about four **solidi*. As a whole the Treasure demonstrates a complex pattern of *patronage in an east Mediterranean village church: dedicatory inscriptions appear on most of the objects, giving the names of some 50 individuals. They identify one archbishop and three local lay officials—Megas, Sergios, and Symeonios—and offer enough information to trace four or five important local families who made donations over several generations.

There is no indication of what event or events might have precipitated the Treasure's burial. Perhaps the church was a casualty of the *Arab conquests of the 7th century or of later military campaigns conducted in the region.

See also ANTIOCH CHALICE AND TREASURE; RIHA TREASURE, STUMA TREASURE, HAMA TREASURE. MH

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium.*
Boyd and Mango *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate.*

Karabel (mod. Asarcık, Turkey) Located in the *territorium* of *Myra (*Lycia), Karabel is the site of a *monastery complex consisting of two enclosed settlements, one arranged around a domed *basilica with a *triconch *apse, the other composed of cells around a tripartite basilica, both dated to the 6th century. This complex was identified by Harrison as the monastery of Sion, mentioned in the *Vita* of S. *Nicholas of Sion. Ševčenko raised doubts, and *TIB* now identifies Karabel as the monastery of S. John of Akalissos, locating Sion at nearby Alacahisar. PTa

TIB 8: 422–5.
R. M. Harrison, 'Churches and Chapels in Early Byzantine Lycia', *AS* 13 (1963), 131–5.

Karanis Town on the north-eastern edge of the Fayyum (*Arsiniote *Nome) in *Egypt. Settlement of importance since Hellenistic times and centre of the pagan cult of the crocodile god, Karanis had been a thriving agricultural centre (several Roman granaries have been uncovered) where canals and *cisterns made the land fertile. Hit by intermittent waves of economic decline and growth, Late Antique Karanis suffered progressive desertification which caused the final abandonment of the site, though not before the 6th century.

Numerous *Greek *papyri have been found in Karanis, but few *Coptic texts. However, Karanis had a lively Coptic-speaking community: Christian names are recorded in papyri as early as the 3rd century, as attested in the *archive of the landowner Aurelius *Isidoros

(cf. P.Cair.Isid. and P.Col. VII). The first attestation of the term 'monk' appears in these papers (P.Col. VII, 171, AD 324): it is possible that the monk in question belonged to a church in Karanis and was not a hermit.

The Church played an important role in village society and owned land, which was put in charge of the clergy: *priests and *deacons appear in good number in papyri involved in land management (cf. P.Haun. III 58, AD 439). Remains of the Late Antique settlement are rather scanty. Noteworthy is the recently excavated large cemetery to the north-west of the urban centre: several rows of tombs in the shape of mud-brick *mastabas* have been uncovered, with Christian *inscriptions and carvings (often cryptographic), a funerary stele, and a few *mummified corpses, in different levels of burial. The necropolis was probably in use for more than a century, from the end of the 4th century. MCDP

P. Buzi, 'Ancora sulla necropoli tardo-antica di Karanis: indizi per la determinazione della datazione del definitivo abbandono del sito', in S. Pernigotti and M. Zecchi, eds., *Il coccodrillo e il cobra: aspetti dell'universo religioso egiziano nel Fayyum e altrove*, 2006), 111–32.

E. A. Judge, 'The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk" (P. Coll. Youtie 77) and the Origins of Monasticism', *JbAC* 20 (1977), 72–89.

P. van Minnen, 'Deserted Villages: Two Late Antique Town Sites in Egypt', *BASP* 32 (1995), 41–56.

Karbala A town 100 km (*c.* 62 miles) south-west of modern Baghdad and about 80 km (*c.* 50 miles) north of the garrison of *Kufa, where in 680 the troops of *Muhammad's grandson *Husayn were defeated and killed by the *Umayyad army. When the Umayyad *Yazid I became caliph in 680, Husayn held up his rival ancestral claims to the *caliphate and marched from west *Arabia with a small group of followers towards Kufa. They were besieged at Karbala and killed by an army loyal to Yazid. *Shi'i Muslims regard Husayn as one of their imams, his followers as *martyrs, and commemorate the event on the Day of Ashura (10 Muharram). A mausoleum for Husayn was set up in Karbala, but both Umayyad and *Abbasid caliphs banned *pilgrimage to it. The shrine was repeatedly destroyed and re-erected. KMK

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Karbalā, 637–9 (Honigmann).

H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).

Karka d-Beth Slokh, History of Local history of the church at Karka d-Beth Slokh in Beth Garmai (mod. *Kirkuk, French Kerkouk, Iraq), written in *Syriac in the 6th century. The oldest manuscript is of the 6/7th century (Diyarbakir ms. 96). It recounts briefly the ancient history of the city, its conversion and the *heresies which arose in it, and its *martyrs in the persecutions under *Shapur II and in 455 under *Yazdegerd II. In about 470 the *bishop founded a *monastery honouring the martyrs, with an annual festival attended by all the bishops of Beth Garmai, the province of which Kirkuk is the centre. RD

BHO 705:

ed. P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* 2 (1891), 507–35.

GEDSH 242 *s.n.* Karka d-Beth Slokh.

J. M. Fiey, 'Vers la réhabilitation de l'histoire de Karka d'Bét Slôh', *AnBol* 82 (1964), 189–220.

Karnak *See* THEBAIS PRIMA AND SECUNDA.

***Karnamag-e Ardashir-e Pabagan* (*The Book of Deeds of Ardashir son of Pabag*)** A 7th-century Pahlavi historical romance dealing with the founding of the *Sasanian dynasty. The surviving text is a 9th-century digest of the lost prose work. Apart from a few historically verifiable facts, it is composed of fanciful stories. Reminiscent of the Cyrus legend, the *Karnamag* claims that *Ardashir I was the adopted son of *Pabag, a vassal of Ardawan (the last Parthian King Artabanus V), and the real son of the shepherd Sasan, who was descended from the last of the Achaemenid kings. After many adventures, Ardashir defeats Ardawan and, by wresting sovereignty from the usurping Parthians, restores legitimate Persian rule. There is a long dragon-slaying episode followed by short tales about Ardashir's son (!) *Khosrow I and grandson *Hormizd I. WWM

EncIran XV/6 (2011) *s.v.* Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān, 585–8 (C. G. Cereti).

ed. (with FT) F. Grenet, *Le Geste d'Ardashir fils de Pâbag = Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān* (2003).

ET E. K. Antiâ, *Kârnâmak-i Artakhshîr Pâpakân: The Original Pahlavi Text, with Transliteration in Avesta Characters, Translations into English and Gujarati and Selections from the Shâhnâmeh* (1900).

Kartlis Cxovreba (*The Life of Georgia*) Collection of *Georgian historical texts. The title *Life of Georgia* is late and dates probably to the 15th century, when the medieval Georgian historical narratives were re-edited. It includes the *Lives of the Kings*, *Life of *Vakhtang Gorgasali*, *Martyrdom of King Arshil*, *History of Kartli*, and later medieval chronicles. It is also preserved as a 13th-century Armenian translation. NA

ET (with introd. and comm.) R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation* (1996).

Rapp, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography.*

Karun *See* THEODOSIOPOLIS (ERZERUM).

Kashgar (Shule, Kasia, Kashi) City in Chinese Turkestan, located on the western edge of the *Tarim

basin, at the intersection of several branches of the *Silk Road, occurring as *Kasia chora* in *Ptolemy (VI, 15, 3) and as *Shule* in Chinese sources. Chinese rule in Kashgar alternated with local dynasties influenced by the steppe nomads, including the *Hephthalites and the Eastern *Türks. Initially populated by Iranian-speakers, Kashgar was an important *Buddhist site from the 2nd century on. The Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (II, 306–7) mentions several hundred monasteries and 10,000 monks. The putative raid on Kashgar by *Qutayba b. Muslim in 715 is undoubtedly legendary. Turkification increased after its absorption *c.*750 by the Qarluq Turks, the ancestors of the Qarakhanids, under whom most of the population converted to Islam in the 10th century. MLD

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Kāshghar (W. Barthold, B. Spuler).
EncIran XVI/1 *s.n.* Kashgar 48–50 (P. Lurje).
P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I (1959), 196–214.

Katalymmata ton Plakoton Monumental ecclesiastical complex on Akrotiri peninsula, *Cyprus, excavated from 2007 onwards. Two three-aisled *basilicas were linked by a peristyle atrium. The west-oriented church, probably a *martyrium, which had transepts with five *apses and an unusual processional arrangement, is dated 616–19. It may be associated with S. *John the Almsgiver, who returned to his native Cyprus *c.*617–20, but it was abandoned in the mid-7th century. The walls were lavishly decorated. There was *marble from *Proconnesus, *glass *mosaic, *opus sectile, and mother of pearl. The floor mosaics incorporate a liturgical *inscription in a medallion. *Heraclius is personified as Alexander the Great in a pilaster bust. RKL

R. Maguire, *Late Antique Basilicas on Cyprus: Sources, Contexts, Histories* (diss. East Anglia, 2012), 176–210 and gazetteer no. 3.

katholikos *Greek term equivalent to *Latin **rationalis*, denoting a financial official. Under *Diocletian the Catholicus replaced the *Dioiketes as chief financial official in the government of *Egypt, and so appears frequently in documentary *papyri.

For the ecclesiastical offices, *see* CATHOLICUS (ARMENIAN) and CATHOLICUS (CHURCH OF THE EAST). OPN

Kavadh I *See* QOBAD I.

Kavadh II *See* QOBAD II.

***Kebra Negast* (*Glory of Kings*)** *Ge'ez text apparently first committed to writing from an *Arabic version in the early 14th century. Containing numerous biblical—particularly Old Testament—references, it presents a history of Ethiopian kingship from the time of the visit by Makeda, Queen of the South, to Solomon, King of Israel, describing the birth of their son Menelik (I) who in due course returned to *Jerusalem and brought the Ark of the Covenant to *Ethiopia. Remarkably omitting all mention of early *Aksumite history and the adoption of *Christianity there, it emphasizes the greatness of King *Kaleb in comparison with his Roman counterpart, *Justin. There can be little doubt that the work incorporates material that long pre-dates the form in which it has been preserved. Whether this earlier content had been transmitted orally, or in a written form that no longer survives, cannot be determined. In its present form, the work was accorded high importance by Ethiopian rulers of the 19th and 20th centuries. Several recent translations into English and French have been supported by Rastafarian interests. DWP

ed. C. Bezold, *Kebra Nagast: Die Herrlichkeit der Könige* (Abh. (Bayr.) 32/1, 1905).
ET (with introd.) E. A. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek: being the history of the departure of God & His Ark of the covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the establishment of the religion of the Hebrews & the Solomonic line of kings in that country* (1922).
EncAeth, vol. 3 (2007), 364–8 *s.v. Kebra Nagast* (Marassini).
I. Shahid, 'The *Kebra Negast* in the Light of Recent Research', *Le Muséon* 89 (1976), 133–78.

keles Fast, oared galley, used principally for the quick transport of messages or passengers, not cargo, like the larger and similarly named *celsa* and *celox*. All three types of ship are known from Late Antiquity from their depiction on a *mosaic of the 3rd/4th century at Althiburus in *Africa. ALB; AG

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 160–2 and fig. 137 for an illustration of the Althiburus mosaic.
Pryor and Jeffreys, *Age of the Dromon*.

Kellia ('The Cells'; founded mid-4th cent.) One of the principal monastic settlements of Lower *Egypt, an offshoot of the *monastery of *Nitria, intended for advanced monks seeking a more solitary way of life. *Rufinus of *Aquileia, who visited the site in the 370s, reports that it was in the 'interior desert . . . a vast wasteland'. According to legend, it was co-founded by *Amoun and *Antony the Great, chosen to be a day's walk (roughly, 19 km or 12 miles) from Nitria (**Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Antony, 34). From Monday to Friday, the monks lived as hermits; at weekends, they gathered for the *Eucharist and common meals. The monastic superior in the late 4th century was *Macarius of *Alexandria. According to *Palladius, a resident in the 390s, over 600 monks lived at Kellia (*Lausiac History*, 7). *Evagrius Ponticus and his circle of intellectual monks were active there 385–99 (*Lausiac History*, 38).

In 1964, Antoine Guillaumont discovered the ruins of Kellia. Archaeological teams from France and

Switzerland eventually uncovered hermitages scattered over 127 km² (49 square miles). Typically, hermitages were large rectangular compounds, enclosed with mud-brick walls. Within each, there was the *abba*'s cell, which included several rooms: an oratory, kitchen, bedroom, as well as storage areas. Interior walls were often covered with a whitewash glaze and decorated with drawings and *crosses. Many compounds have remains of a well and irrigation channels, presumably for watering a garden. Some have a second smaller cell, presumably for a disciple, as well as a gatehouse which controlled access to the compound. Most hermitages date from the mid-6th century. JWH

CoptEnc 5 (1991) *s.v.* Kellia, cols. 1396–410.

A. Guillaumont, 'Histoire des moines aux Kellia', in his *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien: pour une phénoménologie du monachisme* (Spiritualité orientale 30, 1979), 151–67.

Harmless, *Desert Christians*.

P. Miquel, ed., *Déserts chrétiens d'Égypte* (1993).

Kellis (mod. Ismant el-Kharab, Egypt) Large *village in the central part of the Dakleh *Oasis in the Western Desert. It is under excavation by an Australian team as one component in the larger Dakleh Oasis Project begun in 1978. Kellis has been the most productive Roman-period site in recent times. Remains include a *temple dedicated to Tutu with wall paintings, some dating to the 1st century, and three 4th-century churches; a Christian cemetery; and numerous houses. In these have been found *papyrus *letters and religious texts in *Greek, *Coptic (of *Manichaean content, e.g. P.Kell. V, Copt. 15), and *Syriac; also many *ostraca. Of unusual interest are a 4th-century codex made from acacia wood with three speeches of Isocrates (P.Kell. III, Gr. 95) and an extensive 4th-century agricultural account, also inscribed on an acacia wood codex (P.Kell. IV, Gr. 96). It is a rare chance when written discoveries like these are associated so precisely with their archaeological contexts. JGK

Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*, 265–6.

P. Kellis: The Papyri from Kellis are published in the series of Dakleh Oasis Project monographs I (monograph 3, 1995), II (4, 1996), III (5, 1997), IV (7, 1997),V (9, 1999), VI (15, 2007).

Kenchriae (Kenchreai, Kechries) Port on the Saronic Gulf (Greece), one of two serving the *city of *Corinth. Its main trading connections were with the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, and the Near East. Settlement was concentrated around a crescent-shaped *harbour protected by sea-walls. Excavations have exposed port installations and monumental buildings, a Christian *basilica and graveyard, and a residential quarter which indicates a maritime settlement of considerable wealth. Over 100 *glass panels in *opus sectile from *c.*370 found in their original delivery cases seem to have been destined for the *Temple of Isis at the harbour. The finds in general indicate the impressive resources available to Corinth. Two *earthquakes, in 365 and 375, and an attack by *Alaric in 396, diminished the prosperity of Kenchriae. A late 6th-century coin *hoard has been associated with *Slav incursions. By the 7th century maritime activity had dwindled, as had the extent of the port. PA

R. Scranton et al., *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth: Results of Investigations by the University of Chicago and Indiana University for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 6 vols. (1976–2007).

R. L. Hohlfelder, 'A Sixth Century Hoard from Kenchreai', *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 89–101.

Kenchriae windows Over 100 *glass *opus sectile panels of *c.*370, found in their original packaging on the dockside at *Kenchriae. They illustrate the River *Nile and were possibly destined for the nearby *Temple of Isis. PA

L. Ibrahim, R. Scranton, and R. Brill, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth*, *Results of Investigations by the University of Chicago and Indiana University for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, II. *The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass* (1978).

keration *See* CARAT.

Kerch Roman *city of Panticapaeum and capital of the kingdom on the *Crimean Bosporus which declined in the 4th century. *Justinian I fortified the city in *c.*530 (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 7,12), but the Turks took it in *c.*580. ABA

I. Kruglikova, *Bospor v pozdneantičnoe vremja* (*The Bosphorus in Late Antiquity*) (1966).

Kerch Plate *Silver dish, 25 cm (10 inches) in diameter, of the mid-4th century, now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. A diademed, nimbate *emperor (possibly *Constantius II) is shown on horseback riding to the right, where a *Victory raises a wreath; to the left, a guard carries a shield bearing a chi-rho *monogram. JB

Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 22–3, 36–9.

Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 25.

Kerdir (Kartīr, Kartēr) Name of a powerful *Zoroastrian priest (**mowbed*) during the reigns of four *Sasanian kings in the 3rd century AD. He is mentioned in *inscriptions of *Shapur I (including the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*: *ŠKZ*) and *Narseh I (*Paikuli), as well as in *Manichaean texts. The most extensive sources for Kerdīr are his own inscriptions carved near the royal *rock reliefs at *Sar Mashhad, *Naqsh-e Rajab, and

*Naqsh-e Rostam (where there is also a profile bust depicting him carved onto the cliff face), and below the *Res Gestae Divis Saporis*. Composed toward the end of the reign of *Bahram (Warahrān) II (r. 276–93), they chronicle Kerdīr's rise in ecclesiastical power beginning during the reign of *Shapur I (r. *c.*239–*c.*272) and continuing through the reigns of *Hormizd (Ohrmazd) I (r. *c.*272–3), *Bahram I (r. 273–6), and Bahram II. He boasts of the many *fires and rituals he instituted throughout the Empire, how he promoted the priesthood, and how he persecuted Christians, *Jews, and *Manichaeans (he had a hand in the execution of *Mani). He also records ajourney to heaven and hell, by which he establishes the veracity of Mazdaism (Zoroastrianism). WWM

EncIran XV/6 (2011) *s.v.* Kartīr, 608–28 (P. O. Skjærv–).

The inscriptions are in *CII* III, vol. 2: Private inscriptions of the classical period.

Portfolio I. *The Inscription of Sar-Mašhad*, ed. W. B. Henning (1955).

Portfolio II. *The Inscription of Naqš-i Rustam*, ed W. B. Henning (1957).

Portfolio III. *Minor Inscriptions of Kartīr, together with the End of Naqš-i Rustam*, ed. W. B. Henning (1963).

P. Gignoux, *Les Quatre inscriptions du Mage Kirdīr: textes et concordances* (Studia Iranica 9, 1991).

***kerkouros* (Lat. *cercurus*)** A long merchant *ship powered by sails and oars, known from *papyri as a *grain carrier on the *Nile (e.g. P.Oxy 2415) and used also for maritime purposes. It was approximately 20–50 m (65–165 feet) long and displaced 225–450 tons. JC

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 163–6, 297–9.

F. Meijer, 'Ships in Arsinoite Archive of Sitologoi', in *Tropis IV* (1991), 321–5.

A. E. Müller, 'Getreide für Konstantinopel. Überlegungen zu Justinians Edikt XIII als Grundlage für Aussagen zur Einwohnerzahl Konstantinopels im 6. Jahrhundert', *JbÖB* 43 (1993), 9–10.

keys and locks *See* SECURITY.

Khadija bt. Khuwaylid A wealthy widow who lived in *Mecca in the 6th and early 7th century, Khadija engaged the future Prophet of *Islam, *Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah's services as a *merchant and then married him. Several years later, Muhammad received the first revelation of the *Qur'ān, a frightening experience he then related to his wife. Believing in Muhammad's message, Khadija is known as the first female convert to Islam, if not the first convert. NK

W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953).

W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (1956).

khagan (qaghan, khaghan, khaqan) Title (of uncertain origin) of the supreme ruler in a steppe nomad polity, used first *c.*265 by the Altaic Xianbei (Hsien-pei), followed by the Rouran (Juan-juan, 5th cent.) and the *Türks (6th cent.). Under the latter, it was used exclusively by the ruling Ashina clan; Türk antagonism towards the *Avars was fuelled by Avar use of the title. Other Turkic polities which succeeded the First and Second Türk Empires (*Khazars, *Türgesh, *Uighurs, and Qarluqs) also had khagans, suggesting a strong of sense of imperial succession or *translatio imperii* in the Turkic world. When Turkic polities split into eastern and western halves, the ruler of each half was styled a khagan; the term was also applied to the non-Turkic rulers of *China, Tibet, and the Rus. The later title khan (qa'an) is probably related to khagan. The khagan's wife was called khatun (qatun), a *Sogdian word meaning 'wife of the ruler'.

The khagan and khatun were understood to rule by the 'favour of heaven' (Turkic *qut*); their dual political and religious role involved rituals related to the welfare of the state, but military and natural disasters could lead to their downfall and execution. Amongst the Ashina-led Türks, khaganal succession was elder to younger brother, father to son, or uncle to nephew. The Khazars developed a dual kingship, with the khagan responsible for palace rituals and the Khagan Beg in charge of state governance. Chinese sources also mention subordinate khagans in the First and Second Türk Empires. The title occurs frequently both in the *Orkhon inscriptions (261–92, *passim*) and in East Roman writers from the late 6th century onwards, for example *Menander Protector (frs. 5, 3; 10, 3; 12, 5; 15, 1; 25, 1–2; 27, 3; 38); *Theophylact Simocatta (I, 3–8; II, 10–12 and 15; VI, 2–6 and 11; VII, 4 and 7–15; VIII, 1–6), *Nicephorus (10, 21–2, 42, and 45) and *Theophanes (AM 6075–6, 6079, 6083–5, 6087, 6089–94, 6096, 6110–13, 6117, 6169, 6171, 6196, 6198, 6203, 6220–1, 6224, and 6241). MLD

BT II, *χαγάνος*.

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.vv.* Khāḳān, Khān, Khātūn (all J. A. Boyle).

G. Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (1972), 602, 611.

M. R. Drompp, 'Supernumerary Sovereigns: Superfluity and Mutability in the Elite Power Structure of the Early Türks (Tu-Jue)', in G. Seaman and D. Marks, eds., *Rulers from the Steppe*, vol. 2 (1991), 92–115.

P. B. Golden, 'The Türk Imperial Tradition in the Pre-Chinggisid Era', in D. Sneath, ed., *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth–Twentieth Centuries* (2006), 23–61.

Khalid al-Qasri (d. 743/4) Governor of Iraq (723/5–38) under the *Umayyad *Caliph *Hisham (r. 724–43), charged with pacifying the perennially restive province, particularly in the wake of the revolt of Yazid of the *Muhallabids. Instead he inflamed tribal rivalries

and was accused of cozening Christians (his mother was Christian) and misusing the treasury. Al-*Tabari (d. 923) gives several conflicting accounts of how Khalid upset Hisham, who had him imprisoned and tortured. NAM

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* 'Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī', 925–7 (Hawting).
Tabari, esp. XXIV–XXVI.

Khalid b. al-Walid (d. 642) *Arab general whom sources remember as playing a vital part in the conquest of Arabia, the *Ridda Wars, and the *Arab conquests of *Mesopotamia and greater *Syria. Khalid converted to *Islam shortly before the conquest of *Mecca, having fought the Muslims at the Battle of Uhud. His behaviour led to a long-running feud with the *Caliph *'Umar I, and to the general's dismissal as supreme commander of the conquest army in Syria. Many sources (al-Azdi, *Tabari) credit him with the decisive victory over Roman forces at the Battle of *Yarmuk in 636. RJL

K. Athamina, 'The Appointment and Dismissal of Khālid b. al-Walīd from the Supreme Command', *Arabica* (1994) 253–72.
F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).
R. Lynch, 'Linking Information, Creating a Legend: The Desert March of Khālid b. al-Walīd', *Lights: The MESSA Journal of the University of Chicago* 2/2 (2013), 28–41.

Khalifa b. Khayyat al-'Usfuri (d. 854) Scholar of *hadith and the *Qur'ān from *Basra, in Iraq, who was 'Uthmani in sectarian affiliation (that is, opposed to the partisans of *'Ali). Two works—a biographical dictionary on the generations of hadith scholars (the *Tabaqat*) and an annalistic history of the Muslim polity from the time of *Muhammad down to 847 (the *Taʾrikh*)—are extant and have been edited. The latter is the earliest extant annalistic Arabic history. It provides detailed lists of administrative appointments under each *caliph. AM

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.n.* Ibn Khayyāṭ al- ʿUṣfurī (S. Zakkar).
C. Wurtzel, *The Umayyads in the History of Khalifa b. Khayyat* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1977).

khamriyya (from Ar. *khamr* 'wine', Arabic wine poetry) *Arabic *poetry on the theme of wine can be traced back to the cultural milieu of the pre-Islamic principality of al-*Hira in southern *Mesopotamia and its Islamic successor, the city of *Kufa. Among the first Arab poets to introduce the theme of wine into the polythematic ode (**qasida*) were authors closely acquainted with Christianity: 'Adi b. Zayd (d. *c.*600), al-A'sha (d. *c.*625), and al-*Akhtal (d. *c.*710). During the *Umayyad and early *Abbasid periods the *khamriyya* genre was established by such great masters of the wine song as al-*Walid II b. Yazid (d. 744) and Abu Nuwas (d. *c.*813–15) and took its place as a prominent poetic genre, often associated with social and cultural protest. KDm

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Khamriyya, 998–1009 (Bencheikh).
P. K. Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition* (1997).
G. Schoeler, 'Khamriyya', in J. S. Meisami and P. Starkey, eds., *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (2010), 433–5.

kharāj In classical Islamic law, the land tax, payable on lands conquered by force, in contrast to the **jizya*, or poll-tax, payable by non-Muslims under Muslim rule. In practice, the term *kharāj* is found referring to a variety of taxes in the early period, but only in some regions of the new empire. PMS

K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (1981).
EI 2, vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* 'Kharādj', 1030–4 (Cahen).

Kharg Island A small island (7.5 × 5 km; *c.*5 × 3 miles) 52 km (32 miles) north-west of Bushehr (Bushire) on the Persian side of the Gulf. In addition to several dozen cairn burials and rock-cut *tombs of probable Arsacid date, its most important monument is a monastic complex within a walled enclosure (96 × 85 m; 315 × 279 feet) consisting of a church with a *martyr's chapel, monks' cells, refectory, and *library. *Stucco *crosses resemble those from the churches at al-*Hira (Iraq) and al-Qousour (Failaka island, Kuwait). DTP

EncIran (2004) *s.v.* Kharg Island ii History and archaeology (D. T. Potts).
M.-J. Steve, *L'Île de Khārg: une page de l'histoire du Golfe persique et du Monachisme oriental* (CPO I: Archéologie et environnement 1, 2003).

Kharga *See* OASIS.

Kharijites A Muslim sect, important mainly in *Islam's formative period. They were characterized by fierce opposition to other, non-Kharijite Muslims, whom most Kharijites classified as unbelievers, subject to *warfare and killing unless they accepted the Kharijite form of Islam. Consisting of many mutually hostile sub-groups, Kharijites rejected the *caliphate and sought to establish communities under their own imams, chosen for their religious knowledge and piety. The name Kharijite, related to an *Arabic verb meaning 'to go out', has been variously explained.

Their roots are in the First *Arab Civil War (656–61), when a fraction of *'Ali's army opposed his decision to stop fighting *Mu'awiya. That was, according to the Kharijites, a sin, and gave rise to their characteristic slogan, 'No judgment but God's!' In spite of heavy losses in battle against *'Ali, groups descended from those who had fought him continued to develop in

Iraq, and they raised serious rebellions against the *Umayyads when caliphal power weakened. The consolidation of caliphal rule eliminated them from the central Islamic lands by the end of the 8th century, but they survived in remote areas and more moderate forms, such as the *Ibadites in *Oman and North *Africa. GRH

W. M. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (2000).
P. Crone and F. Zimmerman, *The Epistle of Salim ibn Dhakwan* (2001).

***khatchkar* (*khach'k'ar, xač'k'ar*)** The term *khatchkar*, or 'cross-stone' refers to a type of carved stone slab produced in *Armenia from at least the 9th century onward. Sometimes quite tall (over 8 feet), *khatchkars* bear surface design in bas-relief featuring a large, centrally placed *cross, often above a medallion or stylized *foliage. In some cases, figural decoration, polychrome, and epigraphy appear. *Khatchkars* served many different functions: they often mark graves, but they were also erected in commemoration of important events or places. They attest to the importance of the cross in the context of Armenian worship. CM

P. Donabédian, 'Le Khatchkar', in *Armenia Sacra: mémoire chrétienne des arméniens (IVe–XVIIIe siècle)*, ed. J. Durand and I. Rapti, exhibition catalogue (2007), 153–61.

Khawarnaq *Tabari (V) claims that the *palace of Khawarnaq was built by the *Sasanian King *Bahram V Gur (AD 420–38). Others state it was built by the *Lakhimid ruler Nu'man b. Imru' al-Qays. Khawarnaq appears often in Arabic and Persian *poetry as the location where *'Abd al-Malik supposedly celebrated the capture of *Kufa. EL

EncIran XVI/ 2 *s.n.* Ḵawarnaq, 143–5 (R. Würsch).
I. Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Ḥīra. Eine arabische Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext* (2014).

Khazars (Qazars) Tribal confederation led by the Turkic Ashina clan which inherited power on the western steppe from the First *Türk Empire (defeated by the Chinese in 659) and established a khaganate which eventually reached from the Middle Volga to the Caucasus, from the Dnieper to the Aral Sea, and lasted until *c.* AD 965. Although their origins are unclear, the Khazars were seemingly a multi-ethnic federation of various nomadic groups previously resident in the north Caucasus, Pontic Steppe, and Volga Delta, including *Huns, *Sabirs, *Oghurs, *Bulgars, *Türks, Iranian-speakers, Finno-Ugrians, and *Slavs.

Too little remains of the Khazar language to determine if they spoke a Common Turkic or Oghur-Bulgar dialect. The Khazar royal house preserved many traditions of the First Türk Empire, including the khaganate, which eventually evolved into a system of two khagans, one for palace rituals and one to govern the state. The Khazar economy depended on pastoralism, fishing, agriculture, and, above all, *trade. Textual sources mention several cities in Khazar territory and the Khazars profited greatly from their geographic location on the Lower Volga, through which trade routes passed to north, east, south, and west.

The name Khazar first appears when the Roman *Emperor *Heraclius initiated an alliance with them in 626 against the Persians. Their leader *Jebu Xak'an (Ziebel) led the Khazars south in 627 to meet Heraclius and to cooperate with him in besieging *Tblisi. Conflict with Magna Bulgaria to the north in the 670s resulted in some Bulgars moving westward under *Asparukh *c.*679. Clashes in the Caucasus with the *Arabs began in 642 and continued until 737, when the Muslims invaded Khazar territory in the Lower Volga and forced the khagan to convert (temporarily) to *Islam. Throughout these events, the Khazars were key allies of the East Roman Empire, preventing the Arabs from moving north of Derbend and deflecting other steppe nomads from attacking *Constantinople; an important Khazar victory was *Barjik's defeat of the Arab general Jarrah. *Constantine V married *Chichek, a Khazar princess, in 732; their son was Leo IV the Khazar (750–80; r. 775–80). Although initially followers of the traditional Turkic religion, the ruling elite began to adopt *Judaism in the mid- or late 8th century (but retained their nomadic traditions, including migration between summer and winter quarters); the general population contained Jews, Christians, Muslims, and pagans.

Reflecting their contact with multiple surrounding civilizations, there are references to the Khazars in sources in *Arabic (Ibn Khurdadhbih, 93–5, 115–17; al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 305–9, 322–9; Ibn al-Faqih, 342–57; Ibn Rusta, 156–7; Qudama, 200–2; al-*Muqaddasi, 317–19), *Armenian (*Geography* of *Ananias of Shirak II, 7; III, 10; V, 18 and 34; *Levond, §4–5, 12, 18, 31; *Movses Kaghankatvatsi, II, 1, 4, 11–12, 14, 16, 23, 26–7, 36, 39–45; III, 16), *Greek (*Nicephorus 12, 18, 35, 42, 45; *Theophanes, AM 6117, 6118, 6171, 6196, 6198, 6203, 6220, 6221, 6224, 6241, 6255, 6256), Chinese, *Georgian, Hebrew, *Persian (*Hudud al-Alam*, 161–2), Slavonic, *Syriac (*Theophilus, 73–5, 196–8, 228–30, 305; **Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 159–60, 174, 206), and Turkic. These writers frequently term them *Scythians, Massagetae, *Huns, or Turks. MLD

BT II, *Χάζαροι*.
EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.n.* Khazar (W. Barthold, P. B. Golden).
D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954).
P. B. Golden, 'The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 263–70.
P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 2 vols. (1980).

P. B. Golden, ed., *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives* (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Abteilung VIII, Handbook of Uralic Studies, 17, 2007).
P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (1959), 207–24.

Khirbat al-Mafjar *Umayyad 'desert *palace' located near Jericho, Khirbat al-Mafjar owes its current importance to the exceptional preservation of *mosaics and stuccowork at the site. It was founded by either the *Umayyad *Caliph *Hisham (724–43) or his successor *Walid II (743–4) and comprises a *mosque, a *palace, and a great hall attached to a *bath complex, with an associated agricultural enclosure. EL

D. Genequand, *Les Établissements des élites Omeyyades en Palmyrène et au Proche-Orient* (2012).
R. W. Hamilton and Oleg Grabar, *Khirbat al-Mafjar: an Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley* (1959).

Khirbet Qana *Village in Lower *Galilee about 5 km (3 miles) north of *Sepphoris (Diocaesarea) associated with Christ's *miracle of turning water into *wine at a wedding in Cana of Galilee (John 2: 1–11). In the 5th/6th century, a shrine was built over the site of the miracle. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (4) wrote the names of his parents on the dining couch and washed there 'for a blessing'.

Another locality maintains the name of the Gospel village, Kefer Kenna to the north of *Nazareth on the road which goes down to *Tiberias on the Lake of Galilee, where the Franciscans built a church in 1881. BH

D. R. Edwards, 'Khirbet Qana: From Jewish Village to Christian Pilgrim Site', in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, vol. 3 (JRA (Suppl.) 49, 2002), 101–32.

Khojand *City on the Jaxartes River, at the entrance of the *Farghana Valley. Originally established by the Achaemenids, the city of Alexandria Eschate was later founded nearby. After a period of *Hephthalite rule, it came under the Western *Türks before the *Arab conquests of *Central Asia. After an initial truce with the Arabs in 713, the population joined a *Sogdian revolt which resulted in the Arab capture of Khojand and slaughter of its populace in 722 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 176 and 182), subsequently contributing to the downfall of *Dewashtich, ruler of *Panjikent. MLD

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.n.* Khudjand(a) (C. E. Bosworth).
EncIran (2009) *s.n.* Khujand (K. Hitchin).
D. S. Powers, tr., *Tabari* XXIV: *The Empire in Transition* (1989), 171–7.
F. Grenet and É. de la Vaissière, 'The Last Days of Panjikent', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8 (2002), 155–96.

Khorasan (lit. Land of the Rising Sun) Vast region covering what is now eastern Iran and parts of *Central Asia. Its principal cities were *Merv, *Nishapur, *Herat. Attested in the *bullae* (*sealings) of its military commander (Middle *Persian **spāhbed*), it was one of the four great administrative divisions of the *Persian Empire created in the 6th century. It represented the 'Quadrant of the Northeast' (MP *kust ī xwarāsān*). Conquered by Muslims in 651, it retained economic and strategic importance as the centre of government for the Far East lands of the *caliphate. The people of Khorasan and Arab settlers there played the decisive part in overthrowing the *Umayyads and founding the *Abbasid *caliphate so that thereafter, families of the Khorasan *aristocracy, converted to *Islam, enjoyed great power, influence, and wealth. PAW

T. Daryaee and K. Safdari, 'Spāhbed Bullae', *Sasanika* 7 (2010), 1–15.
R. Gyselen, *The Four Generals of the Sasanian Empire* (2001).
P. Pourshariati, 'Local Histories of Khurâsân and the Pattern of Arab Settlement', *Studia Iranica* 27 (1998), 41–81.

Khosrow, Cup of Alternative name for the Tasse de Salomon, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Formerly held in the treasury of S. Denis, it consists of a gold frame (with a Pahlavi *inscription recording its weight); the frame holds red and green cut *glass medallions and a central *crystal medallion engraved with a king wearing the crown of *Qobad or *Khosrow I. Medieval tradition held that Harun al-Rashid gave it to Charlemagne and that Charles the Bald gave it to the treasury. Tantalizingly, Ibn Zafar (1104–70) describes a crystal drinking bowl decorated with a portrait of a *Sasanian king in *gold, *silver, and glass, which he places in the treasury of the Great Palace of *Constantinople. This would suggest that it entered the treasury through gift exchange, and the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 brought it to France. Ibn Jubayr applies this name to a cup suspended over the **miḥrab* of *Medina's *Mosque of the Prophet. MPC

F. Demange, *Les Perses sassanides: fastes d'un empire oublié, 224–642* (2006).
A. Shalem, 'The Fall of al-Madā'in', *Iran* 32 (1994), 77–81.

Khosrow I Anoshirvan (NP; MP Husraw; Gk. Chosroes; Ar. Kisra) (r. 531–79) One of the most powerful and famous kings of the *Sasanian dynasty.

Sources

Several post-conquest sources, such as *Tabari (AD 839–923) and the medieval epic poem of Ferdowsi (d. AD 1020) the *Shahnama* or *Book of Kings*, provide detailed accounts of Khosrow's reforms which are probably ultimately derived from the **Xwadāy-nāmāg* (*Book of Lords*) while others survive independently, such as the *Sirat Anuširwān*, a supposed autobiography by

Khosrow, which is embedded in the Arabic chronicle of Miskawayh (AD 932–1030). Contemporary *Greek historians, including *Procopius, *Agathias, and *Menander Protector, provide substantial information about Khosrow's conduct of the *Persian–Roman wars, and contemporary *Syriac writers, including *John of Ephesus and Ps.-*Zacharias Rhetor, give a sense of the effect of these military operations on the people who lived in the Roman *frontier areas.

Internal reforms

Khosrow continued reforms begun by his father *Qobad (Kawad) I. These encompassed the *army, the *economy, the *administration, and the *law and were designed to stabilize the *Persian Empire's finances and military power as well as to reduce the wealth, influence, and power of the *aristocracy. Sasanian armies had previously been commanded by a single general, but in order to confront the Romans, Huns, and steppe nomads, Khosrow divided command among four generals (MP **spāhbed*), one for each quarter of his Empire.

Khosrow I's tax reforms reduced the burden on the peasantry, introducing a fixed rate of taxation based on a land survey, as well as on a means-based poll-tax. Khosrow I's agricultural reforms provided land to dispossessed farmers and financial assistance in the case of disaster. In addition to rehabilitating the empire's agricultural production it was intended to foster small, easily taxable farms and frustrate the operation of large tax-exempt plantations dominated by the aristocracy.

The administrative *seals for such offices as the accountant (*amargar*), governor (*shahrab*), priest (*mow*), high priest (*mowbed*), generals, and many more became standardized. Khosrow empowered the **dehqan* (landed gentry) to serve as the backbone of his economic reforms and is celebrated for putting down the heresy of the Zoroastrian priest *Mazdak. Because of his legal reforms and his administration of justice, Khosrow was given the title of *Dadgar*, 'Dispenser of Justice'. He gained his better-known honorific, Anoshirvan (NP 'of the Immortal Soul'), for strengthening *Zoroastrianism and preserving the well-being of the Iranian Empire.

External relations

Middle *Persian sources credit Khosrow I with building the Gorgan *Wall, which stretched from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea to stop nomadic inroads into the Sasanian Empire. The *Derbent Wall from the west coast of the Caspian to the Derbent Pass was built partially with financial aid from the Romans, given for the defence of the *Causcasus Passes, and was constructed at least in part during Khosrow's reign.

Khosrow I inherited the conflict with the Romans which his father Qobad had renewed in 530, but in the summer of 532 made the *Everlasting Peace, receiving a subvention of 11,000 lbs of *gold from the Emperor *Justinian I. In 540, urged on by emissaries from the *Ostrogoths in *Italy (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 2), he unilaterally breached this agreement and invaded *Syria (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 2–13); he sacked *Antioch, bathed in the Mediterranean at *Seleucia Pieria (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 11, 1), and held chariot races in the *circus at *Apamea where he insisted that the horses of the Blue Faction, that favoured by Justinian, should lose (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 11, 31–5). The citizens of Antioch he captured he transported to Persian territory where he used them to populate a new city he founded south of *Ctesiphon called *Weh-andīōg-husraw, the Better-Antioch-of-Khosrow. In 545 the two empires agreed to cease hostilities in Mesopotamia and Syria.

However, in 541 Khosrow had invaded *Lazica, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, so inaugurating a persistent conflict at the northern end of the Roman–Persian frontier. This fighting is described in detail by Procopius (up to 552) and then Agathias (552–8); it was to last until a general truce was arranged in 557. This was consolidated in 562 by a *Fifty Years Peace, negotiated only after colossal expenditure by the Romans.

The Fifty Years Peace lasted only a decade. In 572, *Justin II, the successor of Justinian, sent Roman troops to raid the Persian border region of *Arzanene—it is characteristic of most Roman attacks in these wars that they seldom penetrated very far into Persian territory. The following year the Romans laid siege to *Nisibis, but left when Khosrow arrived with an army. Khosrow then proceeded to besiege, capture, and hold the key Roman fortress-city of *Dara, a loss which caused Justin II to go out of his mind (*Theophylact Simocatta, III, 10–11). After a series of brief truces, Khosrow invaded *Armenia unsuccessfully in 576 (John of Ephesus, *HE* III, 6, 8–9); his failure apparently prompted him to resolve that it was unseemly for a King of Persia to take part in military campaigns (Theophylact Simocatta, III, 14, 11). After several more years of fruitless peace negotiations, in 578 Khosrow violated a truce by sending troops to ravage the environs of *Constantia-Tella and *Resaina (Theodosiopolis), while an army under the command of the general *Tamkhosrow marched south through *Armenia Quarta to threaten *Amida. The future Emperor *Maurice retaliated by invading Arzanene and then attacking Nisibis and *Singara, but early in 579 Khosrow died, leaving the conflict unresolved (*Theophylact Simocatta, III, 15, 11–16, 7).

Patron of philosophy and art

Although his status as philosopher prince was viewed with scepticism by Agathias, Khosrow I was a significant patron of science, *philosophy, and the arts. He sponsored a campaign to translate Sanskrit and

Greek texts into Middle Persian and even briefly housed Greek *philosophers who had left *Athens after Justinian I disendowed the *Academy there. Khosrow I was involved with the construction of the *Taq-e Kisra near *Ctesiphon, which represents one of the Empire's greatest architectural achievements. Under Khosrow *Persian coinage underwent a narrowing of the denominational spectrum, with only gold dinars, *silver drachms, and small coppers minted, as well as a thinning of the flans and a stylistic movement towards extreme abstraction. He was remembered throughout the Islamic medieval and early modern periods not only as a promoter of justice but also as an ideal king who was interested in philosophy and literature. His name *Kisra* in *Arabic and New Persian has remained synonymous with the glory of Sasanian kingship throughout the Islamic period. OPN; MPC; TD

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* Ḵosrow I ii. reforms (Z. Rubin).
EncIran (2006) *s.v.* Ḵosrow I iii. coinage (N. Schindel).
Canepa, *Two Eyes.*
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*
A. Gariboldi, *Il regno di Xusraw dall'anima immortale* (2009).
C. Jullien, *Husraw Ier: reconstructions d'un règne* (2015).
Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 83–117.

Khosrow II Aparwez (MP Husraw II) (AD 590–628) The last great king of the *Sasanian dynasty to rule the *Persian Empire before the *Arab conquest.

Khosrow was the son of *Hormizd (Ohrmazd) IV. As a young man he had been a successful governor in *Iberia. In February 590 his father was deposed and Khosrow was crowned in his place, but his right to the throne was challenged by the general *Bahram (Wahram) Chobin, who felt that his successes on the north-eastern *frontier had not received proper recognition. Khosrow took refuge in the Roman Empire and in the course of 591, with considerable military and monetary aid from the *Emperor *Maurice, returned to recapture the Persian throne, and set about punishing those who had a hand in deposing and blinding his father. Bahram VI Chobin fled to the north-east and was killed at Khosrow's instigation, while *Bistam (Wistahm), his uncle who had also proclaimed himself king, held out for a while in the north, by the Caspian Sea.

The Emperor Maurice had proclaimed Khosrow his adopted son, so when in 602 *Phocas usurped power at *Constantinople and assassinated Maurice and his *family, Khosrow invaded the Roman Empire. This invasion was not a matter of raid and withdrawal, as practised by Khosrow's grandfather *Khosrow I, nor was it a border war of attrition like that of the years 572 to 589; it aimed at the full-scale occupation of Roman territory. Between 604 and 619 the two generals, *Shahin and *Shahrwaraz (Shahrbaraz), succeeded in conquering *Syria, *Palestine, and *Egypt (604–19), before turning to *Anatolia, which was overrun between AD 619 and 622, till eventually in 626 a Persian army, allied with 80,000 *Avars, laid siege to *Constantinople itself.

In the meantime, in 610 Phocas had been overthrown by the Emperor *Heraclius. Three ambassadors were sent to *Khosrow to sue for peace, but Khosrow maintained that the rightful Roman emperor was *Theodosius, son of Maurice, a young man Khosrow claimed was residing at the Persian court, so Heraclius' overtures were rebuffed and his three ambassadors executed. Heraclius proceeded to stage a great counter-invasion that would set in motion the final collapse of the Sasanian Empire. Proceeding southwards from the Caucasus, Heraclius devastated Sasanian territory, even sacking the great *Zoroastrian *fire temple of Adur Gushnasp at *Takht-e Solayman. In 628 the victorious Heraclius withdrew but only after Khosrow II was deposed and killed by the Persian *aristocracy and the Zoroastrian priesthood.

Despite his hubris and catastrophic end, Khosrow II was celebrated in literature written after the *Arab conquest of *Iranshahr for his opulence and the magnificence of his *court. Many famous poets and singers (MP *gosan*) are associated with his rule, the most famous of whom is *Barbad, who composed a song for each day of the year. Khosrow is celebrated in *poetry for the love he had for *Shirin, his beautiful Christian wife, and for possessing seven wondrous treasures, including the *Taq-e Kisra, an enormous throne (the Takht-e Taqdis), and a *crown that was so heavy that it had to be suspended from the ceiling above his head when he sat enthroned with his sword between his knees.

His *coinage introduced new artistic and propagandistic forms and messages, elements of which were later copied both in early *Islamic coinage and on the Arab-Sasanian coinage of Tabaristan. The inclusion of the word **Xwarrah* (MP: glory, fortune) on the coin legends of Khosrow represents the ancient Persian and Zoroastrian imperial ideology that he revived. He also placed the old Persian title of King of Kings on his special issue coinage. He issued millions of *silver coins (MP **dirham*), which were used to pay for his campaigns against the Roman Empire.

Khosrow II is portrayed in the large **ayvan* at *Taq-e Bostan near Kermanshah, standing between the Zoroastrian great god *Ohrmazd and the goddess *Anahid. He appears taller and more majestic than both deities; the fully armoured horseman carved below the three standing figures is thought also to represent the king. The side panels of the *ayvan* depict royal *hunting, a rare representation of life at the Sasanian court; the detail resembles that worked into Sasanian *textiles. Numerous other sites are tentatively associated with him, including the unfinished *rock relief at Terash-e

Farhad and the hunting park at Bisotun, the palace at Kangavar, and the walled garden which forms part of the estate attached to the palace at *Qasr-e Shirin. TD

EncIran (2010) *s.n.* Kosrow II (J. D. Howard-Johnston).

J. D. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (2010) is a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the complex sources.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*.

Canepa, *Two Eyes*.

Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 130–60.

Khosrow III (*r. c.* 630) According to *Tabari (V), Khosrow was a usurper from *Khuzestan who exercised provincial control briefly during the reign of Queen Azarmidokht. A certain Khorrazadh Khosrow succeeded him but never exercised effective power. Some cite inconclusive numismatic evidence that might attest to a separate provincial claimant to the Persian throne. This Khosrow would have held sway in *Khorasan briefly during the reign of *Shahrwaraz. TD

PLRE III, Chosroes III.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 36.

N. Schindel, 'Sasanian Coinage', in D. Potts, *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (2013), 814–39.

Khotan (Yutian) City in Chinese Turkestan, located on the southern edge of the *Tarim basin, east of *Kashgar. The origins of the kingdom of Khotan are unclear, appearing in Chinese annals first in the 2nd century BC (*Zhou-shu*, 10–11). After submitting to the Chinese in AD 73, it regained its independence *c.*150, until the *Hephthalites invaded in the mid-5th century, controlling the area until the mid-6th century. The Khotanese were Iranian-speaking *Buddhists and the city was visited by various Buddhist travellers, including *Faxian (8–13; 179–81), Song Yun, and *Xuanzang (II, 309–24), who describe Khotanese language, music, customs, and religious life, including the many monasteries and monks. After Khotan came under Chinese rule again in 648, it was designated one of the 'Four Garrisons' of Anxi, along with Kashgar. The Persian *Hudud al-Alam* of 982/3 includes Khotan in its description of *China (85–6). Khotanese documents (5th–10th cent.) provide valuable information on Khotanese relations with Chinese, Tibetans, and *Uighurs. The 11th-century Muslim conquest under the Qarakhanids spelled the end of both Buddhism and the Khotanese language in the area. MLD

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.n.* Khotan (L. Hambis).

EncIran V/5 (1991) *s.v.* Chinese Turkestan ii. In Pre-Islamic Times (V. Mair and P. O. Skjærv–), 463–71.

P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (1959), 408–25.

M. A. Stein, *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan* (1904).

M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols. (1907).

Khotanese language and literature Eastern Middle Iranian language spoken in the Saka Kingdom of *Khotan (on the *Tarim Basin), extant in two dialects: Khotanese and Tumshuqese. The extant texts found in the Tarim basin cities of Khotan, *Dunhuang, Tumshuq, and Maralbashi (5th–10th cent.), are mostly written on paper (manuscripts and rolls) in several varieties of the Brahmi script. Although non-religious texts (letters, eulogies, poems, medical texts, and official reports) have been found, most Khotanese manuscripts are *Buddhist, primarily translations from Sanskrit or Prakrit, but also 'folk religious' texts (*amulets and omen texts). Bilingual manuals and vocabularies indicate the multilingual contacts that Khotanese had with speakers of Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, and Turkic. Metrical verse is a common literary form, including in letters. MLD

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.n.* Khotan (L. Hambis).

EncIran (2008) *s.v.* Khotan iv. Khotanese Literature (M. Maggi).

H. W. Bailey in *CambHistIran* III, 1230–43.

R. E. Emmerick in *CompLingIran*, 204–29.

M. Maggi in *HistPersLit* XVII, 330–418.

Khuzestan South-west Iranian province bordered by Iraq to the west, Luristan to the north, the Persian Gulf to the south, and *Fars to the east. Important *Sasanian settlements included *Susa, *Gondeshapur, and Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan (mod. Ivan-e Kerkha; Syr. Karka d'Ledan). The province (Beth Khuzaye) had a large Christian population, attested from 410 onwards, with four bishoprics (Hormizd-Ardashir, Shushtar, *Susa, Ram-Hormuz) and an archbishop at *Gondeshapur; many of their activites are recorded in the 7th-century **Chronicle of Khuzestan*. The province was conquered by the *Arabs in the 640s. DTP

J. M. Fiey, *Communautés syriaques en Iran et Irak des origines à 1552* (Variorum Collected Studies 106, 1979).

J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr. Nach der Geographie des ps. Moses Xorenacci* (1901), 27.

D. T. Potts, *The archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (1999).

C. F. Robinson, 'The Conquest of Khuzistan: A Historiographical Reassessment', *BSOAS* 67 (2004), 14–39.

Khwarezm (Khwarazm, Chorasmia) Region of *Transoxiana on the lower course of the *Oxus River, comprising a large delta flanked by the Aral Sea to the north, the Qizilqum desert to the east, the Qaraqum desert to the south, and the Ustyurt Plateau to the west (*Xuanzang, I, 35; Markwart, *Catalogue*, 11; *Hudud*, 121; *Muqaddasi*, 253–4). Initially under Achaemenid rule, the Khwarezmians are mentioned by Strabo (XI, 8, 8) and *Ptolemy (VI, 12, 4). Following a period of Parthian rule, the emergence of a distinctive regional identity—reflected

in the *Khwarezmian script, coinage, and calendar—suggests independent rule in the 1st century.

Al-Biruni (*c.* AD 1000), a Khwarezmian patriot, describes the rule of the Afrighid dynasty (305–995), Khwarezmian months and festivals, and local religious traditions, both *Zoroastrian and Christian (al-Biruni, 40–2, 57–8, 223–30, 282–98, 306–20), although his dates are not always reliable. Khwarezm's economy was based on agriculture and trade, especially with the northern steppe and the Volga basin. Although conquered by the *Arabs under *Qutayba b. Muslim (AD 712), native Khwarezmian culture persisted and the Khwarezmshahs adopted *Islam only in the 9th century. Khwarezm supplied many troops to the armies of the *'Abbasid *caliphalate (al-*Ya'qubi, 27). MLD

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Khwārazm (C. E. Bosworth).

EncIran V/5 (1991) *s.v.* Chorasmia i. Archaeology and Pre-Islamic History, 511—16 (Y. A. Rapoport), 511–16.

E. E. Nerazik and P. G. Bulgakov in *HCCA* III, 207–31.

W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 142–55.

G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 446–59.

V. A. Livshits, 'The Khwarezmian Calendar and the Eras of Ancient Chorasmia', *ActAntHung* 16 (1968), 433–46.

Khwarezmian (Chorasmian) language and literature Eastern Middle Iranian language formerly spoken in *Khwarezm (Chorasmia). The Middle Khwarezmian script, based on Aramaic, is preserved on coins, pottery and *silver vessels, wood and leather documents, and ossuaries (*c.* AD 200–700). After the *Arab conquest, Late Khwarezmian was written in modified *Arabic script, preserved in the calendrical and astronomical works of al-Biruni and lexical and legal works of other Khwarezmian scholars, all writing in *Arabic (AD 1000–1354). Khwarezmian vocabulary includes many words from the **Avesta*, perhaps evidence of ancient ties between the region and the *Zoroastrian scriptures; the language ultimately died out due to Turkification. MLD

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.n.* Khwārazm (C. E. Bosworth).

EncIran V (1991) *s.v.* Chorasmia iii. Chorasmian Language, 517–20 (D. N. MacKenzie).

D. N. MacKenzie in *CambHistIran* III, 1244–9.

H. Humbach in *CompLingIran*, 193–203.

Kidarites A ruling dynasty of the Kidarite *Huns/*Chionites who took over *Bactria from the Kushans and possibly governed from *Balkh. Their ruler Grumbates supported the *Sasanians against the Romans; the death of his son at the siege of *Amida in 359 is described by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XIX, 1, 7–11). By the 410s, the Kidarites had conquered Gandhara, but the Guptas successfully blocked their expansion into *India in the 450s. The Sasanians attacked Kidarite Bactria in 442, and the Persian Shah *Peroz (r. 459–84) conquered Bactria in 467. Peroz's *Hephthalite allies conquered Kidarite Gandhara soon afterwards. ABA

E. V. Zeimal, 'The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia', in *HCCA* 3 (1999), 119–33.

Kilian, S. (d. *c.*688) An Irish missionary to Franconia, martyred in *Würzburg, whose activities are mediated through subsequent missionary literature. JTP

Passio Kiliani (*BHL* 4660) ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SS. rer. Meroving. 5 (1910), 711–28.

K. Schäferdiek, in H. Keller and N. Staubach, eds., *Iconologia Sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas* (1994), 313–40.

J. Erischen and E. Brockhoff, eds., *Kilian. Mönch aus Irland—aller Franken Patron* (1989).

Kilise Tepe (Turkish 'Church Hill') Mound in the Göksu Valley, south-central Turkey. The settlement with early and middle Byzantine phases succeeded periodic prior occupation from the Early Bronze Age onwards. *Houses built from stone and mud-*brick have been excavated, together with a (29 × 16 m; 96 × 53 ft) late 5th-century church. SGB

M. Jackson, 'A Byzantine Settlement at Kilise Tepe in the Göksu Valley', in M. Hoff and R. Townsend, eds., *Rough Cilicia: New Archaeological and Historical Approaches* (2013), 219–32.

M. Jackson, '2007–2011 Excavations at Kilise Tepe: a Byzantine Rural Settlement in Isauria', *DOP* 69 (2015), 355–80.

Kinda *See* HUJRIDS.

Kindi *See* HUJRIDS.

King Arthur *See* ARTHUR, KING.

kingship, Germanic barbarian Romans labelled leaders of adjoining tribes or political entities 'kings', *reges* (e.g. *Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, VI, 183: *reges Aethiopum*; *Jordanes, *Getica*, 55, 282: Babai *Sarmatarum rex*). In general from the 1st century AD barbarian societies were dependent on and formed by Roman economic and military needs, politics, and structures, and Roman terminology dominates the sources. This makes it nearly impossible to distinguish between older and more recent structures; we can trace change only in societies at the periphery of the Empire. It is therefore doubtful whether specifically 'Germanic' kingship ever existed. At least the problem has been overloaded with presuppositions since the 16th century.

Older research postulated that in pre-Roman times there was a sacral kingship exercised by a people's king (*Volkskönigtum*), and that this was followed by a military leadership (*Heerkönigtum*) which took shape during the

Migration Period. Both prototypes were embedded into a Germanic past as found in Tacitus, *Germania*, 7 'reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute summunt'—'they choose kings from the nobility and leaders from strength'. The *Ostrogothic and *Greuthungic warriors had a prominent leader with extensive powers, namely *Ermaneric. *Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 3, 1–2 labels him a *bellicosissimus rex*, a most warlike king. In contrast a *iudex* ('judge') led the *Tervingi as long as they were farmers. Only after they had entered the Empire, and a generation of specialized soldiers had taken over, was the Terving *Alaric labelled *rex* (king), while being at the same time a high-ranking Roman officer. RSt

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (2007).

O. Höfler, 'Der Sakralcharakter des germanischen Königtums' and W. Schlesinger, 'Das Heerkönigtum', in T. Mayer, ed., *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen* (1956), 75–141.

RGA 2 *s.v.* König und Königtum, VII (2001), 102–9 (R. Schneider).

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (1971).

kingship, Persian The *Sasanian dynasty fashioned a new image of divinely inspired kingship that encompassed or superseded all previous Iranian traditions, especially those of the Arsacid dynasty which they sought to delegitimize. They incorporated eastern Iranian ideas, such as the **xwarrah* (Avestan *xvarənaḥ-*), a somatic glow and marker of divine fortune which inhabited the king during his reign, and thus linked him to every rightful Iranian ruler since the first king of humanity, Yima. As manifested in what can be reconstructed of their official epic the **Xwāday-nāmag*, which inspired the epic *Shaḥnameḥ* (*Book of Kings*) of the medieval poet Ferdowsi, they forged a continuous royal genealogy that traced their dynasty through the half-remembered Achaemenids back to the mythological Kayanid dynasty. Only a member of the Sasanian bloodline could be king. Any physical deformity or blindness disqualified a candidate, inviting mutilations as a way to eliminate rivals.

Like the Late Roman *emperors, the Sasanian kings were sacred and inspired, and discharged a divinely ordained purpose, but were not themselves gods. The clearest expression of early Sasanian kingship in a primary source comes from *coin legends and *inscriptions; the standard coin legend stabilized under *Shapur I as 'the Mazda-worshipping Lord Shapur, King of Kings of Iran and non-Iran, of divine nature' (MP *mazdēsn bay Šāhbūhr šāhān šāh ī Ērān ud Anērān kē čihr az yazdān*). Sasanian kings began incorporating Kayanid titles in the 4th century, eventually overtly calling themselves *Kay* ('Kayanids'). Simultaneously, Sasanian titles and royal iconographies begin to emphasize the king's astral nature and functional similarity with the heavenly luminaries (MP *xūb rōšnān*): the Sun, Moon, and fixed stars. The *court adapted this in diplomatic usage to characterize the relationship between the Sasanian and Roman sovereigns as the two eyes of the earth, the two great lights (Lat. *lumina*, Gk. *photes*: e.g. *Peter the Patrician, fr. 13).

Originally the Sasanian monarch was truly a King of Kings (*Shahanshah*), but as early as the 3rd century the Sasanians began replacing the subsiduary kings (*shah*) of all the major provinces with members of the Sasanian family. By the 6th century, military *governors (**marzban*) had replaced provincial kings, as power became increasingly centralized. In their court *architecture and ceremonial, the late Sasanian kings portrayed themselves as chiefs of all earthly kings, ruling at the centre of the world. The images, ideologies, and court culture of Sasanian kingship were immensely influential in Late Antiquity, affecting, not least through *diplomacy, the evolution of Late Roman ruler representation, the iconography of Central Asian kingship and *Buddhism, and the tastes of the Tang court in *China. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*.

T. Daryaee, 'Sasanians and their Ancestors', in A. Panaino and A. Piras, eds., *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea: Held in Ravenna, 6–11 October 2003* (2006), vol. 1, 287–93.

P. Huyse, 'Die sasanidische Königstitulatur', in J. Wiesehöfer and P. Huyse, eds., *Ērān ud Anērān. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt; Beiträge des Internationalen Colloquiums in Eutin, 8.–9. Juni 2000* (Oriens et occidens 13, 2006), 181–202.

A. de Jong, 'Sub Specie Maiestatis', in M. Stausberg, ed., *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context* (Studies in the History of Religions 102, 2004), 345–65.

A. Panaino, 'Astral Characters of Kingship in the Sasanian and Byzantine Worlds', in *La Persia e Bisanzio* (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 201, 2004), 555–94.

Kirkuk (Syr. Karka d-Beth-Slokh, in 'Citadel of the House of Seleucus') was a Seleucid foundation built on the Assyrian city of Arrapḫa, between the Upper and Lower Zab rivers. Karka's Parthian ruler allied himself with *Ardashir I, the first *Sasanian King, to overthrow the Arsacids. In *Shapur I's twentieth regnal year, *Mani's disciples, Addai and Abzakiya, began to convert some of Karka's inhabitants to Manichaeism.

The *History of *Karka d-Beth Slokh*, a 6th-century *Syriac text, mentions a Christian community established there from the 2nd century. The *martyr passions of those who suffered in *persecutions of the Christians preserve the names of the city's martyrs put to death under *Shapur II and *Yazdegerd II. In the 4th century, Karka became the *metropolitan see of the *Church of

the East for Beth-Garmai (the Sasanian province of Garmegan). A church built in the 8th/9th century was dedicated to Tahm-Yazedgerd, a Mazdaean *governor who was converted to Christianity, and was crucified *c.*445. CJ; MPC

Syriac texts: ed. in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vols. 2–4.
GT O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer* (1915).
ed. (with partial LT) H. Delehaye, *Les Versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II*, in PO 2/4 (1907), 401–560.
EncIran IV/2 (1989) *s.v.* Bēt Selōk, 188 (M. Morony).
Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 3, 17–53.
DHGE 28, 977.
J. M. Fiey, 'Vers la réhabilitation de l'*Histoire de Karka d'Bét Slōḥ*', *AnBoll* 82 (1964), 189–222.
Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*, 74–8, 121–2.

Kirman (Kerman) Province of south-east Persia between *Fars and *Sistan, ancient Carmania (Strabo, XV, 2). The province was known for *silk and cotton manufacture. Its main Late Antique *cities were Sirjan, Bardasir, Bam, and the Gulf port of Hormuz. The *Arab conquest took place here between 638 and 650. PAW

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Kirmān, 147–66 (A. K. S. Lambton).

Kish Late *Sasanian settlement (Mound H), to the east of the former Sumerian city in Iraq (Tell Ingharra), abandoned in the late 6th century. Wealthy houses or *palaces were excavated at Kish in the early 1930s. Some of these had **ayvans*, sunken pools, or *baths and elaborate *stucco ornamentation, with geometric, *foliage, animal, and heraldic designs (cf. *Ctesiphon, Tepe Hissar), as well as several male and female busts. The *crown on one of the busts may be identifiable as *Bahram V. Jewish *Aramaic *incantation bowls were found in the uppermost deposit on the site. DTP

P. R. S. Moorey, *Kish Excavations, 1923–1933* (1978), 122–46.

kishwar *See* CLIMES, PERSIAN.

kiss In the Late Roman world kissing might express intimacy, loyalty, *patronage, submission, respect, veneration, or worship. *Servius, the commentator on *Vergil, distinguishes three varieties of kiss: the *osculum* given to sons, the *basium* given to one's wife, and the *suavium* or *savium* ('sweet one') given to a *prostitute (*Commentary on the Aeneid*, 1, 260). *Origen's father kissed his son's breast while he was sleeping 'as if a divine spirit were enshrined in it' (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 2, 11). The kiss of betrothal had a certain force in Roman *law (*CTh* III, 5, 6 = *CJust* V, 3, 16 of 335).

The kissing which occurred in public life was not familial or erotic; *Ammianus, for one, had not forgotten the story of the *senator who was disgraced by Cato for kissing (*osculari*) his wife in front of their own daughter (XXVIII, 4, 9). But an admirer might kiss the feet of a *rhetorician in appreciation of a good speech (*Eunapius, *Lives*, 489 on *Proaereius). A *patron might expect to be kissed on the cheek by his client; Ammianus found offensive proud senators who offered instead their *hands to be kissed, or even (as if receiving a suppliant) their knee (XXVIII, 4, 10). A kiss could confer honour, as when *Constantine I kissed the empty eye sockets of a Christian blinded in the *persecutions (*Socrates, I, 11), or it could give offence, as when *Julian ran out of the *Senate of *Constantinople to kiss one of his *philosopher friends (Ammianus, XXII, 7, 3).

Kissing was also an act essential to political life. The *Comes Orientis was obliged to kiss the members of the *city council at *Antioch on the *Kalends of January, says *Libanius, but in 385 Icarius the Comes had given offence by kissing only one of them (*Oration* XXVII, 12). Those who had served in the **protectores* and **domestici* enjoyed the same right of osculation (*jus osculandi*); indeed for a *Vicarius to withold it was a sacrilege (*CTh* VI, 24, 4 of 387).

The reason that *protectores* and *domestici* had the *jus osculandi* from a Vicarius was that they had previously kissed the *purple robe of the *Emperor (**adoratio purpurae*). The right to adore the imperial purple was the perquisite of high officials in the imperial *administration. Indeed it was the ceremony by which they were admitted to imperial favour; Ammianus describes his old chief *Ursicinus being readmitted to the favour of *Constantius II by being offered the purple 'much more gently than before' (XV, 5, 18). Legislation specifically excluded lower-level officials from attempting to exercise this right (*CTh* VIII, 1, 3 of 382; VIII, 7, 4 of 354; VIII, 7, 16 of 385). Till *Justinian I, so *Procopius claimed, **patricii* had enjoyed the right to kiss the emperor's right breast while the emperor kissed the patrician's head. Justinian insisted all had to kiss his feet—and those of the *Empress *Theodora (*Anecd.* 30, 34; cf. *Corippus, *In Laudem Justini Minoris*, 158; *Johannidos*, I, 155).

Kissing was commonplace as a religious gesture. A person passing the statue of a pagan god would commonly kiss his hand to it (Minucius Felix, 2, 4). For Christians, kissing had particular resonance. From the earliest times they greeted each other with a holy kiss (1Thessalonians 5: 26)—but only one (*Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 32). It was the custom to kiss the hand of a *bishop (*Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 4) and the kiss of peace formed part of the *Eucharist (e.g. Justin Martyr, *1Apology*, I, 65; *Council of *Laodicea, 19), though it was exchanged at different points in the *liturgy in different places. *Egeria describes the ritual of kissing the Relic of the True *Cross at *Jerusalem on Good

Friday (37, 2–3; cf. *Piacenza Pilgrim, 20). Origen solemnly and courageously kissed his pupils from the Catechetical School of *Alexandria as they were led away to *martyrdom (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 3, 4; cf. *Mart. Pal.* S&L 2, 20). OPN

M. Penn, *Kissing Christians: Ritual, Community, and the Late Ancient Church* (2005).

M. B. Pharr, 'The Kiss in Roman Law', *CJ* 42 (1947), 393–7.

Kiti The 11th-century domed cruciform church of the Panagia Angeloktistos incorporates an earlier *apse with late 6th-/early 7th-century *mosaic decoration, the best preserved of the three apse mosaics in *Cyprus predating the *Iconoclast Controversy (cf. *Lythrangomi). It depicts a standing Virgin *Mary, identified as 'Hagia Maria', holding Christ in the Hodegetria posture, flanked by archangels, and a fountain of life border decoration with ducks, parrots, and *deer (recalling Psalm 42 (41): 1). RKL

A. Foulias, *Die Kirche Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti bei Larnaka* (2004).

A. H. S. Megaw, 'Mosaici parietali paleobizantini di Cipro', in *XXXII Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (1985), 173–98.

Kitros (near Makrygialos, Greece) Coastal *city, successor to classical Pydna in *Macedonia Prima. *Goths were allowed to settle in the area in 479 (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 288). Archaeology has located a small fort with *basilica on the acropolis of Pydna inhabited into the late Middle Ages. In the neighbouring locality of Louloudies, a fort and a separately fortified ecclesiastical complex of the 5th to 6th century have been located by excavation and survey. The name Kitros prevailed after the 6th century. ER

Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 138–9.

Ph. Karagianni, *Οι βυζαντινοί οικισμοί στη Μακεδονία* (2010), 189–94.

A. G. Poulter et al., 'Field Survey at Louloudies', *ABSAthens* 93 (1998), 463–511.

kleros *See* SORS.

Kokhe *Sasanian city founded opposite *Ctesiphon on the west bank of the Tigris. Located to the east of the dead city of *Seleucia ad Tigrim and across the former course of the Tigris, the site had been occupied in Parthian times. The name (Coche: *Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 5, 3; Sabaic *kwk*) possibly derived from Aramaic *kōkā* ('reed hut').

Kokhe was expanded, fortified, and refounded as (MP) Weh-Ardashir ('good' or 'noble' city of Ardashir; Talmudic Be Ardashir, Ar. Behrasir) *c.*230 by *Ardashir I. It may have been the city *Carus captured in 283 (*Eutropius, IX, 18; *Festus, *Breviarium*, 24). *Gregory of Nazianzus, in his *psogos* against *Julian the Apostate, refers to the 'fortress' at Kokhe located across from the 'fortress of Ctesiphon', that 'makes Ctesiphon even stronger' (*Oration*, 5, 10). The city held the Dungeon of Oblivion, one of the Empire's most feared prisons, from which *Qobad I escaped after being confined there following his deposition (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 5, 7–6, 9) and where George *Bishop of Mount *Izla was imprisoned during the reign of *Khosrow II.

The church at Kokhe was the seat of the *metropolitan of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon, whose cathedral was possibly one and the same as the church discovered at Qasr Bint al-Qadi. An important seminary was founded in the city in the 5th century. Sasanian East Syriac sources—particularly when referring to the councils of the *Church of the East held there—often refer to Kokhe as Seloq (from Seleucia), the name of the first (but by then defunct) city of the conurbation of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. DTP; MPC

S. R. Hauser, in A. Hagedorn and A. Shalem, *Facts and Artefacts: Art in the Islamic World: Festschrift for Jens Kröger on his 65th Birthday* (2007), 461–88.

W. W. Müller, 'Eine sabaeische Gesandtschaft in Ktesiphon und Seleukeia', in R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 2 (1974), 155–65.

Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia Judaica*, 223–35.

Köl Tegin (d. 731) Son of *Elterish, first *Khagan (Qaghan) of the Second *Türk Empire, and younger brother of the third Khagan Bilga (r. 716–34). When the second khagan, their uncle Kapghan, died, Köl Tegin carried out a coup, killing Kapghan's son, and installing Bilga as khaghan. Together with his brother, he led many military campaigns to consolidate the empire, into the northern steppe, north-east *China, the *Tarim basin, and *Sogdiana. The *Orkhon inscriptions present him as a brave and tireless warrior. Although he defeated the *Türgesh in 712, the latter reasserted their power under their new Khaghan *Suluk in 716, after which the Western Türks were again independent from the Eastern Türks. MLD

Orkhon Inscriptions, 261–73.

S. Klyashtorny in *HCCA* III, 339–41.

R. Giraud, *L'Empire des Turcs célestes: les regnes d'Elterich, Gapghan et Bilga , 680–734* (1960).

P. Pelliot, 'Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale', *T'oung Pao* 26 (1929), 201–66.

kome *Greek: 'village' (Latin: *castella*, *vicus*), as distinguished from a *city or **epoikion*, possessing its own legal identity, governing institutions, shared fiscal responsibilities (**chorion*), communal investments (esp. churches), *festivals, and market days. Villagers,

in addition to owning their own property, were *wage-labourers on or held *leases (as *paroikoi*) from large *estates (*ktemata*) and were important in assessing *taxation. KF

Bagnall, *Egypt*.
A. Harvey, 'The Village', in *OHBS*.
A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (2007).
J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries', in *Economic History of Byzantium* (2002).
J. Lefort, *Les Villages dans l'empire byzantine IVe–XVe siècles* (2005).
D. W. Rathbone, "Villages, Land and Population in Greco-Roman Egypt", *PCPS* 36 (1990), 103–42.

kontakion Christian *Greek hymn sung to a metrical tune. *Kontakia* elaborate on the theology of biblical readings proper to liturgical feasts, and therefore resemble *sermons in verse. Their distinctive structure comprises a short thematic prelude followed by long stanzas sung by a **cantor*, interspersed with an unvarying congregational refrain. The initial letter of each stanza forms an *acrostic. The principal composer of *kontakia* was *Romanus the Melodist (*fl.* 540), who either invented the genre or adapted *Syriac poetic forms to the Greek language. Its original liturgical context was not monastic but the vigil service attended by the laity. JJD

J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (1977).
P. Maas, 'Das Kontakion', *BZ* 19 (1910), 285–306.
W. L. Petersen, 'The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem: Its Importance for the Origin of the Kontakion', *VigChrist* 39 (1985), 171–87.

Koriwn (*c.*390–447) The youngest pupil of *Mashtots' (Maštoc'), the inventor of the *Armenian alphabet. Koriwn belonged to the circle of translators who helped create an Armenian sacred library in the years after the invention of the alphabet in 406. Along with another student, *Levond, he joined a group of Armenians including *Eznik who were perfecting their command of the *Greek language in *Constantinople. According to Koriwn's own testimony, they made *translations together into Armenian of the books of the *Bible, patristic works, and the canons of the Councils of *Nicaea and *Ephesus (Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots'*, 19). Koriwn is credited with the translation of the three Books of Maccabees. After the death of Mashtots' in 439, he was tasked by another former student of Mashtots' who was at the time spiritual leader of the Armenian Church (Yovsēp Vayoc'jorec'i, *locum tenens* 440–52), to compose a *Life* of his master (Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots'*, 1). The work, which documents Mashtots's invention of the alphabet and the activities of the early translation movement, is the first known original composition to have been written in Armenian. The name 'Koriwn' means 'lion cub'. SVLa

Thomson, *BCAL*, 142–5 and *BCALSupp*, 191.
BHO 546–8.
Life: ed. with comm. K. H. Maksoudian, with ET by B. Norehad, *Koriwn: Vark Mashtots i* (1985).

Kostolac *See* VIMINACIUM.

Kourion Coastal clifftop *city in *Cyprus between *Paphos and Amathus, with a walled acropolis and extra-mural sanctuary of Apollo Hylates to the west and a necropolis to the east. Kourion suffered severely in the massive *earthquake of 365 and was never fully restored. The theatre and *Temple of Apollo were abandoned and the stadium was out of use *c.*400. There was some rebuilding in the early 5th century, perhaps associated with the *Bishop Zeno, known from the *Council of *Ephesus of 431.

The important series of Roman *inscriptions includes lead *curse tablets, *defixiones*, of the 3rd century, many featuring legal disputes, and exhibiting valuable social and economic details such as quarrels over domesticated *animals, the popularity of particular names, and the presence of a *Jewish community (BM inv. no. 91.04-18, 1–17). Wealthy houses excavated close to the city *gate include the House of *Gladiators of the later 3rd century, damaged in the 365 earthquake, with a courtyard *mosaic showing rare scenes of gladiatorial combat, and the House of Achilles of the first half of the 4th century, with a possible *apanteterion* for visiting officials and a mosaic depicting the discovery of Achilles on Skyros.

The early 5th-century Episcopal *Basilica, probably on the site of the Constantinian civil basilica, has three aisles with outer corridors, probably for catechumens, and was reworked in the 6th century with a new east end and *synthronon; fragments of mosaic wall from a side chapel show two church fathers and an archangel. A processional *baptistery stood on the north side of the church.

Three other basilicas have been identified. The extra-mural basilica north-west of the city of the late 5th/mid-7th century, with a tomb in the north *apse, possibly housed a *martyr cult. The Limeniotissa Basilica, with a *mensa martyris* in its south apse, was possibly related to the cult of S. Hermogenes. The Nymphaeum Basilica, on the site of Roman public *baths, was abandoned after the earthquake.

The House of Eustolios, of the early 5th century, the only fully excavated secular building from the Early Christian period in Cyprus, has mosaic floors, predominantly geometric, with *fish and numerous *birds. The representation of Ktisis in the frigidarium of the baths is the only such mosaic personification found in Cyprus,

though common in nearby *Antioch. Inscriptions refer to the native-born but absent *patron Eustolios, and both Apollo and Christ.

The Episcopal Basilica was intentionally dismantled sometime after 670, perhaps because the *water supply failed. The settlement was relocated to lower-lying Episkopi. RKL

T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (MAPS 83, 1971).
A. H. S. Megaw, *Kourion: Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct* (DOS 38, 2007).

Krefeld-Gellep (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany) The *castellum* of Gelduba on the lower Rhine *frontier was rebuilt in wood within a stone rampart, probably under the *Tetrarchy, and enlarged early in the 4th century. It was destroyed during the reign of *Magnentius, but totally rebuilt under *Valentinian I, when barracks were anchored to the fortification wall. Projecting semicircular towers were added *c.*380, along with a system of advanced defensive ditches. Occupation continued in the 5th century.

The adjacent *cemetery, in use from the days of Nero through to the *Merovingian period, is among the largest known in the region, with over 6,000 graves (both cremations and burials). It was used by the local population as well as the garrison of the fort, who included Germanic auxiliaries with distinctive grave-goods in the Late Empire, and people of all classes in Merovingian times. Within this context of unbroken occupation two zones with contrasting orientations may be distinguished. During the earlier 4th century very many inhumations took place in well-aligned rows, oriented north–south, and including abundant funerary deposits of *pottery and *glassware. In the later 4th century the orientation shifts to west–east, with grave-goods much reduced, except in distinctively Germanic graves with weapons. From the mid-5th century the funerary assemblages assume a typically Merovingian character (*arms, personal ornament, biconic vase) that persists for two centuries. A new funerary zone developed at the western margin of the older necropolis. It probably began with a princely burial under a tumulus, which included a helmet, a sword, *gold and gold-*cloisonée personal ornaments (a horse-bit among them), glass and *bronze vessels, and an imitation gold **solidus* of *Anastasius I among the grave-goods. Other high-status male and female burials then developed around this founder grave. RBr

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Gelduba, X (1998), 636–46 (Tiefenbach, Pirling).
Ch. Reichmann, 'Die spätrömischen Befestigungen von Krefeld-Gellep', *ArchKorr* 17 (1987), 507–21.
Ch. Reichmann, 'Das Kastell von Krefeld-Gellep im 4. Jahrhundert', in C. Bridger and K.-J. Gilles, eds., *Spätrömische Befestigungsanlagen in den Rhein- und Donauprovinzen, Beiträge der Arbeitsgemeinschaft 'Römische Archäologie' bei der Tagung des West- und Süddeutschen Verbandes der Altertumsforschung, Kempten, 1995* (BAR IntSer 704, 1998), 23–33.
The excavations were published by R. Pirling in six volumes of the series Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit under the title *Das römisch-fränkische Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep* (B2, 1966), excavations of 1960–3 (B8, 1974), of 1964–5 (B 10, 1979), of 1966–74 (B 13, 1989), of 1975–82 (B 17, 1997) and, with M. Siepen, *Die Funde aus den Römischen Gräbern von Krefeld-Gellep. Katalog der Gräber 6348–6361* (B 20, 2006).

Ksar Lemsa (ancient Limisa) A well-preserved fort located on the south-eastern side of the Tunisian Dorsal, on the Oued Maarouf. Its location is ascribed to the presence of a spring-fed cistern. Rectangular in plan. Its defences included four corner towers and walls 2.20–2.25 m (7 foot 4 inches to 7 foot 5 inches) thick, built with *spolia from Roman Limisa, above which it is situated on the Djebel Serdj. Construction of the fort has been dated variously to the reigns of *Justinian I and *Maurice, with the later date supported by an *inscription found near the site, referring to the building of a tower between 585 and *c.*600. SSF

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 212–14, 330, and 565.

ktema *Greek term for a piece of land, esp. walled plots such as *gardens, orchards, and vineyards. It later denoted land worked 'in hand' by members of a large *estate's **epoikion* or leased to nearby villagers. For the *Apion *family the term denoted fields for *grain, vines, and flax grown on a scale for estate consumption, as opposed to fields sown for fodder (*autourgia*) which seem to have been worked by *wage-labour and destined for the estate's *cattle. P. Sarris, however, argues that *ktemata* provided sustenance for the people of the estate while land worked as *autourgia* formed the basis for the family's wealth through market sales, although cash crops may not have been produced in quantity. KF

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
J. Gascou, 'Les Grands Domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine', reprinted in his *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008).
T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (2012).
R. McConnell, *How the Apions Became Wealthy* (University of Illinois diss., 2013).
Sarris, *Economy and Society*.

Kubrat (Gk. Kobratos, called Kurt in the Slavo-Turko-Bulgar *Imennik* or *Name-List of Khans*, 20, derived from Turkic *quvrat* 'to bring together') Ruler of the *Onoghurs (Ononghundur) *Bulgars (*c.*605–42/65?). *John of *Nikiu (120, 47) reports that he became a Christian in *Constantinople in 619 under the auspices of the *Emperor *Heraclius and remained a Roman ally.

In 635, exploiting internal strife among the *Avars and western *Türks, he expelled his Avar overlords, establishing 'Magna Bulgaria'. His divided sons fell under *Khazar rule or migrated to the *Balkans, Avar *Pannonia, and north-eastern *Italy (*Nicephoros: 70–1, 86–9; *Theophanes, 356–8). His burial site is believed to be in *Malaia Pereschepina (Poltava Oblast', Ukraine). PBG

PBE, Kobratos 1.
S. A. Romashov, 'Bolgarskie plemena Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v V–VII vv.', *Archivum Eurasiae. Medii Aevi* 8 (1992–4), 207–52.
A. Róna-Tas, 'Where was Khuvrat's Bulgaria?', *ActOrHung* 53 (2000), 1–22.
D. Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Grossmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.–9. Jahrhundert)* (Kölner historische Abhandlungen 43, 2007), 142–60.

Kufa Garrison founded in *Mesopotamia after the *Arab conquest of al-*Mada'in (*Ctesiphon) in *c.*638. Initially settled by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas during the *caliphate of *'Umar I (r. 634–44), Kufa supplied many of the soldiers who participated in the conquest of *Khorasan. Kufa was a principal support base for the cause of *'Ali b. Abi Talib during the *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*) of 656–61 and was the site of his assassination in 661. The city was a mobilization centre for the early Muslim armies, the birthplace of Shi'ism and epicentre of a number of *Shi'ite revolts during the *Umayyad period, and an early centre of Arab culture and civilization. The centre of Kufa contained the congregational *mosque, in which the first *'Abbasid caliph was given allegiance in 750, and the adjacent governor's *palace—a combination that characterized many early Islamic political centres. MCE

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* al-Kūfa, 345–51 (Djaït).
H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).

Kuh-e Khwaja One of the most important archaeological sites of Parthian and *Sasanian Iran, located on an island in Lake Hamun, *Sistan, eastern Iran. The grand mud-brick complex was heavily rebuilt by the *Sasanian dynasty to serve as a *Zoroastrian priestly college (**herbedestān*). It guarded Lake Kayānsih (the now nearly dry Lake Hamun), which held Zoroaster's semen and would produce the Saviour (Saoshyant) at the *apocalypse. Radiocarbon dating indicates the standing remains preserve at least two phases, *c.* AD 80–240 and *c.* AD 540–640. MPC

M. Canepa, 'Building a New Vision of the Past in the Late Sasanian Empire', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 6 (2013), 64–90.
S. Ghanimati, 'New Perspectives on the Chronological and Functional Horizons of Kuh-e Khwaja in Sistan', *Iran* 38 (2000), 137–50.

Kumluca and Kumluca Treasure Kumluca is identified by an *inscription (*TitAsMin* II, 3, 360, no. 939) as ancient Korydalla of *Lycia and mentioned in episcopal lists until the 12th century. In 1962 about 75 *silver liturgical and ecclesiastical furnishings, many fragmentary, were found there. They are currently divided between Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC (55 pieces), Antalya Museum (17), and private collections in London and Geneva (4).

The silver takes many forms. Multiple types of lighting devices include polycandela, standing *lamps, and openwork suspension lamps. *Altar table revetments bear lengthy donor and votive inscriptions. Twenty-nine silver nails used for fastening survive, also a *copper coin of *Leo I or *Zeno, silver-plated *bronze pincers, a silver ring with carnelian intaglio, and a *gold sceptre.

*Silver stamps were found on 30 items, all but one imperial; the stamps covered the tenure of the office of three men as *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum: Eusebius, Addeus, Ioannis, (*c.*550–65) The presence of pairs of stamped and unstamped pieces suggests a process of local copying. All the stamped objects, and some others, were presented by Eutychianos the *bishop. Eight bear inscriptions referring to 'Holy Sion', perhaps the *monastery of the 6th-century *Life* of S. *Nicholas of Sion, although this has been identified with ruins south of Ernez, 40 km (25 miles) from the find spot. RKL

TIB 8: *Lykien und Pamphylien* (2004) *s.n.* Korydalla (F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper).
R. M. Harrison, 'Churches and Chapels in Central Lycia', *Anat St* 13 (1963), 117–51.
Boyd and Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate.*

Kunar Siyah One of the largest and better-preserved *fire temples in Iran, *c.*20 km (12.5 miles) south-southwest of *Firuzabad in southern *Fars. A four-arched, domed fire temple (**chahar taq*) stood in the centre of a building complex with multiple courtyards (70 × 45 m, 230 × 148 feet). DTP

Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*, 97–9.

Kusayla b. Lamsam Leader of the Awraba *Berbers at the time of the *Arab conquest of *Africa. The Romanized Christian Kusayla converted to *Islam and formed a pact with the early Islamic governor of *Ifriqyia. In AD 62/AH 681, 'Uqba b. Nāfi' reconquered Ifriqiya forcing the Berbers into submission. In alliance with Romans, Kusayla's Berbers killed 'Uqba and

expelled the *Arabs from *Kairouan, where Kusayla then ruled AH 64–9/AD 683–8, until finally conquered by another wave of eastern Arabs. CJG

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Kusayla 517–18 (Talbi).

Y. Modéran, 'Kusayla, l'Afrique et les Arabes', in C. Briand Ponsart, ed., *Identités et cultures dans l'Algérie Antique* (2005), 423–57.

Kutrighurs (Kuturgurs, Kotragêrs < Oghuric-Turkic ***Qoturoghur* < ***Toquroghur* 'Nine Oghurs' late 5th–6th cent.) People derived from the Oghuro-Turkic tribes that had entered the Pontic steppes by 463. Their precise relationship to the early *Bulgar union (whether they were a constituent grouping or a closely related people) remains unclear. *Procopius (*Persian*, II, 4, 7–10; *Gothic*, VIII, 5, 1–6), who is the earliest surviving written source to name them, blends various accounts and places them, together with their kinsmen the *Utrigurs (< Turk. *Oturoghur* 'Thirty Oghurs'), among the 'Hunnic' peoples of the Kuban'–Azov–Don River steppe zone. In the early–mid-6th century, the Kutrigurs and Utrigurs, having evicted the Tetraxitae *Goths, occupied their lands and moved westward to the area between the Don and the lower Danube, while the Utrigurs returned to their earlier abode (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 5, 1–23; *Agathias, V, 11, 1–3). *Zacharias Rhetor (XII, v–ix), in 555, places them among the nomads of the Ponto-Caspian steppes. In 558/9, Kutrigur raids induced the *Emperor *Justinian I (527–65) to foment Utrigur–Kutrigur strife leading to their mutual slaughter (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 18, 1–24; VIII, 19, 1–22; Agathias, V, 11, 5–7; V, 12, 1–7; V, 13, 1 and V, 23–5; *Menander Protector, fr. 2). The brief hegemony of the *Avars in the Pontic steppes altered the situation. When the Türks drove the Avars to *Pannonia, Kutrigur groupings joined them, becoming part of, or the core of, the Bulgars of Pannonia under Avar rule (Menander frs. 12, 5; 6). PBG

A. V. Gadlo, *Etnicheskaia istoriia Severnogo Kavkaza IV–X vv.* (1979), 72–107.

Golden, *Introduction, Turkic Peoples*, 97–100.

S. A. Romashov, 'Bolgarskie plemena Severnogo Prichernomor'ia v V–VII vv.', *ArchEurasiaeMedAev* 8 (1992–4), 209–18, 251.

Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk*, 95–103.

Kyron of Mtskheta *See* CYRUS AL-MUQAWQIS.

L

labarum A military *standard apparently designed by *Constantine I, and represented on coins. This was a *vexillum* with a spear shaft topped by a chi-rho in a wreath. A square, *purple, gem-encrusted *textile, bearing three imperial *imagines*, was suspended from a cross-bar (*Eusebius, *VCon* 1, 30–1). After the defeat of *Licinius the standard on Constantine's coins is shown piercing a snake. The textual description by Eusebius is entirely consistent with Late Roman design and decoration. Used as a personal standard by the *Emperor, the form apparently also spread to other Roman forces. JCNC

P. Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (2009), 182–7, Pl. 41.

labour service, private One way landowners structured their *estates in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages was to divide them into a directly managed ('in hand') portion on the one hand and, on the other, carve out allotments or parcels of land which were then leased to labourers, in return for their agreeing to perform labour services with respect to the directly managed part of the estate. Such services typically consisted of sowing and planting, cropping and harvesting, or assisting with the carriage of goods and supplies. The intensity of such labour services necessarily varied, but such arrangements are attested in Late Antiquity in the documentary evidence from *Egypt, *Africa, and *Ravenna, and with respect to papal estates in *Sicily. In the late *Merovingian and Carolingian periods such 'bipartite' or 'bilateral' arrangements would characterize large estates. PS

Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (2005).

Lactantius (*c.*250–*c.*325) *Latin rhetorician, Christian apologist, and courtier, known since Pico della Mirandola as the 'Christian Cicero' (cf. *Jerome, *ep.* 58, 10). Lactantius is the first Christian from the world of practical imperial politics whose writings have survived. All that is known of him comes from his own works and from a few notices in the works of Jerome (particularly, *Chron.* 230e Helm; *Vir. Ill.* 80).

Lactantius came from *Africa, where *Arnobius taught him, though nothing in either man's writings suggests that they were acquainted. *Diocletian summoned him to the imperial residence at *Nicomedia of *Bithynia to teach Latin *rhetoric, presumably to educate aspirants to the *emperor's enlarged *administration (cf. *Mort.* 7, 4). Lactantius will have lost his job along with other Christian courtiers when the Great *Persecution began in February 303. He was still in Bithynia in 305 (*Inst.* V, 11, 15) and in his extreme old age *Constantine I made him tutor for his son, the ill-fated *Caesar *Crispus, in *Gaul. There is disagreement concerning his movements after 305, in the years which saw the Great Persecution continuing in the eastern half of the Roman Empire and the expansion of Constantine's power in the western half. He may have stayed in Bithynia till 311 and then moved to Gaul (Heck and Wlosok) or have moved west during the persecution, taught Crispus, and then moved back to Bithynia and his old job once the persecution had ended in 313 (Barnes and Nicholson).

Lactantius' greatest work, written during the Great Persecution, was the seven books of his *Divine Institutes*, a comprehensive account of basic Christianity written not for *Greek *Neoplatonists but for Latin-speaking middle-brow men like Lactantius' former pupils, and indeed like the Emperor Constantine, many of whose utterances (e.g. in his *Oration to the Saints*) have similarites to Lactantius' theology, and to whom was dedicated a second edition, unfinished at the author's death. The central contention of the *Institutes* is that *religio*, religious practice, and *sapientia*, serious thinking, should inform one another, and that they do so only in Christianity, making it unique in being both practical philosophy and rational religion (IV, 3–4). The first three books expose the silliness (*stultitia*) of Roman civic *religio* and the inconclusive and therefore unpractical character of Graeco-Roman philosophy; the

latter four books expound the implications of the 'new facts' of Christianity for the understanding of world history, for public *justitia* and personal duty, and for the fundamental ends of human life, both for the individual and for the world at large. The seven books make no concessions to *paganism, whether monotheistic or otherwise; they simply appropriate whatever in Latin literary culture is useful for the explication of Christianity. Later in life, Lactantius produced an *Epitome of the Divine Institutes*.

Before the *Divine Institutes*, Lactantius wrote specifically for fellow Christians a work on human anatomy *On the Workmanship of God*, which, while asserting that the body is God's handiwork, at the same time suggests how a Christian life may be lived in it. His *On the Anger of God*, written after the *Divine Institutes*, argues that those of a philosophical bent who deny that the Most High God can be angry must needs also deny that He is benevolent.

The thesis of *On the Anger of God* is illustrated by 'great and wonderful examples' in Lactantius' fiery pamphlet *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*. This is a highly circumstantial eyewitness account of the years of the Great Persecution, written in 313/15, shortly after the persecution ended in the East, and demonstrating a simple truth, that God gets revenge on emperors who persecute His Christians. The work is like an inverted *panegyric, spreading blame rather than *praise. Though highly tendentious, and dedicated to a Christian comrade who had been through nine bouts of *torture in a Nicomedia *prison (*Mort.* 16, 3–10), it is replete with valuable contemporary information.

A poem in elegiac couplets *On the Phoenix* is generally held to be by Lactantius. It has been argued by A. Friedrich that the *Symposium* which Jerome says Lactantius wrote in youth survives as the 143 epigrams of the *Symposium XII Sapientum* (**Anthologia Latina*, 495–638 R). Only tiny fragments of the voluminous *letters mentioned by Jerome are extant and the *Hodoeporicum* Lactantius wrote about his journey from Africa to Nicomedia is wholly lost. OPN

PLRE I, Firmianus 1 and 2.
HLL 5, § 570 (A. Wlosok).
CPL 85–92:
ed. S. Brandt and G. Laubmann (CSEL 19 and 27, 1890–7), now superseded for the *Divine Institutes* by ed. A. Wlosok and E. Heck, 4 vols. (2005–11) and for the *Epitome* by ed. A. Wlosok and E. Heck (1994).
Individual books of *Institutes* (all with FT): I (ed. P. Monat, SC 326, 1986), II (ed. P. Monat, SC 327, 1987), IV (ed. P. Monat, SC 377, 1992); V (ed. P. Monat, 2 vols., annotated, SC 204–5, 1974); VI (ed. C. Ingremeau, annotated, SC 509, 2007). Also (with GT and substantial commentary) of VII by S. Freund (2009).
ET A. Bowen and P. D. A. Garnsey (annotated with substantial introd.), *Lactantius: Divine Institutes* (TTH 40, 2003).
De Opificio Dei, ed. M. Perrin (with FT and comm., 2 vols., SC 213–14, 1974).
De Ira Dei, ed. C. Ingremeau (with FT and comm., SC 289, 1982).
De Mortibus Persecutorum, ed. J. L. Creed (annotated with ET), *Lactantius: On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (OECT, 1984).
Symposium, ed. A. Friedrich (with GT, comm., and discussion of authorship, 2002).
ET of *Inst.*, *Epit*, *Opif.*, *Ira*, by W. Fletcher and *Mort* by Sir D. Dalrymple, 2 vols. (ANCL 21–2, 1871).
CHECL 259–65 (Nicholson).
Barnes, *Constantine*, 176–9.
T. D. Barnes, 'Lactantius and Constantine', *JRS* 63 (1973), 29–46, reprinted in Barnes, *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire*.
F. J. Bryce, *The Library of Lactantius* (1990).
P. Monat, *Lactance et la Bible: une propédeutique latin à la lecture de la Bible dans l'Occident constantinien*, 2 vols. (Études augustiniennes, 1982).
O. [P.] Nicholson, '"Civitas quae adhuc sustentat omnia": Lactantius and the City of Rome', in Klingshirn and Vessey, eds., *Limits of Ancient Christianity*, 7–25.
M. Perrin, *L'Homme antique et chrétien: l'anthropologie de Lactance, 250–325* (1981).
M. Vinzent and O. Nicholson eds. *Lactantius: Classical and Christian* (Studia Patristica 80, 2018).
A. Wlosok, *Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Terminologie der gnostischen Erlo - sungsvorstellung* (Abh. Heid., 1960).
Comprehensive bibliography of editions, translations, and studies, from 1465 onwards, by F. Jackson Bryce at: http://www.carleton.edu/curricular/CLAS/lactantius/biblio.htm/

Laelianus Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus rebelled in 268/9 against *Postumus at *Mainz and issued *coinage. Postumus soon killed him, but was murdered in turn by his own troops whom he forbade to sack Mainz. OPN

PLRE I, Laelianus.
H. H. Gilljam, *Antoniniani und Aurei des Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus* (1981).
Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*, 34–5, 90.

laeti Barbarian and provincial troops recruited into the Roman army and commanded by government-appointed *praefecti*, unlike **foederati* who served under their native leaders.

Twelve *praefecti laetorum* are listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum*, located in the Gallic provinces (*Not. Dig. occ.* 42). They include *nationes* from both within (Batavi,

Lingones, Nervi, etc.) and outside (*Franks, *Suebes) the Empire, representing a centuries-long tradition of drawing on Germanic manpower across northern Europe. Related to these *praefecti* are the 23 *praefecti Sarmatarum gentilium*, listed in the *Notitia* for *Italy and *Gaul; they presumably commanded formations of *nomad *cavalry from the *Central Asian steppe. Much modern scholarly energy has been devoted to locating these units and their attendant communities on the ground by analysing *Alanic place names, and cemeteries in northern France where 'weapons-graves' have been excavated. Such work has enjoyed limited specific success because of the difficulties inherent in identifying ethnicity through material culture. The extension of such studies to *Britain and elsewhere, their application also to the interpretation of the distribution of military artefacts, has even less plausibility. JCNC

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 141, 149–57, 164.
K. Böhner, 'Zur historischen Interpretation der sogenannten Laetengräber', *JbRGZMainz* 10 (1963), 139–67
B. S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (1973).

Laguatan Powerful confederation of Libyan tribes who threatened *Tripolitania from the 6th century; probably the people previously known as the Austuriani. In 523, under Cabaon, they revolted against the *Vandals (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 8, 15–30) and later, as *Corippus relates in his *Johannis*, fought *John Troglita. They remained unChristianized. DAC

Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 173–6, 213–17.
D. J. Mattingly, 'The Laguatan: A Libyan Tribal Confederation in the Late Roman Empire', *Libyan Studies* 14 (1983), 96–108.

Lakhimids *See* NASRIDS.

Lambaesis *City (*colonia* from *c.*250), with neighbouring military base essential to the Roman military *frontier in Africa. Ss. Marian and James were martyred here under *Valerian. Under the *Tetrarchy, Lambaesis was capital of the short-lived *Numidia Militaris and the city *aqueduct was restored by a centurion and the *Curator Rei Publicae. Further construction (including the Capitol and the *Curia) was undertaken in the late 4th century, but when the *Vandals arrived in Africa, Lambaesis succumbed to the *Moors. The fortress built after the *Byzantine invasion was smaller than that at *Thamugadi. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 416–25.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 319–20.
F. Rakob, 'Die Bauphasen des Groma-Gebaudes im Legionslager von Lambaesis', *MDAI(R)* 108 (2001), 7–40.
F. Rakob, 'Das Groma-Nymphaeum im Legionslager von Lambaesis', *MDAI(R)* 86 (1979), 375–89.
F. Rakob and S. Storz, 'Die Principia des römischen Legionslagers in *Lambaesis', MDAI(R)* 81 (1974), 258–80.
Duval, *Lambèse chrétienne.*
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 282.

Lambert, S. *Bishop of Maastricht *c.*670–*c.*705. Lambert became Bishop of his hometown of Maastricht under *Childeric II (d. 675). After the king's death he was *exiled to Stablo-Malmedy but regained his see in 682 with the backing of *Pippin II, and did missionary work in *Toxandria. He died in a revenge-killing after his men had murdered two followers of Dodo, *Domesticus of *Pippin II. His *martyr-cult developed rapidly under his successor S. *Hubert. There are four *Lives*. JTP

Lives (*BHL* 4677–80), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS. rer. Meroving. 6 (1913), 299–429.
J.-L. Kupper, 'Saint Lambert: de l'histoire à la légende', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 74 (1984), 5–49.

Lamentations Rabba (Eikha Rabbati) A hermeneutic rabbinic work, a Midrash, on biblical Lamentations in Hebrew and Aramaic, usually dated to 4th–5th-century AD Palestine. In the popular recension it consists of two formally distinguished parts: (1) A juxtaposition of 34 introductory discourses (Petiḥot, *see* LEVITICUS RABBA) which approach mostly Lamentations 1: 1 by first quoting another, apparently unconnected verse from elsewhere in Scripture; this part is missing from the other main recension. (2) A sequential commentary quoting and interpreting the verses of Lamentations in their sequence (*see* MIDRASH, 2), which often involves also quoting other biblical verses. The interpretation units tend to be merely juxtaposed to each other and are found alongside narrative vignettes (often with folk-story character) and hermeneutic parables. The commentary coverage is very detailed for Lam. 1: 1 and Lam. 1 in general, but becomes noticeably less dense thereafter, in particular for the final chapter on Lamentations 5. Most interpretation units are ascribed to rabbis as utterances, often as disputes; many furthermore overlap with units also found in the Palestinian *Talmud, *Genesis Rabba, and the *Tosefta. AS

S. Buber, *Midrasch Echa Rabbati. Sammlung agadischer Auslegungen der Klagelieder* (1899; repr. 1976).
A. Samely, Profile 'Lamentations Rabbati', in A. Samely, R. Bernasconi, P. Alexander, and R. Hayward, eds., *Database for the Analysis of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Texts of Antiquity* (literarydatabase.humanities.manchester.ac.uk) (accessed 5 December 2012).
P. Mandel, 'Between Byzantium and Islam', in Y. Elman and I. Gershoni, eds., *Transmitting Jewish Traditions: Orality, Textuality and Cultural Diffusion* (2000), 74–106.
G. Hasan-Rokem, *The Web of Life: Folklore and Midrash in Rabbinic Literature*, tr. Batya Stein (2001).

Midrash Rabbah, 2 vols. (1878; numerous reprints).
J. Neusner, *Lamentations Rabbah: An Analytical Translation* (1989).
G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, tr. M. Bockmuehl (²1996), 283–7 (215).

lampadarii *Palace functionaries in charge of *lamp-lighting, reporting to the *Magister Officiorum (*Not. Dig.* 11.12 [*or.*]), and probably (like the **mensores*) organized as a *Schola. In 450, absentees were deprived of seniority (removed after five years), and the tenure of the highest-ranking (*Primicerius) limited to three years (*NovVal* 30). CMK

Delmaire, *Institutions*, 79.

Lampadiorum Leaf Half of an *ivory *diptych (now at the Museo Civico in Brescia), depicting games given by a suffect *consul on 21 April 396. Four quadrigas race around the *spina* of the *Circus Maximus at *Rome (in a rather tilted perspective), watched from a balcony by three men, the centre one of whom wears the consular **toga picta*. JEH; OPN

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 39, no. 54, pl. 18.
Alan Cameron, 'The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 103 (2013), 174–207, at nn. 49–51.
Cameron, *Pagans*, 731–6.

Lampridius, Aelius Alleged author of four lives in the **Historia Augusta* covering Commodus, Diadumenianus, Heliogabalus, and Severus Alexander. OPN

lamps In the Late Antique Mediterreanean world, lamps mostly burned *olive oil, though candles were also used, including the Paschal Candle made of beeswax, and the candles which *Gregory of *Nazianzus (*Oration*, 40) says were carried by the newly baptized after emerging from the font.

Domestic *pottery lamps were produced in bulk. *Glass lamps were used in both houses and churches. A metal polycandelon of the sort which hung in grand houses and churches (like that of 577 in the *Lampsacus Treasure and the slightly earlier examples in the *Kumluca Treasure) might hold more than a dozen small glass lamps.

Aelius Aristides in the 2nd century mentions the ceremonial lighting of the lamps in the evening at the Temple of Aesculapius at *Pergamum. Daily evening service was held in Christian churches at least as early as the 3rd century and was known as Lucernare, as it was the time of the lighting of the lamps; *Basil of *Caesarea indicates that the *hymn **Phos hilaron* ('Hail, gladdening light') sung at the lighting of the lamps was ancient already in his day (*On the Holy Spirit*, 29, 73). The estates which provided the oil for the numerous lamps and chandeliers of the Constantinian (Lateran) *Basilica at *Rome had a combined revenue of over 4,000 *solidi* (*Liber Pontificalis*, 34).

Great *cities had street lighting. The lights of Antioch by night were as bright as in daylight (*Ammianus, XIV, 1, 9). At *Constantinople lighting in the workshops in the evenings and at night was an innovation of *Cyrus, *Praefectus Urbi in the 5th century (**Chronicon Paschale* ad ann 450). The colonnades of the Arcadiane, the grand street which ran down to the harbour at *Ephesus, were illuminated at night with 50 lamps. OPN

lamps, ceramic Small closed vessels containing fuel to provide *light, with a typical diameter of around 10 cm (nearly 4 inches). The simplest and most common type of Late Antique lamp is a disc with a handle on one side and one single nozzle on the opposite side. Fuel is poured inside through a small hole in the disc. Bigger lamps with more than one nozzle were produced as well, with some exceptional examples showing more than twenty, all around the central body. These latter are in most cases imitating more valuable *bronze lamps.

Lamps were made using moulds, for the top and bottom parts. This made it easy to add moulded decoration on the top, as was frequently done. Lamps were not always painted or slipped, but the clay body was generally very fine, first of all to make moulding easier.

Decoration almost always had a geometric or *foliage element, sometimes accompanied by figural images of *pagan derivation, written decoration, or religious symbols, including Jewish or Christian symbols. Christian symbols including the *fish and the Christogram started appearing in the 4th century and became common in the 5th.

Lamps were made in many different workshops: *African Red Slip Ware was very widespread during Late Antiquity, and the most common shape has a shallow disc with an elongated nozzle. Lead Glazed Ware, found in *Italy, was another common type.

From the 6th century, there were several changes in *pottery lamps. Archaeological evidence suggests that total production levels decreased, possibly due to economic contraction, but also due to increased use of candles and *glass lamps. The round-shaped disc was also slowly replaced in the Eastern Roman Empire by small flasks and in northern Europe by plain small bowls, either wheel-thrown or hand-modelled. The open form was linked to a change in fuel, from vegetable oils (*olive oil, castor oil, or other) widespread in the Roman Empire, to denser animal fats. SC

D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum I–III* (1975–88).
L. Anselmino and C. Pavolini, 'Terra sigillata: lucerne', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale: Atlante delle forme ceramiche, I* (1981), 184–207.

lamps, glass The use of *glass lamps became widespread in the eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the 4th century, and is attested in both literary and archaeological evidence. It occurred in connection with the development of religious ceremonies, the building and renovation of *synagogues and churches, and the veneration of *relics. Glass lamps are also often found in domestic contexts. Conical goblets and shallow bowls (4th and 5th century) and goblets on a stemmed foot (from the 5th century) could serve as drinking vessels as well as lamps. Lamps with bowls in the form of spheres or truncated cones, and small handles and tubular feet (from the 6th century) are more specifically lighting devices. Lamps could stand alone or on a movable support, but most of the time they were grouped in a metal chandelier or hung from chains. They were filled with water and the oil and the wick floated on the surface. The wick was steadied by a wick-holder, built-in or movable (ceramic pierced cones, metallic ribbons twisted to form a cylinder or widening in the middle and pierced, metallic tripod cylinders). Glass lamps burned longer and offered a brighter light than ceramic lamps, as the water intensified the light of the flame. MDN

D. Foy, 'Les Porte-mèche des lampes en verre de l'Antiquité tardive', *Provence Historique* 61 (2011), 207–38.

lamps, metal Metal lamps were typically made of *bronze or brass, with a spherical receptacle, tall foot, long spout, lidded pouring hole, and handle of sprouting tendrils. Their ornamentation was elaborate, featuring *foliage, *crosses, shells, and zoomorphic griffins, *birds, or *fish. Used for domestic and liturgical purposes and also in *ceremonies and at funerals, they were fuelled by a wick suspended in olive or castor oil, and set on tall-stemmed tripod stands, or suspended from chains. Production and use was concentrated in the 4th–7th centuries in *Greece, *Anatolia, *Syria, and *Egypt. HAHC

D. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum: IV; Lamps of Metal and Stone, and Lampstands* (1996).

L. Boura and M. Parani, *Lighting in Early Byzantium* (2008).

M. Xanthopoulou, *Les Lampes en bronze à l'époque paléochrétienne* (BiblAntTard 16, 2010).

Lampsacus Treasure Twenty-five items, predominantly *silverware, including a candlestick, and eight spoons with verse *inscriptions from *Vergil and the Sayings of the Seven Sages, dated to the 6th/7th century, found at Lampsacus on the Hellespont, Turkey, *c.*1847. They are mostly in the British Museum. HAHC

D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture* (1994).

Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 88–90.

Dalton, *BM Catalogue*, 81–6.

lancearii Infantry armed with multiple light javelins (*lanceae*). They were integral to legionary organization in the 3rd century AD. Title and depiction combine on gravestones of *Legio II Parthica* soldiers found at *Apamea in *Syria. *Lancearii* were detached from their parent legions in the later 3rd and 4th centuries to operate independently as small, high-status *legiones palatinae* and **comitatenses* and they appear in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 5, 42; 6, 47; 8, 44; 9, 36; *occ.* 5, 152, 239, 259–60). The rank of *lanciarius* could lead to higher promotions (*ILS* 2781–2, 2788). JCNC

Jones, *LRE* 52–5.

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 218–30, 426–31.

Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 190–1.

Landelinus buckle *Merovingian plate-buckle of *c.*600 found north of Beaune (*Burgundy) in 1971, bearing a *Latin *inscription naming the maker: + LANDELINVS FICIT NVMEN QVI ILLA PVSSEDIRAVIT VIVA(T) VSQVI ANNVS MILI IN D(OMIN)O. Above the inscription is a depiction of a bearded and haloed horseman, brandishing spear and axe, seated on a serpentine mount. *Christian symbols, such as the chi-rho, suggest an intention to evoke Christ of the Apocalypse on a personal object, which could have served as a *reliquary. BKY

B. K. Young, 'The Imagery of Personal Objects: Hints of "Do-It-Yourself" Christianity in Merovingian Gaul?', in A. Cain and N. Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion* (2009), 339–54.

Landeric *Bishop of *Paris (*fl.* 650s). Landeric granted the monks of *S. Denis a privilege of immunity, confirmed by *Clovis II in 654. He may previously have been the king's *referendary, and is probably the Bishop Landeric to whom the monk *Marculf dedicated his formulary. PPé; STL

J. Dubois, 'Les Évêques de Paris des origines à l'avènement de Hugues Capet', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 96 (1969), 33–97.

landscape and landscape change Advances in understanding Late Antique landscapes have been achieved by integrating knowledge drawn from texts, excavation, and other physical evidence with such techniques as remote sensing, aerial photography, satellite imaging, and geological study of what C. Vita-Finzi has named the Younger Fill, as well as with interpretation and modelling through Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software. This enables practitioners of landscape study to understand patterns of rural organization based on field boundaries, centuriation patterns, or catchment models and hypothesized settlement boundaries.

The landscapes of Late Antiquity were highly varied, ranging from the Welsh mountains in *Britain to the Sahara, from the Rhine to the Tigris. What these landscapes had in common was a human approach to their management. The Romans viewed landscapes anthropocentrically; unmanaged nature was not generally looked upon favourably, and nature was to be managed for the morally productive goals of the inhabitants of the Empire. Roman landowners organized the landscape primarily through the *villa, especially in *Spain, Britain, *Gaul, and North *Africa, where the large estates called *latifundia* were common, and where streams, fields, *village (*vicus*), and forest were incorporated under the management of a central *domus*. Landscapes were to be carefully planned and managed and maintained through the constant intervention of the Roman worker under the guidance of the estate owner and his manager. In the eastern portions of the Empire, where *cities were more frequent and often larger than their western equivalents, the civic *aristocracy and farmers managed a more fragmented countryside. This was true of both the tenurial and the physical aspects of country life, as holdings tended to be smaller overall and with generally variable topographies. The rather compartmentalized geography of densely populated portions of much of *Italy, of *Greece, of *Anatolia, and of the Levantine coast encouraged the development of terracing, small fields, and hillside farming, with fewer broad plains open to farming and grazing.

Material factors were significant in the shaping of the landscape. The levying of tax in *grain, *wine, *olive oil, and pork no doubt influenced the management of estates, whose surpluses had to be sufficient to cover these levies as well as to produce marketable surpluses of these and other items. In southern Italy there was an expansion of *swine breeding at the end of the Roman period, in large part due to tax requirements, but also in order to supply *meat (e.g. the Lucanian sausage) to large urban settlements, including Rome. In the East, the levying of *taxation in kind in *Egypt provided a direct incentive to estate owners to produce crops that could flourish beyond vital grain-producing lands.

Beyond fiscal and market conditions, a number of demographic and environmental agents combined to create entirely new landscapes by the end of Late Antiquity. While the Late Roman West and northern *Balkans had numerous urban centres in the Roman period, by the 5th century many cities were failing and those that remained had generally shrunk. Post-Roman landowners often preferred new, often rural residences from which to exercise their power, and these shifts led gradually to changes in local *settlement patterns in the West. Over much of the post-Roman West, the disappearance of Roman state authority and the lessening importance of cities shifted market centres and caused demand for certain products to slacken. The arrival in the Empire of newcomers, notably Germanic settlers during the *Barbarian Migrations, caused established systems of land tenure to be reconfigured and the physical layout of field systems and the crops grown on them to be altered.

In the eastern Mediterranean, the introduction of the *gold standard of currency, the rise in influence of the imperial *aristocracy and **honorati* at the expense of the civic *aristocracy of the classical period, together with an increase in population favoured the employment of *wage-labour and the cultivation of cash crops like flax and *wine. In contrast to the west, the eastern Mediterranean basin of the 5th and 6th centuries witnessed a period of agricultural growth, with settlement expansion into marginal land in deserts and highland areas of the Levant and Anatolia, such as the *Limestone Plateau of northern *Syria, and leading to the creation of new *villages and towns.

These landscape changes were also contingent upon environmental conditions. Southern Syria was warmer and wetter until around AD 500, when conditions gradually became cooler and drier. In the western Mediterranean basin, episodes of heavy rainfall caused increased erosion and flooding which led to abandonment of some lowland areas and their return to marshland. Investment and maintenance of landscapes weakened in some areas which had formerly been farmed in such a way as to serve market and centralized tax demands, as in the Guadalquivir Valley and in parts of North Africa. Overall, landscapes of the post-Roman West were less intensively exploited and managed with fundamentally different aims from those occurring under Roman rule. MD

Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*.

G. Barker, ed., *Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (1995).

M. Given, 'Commotion, Collaboration, Conviviality: Mediterranean Survey and the Interpretation of Landscape', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 26/1 (2013), 3–26.

C. Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys: Geological Changes in Historical Times* (1969).

W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (rev. edn., 1976), 10–71.

land tenure, post-Roman No documentary sources illuminate the landholding practices of 5th-century north-west Europe. In their absence scholars rely on material remains and later written sources to understand the origins of *law and custom. For example, the archaeological evidence of settlements and *burials in the regions around the North Sea suggests relatively non-hierarchical societies organized around kin-based groups. Small-scale communities were made up of extended family units working the land together from

settlements of large, shared timber buildings. The occupants of the land owed their labour services to the community; land was not owned absolutely but instead held communally.

The customary arrangements of these small-scale societies may be reflected in institutions recorded later. For example, the kings of *Anglo-Saxon England do not seem to have had the power to grant their core inherited *estates to people outside their own families. A similar custom may lie behind the stipulation in the **Lex Salica* of the early 6th century, the first written *Frankish *law code, that women could not inherit Frankish land. However, the situation in *Gaul was complicated by the mixed character of the post-Roman *aristocracy which comprised both Frankish and Roman elements.

There was no such survival of Late Roman *aristocracies or *law in Anglo-Saxon England; this makes it a particular case worth examination. The archaeological evidence from England suggests increasing social complexity from the later 6th century. For example, methods used for disposal of the *dead are characterized by growing distance (both literally and in terms of the rich objects used in burials) between ordinary people and an emerging aristocracy. The form of settlements also tended towards differentiation, with subdivisions into individual plots marked out by boundaries (suggesting ownership of land). The **Beowulf* poet's mythic hall at Heorot, and real royal sites such as *Yeavering, alike suggest that kings were able to wield extensive control over both people and land. An increasingly hierarchical society facilitated the development of larger-scale kingdoms amongst the Anglo-Saxons.

These changes pre-dated the *conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity and the consequent re-introduction of elements of Roman land law. Conversion made possible the radical innovation of 'bookland' (*bocland*), or land granted through a written diploma (commonly known as a *charter). 'Bookland' had two important qualities that distinguished it from 'folkland' (the old customary form of landholding with communal occupation by kin): 'bookland' could be held in perpetuity by a particular institution, such as a *minster, or an individual's family, and it could subsequently be granted to whomever the beneficiary chose. Such grants included not only territory but also the *labour services of the people who already lived there. The earliest grants of 'bookland' are from the 7th century and were made to churches but they benefited kings and noblemen by providing possibilities to extend their power, especially because of the close relations between members of ecclesiastical and royal elites. From the 8th century, Anglo-Saxon charters for leases ('loanland') provided another type of grant, usually on condition that the land returned to the donor after a limited term (often three lives, i.e. those of the beneficiary and two heirs). Such grants frequently led to disputes and the fragmentation of earlier estates when occupiers succeeded in retaining their land. SCT

R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997).

E. John, *Land Tenure in Early England* (1960).

S. Smith, *Land and Book: Literature and Land Tenure in Anglo-Saxon England* (2012).

P. Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence* (Jarrow Lecture 1984).

Peter Sawyer, *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* http://www.esawyer.org.uk/, known familiarly as the E-Sawyer.

land tenure, Roman In the Roman world, the ways in which land was held, used, or transferred could be conceptually complicated (or may appear so to us), by virtue of the fact that Roman *law distinguished between ownership (*dominium*) and possession (*possessio*) and permitted individuals and institutions rights in the lands or properties of others (*iura in re aliena*) such as those granted by right of usufruct or varieties of lease (especially those of **emphyteusis* or *superficies*—*see also* LEASE).

In general terms, the difference between ownership and possession (which later Byzantine *jurists attempted to elide) can be understood as the difference between being entitled to a piece of property and actually having it. More specifically, ownership consisted of the ultimate residual right in a piece of property such as remained when all other rights (such as those granted by lease) had expired. In that sense, ownership was a right, whereas possession was a fact. Given this distinction, ownership of land in the Roman sense of the word could only be provable or enforceable if there existed either a system whereby title to land could be officially registered, or a practice of prescription that allowed possession to become ownership after a certain length of time. This helps to explain both the significance in Late Roman society of the administrative institution of the civic *archive (*gestum municipalium*) at which landownership could be registered, and the legal institution of *longissimi temporis prescriptio* (as ratified by *Justinian I) whereby after 30 years' possession of a piece of land or any other property one acquired full title to it.

By contrast with concepts of ownership, modes of conveyance of landed and other property were, by the time of Justinian at least, relatively straightforward, the only form of conveyance which survived Justinian's codification of Roman law being that of simple delivery (*traditio*) which could be expressed symbolically (such as by handing over a set of keys). All private property

held by individuals could be sold or otherwise dispensed with, although in terms of *wills a testator was obliged to leave a certain proportion of his estate to his legitimate heirs. Certain types of institutional property, however, such as lands belonging to the Church, were deemed to be inalienable, bearing the legal designation of *res extra commercium* (property which could be neither bought nor sold).

Roman land tenure as legally defined by *emperors and jurists in Late Antiquity thus provided a highly sophisticated conceptual framework with which to describe relations of ownership and non-ownership with respect to land, Inevitably, however, at the provincial grassroots of Late Roman society, many of the legal niceties were either sweated away or were subsumed within pre-existing regional traditions of land tenure. This dialectical relationship between codified law and local custom would shape the development of tenurial relations in post-Roman conditions and the way in which the transmission of Roman law was socially negotiated. PS

Nicholas, *Introduction to Roman Law*.
E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law* (1951).
R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* (1955).
A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages* (2009).

Langobardi *See* LOMBARDS.

Lantfrid *Dux of *Alamans (*c.*710–730). Emerged as Dux in Alamannia, probably with *Pippinid backing, after the death of his father Gotfrid. He was involved in the compilation of the *Lex Alamannorum* and the founding in 724 of the *monastery at Reichenau. HF

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Lantfrid, XVIII (2001), 103–4 (D. Geuenich).
J. Jarnut, 'Untersuchungen zu den fränkisch-alemmanische Beziehungen in der ersten hälfte des 8 Jahrhunderts', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 30 (1980), 7–28.

Laodicea ad Lycum (mod. Eski Hisar, between Denizli and the warm springs of Pamukkale, Turkey) Principal *city of *Phrygia Pacatiana, on important *roads between the Aegean and the *Anatolian Plateau, made prosperous (says Strabo, XII, 16) by its fertility and by *textiles, especially the local raven-black wool. This business persisted into Late Antiquity; Laodicea is one of the few places named as associated with textiles in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (25).

*Inscriptions indicate a significant *Jewish community. Christianity arrived early. S. Paul greeted the church at Laodicea (Col. 4: 12 and 15–16); it was one of the Seven Churches of Asia, famed for being neither hot nor cold (Rev. 3: 14–22). There was dispute about the date of *Easter in the mid-2nd century at the time when *Bishop Sagaris was *martyred (*Eusebius, *HE* IV, 16, 3 and V, 24, 5). The canons promulgated by the Council of *Laodicea illuminate late 4th-century church life.

Extensive excavations since 2003 have revealed a colonnaded *street over half a mile long ending in an east *city gate rebuilt in the late 4th/early 5th century. Halfway along it stood *Temple A, with inscriptions honouring *Diocletian and *Maximian; this was equipped with a Christian chapel in the 4th century and further altered after an *earthquake in 494; an *ivory plaque of *c.* AD 500 depicting S. *Thecla has been found there.

The city's *aqueduct, which served three *baths, incorporated an inverted syphon. There were numerous churches (one with a *baptistery with a cruciform font), a large stadium, a council house, and two theatres, one of which could hold 8,000 people. The theatres were restored under the Tetrarchy; in the early 5th century they were incorporated into the city's defensive walls, they were restored after the 494 earthquake, and the seats are decorated with *crosses characteristic of the 6th/7th century. Local *sculpture in a distinctive style includes a portrait head of Flavius Palmatus, acting *Vicarius of *Asiana of the late 5th/early 6th century, and architectural *sculpture of the 5th/6th century.

The site was apparently abandoned following an *earthquake in the reign of *Phocas, confirming Strabo's warning that the place was extremely prone to earthquakes. ABA; OPN

DHGE 30/175b/176; (2008) *s.v.* Laodicée de Phrygie col. 506 (D. Stiernon).
C. Şimşek, *The Ancient City of Laodicea* (2010).
C. Şimşek, *Laodikeia: Laodikeia ad Lycum* (in Turkish, 2007).

Laodicea ad Lycum, Council of Church *council probably of the late 4th century, held at *Laodicea, principal *city of *Phrygia Pacatiana. Collections of *canon law preserve 60 canons, between those of the Council of *Antioch of 341 and the Council of *Constantinople of 381. Canon 60 lists the biblical books to be regarded as canonical *scripture; it omits Revelation from the New Testament. Most of the canons, however, are concerned with miscellaneous practical regulation. They instruct Christians to avoid *Jews, *pagans, and heretics, especially their *festivals (29 and 37–9). *Novatianists, Quartodecimans, and Photinians may be received into the Church after instruction and chrismation; Montanists must undergo careful instruction before *baptism. Christian clergy are to eschew usury and *taverns (24), and though they may attend wedding banquets must not stay for the ensuing entertainment (54). The injunction that they may not share *baths with women (30) was to be reiterated three centuries later by canon 77 of the *Quinisext Council of 691/2. OPN; ABA

CPG 8607:
ed. Turner, *EcclOccMonIurAnt* II, 321–400.
ed. (with FT and study) Hefele/Leclercq, II, 989–1028 [746–77].
ed. Mansi, II (1759), 563–614.

Laodicea of Syria (mod. Lattakia) *City with an important *harbour in *Syria Prima, and from 528 the principal city of the small *province of *Theodorias. *Theodosius I punished *Antioch for the *Antioch Statue Riots of 387 by making Antioch (temporarily) subject to Laodicea; the two cities enjoyed a longstanding rivalry. *Apollinarius the Younger (*bishop *c.*360–*c.*390) upheld a distinctive anti-Arian Christology.
KETB; OPN

R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria: An Historical Guide* (1999), 149–51.

lapis lazuli A rock type primarily composed of the blue mineral lazurite, also known as ultramarine, traded from the Neolithic period onwards over long distances to Mesopotamia and Egypt from mines such as Sar-i-Sang in the Kokcha Valley in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan, until the mid-5th century a part of the *Persian Empire.

Lapis lazuli is rare and the process of purifying it is complex and costly. It occurs in Greek and Roman *jewellery and as Sasanian *seals, but its use as a gemstone declined during the early Middle Ages. It was used to decorate the sword-guard of a 5th-century *spatha* excavated at Altlussheim near Mainz (Germany) and in a 6th/7th-century necklace from *Caesarea of Palestine. It has been detected as a pigment in the *Vienna Dioscorides and the *Rossano Gospels, as well as in 6th/7th-century wall paintings at *Bamiyan in Afghanistan. Its earliest known use in Western wall painting is from the early 8th century at the Church of S. Saba in *Rome, where it was mixed with Egyptian Blue (synthetic copper silicate), the usual blue pigment of the Roman period. SG; OPN

M. Casanova, 'Le Lapis-Lazuli dans l'Orient Antique', in F. Tallon, ed., *Les Pierres précieuses de l'Orient ancien, des Sumériens aux Sassanides* (1995), 15–20.
J. Plesters, 'Ultramarine Blue: Natural and Artificial', *Studies in Conservation* 11/2 (1966), 62–75.
M. C. Gaetani et al., 'The Use of Egyptian Blue and Lapis Lazuli in the Middle Ages: The Paintings of the S. Saba Church in Rome', *Studies in Conservation* 49/1 (2004), 13–22.
Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 230–2.

largitio Roman *emperors and others of high rank made gifts to their inferiors on *ceremonial occasions. These ranged from the sprinkling (**sparsio*) of coins by a new *consul (e.g. *NovJust* 105, 2, 1) to distributions by emperors to mark their *accession or *anniversaries. Emperors gave coins to their subjects (as in the *largitio* scene on the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome) and made *donatives to soldiers of *gold **solidi*, *rings, ingots, *fibulae, and *belt buckles of specific weights. Senior figures in the imperial *administration, both military and civil, were given medallions (as in the *Arras Hoard) and '*largitio* dishes', also of specific weights, and often decorated to reflect the occasion of their manufacture with imperial *portraits or *inscriptions, as on the *Munich Treasure. The heaviest of these to survive, the *Missorium of Theodosius, weighed 50 Roman pounds (15 kg). *Largitio* dishes were the responsibility of the *Sacrae Largitiones, under the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. They were widely distributed and traded. HAHC

R. Delmaire, 'Les Largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IVe au Vie siècle', in Baratte and Duval, *Argenterie*, 113–22.
Delmaire, *Largesses*.
Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 11–60.
R. MacMullen, 'The Emperor's Largesses', *Latomus* 21 (1962), 152–66.
I. M. Johansen, 'Rings, Fibulae and Buckles with Imperial Portraits and Inscriptions', *JRA* 7 (1994), 223–42.

Largitiones, Sacrae One of two main departments of the imperial treasury. It was under the control of the *Comes Sacrae Largitionum. According to the **Theodosian Code* (VI, 30, 7, 384; slightly modified in *CJust* XII, 23, 7, 534), the *Sacrae Largitiones* was subdivided into ten departments (*Scrinia), each headed by a *Primicerius. The Scrinium Exceptorum (general secretariat), the Scrinium Canonum (responsible for revenues), and the Scrinium Tabulariorum (general accountancy) also shared responsibility for supervising the state *mills and *dye works. The Scrinium Numerorum probably had oversight of *donative payments. The Scrinium Mittendariorum organized **palatini* sent as messengers of the central bureaux to the *provinces. Two departments dealt with *gold: the *Scrinium Auri Massae (gold bullion) included the *aurifices specierum* (goldsmiths), *aurifices solidorum* (who minted gold coins), and engravers or other craftsmen (*sculptores et artifices*). The Scrinium Auri ad Responsum probably checked incoming gold recovered through taxes. One *scrinium* was responsible for *bronze coin (Scrinium a Pecuniis), and two for *silver: the Scrinium Miliarensibus (*silver coin), and the Scrinium *Argenti* (silver bullion); the latter probably supervised the silversmiths of the court (*argentarii comitatenses*) and the *barbaricarii* (deluxe armourers). Officials of the Largitiones also supervised the hallmarking of silver plate with *silver stamps. Finally, the Scrinium Vestis, comprising the *officiales sacrae vestis* and the *deputati sacrae vestis*, was responsible for the imperial wardrobe. There were also a

number of *thesauri* (depots) in the provinces. The patchy record in the *Notitia Dignitatum* lists three in *Illyricum, four each in *Italy and *Gaul, and one in *Britain. Each was staffed by *thesaurenses* supervised by Praepositi/Comites Thesaurorum. At the same time, many officials worked in the *dioceseis* (e.g. Comites Largitionum (East) or Rationales Summarum (West)), in the *provinces and perhaps in the *cities (*largitionales ciuitatum/urbium*, recorded in the 4th century). In the 6th century, some provincial departments were transferred to the *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis, and in the 7th century part of the bureaux assaying silver was attached to the *Praefectus Urbi Constantinopolitanae. MMos

Jones, *LRE* 427–9.
W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert* (2002), 18–32.
Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées.*

Larina (Hières-sur-Amby, dép. Isère, France) Archaeological site of over 20 ha (*c.*50 acres) on a hilltop promontory 40 km (25 miles) east of *Lyons, where extensive excavations have revealed a 4th–5th-century rural production centre and its associated *cemetery, superseded in the *Merovingian period by a fortified settlement with substantial stone-built residence, church, high-status burials, and other finds indicative of an aristocratic estate-centre. It appears to have been abandoned in the 8th century. STL

CAGaule 38/2 (2011).
P. Porte, *Larina de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols. (2011).

Larisa (mod. Larissa, *Greece) Principal *city of the *province of *Thessalia, on the River Peneios 55 km (34 miles) north-west of Volos. There were apparently Christians at Larisa in the mid-2nd century (*Eusebius, *HE* IV, 26, 10), a *bishop certainly attended the *Council of *Serdica in 341, and a successor, Basil, was deposed as a supporter of *Nestorius at the Council of *Ephesus of 431.

The city was sacked by the *Ostrogoths in 474 (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 286). *Procopius says *Justinian I repaired the defences (*Aed.* IV, 3, 7–10); these do not survive. Excavations have revealed houses, part of a *street, and two Late Antique churches. One, in the ancient city centre, probably of the late 4th/early 5th century, is a *basilica with floor *mosaics (showing peacocks), *opus sectile, and wall paintings. The other is a three-aisled basilica, built with many *spolia, with mosaic floors, perhaps of the 6th century, and numerous graves (including two vaulted tombs) surrounding it. The *relics of S. Achilleus, described in later legendary lives as a 4th-century bishop (*BHG* 1202–3), were removed from Larisa to Prespa in 986. PA; OPN

TIB 1 (1976), 198–9.
DHGE 30/176, cols. 643–5 (D. Stiernon).
O. Karagiorgou, *Urbanism and Economy in Late Antique Thessaly (3rd–7th century A.D.): The Archaeological Evidence*, 3 vols. (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 2001), esp. 33–51.

lashane In *Egypt, a Coptic term for a *village magistrate or headman, derived from Egyptian *mr šn* (Černý, *CoptEtymDict* 75) and typically equated with *Greek *protokometes* (P.Mon.Epiph, I, 176). The *lashane* was in charge of basic administrative tasks and the maintenance of social relations in his community. ARH

W. E. Crum and G. Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djeme* (1912).

Lateran Council of 313 Summoned by *Bishop Miltiades of *Rome in October 313 at *Constantine I's request to hear *Donatist accusations against Bishop Caecilian of *Carthage (*Eusebius, *HE* X, 5, 18–20). Miltiades and fifteen Italian bishops decided in Caecilian's favour, but Donatist appeals led Constantine to summon the *Council of *Arles in 314. DMG

Hefele and Leclercq, I/2, 272–4.
Barnes, *CE*, 57.

Lateran Council of 649 This synod was convoked on 5–31 October 649 by Pope *Martin I (649–53) in the *Basilica of S. John Lateran at *Rome. It sought to condemn the doctrines of Monoenergism and Monotheletism, promoted by the *Emperor *Heraclius (610–41) at the bidding of Sergius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, and enshrined in the *Ecthesis* of 638. The theological impetus for the council came not from the Pope but from the eastern monks who were present, as exiles from the *Arab conquest and from imperial *persecution. A hundred and five or 150 bishops, mostly from *Italy, *Libya, and *Africa, subscribed to the *Acta* of the synod (the number given in the *Greek version of the *Acta* was 104). Riedinger has conclusively demonstrated that these *Acta* were composed first in *Greek by *Maximus Confessor and his associates, and then translated into *Latin. The council sparked a quick and violent reaction from *Constantinople, which resulted in the arrest and condemnation of Pope Martin and Maximus Confessor. BN

Acta (*CPG* 9398–402; *CPL* 1774): ed. R. Riedinger, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* in *ACO* series 2, vol. 1 (1984).
ET R. Price, P. Booth, and C. Cubitt (TTH 61, 2014).
E. Caspar, 'Die Lateransynode von 649', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932), 75–137.
P. Conte, *Il Sinodo Lateranense dell'ottobre 649* (Collezione Teologica 3, 1989).
R. Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximos der Bekenner', in F. Heinzer and C. Schönborn, eds., *Maximus*

Confessor, *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2–5 septembre 1980* (1982), 111–21.
Martino I papa (649–653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 13–16 ottobre 1991 (1992).
R. Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften zu den Konzilsakten des 7. Jahrhunderts* (1998).

laterculenses Clerks who serviced the Sacrum *Laterculum for the *Primicerius Notariorum, by the late 5th century seconded from **agentes in rebus* and **memoriales* (*CJust* XII, 20, 5; 12, 33, 5). They provided **codicilli* to senior dignitaries (*NovJust* 8, 24–7) and presumably handled other documents held in the Sacrum Laterculum (*CJust* I, 31, 5, 2; *NovJust* 17). PMB

Jones, *LRE* 574–5.
Delmaire, *Institutions*, I, 54, 72, 104.

Laterculensis Third-ranking official in the Scrinium Memoriae. He presumably managed the business of the *Laterculum Minus, a register held by the *Quaestor and serviced by **adjutores* (assistants) seconded from the Scrinium Memoriae; its Laterculensis was promoted from these *adjutores* (*CTh* I, 8, 1–3; *NovJust* 35, 1; *CJust* XII, 19, 13, 1 and 15, 1). PMB

Jones, *LRE* 576.

Laterculum majus Probably a register of senior posts to whom the *Primicerius Notariorum provided **codicilli* of appointment (*Claudian, *Carm. Min.* 25; *NovJust* 8, 24–7), it might be the whole dossier of reports, lists, and documents held in the Sacrum Laterculum. The term is attested only as a caption to illlustrations in the **Notitia Dignitatum* which show a codex or piled sheets in a case (*or.* 18, 2; *occ.* 16, 3), associated with the Primicerius Notariorum. PMB

RE 12.1.904–6 (Seeck).
New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 7 *s.v.* Laterculum (Johne).

Laterculum minus Register held by the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, attested only for the East. It listed lower status military units to whose commanders the Quaestor provided **codicilli*, a function transferred to *Magistri Militum by 415, but restored to the Quaestor, partly in 415, completely in 424 (*Not. Dig. or. passim*; *CTh* 1, 8, 1–3). PMB

PW 12.1.906–7 (Seeck).

Laterculus Regum Vandalorum et Alanorum Short list of the *Vandal *kings of *Africa, incorporating ecclesiastical events notable from a Nicene point of view. JPC

ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* III (MGH Auct. Ant. 13, 1898), 458.
R. Steinacher, 'The So-Called *Laterculus Regum Vandalorum et Alanorum*: A 6th-Century African Addition to Prosper Tiro's Chronicle?', in Merrills, *Vandals, Romans, and Berbers*, 163–80.

Laterculus Regum Visigothorum (in some mss. *Chronica Regum Visigothorum*) Brief list of the kings of the *Visigoths, from *Athanaric to *Reccesuinth extended down to *Ervig, prefixed, like the list of Roman *emperors prefixed to the **Theodosian Code*, to a dozen manuscripts of the **Book of Judges*, the Visigothic legal compilation. Some manuscripts variously prolong the list into the 8th century and beyond. OPN

ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* III (MGH Auct. Ant. 13, 1898), 464–9.
L. A. García Moreno, 'Sobre un nuevo ejemplar del Laterculus regum visigothorum', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 47/1 (1974), 5–14.

Late Roman C ware *See* POTTERY, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN; PHOCEAN RED SLIP WARE.

latifundia *Latin term used in Roman imperial sources to indicate *estates of extensive size. The precise size for qualifying an estate as a *latifundium* is, however, debated. Due to the scattered nature of Late Antique large estates, in current scholarship the use of the term is problematic. RM

P. Garnsey, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (1987), 67.

Latin language Indo-European language originally spoken in the Latium region of central *Italy. It spread with the expansion of Roman rule: first, by the mid-3rd century BC, in the Italian peninsula; then around the Mediterranean, and finally, by the early 1st century AD, across Western Europe, in Asia, and in North *Africa. Although Latin eventually developed into different Romance languages, in Europe it was also maintained as an international written medium until the 18th century AD. The term 'Latin' therefore covers a very considerable spatial, chronological, and social spectrum, and somewhat obscures considerable variations.

Classical Latin

Latin was most closely related to other, but shorter-lived, Italic languages, such as Oscan, Umbrian, and esp. Faliscan and less closely to other Indo-European languages such as *Greek, Sanskrit, and Slavic, Celtic, and *Germanic languages.

Attested from the 7th century BC, Latin had a continuous literature from the mid-3rd century BC. The educated (and, for the most part, quite artificial) written Latin of the late Republican and early imperial

period—typically exemplified by authors such as Cicero—came to be regarded prescriptively as the correct form, and is still known as classical Latin.

As Roman rule extended, Latin spread and gained influence and prestige, first across Italy, then in large parts of Central and Western Europe (notably today's Portugal, *Spain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, southern and central *Britain, former Yugoslavia). It reached also *Anatolia, and the northern coast of Africa.

Unstudied spoken Latin (often termed 'Vulgar Latin') diverged considerably from the written standard, and had local variants; but how the vernacular Latin of the classical period differed from the literary language is known only slightly; it can be occasionally glimpsed in informal (but still literary) passages in authors such as Petronius, and in **graffiti* and low-level *inscriptions.

Late Latin

From the 5th century AD, the Latin-speaking area in Europe was considerably reduced by the spread of *Germanic and Slavic languages; but the varieties of Latin carried by Roman colonists and soldiers to northern Italy, *Gaul, and Spain took root, and evolved into distinct dialects, drawing also (to variable extents) from indigenous languages. Such varieties of Latin continued to be regarded as Latin. Only at the end of the Late Antique period, around the 9th century, do we find indications that these localized forms (the incipient Romance languages), although still mutually intelligible, were identified as entities distinct from Latin. Latin, nonetheless, continued to be used both in writing and as a spoken language of prestige and international communication among the educated.

Extant documents in Latin dating from the Late Roman Empire to the end of the Middle Ages are plentiful, but their style usually strives after classical models (a situation similar to that of Greek); some late authors are linguistically more archaic than their predecessors. Furthermore, texts show far fewer local peculiarities than there must have been. The influence of the written tradition and the employment of Latin in religious functions made writers highly conservative, if with the occasional lapse and conscious or subconscious innovation. There was also a rich tradition of grammatical treatises that further strengthened classical norms. Writers, however, unlike most Latin students in the modern era, looked also to post-classical models such as the Vulgate version of the *Bible and the writings of the Latin fathers of the Church. By 400 AD, written Latin had become more noticeably different.

Specifically, whereas the morphology of late Latin (i.e. the endings of nouns and verbs) continued to reproduce classical usage, the syntax made evident departures from it. The main novelties are in the vocabulary: loanwords, neologisms, and new meanings given to older terms—changes necessary also to convey Christian concepts such as *ecclesia*, *baptizo*, *benedico*, or *passio* (given the extensive presence of such terms, the label of 'Christian Latin' has been advocated, but with decreasing frequency).

The few texts that partly reflect the colloquial usage of the time evince, as one would expect, marked variations according to place, and often present changes that we find well established in the Romance languages—mostly indicating a general drift of the language from synthetic to analytic, and with striking parallels with the evolution of post-classical Greek. Thus, in the Late Antique period, spoken Latin lost vowel length distinctions; it increased coordinated sentences (parataxis), diminutives, and the use of prepositions instead of plain case forms (e.g. expressing the indirect object with *ad* + accusative instead of the plain dative); it accepted locative expressions with verbs of motion to a place, subclauses introduced by overt complementizers, esp. for reported speech (e.g. *quod* + finite verb rather than accusative and infinitive). It also lost deponent verbs and developed periphrastic passive verbs, adopted verb–object and even verb–subject word order (in contrast to the verb-final tendency of classical Latin) and, by and large, dismantled the case system. It also reduced the use of the neuter gender, and discarded several words (*urbs* > *ciuitas*). These changes occurred at different points in time, and many have traceable roots in the classical era, esp. in the informal register, or even before; scholars therefore find it difficult to pin down features that are strictly unique to 'late Latin'. But despite their origin in the colloquial of classical times, 'late Latin' innovations were normally regarded by ancient grammarians—and by modern scholars, until recently—as signs of decline or ignorance.

After the demise of the Roman Empire, the imperial *administration dissolved in the West, but Latin, benefiting from a written form and tradition, continued to be used as the language of bureaucracy. Above all, it remained the language of the Church and of philosophical, legal, and literary discourse, and later of science, with a prestige that ensured its use as a *lingua franca* of the learned even beyond the areas previously under Roman rule. PB

J. N. Adams, 'Late Latin', in J. Clackson, ed., *A Companion to the Latin Language* (2011), 257–83.

J. N. Adams, *Regional Diversification of Latin AD 200–600* (2007).

J. Clackson and G. Horrocks, *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language* (2007).

E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* (1959).

C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, 4 vols. (1958–77).

C. Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin: Its Origin and Character* (1957).
L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (1954).

Laudes Domini (Lat. *Praises of the Lord*) An anonymous *Latin poem of 148 verses, written between AD 317 and 323, the earliest Christian hexameter work to have survived from Antiquity. The title may well not be authentic. The poem appears to have originated in *Autun in *Gaul, where a *miracle is said to have taken place—the body of his long dead wife reaches out to her husband on his entombment. The poem then goes on to include Christian *cosmology and eschatology, a *biography of Christ, and a closing appeal to Christ to protect the *Emperor *Constantine. It features some conventional rhetorical form and poetic flourishes, and alludes to canonical pagan texts, notably Lucretius and *Vergil. As an occasional piece, it is a bold and curious hybrid. RDR

HLL 5, section 560, *CPL* 1386.
ed. (with IT, introd., and comm.) A. Salzano (2001).
ed. (with DT and comm.) P. Van der Weijden (1967).

Laurentius (d. after 507) Archpriest and antipope (498–9 and 502–7), elected contemporaneously with *Symmachus (498–514; **Liber Pontificalis*, 53). Following the judgement of the*Ostrogothic King *Theoderic and a synod at *Rome in 499, his pontificate was declared invalid and he was granted the see of Nuceria in *Campania. Support for Laurentius persisted, however, and in 502 he returned to Rome, occupying the *Lateran and ruling as antipope until Theoderic intervened in 506/7. He was deposed and retired to a country *estate, where he died an ascetic. JJA

PCBE II/2, Laurentius 23.
Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, II (1933).
J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (1992).

laus imperii *See* PRAISE.

Lausus *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi under *Theodosius II, dedicatee (in AD 420) of the *Lausiac History* of *Palladius, admirer of the ascetic S. *Melania the Younger, and resident of a palace in *Constantinople, located north of the Mese and east of the Forum of *Constantine. Here, or in the adjoining portico, his collection of *sculpture was displayed. This included the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, the Aphrodite of Cnidus of Praxiteles, and Archaic statues of Athena and Hera. The prose *ecphrases of Callistratus may celebrate items from the collection, which was destroyed by fire in 475; *George Cedrenus and *Zonaras both mention the statues and their destruction. BWA

PLRE II, Lausus 1–3.
Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 238–39.
Janin, *CPByz* 379.
C. Mango, M. Vickers, and E. D. Francis, 'The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople', *JnlHistColl* 4 (1992), 82–98.
B. Bäbler and H.-G. Nesselrath, *Ars et Verba. Die Kunstbeschreibungen des Kallistratos* (2006), 4–5.
J. Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments', *AJA* 101 (1997), 67–95.
S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (2004), 232–8.

lavra (Gk. *laura* = lane) A *monastery whose members (unlike those of a **coenobium*) lived in detached cells under the direction of a spiritual father, but meeting weekly for the *Eucharist and to obtain supplies for work. The term is used in the **Apophthegmata Patrum*, but originated in *Palestine. OPN

Chitty, *Desert a City*,14–16.

law, Germanic and post-Roman In Late Antiquity the conception of 'law' was malleable. To Romans, law (*lex*, plur. *leges*) had a relatively straightforward meaning similar to that current in the modern West: law (*lex*) was a binding norm (*ius*) issued in writing by an authority that claimed to be able to enforce it. In the centuries following the *fall of the Western Roman Empire, *leges* were still defined as written statutes. However, they became intertwined with and dependent on unwritten custom or usage (*consuetudo*, *mos*, *usus*) in such a way that under some circumstances the latter too could be called *lex*.

Late imperial law

Two factors shaped the character of Late Antique law: first, the grant in 212 of Roman citizenship to almost all free inhabitants of the Empire, and second the autocratic nature of late imperial government. The former broke down the distinction between a unified law meant to apply only to Roman citizens and the legal customs of localities that had governed non-citizens. *Constantine I (r. 306–37) recognized such local custom (*consuetudo*) and normative usage (*usus*) as valid so long as it did not conflict with written law (*lex*). These local practices became the basis for what has been termed 'vulgar' Roman law.

The existence of 'vulgar' law made the *emperors a natural target for legal questions from judges who needed authoritative written statements to guide them through the cross-currents of law and custom. By the 4th century, both the profusion of imperial responses (*rescripts) and the continuing flood of questions prompted the *Emperor *Theodosius II (r. 408–50) to set up a commission charged with assembling a definitive compilation of imperial law. The result, the **Theodosian Code*, treats imperial legislation as *lex*, while the writings of

jurists on the law were deemed *ius*. It was accepted in both the Eastern and the Western part of the Empire.

In the mid-6th century the East Roman Emperor *Justinian I (r. 527–65) ordered a new legal compilation to be made that would also include imperial *novels, legislation issued after the *Theodosian Code*. *Justinian's *Code*, known as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, became authoritative in the East. It was brought to the West as well, but then quickly forgotten. A few copies languished in church and monastic archives in *Italy until they were rediscovered, in an entirely different context, in the 11th century.

Law in the barbarian West

Law in the West in the 5th and 6th centuries was developing in a post-Roman world dominated by barbarian kings. These kings imitated the Roman emperors by issuing written law codes. Some of these codes were designed for the Romanized populations living under barbarian rule. They all drew on the *Theodosian Code*. The most prominent and influential was the *Breviarium of *Alaric* (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*), issued by the *Visigothic King *Alaric II (r. 484–507). Here *lex* denoted official legislation and *ius* referred to pre-Theodosian private collections of Roman law. The *Breviarium* was by far the most widely copied and circulated of the barbarian Roman law codes, not just in the Visigothic kingdom but throughout barbarian Europe. It applied also to Christian churches and *monasteries, which through their copies or epitomes of the *Breviarium* became the main custodians of the Roman legal tradition in the West.

At roughly the same time, barbarian rulers began to promulgate law codes that applied more directly to their barbarian subjects as well as to Romans living under their rule. Conventional wisdom holds that these codes, though they were written in *Latin by Roman scribes familiar with the principles of Roman law, enshrined formerly orally transmitted barbarian customs. More recent scholarship, however, emphasizes their Roman character and argues that they show barbarian leaders and their followers coming to grips with living in Late Roman societies. In the 460s or 470s the Visigothic King *Euric produced what is now called the Code of *Euric (*Codex Euricianus*). In the early 6th century the *Burgundian King *Sigismund issued the **Lex Burgundiorum* (*Liber Constitutionum*)—often, and probably erroneously, attributed to Sigismund's predecessor *Gundobad and hence also referred to as the *Lex Gundobada*.

In *Gaul, the *Frankish King *Clovis (r. 481–*c.*511) issued the first version of what became known as the **Lex Salica*, or Laws of the Salian Franks. This code was not comprehensive. Records of actual disputes indicate that a much larger world of unwritten legal custom helped to regulate Frankish life, custom that was nevertheless referred to as *lex*. It has been argued that Clovis' code was never intended to be comprehensive, but was rather designed to present Clovis as doing what Roman rulers did, namely issue collections of law. Nevertheless, the profusion of later copies and versions of the Salic law (supplemented by *edicts issued by Clovis' successors), as well as physical evidence for its use in late 8th- and 9th-century manuscripts, suggest that at least by the Carolingian period, if not earlier, Salic law was actually referred to by judges in the field.

Under Frankish influence, law codes for other barbarian peoples north of the Alps developed, possibly as early as the 6th but more likely in the 7th and 8th centuries: for the *Alamans first the **Pactus Alamannorum* and then the *Lex Alamannorum* (*Pact and Law of the Alamans*); for the *Baiuvari in Bavaria the *Lex Baiuariorum* (*Law of the Bavarians*). Among the Franks themselves the **Lex Ribuaria* (*Law of the Ripuarian Franks*) reflected the regional subdivision between the western and the eastern Franks.

In mid-6th century *Italy, the *Lombard King *Rothari began a tradition of Lombard *laws handed down by kings which continued into the mid-8th century. The fact that successive Lombard kings regularly issued laws indicates that despite the ideological element in royal lawgiving, there was a continuing demand in Italy for practical legal rulings in a post-Roman, urban society in which a system of local courts, judges, and scribes survived.

In *Anglo-Saxon England, the practice of writing down law was reimported from the Roman world in the wake of the Roman Christian mission at the end of the 6th century. The earliest Anglo-Saxon laws were those issued by King *Ethelbert of Kent at the turn of the 7th century; like the laws of *Ine, King of Wessex in the late 7th century, they are much concerned with compensation for acts of violence. The Anglo-Saxon laws reflected the influence of Roman tradition insofar as they too were seen as an element of royal activity. However, they were written not in *Latin but in the vernacular.

Scholarship has long assumed that the western barbarians regarded law as personal rather than territorial. This assumption has been challenged. Some evidence suggests that the barbarian codes were in fact territorial, or determined by place of birth, or laid down by rulers for members of their followings regardless of their personal identity. The Lombard laws indicate that in practice, at least from the 8th century on, people could choose whether to appeal to Lombard or Roman law. By the 9th century, however, the numerous manuscripts containing several barbarian law codes alongside copies or abridgements of the *Breviarium of Alaric* suggest that

by this point law may have been viewed at least in part as a personal attribute. WCB

Lex Alamannorum, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, MGH LL nat. Germ. 5, 1 (1966).
Lex Baiwariorum, ed. E. von Schwind, MGH LL nat. Germ. 5, 2 (1926).
ET *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians*, ed. T. J. Rivers (1977).
Leges Burgundionum, L. R. de Salis, MGH LL nat. Germ. 2, 1 (1892).
ET K. F. Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (1972).
Leges Langobardorum, ed. F. Bluhme, MGH LL 4 (1868).
ET K. F. Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (1973).
Lex Romana Visigothorum, ed. G. Haenel (1962).
Lex Salica, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, MGH LL nat. Germ. 4, 2 (1969).
Pactus Legis Salicae, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, MGH LL nat. Germ. IV, 1 (1962).
ET K. F. Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (1991).
Laws of Ethelbert and of *Ine*: Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III, 42–50 and 214–19 respectively.
ed. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes* (1905).
ET Pharr, *Theodosian Code*.
W. Davies and P. Fouracre, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (1986).
J. D. Harries and I. N. Wood, eds., *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (1993).
E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (1951).
R. McKitterick, 'Law and the Written Word', in her *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (1989), 23–75.
H. Mordek, *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (1984).
P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (1999).

law, Irish Most early Irish law-texts date from the 7th and 8th centuries AD, but native law survived in parts of Gaelic *Ireland until the final subjugation of the Irish lords by the English monarch in the early 17th century. About 50 law-texts survive in late copies, mainly in manuscripts of the 14th to 16th centuries. There are also many fragments of other lost law-texts.

The subject matter ranges from general topics such as injury, *theft, suretyship, *marriage, contracts, etc. to specialized treatments of legal aspects of *bee-keeping or ownership of water *mills. Throughout the law-texts there is much emphasis on rank. A person's rank is reflected in his 'honour-price', the sum payable to him (or to his relatives) for an offence against his *honour, ranging from insult to murder. The honour-price of dependants is a proportion of that of their legal superior. In general, the evidence of high-ranking persons outweighs that of those of lower rank. The texts stress the legal obligations attached to membership of the kin-group. An offender could be ejected from the kin, thereby losing his rights in society.

Crime was normally punishable by a fine, usually of *cattle. If the culprit was unable to pay the fine, he could be enslaved. The death penalty was only employed as a last resort. No case law has survived from the early period, but it seems that law cases were commonly heard in open-air courts. The advocate for each party made his plea, and evidence was heard from witnesses. The judgement was pronounced by one or more judges. An appeal could be made to a superior court, but if rejected, the appellant had to pay a heavy fine to the original judge.

The basic character of early Irish law can be traced back into the prehistory of the Celtic-speaking peoples, as there is substantial agreement in the terminology employed in early Irish, Welsh, and Breton legal material. However, there was also strong influence from Canon Law, and the law-texts recognized the central position of the Church in early Irish society. FSK

Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (1988).

law, Islamic A term used to refer to the diversity of institutions, ideas, and laws that constitute the sum of various Islamic legal traditions. Historically, Muslims have tended to use the word *shari'a* to refer to these institutions, laws, and practices, which are understood to have been instituted for the community of Muslims through the revelation of the *Qur'ān and the paradigmatic example of the Prophet *Muhammad and the early Muslim community. The term *ahkam* (rulings) is used to refer specifically to the commandments and prohibitions of the *shari'a*.

The Qur'ān states that prior to the foundation of Muhammad's community, other religious communities existed, such as those established by Moses and Jesus, each with its own respective divinely revealed *shari'a*. Newer revelations abrogate or annul previous ones, and ultimately, the Muhammadan *shari'a*, as the final revelation before Judgement Day, abrogates all pre-existing revelations and their *shari'a*s.

Although the Qur'ān explicitly annulled many pre-Islamic laws and customs that were seen as tainted by barbarism (**jahiliyya*) or idolatry (*shirk*), it does not seem that the early Muslims understood the establishment of the new *shari'a* as necessitating a complete rejection of all pre-existing local customs and tradition, and to this day, local custom (*'adat*) is considered as a source of law, albeit a subsidiary one. Modern studies have suggested that early Muslim legal tradition might have also incorporated elements from the legal traditions of territories conquered during the first century of the *Era of the Hijra (7th and 8th cents. AD). In

addition, distinct legal traditions developed in different regions settled by the Muslim conquerors. The importance of law in religious and everyday Muslim life led to the consolidation of the intellectual discipline of legal studies, known as *fiqh*, as the primary intellectual discipline, and also as an important cornerstone in the administration and legitimacy of Muslim government.

Such attempts as there were to formulate a uniform Muslim law code ultimately failed in the face of dissatisfaction with the political establishment. Instead, the call for uniformity succeeded to some degree through the efforts of the jurist al-Shafi'i (d. 820) and his circle, who called for an approach to *fiqh* that based itself more closely on the paradigmatic ideal of prophetic example, as established through the reports transmitted through the study of *hadith. By the 10th century, all regional legal traditions had been absorbed into schools of law (*madhahib*, sing. *madhhab*) which traced themselves back to an eponymous great 'founder', all influenced to some degree by the growing importance of prophetic hadith as well as the development of jurisprudential theory (*usul al-fiqh*). After this period, most legal activity among Sunnis was conducted within the framework of such institutions. *Shi'i communities also formed legal institutions influenced by similar developments, although the direction Shi'i law took was influenced by their distinct definition of spiritual and political authority. HBR

K. S. Vikør, *Between God and Sultan: a History of Islamic Law* (2005).
C. Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law: 9th and 10th Centuries C.E.* (1997).

law, Lombard The period of Lombard domination in *Italy produced two major compilations of laws, one composed by *Rothari (636–51) and the other by *Liutprand (712–44). These were supplemented by laws made by *Grimoald (662–71), *Ratchis (744–9) and *Aistulf (749–56). Lombard law illuminates the concerns and symbioses of a mixed society of Lombards and Italo-Romans.

Rothari's *Edictum* (643) was concerned to ensure that 'everyone may lead a secure life in accordance with law and justice'. It exhibits a hierarchical response to *homicide, injury, and offence associated with different social levels, i.e. free, **aldii*, and slave. Thus composition is set at 16 **solidi* for the removal of a freeman's big toe and 4 *solidi* for that of an *aldius* or household slave. Women, however, had no independent legal competence and their *mundium* (legal guardianship) was exercised by male relatives or even the king.

Whereas Rothari's *Edictum* reveals the interests of a primarily agricultural society, Liutprand's significant additions (153 provisions issued on sixteen separate occasions) demonstrate the increasing complexity and self-confidence of Lombard society in the 8th century. Liutprand's laws deal with complex issues of *inheritance and *contracts, and also with more immediate issues such as 'how a man shall recover a lost *horse' and what should happen when 'a man sends *pigs into another man's defended forest'. CTH

CPL 1808–12:
ed. F. Bluhme, *Leges Langobardorum*, MGH Leg 4 (1869).
ET K. Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (1973).
ed (with IT) C. Azzara, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi: storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico* (2005).
N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy c.568–774* (2003).

law, Persian The *Sasanian judicial system was one and the same as the *Zoroastrian priestly hierarchy, representatives of which were co-located at provincial administrative centres and/or *fire temples. The only extant Late Sasanian treatise on jurisprudence (*dādestān-nāmag*) is the **Madayan-i Hazar Datestan* (*A Thousand Judgements*; also known as the *Sasanian Law Book*), an early 7th-century compilation of actual and hypothetical case histories (written by Farroxmard-i Wahraman). Other Avestan texts with Pahlavi translation and commentary as well as Pahlavi sources from the Late Sasanian and Early Islamic periods survive, as does secondary material in other languages, especially *Armenian, *Syriac, Persian, and *Arabic.

However, in contrast to other evidence stemming from the Sasanian legal system the *Madayan-i Hazar Datestan* does not mingle theological and legal material, but concentrates entirely on legal matters, without offering explanations. It provides evidence not only about household and family matters of the time, but also about legal procedures and social, economic, and criminal activities. Members of a household were bound by a plethora of regulations and obligations, control of which was the prerogative of the *kadag-xwadāy* ('head of the household'). Detailed provisions also existed for torts, *marriage, inheritance, property, and familial obligations. JWi

EncIran XV/2 *s.v.* Judicial and Legal Systems III: Sasanian Legal Sytem 181–96 (Macuch).
S. Corcoran, 'Observations on the Sasanian Law-Book in the Light of Roman Legal Writing', in A. Rio, ed., *Law, Custom, and Justice in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2008 Byzantine Colloquium* (2011), 77–113.

law, Roman The principal characteristics of Roman law during Late Antiquity were the way that the *emperor became the sole source of law and the increasingly separate development of law in East and West from the late 4th century onwards. Some scholars have considered Late Antiquity a period of legal decline and vulgarization, but such views are no longer generally

accepted. One may rather speak of an intellectual shift or evolution of Roman law, from the 'classical' law of the early 3rd century towards the later law of the 6th century.

From the end of the 4th century onwards, Roman law developed differently in the East and the West, despite attempts at harmonization. Scholars generally agree that intellectual standards in the East were higher and the legal tradition stronger. In the late 5th century there was a classicizing revival in the eastern law schools that eventually culminated in the codification under *Justinian I.

In the early 3rd century, citizenship was extended to almost all free people of the Empire. Citizens had better access to legal advice and *courts of law. The quality of judicial decisions improved because judges often had legally trained assessors to advise them, and by the late 3rd century *governors of *provinces were working primarily as judges and administrators. In the next generation *Constantine I in the course of favouring Christianity formalized an alternative system of dispute resolution through *bishops' courts (*episcopalis audientia*). The law became more technical and was managed by skilled officials. This led to a programme of law reform and prepared the way for the compilation of the **Theodosian Code* in the 5th century and *Justinian's *Code* in the 6th century.

Private law

Independent legal writing came to an end under *Constantine I, and most new law emanated from the emperor. Classical private law continued to be applied over a large area, with only small modifications. Constantine and his successors did not introduce many changes into the field of private law, but *constitutions issued in the name of the emperor did, on occasion, institute new provisions dealing with private law. Many of these constitutions were included in the codifications.

In the East there was a tradition of legal *education, and classical Roman law texts were analysed in the law schools, especially in *Beirut and *Constantinople. Many teachers, as well as officials and practising lawyers, were consequently available when Justinian codified the law. These compilers had been trained in classical law and it was inevitable that they would move back to classical Roman private law as it had been modified in the post-classical period. Further, Justinian was a reformer and he favoured fair solutions. He removed many discarded institutions and sophisticated distinctions, and also settled points which had been in dispute between the classical lawyers. This can be seen clearly in the case of *contracts. In addition, many new provisions dealing with private law were issued by Justinian and published in his **Novels* (*Nov-Just*), in particular in the fields of *family law and the law of succession (*inheritance).

Civil law and 'criminal' law

In the Later Roman Empire new law emanated from the Emperor. Constitutions were issued in his name by the various official imperial bureaux. 'Criminal' legislation was concerned more with penalties than with the academic definition of offences. The new categories of 'crimes' created during this period all related to abduction and to offences against the Christian religion. Justinian's commission compiled existing 'criminal' law into a systematic whole. Books 47–9 of the **Digest* and Book 9 of the *Codex* describe criminal law, procedure, and penalties. The Roman distinction between public and private offences had important consequences for procedure and penalties. A distinction was made between private delicts, extraordinary crimes, and public delicts.

Late Antiquity's modern reputation as a period of *torture and terror is largely based on the application of 'criminal' law. The function of terror was to discourage the wicked and secure justice, and the most important motives for inflicting punishment were retribution and deterrence. Roman 'criminal' cases were heard before a judge and although the right of appeal was widely available, access to appeals was restricted. In the area of punishment, changes introduced during this period suggest that more humane values had a real impact.

Legal sources

Apart from the codes, legal sources from Late Antiquity are relatively scarce. From the late 5th century onwards the *Germanic kings who had come to reign in the West as a result of the *Barbarian Migrations saw a serious need for law to be restated for both their Germanic and their Roman subjects (*see* LAW, GERMANIC AND POST-ROMAN).

In the Eastern Roman Empire classical jurisprudential literature was still in use, as is demonstrated by *Theodosius II's *Law of Citations. Two codifications, the **Gregorian Code* and the **Hermogenianic Code*, were undertaken, perhaps semi-officially, by officials of the *Tetrarchy, but survive only in fragments and insofar as they are incoporated into the two later and official codifications, the *Theodosian Code* and Justinian's Code (the *Codex Juris Civilis*). The aim of Justinian's commission was to transform the masses of Roman law into a system that could be used for the academic teaching of law and legal practice. However a system of law published in *Latin raised difficulties where *Greek was increasingly the current language and translations became necessary, as well as commentaries and epitomes to enable lawyers to read the law.

An outstanding feature of the surviving legal literature of this period is that it consists of anonymous abridgements, demonstrating various receptions, reuses and re-formulations of classical material. Most of the

surviving legal literature derives from the West, and is known through its use in Germanic codes. Eastern works have largely disappeared; probably because the compilations of Justinian made them obsolete. RvdB

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*.
Harries, *Law and Empire*.
T. Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire 379–455 AD* (1998).
H. F. Jolowicz and B. Nicholas, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (³1972).
M. Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*, vol. 2 (²1975).
E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (1951).
F. Schulz, *Roman Legal Science* (1946).
A. J. B. Sirks, 'Shifting Frontiers in the Law: Romans, Provincials and Barbarians', in R. W. Mathisen and H. S. Sivan, eds, *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (1996).
W. Turpin, 'The Law Codes and Late Roman Law', *RIDA* 32 (1985), 339–53.

law in Egypt With the Roman conquest of 30 BC, *Egypt became subject to three distinct layers of legal traditions: native Egyptian, Hellenistic Greek, and classical Roman, with corresponding documentary records in demotic Egyptian (the language as presented in a highly cursive *script), *Greek, and *Latin (with Greek translations from the Latin). Egyptian ceased to be a language of law early in the Roman period, but re-emerged in Late Antiquity in its Coptic form, that is, Egyptian written in a (mostly) Greek alphabet.

Early Coptic legal documents date from the 6th century, but it is not until the 7th and, especially, the 8th century, as Greek evidence disappears, that Coptic became a widely used language of law. Coptic documents replicate many forms found in their Greek predecessors and contemporaries while also being indebted to Greek for their technical vocabulary. Some Coptic documents on *papyrus match the Greek ones for their grand prolixity, their 'Byzantine Urkundenstil'. Simpler agreements will be found, for instance those on *ostraca (inscribed potsherds) from the *archive of the woman moneylender Koloje. Late Antique documentation includes dispute resolutions featuring *bishops and *monks and a new type of *contract, the 'child donation'. JGK

CoptEnc 5 *s.v.* law, cols. 1428–32 (L. S. B. MacCoull).
L. S. B. MacCoull, *Coptic Legal Documents: Law as Vernacular Text and Experience in Late Antique Egypt* (2009).
B. Palme, 'Law and Courts in Late Antique Egypt', in Sirks, *Aspects of Law*, 55–76.
T. S. Richter, 'What's in a Story? Cultural Narratology and Coptic Child Donation Documents', *JJP* 35 (2005) 237–64.
T. G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (2002).

Law of Citations An imperial constitution of 426 issued by *Theodosius II, limiting legally citable juristic authority to the works of five pre-eminent jurists, namely Papinian, Paulus, Gaius, Ulpian, Modestinus. Edited into the **Theodosian Code* (*CTh* I, 4, 3), it was superseded on the publication of the **Digest* in 533. SJJC

Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*, 24–6.

Lawrence, S. Christian venerated as a *martyr and *deacon at *Rome when Xystus (Sixtus) II was *bishop (AD 257–8). *Cyprian had news of the execution on 6 August 258 of Xystus and four Roman deacons (*ep*. 80, 1, 4). Lawrence is named in the **Calendar of 354* under 10 August and the **Liber Pontificalis* (25, 3) lists *Lawrence among clerics martyred on 10 August. *Ambrose praised S. Lawrence's exemplary care for the *poor, and tells the story of how while being burned alive on a gridiron Lawrence said, 'I am done on this side, turn me over and taste me' (*De Officiis*, II, 28, 140–1; I, 41, 214–16). *Augustine preached on his festival (*Sermon 302) and *Prudentius elaborated his story in iambic dimeters (*Peristephanon*, 2).

The Constantinian church over S. Lawrence's tomb (*Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 24–5), at the site of the present *S. Lorenzo in Agro Verano, was rebuilt by *Damasus in the later 4th century (*Liber Pontificalis*, 39, 2), and by Xystus (Sixtus) III in the 5th (*Liber Pontificalis*, 46, 5). Pelagius II built a new church in the late 6th century (*ILCV* 1770; *Liber Pontificalis*, 65, 2). A *mosaic in the building known as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at *Ravenna, often thought to show S. Lawrence, may in fact depict S. Vincent of Saragossa, another deacon venerated as a martyr. KMS; OPN

BHL 4752–89.
H. Delehaye, 'Recherches sur le légendier romain: la passion de S. Polychronius', *AnBoll* 51 (1933), 34–98.

Lazar P'arpets'i (Ghazar) (*fl.* after 484) Author of a history of 5th-century *Armenia, covering the years 387–484. The work, sponsored by the governor of Armenia Vahan *Mamikonean (r. 485–*c.*506), was probably written at the end of the 5th century or the very beginning of the 6th. The main focus of Lazar's work is the fate of Armenia after the fall of the last *Arshakuni king. His is the earliest surviving account of the 451 revolt of *Vardan Mamikonean, later the subject of the better-known work of *Elishe Vardapet.

In contrast to most Armenian authors of this period, a few biographical details about Lazar are known from his *History* and from a letter addressed to Vahan Mamikonean. He was from the village of P'arp, *c.*24 km (15 miles) north-east of modern Yerevan, and may himself have been a member of the Mamikonean clan. He was an ordained cleric and had received some education in the Roman Empire; sometime after 486 he became abbot of the *monastery of *Valarshapat, possibly at the request of Vahan, who was a childhood

friend. He was later expelled from the monastery and spent some time exiled in *Amida, but was recalled by Vahan and given the task of writing his *History*.

Lazar names three sources for his information: *Agat'angelos, the **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, and the life of *Mashtots', by *Koriwn. Here he is consciously placing his work within a developing chain of Armenian *historiography; although he disputes certain information contained in the *Buzandaran*, his purpose is not to rewrite the history of that period but to cover the years after its end. In so doing, Lazar also gives a great deal of information about Iranian life in the 5th century. TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* 146–9, supplement 192.
ODB s.n. Łazar of P'arpi'.
ET (annotated) R. W. Thomson (1991).

Lazar of Pharp *See* LAZAR P'ARPETS'I.

Lazica (Egrisi) The territory of western *Georgia, whose main rivers are the Phasis (Rioni) and the Chorokhi. In classical times it was known as Colchis with its capital at *Archaeopolis. Writing in the 6th century, *Agathias praises the natural resources and high standard of civilization in Lazica (3, 5, 2–4).

Roman garrisons were stationed in several towns and forts in Lazica from the 2nd century; Arrian states that the king was appointed by Trajan (*Periplus*, 11). In the mid-3rd century the coastal cities of Lazica were devastated by *Gothic invasions; a Roman presence in the forts was restored in the 280s, but Lazica was overrun by the *Sarmatian *Borani a decade later (*Zosimus, 1, 31).

In the 5th–6th centuries Lazica became a point of contention between the Roman and *Persian Empire, who wanted access to the Black Sea and a buffer to keep northern people from their lands (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 15, 3). The Lazi changed their allegiance from Rome to Persia and back again, and in the mid-6th century Lazica was at the centre of a twenty-year war between the two great powers. In 555 King *Gubaz II was killed by Roman generals and the Public Council demanded that the Emperor *Justinian I punish them (Agathias, III, 24, 1–3). After 561/2 Lazica remained a Roman vassal state, and was directly ruled by Roman governors from the 7th century. Between 697 and 711 the *Arabs occupied Archaeopolis and Kodori Gorge. MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 239–314.
N. Lomouri, *Egrisis samepos istoria* (*History of the Kingdom of Egrisi*) (1979).
D. Muskhelishvili, *Sakartvelo 4–8 saukuneebshi* (*Georgia in the 4th–8th centuries*) (2003), 100–212, 268–307.

league (Lat. *leuga*, often abbreviated as l.) Measurement of linear distance, commonly used in *Gaul. It was equivalent to 1.5 *milia passuum* (Roman miles, often abbreviated m.p.), approximately 2,200 m or 2,427 yards. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim changes his enumeration from leagues to *milia passuum* on leaving *Toulouse, and *Ammianus (XV, 11, 17) notes that beyond the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône (at *Lyons) 'journeys are measured in leagues'. AHM

Leander of Seville (*c.*540–600) *Bishop of *Seville from *c.*579. Entrusted with Prince *Reccared when *Leovigild the *Homoean ('Arian') King of the *Visigoths repented on his deathbed, he presided as Bishop of Seville over the Third *Council of *Toledo in 589, proclaiming the official conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism to Nicene orthodoxy, and delivering a triumphant *sermon (*CPL* 1184). Leander had previously been exiled to *Constantinople, where he befriended *Gregory the Great. His principal surviving work, *On the Training of Nuns*, is a monastic rule for his sister Florentina (*CPL* 1183). He was succeeded as bishop by his brother *Isidore of Seville, who summarized his life in *De Viris Illustribus* 41. GDB

CPL 1183–4: ed. (with introd.) A. C. Vega (*CCH* V, 1948), 148–59.
ET C. W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, I (FC 62, 1969), 175–235.

lease Roman law recognized and bequeathed three different types of lease. The first came under the title of *locatio conductio*—essentially a *contract of hire deployed in a wide variety of contexts, ranging from the leasing of land to a contract of employment. Indeed, later jurists distinguished these aspects by differentiating between hire of a piece of moveable or immoveable property (*locatio conductio rei*) and the hiring of services (*locatio conductio operis*). This type of lease was the most appropriate for short-term contracts. Second, there was the **emphyteusis* whereby a *tenant was granted a long-term or perpetual right to a piece of land in return for the payment of an annual rent. Third, there was the *superficies*, which, like the *emphyteusis*, was inheritable, and which granted a long-term or perpetual right to a building but not to the land on which it stood. PS

Nicholas, *Introduction to Roman Law.*

leather and tanning Leather was one of the most important materials in Late Antiquity. Hides were obtained from *camels, *sheep, *goats, and *cattle, especially the latter two, and prepared by tanning, the process of treating animal hides to render them chemically stable leather, which is a durable material fundamentally different from the untreated skin. Raw hides were first cured by smoking, applying fat, or other materials to prevent decomposition and then steeped in vegetable products, usually oak or other barks whose tannins bind with the collagen in the hides to render it leather. In much of Europe, and even in places with a

leatherworking tradition such as *Egypt, leather products were relatively rare until the Roman period, at which time specialist producers appled Roman technical knowledge and skills, leading to a growth in tanning and leatherworking.

Leather had many uses, especially for boots, shoes, and sandals, and for such clothing as *belts, cloaks, and other articles. The 2nd/3rd-century jurist Paulus records the presence of specialist tanners and leatherworkers on large *estates (III, 6, 37) where they produced and mended clothing and such equipment as waterskins and wineskins, buckets, *harness, and rope. Tents used by the Romans as well as by their *Arab and steppe-dwelling neighbours were made from leather. Imports of leather from the *Persian Empire are attested in the **Digest* (39, 4, 16, 7) and Babylonian hides are the most expensive mentioned in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (8, 1a), which also refers to tanning and leather work in Phoenicia and *Tralles in *Anatolia. At *Corycus in *Cilicia, no fewer than thirteen boot makers (*kaligarioi*) are listed in *inscriptions. Immense demand for leather in the Roman *army has led P. Crone to theorize that it was an important item of exchange between pre-Islamic Arabs and Romans and the source of much of the wealth of the *Quraysh at *Mecca. After the collapse of Roman authority in the West, many tanning techniques were lost and reappear only in the late Middle Ages. MD

C. Van Driel-Murray, 'Tanning and Leather', in Oleson, *OHETCW*, 483–95.

P. Crone, 'Making Sense of the Qurashi Leather Trade', *BSOAS* 70 (2007), 63–88.

lectio divina (Lat. 'sacred reading') The monastic practice of prayerful reading of the *Bible, emphasized in S. *Benedict's *Rule for Monks*. Monastic literacy was promoted for the sake of reading the Bible and biblical commentaries, both for private devotion and in support of liturgical observances. The earliest *Latin sources refer to time set apart each day for *medite* or *meditatio* (cf. Gk. *medomai*, *meletē*), understood to be the slow reading and repetition of biblical texts to foster memorization. Later monastic texts use *lectio* ('reading') as a synonym, understood in the sense of slow, deliberate reading. S. Benedict's *Rule* specifies times for manual labour and for *lectio divina*, the latter reserved for two to three hours of the morning and whenever permitted by the daily horarium (*Rule of S. Benedict,* 48–9). The *Rule* also uses *meditatio/meditari* (*RB* 8, 3; cf. 48, 23; 58, 5). S. Benedict provides no details of how it is to be done; such was unnecessary in a culture in which reading was always vocalized and memorization was prized. CAS

Rule of S. Benedict (*CPL* 1852):

ed. (with FT) A. deVogüé and J. Neufville, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, 7 vols. (*SC* 181–186A; 1971–7).

ET T. Fry et al., *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict* (1981),

ed. (with ET) B. Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (DOML 6, 2011).

lector *See* READER.

Lefkosha Inland site in *Cyprus, on the eastern Mesaoria plain, Hellenistic Ledra. There are traces of a 5th/6th-century *basilica at Bedestan and several phases of church building from the 4th century onwards under the modern Parliament building. *Jerome names Triphyllios as *Bishop of Leucontheon. RKL

T. Papacostas, 'Byzantine Nicosia 650–1191', in D. Michaelides, ed., *Historic Nicosia* (2012), 77–109.

legal education Forensic education in the Roman Empire grew out of the study of *rhetoric (the third tier of schooling after the primary and grammar stages). Legal education was considered a specialist branch of higher study. During the Principate several law schools (in particular the Sabinians and Proculians) existed in the *City of *Rome. Other cities also had law schools where students read juristic works. *Gregory the Wonderworker in the first half of the 3rd century was on his way to study *law at the Roman *colonia* of *Beirut when he was sidetracked by the theological teaching of *Origen. The career of *Augustine's friend Alypius illustrates legal training in the 4th century: having studied rhetoric in *Carthage, he left *Africa for the law schools of Rome (*Confessions*, VI, 7–10) and went on to be the *Assessor of the *Comes Largitionum Italicianarum (VI, 10, 16). *Libanius (*Oration*, 1, 154; *Oration*, 2, 43–4) complained that many students terminated their study of rhetoric early to concentrate on studying *Latin *jurists in law school.

*Justinian I ordered a new systemization of legal training (*Constitutio Omnem*, 533). In a typical previous curriculum first-year students read Gaius' *Institutes* and moved on to selections from other jurists such as Papinian; it seems to have lasted four years. After Justinian's revision of this standard curriculum, students started with the *Institutiones of Justinian (*InstJust*) as their first-year text (a reworking of Gaius by *Tribonian, *Theophilus, and *Dorotheus) followed by study of various legal topics in the second year. The third year still focused on Papinian (and third-year students were known as 'Papinianists'), the fourth focused on the *Sententiae* of *Paul, and the fifth examined valid imperial constitutions. *Agathias and some friends offered an *icon of the Archangel Michael at S. Michael's shrine at *Sosthenion at the end of their fourth year of legal study, asking the *angel to shape their future hopes (*AnthGr* I, 35). Justinian allowed only the law schools in Rome, *Constantinople, and Beirut to operate (*Constitutio Omnem*, 7 of AD 533). *Severus of *Antioch

studied rhetoric at *Alexandria before studying law at Beirut. RMF

Jones, *LRE* 512–13.
L. Jones Hall, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity* (2004).
C. Pharr, 'Roman Legal Education', *CJ* 34 (1939), 257–70.
C. P. Sherman, 'The Study of Law in Roman Law Schools', *Yale Law Journal* 17 (1907–8), 499–512.

Leges Saeculares *See* SYRO-ROMAN LAW BOOK.

Leges Vizigothorum *See* BOOK OF THE JUDGES.

legions The characteristic infantry formations of the Roman armies. The history of some individual *legiones*, or elements derived from them, may be traced from the Late Republic to the reign of Heraclius. The 33 *legiones* of the era of Septimius Severus (193–211) consisted of 5,000–6,000 soldiers each, organized in ten *cohortes*. Static posting on the *frontiers from the 2nd century AD required that **vexillationes* be dispatched away for specific tasks, sometimes permanently. In the 3rd century individual *legiones* (e.g. *II Parthica*) were used as a more mobile imperial reserve.

The '*antiqua legio*' advocated by *Vegetius is best represented in this period by its weapons specialists (*De Re Militari*, II, 2–25). Specialists integrated into legions, such as *archers (*sagittarii*), artillerymen (*ballistarii*), light infantry (**lancearii*), and *cavalry (*promoti*), were progressively separated out into independent formations, a development reflected in *papyri and in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. The latter listed more than 200 formations amongst the **palatini* (25), **comitatenses* (71), *pseudocomitatenses* (48), and **limitanei* which were the rumps or *vexillationes* of old frontier *legiones*, or *legiones* newly raised in the 3rd–4th centuries, or the separated specialists. Seventeen frontier *legiones* appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum* detached in up to six posts. Such new legionary installations were very small; e.g. al-*Lejjun, Jordan, housing IV Martia was only 4.6 ha (11.4 acres), compared with earlier bases enclosing 20 ha (*c.*50 acres). Thus, it is likely that Late Roman *legiones* normally comprised 1,000–1,200 infantry, although their internal organization is obscure.

Elements of the titulature of Late Roman legions derived from the Late Republic and Early Empire, or reflected creation under the *Tetrarchy (*Ioviani*, *Herculiani*: Vegetius, *De Re Miitari*, 1, 17; *Not. Dig. occ.* 5, 145–6), or preserved the place names of *provinces or bases. Despite their reduction in size and narrower range of functions, some of the old legionary *kudos* still lingered. Field army *legiones* were listed in senior positions in the *Notitia*, and even frontier *legiones* fought with vigour, such as the seven which fiercely defended *Amida against *Shapur II in AD 359 (*Ammianus, XIX, 5, 2–6, 12). Some legionary formations continued to exist down to the wars of Heraclius, being finally lost in the *Arab conquests of *Syria and North *Africa. JCNC

Jones, *LRE* 680–83.
Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 173–93, 230–33, 507–16.
J. Casey, *The Legions of the Later Roman Empire* (1991).
Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 48–53.

al-Lejjun and district The site of al-Lejjun in Jordan is a well-preserved Late Roman 'legionary' fortress, called Betthorus/um, and Betthoro in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XXXVII, 22), and lying 40 km (25 miles) east of the Dead Sea and 20 km (12 miles) north-east of Kerak. The fortress measures 242 × 190 m, enclosing 4.7 ha (11.6 acres), and was constructed *c.*300, probably for the Legio IV Martia, from a subdivided Legio III Cyrenaica then based at *Bosra. An extramural settlement, with a *temple and *mansio*, subsequently appeared. Both fortress and settlement were largely destroyed by an *earthquake in 363 but soon repaired and the facilities of the settlement were partly redesigned. In *c.*500 a church was added within its defences. The fortress, like much of the *frontier of which it was the principal component in this region, was further damaged by earthquakes in 502 and 551. By this time the frontier had been abandoned (*c.*530) under *Justinian I's policy effectively to demobilize the **limitanei* who defended it.

The district of al-Lejjun incorporated the Kerak plateau region of west-central modern Jordan, in part including the biblical land of Moab. It lies between the Wadi al-Mujib to the north and Wadi al-Hasa in the south. Part of the *province of *Arabia under the *Tetrarchy, it either remained part of Arabia or was transferred to Syria Palaestina. By the 6th century, it had been transferred to *Palaestina Tertia. Several sites in the area whose exact locations remain unresolved are mentioned in *Eusebius' *Onamasticon*. The region passed into *Arab control by 640, but is largely absent from contemporary sources until the late 9th century. The archaeology of the region has been extensively explored. Most recently a multi-period field survey has revealed (from datable sites) an intensively populated landscape of the Late Roman to early and mid-Islamic periods. PWMF

J. Maxwell Miller, ed., *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau* (ASOR ArchRep 1, 1991).
Parker et al., *Roman Frontier in Central Jordan.*

lembos An open-decked galley developed along the Illyrian coast around the 3rd century BC and referred to in Late Antique sources (e.g. *Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 19, 19). Larger than the **keles* and the **akatos*, *lemboi* saw service as merchant vessels, naval auxiliaries, river-boats, and *pirate ships. The Romans adapted them as

light warships to replace the *triaconter*, and later replaced them with the **dromon*. They were essentially single-decked versions of the **liburna*. ALB; AG

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 125–7, 162–3.

Leo I *Bishop of *Rome 440–61. Through his contribution to the outcome of the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) Leo I's theological and political influence extended beyond his own see to the Christian East. From his 21-year pontificate, 143 *letters of genuine attribution survive, and 96 *sermons. These are addressed to some of the most influential figures of his time, including the imperial families, and *patriarchs of *Constantinople. His most famous work, the **Tome of Leo*, addressed to Flavian, *Patriarch of Constantinople, was pivotal in the Christological disputes of the mid-5th century, and led to him being acclaimed at the Council of Chalcedon as the voice of S. Peter. His efforts to promote civic pride in the city of Rome and its bishopric, mostly evident from his sermons, paved the way for *Gelasius I's claim for papal primacy at the end of the century.

Little is known of his life before he became bishop on 29 September 440. The **Liber Pontificalis* (47) relates that Leo was born in Tuscia, the son of a Quintianus who is otherwise unknown. It seems that Leo served as archdeacon under Sixtus III (432–40), in which office he would have received valuable training for the office of bishop. Indeed this was a common career path in the papal service.

From Sixtus III he inherited a considerable building programme within the *city, and also divisions within the urban population that stemmed from the time of Celestine (422–32). When Leo ascended the papal throne, the Church and the city were facing an uncertain future, with *Vandals encroaching on *Africa and *Sicily to the south, and *Hun invasions threatening from the north. The Huns and Vandals were to make two expeditions against the city during Leo's reign. In 452, *Attila approached from the Veneto, and *Prosper of *Aquitaine relates how Leo led a diplomatic mission outside the city walls to buy him off. Leo was less successful in repelling *Geiseric's forces in 455, and the subsequent siege taxed the city's already scanty resources. Leo died on 11 October 461 and was buried in the *Vatican *Basilica on 10 November. BN

Letters (*CPG* 1656):

ACO 2/1 and 2/4 (1932).

ET E. Hunt, *St Leo the Great: Letters* (FC 34, 1957).

ed. C. Silva-Tarouca, *S. Leonis Magni epistulae*, 4 vols. (1932, 1934, 1935, 1937).

Sermons (*CPG* 1657):

ed. A. Chavasse (CCSL 138 and 138A, 1973).

ed. (with IT) M. Naldini, E. Montanari, and E. Cavalcanti, *Sermoni. Leone Magno*, 4 vols. (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001).

Selected ET (with long introd.) B. Neil, *Leo the Great* (Early Church Fathers, 2009).

L. Casula, *Leone Magno: il conflitto tra orthodossia ed eresia nel quinto secolo* (2002).

B. Green, *The Soteriology of Leo the Great* (2008).

S. Pietrini, *Religio e ius romanum nell'epistolario di Leone Magno* (2002).

Leo I (d. 474) Eastern *emperor 457–74. A soldier of Thracian origin, Leo was tribune in command of an elite unit from one of the praesental *armies based near *Constantinople at the time of the Emperor *Marcian's death in 457. He had previously been manager of the *estates of the powerful general *Aspar, who as a heterodox *Homoean ('Arian') Christian would have struggled to gain acceptance as an imperial candidate himself. Aspar, though, is credited with orchestrating Leo's succession to the childless Marcian, as a way of maintaining his own dominance of imperial politics. Leo's accession on 9 February 457 was accompanied by elaborate *ceremonies (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis*, 1, 91), perhaps to compensate for his lack of connections to the dynasty of *Theodosius I.

Aspar's influence persisted until 465/6 when Leo dismissed Aspar's son *Ardabur from a senior military post on grounds of treasonable correspondence with the *Persian Empire and began favouring *Zeno, an officer from *Isauria, who married Leo's elder daughter *Ariadne. Aspar subsequently pressured Leo into proclaiming as *Caesar his son Julius *Patricius and into agreeing to Patricius marrying Leo's younger daughter *Leontia (470–1), thereby effectively designating him as his heir. Later in 471, however, Leo had Aspar and his son Ardabur murdered in the imperial *palace, thereby earning himself the nickname of 'the butcher'; Patricius was stripped of his rank. This brought a reaction from Gothic **foederati* whose loyalty Aspar had cultivated, and in 473 Leo was forced to make concessions to their leader *Theoderic Strabo.

Leo's reign was also notable for his attempt to solve the *Vandal problem. Having organized for the Eastern aristocrat *Anthemius to become Western emperor in 467 and play a supporting role, Leo dispatched a large *fleet to *Africa in 468, commanded by his brother-in-law *Basiliscus. However, through a combination of diplomatic delay and fire ships, the Vandals destroyed the eastern fleet and inflicted a demoralizing and expensive defeat on the Empire. Having made his young grandson co-emperor as *Leo II the previous year, Leo I died in Constantinople, perhaps of dysentery, on 18 January 474. ADL

PLRE II, Leo 6.

B. Croke, 'Dynasty and Ethnicity: Emperor Leo I and the Eclipse of Aspar', *Chiron* 35 (2005), 147–203.

Leo II (467–74) Eastern *emperor 473–4. Son of the general *Zeno and *Leo I's daughter *Ariadne, he represented Leo I's best hope of dynastic continuity after his own baby son had died in 463. Despite his youth, Leo II was proclaimed *Caesar in 472, then, when Leo I fell ill, co-emperor in 473. He was briefly sole emperor following Leo's death on 18 January 474, until his father Zeno was made co-emperor (perhaps as early as 29 January). Leo himself fell ill and died in November 474. ADL

PLRE II, Leo 7.

B. Croke, 'The Imperial Reigns of Leo II', *BZ* 96 (2003), 559–75.

Leo III (*c.*685–741) *Emperor 717–41. Founder of the Isaurian dynasty, Leo III's origins and early career are obscure, but he was *Strategos of the *Anatolic *Theme when in 715 *Theodosius III deposed *Anastasius II. Leo refused to acknowledge Theodosius and, allied with his son-in-law *Artavasdus, Strategos of the *Armeniac Theme, marched on *Constantinople. Theodosius abdicated, and Leo was crowned emperor on 25 March 717.

Leo's immediate task was the defence of Constantinople against the approaching *Arab armies. The *siege of 717–18 proved a major Roman victory, yet the Arabs remained a significant military threat throughout Leo's reign, raiding deep into imperial territory, the border only stabilizing in the 730s and 740s.

As a *usurper Leo faced a degree of internal opposition and a need to render his rule legitimate. Successful military leadership permitted the relatively easy suppression *c.*717–19 of a plot by the former emperor Anastasius II and a revolt in *Sicily. Leo's alliance with Artavasdus generally assured internal peace after this period, but Leo also cemented his dynasty's position by crowning his infant son *Constantine V in 720, and broadcasting this on imperial *coinage which included a new *silver coin, the *miliaresion*. Leo also undertook several administrative and legal reforms, including the promulgation of the **Ecloga* in 741. This served to reform the Empire within its shrunken borders and proclaim an imperial ideology heavily drawn from the Old Testament.

It is as part of this process that Leo's supposed *Iconoclasm should be seen. Iconoclasm is a controversial topic, and recent scholarship casts serious doubt on previous accounts. For instance, in recent interpretations revolts by the *Helladic Theme and the See of *Rome in the 720s are associated with imperial fiscal policy, not with Iconoclasm. Nor is it thought that there was any formal *edict against *icons nor widespread destruction of icons. However, in 730 Leo did convene a *Silentium that condemned image worship as idolatry, leading to the resignation of Germanus, *Patriarch of Constantinople.

A serious *earthquake in 740 caused significant damage in Constantinople, leading Leo to levy an auxiliary tax to fund the rebuilding of the *walls. Leo died on 18 June 741, and was succeeded by Constantine V. MTGH

PBE, Leo 3.

PmbZ 4242.

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 69–155.

S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* (1973).

J. Moorhead, 'Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 165–79.

Speck, *Kaiser Leon III.*

Leodegar (S. Léger) *Bishop of *Autun (*c.*662–*c.*678) Heavily involved in politics, Leodegar was a leading figure among those in *Neustria-*Burgundy who invited *Childeric II of *Austrasia to rule them in 673 before being ousted in 675 and forced to share an *exile at *Luxeuil with his arch-enemy *Ebroin. In 675/6 Ebroin regained power and turned on Leodegar, whom he had mutilated and finally executed. Leodegar was subsequently venerated as a *martyr, and the first *Passio* of several (*BHL* 4849b–4856) was composed before the end of the 7th century. PJF

Passio Leudegarii I (*BHL* 4849b), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. V, (1910), 282–322.

ET (and comm.) Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF*, 191–253.

Leontia Youngest daughter of *Leo I and *Verina, she married Julius *Patricius, son of *Aspar, in 470/1, and then Flavius *Marcianus, son of *Anthemius. She supported Marcianus' revolt in 479 against *Zeno, and shared his imprisonment in *Isauria when it failed.

PLRE II, Leontia 1.

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 17, 19.

Leontia Daughter of the **patricius* Sergius, and wife of the *Emperor *Phocas, who crowned her *Augusta after his own *coronation (602). Pope *Gregory I (*ep.* 13) congratulated her on her *accession. PNB

PLRE III, Leontia.

Leonti Mroveli *Bishop of Ruisi, *Georgia, and historian, traditionally considered as the author of three books of the **Kartlis Cxovreba*: the *Life of the Kings*, the **Conversion of Iberia*, and the *Martyrdom of King Archil*. The *Life of the Kings* is conventionally dated to the 8th century, based on the historical and geographical data provided, but modern scholarship prefers a later (11th-century) date. The conclusion that Leonti is an 11th-century editor, rather than the original author of these narratives, is today considered most plausible. NA

Rapp, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography.*

Leontius Eastern *usurper (484–8). An *Isaurian who had risen to the senior military post of *Magister Militum per *Thracias, he was sent east by the *Emperor *Zeno against the Isaurian rebel *Illus. Once there, however, he was persuaded to join Illus, and was proclaimed *emperor at *Tarsus by the dowager *Empress *Verina in July 484. To consolidate his position, he moved with Illus to *Antioch, where he was favourably received, not least by the *Chalcedonian *Patriarch Calandion, who was strongly opposed to Zeno's recently issued **Henotikon*. However, the rebel forces were roundly defeated by Zeno's general *John Scytha near Antioch in September 484. He escaped with Illus to Isauria where they took refuge in the impregnable fortress of Cherris-*Papirius and withstood a siege for the next four years until betrayal resulted in their capture by Zeno's forces. He was executed with Illus and their heads displayed in *Constantinople. One of his advisers was the Egyptian teacher and poet *Pamprepius whose interest in *magic gave the rebellion a *pagan edge. ADL

PLRE II, Leontius 17.

H. Elton, 'Illus and the Imperial Aristocracy under Zeno', *Byzantion* 70 (2000), 393–407.

K. Feld, *Barbarische Bürger: Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich* (2005), 271–6.

Leontius **Scholasticus* (lawyer) and poet active in the mid-6th century. Several of his poems, composed in the epic dialect, were included in the *Cycle* of *Agathias and survive in the **Greek Anthology*. They include *epitaphs for contemporary men and women and *epigrams on portraits, including a series depicting female pantomime dancers. Other epigrams celebrate *bath buildings and the victories of the charioteer *Porphyrius. RW

Averil Cameron and Alan Cameron, 'The Cycle of Agathias', *JHS* 86 (1966), 6–25.

Leontius A *usurper who ruled officially as Leo (695–8). His career began in the *army. As *Strategos of the *Anatolikon *Theme, he campaigned successfully against the *Arabs in *Georgia and *Armenia, but rebellions in the Roman *fleet undermined him, and the *Emperor *Justinian II imprisoned him in 692. However, his expertise was soon needed, and he was appointed Strategos of the *Helladic Theme in 695. *Factions at *Constantinople and the *Patriarch Callinicus I (693–705) plotted successfully against Justinian II and made Leontius emperor. To disqualify Justinian from rule, Leontius slit his nose and exiled him to *Cherson in the *Crimea. In 697, Leontius lost *Lazica and Armenia, and the Arabs took *Carthage. Leontius promptly sent a fleet under the patrician John, which recovered the city, but it was lost again in 698. The same year *Tiberius III overthrew Leontius, imprisoned him, and slit his nose. In 705, Justinian II recovered the throne and in February 706 executed both Leontius and Tiberius at the Hippodrome in *Constantinople. ABA

PBE, Leontios 2.

PmbZ 4547.

*Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, vol. 2.

Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 514–17.

Treadgold, *Byzantine State and Society*, 337–41.

Leontius A 7th-century *mechanicus* who constructed a *globe illustrating the constellations described in Aratus' *Phaenomena*. His text *On the Construction of an Aratean Globe* mentions the usefulness of *astronomy in navigation. His *On the Circle of the Zodiac* relates it also to intervals and ratios in *music. LCT

ed. E. Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* (1898; ^{2}1958), 561–70.

E. Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes* (1985), 12–15.

Leontius of Bordeaux *Bishop of *Bordeaux from before 558 to after 568. He is known primarily from *Venantius Fortunatus, who wrote several poems in *praise of the bishop and his wife Placidina, his many ecclesiastical building projects, and his restoration of three *villas, as well as a metrical *epitaph. *Gregory of *Tours also reports how he was heavily fined by *Charibert I for looking to set his *metropolitan rights over against the royal will. JJA; STL

PLRE IIIB, Leontius 4.

PCBE IV/2, Leontius 16.

Roberts, *Humblest Sparrow*, 61–82.

Leontius of Byzantium One of several 6th-century Leontii, in the past often confused. Leontius of Byzantium is probably to be identified with the Leontius mentioned by *Cyril of *Scythopolis in his *VSab* as an '*Origenist', though it is obscure what this signifies. There is no evidence that he was Origenist in Christology; rather he was a staunch upholder of the doctrines of *Chalcedon, a 'strict Chalcedonian' in contrast to Neo-Chalcedonianism, though his notion that the humanity of Christ was *enypostatos*, that is, real, not abstract, was developed by Neo-Chalcedonians. His theological oeuvre is mostly concerned to clarify, by drawing on contemporary philosophy (as found in the contemporary Aristotelian commentators), the Chalcedonian definition, and defend it against the opponents of Chalcedon (whom he called 'Monophysites') and followers of *Nestorius and *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. AL

CPG 6813.

ed. (with introd. and ET) B. E. Daley (OECT, 2017).

Grillmeier, 2/2 (1995), 181–229 (with literature cited).

Leontius of Jerusalem One of several 6th-century men called Leontius, in the past often confused. Nothing is known of his life. Two works of his survive—*Against the Monophysites* and *Against the Nestorians* (*CPG* 6917–18), the former consisting of two parts: *Testimonies of the Saints* and *Aporiae*. Leontius defends the *Chalcedonian Definition against its detractors, and in doing so develops its Christology in the light of the theology of *Cyril of *Alexandria, that is, in a Neo-Chalcedonian direction. He identifies the Person of Christ with the second person of the Trinity, endorses the Cyrilline formula, 'One Incarnate Nature of God the Word', and accepts a form of Theopaschism. His theological method is imaginative, rather than scholarly, his citations from the fathers being notoriously inexact. He had a great influence on later Byzantine Christology. AL

Against the Monophysites (*CPG* 6917), ed. (with ET) P. T. R. Gray (OECT, 2006).

Grillmeier, 2/2 (1995), 271–312.

Leontius of Neapolis (*fl.* 635–50) Greek hagiographer and *Bishop of Neapolis (Limassol) on *Cyprus, Leontius was an ardent supporter of the Chalcedonian cause, and wrote *saints' lives to champion the virtues of doctrinal purity, charity, and humility. He is chiefly known for his *Lives* of S. John of Cyprus, also called S. *John the Almsgiver, the Chalcedonian *Patriarch of *Alexandria from 610 to 619/20 (*BHG* 886), S. *Symeon of *Emesa, the 'fool for Christ' of the 6th century (*BHG* 1677), and for a now lost life of S. *Spyridon, Bishop of Tremithus, 4th century. His *Against the Jews*, now fragmentary, became an important resource for later theologians (e.g. *John of *Damascus) as they articulated a case for the defence of *icons. In October 649, Leontius attended the *Lateran *Council along with *Maximus the Confessor in order to support Pope *Martin I's condemnation of the imperially favoured doctrines of *Monotheletism and Monergetism. CJH

CPG 7880–5:

ed. V. Déroche, '*L'Apologie contre les Juifs* de Léontios de Néapolis', *TM* 12 (1994), 45–104.

BHG 886 and 1677: ed. (with FT) A. J. Festugière and L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (1974–7).

ET of *Life of John the Almsgiver* in E. A. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (1946), 199–262.

D. Krueger (with ET of text), *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontios's Life and the Late Antique City* (1996).

V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 3, 1995).

C. Mango, 'A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontius of Neapolis', in I. Hutter, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters* (1984), 25–41.

Leo of Narbonne (*fl.* 460s–480s) Friend of *Sidonius Apollinaris, legal expert and man of letters, who claimed descent from Fronto, the tutor of the *Emperor Marcus Aurelius. He was an important figure at the court of *Euric of the *Visigoths by 475, and may have been involved in the compilation of the so-called Code of Euric. According to *Gregory of *Tours (*Glory of the Martyrs*, 91), he also counselled Euric's son *Alaric II, but encouraged the lowering of a church and was blinded for his impiety. JDH

PLRE II, Leo 5.

PCBE IV/2, Leo 3.

J. Harries, 'Legal Culture and Identity in the Fifth-Century West', in S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex, eds., *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (2000), 45–58.

Leovigild *Visigothic King (r. 568–86) Leovigild was the brother of Liuva I, the father (by his first wife) of *Hermenigild and *Reccared I, and the husband, after his accession, of *Goiswinth, widow of *Athanagild. Initially he was co-ruler with Liuva, who reigned in *Septimania, but ruled alone from 571/2, appointing his sons co-regents in 573 (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* IV, 38).

Leovigild's reign saw dramatic expansion (according to *John of Biclar, restoration) of the Visigothic kingdom through annual campaigns from 570 to 578: he defeated imperial forces around Malaga, suppressed rebels at *Cordoba, invaded the lands of the (unknown) Sappi, captured Amaya and incorporated Cantabria, campaigned in *Gallaecia, forcing the *Suebic King *Miro to sue for a truce, and overran the area surrounding Orospeda. In 579, he had his son *Hermenigild married to *Ingund, daughter of the *Frankish King *Childebert II, but Hermenigild then rebelled in the south of Spain, with Suebic and imperial assistance, and converted to Catholicism in 582. In that year, Leovigild marched against his son, capturing *Merida (Emerita) before besieging *Seville and taking the nearby city of Italica, finally apprehending him at Cordoba in 584 (*HF* V, 38; VI, 18 and 29 and 33). Leovigild then exiled Hermenigild to Valencia (*HF* VI, 43) and later had him murdered (*Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, III, 31).

Meanwhile, Leovigild had invaded the *Basque territory in 581, founding the city of Victoriacum to control it. He defeated the Suebes in 583, and received *oaths of loyalty from Miro, and then from his successor Eboric, but after Audeca usurped the throne in 585, he deposed him and absorbed the Suebic kingdom of Galicia (*Isidore, *History of the Sueves*, 92; *HF* VI, 43). Relations with the Franks were also tense. The years 580 to 584 witnessed complex negotiations over a potential *marriage between Reccared and Rigunth, daughter of *Chilperic, which came to nothing (*HF* VI, 34 and 45; VII, 9; IX, 24). Meanwhile the flight of Ingund to imperial territory after the defeat of

Hermenigild created bad blood (*HF* VI, 40), and several confrontations ensued between the Visigoths and the Frankish King *Guntram in Septimania (*HF* VIII, 28–30, and 35 and 38 and 45; IX, 1).

Leovigild was an important legislator, producing a *Codex Revisus* of Visigothic *law which survives, incorporated into the (later) **Book of Judges*. He ruled in Roman style, founding in 578 a new capital at *Reccopolis named after his son, and imitating imperial *coinage. He confiscated the property of many Visigothic nobles, and as a committed *Homoean ('Arian') actively persecuted Catholics, particularly after the rebellion of Hermenigild. In 580, he held a Homoean (Arian) Church council at *Toledo, which proposed re-baptism for heretics. He died there in 586, and was succeeded by his son Reccared (*HF* VIII, 46), who convened the Third Council of Toledo to repudiate his Homoean ('Arian') faith.

The central sections of the *Chronicle* of John of Biclar and *Isidore of Seville's *History of the Goths* (48–52) provide contemporary coverage of Leovigild's reign and the *Lives of the Fathers of *Merida* denounce resoundingly his ill-treatment of Christians who did not share his Homoean convictions. GDB

PLRE III B, Leovigildus.

Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 41–58.

Lepcis Magna Coastal *city, capital of *Tripolitania. *Inscriptions document the city's major families in the 4th century, including the Volusii and Aemilii. Under *Constantine I, the *city council and the *Curator Rei Publicae restored the Forum Vetus and its *basilica. Lepcis was raided in 363–5 by the Austuriani (*cf.* *Laguatan), causing rural destruction, a siege, and a dispute with Romanus, the *Comes Africae, that led to several citizens being executed (*Ammianus, XXVIII, 6, 1–30). Under *Justinian I the Severan Forum and basilica were converted into a fort and church. Three other churches are known, one constructed over a *temple in the Forum Vetus. Walls encompassing part of the city (44 ha/109 acres) were built following the *Byzantine invasion, but were subsequently reduced. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 335–68.

R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania', *Archaeologia* 95 (1953), 1–84.

R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Roman and Byzantine Defences of Lepcis Magna', *PBSR* 21 (1953), 42–73.

Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 116–22, 171–85.

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 208.

Leptiminus *City in *Byzacena, located 27 km (16 miles) south-west of *Hadrumetum. Excavations have identified several cemeteries including a Christian catacomb of the mid-4th to early 7th centuries located next to an earlier cemetery of the late 2nd to 3rd centuries. There is a possible church in the centre of Leptiminus and another at Henchir Soukrine to the south-east. Several *baths are known. Two were abandoned by the *Vandal period with industrial production housed in the East Baths from the 6th century onwards. Other Late Roman sites demonstrate industrial processes including *metalwork and *pottery production. By the 6th–7th centuries suburban zones were being abandoned and occupation was concentrated nearer the coast. The northern *aqueduct was partially blocked in the mid-7th century and its waters diverted from the city centre into a *cistern. A bishop, Criscentius, is known from 646. GMS

N. Ben Lazreg et al., 'Roman and Early Christian Burial Complex at Leptiminus (Lamta): Second Notice', *JRA* 19 (2006), 347–68.

L. M. Stirling, D. J. Mattingly, and N. Ben Lazreg, *Leptiminus (Lamta) Report No. 2. The East Baths, Cemeteries, Kilns, Venus Mosaic, Site Museum and other studies* (JRA Suppl. 41, 2001).

Lérins (Lerinum) *Monastery, founded *c.*400–10 by the Roman aristocrat *Honoratus (later *Bishop of *Arles, d. 429) on two islands in the Mediterranean, about 5 km (3 miles) from the city of Cannes. The monastery can be regarded as the first outpost of desert *monasticism in the Latin West. It had a strong impact on the rise of Western monasticism and became a place of eminent theological productivity, inspiring works by the allegedly 'semi-*Pelagian' theologians *Vincent of Lérins (d. after 435) and *Faustus, Bishop of Riez (d. before 500), and also those of *Eucherius, Bishop of *Lyons (d. 449), *Salvian (d. after 470), *Lupus, Bishop of Troyes (d. 478), and *Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (d. 542). F. Prinz called Lérins the 'Pflanzstätte' (nursery) of the episcopate of southern *Gaul. Several monastic foundations of the 5th and 6th centuries were founded by monks from Lérins or inspired by Lérins, e.g. Grigny, Île Barbe, S.-Jean in Arles, and S.-Maurice d'Agaune. The four oldest Latin monastic rules (*Regulae Patrum*, **Rules of the Fathers*) were probably written for Lérins. S. *Patrick may have stayed in Lérins before moving to *Ireland; S. *Augustine of *Canterbury (d. 604) visited Lérins before taking Roman Christianity to the *Anglo-Saxons in England. The monastery was destroyed in 732, rebuilt and destroyed several times during the Middle Ages, and abandoned in 1787. Today it is a Cistercian monastery. ADi

ed. A. De Vogüé (annotated with FT), *Les Règles des Saints Pères* (SC 297–8, 1982).

ed. M.-D. Valentin (annotated with FT), *Vie de Saint Honorat* (SC 235, 1977).

ed. S. Cavallin (annotated with FT by P.-A. Jacob), *La Vie d'Hilaire d'Arles* (SC 404, 1995).

Y. Codou and M. Lauwers, eds., *Lérins, une île sainte de l'antiquité au Moyen Âge* (2010).

C. M. Kasper, *Theologie und Askese. Die Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins* (1991).
C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (2000), 33–61.
F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrh.)* (²1988), 47–87.

Lesbos *See* MYTILENE.

Letöon Sanctuary of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis *c.*6 km (3.5 miles) south of *Xanthus, never a major settlement, and since quarried for stone. After destruction of the Hellenistic *temples, a church (perhaps a *monastery) with *triconch chapel was built of reused material (early 6th century). In use for about a century, it was destroyed, possibly during the *Arab invasions. A *mosaic donated by Eutyches suggests monastic functions. ACFC

R. M. Harrison, *Mountain and Plain: From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period* (2001).
H. Metzger, 'Fouilles de Létoon de Xanthos (1962–65)', *RevArch* 1 (1966), 109–11.

letter, imperial Imperial letters (*epistulae*) were issued by the palatine bureau *ab epistulis*. In the Late Roman period these letters were primarily addressed to officials; they gave imperial answers to specific queries, in addition to responding more generally to judicial and administrative issues. The *Letter of *Licinius, addressed to provincial *governors in 313, is an example. Late Roman imperial letters issued as responses to questions and petitions from private individuals (*see* RESCRIPTS) also survive, in particular in ecclesiastical sources. RvdB; CH

W. Kunkel, *An Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*, tr. J. M. Kelly (²1975).
Millar, *Greek Roman Empire.*

Letter of Licinius Imperial *letter of instruction to *governors of eastern *provinces issued on 13 June 313, at *Nicomedia, by the *Emperor *Licinius in the joint names of *Constantine I and himself bringing to an end the *persecution of Christians carried on by *Maximinus Daza, whom Licinius had just defeated. It was applicable only to the East; persecution had ended in the realms of Constantine and *Maxentius already in 306.

Licinius' letter permitted Christians to follow their religion and ordered the restoration of Christian property confiscated during the Great Persecution, without Christians having to pay those who had acquired it in the meantime (who might however request government compensation). The terms had been agreed between Licinius and Constantine when they met at *Milan the previous January and Licinius had married Constantine's sister *Constantia.

The text is preserved by both *Lactantius (*Mort.* 48, 2–12) and *Eusebius (*HE* X, 5, 2–14). Lactantius reproduces the *Latin text sent to the provincial *governor of *Bithynia. The *Greek version preserved by Eusebius presumably depends on the copy sent to the governor of *Palestine. They are closely similar, except that Eusebius alone preserves the preamble. OPN

ET (with comm.) O. [P.] Nicholson, 'Laws Ending Persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire', in N. Schlager, ed., *Milestone Documents in World History*, vol. 1: *2350 BCE–1058 CE* (2010), 295–307.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, no. 66.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 90–7.

Letter of Tansar (Tosar) *Letter ascribed to a *Zoroastrian high priest, thought to have been active under *Ardashir I (224–42), which survives in a New Persian translation made by Ibn Isfandiyar in the 13th century AD of a lost *Arabic version, translated by Ibn Muqaffa in the 9th century of a presumably Middle *Persian letter. Ibn Isfandiyar includes the letter in his *History of Tabaristan*, and scholars have variously viewed the letter as a late redaction of an original dating from the time of Ardashir, or as a text composed in the 6th century during the reign of *Khosrow I (531–79). The name Tansar, also read as Tosar, occurs in a number of **Denkard* passages (Books 3, 4, and 7), referring to a priest who reportedly compiled an authoritative version of the Zoroastrian canon during the reign of Ardashir I.

The text constitutes Tansar's detailed response to objections raised by King Goshnasp of Tabaristan against various deeds of Ardashir. It starts with a short and legendary history of Iran. Tansar promotes the ideal of an inseparable and twin-like unity between a centralized religious and political power. Seeking to persuade Goshnasp to submit to Ardashir's rule, he depicts the *Sasanian sovereign as a just ruler, a restorer but also a renovator of ancient traditions, deserving the unconditional obedience of his subjects. Tansar advances the idea of a united Iran, presumably in contrast to the fragmented rule exercised by the Seleucids and Parthians, and evokes strong nationalistic feelings comparing Ardashir with the legendary kings who protected the *Persian Empire and the Land of Iran (*Eranshahr) against enemy onslaught. The letter incorporates two lightly moralizing fables of Indian origin in its narrative. AZ

ed. M. Boyce (with ET), *The Letter of Tansar* (1968).

letters and letter writing Throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages letters were both an essential means of communication and a form of art. They might have a practical purpose, as when in 258 *Cyprian, *Bishop of *Carthage, warned a fellow bishop

about fresh developments in the *persecution of Christians under the *Emperor *Valerian (*ep.* 80). *Patriarchs of Alexandria long sent out a *festal letter informing churches of the date of *Easter as calculated by Alexandrian scholars. More detailed practical messages were often entrusted to the bearer of the letter—in the case of bishops often a *deacon—rather than being written into the text (e.g. *Gregory the Great, *ep.* II, 24). Imperial *letters sent to officials in the *administration had the force of *law. A letter was not expected to be a private document; emperors were not alone in having their letters read aloud to them (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 9, 8).

Whether in prose or verse, personal letters were shared as literature; a letter of *Libanius to *Gregory of *Nazianzus 'as it passed through the hands of all, became the private wealth of each, some by memorizing the words through repeated reading, others by taking a copy of them upon tablets' (Gregory, *ep.* 14, 4). Such letters were often accompanied by presents, for instance of food (e.g. *Ausonius, 1; 14; 19 Green = 18; 15; 25 Peiper); sometimes the letter is spoken of as itself the present. Letters might be written on *papyrus (preferred by *Jerome) or parchment (preferred by *Augustine). They promoted *patronage, articulated courtesies, and sustained *friendships. They were copied as exemplars of the art of the letter. The authors might follow the example of Pliny the Younger and with an affectation of artlessness assemble their letters into collections, where the texts could represent the character of the writer, demonstrate his social and political connections, and provide delight at the sight of his wit and learning.

OPN

C. Sogno, B. K. Storin, and E. J. Watts, eds., *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide* (2016).

letters and letter writing, Arabic The *Arabic word *risala* (plur. *rasa'il*) is pre-Islamic, denoting an unwritten, oral message. It very early attains the meaning of a written epistle and, by the mid-8th century, treatise. The word *kitab* usually denotes written correspondence in the early centuries.

The extent to which letter (or any) writing was practised in pre-Islamic *Arabia is much debated, but Arabic's cursive script seems to serve writing more than inscriptional purposes. A small number of 7th-century *papyri from *Egypt recording brief business and personal transactions testify to simple letter writing in Arabic from the moment of the *Arab conquests. Later chronicles such as *Tabari's *History*, written in the early 10th century, frequently cite sometimes lengthy letters from early Islamic figures, including the Prophet *Muhammad, but many of these are obviously inauthentic.

The epistolary tradition in Arabic effectively began when the *Umayyad *Caliph *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705; unopposed 692–705) inaugurated systematically Arabized state record keeping, which up till then had often been conducted in local languages. Early secretaries in the chancery (**diwan al-rasa'il*), such as *Salim Abu al-'Ala' and *'Abd al-Hamid al-Katib, crafted an enduring epistolary format and prose style.

Although Salim purportedly translated *Greek texts, the early style of Arabic letter writing is in many respects similar to that used in an Arabic public address (*khutba*). Every letter begins with an invocation of God's name (*basmala*), and *praise of God and blessings on the Prophet (*tahmid*). The early style is marked by a loose rhythm (occasionally fitting into a recognizable poetic metre), adorned sparsely with rhyme, favouring parallelism and other simple rhetorical devices. In government documents, the language is direct, but florid literary descriptions, e.g. of *hunting, are also extant. *Petitions, instructions, and lengthy advice literature all appear in Umayyad letters, alongside personal letters.

The *risala* format later evolved to encompass learned treatises on almost any subject. NAM

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Risala, 532–9 (Arazi and Ben-Shammay).

E. Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus: Form and Function, Content and Context* (2010).

Z. Safwat, *Jamharat rasa'il al-'Arab fi 'usur al-'arabiyyah al-zahira*, 4 vols. (1971).

letters and letter writing, Armenian The earliest *Armenian texts refer to the biblical epistles and also to current correspondence. *Koriwn mentions the exchange of letters in his *Life of *Mashtots'* (*c.*440); and the *Epic Histories* (**Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*) of *c.*470 notes official correspondence. Other early texts, such as the *Histories* of *Agat'angelos (*c.*460) and *Elishe Vardapet (late 5th cent.), provide examples of letter writing. While these letters may be literary forgeries, they undoubtedly reflect contemporary expectations of the epistolary genre. *Lazar's *Letter* (*c.*490) to his *patron, Vahan *Mamikonean, however, preserves the author's authentic complaint of maltreatment by his monastic brethren. The **Book of Letters* (*Girk' T'lt'ots'*) comprises the most significant collection of ecclesiastical letters dating from the 4th to the 13th centuries in Armenian. The *Letters* of Grigor Magistros (11th cent.) furnish an intriguing glimpse into one of the most learned minds of the period. Among apocryphal letters should be mentioned the *Letter of Love and Concord* (*c.*1200), supposedly sent from the Emperor *Constantine I to King *Trdat. SVLa

Thomson, *BCAL* 104–5, 127–8, 147; supplement 182, 186–7, 192.

letters and letter writing, Greek A great variety of letters and letter types have survived from Late

Antiquity in simple or more high-flown styles. It is uncertain whether *Greek letter writing was taught in schools. It does not seem part of an elementary curriculum (unlike what happened in Coptic *education) but teachers of *rhetoric may have taught it informally. Most handbooks of ancient epistolary theory date from the 4th and 5th century and all insist on brevity and clarity as prerequisites. A work *On Letter Form*, which distinguishes 41 letter types, survives in two versions attributed to both *Libanius and *Proclus, but should date from between the 4th and 6th centuries.

Thousand of letters on *papyri and ostraca have resurfaced from the Egyptian desert but most of them do not have literary ambitions and convey only daily information, requests, and salutations. The senders were not only men. The extant papyri show that while only a few women penned their own letters, many more dictated them to others, especially scribes. This fact does not reflect necessarily on the sender's *literacy or illiteracy. For both men and women in Late Antiquity, writing letters was a more formal activity than in the Roman period. It required the knowledge of complex formulaic expressions and the use of ornate characters, so people employed specialists.

Several collections of literary letters are extant from the 4th century from both pagan and Christian writers. The *Emperor *Julian (331–63) may have wanted to publish a collection of his letters but was prevented by his death. Among his extant correspondence (over 200 letters) there are not only messages to *friends and acquaintances but also official letters and rescripts. The sophist Libanius (314–*c.*393) was famous as an epistolographer. Over 1,500 of his letters survive, even though there is a gap between the years 365 and 388 that cannot be explained satisfactorily. Besides messages to friends, his correspondence includes letters to prominent people, public officials, and parents of his students. A generation later, 156 letters of *Synesius of *Cyrene are extant from *c.*395 to 413 addressed to about 40 correspondents. Their length varies from a few lines to several pages.

Many letter collections from Christian writers remain. Among the most important are those of *Athanasius, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, especially his *festal letters, of which epistle 39 lists the canonical books of the New Testament. The correspondence of *Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Gregory of *Nyssa, and *Basil of *Caesarea shows great literary polish. The 375 letters of Basil follow the events of his life until he became *bishop. Gregory of Nazianus made a collection of his own letters, of which 249 survive.

Epistolography continued to flourish in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries. Sophists of the school of *Gaza left letter collections. *Aeneas of Gaza (25 letters) and his successor as head of the school *Procopius (169 letters) corresponded with Christian and pagan intellectuals from Gaza and Alexandria. Over 100 letters are extant of *Cyril, *Patriarch of Alexandria (*c.*355–454), including 29 festal letters. Letters from the early 7th century are extant from *Maximus the Confessor and *Theophylact Simocatta. RC

E. Amato, ed., *Rose di Gaza: gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza* (2010).

R. S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt 300 BC–AD 800* (2006).

S. Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian* (TTH 41, 2004).

ed. (with FT) Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, 3 vols. (1957–66).

ed. (with FT) P. Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Correspondence*, 2 vols. (2003).

ed. (with ET) A. F. Norman, *Libanius: Autobiography and Selected Letters*, 2 vols. (LCL 478–9, 1992).

M. Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters: An Anthology with Translation* (2003).

letters and letter writing, Latin Documentary *papyri preserve very few *Latin letters from Late Antique *Egypt: the best examples are the model letters (in *Greek and Latin) in P.Bon. 5, from the 3rd or 4th century AD, and the letter to a cleric which comprises the 5th- or 6th-century P.Lond. V, 1792. The 4th-century *Ars Rhetorica* of Julius Victor also includes a brief appendix on epistolography (ed. C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* [1863], 447–80), notable chiefly for its interest in hierarchical relations and its straightforward division of letters into official and personal.

The worlds of imperial government and senatorial influence in the Latin West coalesce in the voluminous letters and *Relationes* ('dispatches') of the *senator *Symmachus the orator (*Praefectus Urbi, 384). *Bishops, like *Ambrose of Milan, as well as secular officials were also involved in administration, so much so that *Sidonius Apollinaris, like Symmachus, imitated Pliny the Younger by leaving behind a letter collection with a tenth and final book devoted to *court correspondence. Like Pliny, these men considered their letters small works of literary art. They wrote them to promote *friendship, to provide *patronage, and to intervene in political developments, whether as senator or as bishop. They collected them to articulate their social position and to demonstrate their place at the ostensible centre of a network of influential political and social connections. The literary could show their cultural *savoir-faire* in verse letters, such as those exchanged between *Ausonius and *Paulinus of Nola or those of *Venantius Fortunatus.

Classicism both combined and clashed with commitment to a new Christian culture. The informal, flowing, often paratactic style of *rhetoric associated with classical letter writing was not incompatible with Christian

notions about literary propriety. Christian and classical features are combined most insistently and influentially in the correspondence of Paulinus of Nola, whose sedulously cultivated contacts ranged from *Sulpicius Severus to *Rufinus of *Aquileia and *Augustine of *Hippo. Augustine in particular idealized his correspondence as intimate friendship, in which letters and letter-carriers embodied the original author. For Augustine this entailed the freedom to correct and chastise his correspondents, both through his interventions in the *Donatist and *Pelagian controversies, and also in general exchanges with physically distant friends and allies. This created tensions in particular with *Jerome, whose letters show him an effective polemicist and an energetic advocate of the *ascetic life of Christian *virgins and *widows and of Christian civilization in general.

Letters encouraged those who exchanged them, those who read them (aloud) to one other, and those who forwarded them to other friends to form networks, to define their ideas and to promote what they considered to be at the centre of Christian commitment—it is no coincidence that the earliest Christian documents are letters (those of S. Paul). There were informal exchanges, as in the Gallic circle surrounding *Ruricius of Limoges, though even correspondence between friends had an etiquette—Paulinus of Nola had friends with whom he thought it normal to exchange an annual letter (*ep*. 23, 2). More formal communications were issued by church *councils or by *patriarchs, popes, and other bishops, who like emperors and kings received *petitions and circulated judgements. Papal correspondence is best exemplified by the letter collection of *Leo I and the *Registrum* of *Gregory I, and its interpenetration with secular *administration by the miscellaneous documents of the **Collectio Avellana* and the diverse *Variae* of *Cassiodorus. MSW

ANCIENT LETTER COLLECTIONS

Augustine of Hippo, *Epistulae*: PL 33, reprinting the Maurist Fathers (1685); ed. A. Goldbacher (CSEL 34, 44, 57, 58, 1895–1923), ed. J. Divjak (CSEL 88, 1981), ed. K.-D. Daur (CCSL 31, 2004–).

ET J. E. Rotelle, R. J. Teske, and B. Ramsey, 4 vols. (WSA II, 2001–5); Sister Wilfrid Parson (FC 12 [1951]; 18 [1953]; 20 [1953]; 30 [1955]; 32 [1956]); 'Divjak' Letters 1*-29*: ET R. Eno (FC 81 [1989]).

Cassiodorus, *Variae*: *PL* 69, reprinting J. Garet (1679), ed. T. Mommsen (MGH Auct. Ant. 12, 1894).

ET T. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (1886), S. Barnish (selection, TTH 12, 1992).

Gregory I ('the Great'), *Registrum Epistularum*, ed. P. Ewald and L. Hartmann (MGH Ep.1–2, 1891–9), ed. D. Norberg (CCSL 140, 1982).

ET J. Barmby (selection, NPNF, 1895), J. Martin (Medieval Sources in Translation 40, 2004).

Ruricius of Limoges, *Epistulae*, ed. B. Krusch (MGH Auct. Ant. 8, 1887), ed. A. Engelbrecht (CSEL 21, 1891), ed. R. Demeulenaere (CCSL 64, 1985).

ET R. W. Mathisen (TTH 30, 1999).

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae*, ed. C. Luetjohann (MGH Auct. Ant. 8, 1887), ed. P. Mohr (1895), ed. (with ET) W. B. Anderson, 2 vols. (LCL 296 and 420, 1936).

ET O. Dalton, *The Letters of Sidonius* (1915).

Symmachus, *Epistulae* and *Relationes*, ed. O. Seeck (MGH Auct. Ant. 6, 1883), ed. (annotated with FT) J.-P. Callu, 4 vols. (Budé, 1972–2002).

ET M. R. Salzman and M. Roberts (with comm.), *The Letters of Symmachus, Book 1* (WGRW 30, 2011).

ET (annotated with text) R. H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor: The Relationes of Symmachus, AD 384* (1973).

STUDIES

J. Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians: Correction and Community in Augustine's Letters* (2012).

R. Gibson, 'On the Nature of Ancient Letter Collections', *JRS* 102 (2012), 56–78.

R. Mathisen, 'Epistolography, Literary Circles and Family Ties in Late Roman Gaul', *TAPA* 111 (1981), 95–109.

S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola. Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (2002).

M. Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus* (2009).

D. Scourfield, *Consoling Heliodorus: A Commentary on Jerome, Letter 60* (1993).

letters and letter writing, Syriac Letters can take on several different forms in *Syriac. Owing to the rarity of Syriac *papyri, only one fragmentary letter on papyrus is known. Surviving occasional letters take on a much more literary form, an early example being the short Letter of *Mara bar Serapion to his son (of disputed date). Many letters respond to particular occasions or needs: this applies to the various 6th-century letter collections, such as those of *Jacob of Sarug, *Philoxenus of Mabbog, and *Severus of *Antioch (only a small part of whose voluminous correspondence survives in Syriac translation), and to the 106 letters of *Isho'yahb III (d. 659), *Catholicus of the *Church of the East. Longer letters often take the form of replies to requests for specific information; this applies in particular to the letters of *Jacob of *Edessa and *George, *Bishop of the *Arab tribes in the late 7th/early 8th centuries. In some cases discourses on particular subjects (often theological) are presented in the literary form of letters (e.g. *Ephrem's Letter to Hypatius and the spiritual letters of *John of *Apamea); in such cases the opening sections may take on an elaborate and florid form. Purely fictitious is the provision of letters in pseudepigraphic literature, such as the correspondence between King *Abgar and Christ in the *Teaching of *Addai*, or the

Letter of Julian in the *_Julian Romance_ (ET: H. Gollancz, 82–5). Letter imagery is extremely common in Syriac literature, especially in poetry (where Gabriel is often described as presenting Mary with a 'letter'). SB

FT M. Albert, *Les Lettres de Jacques de Saroug* (Parole de l'Orient 3, 2004).
ed. (with LT) R. Duval, *Isho'yahb Patriarchae III Liber Epistularum* (CSCO 11–12, Scr. syr. 11–12; 1904–5).
Ph. Botha, 'Ephrem the Syrian's Fictitious Use of the Epistolary Form in his First Discourse to Hypatius', *Scrinium* 6 (2010), 32–48.
S. P. Brock, 'A Syriac Letter on Papyrus', *Hugoye* 2/2 (1999).
J. Tannous, 'The Life and Letters of George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes', in Kiraz, *Malphono*, 671–716.
J. J. van Ginkel, 'The Correspondence of Jacob of Edessa', in B. ter Haar Romeny, ed., *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (2008), 67–81 (cf. 282–4).

Leudast (d. 583) *Comes of *Tours under *Charibert I and *Chilperic I. He frequently clashed with its *bishop *Gregory of Tours, who portrayed him as a low-born villain (*HF* V, 47–9). When Chilperic dismissed him in 580, he plotted unsuccessfully against Gregory, and was eventually *tortured to death on *Fredegund's orders in 583 (*HF* VI, 32). EJ

PCBE IV/2, Leudastis.
PLRE IIIB, Leudastes.

leudes Magnates with military retinues who were bound by oath to *Merovingian kings. They assume prominence in times of disputed *succession or rebellion, when bribes and *gifts proved necessary to retain their loyalty. EM

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Leudes, XVIII (2001), 292–8 (G. von Olberg-Haverkate and H. Reichert).
B. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (1972).

Leviticus Rabba (Vayyiqra Rabba) An anonymous work of *Midrash juxtaposing 37 formally independent texts, which constitute so-called rabbinic 'homilies'. Most scholars date the work, which exhibits significant manuscript variations, to *c.*5th-century AD Palestine. Each 'homily' links most of its statements to a specific verse or group of verses in Leviticus. The order of 'homilies' mirrors the biblical sequence of these anchor verses (called 'Inyan'), which cover only a small proportion of Leviticus. Within each homily, a cluster of individual sequential interpretations dealing with the 'Inyan' verse(s) is framed by several preceding Petiḥah-units and one succeeding Ḥatimah-unit. (1) The formally distinct Petiḥah ('opening') begins by quoting a verse from elsewhere in scripture and interprets it in a manner that leads to the anchor verse in Leviticus or its topic. Usually several Petiḥah-units are juxtaposed. (2) Next comes a cluster of interpretation units dealing with the 'Inyan' verse(s) or theme(s). (3) Finally, a Ḥatimah ('seal') leads to a concluding verse or theme of comfort or eschatological hope; but only about half of the 'homilies' end in a Ḥatimah. (4) A format which links the 'Inyan' verse to a preceeding passage in Leviticus is sometimes found after the Petiḥah-units. Quotation-comment units, mostly concerning verses from outside Leviticus, dominate the textual fabric (*see* MIDRASH, 2); they are often attributed to a named rabbi, and found alongside narrative units and hermeneutic parables. Many interpretation units and other passages overlap tacitly with the Palestinian *Talmud, *Genesis Rabba, and *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana. AS

Midrash Rabbah (10 vols., Vilna, 1878).
M. Margulies, *Midrash Wayyikra Rabbah: A Critical Edition Based on Manuscripts and Genizah Fragments with Variants and Notes* (5 vols., 1953–60).
Online critical edition (in Hebrew): *Vayyiqra Rabbah* http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/midrash/VR/editionData.htm
H. Freedman and M. Simon, eds., *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols., 2nd edn. 1951), vol. 4.
J. Neusner, *Judaism and Scripture: The Evidence of Leviticus Rabba* (1986).
B. L. Visotzky, *Golden Bells and Pomegranates: Studies in Midrash Leviticus Rabbah* (2003).
M. Bockmuehl (ed. with ET), *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1996; German original: G. Stemberger, 1992), 288–91.
J. Neusner, *Comparative Midrash: The Plan and Program of Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah* (1986).
D. Lenhard, *Rabbinische Homilie. Ein formanalytischer Index* (Frankfurter judaistische Studien 10, 1998).
A. Samely, 'Literary Structures and Historical Reconstruction', in M. Goodman and P. S Alexander, eds., *Rabbinic Texts and the History of late-Roman Palestine* (2010), 185–216.
A. Samely, 'Leviticus Rabbah', in Samely et al., eds., *Database for the Analysis of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Texts of Antiquity* (2012), 315.

Levond Author of an Armenian history covering the years *c.*632–789. It is usually assumed that he was an eyewitness to the events of the 780s, but otherwise nothing is known of him. His *History* follows on from that attributed to *Sebeos, covering the subjugation of *Armenia to the *Umayyad *caliphate after its submission in 652. It also contains information about Umayyad wars with Byzantium. The *History* was commissioned by Shapuh *Bagratuni, governor of *Armenia 761–75. The author aimed to examine how Christian Armenia had come under Muslim domination. Where Sebeos believed the Muslims to be acting with divine

favour, Lewond wished to show that they had forfeited divine favour by breaking their *oaths to protect the Christians and through their own sinful conduct, so that their domination of Armenia would perforce be short-lived. TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* 149–50, supplement 192.

ed. K. Ezean (1887).

ed. with ET and comm. Z. Arzoumanian (1982).

***Lex Burgundionum* (*Liber Constitutionum, Lex Gundobada*)** A collection of *Burgundian royal *edicts, probably compiled under King *Sigismund in 516–17, although some manuscripts attribute it to *Gundobad. Some manuscripts also provide additions from the reign of Gundomar. Once thought to apply to Burgundians, but not to Romans, who were governed by the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, the two texts are now believed to have had a complementary use, both applying to both peoples.

Like the *Frankish **Lex Salica*, it sets out *compensation payments for *homicides and injuries, but is more comprehensive, treating law of property, slaves, *inheritance, and *marriage in greater detail. TWGF

ed. L. R. de Salis in MGH LL nat. Germ. 2, 1 (1892), 29–122.

ET K. Fisher Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (1949).

P. Amory, 'The Meaning and Purpose of Ethnic Terminology in the Burgundian Laws', *EME* 2 (1993): 1–28.

M. Innes, 'Land, Freedom and the Making of the Medieval West', *TRHS*, 6th series,16 (2006), 39–74.

Lex Gundobada *See* LEX BURGUNDIONUM.

***Lex Ribuaria* (*Lex Ripuaria, Lex Ribuariorum*)** A Frankish legal text, probably compiled in the 7th century, in the *Austrasian kingdom, although difficult to date or locate precisely. Two loose textual families have been identified: A (*Merovingian) and B (Carolingian). The text contains material derived from **Lex Salica*, and shows the influence of Roman *laws. Some of its provisions may also be derived from Frankish royal *edicts. It is more sophisticated than *Lex Salica*, and includes material relating to the Church, as well as detailed instructions on using *charters in legal business, for alienating land and freeing slaves. The text refers to those subject to the law as 'Ribuarians', and has often been understood as the law of the 'Ripuarian *Franks' of the East, as opposed to the 'Salian Franks' of the West. This is now questioned, since there is no evidence outside the text itself for a clear 'Ribuarian' ethnic identity in the Merovingian period. TWGF

ed. F. Beyerle and R. Buchner in MGH LL nat. Germ. III, 2 (1954).

ET T. J. Rivers, *Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks* (1986).

C. Schott, 'Der Stand der Leges-Forschung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 13 (1979), 29–55.

T. Faulkner, *Law and Authority in the Early Middle Ages: The Frankish Leges in the Carolingian Period* (2016).

Lex Romana Burgundionum A collection of abbreviated and modified Roman laws associated with the *Burgundian kingdom. It was probably composed in the early 6th century, but bears no date or attribution in its manuscripts. *Lex Romana Burgundionum* and *Sigismund's **Lex Burgundionum* (*Liber Constitutionum*) are influenced by each other and possibly refer to each other. They are now now generally understood to have been used as complementary texts, valid for those identifying as both Roman or and Burgundian. Its sources are the **Theodosian Code*, the *Institutes of Gaius*, and the **Gregorian and *Hermogenianic Codes*. It is considerably shorter than the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (*Breviarum* of *Alaric), which uses similar texts. It has been an important source for studying late Late Roman 'Vulgar *Law'. TWGF

ed. L. R. de Salis in MGH LL nat. Germ. 2,1 (1892), 123–70.

ed. in *FIRA* 2, 714–50.

F. Bauer-Garland, *Das Erbrecht der Lex Romana Burgundionum* (1995).

G. Chevrier, '*Review of W. Roels, Onderzoek*', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 118 (1960), 206–9.

Lex Romana Visigothorum *See* ALARIC, BREVIARIUM OF.

***Lex Salica* (*Pactus Legis Salicae*)** The earliest legal text associated with the *Franks, probably constructed before 511 under King *Clovis. It purports to describe the customs of the Franks as dictated by four wise men from beyond the Rhine. Its textual history is complex, with six redactions (A–E, K), the first three of which are plausibly from the *Merovingian period. It has been considered the law of the Western branch of the Franks, the 'Salian Franks', although a splitting of Frankish identity is now not universally accepted for the period of composition.

The text contains a catalogue of compensations for injuries and *homicides of men of different social ranks and ethnic identifications. It also treats inheritance and transfer of property, with elaborate descriptions of rituals, but makes no mention of the Christian Church, nor of the use of writing in disputes. Compared to all other Germanic *law, it shows the least influence of Roman *law in style and substance. The *Latin text contains many words of Germanic origin, and some manuscripts preserve corrupted glosses written in a *Germanic language, and known as the *Malberg Glosses. TWGF

ed. K. A. Eckhardt in MGH LL nat. Germ. 1: 4, 1 (1962) and 4, 2 (1969).

ET K. F. Drew, *Laws of the Salian Franks* (1991).
M. Springer, 'Salier und salisches Recht. Beobachtungen zu den Worten Salii und Salicus', in A. Wieczorek, ed., *Die Franken, Wegbereiter Europas* (1996), 485–7.
P. Wormald, 'The Leges Barbarorum: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West', in Goetz et al., *Regna and Gentes*, 21–55.

Libanius (314–*c.*393) Pre-eminent sophist and man of letters from *Antioch. He is the chief spokesman in our sources for the views and aspirations of the Greek civic *aristocracy in the 4th century, both a passionate defender of traditional *city life and a sharp critic of the increasing Romanization of eastern society in his day.

Born into one of the city's most distinguished families, Libanius was educated in Antioch and later at *Athens (336–40), after which he spent his early teaching years (340–54) in *Nicaea, *Nicomedia, and *Constantinople. In spring 354 he returned home, established himself as city *rhetorician and taught in his native city for four decades. His school is the best documented from Antiquity. Some 500 surviving *letters and numerous orations are concerned with his pupils and school life. He successfully recruited students from nearly all the *provinces of the East, and a number of distinguished contemporaries are said to have been his students: *John Chrysostom and *Theodore of *Mopsuestia (very likely), *Basil of *Caesarea and *Gregory of *Nazianzus (probably), and *Ammianus Marcellinus (possibly).

The *Emperor *Julian's nine-month stay in Antioch in 362–3 was the defining moment of Libanius' life as a public figure. Prized by Julian for his oratory, Libanius was welcomed into the imperial *palace for the only time in his life. Bad relations between Julian and the Antiochenes meant that his services as intercessor and mediator were much needed. However, the emperor's death on campaign against Persia undid Libanius' bright hopes and ushered in a period of danger and political eclipse. He remained deeply loyal to Julian's memory and defended him in a series of speeches. Politically marginalized under *Valens, Libanius became more publicly active under *Theodosius I and produced an astonishing number of speeches in old age. His later years were troubled by tensions with the *city council of Antioch, which questioned his immunity from curial duties and his efforts to keep close associates, including his son Cimon, free of curial duties. It is telling that he should feel obliged to compose speeches such as *To Those Who Called Him Tiresome* (*Oration* 2) and *Against the Critics of his Educational System* (*Oration* 62).

Libanius' knowledge of Classical literature was unrivalled in his day. He was Late Antiquity's purest 'Atticizer', modelling his style on the Attic orators of the 4th century BC, especially Demosthenes. The Byzantines admired him greatly and called him a 'Second Demosthenes'. His rigorous adherence to Classical *Greek usage and rejection of technical terminology from his own era can make him difficult for the modern reader. In effect, he uses the Greek of the Classical Athenian city state to address the political and cultural complexities of an early Byzantine world. His charm and verbal wit reward the patient reader.

Libanius has left 64 orations of diverse types. Of particular importance are his *Autobiography* (*Oration* 1), his speech in praise of Antioch, the *Antiochikos* (*Oration* 11), the Funeral Oration or *Epitaphios* on Julian (*Oration* 18), and the remarkable series of speeches on religious and social issues of the Theodosian age: *For the Temples* (*Oration* 30), *On the Prisoners* (*Oration* 45), *On Protection Systems* (*Oration* 47), *For the City Councils* (*Orations* 48–9), *About Forced Labour* (*Oration* 50), *On the Statues* (*Orations* 19–23). His corpus also preserves assorted declamations (imaginary speeches on historical/mythical topics) and school exercises. The 1,544 surviving letters comprise the largest corpus to survive from Antiquity, divided into two distinct groups: 1,269 from the decade AD 355–6 and 273 from the five-year period AD 388–93. Some 700 people, including scores of important officials, appear in the letter collection. After the *Theodosian Code*, he is the most important source for the prosopography of the Eastern Empire in the 4th century. SAB

PLRE I, Libanius 1.
Works, ed. R. Foerster, 12 vols. (1903–27, repr. 1963).
Selections ed. (with ET) A. F. Norman: *Selected Works* I and II (LCL 451–2, 1969 and 1977), *Autobiography and Selected Letters*, 2 vols. (LCL 478–9, 1992).
ET of *Orations* 3, 11, 31, 34, 36, 42, 43, 58, 62: A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (TTH 34, 2000).
Libanius, *Autobiographie (Discours I)*, ed. (with FT) P. Petit and J. Martin (1979).
ET S. Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius* (TTH 41, 2004).
R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (2007).
O. Lagacherie and P.-L. Malosse, eds., *Libanios, le premier humaniste: études en hommage à Bernard Schouler* (2011).
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (1972).
P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVème siècle* (1955).
J. Winjes, *Das Leben des Libanius* (2005).

Libelarius *Goth from Thrace, nicknamed 'Bull Eater'. He survived the flood of 525 in *Edessa, where he had persecuted *Miaphysites. In 527, as *Magister Utriusque Militiae per *Orientem, Libelarius commanded a disastrous expedition near *Nisibis. On his

dismissal, *Belisarius took command at *Dara (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 12, 24). PNB
PLRE II, Libelarius.

libellenses Staff assisting the *Magister Libellorum, organized as a **scrinium* regulated by the *Magister Officiorum. In the early 470s, established posts were fixed at 34 (*CJust* XII, 19, 10). Promotion was slow and by strict seniority to (for the most successful) the highest-ranking position of **proximus* (*CTh* VI, 26, 11 and 17). CMK
Jones, *LRE* 575–7.

libelli *Papyrus certificates, resembling tax receipts, recording individuals' compliance with *Decius' order for universal *sacrifice. Four dozen, issued in June–July 250, survive, three-quarters from *Theadelphia. *Cyprian calls Christians who held them *libellatici* (e.g. *ep.* 55, 13). Imprisoned Christians granted such lapsed brethren certificates of forgiveness. OPN
ed. J. R. Knipfing, 'The Libelli of the Decian Persecution', *HTR* 16 (1923), 345–90.
R. Scholl in R. Duttenhöfer, ed., *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig (P. Lips. II)* (APf, Beiheft 10, 2002), 218–41.
J. B. Rives, 'The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire', *JRS* 89 (1999), 135–54.
P. Schubert, 'On the Form and Content of the Certificates of Pagan Sacrifice', *JRS* 106 (2016), 172–98.

Liberal Arts, Seven A canon of academic disciplines associated with *Martianus Capella and his encyclopedic *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (*On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*), a *Latin text of the 5th century. After two books of introductory *allegory, in which the marriage of Mercury and Philologia is arranged, each of the subsequent seven books is dedicated to a liberal art. The first three liberal arts, those concerned with language, *Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric, came to be known as the 'trivium', and the following four, those concerned with *mathematics, *Geometry, Arithmetic, *Astronomy, and Harmonics (including *Music), the 'quadrivium'. In each case, a female *personification of the particular liberal art describes the area of knowledge she represents. It is a highly derivative work—Capella's literary sources include Varro, *Pliny the Elder, and Solinus. His direct familiarity with *Greek texts has been challenged.

The canon of liberal arts was a Roman adaptation of and equivalent to the Greek *enkyklios paideia*, which had its origins in classical sophism; the role of Varro in shaping the Roman canon is incompletely understood. *Augustine, *Cassiodorus, and *Isidore of *Seville accommodated the liberal arts for Christian use. Capella's liberal arts influenced medieval education, where it became a curriculum for study before more specialized focus, such as on law; his text also spawned a rich manuscript and commentary tradition. RDR
I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique: contribution à l'histoire de l'éducation et de la culture dans l'Antiquité* (²2005).
I. Ramelli, *Marziano Capella: Le Nozze di Filologia e Mercurio* (2001).
D. R. Shanzer, *A Philosophical and Literary Commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, book 1* (1986).
ET W. H. Stahl and R. Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols. (1971, 1977).

Liberatus and Bellesarius (perhaps *c.*500) Authors of poems found in manuscripts of *Sedulius that praise the *Carmen Paschale*, elaborating on topics included in the introductory lines of that poem, where Sedulius compares his work to a humble meal, and speaks of the influence of the Psalms of David. They are described as *scolastici* ('men of learning'). Both poems contain *acrostics and telestichs spelling out *Sedulius Antistes*, 'Bishop Sedulius'. (In fact, there is no reason to think that Sedulius was ever a *bishop.) MJR
PLRE II, Liberatus 2 and Belisarius ('Bellesarius').
CPL 1451–2.
ed. A. Riese, *AnthLat* I, 492–3.
ed. Guillelmus von Hartel (CSEL 10, 1885), 307–10.

Liberatus of Carthage *Deacon of *Carthage, author of *Breviarium Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, an account of the Christological controversy from the election of *Nestorius as *Patriarch of *Constantinople (428) to the publication of *Justinian I's decree condemning the *Three Chapters (544). Liberatus was opposed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and laments bitterly the weakness of many of the *bishops of *Africa who, corrupted by bribes, accepted the decree. Earlier he had visited *Rome as an emissary of the Church of Carthage. AL
Breviarium Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum (*CPL* 865): ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO*, ii/5, 98–141.

Liber Calipharum *See* CHRONICLES, SYRIAC.

Liber Castitatis Collection of 140 brief biographies of leading figures in the *Church of the East, principally from northern *Mesopotamia, written (*c.*860) by Isho'dnah, Metropolitan of *Basra, who also wrote a (now lost) *Church History*. OPN
GEDSH s.n. Isho'dnah of Basra (Brock).

ed. (with FT) J.-B. Chabot, 'Le Livre de la chasteté composé par Jésusdenah, évêque de Baçrah', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 16 (1896), 1–80 (Syriac), 225–91 (French).
Wood, *Chronicle of Seert*, 150–3.

***Liber Generationis* (*Συναγωγὴ χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας*)** A *Greek guide to the chronology of the Old Testament originally compiled before 235, which exists in three independent *Latin translations of 334, 359 (later reworked in 365), and the 780s; a partial 10th-/11th-century Greek text, as well as a number of partial Greek (and one *Arabic) witnesses in other sources; and a partial *Armenian translation. This chronograph is referred to as the *Chronicle of Hippolytus*, but there is no agreement as to the identity of 'Hippolytus', no good evidence that *Hippolytus ever wrote such a work, and nothing in the *Liber Generationis* that would link it to him (apart from the date), even if he had. Unfortunately the many faults of Helm's study and all extant editions necessitate a new study and edition. RWB

ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1 (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 78–140.
ed. C. Frick, *Chronica Minora*,1 (1892), 2–111.
ed. Adolf Bauer, 'Die Chronik des Hippolytos im Matritensis graecus 121', *TU* NF 14 (1906), 1–287.
ed. Adolf Bauer and Rudolf Helm, *Die Chronik*. Hippolytus Werke 4 (GCS 46, 1955).
Frick (above), v–lxvii, ccx–ccxv.
R. W. Burgess, 'The Date, Purpose, and Historical Context of the Original Greek and the Latin Translation of the So-Called *Excerpta Latina Barbari*', *Traditio* 68 (2013), 1–56.
Burgess-Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time* 1, 117–19, 366–71.

***Liber Graduum* (*Book of Steps*)** Late 4th-century collection of 30 *Syriac discourses (**memre*) by an anonymous author in the *Persian Empire. The discourses depict a two-tiered pre-monastic Christian society, consisting of the upright (*kine*) who are married, work, and use their wealth for active ministry, and the perfect (*gmire*) who are celibate, do not work, and have no possessions; they teach and mediate in *disputes. The author expresses disappointment at the spiritual decline of the perfect, but affirms the surprising progress of the upright. RAKi

GEDSH s.v. Book of Steps 85–6 (Kitchen).
ed. (with LT) M. Kmosko, PatSyr 1/3 (1926).
ET R. A. Kitchen and M. F. G. Parmentier, *The Book of Steps* (CSS 196, 2004).
K. S. Heal and R. A. Kitchen, eds., *Breaking the Mind: New Studies in the Syriac 'Book of Steps'* (2014).

Liber Historiae Francorum A history of the Franks from their supposedly Trojan origins to the present, written from the perspective of *Neustria by an anonymous author in 726/7, possibly at *Soissons. Its last eleven chapters (43–53) offer a succinct but indispensable account of *Merovingian politics in the period 639–727, the only such historical narrative. Its earlier parts condense and substantially rework the six-book version of *Gregory of *Tours's *Historia Francorum*, into which the author weaves epic tales similar to but independent of those offered by the *Fredegar Chronicle, whose Carolingian reviser soon appropriated its closing chapters for his own narrative of Frankish history. EMB; STL

ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2 (1888), 215–328.
ET B. S. Bachrach, *Liber Historiae Francorum* (1973).
ET Fouracre and Gerberding (chs. 43–53 only, with introd.), *LMF* 79–96.
FT S. Lebecq, *La Geste des rois des Francs: Liber Historiae Francorum* (2015).
R. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1987).
H. Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850* (2015), 240–81.

Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis *See* AGNELLUS.

Liberius (bp. *Rome 352 until his death in 366) Liberius espoused the Nicene *Creed and was exiled to *Thrace after the Council of *Milan (355) for refusing to condemn *Athanasius. Two years later, he capitulated to *Constantius II, accepted the *Homoean creed, and was allowed to return to Rome, where he coexisted with the newly appointed *bishop, Felix. Following the death of Constantius II, Liberius restated his Nicene faith, but adopted a conciliatory position towards former Homoean bishops. A popular bishop in life, he veiled *Ambrose's sister Marcellina, and built the Liberian Basilica (*S. Maria Maggiore). After his death, dispute over the *succession led to violent disorders in Rome, and his reputation was immersed in controversy (**Liber Pontificalis*, 37). DN

PCBE II/ 2, Liberius 1.
Letters (*CPG*, 1628–30):
ed. V. Bulhart (CCSL 9, 1957), 121–3.
ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik (CSEL 71, 1952), 423–6.
ed. A. Feder (CSEL 65, 1916), 89–93, 155–7, 164–73.
T. D. Barnes, 'The Capitulation of Liberius and Hilary of Poitiers', *Phoenix* 46/3 (1992), 256–65.
J. Haller, *Das Papstum* (1948–54), vol. 1, 71–5.
P. Levillain, ed., *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia* (2002), vol. 2, 943–5.

Liberius Petrus Marcellinus Felix (after 465–after 554) Correspondent of *Ennodius and Roman aristocrat, admired by *Procopius (*Gothic*, V, 4, 24). As *Theoderic's *Praefectus Praetorio *Italiae (493–500), he settled

*Ostrogothic soldiers on confiscated land peacefully and prosperously. He served succesfully as Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum from 510 to 534, when he exemplified the volatile loyalties of the senatorial *aristocracy by defecting to *Justinian I while on an embassy from *Theodahad. Under Justinian, he served as *Praefectus Augustalis (538/9–42), held commands in *Sicily (550) and *Spain (552), and negotiated with *Vigilius of Rome in Constantinople in 553. In old age he returned to *Italy and was buried at *Ariminum. PNB

PLRE II, Liberius 3.

Sarris, *Empires of Faith*.

Liber Pontificalis A serial collection of biographies of the *bishops of *Rome, whose writing began sometime in the 530s and was brought up to date with interruptions until the 870s.

The collection has a complex textual history. Authorship is usually associated with clergy of the church administration at Rome who had access to archives. The author of two forged *letters which form a preface to the *Liber Pontificalis* intended it to be seen as the work of *Damasus (bp. Rome, 366–84) composed at the request of *Jerome. Two distinct manuscript traditions attest the origin of the text: one edition contains papal lives up to 530 (ending with Felix IV), while the second edition, produced in the 540s, revised lives of the first edition and then continued to Silverius (d. 537). Sometime around 640, an author brought the second edition up to date, which was then maintained more or less continuously until the late 9th century.

Lives in the first edition may have originated with a late 5th-century tradition of papal biographies that were subsequently used to compile the so-called Laurentian Fragment connected to a posthumous attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of *Symmachus (bp. 498–514). Symmachus' election had involved violence at Rome and the intervention of political authority from *Ravenna. This places the *Liber Pontificalis* in the wider context of the Laurentian Schism (498–506) and disputes concerning theological *rapprochement* with the East. *Bede is the first author to cite the *Liber Pontificalis*, thereby indicating renewed use of the text as a source of papal history in the 7th century.

Much of the *Liber Pontificalis* bears the imprint of church *archives and each biography follows a relatively consistent format, including the origin of the bishop, the length of his episcopacy, the number of episcopal ordinations over which he presided, and circumstances of his death. Nonetheless, the criteria followed to portray particular bishops appear more individualistic. Fuller lives include contributions made by bishops to church doctrine and liturgical practices, texts composed by the bishop, and interaction with secular rulers. The *Liber Pontificalis* has a prescriptive concern for the activities and behaviour appropriate to popes. The founding of new churches, rigorous action against *heresy, and the management of gifts to and from the church are common themes. Lists of church property, such as in the life of *Silvester (bp. 314–35), offer valuable insights into the wealth of the Church, the role of the bishop as steward of properties, and the influence of *patrons. The *Liber Pontificalis* is an excellent source for understanding the **titulus* churches, although attention to the history of churches at Rome is not consistent. Nonetheless, the *Liber Pontificalis* offers a vivid supplement to the Christian topography of Rome. The text also illuminates various schisms and the survival of *Manichaeism and Christian heresies. MSB

ed. L. Duchesne (with extensive introd. and comm.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols. (1886–92).

ETs (annotated) by R. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs: The Ancient Biographies of First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715* (TTH 6, ³2010) and *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes from AD 715 to 817* (TTH 13, ²2007).

H. Geertman, 'Documenti, redattori e la formazione del testo del *Liber Pontificalis*', in *Il Liber Pontificalis e la storia materia* (2003), 267–84.

Libertinus As Praetor of *Sicily 593–5, he corresponded with *Gregory the Great about a *Jew who owned Christian slaves (*ep.* III, 38). Later he was accused of embezzlement, beaten, and imprisoned; Gregory wrote to comfort him (*ep.* X, 31).

PLRE III, Libertinus.

Libius Severus (d. 465) Western *emperor (461–5). A native of *Lucania whose background is otherwise unknown, he was made emperor by the powerful general *Ricimer in 461, following Ricimer's elimination of the Emperor *Majorian. Ricimer remained the controlling force during his reign, which was never officially recognized by *Constantinople. Concern to win support in *Gaul may have led Severus to cede Narbo to the *Visigoths, but he faced resolute opposition from the general *Aegidius, a former associate of Majorian, who defeated Severus' Visigothic allies at *Orléans in 465. Severus died at *Rome in November 465; *Cassiodorus, writing later, claims he was poisoned by Ricimer (*Chronicle s.a.* 464), but this has found little support against *Sidonius' allusion to his death from natural causes (*Carmen*, II, 317–18). A few of his laws survive (*NovSev*). ADL

PLRE II, Severus 18.

NovSev: ed. P. Meyer and Th. Mommsen (1905).

ET Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 568–9.

MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, 215–33.

libraries The earliest surviving use of the *Greek term *bibliotheke* (literally 'book-container') is from the

Hellenistic period and alludes to the Royal *Library of *Alexandria. Other great Roman *cities had public libraries. Some of these were free-standing institutions, such as the twin libraries which flanked Trajan's Column in *Rome or the Library of Celsus at *Ephesus, damaged probably in an *earthquake in the 3rd century and transformed into an architectural water feature *c.* AD 400. Others were associated with *temples, such as those at the *Serapeum, Claudianum, and Caesareum in Alexandria, or with *bathhouses, including the Baths of *Diocletian at *Rome.

*Constantinople had a public library from at least the reign of *Constantius II. *Zosimus states that *Julian deposited all his books there (III, 11, 3); these may or may not have included the substantial library of *George of *Cappadocia, *Patriarch of Alexandria, which Julian claimed as his own after George was lynched by an Alexandria mob (Julian, *ep.* 22 Wright 378C). In 372 *Valens ordered that the Constantinople library should be staffed by four Greek and three *Latin copyists as well as conservators and custodians (*CTh* XIV, 9, 2). It was said to have contained 120,000 volumes when it was destroyed by a fire in 475 (*George Cedrenus, 1, 616; *Zonaras, XIV, 2). A second fire in 726 under *Leo III the Isaurian allegedly caused an additional loss of 36,500 books (Constantine Manasses, *Compendium chronicon*, 4262–3).

There were large private libraries in senatorial *houses, though *Ammianus complained that those in Roman mansions were kept for ostentation rather than for use (XIV, 6, 18). That could not be said of the learned *senator *Boethius (*c.*480–524), who, summoned by the Lady Philosophy to search for her in his heart, not in his book cupboards, describes his own library as surrounded by walls ornamented with *ivory and *glass (*Consolation of Philosophy*, I, 5, 6).

Evidence from *Egypt about private libraries (as distinct from *archives) recorded in finds of *papyri includes a substantial number of book-lists, each pointing to private collections of varying dimensions. The largest of them (listed in P.Oxy. 2659, 2nd cent.) must have numbered several thousands of Greek volumes. Two lists from the not less lively 4th–5th-century Hermopolis (P.Turner 9; P.Berl. inv. 21849), mostly containing rhetorical papyri, may been inventories of private collections of scholars or lawyers. In the Greek East, no major Greek library has been found *in situ* to compare with that found in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum in *Italy—which possibly belonged to the *philosopher Philodemus and was abandoned after his death (*c.*35 BC).

*Book production was expensive, and the *price of books was high. Neither papyrus not parchment was cheap, and neither lasts for ever. Parchment appears to have been thought (not necessarily correctly) to be more durable than papyrus, and both were more permanent than wax *tablets, but natural decay was a surer threat to the preservation of texts than the chances of violence or fire. The process of copying also posed difficulties. Scholars might lend one another books to copy for the fair love they had of learning, but, as *Longinus complained to *Porphyry, good copyists were hard to find—even in *Athens (Porphyry, *VPlot* 19). *Augustine admired the integrity of his former pupil Alypius because even though he had a good job in the imperial *administration he did not make use of government scribes to copy literary texts for his own use (*Conff.* VI, 10, 16).

It was indeed the availability of copyists which made possible the creation of one of the most impressive private libraries of Late Antiquity. *Origen at *Caesarea of *Palestine was provided by his *patron Ambrosius with at least seven *shorthand writers and the same number of copyists as well as girls trained in *writing (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 23). Late Roman *codices* were stored lying on their sides in book cupboards (*armaria*), sometimes numbered (**HA Tacitus*, 8, 1), like those depicted holding Gospel books on the *mosaics of the building at *Ravenna known as the Mausoleum of *Galla Placidia. The manuscripts in the cupboards of Caesarea made possible the scholarly work of Origen, of his pupil *Pamphilus, and of Pamphilus' pupil Eusebius. At the same time that Origen's library was being assembled, a similar library, also used by Eusebius, was being put together for the church at *Jerusalem by Alexander the bishop (*HE* VI, 20).

Churchmen in the *Latin-speaking world continued to take such initiatives into the Middle Ages. A library gathering and indexing the works of *Augustine was assembled by *Eugippius (*c.*460–535) at the Castellum Lucullanum at *Naples. The monastic school called *Vivarium founded at Squillace by *Cassiodorus (*Inst.* 1, 29), which included a scriptorium as well as a library, helped perpetuate classical culture long after his death in *c.*585, and may have served as a model for the library of *Isidore of Seville. In the kingdom of Northumbria, a devout *Anglo-Saxon called Benedict Biscop assembled a large library at the double *monastery he founded at *Wearmouth-Jarrow which comprised the broad range of scientific, historical, and theological works which made possible the work of the Venerable *Bede.

Monasteries in Egypt also had libraries. The most important discovery associated with them has been the collection of early Christian *Gnostic treatises found in 1945 in a jar at the foot of a cliff by the *Nile near the town of *Nag-Hammadi. According to J. M. Robertson, these 3rd-/4th-century codices along with the *Bodmer and the *Chester Beatty papyri all come from a single monastic library established by Apa *Pachomius (*c.*292–348) at *Phbow (mod. Faw al-Qibli). In the Sohag region, some 100 km (*c.*62 miles) north-east of

Phbow, a large collection of Coptic manuscripts stored in the cells of the *White Monastery of *Shenoute escaped the attacks of the Mamluks in the 14th century and were acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1885–7.

From the Fayyum area (*Arsinoite Nome) came the *Hamouli codices, which most probably belonged to the library of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou. Seven codices from Medinet Madi, also in the Fayyum, dating from the late 3rd to the 5th century AD contain *Manichaean texts, including *letters and liturgical works attributed to *Mani and his disciples. The latter suggest the presence of a Coptic library belonging to a 4th-century Manichaean centre on the south-west edge of the Fayyum.

The library of the Syrian Monastery in Egypt, *Deir as-Suriani, contained numerous important manuscripts, largely now in London, but the original core of this collection was itself brought to Egypt from *Mesopotamia in the early 10th century. Information about libraries in the *Syriac-speaking world itself is sparser than it is for those in Egypt. There must have been extensive collections at the learned 6th-/7th-century Syrian *Miaphysite monasteries of *Qenneshre, Eusebona, and Tel 'Ada, though it is possible that some of these were more personal than institutional property; when *Jacob of *Edessa resumed his episcopal see at Edessa in 708 he apparently planned to take his books with him from the monastery of Tel 'Ada. Similarly in the *Church of the East, there was a library at the *School of *Nisbis, and *Thomas of Marga makes frequent allusions to the libraries of the monastery of Beth 'Abhe and of the Great Monastery of Mar *Abraham of Kashkar on Mount *Izla. But books were also personal; when the scholar *Narsai migrated from Edessa to Nisibis he travelled light, but he insisted on taking his books with him, for they were 'his whole treasure'.

MPe; OPN

H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (1992), 133–222, 232–8.
A. Carricker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (VigChrist supplements 67, 2003).
L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (2001).
G. Cavallo, *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale* (²1989).
S. Emmel and C. E. Römer, 'The Library of the White Monastery in Upper Egypt', 5–14, and A. Maravela-Solbakk, 'Monastic Book Production in Christian Egypt', 25–7, both in H. Froschauer and C. E. Römer, *Spätantike Bibliotheken. Leben und Lesen in den frühen Klöstern Ägyptens* (2008).
G. W. Houston, 'Papyrological Evidence for Book Collections and Libraries in the Roman Empire', in W. A. Johnson and H. N. Parker, eds., *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome* (2009).
Janin, *CPByz* 161–3.
M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (2005).
L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (⁴2013).

libraries, monastic, Eastern Libraries in *monasteries are attested in literary, documentary, and archaeological sources from *Egypt, *Palestine, *Syria, *Anatolia, and *Constantinople. They were established already in the 4th century AD and some, for example in the *Wadi an-Natrun in Egypt and the library of Mar Mattai in *Mesopotamia referred to by *Thomas of Marga, have survived continuously until the present. Much of the library of Deir al-Suryani in Egypt, large parts of which are now in the British Library, was collected in Mesopotamia in the 10th century.

Monastic libraries contained *papyri, ostraca, and *inscriptions primarily by Christian writers but also by Classical authors. Inventories of monastic property illuminate the wide variety of topics covered, while the archaeological remains of extensive wall niches indicate that the libraries of major monasteries owned hundreds of books each. The Rules of S. *Pachomius refer to the library of his community and to monks borrowing books on a daily basis. There are, though, stories in the **Apophthegmata Patrum* (e.g. Serapion, 2) which suggest that books represented an unwarranted expense for monks.

The *price of books on the open market was high. Colophons in surviving manuscripts reveal that *patronage of the clergy and of both laymen and laywomen promoted the development of monastic libraries. Commissioning a manuscript was often an act associated with the salvation of the soul of the *patron or the patron's family. Monastic scribes frequently copied, illuminated, and bound commissioned manuscripts. On other occasions, monastic communities exchanged manuscripts and copied each other's books. CK

CoptEnc 1447b–1450a *s.v.* libraries (M. Krause).
J. T. Walker, 'Ascetic Literacy: Books and Readers in the East-Syrian Monastic Tradition', in H. Börn and J. Wiesehöfer, eds., *Commutatio et Contentio; Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East in Memory of Zeev Rubin* (2010), 306–45.

libraries, monastic, Western *Augustine's *monastery at *Hippo Regius had a complete set of his writings. The *Rule* of S.*Benedict and the **Rule of the Master* required readings during the night office and also at mealtimes, and the monks were to read after lunch. Similarly, the *Rules* of *Aurelian of *Arles (AD 547, for nuns) and of *Isidore of *Seville (before 636) enjoin daily reading in the monastery. *Cassiodorus described the library at his monastery of *Vivarium, and the works he commissioned for it. S. Benedict recommended reading *John Cassian's *Conferences*, his

Institutes, the Lives of the Fathers, and the Rule of S. *Basil (*Rule* 42 and 73). There were important monastic libraries in *Rome. Malmesbury under *Aldhelm contained works of antiquity now lost, and *Bede quotes over 250 titles from the *Wearmouth-Jarrow library. Manuscripts copied in the monastery of *Eugippius in *Naples, and from the libraries of *Bobbio (founded 615), *Luxeuil (found 590), and *Corbie (founded 661) dating to the 7th century still survive. DG

P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, tr. J. Contreni (1976).
K. Christ and A. Kern, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, tr. T. M. Otto (1984).

Library of Alexandria Founded alongside the place of study called the Museum (Gk. *Mouseion*) by Demetrius of Phalerum, most likely under Ptolemy I (323–83 BC), the Library was established with the aim of creating a universal collection of the extant literary and scientific works from the Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, and Near Eastern worlds. Ancient sources credit the Ptolemies with the collection of hundreds of thousands of scrolls (Aristeas Judaeus, 9–10; Gellius, VII, 17, 3; Tzetzes, *Prolegomena de Comedia*, p. 32.2-12 Koster). The actual figure, however, should settle at around 10,000 to 15,000.

Myths about the Library abound. Aristotle is alleged to have been responsible for its design and arrangement, Ptolemy is credited with inheriting Aristotle's private *library, and Cleopatra is said to have acquired for *Alexandria the rival library of the kings of *Pergamum. The Royal Library is said to have been damaged in 48 BC during the Alexandrian War between Julius Caesar and Ptolemy XIII (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49, cf. Strabo, II, 1, 5); *Ammianus deems the number of books then destroyed to be 700,000 (XXII, 16, 13), *Orosius (not unproblematically) says 400,000 (VI, 15, 31–2). The disappearance of the Library and Museum have been connected with sieges of Alexandria by the *Emperor *Aurelian fighting Palmyrene forces in 273 and by the Emperor *Diocletian fighting the *usurper *Achilleus in 298, though references to the Museum in the 5th century suggest that it may have been re-established elsewhere in the city.

The Royal Library was not the only *library in *Alexandria. There were important libraries at the Caesareum and Claudianum. *Epiphanius of *Salamis refers to the Library at the *Serapeum, itself a Hellenistic foundation, as 'the daughter library' (*On Weights and Measures*, 11); this may or may not be identical with the Outer Library mentioned by Tzetzes. The tale that libraries at Alexandria were destroyed on the orders of the *Caliph *'Umar during the *Arab invasion cannot be traced further back than *Bar 'Ebroyo in the 13th century. MPe; OPN

R. S. Bagnall, 'Alexandria: Library of Dreams', *PAPS* 146 (2002), 348–62.
Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 401–26.
L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (2001), 31–47.
M. Clauss, *Alexandria. Schicksale einer antiken Weltstadt* (2003), 92–8.
M. El-Abbadi, 'The Alexandria Library in History', in A. Hirst and M. Silk, eds., *Alexandria. Real and Imagined* (2004), 167–83.
Watts, *City and School*, 148–51.

***liburna* (liburnian)** A bireme *ship developed from the galley of the Liburni of Illyria, who used it for plundering. *Liburnae* were known for speed They were first employed by Romans at Actium in 31 BC and remained the main light vessel of the Roman navy until the invention of the **dromon*. *John Lydus says *liburnae* were used in the invasion of *Vandal *Africa in 468, but these probably followed the *dromon* pattern. ALB; AG

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*.
Pryor and Jeffreys, *Age of the Dromon*.
O. Hockmann, 'Liburnian: Some Observations and Insights', *IntJnlNautArch* 26 (1997), 192–216.

Libya Inferior, Libya Superior (Libya Pentapolis) These two *provinces, formed from territory of the former province of Cyrenaica et Creta after 293, both appear in the *Verona List. Libya Inferior is also attested by *inscriptions as early as 309. Both were included in the *Dioecesis *Oriens, but *c.*367/71 they became constituents of the newly created *Dioecesis of *Aegyptus, where *Justinian I retained them. The *governors both had the title *Praeses. Most of the *cities lay on the Mediterranean coast. *George of *Cyprus (*Descriptio*, 787b, cf. *Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 734, 3) identifies the capital of Libya Inferior as Darnis. The metropolis of Libya Superior (Pentapolis) is uncertain, perhaps Ptolemais. JGK; AHM

TIR H-I, 34 (1954) Cyrene.
Barrington Atlas, maps 38 (Cyrene) and 72–3 (Ammon).
Jones, *LRE* 1459–61.
NEDC 205, 211.
Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 47–9, map 46.

Licinius *Augustus 308–24. Valerius Licinianus Licinius, an old comrade-in-arms of *Galerius from the Persian war of 298 (*Eutropius, X, 4, 1), was invested as Augustus at the conference of *emperors held at *Carnuntum in November 308. He was meant to make up the numbers of the *Tetrarchy after the death of *Severus the Tetrarch, as the usurpation of *Maxentius at *Rome in 306 was not recognized.

Licinius was based in the *Balkans, and after the death of *Galerius in 311, followed by a brief

confrontation with his eastern neighbour *Maximinus Daza at the *Bosporus, he was the sole emperor defending the Danube *frontier. When *Constantine I eliminated *Maxentius at *Rome on 28 October 312 Licinius found himself encircled and so had to choose between alliance with *Constantine I, the only emperor to the West, and Maximinus Daza, the only surviving emperor to the East. He chose Constantine, crossed the Alps in the depths of a cold winter (his *horses developed tetanus), and married Constantine's sister *Constantia at *Milan in February 313. He then turned East and defeated Maximinus Daza, an enthusiastic persecutor of Christans, who committed *suicide at *Tarsus. On 13 June 313 at *Nicomedia Licinius issued the *Letter of Licinius, which brought to an end the Great *Persecution in *Anatolia and *Oriens (including *Egypt), Maximinus Daza's former dominions, ordered the restitution of confiscated Christian property, and permitted the resumption of Christian worship. Licinius did not share Constantine's level of personal commitment to Christianity; an *inscription from *Salsovia records his ordering worship of the *Sun in the army (*ILS* 8940). But church buildings such as that at *Tyre praised by *Eusebius (*HE* X, 4) were erected, and Christians were permitted to revenge themselves on those whose *oracles had promoted the persecution (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, IV, 2, 10–11 = 135CD; *HE* IX, 11, 5–8).

The alliance between Constantine and Licinius did not last. In 316 Constantine attacked his brother-in-law, defeating him at *Cibalae and again at Campus Ardiensis near *Adrianople. In the peace which ended the *Cibalensean War on 1 March 317, Licinius' infant son *Licinius and Constantine's sons *Crispus and the infant *Constantine II became *Caesars and Constantine annexed all Licinius' Balkan territory except the *Dioecesis *Thraciae.

In 324 Constantine attacked again. Eusebius' accounts of Constantine's aggression (*VCon* I, 49–II, 5; *HE* X, 8–9) tendentiously suggest that Licinius deployed ever-increasing hostility towards the Christians in his domains till, so Eusebius claims, he 'began finally to think about launching a general persecution' (*VCon* II, 2, 3), and Constantine stepped in. The most important implication is that Licinius launched no general persecution. The name of one *martyr is known, Basil, *Bishop of *Amaseia, but his execution may have resulted from local intitiative in *Pontus (*Jerome, *Chron*. 230g Helm; cf. *VCon* II, 1, 2); any association of the *Forty Martyrs of *Sebasteia (even if they are historical) with Licinius is tenuous.

Constantine's attack in 324 was two-pronged. A *fleet commanded by the Caesar Crispus sailed to the Dardanelles while Constantine advanced across Thrace. Licinius was besieged at Byzantium, and then retreated to *Nicomedia where he surrendered. He was sent to *Thessalonica, where he was executed the following spring on suspicion of plotting. This left Constantine in sole control of the entire Empire.

*Silver bowls bearing images of Licinius' bust and a crushed silver portrait head are now in the *Munich Treasure, and colossal *marble heads of Licinius have been found at *Ephesus (now in Vienna) and *Smyrna. *Libanius remembered him as a ruler who infused fresh life into the *cities (*Oratio* XXX, 6). OPN

PLRE I, Licinius 3.
NEDC 43–4, 80–2.
Barnes, *CE* 31–5, 38–41, 62–77.
Barnes, *Constantine*.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*.
R. R. R. Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century', *JRS* 87 (1997), 170–202.

Licinius Caesar Son of *Licinius and *Constantia, born *c.* August 315 and proclaimed *Caesar as a toddler on 1 March 317 after the *Cibalensaean War. He was educated by the **grammaticus* Optatus (*consul 334), and spared when Licinius fell in 324, but subsequently executed. He is portrayed on the *Munich Treasure, made to celebrate his *Quinquennalia. OPN

PLRE I, Licinius 4.
NEDC 45, 84, 107.
Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 172–3, 177.
R. R. R. Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century', *JRS* 87 (1997), 170–202.
Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, 16–18.

Life of Georgia, The *See* IBERIA.

Life of Kartli *See KARTLIS CXOVREBA.*

lighthouses Coastal towers built to guide *ships into *harbours, using fire at night and smoke by day. Monumental constructions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods were still used all around the Mediterranean in Late Antiquity, notably at *Alexandria, Cadiz, Elaiussa Sebaste near *Corycus in *Cilicia and *Constantinople, and on the Black Sea as shown on the Peutinger *Map. The tower at *Corunna in *Spain is mentioned by *Orosius (I, 2, 71) and survives, as does one of the two at Dover on the *Saxon Shore. Other coastal features, such as the *temple first occupied by S. *Daniel the *Stylite when he came to the *Bosporus, also served as navigation marks (*VDanStyl* 14). JC; AG

B. Giardina, *Navigare Necesse Est: Lighthouses from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (BAR IntSer 2096, 2010).
P. F. de Coetlogon Williams, 'Roman Harbours', *IntJntNautArch* 5/1 (1976), 73–9.

light in architecture Late Antique architecture used light in three significant ways, practical, dramatic and metaphysical. At a prosaic level it was necessary to be able to see inside a building. Natural light was also considered important to quality of life, so much so that legal provision was made to ensure that when new building was planned, existing residences still received sufficient natural light. Moreover, light was also used to create drama in the architecture and to reflect the importance of the owner. *Window *glass was commonplace, but artificial light and lighting devices were carefully used, especially within *villas, to illuminate particular areas, drawing the eye of the visitor to works of art which in turn indicated the standing of the owner of the villa. *Lamps, polycandela, and candle holders shed light; they were were also imbued with symbolism, reflected power and glory, and invited *praise.

In churches, light combined with art to create a radiant *aesthetic which pointed to the Divine in ways praised at the *Church of the Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople by *Procopius (*Aed*. I, 1, 30) and *Paul the *Silentiary. It became increasingly important in worship during the transition during Late Antiquity to early Byzantine liturgical styles. Church architecture in particular changed its natural lighting scheme to darken the interiors of buildings so that artificial light might be better managed to enhance the drama of the *liturgy. This was achieved by reducing the size of *window apertures; these changed from square grid-style openings to panels with smaller pierced openings that would accommodate small roundels of *glass. CN

J.-P. Carrié, 'Light and Self-Representation in the Rural Residence of Western Élite during the Late Antiquity', *Alétheia* 2 (2009), 1–21.

S. [P.] Ellis, 'Shedding Light on Roman Housing', in Lavan et al., *Housing*, 284–302.

Ligugé (dep. Vienne, France) Hermitage established near *Poitiers by S. *Martin of *Tours in 361 with the support of *Hilary, *Bishop of Poitiers, which soon became an enduring monastic community. Various of its buildings are known from excavation. STL

Stancliffe, *St. Martin* (1983).

L.-J. Bord, *Histoire de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, 361–2001* (2005).

B. Boissavit-Camus, in *Wisigoths et Francs autour la bataille de Vouillé (507)* (2010), 215–35.

Liguria *Province in the *Dioecesis of *Italia Annonaria divided from the formerly single province of *Aemilia et Liguria in the 390s AD. It was bounded by the Alps, the Adda River, and the Po River. *Milan remained the capital of Liguria after the separation, and the province was governed by a *Consularis. The modern Italian region of Liguria corresponds approximately to the southern part of Late Roman *Alpes Cottiae. Neither should be confused with Liburia (Terra di Lavora) between *Rome and *Naples. MMA

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen in spätantike Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Lilingis Governor of *Isauria under *Zeno. After Zeno's death in 491 he led the Isaurian revolt against *Anastasius I and died at the Battle of *Cotiaeum in 492. OPN; FKH

PLRE II, Lilingis.

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 24.

E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.

limes *See* FRONTIER, ROMAN MILITARY.

Limestone Massif of northern Syria The northwestern corner of *Syria features fertile plains of *terra rosa* soil and also limestone highlands less favourable to *farming. Yet on the highlands, particularly in the region between *Antioch, *Aleppo, and *Apamea, are the remains of more than 700 ancient settlements, ranging from a few buildings to extensive agglomerations with *houses, churches, *monasteries, and oil *presses. These settlements are commonly called the 'Dead Cities' ('villes mortes'), but none of them had civic status and all were *villages in the territories of *cities such as Antioch and Apamea. Although there is some evidence of occupation in earlier periods, the main phase of settlement was in the 4th–6th centuries AD. The region declined from the 7th century onwards and was virtually abandoned after the 9th/10th centuries, which explains why so much Late Antique evidence has survived.

During the 20th century, the apparent prosperity of the region in Late Antiquity was seen (especially in the exhaustive study of G. Tchalenko) as an anomaly when set against the prevailing model of decline. The proposed explanation, that the region was developed for the processing of *olive oil for export, seemed to be confirmed by finds of a particular type of *amphora, Late Roman 1, thought to be associated with this industry, at sites in the western part of the Empire. Some buildings were identified as market halls connected with the export of oil, and a thriving economy based on olive monoculture was posited for the Dead Cities.

More recent assessments (e.g. by G. Tate) suggest that the region was not anomalous, but it is only the accident of their survival that makes the Dead Cities appear unusual. Survey of the region has shown diverse agricultural practices, rather than a concentration on

olive oil. The buildings identified as market halls have been reclassified as houses, and it appears that the Late Roman 1 amphorae are not to be associated with the oil industry. Surplus agriculture produce was destined for markets in neighbouring cities rather than export overseas, and it now seems that the Dead Cities are evidence for the extensive development of *marginal land that is typical of Late Antique *Syria. KETB

G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord: le massif de Belus à l'époque romaine*, 3 vols. (1953–8).
M. Decker, 'Food for an Empire: Wine and Oil Production in North Syria', in S. Kingsley and M. Decker, eds., *Economic Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity* (2001), 69–86.
O. Callot, *Huileries antiques de Syrie du nord* (1984).
G. Tate, *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du nord, du IIe au VIIe siècle* (1992).
W. Witakowski, 'Why Are the So-Called Dead Cities of Northern Syria Dead?', in P. J. J. Sinclair et al., eds., *The Urban Mind: Cultural and Environmental Dynamics* (2010), 295–310.

Limisa *See* KSAR LEMSA.

limitanei First attested in the mid-4th century (*CTh* XII, 1, 56 [363]) and previously known as *ripenses*, the term designated military units serving in *frontier *provinces (*limites*), as distinct from units assigned to central *field *armies. *Limitanei* had a lower status than field army units, reflected in fewer privileges, but this did not mean, as sometimes assumed, that they were significantly inferior in fighting capability or little better than a part-time militia. The units in each province were commanded by a *Dux, and the **Notitia Dignitatum* includes lists of units and their bases for the late 4th and early 5th century. Although they required reform in the mid-5th century (*NovTh* 24) and *Justinian I is said by a hostile source to have abolished them in the 6th century (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 24, 12–14), other evidence attests their continued existence and value. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 649–54, 661–3.
B. Isaac, 'The Meaning of the Terms Limes and Limitanei', *JRS* 78 (1988), 139–47.

Lin A *triconch church overlooking Lake *Ohrid (Albania), with a linked *martyrium chapel to the north-west and a *narthex flanked by annexes including a *baptistery. The church is decorated throughout with elaborate *mosaics. WB

TIR K 34 (1976) *s.v.* Lini, 79.
S. Anamali, 'Les Mosaïques de la basilique paléochrétienne de Lin (Pogradec)', *Iliria* 3 (1973), 339–53.

Lincoln (Lincolnshire, England) The Roman *colonia* of Lindum, founded in the AD 80s, probably became the capital of *Flavia Caesariensis in the early 4th century. It apparently remained an important political and religious centre in the post-Roman period and regained prominence in Viking times. Excavations at S. Paul-in-the-Bail suggest a continuous history of Christian burial from the 5th to the 11th century. ACR

M. Jones, *Roman Lincoln* (2002).

Lindisfarne The site of an early *monastery on Holy Island, a tidal island off the north-east coast of England. Inhabited since prehistory, in 635 the island was given by *Oswald, King of *Anglo-Saxon Bernicia (northern Northumbria), to Irish monks from S. *Columba's *Iona. S. *Aidan established a monastery there, renowned for its asceticism (*Bede *HE* III, 3 and 5). One of his successors as bishop, S. *Cuthbert (d. 687), was a renowned hermit and his important cult grew from 698, when his *relics were translated to Lindisfarne's high altar. Cuthbert's incorrupt body was enshrined in a wooden coffin, adorned with images and filled with relics (probably including the S. Cuthbert Gospel in its tooled *leather *book cover). The *Lindisfarne Gospels (made by Bishop Eadfrith, *c.*715–20) probably served as the cult-book. Other Lindisfarne manuscripts may include the Durham Gospels, Cambridge–London Gospels, and Vatican Paulinus. The community was raided by Vikings in 793 and, subsequently marginalized, relocated to Chester-le-Street and then Durham. MPB

G. Bonner et al., eds., *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community* (1989).
M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World* (2011).

Lindisfarne Gospels A supreme expression of *Insular manuscript illumination and (with *Codex Amiatinus) the best representative of the text of *Jerome's *Latin Vulgate version of the *Bible. It was written in half-uncials by a gifted artist-scribe, probably Bishop Eadfrith, *Bishop of *Lindisfarne (698–721), around 715–20 for the shrine of S. *Cuthbert made at Lindisfarne in 698. Its gloss by Aldred, *c.*950, is the oldest extant English translation of the Gospels. It is now in the British Library (Cotton MS Nero D.iv). MPB

CLA II, 187.
T. D. Kendrick et al., *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis* (I: facsimile; II: comm.; 1956–60).
The Lindisfarne Gospels (2003), facsimile with comm., also issued as a monograph, M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (2003).

lions *Ammianus complained of wild *lions as a pest in *Mesopotamia (XVIII, 7, 4–5). They ranged round much of the eastern Mediterranean world. A law of 414 (*CTh* XV, 11, 1) provided that control of lions for

public protection took precedence over collecting them for use in civic spectacles, where they were employed (among other animals) in *entertainment and the *execution of criminals including obstinate Christians (Tertullian, *Apology*, 40, 2). Daniel in the lions' den appears often in *catacomb painting. Killing a lion might however portend a royal death (Ammianus, XXIII, 5, 3–11). In art and literature (such as the fables of Babrius) lions symbolized pride, ferocity, and royalty (e.g. *Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, 5, 42). Christian portrayal of Christ as a lion demonstrated his wrath and supremacy over sin, while the lion-headed demiurge of the *Gnostic *Apocryphon of John* (§22) signified the bestial nature of the material world. In *Zoroastrianism lions were considered creations of the Evil Spirit, following a model evolved by the Benevolent Spirit; Sasanian *silver often shows the Shah *hunting lions. MD; OPN

EncIran (2015) *s.v.* mammals iii. The Classification of Mammals and the Other Animal Classes according to Zoroastrian Tradition (M. Moazami).

Bochartus, *Hierozoïcon*, Lib III, cap. 1–6, vol. 1, 711–84.

I. S. Gilhus, *Animals, Gods, and Humans: Changing Attitudes to Animals in Greek, Roman and Early Christian Ideas* (2006).

litany (Gk. *litaneia*, from *litē*, 'supplication') A form of Christian *prayer typically consisting of several verses of *acclamation or petition, each followed by a refrain, e.g. *Kyrie, eleison*, 'Lord, have mercy'. Litanies were sung at key points in the *liturgy, most notably after the Gospel and *sermon at the *Eucharist, and at the end of the major offices of the *Liturgy of the Hours. Their extensible form and inclusion of popular participation also made them useful for *processions, e.g. in *stational liturgies in *Rome and *Constantinople, or the Roman Major and Minor *Rogations. Only in the medieval and later period did their content become more standardized, as in the Byzantine Great and Small *ekteneiai* (literally, 'intentness') of the *Liturgy of *John Chrysostom, or the Latin Litany of the Saints. CAS

DACL 9/2 *s.v.* litanies, cols. 1540–71 (Cabrol).

literacy There were two major developments in literacy during Late Antiquity: the decline of the Late Roman imperial *administration, which employed men with a literary education, and the rise of Christianity, which extended its audience while narrowing its content.

Greek and Latin literacy

Literacy in the Later Roman Empire was limited, to the educated. By the 4th century, the classical educational ideal of *paideia* focused on the *trivium* of *grammar, *rhetoric, and dialectic. The **grammaticus* and then the *rhetor*, supervised the learning by heart of a fixed canon, including in *Latin the **Quadriga Messii* of *Vergil, Terence, Sallust, and Cicero, and in *Greek *Homer and Demosthenes and the performance of specimen speeches of various kinds (Gk. **progymnasmata*) modelled on the style and manner of what had been learned. This created a literary frame of reference for influential men in *cities, for those who spoke in *courts of law and for the increasing numbers achieving positions of considerable emolument in the imperial *administration, following its enlargement under *Diocletian (*Lactantius *Mort.* 7, 4).

The Late Roman *taxation system was fundamentally documentary, but in the post-imperial West, *armies were supported by landowning, with less need for *administration. Literate personnel were still involved in diplomatic correspondence and justice, but the connection between literary education and political life was sundered. Records continued to be kept, however, as the *Visigothic slates demonstrate; functional literacy remained standard to landowning and management.

The same applies to familiarity with written *law. Roman law was systematized, culminating in the **Theodosian Code* of 438 and *Justinian's *Code* of 529–34. The Late Roman legacy to post-imperial law codes was its promotion of documentation as supreme proof in matters of property; when *Justinian I legislated that *oaths be taken on the Gospels, he created an enduring tension between oral testimony and written evidence.

Christianity in turn promoted literacy because knowledge of the Bible promoted holiness. It was to the advantage of Christians to learn to read Scripture. There was, though, a tension, dramatized in the *dream of *Jerome when Christ accused him of being a Ciceronian not a Christian. The practice of **sermo humilis* provided a compromise, bringing the written word to a wider audience, as the Psalter became the new elementary textbook, while Christian polemic against *rhetoric and what *Augustine called the 'school of pride' (*Conf.* IX, 4, 7) undermined the secular classical education. In the East, Classical literature was adopted by such 4th-century church fathers as *Basil into the Greek Christian culture of Byzantium. In the West it was substantially redirected by Augustine (e.g. in *De Doctrina Christiana*) to Christian ends, and as secular schools became fewer, in the absence of the incentives provided by the Late Roman state, *bishops provided for the education of the clergy. Even so a problem remained, that many canonical works of the liberal arts, especially of *philosophy, were in Greek, and in the 5th century, knowledge of Greek was declining in the West; the translation and transmission of Greek learning by *Boethius and *Cassiodorus were therefore crucial. In the East Latin remained the language of the *army, law, and administration until the 6th century, after which it became marginalized.

The Christian book used greater word spacing and punctuation to aid legibility, while the switch from

the papyrus roll to the codex had reduced the *price of books and facilitated non-sequential reading. It made *Origen and *Eusebius of Caesarea able to devise tables and columns for studying Scripture, while *Jerome introduced schematic layout in his *Chronicle*, and Cassiodorus explained his programme of silent and private monastic reading with diagrams.

Christianity also encouraged women as authors, while the process of *conversion promoted the writing of such vernacular languages as *Armenian. The exception was continental Western Europe, where written Latin remained in diglossia with spoken early Romance.

Coptic literacy

The *Coptic alphabet was created in the Roman period by adding six letters from demotic Egyptian to a modified Greek alphabet, in order to write down the Bible. It also borrowed Greek vocabulary. Quickly adopted for religious literature, literary Coptic was canonized by *Shenoute, abbot of the *White Monastery. The administration of *Egypt was bilingual: *Dioscorus of *Aphrodito wrote both Coptic charters and Greek poetry, and owned a Greek–Coptic glossary. GDB; OPN

N. Everett, 'Literacy from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, *c.*300–800 AD', in D. R. Olson and N. Torrance, eds., *The Cambridge Handbook of Literacy* (2009), 362–85.

GREEK AND LATIN

P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, tr. J. J. Contreni(1976).

W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (1989).

R. McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (1990).

A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (1994).

M. Mostert, *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication* (2012).

COPTIC

L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and his World* (1988).

Litorius *Comes Rei Militaris in *Gaul in 435–7, when, with the aid of *Hun auxiliaries, he defeated the Armoricans before relieving the *Visigothic siege of *Narbonne in 437. As second in command to *Aëtius (perhaps *Magister Militum), he rejected a peaceful settlement with the Visigoths and in 439 rashly engaged them in battle with his Huns near *Toulouse, only to be crushed, captured, and killed soon afterwards. CD; STL

PCBE 4/2, Litorius 2.

PLRE II, Litorius.

liturgies, public *See* SERVICES, COMPULSORY PUBLIC.

liturgy and liturgical books, Armenian The liturgical books used for worship and rituals in the Armenian Church date back to the early period of Armenian literature. Over the centuries they have been supplemented and enriched until the Armenian tradition came to be fixed and 'canonized'.

The compilation includes several books. The *Zhamagirk'* (Breviary, equivalent of the Gk. *Horologion*) contains the seven-daily cycle of the Hours, and was compiled probably over the course of the 5th century. The *Sharaknots'* (Hymnal) reached its final fixed state in 1346–1409 (*see also* SHARAKAN AND SHARAKNOTS').

The *Chashots',* also known as *Tonamak* or *Tonanamak* (*Bible Lectionary), lists the types of readings for the liturgical year covering the Old and New Testaments, and also contains the rubrics of the liturgical calendar. The Lectionary also contains some readings from the Fathers of the Church for certain major feast days such as *Epiphany, Last Supper, Pentecost, Transfiguration, and so on.

The name of the *Yaysmawurk'* (Lives of Saints, Gk. *Menologium*) derives from the root word *'yaysm awur'* meaning 'on this day'. It contains the *saints' lives, lists of saints to be commemorated, and *sermons for the Dominical Feast Days. The *Talaran-Gandzaran* (Book of Chants and Canticles) has two recensions. The date of the earliest version is unknown, and very few manuscript copies have survived. The second recension dates to 1426.

The *Tonats'oyts'* (Gk. *Typikon*) is a perpetual calendar for the liturgical year, computed according to the Julian calendar although it can simultaneously serve as a perpetual calendar for the Gregorian calendar. The *Khorhrdatetr-Pataragamatoyts'* (Divine Liturgy) as celebrated today is principally based on the liturgies of the *Cappadocian Fathers. The *Mashtots'* (Book of Rituals, or *Sacramentary*) is attributed by *Koriwn to *Catholicus *Sahak I Part'ew; it contains the canons of the principal sacraments, special *prayers, and blessings. Legend associates the name with Mesrop *Mashtots', the inventor of the *Armenian alphabet, but more accepted is the view of the 13th-century historian Kirakos Gandzakets'i, according to whom the final form should be credited to Mashtots' I Elivardets'i (897–8). VN

Thomson, *BCAL* 270–9, supplement 219–21.

Ervine, *Worship Traditions in Armenia.*

J.-P. Mahé, P. Rouhana, and B. L. Zekiyan, eds., *Saint Gregoire de Narek et la liturgie de l'Église: colloque international* (2010).

liturgy and liturgical books, Coptic The original language of the *Patriarchate of *Alexandria was *Greek, which is the language of the earliest Egyptian liturgical book, the *Euchologion* of *Serapion, *Bishop of

Thmuis, of the mid-4th century. Greek continued as a liturgical language until *c.*900, though the liturgical use of *Coptic gradually increased; it is, in fact, very difficult to construct the history of the Coptic liturgy before AD 900. Amidst the considerable liturgical diversity in the Church of this period, the liturgies of S. *Gregory (the Theologian) and S. Mark are distinctive to the Copts, and the Coptic **Liturgy of S. Basil* has special features. The rite of preparation, in Arabic the *hamal* ('lamb' or 'offertory'), is common to all these liturgies, and has been argued to contain the most primitive prayers of the Coptic Church. AL

O. H. E. Burmeister, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of her Sacraments* (1967)

liturgy and liturgical books, Greek and Latin

The term liturgy (Gk. *leitos*, public, *ourgos*, work) is not in general used of Christian worship in the early Church.

Liturgy

At the core of early Christianity was the celebration of the *Eucharist (1 Corinthians 11: 23–9) and the practice of daily *prayer. By the mid-3rd century at *Carthage, the Eucharist was celebrated daily (*Cyprian, *ep*. 54, 3 and 56, 1) and various traditions are recorded concerning the frequency of other prayer. There is evidence from the 2nd century of a vigil being kept at *Easter; Melito of Sardis (*c.*180) goes to considerable lengths to differentiate this from the Jewish Passover. However, some customs were inherited by Christians from Jewish practice and there was certainly local variation.

The practice of *stational liturgy and *processions through the *streets became possible in the 4th century and the building of grand *basilicas provided for bigger congregations and larger-scale ceremony, as well as for rites associated with *pilgrimage and the cult of the *martyrs. The Eucharist remained central, divided, as before, into two parts, the Liturgy of the Word, which incorporated readings from the *Bible, *music, and a *sermon preached generally by the *bishop, and the Liturgy of the Sacrament, from which the unbaptized (catechumens) were excluded. As *pilgrimage to the *Holy Land grew in popularity, practices which had evolved in *Jerusalem spread westwards; these included the three-day observance of Christ's Passion, Death, and Resurrection (the Triduum), described by the pilgrim *Egeria who was in the East in 381–4. Local practices also persisted, notably those represented by the *Ambrosian rite at *Milan and the *Mozarabic rite in *Spain.

Set socially apart from the cultures in which they were situated, *monasteries carried on the practice of daily prayer from the early Church. Monks in **coenobia*, the common form of monastery in the West, assembled numerous times each day for the communal recitation of *Psalms. Less often each day at cathedrals in *cities, worshippers assembled for daily prayer, in the morning (*Matins*) and evening (*Vespers*), with the psalms being chosen to suit the times of day and the seasons of the liturgical year rather than read right through, as many monastic rules required.

By the end of Late Antiquity, liturgies in the West were more uniform than they had been earlier. With the increasing authority of the see of *Rome from the late 5th century onwards, Roman liturgical traditions influenced and eventually overrode many local customs, which were condemned or discouraged in regions of *Italy away from Rome, in *Gaul, and on the Spanish peninsula. Greater liturgical variety in Eastern liturgical traditions resulted from a different model of church authority, a greater variety of languages for worship, and licence for unique customs within each tradition.

Liturgical books

*Church orders survive from the East which present vibrant testimony *about* the liturgy, but they do not on the whole record in detail what was said or sung. Only one Eastern manuscript exists from Late Antiquity itself. This is Codex Barberini 336 (in the Vatican Library), the earliest Euchologion of the Byzantine tradition. It was written in 8th-century Italy, and mostly contains rites of Constantinople, including Eucharistic prayers, prayers for the *Liturgy of the Hours, and a large collection of blessings and prayers for various occasions. Liturgical manuscripts recording Eastern rites which survive from later centuries often have a narrower focus than those from the West, containing, for instance, only texts for a particular season of the church year, or for a particular ministry or minister with specific Bible passages, or containing particular chants. This means that they are more numerous and diverse than their counterparts in the West.

Already in the 4th and 5th centuries, there is evidence for the Latin Masses of the West, at first as quotations in authors like *Ambrose and *Gregory the Great and then as little books, *libelli*, compositions of prayers for various feasts and seasons. Monastic rules, from the 6th century on, including the *Rule* of S. *Benedict, prescribe orders of psalms for the daily hours of liturgical prayer. Systems of readings for the Mass and the liturgy of the hours appear in the 6th century, mostly as lists with the starting (*incipit*) and ending (*explicit*) point of a reading, and appearing as individual books for use at Mass in the Middle Ages. Finally, some early *Ordines Romani*, rites originally characteristic of Rome which then came to

incorporate traditions from *Gaul, are known from before the end of Late Antiquity. MFC; OPN

ed. S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336 (ff. 1–263)* (1995).
R. Cantalamessa, *Il più Antichi testi Paquali della Chiesa* (Edizioni liturgiche, 1972).
G. Wainwright and K. B. Westerfield Tucker, eds., *Oxford History of Christian Worship* (2006), 32–215.
P. F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (1992).
Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*.
E. V. Velkovska, 'Byzantine Liturgical Books', in *Introduction to the Liturgy*, vol. 1 (1997), 225–40.
R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1975), 439–46.
E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books* (1998).

liturgy and liturgical books, Syriac Syriac liturgy belongs to the rite of *Antioch, though in the case of the east Syriac tradition 'Mesopotamian' is a preferable term. The west Syriac tradition covers the *Syriac Orthodox, *Maronite, and *Melkite churches, though the Melkites changed their Church's rite to that of *Constantinople in the 9th–11th centuries, which required new translations of all its liturgical books. Fragments in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, along with some early *Armenian and *Georgian manuscripts, are valuable witnesses to the early *Jerusalem rite.

Over 80 eucharistic anaphoras are known in the Syriac Orthodox Church, several of which were composed in Late Antiquity; some (including that attributed to James) originated in *Greek, and some are also in Maronite usage. In the *Church of the East the number of anaphoras was limited to three in the mid-7th century (those of *Addai and Mari, *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, and *Nestorius).

The standard Syriac Orthodox *baptism service is attributed to *Severus of Antioch, but another, attributed to *Timothy of *Alexandria, is also known; this has elements in common with the Maronite service, attributed to *Jacob of Sarug, and to the old Melkite one, attributed to *Basil. Until about AD 400, Syrian baptismal usage had no post-baptismal anointing (found in all other rites). The structure of the current services basically goes back to about the 6th century. The east Syriac service is attributed to *Isho'yahb III (d. 659).

The emergence of the current liturgical books mostly took place after *c.*750, and manuscripts are very rarely earlier than 9th century, while those of the Church of the East are usually much later. Outside the series *Anaphorae Syriacae* (1939–), most Syriac liturgical texts lack critical editions. SB

F. Cassingena-Trévedy and I. Jurasz, eds., *Les Liturgies syriaques* (Études syriaques 3, 2006).
R. ter Haar Romeny, ed., *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy. Papers Read at the Third Peshitta Symposium* (2006).
B. Varghese, *West Syrian Liturgical Theology* (2004).

Liturgy of Addai and Mari The *Syriac Anaphora attributed to the Apostles Addai and Mari (originally just 'the Apostles') is the oldest *liturgy for the *Eucharist in any language still in use, being one of the three anaphoras employed in the *Church of the East. Its archaic character is indicated by the absence of an Institution Narrative (in 2001 the anaphora in its original form, without the Institution Narrative, was recognized by the Vatican as valid). It has several elements in common with the *Maronite anaphora known as the 'Sharrar', and their common ancestor may have had its roots in *Edessa. The oldest manuscript dates from the 10th/11th century. SB

W. Macomber, 'The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari', *OrChristPer* 32 (1966), 335–71.
A. Gelston, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (1992).
B. Spinks, 'A Tale of Two Anaphoras: Addai and Mari and Maronite Sharrar' in ed. C. Giraudo, *The Anaphoral Genesis of the Institution Narrative in Light of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari* (2013), 259–74.

Liturgy of S. Basil Byzantine tradition ascribes the earlier of its two main liturgies to *Basil of *Caesarea (d. 379), who reformed the *liturgy of *Cappadocia in the 4th century, perhaps revising an earlier Antiochene rite. A *letter indicates that some clergy resisted Basil's liturgical reforms. Though the extant rite bears Basil's imprint, no complete liturgy from his hand survives. Until the 11th/12th century, the *Liturgy of S. Basil* was the primary rite of *Constantinople; it was then superseded by the **Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom* for all but ten days of the liturgical year. The *Liturgy of S. Basil* survives in two forms; the earlier and shorter form is the ordinary anaphora of the Coptic Orthodox. MFC

CPG 2906: Shorter Recension: PG 31, 1629–56; Longer Recension: Brightman and Hammond, *Liturgies*, 309–45.
G. Winkler, 'The Christology of the Anaphora of Basil and its Various Redactions, with Some Remarks Concerning the Authorship of Basil', in B. D. Spinks, ed., *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer* (2008), 112–26.
J. R. K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James* (1992).

Liturgy of S. James Associated with *Jerusalem, this Christian *liturgy was also once used widely in the Orthodox patriarchates of Jerusalem and *Antioch, until the Byzantinization of the *Melkite rite during the 9th to 11th centuries. Today it is found in common use only in the *Syriac Orthodox Church, where it has served as a model for many further Anaphoras. Besides

the *Syriac version there exist *translations into *Arabic, *Armenian, *Ethiopic, *Georgian, and Slavonic. Five *prayers from it are also found in an early *Latin translation. The critical edition of the *Greek is by B.-C. Mercier (PO 26/2; 1950), and that of the Syriac by O. Heiming and A. Raes (*Anaphorae Syriacae*, II/2, 1953). The first specific reference to the liturgy is in canon 32 of the *Quinisext Council (692). The earliest textual witnesses for the Greek are several 10th-century manuscripts, while some Syriac and Georgian manuscripts are slightly earlier. Several stages in its growth can be observed, and in Syriac there are long and short forms. SB

A. Tarby, *La Prière eucharistique de l'Eglise de Jérusalem* (1972).
J. D. Witvliet, 'The Anaphora of St James', in P. F. Bradshaw, ed., *Essays in Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (1997), 153–72.
S. Verhelst, *Les Traditions judéo-chrétiennes dans la liturgie de Jérusalem, spécialement la Liturgie de s. Jacques* (2003).
B. Varghese, 'The Anaphora of Saint James and Jacob of Edessa', in B. ter Haar Romeny, ed., *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (2008), 239–64.
S. Verhelst, *Liturgia Ibero-graeca Sancti Iacobi* (2011).

Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom The *Eucharistic liturgy most often celebrated in the Byzantine tradition since the 13th century. Some parts are attributed to *John Chrysostom (*c.*347–407). The *Liturgy of S. Basil* is older, but is now replaced by the *Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom* on all but ten days of the liturgical year. The earliest manuscript of the rite is the 8th-century manuscript Barberini gr. 336, but elements date from Late Antiquity. MFC

CPL 4086:
ed. (with ET) S. Parenti and E. Veldovska, *L'Eucologio Barberini Gr. 336 (ff. 1–263)* (1995).
ed. Brightman and Hammond, *Liturgies*, 393–44.
text with ET A. Kokkinakis, *The Liturgy of the Orthodox Church* (1979), 86–143.
R. F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 4 vols., namely *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites* (²1978); *The Diptychs* (1991); *The Precommunion Rites* (2000); *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites* (2008).

Liturgy of the Hours Christian *prayer at fixed points in the day and night, also called 'Divine Office' or 'canonical prayer'. The practice was inherited from Judaism, and in Christian circles was linked to exhortations in the New Testament to pray unceasingly (1 Thess. 5: 17; Luke 18: 1–8). The *Didache* recommends prayer three times a day (8, 2–3). Commentaries on the Lord's Prayer by Tertullian (25) and *Cyprian (34–6) refer to prayer at set times, while later texts such as the **Apostolic Tradition* describe a more developed pattern of prayer at intervals throughout both night and day. By the 4th century one can identify a popular 'cathedral' tradition of fixed psalmody for morning and evening prayer, and a 'monastic' tradition of variable and longer psalmody for a more complex array of daily services, typically fixed at eight (a nocturnal vigil, dawn, first, third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day, sunset, and bedtime). CAS

A. Finkel, 'Prayer in Jewish Life of the First Century as Background to Early Christianity', in D. Longenecker, ed., *Into God's Presence: Prayer in the New Testament* (2010), 43–65.
R. F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (2nd rev. edn., 1993).

Liutprand *Lombard king in *Italy 712–44. He succeeded his father Ansprand (*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, VI, 35 and 38). His long reign is notable on three fronts: promulgation of *laws, military activity, and religious *patronage.

In terms of legislative output, Liutprand issued 152 titles to update the Edict of *Rothari. As well as new definitions for personal worth or *wergeld* (*compensation), the laws indicate fuller recognition of the Church, of its property, and of donations of lands to churches and *monasteries. They take greater account of Romans/natives as well as of women and nuns, and there are clear efforts at tighter control over royal agents, notably **duces* and **gasindii* (retainers).

Liutprand aimed to expand militarily Lombard power over the Byzantine *exarchate, with campaigns in the 730s and 740s (**Liber Pontificalis*, 91, 7 and 13 and 21–2 and 92, 14 and 93, 2–9), culminating in the capture of *Ravenna in 743, which he left at Pope *Zacharias' request in 744 (*Liber Pontificalis*, 93, 12–16). He was aggressive also against the largely independent *Lombard *duces* of *Spoleto and *Benevento in the 730s, seeking to promote fuller Lombard unity. A new threat, however, came from *Arabs/*Saracens who assailed the western coasts of Italy as well as southern *Gaul; Liutprand allied with the *Franks to counter them, although little is known of the scale and effect of the raids (Paul the Deacon, VI, 54).

Paul the *Deacon's *History of the Lombards* strongly praises Liutprand for his religious *patronage, especially of monasteries (VI, 48). Textual, epigraphic, and artistic survivals support the notion that Liutprand's reign marked a cultural high point (often termed 'renaissance') for the Lombard kingdom. An impressive decorative carved *altar, pulpit, ciborium and choir panels, and funerary slabs are attested for royal and ducal seats such as *Pavia, *Milan, and *Brescia, from Liutprand's (lost) *palace and monastery at Corteolona, and from the older

monastery of *Bobbio. The latter was richly endowed under Liutprand (whose name appears on a *marble slab of probably commemorative function), and enjoyed close links with the royal *court of Pavia. NJC

PBE, Liutprand 1.
Laws: ed. F. Bluhme, *Leges Langobardorum* (MGH Leg. 4, 1869), 235–89.
Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 38–45, 134–7.
A. Peroni, 'L'arte nell'età longobarda: una traccia', in G. P. Carratelli, ed., *Magistra Barbaritas: i barbari in Italia* (1984), 229–97.
G. C. Menis, ed., *I Longobardi* (1990), 300–19.
R. Balzaretti, 'Monasteries, Towns and the Countryside: Reciprocal Relationships in the Archdiocese of Milan, 614–814', in Brogiolo et al., *Towns and their Territories*, 235–57.
E. Destefanis, *Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale* (2002), 40–5.

loca sancta *See* HOLY LAND.

locusts *Famines were exacerbated by locusts, especially major sub-species *Calliptamus italicus* (Italian locust) and *Schistocerca gregaria* (Desert locust). The latter ranges from Europe to *China and swarms in response to increased population density; such voracious groups may contain millions of individuals and cover thousands of square miles. At least eleven food crises may be attributed to locusts. They were feared (e.g. *Arnobius I, 3). MD

Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence.*

Logistes *See* CURATOR REI PUBLICAE.

logistics, military The *Praefectus Praetorio was responsible for managing the supplies for the Roman *army and the *emperor's *Comitatus. Assembling the required quantities of supplies was a huge task, with even small armies requiring many tons of food and fodder and thousands of gallons of water on a daily basis. We thus hear of *Constantius II in 360 stockpiling 3 million *medimnoi* of wheat (*c.*120,000 metric tonnes) for his campaign against *Julian, and of grooms being buried alive when they undermined a haystack at *Batnae in 363 as part of Julian's preparations for his campaign against the *Persian Empire also in 363. With the need for so many supplies, it is not surprising that *Valentinian I spent three months at *Carnuntum in 375 when preparing an expedition against the *Quadi. The preparation time, as well as the number of men, animals, and storage sites involved, also meant that strategic surprise was difficult to achieve. River transport of supplies was used wherever possible, but usually supplies were moved by carts and *draught animals which also needed to be fed. Since it was usually impossible to transport water to supply large forces, each day's march was determined by the availability of drinking water.

Supplies were not limited to food and fodder. There was also a need to transport equipment, including dismantled *artillery and siege engines and bolt throwers, spare arrows and other consumable weapons, tools, boats for river crossing, etc. When the emperor was present the *Comitatus and its animals added to the logistical demands, though where possible on military operations, as before the Battle of *Adrianople in 378, the Comitatus would be left behind.

The demands of feeding the riding and pack animals belonging to the Roman army meant that campaigning usually started only when there was enough grass available, in the late spring. This also allowed the ground to dry out from the spring rains and for early harvests to be collected. In general, strategic considerations took precedence over logistical demands and Roman armies could campaign in the winter. This was the best time to attack heavily forested areas since the leaves were off the trees, making ambush tactics more difficult. This was also a good time to attack *nomads whose animals were weakened by lack of grazing. However, winter operations could impose severe stress on logistical systems, and when *Maximinus Daza force-marched across *Anatolia in the winter of 312–13, his army suffered severe losses of baggage animals.

Among Rome's enemies, Persian *armies had similarly sophisticated logistical systems, with *camels even being used to supply water to a force before the Battle of Solachon in *Mesopotamia in 586. These systems allowed the Persians to undertake such long operations as the three-month siege of *Amida in 502. Barbarian forces were less able to manage their logistics and we hear of the operational consequences more often, including disease and famine or the abandonment of sieges, as when the *Avars withdrew from *Constantinople in 626 after six weeks. These cultures also found winter operations more difficult. HE

J. F. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (1999), Appendix 1–3.
H. W. Elton, 'Imperial Campaigning from Diocletian to Honorius', in Sarantis and Christie, *War and Warfare*, vol. 2, 655–82.

Lombard invasion of Italy The *Lombard arrival in Byzantine *Italy in the late 560s seems to have been no straightforward episode of barbarian irruption into imperial territory. This initial stage of entry is not necessarily painted in strictly military terms by the sources, although it is portrayed as aggressive particularly by those later in date (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* IV, 41–2; *Paul the *Deacon, *HL* II, 6–14 and 25–7). There is in fact a contrast between these literary sources and the documentary evidence for the period *c.* AD 570–600.

The evidence shows that the Lombards assailed *cities and forts across the Po plain, penetrated into the Alpine regions, and pushed Byzantine forces back towards the coasts, as well as heading across the Apennine chain to threaten *Rome and to establish duchies, polities controlled by **duces*, in the far south of Italy. *Alboin, the king recorded as bringing the Lombards across the Alps, was indeed militarily active, occupying between late 569 and 571 key towns such as Vicenza, *Verona, *Milan, and *Pavia, but a key phase of this early Lombard expansion is marked by initiatives by *duces* and their forces. These *duces* rejected kingship after the death of Alboin, in the decade AD 574–84, and established a network of dukedoms based on fortified towns (Paul the Deacon, *HL* II, 32). Subsequently, and in reaction to improved Byzantine counter-attacks and *Frankish incursions, new kings were elected.

The date of the Lombard arrival in Italy is set between September 568 and September 569, with March to May 569 the date most favoured by scholars. The **Origo Gentis Langobardorum* (5) records Easter 568 (*I Indictio*) as the date the Lombards left *Pannonia; by the second year of the *indiction we hear that the Lombards 'began to plunder in Italy' and by the third indiction 'he was made lord of Italy'.

*Marius of Avenches refers to the king 'with all the army . . . with women or all his people' leaving Pannonia, burning their homes as they left (*Chron. ad ann.* 569). This suggests a military advance force taking control of territories in Italy, which were then settled by family groups. Marius and, much later, Paul the Deacon refer to settlement '*in *fara*', a term probably denoting kin and clan groups, and Paul states that *Gisulf, the first Dux of *Friuli, requested the best *farae* with which to occupy his duchy (*HL* II, 9). It is true that some archaeological evidence might confirm a major uprooting of people from Pannonia; Hungarian archaeologists have suggested that various *burial grounds terminate *c.* AD 570, although the finds in *tombs cannot provide such precision. But doubts exist whether all people called 'Lombards' would have transferred.

Noticeably, Paul the Deacon does refer to other groups including *Saxons, some no doubt mercenary forces, joining the migration (*HL* II, 6 and 8). Later sources such as *Fredegar (*Chron.* III, 65) and Paul the Deacon (*HL* II, 5) repeat a story recorded in the **Liber Pontificalis* (63, 3) that Alboin was invited to occupy north Italy by the Byzantine general *Narses, who had been obliged to resign his post. It is possible that this story preserves a memory of Lombards being settled on Italian soil as **foederati*. At various times in the 540s and 550s the Lombards had been Byzantine allies, even helping in campaigns in Italy against the *Goths. Italy had been badly damaged and depopulated by war and *plague, and the Byzantines may have decided to introduce fresh settlers. Once they had arrived, however, the Lombards seem to have sought to take new lands by force. NJC

O. Bertolini, 'La data dell'ingresso dei Longobardi in Italia', in *Scritti scelti di storia medievale* (1968), 21–61.

N. Christie, 'Invasion or Invitation? The Longobard Occupation of Northern Italy, A.D. 568–569', *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1990), 79–108.

N. Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Langobards* (1997).

Lombards (Lat. Langobardi) Group also known in modern studies as Langobards or Longobards (Italian Longobardi)—a name deriving from their reputedly distinctive 'long beards'. They were not among the many large tribal and confederate groups who assailed the Western Roman Empire in the 3rd–5th centuries. They are recorded by the Roman historian Tacitus in the 1st century AD as 'famous because they are so few' (*Germania*, 40), but later Roman sources pass minimal comment on them. The Lombards did not force the Rhine or Danube *frontiers as the *Franks, *Alamans, or *Goths did in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.

While there is much scholarly debate about *barbarian identity and ethnogenesis (i.e. the formation of new confederations and groups such as the Franks) in these crucial centuries, the Lombards are remarkable for their antiquity and their resilience. Tacitus indeed relates how they were a tribe 'hemmed in . . . by many mighty peoples, finding safety not in submission but in facing the risks of battle'. Such fortitude helped them to endure into the Early Middle Ages, unlike other tribes such as the Reudingi and Eudoses, also listed by Tacitus.

Early history

While the earliest phases of Lombard culture and identity remain shadowy, from the 6th century their location is far more securely attested through both text and archaeology. Urnfields (cremation *cemeteries) along the lower Elbe and in Lower Saxony containing *arms and armour, as well as Roman imports, are attributed to the tribe. But the capacity of archaeological data to provide information about territory and ethnicity is disputed. It is true that there are indications of change and demographic displacement in the 3rd century; a reading of later textual sources suggests a south-eastwardly migration of the Lombards towards Bohemia and thence towards the Middle Danube (across the river from *Noricum). It is doubtful however whether this movement can be tracked easily through a distinctive cultural residue, such as burial goods. Indeed any 'migration' would have involved much more than the movement and carrying of a name: ancestral bonds and

badges of identity characteristic of the Lombard name would have been preserved through language, titles, artefacts, and ritual, even if these also evolved over time.

Later history

The earliest phases of Lombard culture and identity remain shadowy. From the 6th century, however, their location is far more securely attested through both text and archaeology. By this time the Lombards were settled on the fringes of the Roman world. *Procopius records alliances made in the 530s–50s between the Lombards and the *Emperor *Justinian I in the context of the *Byzantine invasion and occupation of *Italy (534–55). By the second quarter of the 6th century, the Lombards had occupied the northern portions of former Roman *Pannonia (western Hungary), having ousted the *Heruli and *Suebes. Southern Pannonia was then largely ceded to them by Justinian, along with considerable *tribute, so as to provide a secure land corridor for imperial *armies passing from the East to Italy. The Lombards were also engaged in countering the potential threat presented by the *Gepids on the Danube and Lombard soldiers also fought in the Byzantine armies in Italy. Various Lombard chiefs became imperial officers, serving in the Balkans and even on the Persian *frontier. Procopius claims that Justinian's Lombard allies were Christian and Catholic during the 540s, although later kings continued to profess *Homoean (*Arian) Christianity into the 7th century.

Settlement in Italy

The fullest documentation of the subsequent Lombard occupation of large parts of Italy in opposition to the Byzantines is provided by the late 8th-century Lombard historian and poet *Paul the Deacon, writing chiefly for the court of Charlemagne. The Byzantines had only come to dominate the Italian Peninsula after a disastrously long-drawn-out conflict against the *Ostrogoths. They wholly failed to oppose the arrival of the Lombards over the Alps in AD 568/9. The Lombards settled first in north-eastern Italy and established the Duchy of *Friuli at *Cividale del Friuli. Other key *cities were also placed under the leadership of a Lombard *Dux (sometimes anglicized as Duke). Historians disagree about the numbers involved in this migration, but the military component is estimated at about 40,000 men.

The first Lombard expansion in northern Italy, and across the Po plain, was undertaken by King *Alboin. Expansion continued even in the interregnum which followed Alboin's death (AD 574–84), when the Lombard *duces* chose not to elect a king. Byzantine military responses varied and were often ineffective. They included seeking support from the *Franks and using gold to buy off Lombard *duces*. Kings *Authari and *Agilulf maintained the offensive and by about 610 the Lombards held most of northern Italy except the coastal *provinces of *Venetia et Histria and *Liguria, and restricted the imperial forces to a central Italian land corridor linking *Rome and *Ravenna. The Lombard kings were based first in *Verona, then in *Milan and finally settled in *Pavia. Their territories or duchies were controlled by *duces* from old fortified Roman centres, notably cities. Some new fortresses were created on the frontiers with the Byzantines. Further territorial gains were made in the mid-7th century under kings *Rothari and *Grimoald, and in the mid-8th century under *Liutprand and *Aistulf when the Lombards occupied *Ravenna, the Byzantine capital and seat of the *exarch. The period is punctuated by treaties and 'eternal peaces', and there were probably sustained periods during which warfare was rare. When King Desiderius renewed Lombard aggression against Rome in the 770s, the pope successfully appealed to the Carolingian Frankish court, a development which culminated in Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom in AD 774. Powerful Lombard principalities nonetheless endured in central southern Italy, notably those around *Benevento, which saw significant cultural activity in the 9th century.

Archaeological evidence

While walled towns were the seats of Lombard power and administration, related settlement archaeology remains very limited. Churches and *monasteries have been studied, especially those of the 8th century—the Lombard nation became officially Catholic in about AD 680. A few *houses are known, for example in *Brescia and Verona, and traces of *palaces exist at Brescia, Cividale, and *Spoleto. At rural sites, specifically Lombard-period housing is barely attested and the evidence is even sparser for Lombard Pannonia. This is, however, also the case at non-Lombard sites, including Rome and Ravenna, where 6th- to 8th-century secular structures have yet to be archaeologically identified. Excavations at Brescia in particular have shown how cities had declined by about AD 600, with town centres disfigured by open spaces, timber and rubble buildings, robbed classical structures, and burials. Nonetheless, the persistence of towns as seats of authority suggests that they continued to be lived in, and that the bulk of the population was Italian/Roman and not Lombard. This continuity is reflected also in the survival of Roman *law, of the *Latin language, and of Catholic *bishops and the congregations they cared for.

This urban continuity has implications for the chief source of archaeological information for the 6th and 7th centuries, namely burials. Important excavated cemeteries include *Nocera Umbra and *Castel Trosino

in central and eastern Italy, and Testona and Cividale in the north; a key aristocratic group lies at Trezzo sull'-Adda near *Milan. Burials often include weapons, and those of the *aristocracy have such high-quality 'parade' items as gilded or silvered spurs and decorative shields as late as the mid-7th century. Much attention is now focused on how other artefacts, notably *dress fittings, can identify patterns of integration or acculturation between Lombards and natives. In particular, the discovery that the *Crypta Balbi workshops in Rome manufactured items in use in Lombard territories demonstrates the existence of networks of exchange across Italy in the 7th century. Archaeological information complements texts such as the *letters of *Gregory the Great, the **Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, *charters, the codes of Lombard *law, the **Liber Pontificalis*, the **Historia Langobardorum Codicis Gothani*, and Paul the Deacon to provide a fuller and more complex account of Italy in the period of Lombard rule. NJC

I. Bona, *The Dawn of the Dark Ages: Lombards and Gepids in the Carpathian Basin* (1976).
S. Gasparri, *I duchi longobardi* (1978).
M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (²1981).
C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (1981).
W. Menghin, *Die Langobarden. Archäologie und Geschichte* (1985).
E. Roffia et al., eds., *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'-Adda* (Ricerche di archeologia altomedievale e medievale 12/13, 1986).
G. C. Menis, E. A. Arslan, et al., eds., *I Longobardi* (new edn., 1992).
G. C. Menis, V. Bierbrauer, et al., eds., *Italia longobarda* (1991).
D. Harrison, *The Early State and the Towns: Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy, AD 568–774* (1993).
G. P. Brogiolo, *Brescia altomedievale: urbanistica ed edilizia dal IV al IX secolo* (1993).
N. Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards* (1995).
R. McKitterick, ed., *New Cambridge Medieval History* II, *c.700–c.900* (1995).
G. P. Brogiolo and S. Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale* (1996).
P. Fouracre, ed., *New CMedH* I: *c.500–c.700* (2005).
M. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy: Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa, c.700–900* (2007).
G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, eds., *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2009).
G. Roma, ed., *I Longobardi del Sud* (2010).

London (England; Roman Londinium) The largest *city in Roman *Britain and presumably the provincial capital. By the end of the 2nd century AD it had reached around 133.5 ha (330 acres); a *city wall was constructed at this time. Some economic change appears to have occurred in the city at this time, reflected in reduced manufacture and the demolition of some buildings, but it remained important. With the Severan reorganization of Britain in the 3rd century, Londinium probably became the capital of the new *province of *Britannia Superior and then, with the reforms under the *Tetrarchy, of *Maxima Caesariensis. The city appears to have been important in the revolt of the *usurpers *Carausius (286–93) and *Allectus (293–6); its recapture by *Constantius I in 296 is celebrated on a large *gold medallion from the *Arras Hoard. A number of new monumental buildings were constructed in the city around this time, but their functions remain problematic. They include a masonry riverside complex and a large stone aisled structure at Colchester House. As yet no churches are definitely known in the city although the aisled structure at Colchester House might be one. A *Bishop of London attended the *Council of *Arles of AD 314. Buildings continued to be altered, demolished, and built in the 4th century, parts of the forum and *basilica complex were demolished. That the city remained important, however, is reflected in its new administrative name Augusta, assigned in the 4th century and indicated by *coinage minted in London itself. The mint had been opened by Carausius and operated until its closure by *Constantine I, with a brief subsequent minting period in 383. *Theodosius Comes visited the city during his suppression of the *Barbarian Conspiracy. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (11) also indicates the residence of a Praepositus Thesaurum in charge of the London treasury. Occupation continued into the 5th century and was probably never completely abandoned although the nature of the settlement by the end of the Roman period and in the immediate post-Roman period remains enigmatic.

In the post-Roman period London was a focus of much reduced activity. Occupation within the walled city was of an ecclesiastical nature with a bishopric founded in AD 604 following the mission of S. *Augustine of *Canterbury to the kingdom of Kent in AD 597. The site of this ecclesiastical presence is most likely that of the medieval and modern S. Paul's Cathedral.

To the west of the walled city, at S. Martin-in-the-Fields, burials, perhaps around a Christian shrine, have been found dating to between the 5th and 7th centuries. Urban occupation also emerged here in the mid-7th century and by *c.*680 both archaeological remains and written evidence (e.g. *Bede, *HE* II, 3) reveal a thriving centre of production and commerce which, during the 8th century, covered up to *c.*60 ha (*c.*150 acres) extending to the east along the Strand and including the area still known as Aldwych (old + *wic*, trading town); in *c.*680, the laws of Eadric and Hlothere of Kent (16) record the name of Lundenwic. Metalled *streets

with *houses and workshops along the frontage and with latrine and rubbish pits behind them display urban characteristics. Evidence for trading connections with continental Europe includes *coins, *glass, *pottery, quernstones, and honestones. A mint appears to have operated from *c.*650. Production within Lundenwic included bone and antler objects, textiles, and metalwork.

By the late 9th century Viking activity appears to have brought an end to Lundenwic and the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*s.a.* 871) refers to Lundenburh, reflecting the movement of settlement back within the walled city around a gridded street pattern of that date.

ACR; ARe; RRD

G. Milne, *Roman London* (1995).
RIC V/1; V/2; VI, VII, IX.
R. Cowie, L. Blackmore, A. Davis, J. Keily, and K. Rielly, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London, 1987–2000* (2012).
A. Telfer, 'Further Discoveries in Lundenwic', *MedArch* 52 (2008), 342–6.
A. G. Vince, *Saxon London: An Archaeological Investigation* (1990).
MEC 8.

longhouse Large, oblong barbarian *house of a design typical in Scandinavia, northern Germany, and the lower Rhine from the Bronze Age to at least the 7th century, as excavated at *Feddersen Wierde. The wooden longhouse characteristically provided a byre for animals at one end with accommodation, and a hearth for people at the other. Internal pairs of timber posts supported the massive roof and the doors were opposite one another in the long walls. SCT

Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, 14–26.

Longinus Brother of *Zeno. Imprisoned in *Isauria by *Illus till 485, he returned to *Constantinople, where he became *Magister Militum, and in 486 and 490 *consul. He also replaced elderly dancers for the *circus *factions. When Zeno died in 491 he hoped to become emperor, helped by the *Magister Officiorum *Longinus of Cardala. *Anastasius I banished him to *Egypt, where he died *c.*499. OPN; FKH

PLRE II, Longinus 6.
E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 3, 18–21, 23, 226.

Longinus, Cassius (*c.*213–73) Rhetorician, scholar, and philosophical critic, but not the author of *On the Sublime*. At *Alexandria he studied under Ammonius Saccas. For 30 years he taught at *Athens, where his pupils included *Porphyry (*VPlot* 17 and 19–21, cf. 14), who describes the dinner with guests from many Greek *cities he held there to celebrate Plato's birthday (*Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, X, 3, 464A). Later he went to *Palmyra where he became an adviser to *Odaenathus and *Zenobia. The Roman *Emperor *Aurelian executed him for his involvement with the Empire of *Palmyra (*Zosimus, I, 56). *Eunapius calls him 'a living library and a walking home of the Muses' (*Lives of the Philosophers*, 456). Fragments of his writings survive. KTMcG

PLRE 1 Longinus 2.
ed. L. Brisson and M. Patillon (with FT) *Longin. Fragments; Art rhétorique* (2001).
L. Brisson and M. Patillon, *ANRW* II.36.7 (1994), II.34.4 (1998).

Longinus of Cardala *Zeno made Longinus *Magister Officiorum in 484 after *Illus' defeat. When Zeno died in 491, Longinus abetted the efforts of Zeno's brother, also called *Longinus, to succeed as *emperor. *Anastasius I dismissed him; he went home to *Isauria and mustered 15,000 men. Defeated at *Cotiaeum of *Phrygia in 492 by *John Gibbus and *John Scytha, Longinus sustained resistance in the Isaurian mountains till captured and beheaded in 497. OPN; FKH

PLRE II, Longinus 3.
E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 3, 23–4.

Longinus of Selinus Leader, along with *Longinus of Cardala, of Isaurian resistance to *Anastasius I's accession in 491. He managed the supply chain for the insurgents' mountain strongholds through Antioch of *Isauria, and was captured there in 498, paraded through *Constantinople, and beheaded at *Nicaea. OPN

PLRE II, Longinus 4.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 25–6.

lordship The Germanic peoples of the 1st–4th centuries AD had no theoretical concept of lordship. Any idea they had of it was related to a certain person bearing power.

The Enlightenment and the Romantic era developed a concept of Germanic freedom, which Engels introduced in Marxist theory. According to this model free farmers lived in an egalitarian confraternity (*Genossenschaft*) of freemen, ruled only by an elected assembly (*Thing*). As late as the Carolingian Era, it was considered, lordship finally changed into medieval feudalism and manorialism, influenced by Roman as well as ecclesiastical structures. The same body of scholarship considered specific patterns of lordship to be the main contribution of Germanic peoples to a post-Roman Europe. The most comprehensively theoretical account of this reconstruction was O. Brunner's *Land und*

Herrschaft (1939), which—together with H. Dannenbauer and W. Schlesinger—advocated a special 'Germanic' form of retinue (*Gefolgschaftswesen*) and fidelity as the foundation of ancient and medieval lordship. Despite considerable critical and polemical discussion, these theories dominated international scholarship till the 1980s. Modern research tends to look at symbols, rituals, patterns of communication, token gestures, and representation as well as *gift-giving as the means to legitimize hierarchical social structures.

The elites of the post-Roman kingdoms depended on land. Central for our understanding is the shift from Late Antique *taxation to rent and the manorial system. Owning land made it possible to pay and feed soldiers and to hold a local power position. At the same time the powerful people were integrated in super-regional structures. Kings also relied on large *estates. RSt

RGA 2 *s.v.* Herrschaft, XIV (1999), 443–57 (Pohl).
H. Kämpf, ed., *Herrschaft und Staat im Mittelalter* (1956).
Brunner, *Land and Lordship.*
J. F. Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (1993).
Wickham, *Land and Power.*
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages.*

lorica (Lat. 'breastplate'; cf. 1 Thess. 5: 8) Genre combining *prayer with an apotropaic charm. The *Lorica of Laidcenn* (Irish, before 661) invokes God's help against physical and spiritual dangers; the *Leiden Lorica* (Celtic?) is a Christianized love-charm. The *Lorica of Laidcenn* in particular relies heavily on vocabulary characteristic of the **Hisperica Famina*. The detailed enumeration of body parts in both shows the influence of *curse tablets. Other *loricae* survive in Old Irish and Old Norse. MWHe

CPL 1138–42.
ed. (with ET and comm.) M. Herren, *Hisperica Famina*, vol. 2 (1987).
J. Reid, 'The Lorica of Laidcenn: The Biblical Connections', *JMLat* 12 (2002), 141–53.

loros Long *purple scarf, adorned with *gold and precious *stones. Originally the decorative border of the **toga picta*, it developed into a separate ceremonial garment by the 6th century. As an item of imperial *dress on *coinage, it appears regularly only from the late 7th century onwards. MGP

DOC 2/1 (1968), 78–80.
RByzKunst, 3 (1978) *s.v.* Insignien 428–44 (K. Wessell).

Loupian (dép. Hérault, France) An outlier in Languedoc of the sumptuous Late Antique *villas of *Aquitaine. The early imperial wine-producing villa at Les Prés-Bas was improved in the 4th century, and then more comprehensively remodelled in the early 5th century into a particularly lavish residence featuring a vast trilobate banqueting room and a fine ensemble of *mosaics of both Aquitanian and Syrian inspiration. A substantial church with adjoining *baptistery excavated some 800 m (about half a mile) north of the villa at S. Cécile belongs to the same building phase. The villa remained in use into the 6th century, while becoming increasingly utilitarian. The longer-term development of both sites is revealing of the transformations in *estate organization at the end of Antiquity. STL

CAGaule 34/2 (2001), 126–49.
C. Pellecuer and H. Pomarèdes, in P. Ouzoilias et al., eds., *Les Campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l'antiquité* (2001), 503–32.

Low Ham *Villa in Somerset, England, constructed in the mid-4th century with a *mosaic in the principal reception room, depicting the story of Dido and Aeneas as told by *Vergil. ACR

C. A. Ralegh Radford, and H. S. L. Dewar, *The Roman Mosaics from Low Ham and East Coker* (1954).

Lucania et Bruttium Province of the *Dioecesis Italiae created under the *Tetrarchy and listed in the *Verona List as licaoniam (fol. 256 recto, 11). It appears in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* II, 20) as under the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae (*occ.* XIX, 9), so formed part of *Italia Suburbicaria. The *governor was a *Corrector (*occ.* I, 81), the metropolis was Reggio, and the province was bounded by the Silaro and Bradano rivers, so that it corresponded largely to the Augustan Regio III, but without Metapontum and including the Picentini mountains. MMA

NEDC 164–5, 218–19.
F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen in spätantike Italien* (1988).
R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Lucca (Roman Luca) *City in the modern province of Lucca in Tuscany, about 30 km (*c.*18 miles) inland from the Tyrrhenian Sea. The modern *street grid replicates that of the Roman *colonia* (settled *c.*180 BC) and in the plain around the city signs of centuriation may still be discerned in rectangular field divisions.

In the Later Empire, details of the town's transformation are unclear. Some have argued for the abandonment of the old civic centre as early as the 2nd and 3rd centuries; others for more urban continuity. It is clear that in the mid-4th century one of the town's intramural *basilicas had been adapted from a pre-existing *bath complex. The **Notitia Dignitatum* records an imperial **fabrica* for swords (*occ.* IX, 20).

By the 6th century the *Gothic identity of some of Lucca's inhabitants, whether ethnically or socially defined, was secure. In 553, following the *Byzantine

invasion and occupation of Italy, Lucca, sustained by *Frankish troops, resisted the general *Narses, who subsequently captured the town (*Agathias, I, 17–18). S. Frigidianus (or Fredianus, *Bishop of Lucca 556–88), formerly an Irish hermit living in the hills above the city, is credited with diverting the river, so saving fields in the plain from flooding (*Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, III, 9).

After the *Lombards took control of the region, the strategic position of Lucca made it the seat of a *Dux (certainly from the time of Walpert, 713–36) and Lombard landowners built themselves *houses in the city and its suburbs. From the same period date the earliest surviving records which make Lucca the best-documented city in early medieval *Italy. DRB

G. Ciampoltrini, ed., *Lucca: le metamorfosi di una città romana* (2009).
G. Ciampoltrini, ed., *Ad limitem: paesaggi d'età romana nello scavo degli Orti del San Francesco in Lucca* (2007).
G. Ciampoltrini and P. Notini, 'Lucca tardoantichi e altomedievali', *ArchMed* 17 (1990), 561–92.
H. Schwarzmeier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts* (1972).
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 644–56; 211–13; 386–93.
Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 84–6.
P. Squatriti, 'Water, Nature and Culture in Early Medieval Lucca', *EME* 4 (1995), 29–39.

Lucian of Antioch (martyred 7 January 312) Presbyter and learned teacher at *Antioch, *martyred at *Nicomedia (*Eusebius *HE* IX, 6, 3; *cf.* VIII, 13, 2). An apology attributed to him on that occasion is of doubtful authenticity, as are reports that he founded the exegetical school at Antioch and edited recensions of the LXX and NT; his authorship of a *creed adopted by the *Council of Antioch (341) is debated. Lucian's subordinationist Christology anticipated the views of his students *Arius and *Eusebius of *Nicomedia. His *relics were placed in a *martyrium at Drepana of *Bithynia which under *Constantine I was renamed *Helenopolis after the *Empress *Helena. MWHo

CPG 1720–3.
M. Slusser, 'The Martyrdom of Lucian of Antioch', *ZAC* 7 (2003), 329–37.
T. D. Barnes, 'The Date of the Martyrdom of Lucian of Antioch', *ZAC* 8 (2004), 350–3.

Lugdunensis Prima, Secunda, Senonia, and Tertia These four *provinces represent divisions of the former province of Gallia Lugdunensis. under the *Tetrarchy. This was at first divided into Lugdunensis Prima, with *Lyons as its capital, and Secunda, with *Rouen as its capital, and these are recorded in the *Verona List. They were then further divided by *Constantine I, so that Lugdunensis Senonia, with Sens as its capital (other towns including Chartres, Auxerre, *Paris, and *Orléans), was formed from part of Lugdunensis Prima, and Lugdunensis Tertia, with *Tours as its capital (other towns including Le Mans, Rennes, and Angers), was formed from part of Secunda. Other *cities in Lugdunensis Prima in its later form included *Autun and Langres and in Lugdunensis Prima there were Bayeux and Avranches. All four provinces are recorded in the **Notitia Dignitatum* with Lugdunensis Prima having a Consularis as *governor and the other three a *Praeses. These territories were gradually lost from the Roman Empire to invading *tribes, including the *Franks and *Burgundians over the 5th century. The death of *Syagrius 'Rex Romanorum' in 486/7 set a term to Roman control in Lugdunensis Secunda and Senonia. ACR

Barrington Atlas, 101 G2.
TIR, L-31 (1938), M-30 (1975), M-31 (1983).
NEDC 217.
Topographie chrétienne, Gaule vol. 4, Lyons, ed. P.-A. Février (1986); vol. 9, Rouen, ed. N. Gauthier and M. Fixot (1996); vol. 8, Sens, ed. J.-C. Picard (1992); vol. 5, Tours, ed. L. Pietri and J. Biarne (1987).

Lullingstone *Villa in Kent (England), first built in the AD 80s. Marble busts of the 2nd century may represent the owners, but they were found in the shrine (Deep Room) in a 4th-century context, perhaps indicating changing ownership or ancestor worship. The 4th-century phase included an apsidal *dining room with *mosaics of AD 330–60, depicting Europa and the Bull and Bellerophon killing the Chimaera. Above the Deep Room, wall paintings of the late 4th and early 5th centuries, apparently depicting worshippers and the chi-rho symbol, may indicate a house church. ACR

G. W. Meates, *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent* (1979).

Luna (mod. Luni) lies on a narrow coastal strip north of ancient and modern *Pisa. It was prosperous in classical times, largely because within its territory were the nearby Luna (now Carrara) *quarries, which supplied much of the *marble for early imperial *Rome. The *city remained important as an administrative centre into post-imperial times, serving as a centre of Byzantine power against the *Lombards (who captured it in around 640), and as the seat of a *bishop (until 1204). However, by the 4th century the quarries had apparently closed, and the economy and population of Luna dropped steadily, until the site was wholly abandoned. Excavations in the 1970s were some of the first in *Italy to focus on the post-Roman period. They showed that by the mid-6th century the forum square had been comprehensively robbed of its marble, and was partially covered by small wooden houses—a remarkable case of urban change, that, despite the

continuing administrative importance of the city, is most readily interpreted as decline. BW-P

A. Manfredi and P. Sverzellati, eds., *Da Luni a Sarzana, 1204–2004: VIII Centenario della traslazione della sede vescovile: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Sarzana, 30 settembre–2 ottobre 2004* (2007).

B. Ward-Perkins, 'Two Byzantine Houses at Luni', *PBSR* 49 (1981), 91–8.

Lundeborg A trading port dating from the 3rd to the end of the 7th centuries AD at the mouth of the Tange River outflow to the Greater Belt in Denmark. The site is associated with *Gudme, in the south-east quarter of the island of Funen. Along the coastline (an area about 900 m (3,000 feet) in length on black sandy soil) several small huts with hearths, and pits of various sorts, have been found. The southern part of the occupation can be dated to the Late Roman Iron Age, whereas the northern part dates to the end of the *Migration Period, the 8th century AD. A hoard of 95 *gold foil figures from *c.*600 AD was also discovered on the coastal ridge of the Tange River. A possible sheltered *harbour was located in the low sandy beach area around the small Tange River. The location and finds of Roman imports (*pottery, *bronzes, *glass beads, glass vessels, and pottery including *terra *sigillata*) and the evidence for such local crafts as *shipbuilding and blacksmithing suggest that this is an important centre of manufacturing and *trade. KJe

P. O. Thomsen, 'Lundeborg—an Early Port of Trade in South-East Funen', in P. O. Nielsen, K. Randsborg, and H. Thrane, eds., *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg* (Arkæologiske studier 10, 1994), 23–9.

K. Randsborg, 'Beyond the Roman Empire: Archaeological Discoveries in Gudme on Funen, Denmark', *OxJnlArch* 9 (1900), 355–66.

Lupercalia Ancient Roman religious *festival, whose origins and purpose remain uncertain. In the time of Julius Caesar, it included a ritual *sacrifice performed by a brotherhood of priests, the induction of new priests, a semi-nude race performed by male members of the senatorial *aristocracy, and a good deal of drunken spectacle. The suppression of pagan cults in *Rome in AD 382 by the *Emperor *Gratian and the subsequent disintegration of pagan *priesthoods forced a retooling of the festival but the rite continued into the 6th century despite the gradual adoption of Christianity. It was still popular at the time of Pope *Gelasius I (AD 492–6), who, in a sign of his own inability to control popular religious festivals in Rome, issued a lengthy, though toothless, condemnation of its aristocratic patrons. GED

ed. (annotated with introd. and FT) G. Pomares, *Gélase I: Lettre contre les Lupercales* (SC 65, 1959).

J. A. North, 'Caesar at the Lupercalia', *JRS* 98 (2008), 144–60.

N. McLynn, 'Crying Wolf: The Pope and the Lupercalia', *JRS* 98 (2008), 161–75.

Lupicina *See* EUPHEMIA.

Lupicinus *See* JURA FATHERS.

Lupus, Dux of Aquitaine (d. after 676) Frankish *Dux (from *c.*672), who summoned the Church *Council of S. Pierre-de-Granon and assisted the *Visigothic pretender *Paul in his revolt against King *Wamba. After the murder of *Childeric II in 675, he may have declared himself independent ruler of *Aquitaine. JJA

M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781* (1979), 100–4.

Lupus, Dux of Champagne (*fl.* 566–90) A prominent Frankish magnate under *Sigibert I and *Childebert II. During the latter's minority, he favoured an alliance with *Guntram, and despite *Brunhild's support, was forced to flee to his kingdom after *Childebert's treaty with *Chilperic in 581. He was restored to Childebert's *court alongside *Dynamius in 587, after the Treaty of *Andelot. He was a *patron of *Venantius Fortunatus, who praises him extensively. BD; STL

PLRE III, Lupus 1.

PCBE IV/2, Lupus.

B. Dumézil, 'Gogo et ses amis', *RH* 643 (2007), 553–93.

Lupus of Troyes (427–78) An aristocrat from Toul, brother of *Vincent of *Lérins, and husband of Pimeniola the sister of S.*Hilary, *Bishop of *Arles. Lupus abandoned his *estates, separated from his wife, and went to live at Lérins. Later he joined *Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, on his mission to *Britain in 429, and is credited with negotiating with *Attila and the *Huns in 451, and later with the *Alamans. He corresponded with *Sidonius, Bishop of *Clermont, who commends him as a learned theologian. A surviving *letter, written with Eufronius, Bishop of *Autun, gives advice on the *liturgy of festive vigils and clerical *marriage. RVD; STL

PCBE IV/2, Lupus 1.

Lupus and Euphronius, *Letter* (*CPL* 988), ed. C. Munier in *Concilia Galliae, A.314–A.506* (CCSL 148), 140–1.

Life (*BHL* 5087, *CPL* 989), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 7 (1920), 284–302.

E. Ewig, 'Bemerkungen zur Vita des Bischofs Lupus von Troyes', in K. Hauck and H. Mordek, eds., *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben in Mittelalter* (*Festschrift H. Löwe*) (1978), 14–26.

Lusitania *Province in the Dioecesis *Hispaniae covering modern Portugal and western *Spain, bordering

*Baetica, *Carthaginiensis, and *Gallaecia. The extent of the province was unaltered at the time of the *Verona List. The *governor, formerly a *Praeses, was a *Consularis in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The capital was Augusta Emerita (*Merida). Lusitania was conquered successively by the *Alans in 409, the *Visigoths in 456, and the *Arabs after 711. GDB

Barrington Atlas, 100E4, 101E4.
TIR J-29 (1995).

Luxeuil (dép. Haute-Saône, France) *Monastery founded in the early 590s on the ruins of the Roman settlement Luxovium by the Irish monk S. *Columbanus, supported by King *Childebert II, Queen *Brunhild, and the local *aristocracy. Under Columbanus' successors *Eusthasius and Waldebert, Luxeuil became the centre of a network of monastic foundations, but lost its leading role after Waldebert's death in 670 (though it served as a *prison for *Ebroin and *Leodegar). It remained one of the most important *Merovingian scriptoria. The monastery was destroyed in 732, restored by Charlemagne, and dissolved during the French Revolution. Most of its surviving manuscripts went to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Extensive archaeological research has recently given important new insights into the early history of the monastery and its relationship to the Late Antique settlement. ADi

G. Cugnier, *Histoire du monastère de Luxeuil à travers ses abbes*, 1 (2003).
A. Diem, 'Monks, Kings and the Transformation of Sanctity', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59.
D. Ganz, 'Texts and Scripts in Surviving Manuscripts in the Script of Luxeuil', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter, eds., *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (2002), 186–204.
I. N. Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in A. C. Murray, ed., *After Rome's Fall* (1998), 99–120.
S. Bully et al., 'Les Origines du monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d'après les récentes recherches archéologiques', in M. Gaillard, ed., *L'Empreinte chrétienne en Gaule du IVe au IXe siècle* (2014), 311–55.

Luxor *See* THEBES AND THE THEBAID.

Luxor, Tetrarchic temple-chamber The Pharaonic *temple of Ammon at *Thebes (modern Luxor) in Upper *Egypt was requisitioned by the *Tetrarchy, perhaps soon after the revolt of *Domitius Domitianus. Within the temple complex, an apsidal room was dedicated to the *imperial cult. It was decorated with wall paintings, now poorly preserved but represented in watercolours (now in the Ashmoleum, Oxford) by the Victorian Egyptologist Sir John Gardner Wilkinson. These paintings show images of four *emperors in the *apse, underneath the eagle of Jupiter, and there were also ceremonial scenes, including a military *procession and an imperial audience. RR

Bardill, *Constantine,* 70–1, 78.
J. G. Deckers, 'Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor', *JbDAI* 94 (1979), 600–52.
I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'The Imperial Chamber at Luxor', *DOP* 29 (1975), 225–51.
J. G. Deckers, 'Die Wandmalerei des tetrarchischen Lagerheiligtums in Luxor', *RQ* 68 (1973), 1–14.
M. Jones and S. McFadden, *Art of Empire: The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple* (2015).

Luxorius (occasionally **Luxurius**) (*fl.* 523/34) Poet of *Vandal *Africa, author of 89 (or 90) *epigrams and one *cento. His poems were composed (on internal evidence) during the reigns of the Vandal kings *Hilderic (523–30) and *Gelimer (530–4), most probably in *Carthage. They form part of the **Anthologia Latina*. Luxorius entrusted his book of poems to a **grammaticus*, Faustus, for circulation among learned men (1, 10–14), and he is the dedicatee of a grammatical treatise on final syllables by another writer, Coronatus (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* IV, 1), but there is no direct evidence that Luxorius was a **grammaticus* himself (Kaster, *Guardians*, 415–17), and we have no other information about his life.

His epigrams, composed in a variety of metres, demonstrate a close knowledge of classical Latin poetry, particularly the epigrams of Martial (1st century AD); he is thus often labelled the 'African Martial'. His scoptic epigrams, attacking sexual perversions, physical deformities, and those who have neglected professional duties, bear the particular imprint of the classical epigram tradition. But Luxorius is no mere imitator. His poems offer a vivid picture of daily life in Vandal Africa, and provide valuable evidence of the cultural interaction between Romans and the Vandal ruling elite. He celebrates the grand homes and gardens of wealthy Vandals through classicizing mythological parallels and poetic allusions, attesting to the continuing value of such learning in the period. Amphitheatre performances and chariot racing are particularly prominent in his epigrams (some fourteen poems on this theme survive). Luxorius also uses the epigram for political attack: two poems target the violent rapaciousness of one Eutychus (55, 56), perhaps a Greek calque on the name Bonifatius, a secretary of Gelimer (*PLRE* III *s.v.* Bonifatius I). JFU

PLRE II, Luxorius.
PCBE I, Luxorius.
HLL, section 788:
ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey in *Anthologia Latina*, I (1982), 282–390.
ed. (with comm.) H. Happ, *Luxurius. Text, Untersuchungen, Kommentar* (1986).

ET M. Rosenblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet Among the Vandals* (1961).
F. Dal Corobbo, *Per la lettura di Lussorio: status quaestionis, testi e commento* (2006).

Luxor Treasure About ten pieces of liturgical *silverware, of the 5th/7th centuries, excavated in 1889 from a church constructed within the Amun Temple, *Luxor, Egypt: a processional *cross; three rare rectangular patens (formerly identified as book containers); a chain; three fragmentary censers; and fragments of two further vessels. Three items carry dedicatory *inscriptions. All are now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo. HAHC

D. Bénazeth, *Catalogue général du Musée Copte du Caire: 1, objets en métal* (2001), 375–90.
M. Krause, 'Zum Silberschatz von Luxor', *Boreas* 17 (1994), 149–57.
J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst: Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1904), nos. 7201–10.

Lycaonia *Province of *Dioecesis *Asiana in south Central *Anatolia, with *Iconium (mod. Konya) as its secular and ecclesiastical metropolis. The province was created in the 370s from parts of *Isauria and *Pisidia and appears in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* II, 35) governed by a *Praeses (*or.* I, 97). In the 7th century Lycaonia was merged into the larger *Opsikion *Theme and soon thereafter became part of the Anatolic Theme.

The region flanks the Taurus Mountains which lie to the south, and was centred on the Konya Plain. The economy was mainly rural and best known for large landholdings and *sheep *farming. Christianization was well advanced by the 4th century, as appears from *inscriptions. Extant churches are particularly numerous at Binbirkilise (*Thousand and One Churches) and other mountain sites and were built in a regional style that is also encountered in *Galatia. PhN

TIB 4 (1984).
RAC 23 (2010) *s.n.* Lykaonien (Galatien), 763–98 (R. Behrwald).
H. Mert and P. Niewöhner, 'Blattkapitelle in Konya. Lykaonien zwischen Sidamaria und Binbirkilise', *IstMitt* 60 (2010), 373–410.
S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (1993), II.

Lychnidus (mod. Ohrid, FYROM) In antiquity the name of both Lake Ohrid and the major settlement on its north-east shore. Lychnidos lay on the *Via Egnatia, near the east edge of the province *Epirus Nova. A bishopric existed already in 343. The region suffered from *Visigoths under *Alaric in 397, from *Ostrogoths in the late 5th century (*Malchus, fr. 18), and from *Slavic invasions in the late 6th and subsequent centuries. An *earthquake caused damage in the reign of *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 18).

The Late Antique city occupied two hills above the lake. At least nine churches, mostly decorated with *mosaics, have been documented, e.g. at Plaošnik (Imaret) both a monumental three-aisled *basilica with a *baptistery and atrium on its north side, and a large, double-shell tetraconch church with a trefoil baptistery. A fragmentary rotunda has been found near the acropolis. Three-aisled basilicas also stood in nearby suburbs, e.g. at Studenčišta and Sveti Erazmo. CSS

TIR K 34 (1976), 81–2.
V. Bitrakova Grozdanova, 'Lychnidos à l'époque paléochrétiénne et son noyau urbain', *Niš and Byzantium* 7 (2009), 23–36.
V. Malenko, 'Nouvelles découvertes dans la localité Sv. Erazmo', *ArchIug* 15 (1974), 45–51.
V. Malenko, 'Ranohristijanski objekti vo Ohrid I Ohridsko', *Lihnid* 7 (1989), 3–22.

Lycia *Province bordering the Mediterranean Sea and the provinces of *Caria and *Pamphylia, with *Myra as its civil and ecclesiastical metropolis. It is not clear when Lycia was divided off from the earlier combined province of Lycia et Pamphylia. The *Verona List has the corrupt reading Phanfilia under the *Dioecesis *Asiana (225 verso, 6). A *Praeses of the combined province is addressed in the closing years of the Great *Persecution (*CTh* XIII, 10, 2 = *CJust* XI, 49, 1; cf. also *CIL* III, 12132; *ILCV* 1) and the earliest evidence of the separate province comes from the mid-4th century. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* Lycia is listed as governed by a Praeses (*or.* I, 100) under the *Vicarius of the Dioecesis of Asiana and the *Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem (*or.* II, 38; XXIV, 15). In the 7th century Lycia was merged into the larger *Cibyrrhaeotic *Theme.

The geography is dominated by the southern *Taurus Mountain Range and its rivers, their estuaries, and the coastal floodplains where the main *cities are located along the shipping route to the Near East. Accordingly, *harbours and *trade played an important part in the economy. Lycia was particularly prosperous in Late Antiquity, as is attested by a wealth of new buildings and whole new settlements that sprang up along the coast, on islands, and in the mountains. In the 6th-century *Life* of S. *Nicholas of Sion, the rural hinterland appears thoroughly Christianized, with independent and well-to-do farmers living in *villages, building many churches, and founding *monasteries. The large, heavy, and precious *Kumluca Treasure may be attributable to a rural monastery. *See also* LYCIA, CHURCHES OF. PhN

NEDC 219, 156.
TIB 8*: Lykien und Pamphylien* (2004).
K. Asano, *The Island of St Nicholas: Excavation and Survey of the Gemiler Island Area, Lycia, Turkey* (2010).
C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, reprinted in Foss, *History and Archaeology*, study II.

G. [L.] Fowden, 'Religious Developments in Late Roman Lycia: Topographical Preliminaries', in *Meletemata of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation* 10 (1990), 343–72.
F. Hild, 'Komai in Lykien', *Gephyra* 1 (2004), 119–26.
F. Kolb, *Burg-Polis-Bischofssitz: Geschichte der Siedlungskammer von Kyaneai in der Südwesttürkei* (2008).
F. Kolb, ed., *Lykische Studien* 9 (2010).
K. Dörtlük et al., eds., *The 3rd Symposium on Lycia: 07–10 November 2005, Antalya: Symposium proceedings = 3. Likya sempozyumu* (2006).

Lycia, churches of Durable lime mortar masonry and impassable mountains have both contributed to the good preservation of many churches in *Lycia. The provincial architecture has various distinctive features. *Apses are mostly free standing as in the Aegean and seldom integrated into a straight east wall as in the Near East. In many cases an eastern chapel seems to have contained *relics. Basilicas with *triconch sanctuaries occur frequently at remote mountain sites; some of these can be identified with *monasteries thanks to the *Life of *Nicholas of Sion*. Some coastal *cities imported *marble from *Proconnesus, but local limestone carvings were more common, of equally high quality, and affordable to rural communities. The great majority of churches and stone carvings dates from the 6th century. PhN

M. Altripp, in F. Kolb (ed.), *Lykische Studien 9. Die Siedlung von Kyaneai in Zentrallykien* (2010), 277–363.
P. Grossmann and H.-G. Severin, *Frühchristliche und byzantinische Bauten im südöstlichen Lykien* (2003).
R. M. Harrison, 'Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia', *AnatSt* 13 (1963), 117–51.
G. Fowden, 'Religious Developments in Late Roman Lycia: Topographical Preliminaries', *Meletemata of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation* 10 (1990), 343–72.
P. Niewöhner, 'Spätantike Reliquienkapellen in Lykien', *JbAC* 48/9 (2005/2006), 77–113.

Lycopolis (Coptic Siout; mod. Asyut) Metropolis in Middle *Egypt strategically located on the west bank of the *Nile at a bend in the river and at the terminus of a Western Desert route from Kharga *Oasis and beyond. A *cavalry unit (Cuneus Equitum Maurorum Scutariorum) was stationed there *c.*400 (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*or.*] 31, 23). The *philosophers *Plotinus (*c.*204/5–270; *Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 455) and *Alexander (3rd cent.) came from Lycopolis as did the poet *Colluthus (*fl.* 5th/6th cent.).

Many *martyrs were associated with the city. *Meletius, *Bishop of Lycopolis (*fl.* 303–32), led the rigorist Meletian Schism arising from the Great *Persecution. Numerous works surviving in *Arabic are attributed to Bishop Constantine II, bishop in the 6th/7th centuries, who was still working to eradicate Meletians in his see in the years following the *Persian invasion.

The hermit, prophet, and healer *John of Lycopolis (d. 394/5) lived on the Western Mountain and is said to have advised the *Emperor *Theodosius I (**Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, 1, *Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 35, *John Cassian, *De Institutis*, IV, 23).

The remains of the ancient city are now beneath modern Asyut. The desert escarpment of the Western Mountain contains numerous pharaonic rock-cut tombs and *quarries reused for habitation in Late Antiquity. The mud-brick ruins of Deir el-Meitin located nearby and Deir al-Azam upon the desert plateau are probably associated with this earlier, apparently monastic settlement. At Deir al-Azam, a jar of *incense was discovered bearing a Coptic *inscription and dedicated in 1156 by the monks of 'Apa John of the desert' (O.Cair.Monuments, 8104). ERO

CoptEnc 1, s.n. Asyut 296a-297b (R. Stewart).
Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 1, 235–51.
J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research* (2007).
J. Kahl, ed., *Seven Seasons at Asyut: First Results of the Egyptian–German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork* (2012).
CoptEnc 2, s.n. Constantine, 590b-593b (R.-G. Coquin, K. Samir).

Lycurgus cup (*c.*300–400) *Glass *cage-cup, now in the British Museum. The glass has dichroic properties: in daylight it is opaque green, in transmitted light translucent red. Its openwork frieze depicts the myth of Lycurgus: the Thracian king, entrapped by Ambrosia transformed into a vine, is tormented by *Dionysus, Pan, and a satyr. RHob

D. B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars* (1987), 245–9.

Lydda (Diospolis) (mod. Lod) *City on the coastal plain of *Palaestina Prima, first mentioned in the Canaanite period. S. Peter visited the Christian community at Lydda and healed a paralytic (Acts 9: 32–5), Lydda's *bishops attended the *Councils of *Nicaea and *Constantinople I, and in 415, the *Council of Lydda absolved *Pelagius from the charge of heresy. As the site of the alleged *martyrdom and the shrine of S. *George, Lydda became a place of *pilgrimage. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim passed through (600, 3), the pilgrim *Theodosius (4) and the *Piacenza Pilgrim (25) mention that there were many *miracles at the shrine. *Adomnán records miracle stories involving horsemen which his informant Arculf had heard at *Constantinople.

An image of S. George was carved on the *marble pillar against which the martyr had allegedly been beaten. In the late 7th century John, a disciple of *Anastasius of *Sinai (II, 5), was a *stylite at Diospolis.

After the *Arab conquest in 635, Lydda became the capital city of *Jund Filastin. BH

J. Schwartz, 'The Morphology of Roman Lydda', *Jewish History* 2 (1987), 33–66.

P. Maraval, 'Les Itinéraires de pèlerinage en Orient (entre le 4° et le 7° s.)', in J. Engeman, ed., *IntCongChrArch* XII (1995), 291–300.

L. Di Segni, 'The Onomasticon of Eusebius and the Madaba Map', in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, eds., *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997: Travelling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period* (1998), 115–20.

B. Bagatti, *Ancient Christian Villages of Samaria* (2002).

Lydia A province of the *Dioecesis *Asiana in western *Anatolia, governed by a *Consularis and based on the Hermus Valley around the administrative centre of *Sardis. The rich and productive agricultural land around Sardis, Thyateira to the north, and Philadelphia to the east, and in the Cayster Valley east of *Ephesus, rarely features in historical sources of Late Antiquity and has produced few *inscriptions. The region appears to have become unsettled in the mid-6th century, when in 553 it was placed under a military commander called a Biokolytes (*NovJust* 145). Disturbances at this period may have been connected with the residual survival of *paganism attested in the Mesogis mountain range, or with Montanist *heretics, entrenched on the eastern edge of Lydia. Both were suppressed by violent state intervention in the 540s and 550s. There was a significant community of *Jews and Jewish sympathizers (Godfearers) at Sardis, which in the 6th century created a *synagogue in the large civic gymnasium, adjoining a commercial *street of Late Antiquity. The most prominent surviving of many attested Christian churches was that of S. John the Evangelist at Philadelphia. SM

Jones, *LRE.*

C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (1976).

C. Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (1990).

C. Foss, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (1996).

J. H. Kroll, 'The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue', *HTR* 94 (2001), 1–127.

Lydney Park *Temple complex in Gloucestershire (England) dedicated to Mars and the native healing god Nodens. It was built in the late 3rd century atop a promontory hillfort and had many votive offerings. ACR

R. E. M. Wheeler and V. T. Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* (1932).

Lydus *See* JOHN LYDUS.

Lyons (Roman Lugdunum, France) A leading political and economic centre of Roman *Gaul, located at the confluence of the rivers Saône and Rhône and at the heart of the *road network. It was the site of an imperial mint from Augustus to Caligula, which was reopened by Aurelian in 258 and produced *coinage with some interruptions until 413. Lyons became capital of the Late Antique *province of *Lugdunensis Prima, but in Late Antiquity forfeited its administrative pre-eminence to imperial residences such as *Trier. In 456, the neglected local *aristocracy connived in the seizure of the city by the *Burgundians, and while the *Emperor *Majorian briefly reasserted his authority, requiring *Sidonius to plead for clemency for himself and his native city, the Burgundians had filled the power vacuum on a more permanent basis by *c.*461. Lyons thenceforth became an important royal centre, only to decline in political importance once more following the conquest of the Burgundian kingdom by the *Franks in 534.

The city's early Christian traditions, including an eyewitness account of the *persecution of the Lyons *martyrs of the late 2nd century, are reliably mediated through *Eusebius (*HE* V, 1). The *bishops include the martyred S. Pothinus and Irenaeus in the 2nd century, *Eucherius and *Patiens in the 5th century, and *Nicetius in the 6th, and its churches, several of which have been excavated, provide our best markers of the reorientation of the city's landscape that took place during Late Antiquity, and was perhaps accentuated during the period of Burgundian rule. Already by the 3rd century Lyons was contracting away from the Roman monumental centre on the Fourvière hill, leaving only the *cemeteries upon its fringes where the funerary *basilicas of the bishops Irenaeus and Justus were subsequently established. Late Antique Lyons came instead to be centred along the western bank of the Saône, the site of the cathedral complex, and in those areas of the western half of the peninsula between the two rivers less susceptible to flooding, where a number of churches existed by the time of *Gregory of *Tours. Amid this multifocal pattern, it remains difficult to pinpoint the location of the city walls alluded to by some texts. The presence of African and eastern imports shows that city remained connected via the Rhône corridor to the interregional exchange system of the Late Antique Mediterranean until at least the late 6th century, but there are some indications of urban decline from then on, linked to growing problems of flooding. STL

CAGaule 69/2 (2007).

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 4 (1986), 15–35; 16/1 (2014), 146–57.

J.-F. Reynaud, *Lugdunum Christianum: Lyon du IVe au VIIIe s.: topographie, nécropoles et édifices religieux* (Documents d'archéologie française, 69; 1998).

Coinage: Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins.*

RIC V/1; V/2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

lyre Archaeological evidence for early medieval lyres consists mostly of the remains of tuning-pegs made of wood or *copper alloy, or of lyre-bridges made from bone, copper alloy, *amber, or wood. Decorated elements include the copper-gilt, garnet-inlaid plaques from *Sutton Hoo and Prittlewell, and the extraordinary incised and blackened processions of warriors and interlace *animals on the largely preserved maplewood lyre from Trossingen, Germany.

Lyres accompanied recitations and songs. Their importance is reflected in Germanic heroic *poetry, such as **Beowulf*, and also in their rarity and the contexts where they are found, such as the princely burials of Sutton Hoo, *Snape, Prittlewell, and Taplow, all in England, and the so-called 'Minstrel' grave in S. Severin's Church, *Cologne. Dates range from the late 6th to late 7th/early 8th centuries AD. SMa

E. Barham, 'The Investigative Conservation of a Poorly Preserved Anglo-Saxon Lyre from Prittlewell', in Booth, *Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie*, 377–82.
Bruce-Mitford, *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, vol. 3 (1983).
B. Theune-Grosskopf, 'Die vollständig erhaltene Leier des 6. Jahrhunderts aus Grab 58 von Trossingen, Ldkr. Tuttlingen, Baden-Württemberg', *Germania* 84 (2006), 93–142.
B. Theune-Grosskopf, 'Warrior and Musician: The Lyre from Grave 58 at Trossingen and its Owner', in Booth, *Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie*, 217–27.

Lythrankomi (*Cyprus) is probably to be identified with *Erytha kome*, attested in the 7th-century *Life of S. *Spyridon*. The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria, a late 5th-century *basilica, had a 6th-century *apse *mosaic incorporated into a later building. The mosaic was destroyed after 1974; fragments are preserved in the Byzantine Museum, Nicosia. It was a unique representation of the Virgin *Mary in a mandorla, flanked by archangels with twelve Apostles in medallions on the intrados. RKL

A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (DOS 14, 1977).

M

Ma'aret an-Noman Treasure Set of 6th-/7th-century *silver, reportedly discovered near Ma'aret an-Noman in northern *Syria in *c.*1945, and formerly erroneously known as the 'second Hama Treasure'. It consists of two *crosses, a spoon, a spheroid box, a plaque, and about fourteen small fragmentary *votive plaques depicting *orants or *eyes held variously in Baltimore, Paris, and Toledo, Ohio. The large plaque depicts S. *Symeon Stylites on top of a pillar encircled by a snake, and carries a votive *inscription thanking God and S. Symeon. HAHC

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, 237–45.

M. C. Ross, 'A Second Byzantine Treasure from Hamrah', *Archaeology* 3 (1950), 162–3.

Mabbug *See* HIERAPOLIS OF SYRIA.

Macarian Homilies (370s–90s) Remarkable *Greek corpus of *ascetic and mystical teaching probably originating in *Osrhoene or the region around *Antioch and comprising *letters, treatises, question-answer sessions, and homilies. Ascribed to S. *Macarius the Egyptian (and others) before 534, the Homilies were rapidly translated (into *Syriac and *Coptic) and widely circulated. The *Homilies* bestride Greek and Syriac thought-worlds evincing a theological vision of singular power, poetry, and intensity. Noted for their teaching on the action of the Holy Spirit, the deification of man, the heart as spiritual and intellectual centre, and the vision of divine light as the summit of perfection, the *Homilies* profoundly shaped the Eastern Christian spiritual tradition throughout Late Antiquity, being drawn on by writers such as *Mark the Monk, *Diadochus of Photice, *Maximus the Confessor, *Isaac of *Nineveh, and *Dadisho Qatraya. Identified as a *Messalian production for much of the 20th century, the *Homilies* are now widely recognized as standing in close but sharply critical relationship to the Messalian tendency. MGPe

ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon, Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)* (GCS 55–6, 1973).

ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, and M. Kroeger, *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios* (PTS 4, 1964).

ed. V. Desprez (FT annotated), *Pseudo-Macaire: Œuvres spirituelles I: Homélies propres à la Collection III* (SC 275, 1980).

ET G. Maloney, *Pseudo-Macarius: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter* (1992).

M. Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (2004).

C. Stewart, *'Working the Earth of the Heart': The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts and Language to AD 431* (1991).

Macarius of Alexandria (d. *c.*393) Egyptian monk, often confused in ancient texts and by modern scholars with his contemporary *Macarius the Egyptian. Macarius of *Alexandria was *priest-superior of *Kellia in the late 4th century. He was renowned for a fierce *asceticism and astute wisdom. *Evagrius Ponticus (*Practicus*, 94; *Antirrheticus*, 4, 23; 4, 58; 8, 26) and *Palladius (*Lausiac History*, 18) record first-hand reminiscences of his life and teachings. A longer biography attributed to Palladius is preserved in Coptic. JWH

CoptEnc 5 (1991) *s.n.* Macarius Alexandrinus 1489–90 (A. Guillaumont).

Lausiac History (Copt.), ed. E. Amélineau, *Histoire des moines de Basse-Egypte* (AMG 25; 1894), 235–61.

ET Vivian, *Four Desert Fathers.*

Harmless, *Desert Christians.*

Macarius of Magnesia (*fl. c.*400) Possibly identical to a *bishop of *Magnesia in Asia Minor attested in 403 at the Synod of the *Oak, Macarius Magnes wrote his 'unique' discourse (*Monogenes*) or his 'response' (*Apocriticus*) probably in the last quarter of the 4th century. Of the original five books, only Books 2–4 are partially preserved. They consist of rebuttals of *pagan criticism, which focuses on difficult biblical passages. Macarius possibly constructed a fictitious interlocutor on the basis of pre-existing anti-Christian tracts, although *Porphyry's *Against the Christians* has often been proposed as Macarius' main source, and *Julian and *Hierocles entertained as possibilities. PVN

ed. R. Goulet (with FT, introd, and comm.), *Macarios de Magnésie: Le Monogénès*, 2 vols. (2003).
Apocritus ET (annotated) J. M. Schott and M. J. Edwards (TTH 62, 2015).
ET T. W. Crafer (1919).

Macarius of Tkow (d. 451/2) *Bishop in Upper *Egypt, martyred for his opposition to the **Tome of Leo* adopted at the *Council of Chalcedon. The hagiographical *Panegyric on Macarius* (6th cent. or later) by Ps.-Dioscorus of *Alexandria is the main source for his life; originally written in *Greek, with Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic and *Arabic translations, it probably draws on the *Life of Dioscorus* by Ps.-Theopistus of Alexandria. D. W. Johnson, the modern editor of the *Panegyric*, concludes that '[v]ery little of the life of Macarius as set out in the Egyptian sources can be called historical in the modern sense'. The *Panegyric* makes Macarius a hero who dies defending Coptic orthodoxy. TV

CoptEncyc 5 *s.n.* Macarius of Tkow, 1492a–1494a (D. W. Johnson).
ed. (with ET) D. W. Johnson, *A Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkow Attributed to Dioscorus Alexandrinus*, 2 vols. (CSCO 415–16, Scr. copt. 41–2, 1980).
S. Moawad, *Untersuchungen zum Panegyrikos auf Makarios von Tkoou und zu seiner Überlieferung* (2010).

Macarius the Egyptian Also called 'the Great' (*c.*300–90). Pioneer of Egyptian monasticism and founder of the *monastery of *Scetis in lower *Egypt (modern Wadi al-Natrun). Macarius was renowned for reading disciples' hearts, earning him the nickname 'Spiritbearer' (Gk. *πνευματοφόρος*: *Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 17). *Evagrius Ponticus records personal reminiscences (*Practicus*, 29, 93; *Antirrheticus*, 4, 45). The **Apophthegmata Patrum* lists under his name 41 stories and sayings (though several of these actually concern his contemporary *Macarius of *Alexandria). A *letter *Ad Filios Dei (To the Sons of God)* has some chance of being authentic. A corpus of Coptic hagiographic works also discusses his career and collates his teachings. The influential set of 50 so-called **Macarian Homilies* once attributed to him are now seen as Ps.-Macarian and of Syrian origin. JWH

CoptEnc 5 (1991) *s.n.* Macarius the Egyptian, Saint, 1491–2 (A. Guillaumont).
DictSpir 10 (1980) *s.n.* Macaire l'Égyptien, cols. 11–13 (A. Guillaumont).
Ad Filios Dei; ed. W. Strothmann (with GT), *Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios*, 2 vols. (1981).
M. Chaîne, 'La Double Recension de l'Histoire Lausiaque dans le version copte', *ROC* 25 (1925–6), 232–75, including *Concerning Abba Macarius the Great* (Long & Short Recensions).
ET Vivian, *Four Desert Fathers*, 102–29.
ed. E. Amélineau, *Histoire des moines de Basse-Egypte* (AMG 25; 1894), 46–234, including *Sayings of Saint Macarius of Egypt*: 203–34; *Virtues of Saint Macarius of Egypt*: 118–202; Ps.-Serapion of Thmuis, *Life of Saint Macarius of Egypt*, 46–117.
ET T. Vivian, *St. Macarius the Spiritbearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great* (2004), including *Sayings* (49–79); *Virtues* (81–149); Ps.-Serapion of Thmuis, *Life* (151–198).
G. Bunge, 'Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaires', *Irénikon* 56 (1983), 215–27 and 323–60.
A. Guillaumont, 'Le Problème des deux Macaires dans l'*Apophthegmata Patrum*', *Irénikon* 48 (1975), 41–59.
Harmless, *Desert Christians.*

Macedoniae Late Roman **dioecesis* in the east *Balkans governed by a *Vicarius, formed by the division of the *Verona List Dioecesis *Moesiae into *Macedoniae and *Daciae. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* ([*or.*] I, 34; III, 3–5 and 7–13) it came under the authority of the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum and included the *provinces of *Macedonia Prima and part of *Macedonia Secunda (Salutaris), *Thessalia, *Epirus Vetus and Nova, *Achaea, and *Crete. By *c.*750, most of the *dioecesis* was controlled by *Slavs. The earliest mention of a *Strategos of the *Theme of Macedonia (which also included much of western Thrace) is in *Theophanes' entry for 801/2 (AM 6294). ABA; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 107, 373.
TIR K-34.
Barrington Atlas, maps 101 and 102.

Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Salutaris (Secunda) Two Late Roman *provinces in the central *Balkans. The *Verona List refers to a single province of Macedonia in the *Dioecesis *Moesiae. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* I, 76 and 125 and III, 9, 13 and 19) included two provinces of Macedonia, that of Macedonia governed by a *Consularis in the Dioecesis *Macedoniae, and Macedonia Salutaris under a *Praeses, divided between the reorganized Dioeceses *Daciae and Macedoniae. *Hierocles in the 6th century says that the Consiliarius of Macedonia governed 32 *cities (listing 30) and the *hegemon* (*governor) of Macedonia Salutaris eight. The principal city of Macedonia Prima was *Thessalonica and of Macedonia Salutaris was *Stobi. ABA

TIR K-34 (1976) Naissus.
Barrington Atlas, maps 101 and 102.
C. S. Snively, 'Macedonia in Late Antiquity', in. J. Roisman and I. Worthington, eds., *A Companion in Ancient Macedonia* (2010), 545–71.

Macedonius *Patriarch of *Constantinople 496–511. At first Macedonius adopted a flexible approach to

the fractured relations between *Constantinople and *Alexandria, but was outmanoeuvred by the *Miaphysites, *Philoxenus of Mabbog and *Severus of *Antioch. He annoyed the Emperor *Anastasius I by refusing to surrender his profession of faith, and by anathematizing *Flavian. In 510, although Macedonius managed to calm the riots sparked by the Miaphysite version of the *Trisagion, he was discredited by Anastasius and forced to produce a profession of faith omitting *Chalcedon (*Theodore Lector, 487) or condemning it (*Evagrius, *HE* III, 31). He later recalled this, and was deposed in August 511 (*Zacharias Rhetor, VII, 8). FKH

P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire: The Religious Policy of Anastasius I, 491–518* (²1974).
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 139–56.
Frend, *Monophysite Movement.*

Macedonius Honorary *consul and poet active in the mid-6th century. Author of a small collection of poems on erotic and moralizing themes which were included in the *Cycle* of *Agathias and so survive in the **Greek Anthology*. RW

PLRE III, Macedonius 3.
Averil Cameron and Alan Cameron, 'The Cycle of Agathias', *JHS* 86 (1966), 6–25.

Mâcon (dép. Saône-et-Loire, Roman *castrum Matisconense*) A *castrum* listed in the **Notitia Galliarum*, situated on a plateau above the Saône, astride the *road north from *Lyons. It acquired a *bishop by 538, probably when the *Burgundian kingdom was divided among the Frankish kings. Its nodal location doubtless encouraged the holding of church *councils there in 581/3, 585, and 626/7. Little is known archaeologically of the Late Antique *city. STL

CAGaule 71/4 (1994), 300–8.
Topographie chrétienne Gaule, vol. 4 (1986), 75–80; 16/1 (2014), 160–1.

Macrianus and Quietus *Usurpers 260–1. T. Fulvius Iunius Macrianus amd T. Fulvius Junius Quietus were the sons of Fulvius Macrianus, a senior official under *Valerian, who according to *Dionysius of *Alexandria (in *Eusebius, *HE* VII, 10; cf. VII, 23) promoted Valerian's *persecution of Christians. Following Valerian's capture by *Shapur I, Macrianus' father was offered the *purple, but put forward instead his two sons who were then acclaimed emperors. Macrianus and his father then marched west to confront *Gallienus, son of Valerian, were defeated by *Aureolus or *Domitianus II and killed in *Thrace by their own army. Quietus was defeated and killed by *Odaenathus of *Palmyra (*Zonaras, XII, 24). Macrianus and Quietus are among the *Thirty Tyrants of the **Historia Augusta*. DMG

PLRE I, Macrianus 3 and Quietus 1 (citing the unreliable **Historia Augusta*).
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 252, 255, 259, 269.
CAH XII (2005), 44–5.

Macrina the Younger, S. (*c.*327–379/380), and family Macrina was an *ascetic from a landowning Christian family of *Cappadocia and Pontus. Her parents were Emmelia and Basil the Elder (son of Macrina the Elder); her brothers included the monks Naucratius and Peter, *Basil, *Bishop of *Caesarea (330–79), and *Gregory, Bishop of *Nyssa (331/40–*c.*395), to whom she was a 'second mother' (*ep.* 19, 6) and who wrote her *Life*. Secretly named Thecla (after S. *Thecla the legendary ascetic follower of the Apostle Paul), Macrina was drawn to asceticism at an early age. Later, she persuaded her widowed mother to convert their household into two ascetic communities, one male and one female. She is also remembered as a spiritual teacher, mainly in Gregory's Platonizing *dialogue *On the Soul and the Resurrection.* GAF

Life (*BHG* 1012, *CPG* 3166):
ed. V. W. Callahan, *GNO* 8/1 (1952).
ed. (annotated with FT) P. Maraval, *Grégoire de Nysse: Vie de sainte Macrine* (SC 178, 1971).
ET V. W. Callahan, *Saint Gregory of Nyssa: Ascetical Works* (FC 58, 1967), 161–91.
ET A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger, Philosopher of God* (Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 22, 2008), 109–48.
Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione* (*CPG* 3149):
PG 46, cols. 11–160.
ed. A. Spira and E. Mühlenberg, *GNO* III/ 3 (2014).
ET V. W. Callahan (FC 58, 1967), 195–272.
ET A. M. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger*.
S. Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (1994).
R. Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* (2003).
V. Limberis, *Architects of Piety: The Cappadocian Fathers and the Cult of the Martyrs* (2011).

Macrobius (early 5th cent.) Roman *senator, *Praefectus Praetorio in 430, and a notable link between the cultures of antiquity and the Middle Ages, Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius represents an aristocratic tradition of amateur erudition that had Cicero and the elder *Pliny as its most distinguished avatars. Though he flourished in a highly Christianized empire and was himself probably Christian, there is no sign of Christianity in his writings, which instead are devoted to *philosophy and the traditional literary culture.

Besides a treatise on the differences and similarities between *Greek and *Latin verbs (only excerpts survive), Macrobius wrote two substantial works. The *Saturnalia*,

a learned compilation cast in *dialogue form, recreates and idealizes the cultural life of an earlier generation, in the manner of Cicero's *On the Orator* and *On the Commonwealth* (*De Republica*). Set during the *Saturnalia in the early 380s, it gathers several (non-Christian) members of the *aristocracy and their entourage to discuss matters ridiculous (e.g. a number of jokes) and sublime (e.g. the divinity of the *Sun), and above all the poetry of *Vergil. Quarried from mostly unnamed sources—including Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Plutarch, and the tradition of scholastic commentary known from *Servius—the discussion presents Vergil as the master of all human knowledge, from diction and *rhetoric to philosophy and religion. In this respect it makes explicit a view of Vergil long implied by the scholarship gathered around the poems and anticipates the miraculous figure of 'Vergil the magician' known to the Middle Ages. Though less influential as a source of ancient lore than *Martianus Capella's allegory of the seven Liberal Arts, the *Saturnalia* was used by John of Salisbury and William of Conches in the 12th century. Like these scholars, we know the work only because a single copy survived into the 9th century. Now itself lost, that defective copy (it lacked as many as 300 modern pages of the original text) begat a series of copies extending from the 9th century into the 15th, when the *Saturnalia* reached the height of its popularity.

More consequential was Macrobius' other major work, a commentary on the 'Dream of Scipio' that concluded Book 6 of Cicero's *On the Commonwealth* (thanks to Macrobius we have a complete text of the 'Dream', though the rest of Book 6 is lost). Like the myth of Er in Plato's *Republic* that inspired it, the 'Dream' presents a view of the soul and the afterlife meant to support the work's earlier arguments, in Cicero's case urging just and vigorous participation in civic life. Placing his emphasis elsewhere, Macrobius uses Cicero's text as the starting point for a thoroughly *Neoplatonic treatment of (especially) *cosmology and the soul's ascent to the One, with direct debts to *Porphyry and *Plotinus. A copy of the work corrected in 485 by Aurelius Memmius *Symmachus, father-in-law of *Boethius, played an important role in the text's transmission, the early stages of which are otherwise unclear: having survived the hazards of the 6th–8th centuries—aided in the latter stages by the work of Irish scholars active on the Continent—the text emerged in 9th-century France, where most of the earliest surviving manuscripts were written. By the end of the 11th century copies were widely diffused, from England to south Italy; but the true efflorescence came in the next century, which has left us over 100 manuscripts. From the 12th century onwards Macrobius enjoyed a reputation as a major Platonist: praised as a philosopher by Abelard (d. 1142) and used extensively by Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) and Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), he continued to be influential into the Renaissance and beyond, when the cosmological views of the 'Dream' and his commentary left traces in writings as diverse as those of Dante (d. 1321), Chaucer (d. 1400), Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540), and Edmund Spenser (d. 1599).

In modern scholarship Macrobius has sometimes been depicted as participating in the 'pagan revival' of the 380s–90s, but that view cannot survive the demonstration that he wrote at least one and more likely two generations later. We know too little of his immediate milieu to draw reliable inferences concerning his motives. RAK

PLRE II, Theodosius 20.
De Verborum Graeci et Latini Differentiis vel Societatibus Excerpta, ed. P. De Paolis (Testi grammaticali latini 1, 1990).
Saturnalia, ed. R. A. Kaster (with ET, 3 vols., LCL 510–12, 2011).
ed. R. A. Kaster (OCT, 2012).
Commentary, ed. (with IT and comm.) I. Ramelli and M. Neri (2007).
ed. (with FT and comm.) M. Armisen-Marchetti, 2 vols. (2001–3).
ET (annotated) W. H. Stahl (1952).
H. Bloch, in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (1963), 193–218.
J. Flamant, *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme latin, à la fin du IV siècle* (EPRO 58, 1977).
Cameron, *Pagans*, 231–72.

Mactaris (mod. Mactar, Tunisia) Inland city of *Byzacena, 150 km (*c.*95 miles) south-west of *Carthage. *Bishops are known from 256 and *c.*550. Several churches were built into earlier public buildings. The Basilica of Rutilius was erected over the *Temple of *Saturn and a church was inserted into the *Baths of the Capitol during the 5th century. The 'collegium iuvenum', probably rebuilt in 290/3, had a church inserted into it before the 6th century. A 6th-century fort was constructed over the Severan baths. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 289–95.
G. C. Picard, 'Civitas Mactariana', *Karthago* 8 (1957).
Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa.*

Madaba Map (AD 542/65) *Mosaic pavement in the Church of S. *George in Madaba, Jordan, uncovered in 1896. A fragment, 10.5 × 5 m (34 feet 6 inches × 16 feet 5 inches), shows in colourful, pictorial detail the area from the Jordan Valley to the *Nile Delta. In the centre is *Jerusalem, with identifiable landmarks. The *Onomasticon* of *Eusebius of *Caesarea is important for interpreting the 91 place names. The mosaic's position on the church floor suggests didactic use. Other scholars see it as an illustration of *pilgrimage routes or as Moses' dying view of the Promised Land from nearby Mount Nebo. EE

Piccirillo and Alliata, *Madaba Map Centenary.*

H. Donner *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide* (1992).
A. M. Madden, 'A New Form of Evidence to Date the Madaba Map Mosaic', *Liber Annuus* 62 (2012), 495–513.

al-Mada'in *Arabic term for the conurbation at the confluence of the Tigris and Nahr Malcha canal. Its *Syriac (*Mahoze) and *Arabic name, 'the Cities', reflects the fact that several cities were established there. Seleucus I founded *Seleucia ad Tigrim in 305 BC. The Parthians first established *Ctesiphon as a military camp across the river and it subsequently grew into their main administrative city. *Bridges probably linked the two cities in Antiquity and they were often thought of as twin cities, Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

*Ardashir I established the circular city named Veh-Ardashir in New *Persian (Middle Persian Weh-Ardaxshir) in AD 230. It was called Nea Seleukeia in *Greek, and was more commonly known as *Kokhe among its Aramaic- and *Syriac-speaking inhabitants. Veh-Ardashir/Kokhe was the *Sasanian dynasty's *coronation city, winter residence, and the principal centre of their *administration. In the 5th century, the Tigris changed course, disrupting Weh-Ardaxshir. Aspanbar, or 'New Ctesiphon', grew up on the new east bank in the 6th century. Its centrepiece was the audience hall of *Taq-e Kesra, part of a palatial complex expanded by several kings. To the south-east, *Khosrow I founded the 'Better-Antioch-of-Khosrow' (MP *Weh-Antiog-Husraw) with *baths, a *hippodrome, and captives from *Antioch on the Orontes.

The city which *Ardashir I founded, Veh-Ardashir/Kokhe, was across the Tigris from Ctesiphon, to which it was connected by a pontoon *bridge. *Kokhe was shaped like an irregular oval, a plan possibly inspired by the layout of Ardaxshir-Xwarrah (mod *Firuzabad), the first city the king built. The Sasanians maintained a palace in Ctesiphon (the White Palace), known only through literary sources. Following a change in course of the Tigris that flooded Kokhe, a new royal and aristocratic suburb grew up immediately to the south of Ctesiphon known as Aspanbar. Kokhe was the symbolic seat of the *Church of the East, taking on the name 'Seleucia' in church parlance even though the Seleucid city of that name was now entirely defunct. According to the **Chronicle of Seert*, there were several churches there. German excavations in the 1920s revealed a large, possibly metropolitan, church. In 544 it was even enshrined in canon law that the *catholicus must be enthroned at the cathedral of *Kokhe to be legitimate. By the late period, however, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, like other courtiers, moved to Aspanbar to be close to the king.

In addition to numerous aristocratic dwellings, Aspanbar was the site of royal *gardens, game parks, and treasuries and an enormous royal *palace complex. Despite the *Abbasids' attempts to dismantle it, the complex's audience hall, known as Ayvan-e Kesra or *Taq-e Kisra, still stands as an impressive monument. Its massive *façade opens onto an **ayvan* 25.5 m wide, 43.5 m deep, 35 m high (84 × 143 × 115 feet), although floods reduced the standing remains of its *façade by one-third in 1888. Muslim authors like Ibn al-Faqih considered it one of the wonders of the world and *Tabari reports that Khaled b. Barmak advised the *Caliph al-Mansur not to attempt to raze the structure. Although associated in name with 'Kesra', and attributed variously by early Islamic sources to either Khosrow I or *Khosrow II, the lost Pahlavi **Xwaday-namag* (Book of Kings), cited by Yaqut (via Hamza Esfahani), attributed the construction of the Taq-e Kesra to *Shapur I. Stylistic analysis of the architectural remains has led most scholars to favour Khosrow I as the builder of the palace and **ayvan*, a hypothesis which is reinforced by the fact that Aspanbar does not appear to have expanded until the 5th century when the change in course of the River Tigris bisected Kokhe. Given that it bears clear evidence of construction in multiple stages, it is likely, however, that work on it continued through the reigns of multiple late Sasanian kings, even up to Khosrow II.

The region's urban and monumental structures displayed considerable Roman *spolia and craftsmanship. *Theophylact Simocatta states that *Justinian I 'provided Chosroes [Khosrow] … with Greek *marble, building experts, and craftsmen skilled in *ceilings, and that a palace situated close to Ctesiphon was constructed for Chosroes with Roman expertise' (V, 6, 10). The interior of the *ayvan* was thoroughly stripped of its decorations in the Islamic period to provide materials for the construction of Baghdad and no evidence survives to corroborate this report. When Khosrow I captured Antioch in 540 (*Procopius, *Persian*, 2, 8–9 he seized 'slabs of marble' (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3, 54; cf. Ps.-*Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, II, 69, 7–15). This booty was destined for the building of Weh-andīōg-husraw (Rumagan, Arabic Rumiya), a new settlement of deportees built according to the plan of Antioch on the Orontes, which was established a day's walk to the south of Aspanbar. In addition, the early 20th-century German excavations discovered Roman-style *mosaic and *opus sectile work at two sites associated with the reign of Khosrow II: Tell Dhahab and Tell al-Dhabaʿī. This material could have arisen from an indigenous workshop or materials and craftsmen brought in during Khosrow II's decade-long occupation of the Roman Levant. Somewhere in this region Khosrow II built a treasury for the Relic of the True *Cross, taken from *Jerusalem in 614.

The *Arabs conquered the cities in 637. Representative of the wealth of the Sasanians stored there, they found an enormous *carpet covering the floor of the Taq-e Kesra, called the Bahar-e Kesra ('spring of Khosrow'), *c.*27 m

(100 feet) square, with depictions of *garden scenes and embroidered with *gold, *silver, emeralds, and other precious *stones. It was sent to *Medina where the *Caliph *'Umar had it cut into many pieces so that it could be shared out amongst his followers.

See also CTESIPHON, KOKHE, MAHOZE, SELEUCIA AD TIGRIM. MPC; DTP

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.n.* al-Mada'in, 948–50 (M. Streck and M. Morony).
EncIran III/2 *s.v.* Ayvān-e Kesrā, 155–9 (E. Keall).
EncIran VI/4 *s.v.* Ctesiphon, 446–8 (J. Kröger).
EncIran (1999) *s.v.* Madāʾen (M. Morony).
EncIran III/5 *s.v.* Bahār-e Kesrā III/5, 479 (M. Morony).
J. M. Fiey *s.v.* 'Topography of al-Mada'in', *Sumer* 23 (1967), 3–36.
J. M. Fiey, 'Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé', *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967), 397–420.
Canepa, *Two Eyes.*
Greatrex and Lieu.
S. R. Hauser, in A. Hagedorn and A. Shalem, *Facts and Artefacts: Art in the Islamic World: Festschrift for Jens Kröger on his 65th Birthday* (2007), 461–88.
A. Invernizzi, 'Ten Years Research in the al-Mada'in Area: Seleucia and Ctesiphon', *Sumer* 32 (1976), 167–75.
C. Jullien and F. Jullien, *Apôtres des confins: processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'empire iranien* (RO 15, 2002).
E. Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition* (Winter 1931/2) (1933).
Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia Judaica*, 198–207.
O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928/29* (1930).

al-Mada'ini (752–830/43) Muslim compiler and editor of historical traditions. Later medieval sources attribute over 200 titles to al-Mada'ini, on topics ranging from caliphal history to animals. Only two works survive independently, but he is widely quoted by other authors. He spent much of his life in Iraq, dying in Baghdad. NC

EI 2, vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* 'al-Madāʾinī ', 946–9 (Jong).

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S. Leder, 'Al-Mada'ini's Version of *Qissat al-Shura*', in A. Neuwirth et al., *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature* (1991), 379–98.
I. Lindstedt, 'The Role of Al-Mada'ini's Students in the Transmission of his Material', *Der Islam* 91 (2014), 295–340.
C. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (2003).
F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (1968).

Madauros (mod. Mdaourouch, Algeria, formerly Montesquieu) Small *colonia*, 25 km (15 miles) south of *Thagaste. Birthplace of Apuleius. The *temple of Hercules was rebuilt in 290/3. The theatre, *forum, and two *baths were restored during the late 4th century, the baths again in 407–8. *Augustine studied *grammar at Madaurus in 365–9 (*Conf.* II, 3, 5). A quarter-century afterwards, his dour response to a witty letter from a **grammaticus* there mocked *city councillors in their public *pagan *processions (*epp.* 16–17) and recommended the professor attend the local church. Later, Augustine answered a request from the city council by gloating over the ruin of their *temples (*ep.* 232). The Temple of Fortuna was being used for commercial purposes in 379/83 (*ILAlg* I, 2103). Three churches have been excavated. A fort dating to 534/6 or 549/54 was built over part of the forum (*ILAlg* I, 2114). GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 127–39.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 338–9.
P. Mastandrea, *Massimo di Madauros: Agostino, Epistulae 16 e 17* (1985).
S. Gsell and C. A. Joly, *Mdaouroch II* (1922).
Gui, Duval, and Caillet, *Basiliques*, 327–32.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 214–17.

***Madayan-i Hazar Datestan* (*Matigan-i Hazar Datastan, Book of a Thousand Judgements*)** A collection of legal cases and decisions, compiled by an otherwise unknown Farroxmard, son of Wahram (Bahram) from Gor (mod. *Firuzabad) in *Fars, composed towards the end of the *Sasanian era (early 7th cent.). This *Book of a Thousand Judgements*, notorious for its intricate and elliptic literary style, is remarkably independent of theological discourse and covers aspects of civil, criminal, and procedural *law. As the only extant source of its kind firmly dated to the Sasanian era itself, the compilation is indispensable to the study of the Sasanian legal system and society. AZ

EncIran (2005) *s.n.* Mādayān i Hazār Dādestān (M. Macuch).
ed. (with ET) A. Perikhanian and N. Garsoïan, *The Book of A Thousand Judgements: A Sasanian Law-Book* (Persian Heritage Series 39, 1997).
ed. (with GT and comm.) M. Macuch, *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran. Die Rechtssammlung des Farroḫmard i Wahrāmān* (Iranica 1, 1993).
ed. (with GT and comm.) M. Macuch, *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch Matakdan i hazar datistan* Teil II (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 45/1, 1981).

S. Corcoran, 'Observations on the Sasanian Law-Book in the Light of Roman Legal Writing', in A. Rio, ed., *Law, Custom, and Justice in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2008 Byzantine Colloquium* (2011), 77–113.

madih The *Arabic term for praise *poetry in general, or for the third portion of a tripartite poem that specifically praises a patron. In Arabic poetics, it is usually contrasted with *fakhr* (boasting), *ritha'* (elegy), and **hija'* (invective), which together constitute the primary subjects of early Arabic poetry. *See* PANEGYRIC, ARABIC. NAM

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Madīh, 955–6 (Wickens).

Madinat al-Far *See* HISN MASLAMA.

***madrasha* (plur. *madrashe*)** *Syriac literary genre of strophic compositions that employ a variety of poetic *metres, ranging from simple to complex syllabic patterns. *Madrashe* were sung and in the manuscripts the texts are usually preceded by the first words of a well-known *madrasha*, that indicate both the melody and its particular metre. According to Syriac tradition, *Bardaisan of *Edessa (154–222) was the first author to compose 150 *madrashe* (*hymns or 'teaching songs') to spread his teachings effectively. In response to contemporary Bardaisanites and *Manichaeans, *Ephrem the Syrian (*c.*300–373) further developed the *madrasha* into a sophisticated means of instruction. He created women's choirs for the liturgical performance of his *madrashe*, more than 400 of which have been preserved. KDB

S. P. Brock, 'Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac', in *OHECS*, 657–71.

magic, Persian Empire and central Asia *See* MAGIC AND DIVINATION, PERSIAN.

magic and divination, Arabian and Islamic Magic and divination are both frowned upon in *Islam, as they have precedents in the pagan religion native to the *Arabian Peninsula in the pre-Islamic period. Numerous *Qur'ānic verses refer to magic and illusions in derisive ways. Qur'ān 2: 102 refers to magic, and states that: 'And indeed they knew that the buyers of it (magic) would have no share in the Hereafter. And how bad indeed was that for which they sold their own selves, if they but knew.' Traditions in the *hadith also condemn the use of magic, grouping it with murder, usury, slander, and paganism. It is interesting that a number of traditions do not discount the reality of magic, but condemn its use as sinful. Thus, a number of verses and supplications are found in the tradition as useful in being protected from magic. Divination or soothsaying (fortune-telling or the casting of arrows or lots to predict future events) was also a feature of pre-Islamic life. This is warned against in the Qur'ān as well, as is the prohibition against soothsayers who 'blow on knots' in divining practices (Q. 113: 4). NK

E. Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (2004).

magic and divination, barbarian Evidence for Germanic magical practice comes from Graeco-Roman ethnography, Christian theology, and Old Norse or Viking Age texts. This makes it very difficult to describe barbarian magic and divination, as distinct from Celtic or general phenomena. Archaeological evidence is limited and problematic.

Tacitus (*Germania*, 10) indicates that early runes were used not only as a simple writing system, but also as magical signs for charms and divination, but the significance of this passage is disputed. The late 8th-century **Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum* (*Small Index of Superstitions and Paganism*) refers to divination, *amulets, charms, and *witchcraft (e.g. to influence the weather or the outcome of fights). Similar allusions are found in many penitentials, in the codes of Germanic *law, and in the writings of Burchard of Worms (d. 1025). Most scholarly conclusions about early Germanic magic are derived from Snorri Sturluson's *Ynglinga Saga*, the *Edda*, and other scaldic texts from the High Middle Ages. RSt

RGA2 s.v. Zauber, vol. 35 (2007), 855–66 (Haid, Dillmann).

H. Beck, D. Ellmers, and K. Schier, eds., *Germanische Religionsgeschichte. Quellen und Quellenprobleme* (RGA Ergänzungsbd 5, 1992).

W. Boudriot, *Die altgermanische Religion in der amtlichen kirchlichen Literatur des Abendlandes vom 5. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (1928).

J. McKinnell and R. Simek, with K. Düwel, *Runes, Magic, and Religion: A Sourcebook* (2004).

R. Simek, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, tr. A. Hall (1993).

magic and divination, Celtic Magic is the use of supernatural forces to influence events; divination is the foretelling of the future through an assessment of natural signs or the interpretation of specific actions, such as a sacrificial act.

Most information for Celtic magic and divination comes from the interpretative writings of classical authors or later vernacular literature. According to various classical writers there was a strong connection between divination, magic, and the *druids. In particular the group known as the *vates*, who are closely aligned with the druids, seem to have strong associations with divination. Divination took many forms including the analysis of bird and animal behaviour, *astrological study, and the interpretation of sacrificial killings. Strabo, for instance, writes that the druids

evaluated the final struggle of a sacrificed victim to make their magical prophecies (IV, 4, 5). Early *Irish vernacular literature also emphasizes the prophetical role of the druid; for example, the predictions of the druid Cathbadh are central to the political decisions of King Conchobar. ED

Koch, *Celtic Culture*, 602 and 1636–40.
M. J. Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* (1997).
M. Dillon, *Irish Sagas* (repr. 1985).

magic and divination, Jewish The Hebrew *Bible (Deuteronomy 18: 9–12) considered magic an abomination practised by non-Israelites. In reality, Jewish magic was widely practised at the grassroots level during Late Antiquity as the *Babylonian *Talmud attests (*Sanhedrin* 7: 7). Jewish magic during Late Antiquity underwent 'scribalization', in contrast to the largely oral traditions of the Second Temple Period. This process was accompanied by a sharp rise in the manufacture of magical artefacts; different types of artefact were characteristic of different cultural and regional contexts. The Graeco-Egyptian tradition produced metal *amulets, rings, pendants, and gems inscribed in *Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic. *Mesopotamia produced vast quantities of *pottery *incantation bowls, as well as a handful of skulls, inscribed with Aramaic texts. Hebrew and Aramaic magical *papyri and Aramaic books, notably *Sepher ha-Razim* (*Book of Secrets*) and *Harbe de-Moshe* (*Sword of Moses*), were also produced.

Jewish magic influenced the Graeco-Roman and Mesopotamian traditions: the Tetragrammaton, and other Jewish elements, which included the names of *angels, passed into *pagan magical texts. On the other hand, Jewish magical texts in both the Graeco-Egyptian and Mesopotamian traditions cite pagan elements. The *rabbis did, in certain circumstances, permit the study of magic, such as for medicinal purposes, but were ill at ease with other practices including the adjuration of angelic names. ECDH

G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008).
R. Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (1998).
J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (1993).

magic and divination, Persian The English word 'magic' is derived from Gk. *magos* (OP *magush*), the word for a *Zoroastrian priest, whom Classical Greeks and Romans associated with magic because of the reputation of the Achaemenid magi for having knowledge of powerful arcane rituals.

In the texts of the *Avesta known to the *Sasanians, spells and incantations were used in rituals to remove evil forces and illnesses, but sorcerers and others who supported the forces of evil were worthy of death. In Sasanian Zoroastrian literature, sorcery is proscribed and its practitioners promised dire punishments in hell. *Manichaeism also proscribed magic but there is ample archaeological evidence that adherents of both religions practised what scholars define as magic. The Sasanian-period Zoroastrian literature contains a few spells against diseases (fever, stemming blood, against evil animals, venomous bites, and poison). These proliferate in Zoroastrianism of the Islamic period though they probably reflect earlier practices.

Archaeological material provides greater primary source evidence. *Incantation bowls, that is, terracotta bowls found in domestic contexts in *Mesopotamia, were inscribed with spells and used to guard households from *demons. Manichaean material from *Turfan has preserved *amulets written on paper that combine multiple different magical traditions. Magical *seals worn as amulets were popular, some targeting specific demons, such as the demon Sesen (not to be confounded with the progenitor of the Sasanian dynasty, Sāsān). On the seals, the demon is often portrayed enclosed in a square or circle, with dishevelled hair, with spears pointing to his legs or with his legs chained together. Some seals also feature animals (scorpions, serpents) similarly enclosed. Coloured gems and precious *stones were understood to provide protection as amulets against illness, poison, and enemies or to bring the wearer good fortune. The Avestan hero Thraetaona (MP Frēdōn) was invoked against sickness in the Avesta (*Yasht*, 13,131) and appears iconographically on Parthian and Sasanian seals.

Graeco-Roman and early Muslim sources refer to the practice of divination among Persians, possibly continuous with Achaemenid-era practices (e.g. Herodotus, VII, 37). *Agathias (II, 25) refers to Zoroastrian priests who foretold the future by looking into flames and multiple Late Antique sources remark on the purported ability of Sasanian kings and priests to descry the future in the stars. In Islamic-period Zoroastrianism, divination became quite common, especially among the Parsis in India. *Dream interpretation appears occasionally, such as in the **Karnamag-e Ardashir-e Pabagan* (*Book of Deeds of Ardashir*), where the future *Ardashir I's father Pabag (*Papag) receives a dream prophesying the glorious future of his son, whose meaning is revealed by dream-interpreters. POS; MPC

EncIran VII/4 (1995) *s.v.* divination, 440–3 (M. Omidsalar).
EncIran s.v. magic. i. magical Elements in the Avesta and Nērang Literature (A. Panaino).
M. Canepa, 'The Art and Ritual of Manichaean Magic', in *Objects in Motion* (2011), 73–88.
R. Gyselen, *Sceaux magiques en Iran sassanide* (Studia Iranica 17, 1995).
M. Schwartz, 'Sasm, Sesen, St. Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharangēs, and . . . Semanglof', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996 [1998]), 253–7.

Sh. Shaked, 'Spells and Incantations between Iranian and Aramaic', in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, C. Reck, and D. Weber, eds., *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann 30./31. März 2006* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 31, 2009), 233–44.

M. Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathushtras. Geschichte, Gegenwart, Rituale*, 3 vols. (2002–4), vol. 1, 249–51.

ed. A. V. Williams (with ET), *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, 2 vols. (HFM 60, 1990), texts 63–4.

magic and divination, Roman and post-Roman, Christian Christians practised many traditional forms of magic and divination, even though Christian leaders denounced these as *pagan and *demonic. They also drew upon a rich heritage of biblical and contemporary 'signs and wonders'—including *dreams, visions, *miracles, *exorcisms, *curses, and prophecy—to create distinctively Christian modes of access to God's unlimited power and knowledge. The result, in a Christian world of remarkable variety, was a wide range of techniques for healing and protecting, judging and avenging, binding and cursing, and revealing and deciding.

Christians practised four main types of divination: sortilege, *astrology, dream divination, and vaticination (or prophecy). Sortilege, the selection of a written passage, was the broadest category. Authorized by Psalm 30: 15–16 (Vulg.) and Acts 1: 26, it included practices as various as the biblical divination practised by *Augustine in *Milan (*Confessions*, VIII, 12, 29–30), the *Coptic and *Greek 'ticket oracles' offered by the clergy at the shrine of S. *Colluthus at Antinoë, and the use of Christian lot books such as the *Lots of the Saints* (*Sortes Sanctorum*) in *Latin and the *Gospel of the Lots of Mary* in *Coptic. Astrology, prominently displayed in S. Matthew's account of Jesus's birth (Matt. 2: 1–12), attracted Christian clients of all ranks, especially in its less determinist forms (Hegedus, 372–3). Divinatory dreams, which occur frequently in the biblical books (Gen. 41: 12; Dan. 7: 1; Job 33: 14; Matt. 1: 20; Acts 2: 17), commended themselves to Christian Platonists such as *Synesius, *Bishop of *Cyrene, because they required no instruments or outside interpreters (*De Insomniis*, 11–13). S. Monnica of *Thagaste (Augustine's mother) is a well-known example, the Christian heir to a long *Berber tradition. Prophecy included the true predictions of *holy men like *John of *Lycopolis (*Sozomen, *HE* VII, 22), the mundane secrets revealed to Augustine and his friends by the *hariolus* Albicerius (*Contra Academicos* I, 6, 17-18; *PLRE* I, Albicerius), and the ravings of possessed persons consulted at *martyrs' shrines. In addition to offering Christians the hidden information considered necessary for responsible decision-making, these forms of divination avoided *pagan practices such as extispicy (the examination of the inner organs of sacrificed animals), and offered a legitimacy based on biblical tradition, on sanctified modes and places of operation, and on the participation of holy persons, including clergy and *ascetics. Despite continued theological and pastoral objections, all four practices remained popular into the Western and Byzantine Middle Ages, an indication of continuing approval across the Christian *oikoumenē*.

As a category of ritual practice, magic is broader and more difficult to define than divination; this is no less true of Christian magic. Along with Christianized versions of classical forms, including pleas for justice, *curses, and binding spells (e.g. *PapGraecMag* P15c, P16; *SupplMag* 59–62; Meyer and Smith, 100, 108), Christian clients expressed a strong preference for magical rituals and objects that offered protection and healing. A comprehensive example is the *silver *lamella* from *Beirut, now in the Louvre, on which Alexandra, daughter of Zoë, called upon a wide range of angelic powers and above all 'One God and his Christ' to protect her from *demons, binding spells, and magical drugs (ed. D. R. Jordan, 'A New Reading of a Phylactery from Beirut', *ZPE* 88 (1991), 61–9). *Amulets featuring the Lord's Prayer and other biblical verses served the same purpose more generally (e.g. van Haelst, nos. 183, 184, 345, 347, 423), as did powerful symbols such as *crosses, interlocking knots, and figural images widely found on domestic objects, clothing, door lintels, and *mosaic floors in the Christian world (Maguire et al.). The ritual experts who created and operated these objects and techniques, although elusive and almost always anonymous, can sometimes be glimpsed in church legislation, sermons, and *saints' lives. Whether male or female, clerical or lay, local or itinerant, shrine-based or independent, they were recognized (and opposed) for the capacity to energize the natural and spiritual powers hidden in God's creation on behalf of their Christian clients. WEK

D. E. Aune, 'Magic in Early Christianity', *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980), 1507–57.

A. Delattre, 'Nouveaux Textes coptes d'Antinoé', in T. Gagos, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007* (American Studies in Papyrology, 2010), 171–4.

M. W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (2001).

D. Frankfurter, 'Beyond Magic and Superstition', in V. Burrus, ed., *A People's History of Christianity*, vol. 2: *Late Ancient Christianity* (2005), 255–84, 309–12.

J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (1976).

T. Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology* (2007).

E. A. Judge, 'The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri', in E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing, eds., *Perspectives on Language and Text* (1987), 339–49.

W. E. Klingshirn, 'Defining the *Sortes Sanctorum*: Gibbon, Du Cange, and Early Christian Lot Divination', *JECS* 10/1 (2002), 77–130.
W. E. Klingshirn, 'Comer y beber con los muertos: Mónnica de Tagaste y la adivinación de los sueños beréber', tr. E. A. Eguiarte, *Augustinus* 52 (2007), 127–31.
A. M. Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles? The Gospel of the Lots of Mary* (2014).
H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Magic* (1995; repr. with new preface 2008).
E. N. Maguire, H. P. Maguire, and M. J. Duncan-Flowers, eds., *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (IllByzStud 2, 1989).
R. Martín Hernández, 'Appealing for Justice in Christian Magic', in S. Torallas Tovar and J. P. Monferrer Sala, eds., *Cultures in Contact: Transfer of Knowledge in the Mediterranean Context* (2013), 27–41.
M. Meyer and R. Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994).
W. M. Shandruk, 'Christian Use of Magic in Late Antique Egypt', *JECS* 20/1 (2012), 31–57.
R. Wiśniewski, 'La Consultation des possédés dans l'Antiquité tardive: *pythones*, *engastrimythoi* et *arrepticii*', *REAug* 51 (2005), 127–52.

magic and divination, Roman and post-Roman, pagan and general The right to control and if necessary proscribe knowledge-practices in the field of religion lay traditionally with the Roman Senate. During the Principate, with political power centred notionally upon the *emperor, illicit religious practice ('magic') came tendentially to be identified in public discourse with private, esp. *astrological, divination that might threaten him (e.g. Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 27–32; Dio Cassius, LII, 36, 2–4). Essentially private acts, and even the possession of relevant books, were thus construed as injuries to the body-politic as a whole (*Paul, *Sententiae*, V, 23, 18 = Riccobono, *FIRA* 2nd edn., p. 410). Given the traditional conviction that 'Rome's empire was the reward given by the Gods for the piety of the Romans', the military and politico-fiscal problems of the period AD 235–84 encouraged the belief that Rome's weakness was partly due to the spread of such knowledge-practices (*superstitio, error, secta, haeresis*); the attempt by *Decius to enforce 'piety' empire-wide (250–1) is one expression of this anxiety.

Decisive legal steps, however, notably the attempted repression of 'Chaldaean' astrology (*ars mathematica*) in 294 (*CJust* IX, 18, 2) and of 'Persian' *Manichaeism between 297 and 302 (**Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, 15, 3), were taken by *Diocletian on the basis of the pseudo-historical conviction that magic (Gk. *magike techne*, Lat. *ars magica*) had been invented by the Persian magus Zoroaster (*Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXX, 2). This legislation in turn was the precondition for the characterization in mid- to late 4th-century imperial legislation of 'magicians' (*malefici*) as *peregrini naturae*, 'outside nature' (*CTh* IX, 16, 5 of 356 = Delmaire, *Lois réligieuses*, II, 142/4), *humanae generis inimici*, 'enemies of the human race' (*CTh* IX, 16, 6 of 357 = Delmaire, *Lois réligieuses*, II, 144/6) and *host[es] communis salutis*, 'enemies of (our) collective well-being' (*CTh* IX, 16, 11 of 389 = Delmaire, *Lois réligieuses*, II, 154). The Christian self-definition of the political centre extended and intensified the category of illicit religious practice, conceived of as 'pollution', to cover all forms of religious expression, *pagan and Christian (especially when practised by members of privileged groups), which could be represented by some interested and vocal party as opposed to *vera religio christiana* (true Christian religion). By AD 409, knowledge of astrology could in itself be considered a sign of *heresy (*CTh* IX, 16, 12 = Delmaire, *Lois réligieuses*, II, 156). It is likely that this process of extension met, at any rate initially, with some resistance: whereas *Constantine I explicitly excepted traditional public haruspicy, 'magical' healing, and beneficent weather-magic from his bans on divination (*CTh* IX, 16, 1 of ?315 = Delmaire, *Lois réligieuses*, II, 134/6) and *magicae artes* (*CTh* IX, 16, 3 of 321 = Delmaire, *Lois réligieuses*, II, 138/40), no such exceptions were allowed in the legislation of the mid-4th century—haruspicy and 'rural magic' were then treated uniformly as *maleficium*.

The direct interest of the political centre in such dichotomous classification lay in its tendential legitimization of the emperors' claim to unlimited authority over the religious life of the inhabitants of the Empire, itself a symbol of their concern to preserve an imagined universal piety. Just as in the 'Early Modern Witch Craze', vague legislation combined with the practice of delation and judicial *torture produced ample evidence of the very crimes the legislation envisaged, evidence that in turn confirmed the objective status of the threat posed by magic to collective well-being. The baleful effects of this are well illustrated by the psychological terror unleashed by accusations at the court of *Valens in *Antioch in AD 371 (*Ammianus, XXIX, 1, 4–2, 28; XXXI, 14, 8f.; *Zosimus, IV, 14, 1–15, 3; *John Chrysosotom, *Homilies on Acts*, 38, 5).

Under the influence of social-anthropological work on modern, mainly African, witchcraft-accusations, Peter Brown argued (1972) that there was an absolute increase in magical practice in Late Antiquity, which he traced to a dynamic conflict between 'articulated' and 'inarticulated' power, expressed above all in fear of the social mobility made possible by the establishment of Christianity and the uncertainties created by socio-political conflict. This model may be doubted: Brown himself admitted that there is no means of establishing the 'true' level of magical activity. What the imperial

legislation provided was a legitimizing discourse, a set of stereotypes, and a device for turning personal animosities and fears into legal process under the guise of working for the public good.

This in turn legitimized the ascription of 'peculiar' misfortunes, such as psychosomatic symptoms, to magical attack, even within the elite, which earlier had usually dismissed such explanations as old women's tattle, *aniles fabulae* (e.g. *Libanius, *Oration* 1, 243–50; *Oration* 36). At the same time, the genre of *saints' lives provides a quite new type of information about *village conflicts in the eastern Mediterranean as well as a motive for representing saints as measuring themselves up against the power of Satan (e.g. *Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa*, 6, 5). As 'thinking with *demons' became institutionalized in Christian contexts (e.g. *Zacharias, *VSeveri* 57–65), all pagan religiosity, as well as Christian *heresy, could be defined as maleficent. Since the vast majority of the agrarian population, which itself composed at least 85% of the total population, remained pagan, 'magic' necessarily abounded. In other words, what changed was above all the nature and visibility of a discourse concerning *magicae artes*. RLG

P. R. L. Brown, 'Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity', in his *Religion and Society*, 119–46.
J.-B. Clerc, *Homines magici: étude sur la sorcellerie et la magie dans la société impériale* (1995).
F. H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (1954).
M. W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (2001).
J. Engemann, 'Anmerkungen zu philologischen und archäologischen Studien über spätantike Magie', *JbAC* 43 (2000), 55–70.
M. Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager: Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (1995).
A. Lotz, *Der Magiekonflikt in der Spätantike* (2005).
G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Magia e demonologia nella polemica tra cristiani e pagani (V–VI sec.): la "vita di Severo" di Zacarias de Mitylene', *MHNH: Revista Internacional* 6 (2006), 33–92.
S. Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (2007).
C. van Liefferinge, *La Théurgie* (1999).

Magister Title of a wide range of posts, civil and military. The highest ranking were *Magister Militum (army commander) and *Magister Officiorum (supervising the central *administration) sharing with the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii oversight of the three *Magistri Scriniorum: namely *Magister Epistularum, *Magister Libellorum, and *Magister Memoriae. Much lower ranking were the magistri managing imperial estates in *Cappadocia (*Domus *Divina per Cappadociam). CMK

Magister Dispositionum Head of the *Scrinium Dispositionum responsible to the Magister Officiorum for coordinating the *emperor's daily schedule and planning imperial travel. The Magister (*Comes by early 5th cent.) and his **officium* ranked below the three *Magistri Scriniorum and the Sacra Scrinia. CMK

Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 18.
Boak, *Master of the Offices*, 67.

Magister Epistularum Originally one of the emperor's principal officials (Ab Epistulis), but displaced under *Constantine I by the *Magister Officiorum and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii. As one of three *Magistri Scriniorum, the Magister Epistularum retained responsibility (under the Magister Officiorum) for communicating with embassies from *cities and (under the Quaestor) for drafting responses to legal queries from judges (*consultationes*) (*Not. Dig.* 19.8–9 [*or.*]). The Magister Epistularum drew administrative support from the Scrinium Epistularum, whose staff (**epistulares*) was regulated by the Magister Officiorum. He was a member of the *Consistorium with the rank of *spectabilis*. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 504–7.
Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 5–11, 17–18.

Magister Equitum *See* MAGISTER MILITUM.

Magister Libellorum Senior official, and member of the *Consistorium with rank of **spectabilis*, whose functions combined some of those of earlier *emperors' principal legal officials (A Libellis and A Cognitionibus) who had been displaced under *Constantine I by the *Magister Officiorum and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii. As one of three *Magistri Scriniorum, the Magister Libellorum retained responsibility (under the Quaestor) for the preparation of legal cases heard before the emperor (Sacrae Cognitiones)—hence his full title as Magister Libellorum Sacrarumque Cognitionum (*ILS* 4152). The Magister Libellorum drew administrative support from the Scrinium Libellorum, whose staff (**libellenses*) was regulated by the Magister Officiorum. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 504–6.
Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 18.

Magister Memoriae Senior official, member of the *Consistorium with rank of **spectabilis*. Originally one of the *emperor's principal officials (A Memoria), but displaced under *Constantine I by the *Magister Officiorum and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii. As one of three *Magistri Scriniorum, the Magister Memoriae retained responsibility (under the Magister Officiorum) for

promulgating imperial rulings and probably gave a final form to legal texts composed by the Quaestor (*Not. Dig.* 19.6–7 [*or.*]). The Magister Memoriae drew administrative support from the Scrinium Memoriae, whose staff (**memoriales*) was regulated by the Magister Officiorum. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 504–7.
Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 5–11, 17.
J. D. Harries, 'The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II', *JRS* 78 (1988), 159–64.

Magister Militum Commander-in-chief of imperial *armies ('Master of the Soldiers'). The generic title covers a range of variations which trace their origin back to *Constantine I, who is said to have created a commander (*Stratelates) of *cavalry and one of *infantry (*Zosimus, II, 33, 3; cf. Lydus, *Mag.* II, 10, 3, 40), although the Latin terms Magister Equitum and Magister Peditum do not occur until after Constantine (Hermogenes in *Ammianus, XIV, 10, 2—referring to 342, and Bonosus in *CTh* V, 6, 1 of 347). The division of the Empire between Constantine's sons saw a multiplication of *field armies and hence commanders, until by the late 4th century there were five Magistri in the East—two Praesentales in charge of the armies based near the *emperor in *Constantinople, and one each for *Illyricum, *Thracia, and *Oriens. Arrangements were more centralized in the West with a single Magister Peditum Praesentalis and a subordinate Magister Equitum, thought to reflect *Stilicho's influence. *Justinian I added a Magister for *Armenia in 528, and one each for *Africa and *Italy, following the *Byzantine invasion of each. A striking feature is the number of holders of barbarian origin, reflecting more general trends in army *recruiting, although these men were invariably well Romanized. Magistri in the 5th century, notably *Aëtius, *Ricimer, and *Aspar, often exercised significant political influence and were often given the added title of **patricius*. Some even gained the imperial *purple (*Constantius III, *Zeno), which may explain why 6th-century emperors often favoured relatives for these posts. ADL

RE Suppl. 12 (1970) *s.v.* Magister militum, 556–790 (Demandt).
A. Demandt, 'Der spätrömische Militäradel', *Chiron* 10 (1983), 609–36.

Magister Officiorum Powerful palatine official, with *title of *illustris* (at least by 380s), who controlled personnel (civil and military) concerned with the coordination and dispatch of business (legal, administrative, diplomatic, ceremonial) by the *emperor: Sacra *Scrinia, *Scholae Palatinae, *Magister Dispositionum, **admissionales*, **mensores*, **decani*, **cancellarii*, **lampadarii*, **cursores*, and (perhaps) **notarii* (*Not. Dig.* 11 [*or.*]). He was an important member of the *Consistorium with particular responsibility for—and the ability to enable or impede—delegations from *provinces, *cities, and individuals and embassies from foreign powers (handled by the *scrinium barbarorum*). He shared administrative control of strategic areas, managing the **fabricae* (arms factories) and *Cursus Publicus (transport and communications system) alongside the *Praefectus Praetorio. Aside from supervision of the three Sacra Scrinia, the Magister relied on his own staff, the **agentes in rebus*. Junior-ranking *agentes* were sent to the provinces as **curiosi* to monitor the Cursus Publicus. The most senior (*principes agentum in rebus*) were transferred to head the administrative departments (**officia*) of high-ranking civil officials and military commanders, but continued to report to the Magister. From the establishment of the post by *Constantine I (aiming to restrict the authority of the Praefectus Praetorio), contemporaries regarded the Magister Officiorum as a key player in the formation and implementation of imperial policy and the regulation of government activity—hence his, sometimes much exaggerated, sinister reputation. A history of the Magister Officiorum by *Peter the Patrician (in post under *Justinian I) has not survived. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 368–9, 575–84.
Boak, *Master of the Offices*.
Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*.
Delmaire, *Institutions*, 75–95.

Magister Peditum *See* MAGISTER MILITUM.

Magister Utriusque Militiae From the reign of *Constantine I, the term used for one of the senior generals in the Late Roman *army. Initially attached to the *emperor, by the mid-4th century there were several regional field armies led by a *Magister Militum, as well as an imperial ('praesental') *field army in each part of the Empire. This system lasted until it was replaced by the *Theme system in the 7th century. HE

magistrianoi *See* AGENTES IN REBUS.

Magistri Scriniorum Collective term for the three Magistri who drew staff from the Sacra *Scrinia (in order of seniority): *Magister Libellorum, *Magister Epistularum, and *Magister Memoriae. They were members of the *Consistorium with the rank of **spectabilis*. Their titles recall longstanding, senior imperial administrative offices (A Libellis, Ab Epistulis, A Memoria) reorganized by *Constantine I and made subordinate by him to the *Magister Officiorum and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii. Together with the Quaestor, the Magistri Scriniorum were the emperor's chief legal

advisers; all were members of the commission for the compilation of the *_Theodosian Code_* (I, 1, 5; I, 1, 6, 2). CMK

Millar, *Emperor*, 104–7, 224–8.

Magistros *Greek term (μάγιστρος) used regularly on its own (e.g. in *John Malalas) to represent *Latin *Magister Officiorum, though occasionally τῶν ὀφφικίων is added.

Latin *Magister Militum was regularly translated as *Stratelates (στρατηλάτης). The rare use of Magistros in a military context (e.g. of the *Laz Pharsantes by *Agathias, IV, 13, 3–4) seems coincidental.

Later Magistros was used (first attested in the late 9th century) for a high-ranking dignitary, originally fewer than ten in number, reaching 24 by the mid-10th century but obsolete probably by the mid-12th century. The vernacular word *maistor* usually means teacher or craftsman. RDS

ODB s.v. magistros, 1267 (A. Kazhdan).

J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (1911), 29–33.

Magnentius *Military commander of *barbarian origin who seized power in the West in 350. He had risen under *Constantine I and by 350 commanded the corps called the Joviani and Herculiani. He was acclaimed *emperor at *Autun on 18 January 350, supported by Marcellinus the *Comes Rei Privatae who became his *Magister Officiorum. The Emperor *Constans was killed, as was Julius *Nepotianus, a cousin of Constans, who had been acclaimed emperor at *Rome in June 350. Magnentius sought a *marriage alliance with *Constantius II, but married *Justina (possibly of Constantinian blood, later wife of *Valentinian I). He appointed his brother Decentius as *Caesar.

Constantius came west to counter Magnentius, and in March 351 at *Sirmium appointed *Gallus as Caesar. After the Battle of *Mursa on 28 September 351 Magnentius withdrew west to *Aquileia, and in 352 was driven back into *Gaul. Following his defeat at Mons Seleucus in 353 he committed *suicide at *Lyons. SFT

PLRE I, Magnentius.

Magnesia ad Maeandrum *City in the Maeander Valley in south-west Asia Minor, 24 km (15 miles) inland from *Miletus. The surrounding area was very productive, particularly of *olives and figs. A lengthy tax register from the early 4th century survives as an *inscription excavated near the *Temple of Zeus. This reveals the presence of some very large *estates in the area, with one property alone responsible for 22% of the tax assessment. On the other hand, the register reveals that *village communes had survived with 38 of the 81 properties listed being independent smallholdings. JPH

Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (1900), no. 122, 108–13.

K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.

A. H. M. Jones, 'Census Records of the Later Roman Empire', *JRS* 43 (1953), 49–64, at 52, 54.

P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (2011), 122, 254–9.

Magnus *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum (565/6–73) under *Justin II and later **curator* of imperial *estates in the East. A Syrian active in politics in the eastern provinces, he was *patron of the *Jafnid ruler al-*Mundhir b. al-Harith, whom he betrayed and arrested in 581. He died soon afterwards. GBG

PLRE III, Magnus 2.

D. Feissel, 'Magnus, Megas et curateurs des maisons divines de Justin II à Maurice', *TM* 9 (1985), 465–70.

Magnus Maximus *Augustus in *Britain, *Gaul, and *Spain, 383–8, Maximus was perhaps of Spanish origin and served with *Theodosius Comes, to whom he was perhaps related, in Britian in the later 360s and in *Africa, before taking a command in Britain. After a victory over the *Picts in 382, he rebelled against the *Emperor *Gratian, crossing to Gaul in June/July 383. He confronted Gratian near *Lyons but the emperor was deserted by his army and killed. Preliminary negotiations opened with the court of *Valentinian II in *Italy and with *Theodosius I, partly conducted through the mediation of *Ambrose, *Bishop of *Milan (Ambrose, *ep.* 24), whose protracted discussions at *Trier allowed time for Valentinian to consolidate his position.

Maximus promoted administrative reforms, within his domain, perhaps including changes to provincial structures, recorded in an early version of the **Notitia Galliarum*, which lists the *provinces and *cities of Gaul. He was also an active supporter of orthodox Christianity. This led to the controversial trial and execution of the Spanish heresiarch *Priscillian on charges of *magic and a split within the Gallic episcopate.

In 386, Maximus wrote to Valentinian II, castigating his support for *Arianism (**Collectio Avellana*, 39) and to Pope Siricius on matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction (*Collectio Avellana*, 40). In the same year, Theodosius recognized Maximus's nominee, Fl. Euodius, as *consul, and Maximus' portrait was displayed in *Alexandria. In 387, Maximus expelled Valentinian and his *court from Italy, and such Roman *senators as *Symmachus, who delivered a *panegyric for Maximus as consul in 388, accepted his legitimacy. However, already in 387, Theodosius had decided to act. He invaded the west and Maximus was defeated and killed at *Aquileia on 28 August 388.

Despite his eventual failure, Maximus' posthumous reputation was remarkable. A man who 'would have been an excellent emperor had he not been a usurper' (*Sulpicius Severus), he features in the Welsh *Mabinogion* as Macsen Wledig, and in Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and as a putative ancestor of King *Arthur in Mary Stewart's novels on the career of Merlin. JDH

PLRE I, Maximus 39.

H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (1976).

D. Leedham, *Born for the Good of the State: Emperor Flavius Magnus Maximus, Wales and the Later Roman Empire, 367–411* (2010).

Magnus of Carrhae Historian, who participated in *Julian's Persian campaign in 363 of which he wrote a (lost) account. Fragments are preserved in *John Malalas (*FGrHist* Jacoby, 225). Sometimes identified with the tribunus Magnus (*PLRE* I, Magnus 2) mentioned by *Ammianus (XXIV, 4, 23–4) and *Zosimus (III, 22, 4) and decorated for bravery. It is uncertain whether Ammianus used him as a source, as is sometimes suggested. HJWD

PLRE I, Magnus 3.

J. den Boeft et al., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXIV* (2002), 131–2.

Matthews, *Ammianus* (1989), 163–4.

Magusaioi Term derived from the Aramaic name for a priest (*magūšā*), denoting Persian settlers outside Iran who retained *Zoroastrian customs. They are referred to by *Epiphanius of *Salamis and *Basil the Great (*ep*. 258). PTa

A. De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (RGRW 133, 1997), 404–13.

Māhbodh (Gk. Mebodes) (d. 589) Persian diplomat and general of the Suren family. He was sent as an ambassador to *Justin II in 567, and following the capture of *Dara by the Persians in late 573 he extracted from the Romans a promise of 30,000 *nomismata* in return for three years of peace (*Menander Protector, fr. 18, 3–4). In 577 he negotiated with a Roman embassy, which included the son of *Peter the Patrician, at *Constantia-Tella, suggesting that the payment of 30,000 *nomismata* be renewed, but talks broke down and he returned to Constantia the following year at the head of an army. A similar demand in 586 evaporated with the Roman victory at the Battle of Solachon, south of Dara (*Theophylact Simocatta, I, 15). In 589 he marched to relieve a Roman siege of *Martyropolis, and was killed (Theophylact Simocatta, III, 5, 11–16, 4).

His kinsman, also Māhbodh (Mebodes), was part of the first embassy of *Khosrow I to the Romans (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 11, 25). Another namesake was sent to secure *Ctesiphon in 591 by *Khosrow II at the time of his restoration to the throne (*Theophylact Simocatta, V, 4, 2–3; cf. V, 6–7). OPN

Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 185 *s.n.* Mahbodh (2).

Mahgritai *See* MUHAJIRUN.

Mahoze The *Syriac name (meaning 'the fortified towns') for the conurbation formed by *Seleucia ad Tigrim and *Ctesiphon, the royal cities, which together formed the capital of the Arsacid and subsequently of the *Sasanian Empire. The *Arabic name of the conurbation was *al-Mada'in, 'the cities'.

Seleucia, on the right bank of the Tigris, was refounded by the Seleucids in order to supplant *Babylon. The Hellenistic structure of the city survived until the 2nd century AD, when Roman raids (Trajan in 115/16, Cassius in 165, Septimus Severus in 198/9) and a violent flood of the Tigris, which changed its course between 79 and 116, led to its abandonment.

Mar *Mari, allegedly one of the Seventy Disciples of Christ (*cf.* Luke 10, 1–24), is said to have evangelized the region and to have founded the episcopal see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (as it is often termed in documents relating to the *Church of the East).

Ctesiphon was considerably enlarged in the 1st century AD. It had been founded by the Parthians on the left bank of the Tigris and became the winter residence of the *court and an important place for *trade, thanks to the emporium of Vologesias built *c.* AD 69. Around 230, the first Sasanian King, *Ardashir I, founded (on a circular plan) a new Seleucia, called Veh-Ardashir, at *Kokhe, south of Ctesiphon. According to the **Chronicle of Seert*, this was the site of several churches. Beyond the city, along the Tigris and in the direction of *Veh-Antiok-Khosrow/Rumagan, lay the district of Aspanbar (Aspanir): here houses and public buildings were set apart among *gardens, in particular the Treasury where Khosrow II placed the Relic of the True *Cross which his armies had taken from *Jerusalem in 614. Mahoze was conquered by the Arabs in 637, who called it al-Mada'in.

See also CTESIPHON; KOKHE; AL-MADA'IN; SELEUCIA AD TIGRIM. CJ

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.n.* al-Mada'in, 948–50 (M. Streck and M. Morony).

J. M. Fiey, 'Topography of al-Mada'in', *Sumer* 23 (1967), 3–38.

A. Invernizzi, 'Ten Years' Research in the al-Madain Area, Seleucia and Ctesiphon', *Sumer* 32 (1976), 167–75.

C. Jullien and F. Jullien, *Apôtres des confins: processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'empire iranien* (Res Orientales 15, 2002).

C. Jullien and F. Jullien, *Aux origines de l'église de Perse: les Actes de Mar Mari* (CSCO 604, Subsidia 114, 2003).

Ma'in (biblical Ba'al Ma'on, Beth Ba'al Ma'on and Zarqa Ma'in) Settlement located *c.*30 km (18 miles)

south-west of *Madaba, close to natural thermal springs at Hammamat Ma'in/Baarou. As Late Antique Belemounta, its extensive remains include a *monastery and public *bath. In the church *mosaics with an *inscription of 719/20 depict eleven buildings identified by name as *cities of *Palestine and Transjordan. In places it is possible to see where representations of *animals have been deliberately replaced by *foliage and images of inanimate objects. Analogous alterations were made to mosaics in a *basilica at Khirbat 'Asida near Jericho and in the Church of S. Stephen at Umm al-Rasas. PWMF; OPN

M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (1993).

Mainz (Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany, Roman Moguntiacum) Military base on the middle Rhine *frontier with an adjacent civilian settlement. In 269 it was the focus of a failed rebellion against *Postumus, who was then killed by his own troops when he refused them permission to sack the *city. Mainz subsequently became the capital of the *Verona List *province of *Germania Prima. Its legion was withdrawn in the mid-4th century, probably to support *Magnentius' usurpation, and the camp abandoned, although troops under a *Dux were still located there (*Notitia Dignitatum*, XLI). It was repeatedly attacked thereafter by the *Alamans, and sacked in 407 when the barbarians crossed the Rhine nearby. *Salvian reports its derelict state (*De Gubernatione*, VI, 39). *Inscriptions imply it was never wholly deserted, but there is a long lacuna in the *bishop list until the later 6th century, when *Venantius Fortunatus praised its bishop, Sidonius, for restoring churches and undertaking works on the Rhine (*Carmina*, II, 11–12; IX, 9), presumably in connection with the active river *harbour. *Charter evidence from the mid-8th century onwards confirms the city's revival, and helps to explain why S. *Boniface made it his missionary base. STL

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Mogontiacum, XX (2002), 144–54 (J. Oldenstein, H. Steuer).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 11 (2000), 21–43.

H. Jacobi, *Mogontiacum. Das römische Mainz* (1996).

M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages* (2000).

maiorina Large billon coin introduced in the coinage reform of AD 348. Almost immediate and rapid *debasement of the *maiorina* reflects the failure of the 348 reform. Legislation in 349 (*CTh* IX, 21, 6) condemned extraction of *silver from these coins and in 356 described the *maiorina* as a forbidden coin (*CTh* IX, 23, 1) though it remained in circulation. RRD

Hendy, *Studies.*

Maiozamalcha Lit. 'royal capital' (*maḥōzā malkā*; cf. Hebrew *maḥōz*, 'port'; Akkadian *maḫāzu*, 'city'). Described as 'a great city surrounded by strong walls' where *Julian the Apostate pitched camp (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 4, 2), it sat between *Kokhe, *Seleucia ad Tigrim, and *Ctesiphon in Persian *Mesopotamia. DTP

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 155–7.

Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia Judaica*, 231.

Maiuma Spring *festival most famously associated with *Daphne-by-*Antioch. *John Lydus (*De Mensibus*, IV, 76–80) proposes a *Syrian origin for the festival which was also attested in *Rome and *Ostia, while *John Malalas (AD 284–5) identifies it with the mysteries of Dionysus and Aphrodite. It featured public nocturnal rites and private feasting (*Julian, *Misopogon*, 362D), the former involving scantily clad dancers who performed in water basins, a feature it shared with the festival of the Brytae (Gk. Brytai), in the theatre of Daphne. Such celebrations prompted stern criticisms from Christians (*John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*, 7) and *pagans (*Libanius, *Oration* 41, 16) and were condemned in two imperial laws of 396 and 399 (*CTh* XV, 6, 1 and 2). And yet they were still attested in the early 6th century (*Severus of Antioch, *Homilies*, 95). RLi

G. Greatrex and J. W. Watt, 'One, Two or Three Feasts? The Brytae, the Maiuma and the May Festival at Edessa', *OrChrist* 83 (1999), 1–20.

G. Traversari, *Gli spettacoli in acqua nel teatro tardo-antico* (1960).

Maiuma, port of Gaza *City in *Palaestina Prima and port of *Gaza (mod. al-Minaon) on the Mediterranean coast, *c.*6 km (3.7 miles) from Gaza, a city known for its attachment to its pagan gods. In the reign of *Constantine I, the predominantly Christian Maiuma became an autonomous city, called Constantia Neapolis (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 37) although under *Julian the Apostate it returned to Gaza's administration (*Sozomen, V, 3). The unreliable *Life* of *Porphyry of Gaza by Mark the Deacon suggests that in 403 Bishop Porphyry played an important role in excluding pagans from civic government, thus restoring the supremacy of Christian Maiuma over Gaza; there are, serious textual problems with this *Life*. Bishops of Maiuma attended the *Council of *Ephesus in 431 and the 'Robber Council' of 449. In 444 or 445, the *Miaphysite *Peter the Iberian became abbot of a *monastery near Maiuma before becoming bishop in 452 until his death in 491. The last known bishop is Procopius, who took part in the Synod of *Jerusalem in 518. In 570 the *Piacenza Pilgrim recounted his visit to the *martyrium of S. Victor, an important site in the city. BH

B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, eds., *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity* (2004), 195–208.

G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (1963).
C. A. M. Glucker, *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1987).
L. Di Segni, 'Monastery, City and Village in Byzantine Gaza', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 55 (2005), 24–50.

majestas *See* TREASON.

Majorca *See* BALEARIC ISLANDS.

Majorian (d. 461) Western *emperor 457–61. Little is known of his background beyond his maternal grandfather having been a general and his father a financial official. He served in the *army under the general *Aëtius before retiring to his *estate. He seems to have resumed his military career when *Valentinian III sought his aid in placating the army after the murder of Aëtius in 454. With the general *Ricimer, he defeated the Emperor *Avitus at Placentia and deposed him (456), then was himself proclaimed emperor at the end of 457 with the support of Ricimer and the endorsement of *Constantinople. He proved to be able and energetic in both civil and military affairs. His surviving legislation shows, among other things, a concern to limit oppression and corruption in the *taxation system and to strengthen *city councils (*NovMaj* 2–3, 7). He consolidated aristocratic support in *Italy, gained cooperation from the independent general *Marcellinus in *Dalmatia, and gradually won over important constituencies in *Gaul who had previously backed his predecessor *Avitus, reflected in a *panegyric by *Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmen*, 5). However, his plan for a major expedition against the *Vandals was thwarted in 461 when the *fleet he had assembled in *Spain was captured at *Cartagena in a pre-emptive Vandal strike. Returning to Italy, he was deposed and executed by Ricimer, who had perhaps become wary of his efficiency and increasing independence. ADL

PLRE II, Maiorianus.
NovMaj, ed. P. Meyer and Th. Mommsen (1905).
ET Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 551–61.
Harries, *Sidonius*, 82–102.

Makhzum A sub-branch of the dominant *Quraysh tribe of *Mecca, the Makhzum were important in the political life of the settlement in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods and appear frequently in *Tabari's *History*. However, the Makhzum are said to have come out on the wrong side of a dispute surrounding the rebuilding of the Ka'bah sanctuary, and they and their supporters—known as the *ahlaf* (confederates) or as the *la'aqat al-dam* (the blood lickers, after the way they sealed their oath)—were somewhat marginalized around AD 605. While the Makhzum would prove to be among the most strident of *Muhammad's enemies in Mecca and among the last to reconcile, members of the tribe played important roles in the conquest, including the great commander *Khalid b. al-Walid. RHos

EI 2, vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Makhzum, 137–40 (Hinds).
R. Hosein, *Tribal Alliance Formations and Power Structures in the Jahilliya and Early Islamic Periods*, Ph.D. thesis (Chicago, 2010).

Malaia Pereschepina Treasure Large treasure of over 800 objects, many of *gold and *silver, discovered in Poltava, Ukraine, in 1912, now in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Many think it a set of grave goods, probably belonging to the *Bulgar leader, the **patricius* *Kubrat, whose *monogram is found on two, possibly three, *rings. Highlights include: a paten acknowledging restoration by Paternus (*Bishop of *Tomis, early 6th cent.); a necklace of coins of *emperors ranging in date from *Maurice to *Constans II (582–668); and a Persian *silver dish depicting *Shapur II. The collection provides evidence for the early Bulgar state, as well as for cultural interaction in the 7th century, with Roman, barbarian, and Persian objects hoarded together. HAHC

A. V. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Russian original 1977) (1985).
M. Kazanski and J. Sodini, 'Byzance et l'art "nomade"', *RevArch* 1987/1, 71–90.
J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren* (Abh. (Bayr.) NF 91, 1984).

Malalas *See* JOHN MALALAS.

malaria Disease caused by parasites transmitted by mosquito bites. Its main symptoms are intermittent fevers that correspond to the life cycle of the micro-organisms that cause it and peak every three (tertian) or four days (quartan). The disease caused both an increased mortality—especially in children—and also weakened exposed populations considerably in a chronic way. Malaria was endemic in many regions in the Mediterranean Basin up to the 20th century, mostly in swampy or low-lying areas and particularly around *Rome as well as in the Po Valley. It is recorded in both the Hippocratic Corpus and *Galen. It is assumed that populations exposed to it for long periods developed as a result thalassaemia, a type of anaemia that is antagonistic to the disease. In recent years malaria has been identified on human remains excavated in a 5th-century villa in central *Italy. DSt

M. D. Grmek, *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World* (1989).
R. Sallares, *Malaria and Rome: A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy* (2002).
D. Soren, 'Can Archaeologists Excavate Evidence of Malaria?', *World Archaeology* 35/2 (2003), 193–209.

Malatya *See* MELITENE.

Malberg Glosses Words and phrases in a Germanic, probably Franconian, vernacular added to manuscripts of the **Lex Salica* of the 6th and 8th centuries. They are not glosses in the proper sense, but rather explanations of terms of Germanic origin that were still in use, probably among lay people, in the Frankish *courts of the era. The badly garbled form of the glosses makes them difficult to interpret and suggests the work of uncomprehending scribes. MVDH

R. Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Malbergische Glossen', in K. Ruh et al., eds., *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (1985), vol. 5, 1193–8.

Malchus A native of *Philadelphia, a sophist by profession, and the author of a Byzantine History (*Byzantiaca*) in seven books, from 473/4 (seventeenth year of *Leo I) to 480 (the death of *Julius Nepos). The original work appears to have been much longer, from *Constantine I's reign (324 or 330) to the death of *Zeno (491), which has occasioned a hypothesis that there were two works (Treadgold, 104). The history survives in some extended passages in the **Excerpta de Legationibus*, in a summary by *Photius (78), and a few notices in the **Suda*.

In language and style the work adheres to the classicizing conventions of late antique *historiography, and its focus is on secular, military, political, and diplomatic affairs. The text, as it survives, concentrates on events in and around *Constantinople (in the *Balkans and *Asia Minor), inserting material on the Western Empire, primarily *Italy and *Africa. The narrative is structured around the prominent figures of the age: the *Emperor Zeno, the *Empress *Verina, the *usurper *Basiliscus, *Theoderic Strabo, and *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth. It is an important source for the political manoeuvrings in Constantinople, and for relations between the Eastern Empire and the Ostrogoths (and *Vandals). RCB

PLRE II, Malchus.
ed. (with LT) Muller, *FGH* IV, 112–32.
ed. (annotated with ET) R. C. Blockley, *FCHLRE* II, 402–62.
ET in Gordon, *Age of Attila*, 124–80.
Blockley, *FCHLRE*, vol. 1, 71–85.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 103–7.

maleficium Magical practice directed against one or more individuals, performed through incantations and rituals, often by specialists and usually in secret. Magical *papyri and inscribed lead *curse tablets (*tabellae defixionum*) attest to its widespread use throughout the Empire. Charioteers were famous for resorting to it, and even clerics were sometimes accused of it. Laws associated *maleficium* with *homicide and adultery (*CTh* XI, 36, 1), punishing it with *death. Those involved had no right to clemency, regardless of rank (*CTh* IX, 16, 6). It was associated with high *treason, leading to violent political persecutions in *Rome and elsewhere. The boundary between *maleficia* and magical arts became gradually blurred, and being associated with it was dangerous. CARM

M. Escribano Paño, 'Heretical Texts and *Maleficium* in the *Codex Theodosianus* (CTH. 16.5.34)', in R. L. Gordon and F. Marco Simón, ed., *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (2010), 105–38.
M. W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (2001).

Malik b. Anas (715–96) Leading Arabian jurist from *Medina affiliated with the traditionalist *ahl al-hadith* camp, and eponym of the Maliki school, which would later become one of the four major schools of Sunni *law. HBR

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Mālik b. Anas, 262–5 (Schacht).

mallus The common early Franco-Latin term for a *court or judicial *assembly. It appears also in the form *mallobergus*, especially in what are presumed to be glosses of Frankish forensic terms supplementing the *Latin text of **Lex Salica*. ACM

Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus s.v. mallus.*

Mamas, S. Christian venerated as the principal *martyr of *Caesarea of *Cappadocia (where his shrine was noted by the pilgrim *Theodosius). Both *Gregory of *Nazianzus (*Oration* 44, 12) and *Basil (*Sermon* 23) say he was a shepherd. As adolescents in *exile at Macellum near Caesarea, the future *Gallus Caesar and *Julian the Apostate are said to have competed in building a church in his honour (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 4 *against Julian*, 24–6; *Sozomen, V, 2); Julian failed. The accounts of S. Mamas's *martyr passion, in *Greek (*BHG* 1017z–22), *Latin (*BHL* 5192–9), *Armenian, and *Syriac (*BHO* 132, 1–133, 3–4), are legendary, but he was widely venerated; Queen *Radegund possessed one of his fingers. TMvL; OPN

Basil (*CPG* 2868): PG 31, 589–600.
A. Berger and H. Younansardaroud, eds., *Die griechische Vita des Hlg. Mamas von Kaisareia und ihre syrischen Versionen* (2003).
Delehaye, *Origines*, 174–5.

Mamertinus The name given by most editors to the author of **Panegyrici Latini*, X (2) and XI (3), delivered in AD 289 and 291 respectively. In fact, neither is the name secure, nor the claim that one man wrote both speeches. RDR

PLRE I, Mamertinus 1.
R. D. Rees, *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric AD 289–307* (2002).

Mamertinus, Claudius *Consul 362. Mamertinus was probably from *Gaul. In 361 the Emperor *Julian appointed him *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, and then *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum (*Ammianus, XXI, 8, 1; XXI, 12, 25). He participated in the trials at *Chalcedon later in 361, and was made consul for 362 (*Ammianus, XXI, 10, 8). His (*Latin) speech of thanks for the consulship, in which he describes himself as already an old man, was delivered to Julian in *Constantinople and survives as *PanLat* III (11). His authority as Praefectus Praetorio was extended to *Italy and *Africa, and as such he received many laws. He was later charged with peculation and replaced (XXVII, 7, 1). RDR

PLRE I, Mamertinus 2.

ed. M. P. García Ruiz (with SpT and comm.), *Claudio Mamertino Panegírico al Emperador Juliano* (2006).

ed. R. A. B. Mynors in Rodgers and Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors, 629–46* (with ET and notes, 386–436).

ET S.N.C. Lieu *The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic* (TTH 2, 2nd edn., 1989), 11–38.

Mamertus *Bishop of *Vienne from before 463 to after 474; member of an aristocratic *family in *Gaul, brother of *Claudianus Mamertus. Pope Hilarus reprimanded him for consecrating a bishop outside his ecclesiastical *province. In response to *earthquakes and other phenomena he established penitential *Rogations, a liturgical innovation which, as reported by his friend *Sidonius Apollinaris, rapidly spread to other *cities. RVD

PCBE IV/1, Mamertus.

G. Nathan, 'The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul: Creation, Transmission and the Role of the Bishop', *ClassMed* 49 (1998), 275–303.

Mamikonean clan One of the noble families of Parthian and early Christian *Armenia. Under the *Arshakuni kings (*c.*54–428) the office of *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) was the hereditary prerogative of the Mamikoneans; after the demise of the last Arshakuni king the clan assumed de facto primacy over Armenia. The Mamikoneans had pro-Byzantine tendencies for most of their history; their loyalty to the theology of the *Council of *Nicaea, which opposed them to the Arianizing kings in the 4th century, is evident in the **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*. Perhaps the most famous Mamikonean, immortalized by *Elishe Vardapet in his *History*, was *Vardan, leader of an uprising of the Armenian nobility in 451 against the Persian King *Yazdegerd II. Although Vardan was killed and the battle lost, the Armenians gained their autonomy in 484 under his nephew and successor Vahan. Another Vardan Mamikonean led a revolt against the Persians in 571, fleeing to the *court of the Roman Emperor *Justin II for protection when the rebellion failed. The Mamikonean clan also featured prominently in the histories of *Lazar and *Sebeos. However, their power declined throughout the 7th century while that of the *Bagratuni clan rose to prominence. The main branch of the Mamikonean was extinguished in the 8th century, although minor branches survived into the late Middle Ages. TLA

ODB s.v. Mamikonean.

PLRE II, Vardan.

PLRE IIIA, Hamazasp (Mamikonian), *PLRE* IIIB Mamak (Mamikonian).

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Mamikonean family (N. Garsoian).

Mampsis Roman town of Nabataean origin in the *Negev, identified with the ruins of Kurnub (Arabic), Mamshit (Hbr.). Some large mansions were partly preserved, one with remains of Roman wall paintings. Two churches paved with *mosaic were excavated, one with an attached *baptistery. PFi

A. Negev, *The Architecture of Mampsis: Final Report* (1988).

A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (1981), 69–72.

Mamre (Heb. *Elonei Mamre*: Oaks of Mamre) Also called Terebinthus after the famous Oak, ancient trading site near Hebron *c.*32 km (20 miles) south-west of *Jerusalem. According to Hebrew tradition, Abraham entertained three divine messengers at Mamre (Gen. 18: 1–10). Christians reinterpreted this revelation (*Eusebius, *HE* I, 2, 7). *Constantine I's mother-in-law, *Eutropia, told him about pagan worship at Mamre (Eusebius, *VCon.* III, 52–3). Constantine had the *bishops of *Palestine cleanse the site and build what the *Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333 called a 'basilica of wondrous beauty'. *Paula also visited (*Jerome, *ep.* 108, 11); archaeological remains are scanty.

*Sozomen (II, 4) describes the continuing participation of *pagans, *Jews, and Christians in the trade fair. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (30) describes separate entrances for Christians and Jews, with a screen dividing them; many Jews came on *pilgrimage offering *lamps and copious *incense. *Adomnán (*De Locis Sanctis*, II, 11) describes the church, the monastic cells, and what was left of Abraham's oak-tree. DMG

Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*.

A. E. Mader, *Mambre. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im heiligen Bezirk Râmet el-Halîl in Südpalältina, 1926–1928*, 2 vols. (1957).

Mandaeans Religious group in the *Sasanian province of Meshan in south *Babylonia, at the head of the Shatt-al-Arab. They are now scattered over several countries since the Second Gulf War in 2003.

The characteristic ritual of the Mandaeans was baptism. Their traditions suggest an origin in *Palestine or

west *Syria; scholars have connected the early Mandaeans with a Jewish-Christian sect who were exiled under the *Emperor Hadrian and migrated to *Mesopotamia. According to *Syriac sources, a Babylonian Mandaean movement initiated by Ado in the 4th century probably united several groups who practised baptismal rites. There is a particular group of *magic *incantation bowls from 3rd–7th century *Mesopotamia which have been associated with the religion.

The Mandaic language is a dialect of eastern Aramaic. Their scriptures were primarily the *Ginza*, a collection of history and theology, a prayerbook (*Qolasta*), and the *Book of John the Baptist*, whom they revered as their prophet in the lineage of Adam; this explains why they were considered as People of the Book during the Islamic period. They rejected the Bible and the *Talmuds. Lady (E. S.) Drower (1879–1972), who did fundamental fieldwork between the First and Second World Wars, characterized their doctrinal system as gnostic. Mandaean theology is dualistic. Its world of light opposed to a corrupted world of darkness suggests diverse Iranian religious influences (*Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Mazdakism), but may equally suggest links with Christian *gnosticism. Rules of ritual purity and *baptism by immersion are the principal liturgical practices. CJ

The following numbers of the journal *ARAM* are concerned with the Mandaeans: vol. 11/2 (1999), 199–331; vol. 16 (2004), 1–126; vol. 22 (2010).

J. J. Buckley, *The Mandaeans: Ancient Texts and Modern People* (2002).

J. J. Buckley, *The Great Stem of Souls: Reconstructing Mandaean History* (2005).

E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran: Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends, and Folklore* (1937).

E. C. D. Hunter, 'The Language of Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the Early Islamic Era', in R. Voigt, ed., '*Und das Leben ist siegreich!' Mandäische und samaritanische Literatur: im Gedenken an Rudolf Macuch (1919–1993) = 'And life is victorious': Mandaean and Samaritan Literatures. In Memory of Rudolf Macuch* (2008), 117–26.

K. Rudolph, 'La Religion mandéenne', in H.-C. Puech, ed., *Histoire des religions*, 3 vols. (EP 29, 34, 40, 1972), vol. 2, 498–522.

mandata Administrative orders or general instructions issued by the *emperor to specific bureaucrats. See *CJust* I, 15 and *NovJust* 113 and 124. RvdB; CH

A. Berger, 'Mandata principum', in A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (TAPS 43/2, 1953), 574.

Mandylion of Edessa (Syr. *mandila*, towel) Portrait of Jesus, forming part of the *Abgar legend from the 5th century onwards. According to the *Teaching of *Addai*, a *Syriac text of *c.* AD 400, King Abgar of *Edessa sent the keeper of the royal *archives to visit Jesus, and the archivist returned with a promise that Edessa would be impregnable and with a portrait of Jesus which he had painted and which Abgar placed in one of his palaces. *Evagrius, writing in 594, describes (IV, 27) how the Persian siege of Edessa in 544 was brought to an end by a *miracle performed by this *icon 'not made by hands' (cf. *ACHEIROPOIETOS*). The *Acts* of *Mari, probably composed at about the same time, is the earliest text to claim that Christ's face impressed the image directly onto the linen cloth. A cloth which was believed to be this portrait was installed at *Constantinople in 944. RMJ; OPN

S. P. Brock, 'Transformations of the Edessa Portrait of Christ', *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18/1 (2004), 46–56.

Averil Cameron, 'The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story', *Okeanos* Fs Ševčenko (HarvUkrSt 7, 1983), repr. in Cameron, *CCSCB*.

H. Kessler and G. Wolf, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation* (1998).

A. Nicolotti, *From the Mandylion of Edessa to the Shroud of Turin: The Metamorphosis and Manipulation of a Legend* (2014; Italian original 2011).

Mangup (modern name of Byzantine Dory, Doros, or Theodoro) *City and region in south-western *Crimea, which emerged as a centre for the *Goths. Although fortified by *Justinian I (r. 527–65) in *c.*530 (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 7, 13), it fell to the *Khazars in the 8th century, but retained its Roman connections. ABA

A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (1936).

Maniakh A *Sogdian 'caravan leader' (Sog. *sārtpāw*, Chinese *sabao*) instrumental in brokering short-lived trade and diplomatic ties between the Eastern Roman Empire and the *Türk Empire. With the Türks' conquest of the *Hephthalites, the Sogdians urged their new overlords to open Persia to Sogdian *silk trade. As related in *Menander Protector (frs. 10.1–2), *Maniakh headed a trade delegation to the *Persian Empire. The Persians bought but then burnt their silk to discourage further efforts. After the Persians poisoned a second Türk-Sogdian embassy, Maniakh led a mission to *Constantinople in 568, which *Justin II immediately reciprocated by sending *Zemarchus. Maniakh's name suggests he might have been *Manichaean. MPC

PLRE III, Maniach.

Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 191.

É. de La Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, tr. J. Ward (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Achte Abteilung, Handbook of Uralic studies, 2005).

Mani, Manichaeism, and the Manichaeans The Manichaeans were the followers of Mani, a religious visionary, author, and tireless missionary from southern *Mesopotamia (216–*c.*276).

Within his own lifetime Mani and his followers spread his teachings across *inter alia* Mesopotamia, Roman *Egypt and North *Africa, and *Armenia as well as the *Persian Empire. As early perhaps as the 240s, Mani had converted a *Buddhist monarch in the Indus Valley to his teachings. Eventually the religion spread through *Central Asia and *China, where Manichaean communities survived even up to the 16th century. Related through his mother to the Iranian Arsacids, Mani was initiated in his childhood years into the Mesopotamian baptizing community of his father Pattek in Babylonia, part of the same religious general milieu as the *Mandaeans. According to the Cologne *Mani Codex, these baptizers held a certain Elchasaios in high regard, revering him as the founder of their rule. During his time with the Elchasaites, however, Mani experienced a number of revelations which hastened his departure from the community, as a result of a strongly held desire to practise religion in a different manner.

A prolific author, Mani wrote predominantly in *Syriac though he utilized Iranian languages as well. Mani produced theological works and *letters addressed to individuals and his nascent communities as well as a Middle *Persian work dedicated to the Persian King of Kings, *Shapur I. In these works, Mani presented his teachings and Church as heirs to the prophets of Antiquity, and styled himself the 'Apostle of Jesus Christ'. His writings, and those of his followers (e.g. *Kephalaia*), were rapidly translated during Late Antiquity into a variety of languages, including *Greek, *Coptic, *Latin, and *Sogdian. Mani himself eventually fell out of favour with the successors of *Shapur I, a victim of dynastic and religious machinations at the Sasanian *court. His life ended *c.*276 in an ignominious fashion, as he was left to perish in the prisons of *Bahram I. Very soon after his death, and impelled possibly by their own experience of persecution by the Sasanian elite, Mani's Mesopotamian followers set about commemorating him as a divine 'Apostle of Light' who had undergone enormous suffering. Following his death in the Persian prison, styled in the *Coptic homilies as a crucifixion, he was understood to have entered a state of blessedness, which the Central Asian material calls his 'entry into *parinirvana*'. In its mature form, the four prophets of Manichaeism include Jesus, Zoroaster, and the Buddha as well as Mani himself, whose teachings were portrayed as continuing and perfecting those of the earlier prophets in their original purity.

As his teachings and Church spread further east into Central Asia from the 6th century onwards, Manichaean works continued to be written and copied in Parthian (which functioned as a liturgical language) and Middle Persian, and translated into Sogdian, *Uighur (Uygur), and Chinese. During Late Antiquity, the Manichaean Church proved to be very resilient to state-sponsored persecutions in the Roman and Sasanian empires, and also, later, in areas under Islamic rule. The conversion to Manichaeism in the mid-8th century of Tengri Bögü, the ruler of the Uighur (Uygur) *Türk steppe Empire, initiated a renewal of the Manichaean Church in Asia. It led to the establishment of well-organized monastic institutions responsible for various cultural initiatives including translations of Late Antique Manichaean texts into a range of Central Asian languages, and the creation of new liturgical, communal, and historical writings. Manichaeism remained a state religion in the kingdom of Kocho, which the Uighur clan ruled after the collapse of their empire.

Ancient jaundiced opinions of the Manichaeans persisted into the early 20th century. Discoveries of Manichaean writings, e.g. from *Central Asia (near *Turfan and *Dunhuang), North Africa (Tebessa Codex from *Theveste), Egypt (e.g. *Medinet Madi and *Kellis manuscripts), together with the Cologne Mani Codex, have brought to light many aspects of the Manichaeans' own preoccupations. With this new material to hand, scholars are revising a range of established opinions about the religion in Late Antiquity including the term 'Manichaean', which being the creation of Christian heresiology was used hardly at all by Mani's followers, who preferred to refer to themselves collectively by such terms as the 'Holy Church'.

Mani's theology and cosmology sought to incorporate and outflank Zoroastrian, Christian, and, eventually, Buddhist teachings and tenets. It appeared to each religion as a heresy and because of this it represented a virulent threat that all were compelled to confront. Reflecting its original context, Manichaean cosmology and *eschatology bears a deep Zoroastrian imprint—much deeper than that of Christianity or Buddhism. The Manichaeans adopted contemporary 3rd-century Zoroastrian terms designating gods (e.g. MP *bay* and *yazad*; Parthian *bag* and *yazad*) and many Manichaean gods and demons originally bore the names of Zoroastrian divinities. In an MP text the religion is even overtly designated as the (true) 'Mazda-worshipping Religion' (MP *dēn māzdēs*). Given how aggressively Manichaeans appropriated Zoroastrianism and proselytized the Persian King and nobility, it should come as no surprise that the Zoroastrian priesthood spearheaded a strenuous polemical campaign against Manichaeism. The archmagus *Kerdir boasts of persecuting Manichaeans in his *inscriptions and ultimately contrived Mani's death using his influence at the court of *Bahram I. *Adurbad-i Mahraspand, who was influential under *Shapur II, was Manichaeism's chief persecutor in the 4th century. Book 3 of the **Dēnkard*

preserves his 'Ten injunctions which the crippled demon Mani clamoured against those of the restorer of righteousness, Adurbad-i Mahraspand. Similar polemics are reflected in other texts, including the *Škand-gumānīg Wizār*, composed by one Mardan-Farrox, who, like *Augustine of *Hippo, was probably a Manichaean convert and apostate. The *Sasanian persecutions play an important part in Manichaean scripture and the later development of the religion.

Within the Roman Empire both Christian and *pagan authors (such as *Alexander of *Lycopolis) produced anti-Manichaean polemics. Understood by Manichaeans to preserve the true teaching of Jesus, they portrayed their religion as Christianity in its 'pure' form, unadulterated by Jewish beliefs and practices and/or by Christians. The portrayal of Manichaeism as a Christian heresy by both Manichaeans and orthodox Christians was made more plausible by the presence of pronounced Christian components in Late Antique Manichaean thought and practice. These include Mani's own claim to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ, the Manichaeans' commitment to Jesus as a figure of cosmic significance, and the saturation of Manichaean literature by canonical and apocryphal biblical themes. Like the Zoroastrian polemicists, Late Antique Christian reactions to Manichaeans often proceed by exaggerating the differences between the two religions, and like them contend with Manichaeism's simpler explanation of the origin and nature of evil. The religion succeeded most notoriously in securing the allegiance of the adolescent Augustine in 373 (*Confessions*, III, 6, 10). After finally abandoning Manichaeism on leaving *Rome for *Milan in 384, Augustine became one of its most virulent critics. Long after his death, Mani's teachings remained influential in shaping religious debates in Late Antiquity. Patristic heresiology, such as Hegemonius' *Acts of Archelaus* and *Epiphanius' *Panarion*, and in the West Augustine's anti-Manichaean works, both those which went into detail and more popular denunciations such as his *De Moribus Manichaeorum*, influenced early medieval and Byzantine authors, and 'Manichaean' became a term of opprobrium applied to a wide variety of later Christian dualists, including the *Paulicians and the Cathars. Similarly, the late Zoroastrian treatise, the *Gizistag Abālīš*, preserves a fictionalized dispute between a Zoroastrian priest and a Manichaean at the court of the *Caliph al-Ma'mun (813–33). Buddhism too produced polemical works against Manichaeism, which similarly was portrayed as preserving the Buddha's 'true' teachings, just like those of Jesus and Zoroaster.

As the remains of Mani's teachings and those of his followers indicate, Mani taught a theogonic myth detailing a universal conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness. Mani's *Šābuhragān* was a work written *c.*240 for Shapur I during Mani's time at the Sasanian *court and the closest text we have to his own words. In the form given here the myth embraced both cosmology and eschatology, revealing the influence of Judaeo-Christian narratives (e.g. Enoch literature), and the dualism then current within Zoroastrianism. While sharing many elements in common with *Gnostic mythology, Mani's myth informed both the ecclesiological and social structures of Manichaean communities. The members of Mani's Church served as active participants in this universal war, with two ranks on the front line of the battle. The lay members of the Church—the Auditors—were its foundation. They provided alms—consisting of their time, finances, accommodation, and food—for the benefit of the Elect, who were the renunciate order of the community. The Elect took on the responsibility of 'saving' the Light (termed 'Living Soul') trapped in the material world through performing various *ascetic activities, including the consumption and metabolization of a ritualized daily meal. This was understood to release the trapped Light and allow it to return to the Realm of Light. The multilingual Elect also engaged in a programme of copying and translation of scripture and hymns as well as more 'practical' texts such as medical and magical material. The Manichaean sacred books comprised both scripture and an 'image book'. Most of these images, which are characterized by a complex iconography, were didactic. The Turfan fragments include many finely illustrated manuscripts that appear to preserve parts of these image programmes and correspond closely to images created by the late Manichaean communities in Ming China. Scattered evidence in the Turfan and early modern Chinese material also hints at ritual and devotional use of images.

Manichaeism's liturgical calendar prescribed regular prayers, fasts, and services, including a weekly service on Sunday for the Auditors and a service on Monday for the Elect. Manichaeism's daily and weekly cult activity consisted of *fasting, *prayer, singing of hymns, scriptural readings, *sermons, and confessions. Special so-called '*yimki*' fasts took place throughout the year dictated by various solar and lunar conjunctions with the *Zodiac. These commemorated the early *martyrs of the Church, culminating in the 27-day 'Mani-*yimki*', which recalled the days the prophet spent in the Persian prison and his death. The religion's high holiday, the 'Bema', or 'Throne Festival', celebrated the 'Paraclete', that is the elevated Mani enthroned in the Realm of Light. During the *festival Mani was understood to return to the midst of his communities when the community prepared and venerated a throne, possibly (though not conclusively) accompanied by a book or an image of Mani. NJBB; MPC

A. Adam, ed., *Texte zum Manichäismus* (1969).

I. Gardner and S. N. C. Lieu, eds., *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (2004).
H.-J. Klimkeit, ed., *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (1993).
N. A. Pedersen, ed., *Manichaean Homilies: With a Number of Hitherto Unpublished Fragments* (2006).
N. J. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered* (2011).
J. D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual* (2000).
J. D. BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma* (2009).
M. Canepa, 'The Art and Ritual of Manichaean Magic', in H. Meredith, ed., *Objects in Motion* (2011), 73–88.
F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne: étude historique et doctrinale* (1978).
Z. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China* (2015).
M. Hutter, 'Manichaeism in Iran', in M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina, eds., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (2015), 477–89.
S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (²1992).
S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (1994).
R. Lim, 'The *Nomen Manichaeorum* and its Uses in Late Antiquity', in E. Iricinschi and H. M. Zellentin, eds., *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity* (2008), 143–67.
J. C. Reeves, *Heralds of that Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (1996).
C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten' (1933), 1–89.
S. Stroumsa and G. G. Stroumsa, 'Aspects of Anti-Manichaean Polemics in Late Antiquity and under Early Islam', *HTR* 81 (1988), 37–58.
EncIran s.v. Cosmogony and Cosmology iii. in Manichaeism, VI/3, 310–15 (Sundermann).
EncIran s.v. Festivals ii. Manichaean, IX/5, 546–50 (Sundermann).
EncIran online s.v. Manichaeaism i. General Survey (Sundermann).
EncIran online s.v. Manichaeaism ii. The Manichaean Pantheon (Sundermann).

Manichaean art Physical remains of the Manichaeans from Late Antiquity are almost entirely confined to books. A surviving crystal *seal from Persian *Mesopotamia, now in Paris (BN INT. 1384 BIS), depicting *Mani flanked by two other figues, and describing him in *Syriac written in the Manichaean script as 'the apostle of Jesus Christ', appears to have been made for the personal use of the prophet. Written sources refer to a picture book made by Mani himself illustrating his teachings for those who could not read; it does not survive but appears to have influenced later Manichaean book production, not least a surviving painting of the Great Fire at the End of Time (Parthian Turfan fragment M 35). In the Islamic world, Mani was remembered as a painter.

A substantial body of Manichaean illustrated books, *textiles, and wall paintings dating from the mid-8th century to the mid-11th century was discovered by expeditions to Central Asia in the late 19th/early 20th century in *Turfan, where early medieval Manichaeans flourished under the patronage of the *Uighurs on the western edges of *China. One fragment of a codex (now in the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin) bears a painting of the Bema *festival, with white-robed bearded members of the Elect on a richly coloured *carpet gathered around piles of bread and fruit to be consumed by the Elect whose digestive processes will separate out the light in them which will be then be uploaded to the Realm of Light through the singing of hymns of *praise. OPN

EncIran (2008) *s.v.* Manichean Art (Zs. Gulácsi).
EncIran II/7 (1987) *s.v.* Aržang, 689–90 (J. P. Asmussen).
Zs. Gulácsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections: A Comprehensive Catalogue* (2001).
Zs. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China* (2016).
H. J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (1982).

Manichaean Law, Tetrarchic *Rescript issued by *Diocletian and the *Tetrarchy, probably in 302, from *Alexandria to Julian, the *Proconsul *Africae. The rescript responds to reports from the proconsul concerning the empty and wicked **superstitio* of the *Manichaeans, highlighting the danger of its origin in the *Persian Empire, and asserting the wrongness of resisting what the *providentia* of the immortal gods has determined is good and true.

Manichaeans had recently arrived in *Egypt under the charge of *Mani's disciple Adda. The law orders that their leaders and books are to suffer the severest penalties, so much so that they are to be burnt, their followers subjected to capital punishment, and sympathetic **honorati* and persons of importance sent to the *quarries of *Proconnesus or the *mines of *Phaeno. NJBB

Text in *Collatio Legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum*, XV, 3, 3; ed. in Riccobono, *FIRA* II, 580–1.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 135–6.
P. [R. L.] Brown, 'The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire', in his *Religion and Society*, 94–118 (= *JRS* 59 (1969), 92–103).

Manichaean texts The Manichaeans commemorated *Mani as the author of revelatory writings, which soon after his death were arranged to form a canon of

scriptures. Only fragments of these writings survive, including the doctrinal treatise he composed in Pahlavi, *Šābuhragān*, written for *Shapur I *c.*240.

Mani's followers imitated Mani's own authorial tendencies and wrote a range of works, including the 'sub-canonical' *Kephalaia* ('The Book of Chapters'), which aimed to systematize Mani's theology by introducing commentary to Mani's own apparent sayings. Controversial writings composed by Mani's immediate followers, e.g. the collection of biblical *Antitheses* (*Disputationes*) by the disciple Adda of *Palmyra, and by later Manichaeans (e.g. the *Capitula* by the North African Manichaean Bishop *Faustus of *Milevis), indicate continuities with Mani's writings and those produced in the period after his death, which sought to resolve issues and problems raised by Mani's theology (e.g. the *Kephalaia*) and the Christian biblical tradition which Mani had inherited and transformed to accord with his own teachings. The discoveries of Late Antique Manichaean works from *Egypt, including the *Coptic codices from *Medinet Madi, the *Greek *Cologne Mani Codex, and the extensive range of fragmentary Manichaean texts in Coptic, Greek, and *Syriac from Ismant El-Kharab (ancient *Kellis), reveal a highly literate religious culture.

The finds from Kellis, which housed a Manichaean enclave, include liturgical works in the form of psalms and *prayers (e.g. 'The Prayer of the Emanations'), translations of Mani's own epistles, and *letters passed between members of a community of Manichaeans, many of which were exchanged between relatives in a family of believers. The latter—unlike the other texts from Kellis and for example the Cologne Mani Codex—are not literary works but provide documentary evidence for the daily preoccupations of the Manichaeans in Egypt during the 4th century. This, arguably, makes them unique documents in the history of a religion with gnostic characteristics. NJBB

I. M. F. Gardner, ed., *Kellis Literary Texts*, 2 vols. (1996, 2007; Dakhleh Oasis Project monograph 4, 15).

I. M. F. Gardner, A. Alcock, W. P. Funk, eds., *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis* (Dakhleh Oasis Project monograph 9, 1999).

I. M. F. Gardner and S. N. C. Lieu, 'From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant El-Kharab): Manichaean Documents from Roman Egypt', *JRS* 86 (1996), 146–69.

Manichaean texts: Cologne Mani Codex A fragmentary parchment codex in *Greek dated between the 4th and 8th centuries. The original language of the text was most likely *Syriac. A miniature codex, one of the smallest known from Antiquity, it measures 35 mm × 45 mm (1.4–1.8 inches, the size of a passport photograph) and contains 192 pages. The manuscript carries a recurrent heading, 'On the Origin of his Body', probably its ancient title.

While many questions about the redaction history and literary purport of the Cologne Mani Codex remain unanswered, the text is ostensibly a biography of *Mani in which his immediate followers (e.g. Salmaios, Baraies, Abiesous, Timotheos, Koustaios) relate central moments in the religious life of Mani. Much of this testimony appears as the reported speech of Mani himself ('the Lord said …'), thereby mirroring the style of other Manichaean texts among others the *Kephalaia*.

These chains of testimony probably preserve the earliest eyewitness material for the life of Mani, which the Cologne Mani Codex gathered together to create a hagiography. It has identifiable sections, beginning with an account of Mani's early life in a *Mesopotamian baptizing community, descriptions of Mani's revelatory experiences with his 'Twin' (Gk. *Syzygos*), his dramatic departure from the baptizers, and the early missionary activities of Mani and his first followers in *Ctesiphon, Naser, and *Ganzak. The final pages of the work (pp. 121–92) are severely damaged, nevertheless they indicate Mani's arrival in Pharat in Mesene, the principal port at the head of the Persian Gulf for travel to *India. NJBB

Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Über das Werden seines Leibes, aufgrund der von A. Henrichs und L. Koenen besorgten Edition herausgegeben und übersetzt von L. Koenen und C. Römer (1988).

ET I. Gardner and S. N. C. Lieu, eds., *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (2004), 47–73.

C. E. Römer, *Manis frühe Missionreisen nach der Kölner Manibiographie. Textkritischer Kommentar und Erläuterungen zu p. 121–p. 192 des Kölner Mani-Kodex* (1994).

Manichaean texts: Manichaean Psalm Book A large collection of antiphonal *hymns in *Coptic dating from the 4th century, the Psalm Book is one of the seven codices found at *Medinet Madi in the Fayyum region of *Egypt (the *Arsinoite Nome). It survives in two parts. Part I has been published in facsimile editions, while Part II was published first in 1938 by C. R. C. Allberry, with new editions of Part II appearing in the 1990s. The text is a *Coptic translation of a *Syriac *Vorlage*, but the text of the Psalm Book indicates adaptation to a western Manichaean environment, with the inclusion of Egyptian names in its doxological portions. It is valuable to scholars reconstructing the origins and structure of *Manichaean liturgies, and seeking to understand the broader theological concerns of the Church of *Mani. NJBB

ed. (with ET) C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (1938).

ed. S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library III: Psalm Book, Part 1* (1988); and *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library IV: Psalm Book, Part 2* (1988), Facsimile Editions.
ed. G. Wurst, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library: Psalm Book, Part II, Fasc. 1. Die Bema-Psalmen* (1996).
ed. S. G. Richter, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library: Psalm Book, Part II, Fasc. 2. Die Herakleides-Psalmen* (1998).
T. Säve-Söderberg, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book* (1949).

Manichaean texts: Medinet Madi Manuscripts *Coptic codices named from the place where they were found in the Fayyum region of *Egypt (*Arsinoite Nome). The collection numbers seven codices but was broken up soon after its initial discovery in 1929. Four codices, the *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, the *Synaxeis* codex, the *Letters* of *Mani, and the *Acta* codex, were housed in Berlin, while the *Homilies*, the Psalm-Book (see MANICHAEAN TEXTS: MANICHAEAN PSALM BOOK), and the *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of my Lord Mani* were acquired by the *Chester Beatty Collection in London (now Dublin). Taken as a whole, the codices represent a wealth of theological, didactic, and liturgical material from the earliest years of the Manichaean Church in *Mesopotamia in the late 3rd century. They were translated at some point (*c.* early 4th century) into a dialect of *Coptic employed in and around *Lycopolis. Some of these codices, including the *Acta* codex (comprising an early history of the Manichaean Church), and a sizeable portion of the *Letters*, were lost during the 1940s. In recent times, the work of editing and commenting on the remaining codices has accelerated. Improved editions of the Psalm-Book and the *Homilies* have recently appeared, in addition to translations of the Berlin *Kephalaia*. NJBB

ET (with comm.) I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (1995).
N. A. Pedersen, ed., *Manichaean Homilies: With a Number of Hitherto Unpublished Fragments* (2006).
J. M. Robinson, 'The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi 1929–1989', in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit, eds., *Studia Manichaica*, vol. 2 (1992), 19–62.

Manichaean texts: Tebessa Manichaean Codex A fragmentary codex of the 4th/5th centuries, one of the few surviving *Latin *Manichaean works from Late Antiquity. Discovered in a cave near Tebessa (Roman Theveste) in north-east Algeria in 1918, its Manichaean character was recognized by P. Alfaric in 1920. Apparently an epistle to a Hearer (addressed as *carissime*, cols. 12 and 24), the codex justifies the two grades in the Manichaean community—i.e. the Elect and Hearers—through the citation of New Testament proof-texts. It also offers a defence of the labours of the Elect and Hearers, borrowing heavily from a range of Pauline writings to frame the *almsgiving and *asceticism conducted within the Manichaean Church. NJBB

ed. M. Stein, ed., in *Manichaica Latina*, 3.1: Codex Thevestinus (Papyrologica Coloniensia vol. 27/3.1, 2004).
ET J. BeDuhn and G. Harrison, 'The Tebessa Codex: A Manichaean Treatise on Biblical Exegesis and Church Order', in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (1997), 33–87.
P. Alfaric, 'Un manuscript manichéen', *RevHistLittRel* 6 (1920), 62–98.
F. Decret, 'Aspects de l'Église manichéenne: remarques sur le manuscript de Tébessa', in Zumkeller, *Signum Pietatis Fs Mayer*, 123–51.

Manichaean texts from Central Asia A vast collection of manuscripts in various states of repair stemming largely from the period of protection *Manichaeans enjoyed from the late 8th century onwards under the *Uighur (Uygur) khanate and later Uygur kingdom of Kocho. The texts provide the majority of extant primary source evidence of the religion. They were discovered during a series of Prussian imperial expeditions to the *Turfan Oasis and its environs, during the late 19th–early 20th centuries. Led by such luminaries as Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq, the excavation of library caves and a host of other sites in the Oasis, in places such as Kocho, the former Uighur capital of the Oasis, and *Dunhuang in the Gansu province, yielded an array of Buddhist, Christian, and Manichaean art and manuscripts covering a broad chronological spectrum. The Manichaean texts, written in a host of languages including Middle and New *Persian, Chinese, *Sogdian, Parthian, Bactrian, Tocharian, and Turkish, are evidence for the consolidation of Manichaeism's eastern implantation during the 6th century onwards into the regions of *Central Asia. The texts cover a range of genres including liturgical writings (e.g. the Iranian Hymnals), doctrinal texts (e.g. the Chinese *Traité* edited by É. Chavannes and P. Pelliot), and *prayers and confessional formulae (e.g. the Turkish *Xwāstwānift*). This Central Asian material has given a much more complete understanding of Manichaeism in Late Antiquity as in many cases it preserves in translation writings and traditions from the earliest periods of the religion, including historical accounts of Manichaeism's origins in the form of biographies of Mani, and early histories of the Manichaean Church. Just as important as the texts, many of the Turfan fragments preserve elaborate

manuscript illumination as well as other works of art, attesting to the complex Manichaean artistic tradition described in various textual sources. NJBB

ed. (with FT and notes) É. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine', *Journal Asiatique* (Nov./Dec. 1911 and Jan./Feb. and Mar./Apr. 1913).

Xwāstwānīft, ed. J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft: Studies in Manichaeism* (Acta theologica Danica 7, 1965).

D. Durkin-Meisterernst, ed., *The Hymns to the Living Soul: Middle Persian and Parthian Texts in the Turfan Collection* (2006).

H.-J. Klimkeit, ed., *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (1993).

W. Sundermann, ed., *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (1981).

Z. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China* (2015).

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* Manicheism i. General Survey (Sundermann).

X. Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde: le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d'Asie Centrale d'après les sources primaires* (2001).

A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments* (1932).

Manlius Theodorus *See* THEODORUS MALLIUS, FLAVIUS.

Man of God of Edessa, Story of the A hagiographical *Syriac legend (*BHO* 36–42) of the 5th century about a young man of a wealthy Roman family, who on his wedding day fled to *Edessa, lived there as a beggar, and made a powerful impression on, among others, *Rabbula, the *city's powerful *bishop. His identity became known only after his death. In the *Greek version (9th cent.; *BHG* 51–6) the Man of God was called Alexios and under that name the legend reached *Latin (including Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*) and numerous medieval European literatures. WW

GEDSH s.v. Man of God of Edessa, 260–1 (Doran).

ed. (with FT) A. Amiaud, *La Légende syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu* (1889).

ET R. Doran, *Stewards of the Poor: The Man of God, Rabbula, and Hiba in Fifth-Century Edessa* (CSS 208, 2006), 1–38.

H. J. W. Drijvers, 'The Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Urban Poor', *JECS* 4 (1996), 235–48.

Mansur Commander at *Damascus, early 7th century. In 630 Heraclius I forced Mansur to repay taxes sent to Persia during the *Persian occupation. During the *Arab conquest he purportedly refused to pay *Heraclius' Arab allies and *c.*635 surrendered Damascus to *Khalid b. al-Walid. MTGH

PLRE III, Mansur.

***mansus* (*mansum, manse*)** Term denoting a small peasant holding, or a unit of assessment based on a typical peasant holding. Attested from the later 6th century, principally in *Francia. TWGF

LexMA 5 *s.v.* Hufe, 154–5 (D. Hägermann).

D. Herlihy, 'The Carolingian Mansus', *EconHR* series 2, 13 (1960), 79–89.

E. Magnou-Nortier, *Aux sources de la gestion publique*, vol. 1: *Enquête lexicographique sur 'fundus', 'villa', 'domus', 'mansus'* (1993), 123–207.

Mantai Archaeological site in north-west Sri Lanka (Ceylon), possibly the ancient port of Mantota, mentioned by *Cosmas Indicopleustes. Excavations at Mantai ceased in 1984 due to the outbreak of the Sri Lankan civil war. Publication of the 1980–4 seasons in 2013 revealed the complexities of dating the multi-period site. The site is often considered an important port for Roman traders in the Indian Ocean. From the 10th century it was engaged in *trade with *China and the Islamic world. In Late Antiquity, however, it is very unclear how closely connected the site was to anywhere except the Indian subcontinent, whence the small number of foreign Western finds may have travelled indirectly. Roman finds at the site comprise a small number of Roman coins and local imitations, two Roman beads, and a handful of potsherds. RRD

J. Carswell, S. Deraniyagala, and G. Campbell, *Mantai: A City by the Sea* (2013).

manumission Legal freeing of a slave. Various forms of manumission existed. Traditionally, Roman manumission could bestow two forms of citizenship, depending on how it was done: Roman or Latin citizenship. Freedom granted formally before a state official (*CJust* VII, 1, 4) or by a document recognized by the state (*per testamentum*) could grant Roman citizenship. Freedom granted informally in the presence of witnesses bestowed Latin citizenship. Under *Constantine I a new form of manumission, *manumissio in sacrosanctis ecclesiis* (*CJust* I, 13, 1; *CJust* I, 13, 2), which involved the Church in the process of manumission, was sanctioned by law and conferred Roman citizenship. *Justinian I subsequently legislated that all forms of manumission, formal or informal, could potentially grant Roman citizenship (*CJust* VII, 6, 1). In post-Roman north-western Europe adaptations of Roman manumission coexisted with local procedures. The frequency of manumission cannot be measured, but it seems not to have dropped during Late Antiquity and may have increased due to Christian criticism of slavery. JUB

J. Barschdorf, *Freigelassene in der Spätantike* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Antiken Welt 58, 2012).

Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World.*

Maphrian Head of the *Syriac Orthodox Church in the area that in the pre-Islamic period was part of the *Persian Empire. The office is the second highest in the Church after that of the patriarch. Although the title Maphrian (meaning 'fructifier', i.e. 'consecrator') was probably not used until about 1100, the office later designated by that name can be traced back to *Marutha of *Takrit in the 7th century. These primates sometimes styled themselves as *catholicus, to the annoyance of their *Church of the East ('*Nestorian') counterparts. The seat of the Maphrian, originally in Takrit, was transferred to *Mosul in 1156. The original maphrianate was suppressed in 1860, but the title is now used by the head of the Syrian Orthodox Church in *India. HT

GEDSH s.v. Maphrian, 264–5 (Kiraz).

J.-M. Fiey, 'Les Diocèses du "Maphrianat" syrien (629–1860)', *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974), 133–64, 331–93; 8 (1977/8), 347–78.

maps Apart from the *Madaba *mosaic map, no physical map survives from Late Antiquity. All others are copies no earlier than the 9th century.

The Peutinger Map (late 3rd cent., revised in Late Antiquity), a scroll 6.7 m (22 feet) long, now in Vienna, delineates itineraries in the Roman Empire. It shows both Pompeii (destroyed AD 79) and Constantinople (founded AD 324).

Other maps appear as book illustrations. In his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, *Macrobius provided a diagram which divided the spherical earth, oriented north, into five climate zones. Another world map, found in a manuscript of *astrological texts, is of Greek origin (possibly 3rd cent.) and shows the terrestrial world (including *Egypt, and Persia) divided into zones with celestial lines (the ecliptic, the polar circles) superimposed on it, while a continent in the southern hemisphere features the rivers of hell. The 7th-century encyclopaedist *Isidore of Seville (622/33) summarized the contents of his library in his *Etymologiae* and in the geographical part presents a simple diagram, oriented to the east, showing the three continents surrounded by the world Ocean.

How close these surviving medieval copies are to Late Antique originals cannot be determined. As Christianity spread among educated people, the earth became infused with biblical references, such as the Earthly Paradise, the allocation of the earth among the sons of Noah, and sites associated with the life of Christ. The most extreme example is the *Christian Topography* of *Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th cent.) whose map portrayed the Earth in the rectangular shape of the Tabernacle; Paradise was on the eastern side, separated by a band of the sea, under which the Four Rivers passed to emerge on the other side as the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, and Ganges. EE

J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, *History of Cartography*, vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (1987).

R. J. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (2010).

E. Edson and E. Savage-Smith, 'An Astrologer's Map: Relic of Late Antiquity', *Imago Mundi* 52 (2000), 7–29.

S. F. Johnson, *Literary Territories: Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity* (2016).

maqsura A screened area of a *mosque located near the **minbar* and the **miḥrab* and reserved for the use of the *caliph and his most intimate entourage. The origin of the *maqsura* was to protect the *caliph from assassination attempts during his participation in public prayers, but it directly contravenes the Islamic precept that all should be equal before Allah in the mosque. The most famous example of a *maqsura* still extant is found in the Great Mosque of *Cordoba. EL

N. N. N. Khoury, 'The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century', *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 80–98.

Mar (fem. Mart) Literally *Syriac for 'my master'. Honorific used especially as a title for native saints or *bishops. The same word (in a different form) can refer also to God. When stories of Syriac saints were translated into other Eastern Christian languages, the title was often carried over. ACMc

Mara bar Serapion, Letter of The *Letter* is preserved in a single *Syriac manuscript. The purported author is among a group from *Samosata (in Commagene) being held in exile by the Romans. Mara addresses his young son Serapion and admonishes him to seek wisdom rather than worldly prosperity. He cites Socrates, Pythagoras, and the 'wise king' of the Jews as examples. The letter's historicity and date remain disputed, with estimates ranging from the 70s of the 1st century AD to the 4th century. A setting in the late 2nd or early 3rd century seems most probable. UP

GEDSH s.v. Mara bar Serapion, Letter of, p. 266 (Van Rompay).

ed. W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum* (1855), 43–38, 70–6 (ET).

ed. A. Merz and T. Tieleman, *The Letter of Mara bar Serapion in Context* (2012).

GT and study F. Schulthess, 'Der Brief des Mara bar Sarapion. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der syrischen Litteratur', *ZDMG* 51 (1897), 365–91.

Maraş (Kahrmanmarash) (Turkey) Ancient and modern *city on the Euphrates. Various Late Roman architectural *sculpture and coin *hoards have been found and also the remains of a *bridge on the *Antioch road. The *Umayyads formed a new settlement in the

valley as a forward base for a chain of garrisons (Thughur) commanding access to the central plateau of *Anatolia and the Arab–Byzantine *frontier. This settlement pattern resembles that at *Qinnasrin, the Umayyad settlement near ancient *Chalcis.

Maraş is sometimes identified with Germanicea, a city on the borders of *Cilicia, *Syria, and *Cappadocia whose *bishop under *Constantine I was improperly translated to *Antioch (*Theodoret, *HE* II, 20) and is mentioned by *Theophanes as involved in the campaigns of *Heraclius against *Shahrwaraz in 626 (AM 6116). ACFC; OPN

RE suppl. IX (1962), 700–72.
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 81–6 (Maraş).
Millar, *RNE* 228–9.
D. Whitcomb, 'Letter from the Field: In Search of Old Mar'ash', *The Oriental Institute News & Notes* 171 (2001), 8–10.

marble Late Antique *architects, like their classical predecessors, continued to use marble in ostentatious buildings and imitated it in other materials where it was not available. It also continued to be used for free-standing *sculpture at least into the 5th century, e.g. at *Aphrodisias. Church *furniture was often made from marble, too. The use of marble as a building stone was a rare luxury, e.g. at the *Golden Gate of *Constantinople. Normally, marble was employed in building for load-bearing parts such as columns, epistyles, and *door jambs that required strength, workability, and beauty. In addition, marble slabs were used for highly prized flooring (and also in the form of *opus sectile) and for wall revetment, e.g. in the Church of the *Holy Wisdom at Constantinople, the poetic description of which by *Paul the *Silentiary illustrates how educated men might be connoisseurs of rare marbles. *Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep*. II, 2, 7) is defensive about the absence of precious marbles (which might promote coolness) from the walls of the *frigidarium* in the *baths at his *villa.

The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (31) lists nineteen varieties of marble. The *quarries which were the source of many coloured marbles are easily recognizable, but identifying the provenance of white marbles often depends on the form and the find spot of an artefact in combination with art historical probability, and may require archaeometrical analysis. Coloured marble was used mainly for wall revetment, sometimes for flooring (including opus sectile), and occasionally for items of liturgical furniture, e.g. verde antico for templon posts and *ambos. Structural elements normally consisted of white marble, and the best quality was supplied by the island of *Proconnesus in the Sea of *Marmara, by *Docimium on the High Plateau of central *Anatolian, and by *Sivec in the highlands of northern *Macedonia. From the time of *Theodosius I onwards all three of these *quarries provided the same style of super-regional products of the same high standard to areas well beyond their immediate region; their organizations were probably connected to one another, possibly through the administration of the imperial *estates which had a long-standing stake in quarrying and was the single most important client. Columns and column *capitals and other architectural *sculpture were exported in a quarry-finished condition, as is apparent from the Church Wreck at *Marzamemi. The variations in size and shape of such artefacts suggest that they were custom-made to the specifications of clients, whereas *sarcophagi have been found with uncarved spaces where the faces of the deceased might be added as required. Architectural sculpture was employed in imperial and other prestigious building projects, and was imitated in other materials by various local workshops when marble was not available.

Large and heavy marbles were not normally exported from the highlands to the Mediterranean or vice versa, but polychrome slabs and white pilasters from Docimium which could travel more easily on carts and/or *pack animals occur in wall revetment throughout the Mediterranean basin and even in the *Balkan mountains, e.g. at *Caričin Grad/Justiniana Prima. In contrast, liturgical furniture that could also have been imported with relative ease was more often acquired locally, and various regions developed a formal repertoire of their own. Docimium set the example for many local workshops of Central Anatolia, Proconnesus and Constantinople produced characteristic furnishings, and Macedonia as well as coastal *Caria each adhered to their own local traditions.

There may be a connection between the local character of Carian furnishings and the late date of numerous Carian churches dating from the second half of the 6th century, for instance at *Miletus. The exploitation of Proconnesian marble ceased in the mid-6th century, when the building boom under *Justinian I subsided. Other churches in the later period were built with reused marble *spolia, for instance the *Basilica of S. Eufrasius at *Poreč, S. Euphemia at *Grado, and S. *Demetrius at *Thessalonica. The spolia had various forms and shapes, and their combination compares to earlier examples at *Rome, where a variety of marble spolia had been reused since the time of *Constantine I. In the East, such variety had always been customary, either from the use of spolia, as at the Church of the Apostles in *Anazarbus, or *ex novo*, as at Docimium and Constantinople from the 4th century onwards. PhN

RAC 24 (2012) *s.v.* Marmor, 208–46 (P. Liverani).
S. M. Grillo and W. Prochaska, 'A New Method for the Determination of the Provenance of White Marbles by

Chemical Analysis of Inclusion Fluids', *Archaeometry* 52 (2010), I 59–82.
P. Niewöhner, 'Production and Distribution of Docimian Marble in the Theodosian Age', in I. Jacobs, ed., *Production and Prosperity in the Theodosian Age* (2014), 251–72.
P. Pensabene, 'Depositi e magazzini di marmi a Porto e Ostia in epoca tardo-antica', in *Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* 14 (2006), 561–88.
J.-P. Sodini, 'Le Commerce des marbres dans la Méditerranée (4e–7e s.)', in J. M. Gurt, ed., *5 Reunió d'arqueologia cristiana hispànica* (2000), 423–48.
H. Dodge and B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers and Lectures of J. B. Ward-Perkins* (British School at Rome monographs 6, 1992).

Marcella (d. 410) Roman aristocrat who adopted the ascetic life as a *widow, the first Roman noblewoman to do so, according to her friend *Jerome, who addressed many *letters to her and wrote an encomium after her death, soon after the 410 Sack of *Rome (*ep.* 127). LHCG

PLRE I, Marcella 2.
PCBE II, Marcella 1.
Cain, *Letters of Jerome*, ch. 3.

Marcellinus (d. 468) Roman general and **patricius*. After his friend *Aëtius was assassinated in 454, he rebelled against *Valentinian III, seized *Dalmatia, and apparently ruled it independently till 468. He defeated the *Vandals in *Sicily (461 or 465) and, as a commander in the imperial expedition of 468, in *Sardinia, but was then murdered in Sicily. He was a *pagan. ADL

PLRE II, Marcellinus 6.
MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, 17–67.

Marcellinus Comes (*c.*480–*c.*540) Imperial official of military background who earned his honorary *title of **comes* from his years serving the future *Emperor *Justinian I (reigned 527–65) but during the reign of Justinian's uncle *Justin I (reigned 518–27). Marcellinus came from the same *Balkan background as Justin's family, enjoyed a career as an army clerk there, and from *c.*500 settled in *Constantinople. He wrote (i) a four-volume work on chronology and topography (his description of the foundation of *Dara in 507 being its only surviving fragment); (ii) a work on Constantinople and *Jerusalem (nothing extant); (iii) a *Chronicle* (extant in full) which continued that of *Jerome from 379 to 518 and was written shortly after 518. Marcellinus updated his chronicle in 534 to honour the Roman victory over the *Vandals in *Africa. The *Chronicle* follows the pattern of Jerome in including notices of natural phenomena and famous church writers, but most entries cover events in the Balkans (successive invasions of *Goths, *Huns, and *Bulgars) and Constantinople (construction of *buildings, births, marriages, *accessions, and deaths of emperors and other members of the imperial family). Many of these are first-hand eyewitness accounts of events such as the *Nika Riot in 532. Events are set out annually by *consuls and *indictions and a narrow range of sources is deployed. Marcellinus' local audience of Illyrians and other *Latin speakers in Constantinople resonated with his emphasis on the local and personal impact of invasions, the significance of strong military action, support for orthodox *bishops and emperors (*Theodosius I and *Marcian but not *Anastasius I), as well as for the see of *Rome, and the civic and ceremonial life of the capital. Much scholarly attention has been devoted to interpreting his statement that the *fall of the Western Roman Empire occurred with the deposition of the Emperor *Romulus in 476. An anonymous continuation of the chronicle from 535 to the early 550s (but extant only to 548), also written in Constantinople, is focused mainly on events in *Italy. Marcellinus' *Chronicle* was first used by *Jordanes in *c.*551 and all his works were known to *Cassiodorus whose recommendation ensured the chronicle's regular and widespread copying in later centuries. BC

PLRE II, Marcellinus 9.
CPL 2270–1:
ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* II (MGH Auct. Ant. 11), 37–104.
ET (with comm.) B. Croke (Byzantina Australiensia 7, 1995).
B. Croke, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle* (2001).
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 227–35.

Marcellus One of the **judices pedanei* under *Justinian I, and *Comes of the **excubitores*. He spied on *John the Cappadocian for *Theodora (541), and investigated a conspiracy against Justinian, *Belisarius, and himself (549). In 552, he failed to persuade Pope *Vigilius to return to *Constantinople from *Chalcedon. PNB

PLRE III, Marcellus 3.

Marcellus Empiricus Roman civil servant (*Magister Officiorum 394–5; the name Empiricus is later) and medical author from *Bordeaux, and a contemporary of *Ausonius, with whom his relationship is unclear. Marcellus wrote in 408 a treatise *De Medicamentis* in verse (with a prose preface), dedicated to his sons. In his preface, he greets not only Ausonius but also a certain Eutropius and *Symmachus' correspondent Siburius. Not all his sources are identified or identifiable, but he draws on classical *Latin texts (e.g. *Pliny the Elder) as well as more obscure medical traditions (folk *medicine). Indeed, some of the remedies he advocates can be related to *physica remedia* and thus to *magic. His work is deeply (and probably deliberately) grounded in a Gallic context, but displays many exotic Mediterranean

remedies. Whether he was a Christian or not is still unclear. CP

PLRE I, Marcellus 7.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 8 (2006), 299 *s.n.* Marcellus 8 (A. Touwaide).

ed. M. Niedermann, J. Kollesch, E. Liechtenhan, D. Nickel, *Marcellus. Über Heilmittel*, 2 vols. (CML V, 1968).

Marcellus of Ancyra (d. 374) *Bishop of Ancyra of *Galatia (mod. *Ankara) from *c.*314; one of the leading bishops of the generation following the Great *Persecution, and one of the longest-lived protagonists of the Arian controversy. He presided over the Synod of Ancyra (314), which begins the tradition of Eastern *canon law, laying down four stages of public penance for apostasy and sexual sins. He spoke against *Arius at the *Council of *Nicaea (325) and afterwards wrote *Contra Asterium* against the theology of Arius' supporters, which was in turn indicted for *heresy by *Eusebius of *Caesarea in his *Contra Marcellum*. Deposed by a synod of his enemies in front of *Constantine I at *Constantinople in 336, he was granted a return after Constantine's death the following year, but was deposed again by 339. He appealed to Julius of *Rome in person together with *Athanasius of *Alexandria and other exiles and was accepted into communion by a synod in Rome in 341, and by the Western rump of the intended ecumenical Synod of *Serdica in 343, but not by the *bishops of *Constantius II's regions. Thereafter Marcellus withdrew from public life. *Basil of *Caesarea tried unsuccessfully to have him condemned by Athanasius and *Damasus of Rome, but he died at peace with both. SP

CPG 2800–06: ed. M. Vinzent (annotated with ET, 1997).

Canons of Council of Ancyra (314): ed. (with FT and study), Hefele and Leclercq I/2, 298–326.

S. Parvis, *Marcellus of Ancyra and the Lost Years of the Arian Controversy 325—345* (2006).

Marcellus the Centurion Roman centurion venerated as a *martyr, especially at Leon in *Spain. Several versions of his *martyr passion survive (*BHL* 5253–5). They agree in providing a *report of proceedings at Marcellus' two trials. On 21 July 298, at a military celebration, probably of the **natalis* of the *Emperor *Maximian, Marcellus threw down his *belt and vine-staff and repudiated his military *oath. One version places this event at Leon. He was interrogated by the *Praeses and then sent under guard to *Tingi (mod. Tangier) to be tried on the basis of written *acta* by a judge *agens vice Praefecto Praetorio*. He was beheaded at Tingi on 30 October 298. OPN

Passio: ed. (provisionally) H. Delehaye *AnBoll* 41 (1923), 260–7.

On the text: F. Masai, *Scriptorium* 20 (1966), 11–30.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 108–10, 357.

HLL 5, section 595.

Marcian (392–457) Eastern *emperor 450–7. Born into a military family of *Balkan origin, he pursued a career in the *army. The ranks of tribune and **domesticus* which he achieved did not make him an obvious contender to succeed *Theodosius II as emperor, which is why he has often been seen as the candidate of the influential general *Aspar under whom he had served in the army. However, another powerful general, Flavius *Zeno, may also have played a part in his elevation (25 August 450). Although dynastic continuity was provided by Marcian's marriage to Theodosius II's sister, the consecrated *virgin *Pulcheria, his *accession initiated significant policy changes, reflected in the prompt execution of the *eunuch *Chrysaphius, a dominant influence during Theodosius' final decade. The new emperor discontinued annual payments to *Attila and announced another Œcumenical *Council of the Church to reconsider the outcomes of the controversial second 'Robber' Council of *Ephesus of 449. The ensuing council, at *Chalcedon (451), proved to be a landmark in ecclesiastical affairs and earned Marcian acclamation as a 'new Constantine', but the theological definition failed to win the backing of those whom modern scholarship terms *Miaphysites, so Marcian had to use military force to install Chalcedonian *bishops in some major Eastern sees. The unexpected death of Attila in 453 eased pressure on the Danube *frontier, while there was modest military success against *Arab raiders and tribesmen in southern *Egypt; Marcian was responsible for construction of a new *forum with a *victory monument in *Constantinople, dedicated by *Tatianus, the *Praefectus Urbi. Although, in a move no doubt designed to win support for his new regime, he remitted tax arrears at his accession (*NovMarc* 2), and abolished the **follis* (a tax on senatorial land), and the ending of payments to Attila allowed the imperial treasury to accumulate a healthy reserve in excess of 100,000 lb of *gold by his reign's end (Lydus, *Mag.* 3.43). *Euphemia, Marcian's daughter by an earlier marriage, married *Anthemius (Western emperor, 467–72). Marcian died in Constantinople on 27 January 457. ADL

PLRE II, Marcianus 8.

NovMarc, ed. P. Meyer and Th. Mommsen (1905).

ET Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 562–7.

C. Zuckerman, 'L'Empire d'orient et les Huns: notes sur Priscus', *TM* 12 (1994), 159–82, at 169–76.

B. Croke, 'The Date and Circumstances of Marcian's Decease, AD 457', *Byzantion* 58 (1978), 5–9.

Janin, *CPByz* 84–5.

Marcian of Heraclea (*c.*400) Geographer from *Pontus. Author of four books of *geography, and compiler of geographical works. *Periplus of the Outer*

Sea survives in part: Book I gives 'sailing courses' down the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean and around its shores, Book II describes the northern and western oceans. Marcian built on *Ptolemy, but used distances in stades instead of coordinates of latitude and longitude. His other works, mostly lost, were an epitome of the *Geography* of Artemidorus of *Ephesus (2nd cent. BC), an epitome of *Periplus of the Inner Sea* by Menippus of *Pergamum (*c.*25 BC), and a list of distances of *cities from *Rome. Fragments are quoted in *Stephanus of *Byzantium's *Ethnica* (early 6th cent.). EE

PLRE I, Marcianus 13.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 8 (2006) *s.n.* Marcianus 1, 304–5 (H. A. Gärtner).

Müller, *GGM* vol. 1, 515–82.

ET (with comm.) W. H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea, East and West, and of the Great Islands Therein* (1927).

Marcianopolis (mod. Devnia, Bulgaria) Capital of *Moesia Inferior, founded under Trajan and named after his sister. It was unsuccessfully besieged by the *Goths in 248 and served as base for *Decius and *Valens in their campaigns against them. It had an imperial munitions factory (*see FABRICAE*). The *Huns sacked Marcianopolis in 447 and *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth resided there in 477 (*Malchus frag. 18, 2 Blockley = 15 Müller *FHG*). It flourished under *Anastasius I and *Justinian I, but the *Avars sacked it in the late 6th century. *Maurice's general *Peter visited it while campaigning against them.

The city had a fortified area of about 70 ha (*c.*173 acres). Its remains include a 4th-century house with *mosaics, at least four Christian *basilicas, one of them within a 3rd-century amphitheatre, and 5th-century painted tombs. After a long period of abandonment, a fortified settlement appeared around the amphitheatre in the 9th–10th centuries. ER

RE 14/2 (1930), 1505–11 (Fluss).

TIR K 35/2: Philippopolis (2012), 213–17.

R. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity* (1975), 154–6, 267–8.

G. Martin, *Dexipp von Athen* (2006), 17.

A. Minčev, 'Marcianopolis Christiana', in V. Gjuzelev and R. Pillinger, eds., *Das Christentum in Bulgarien* (1987), 297–306.

A. Minčev, 'The "House of Antiope"', in L. Ruseva-Slokoska et al., eds., *The Roman and Late Roman City* (2002), 245–59.

Wendel, *Karasura III* (2005), 58ff.; 283.

Marcianus, Flavius Son of the Western *Emperor *Anthemius, and, as husband of *Leontia, son-in-law of *Leo I and *Verina. In 475–6, Marcianus supported *Basiliscus' rebellion against *Zeno. In 479, backed by *Theoderic Strabo and others, he asserted his right to the *purple by rebelling against Zeno and attacking the *Great Palace, but was repressed by *Illus and his Isaurians, forcibly ordained, and exiled to *Caesarea of *Cappadocia. When in turn Illus and *Leontius revolted against Zeno in 484, Illus sent Marcian to Italy to seek help from *Odoacer. OPN

PLRE II, Marcianus 17.

Haarer, *Anastasius*, 19–20.

Bury, *Theodosius to Justinian*, vol. 1, 389–97.

Marcionites Followers of Marcion (d. 160), a wealthy shipping *merchant from *Sinope on the Black Sea, who founded his own Church after splitting with the Christian churches in *Rome (*c.*144/5). Marcion's *Antitheses* set examples of the evil, cruel God in the Jewish scriptures over against the Gospel of S. Luke (Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, I, 19, 4) to demonstrate that the beneficent God revealed in Jesus was not identical to the Creator. As evidence of their disdain for the God who gave the Law, Marcionites refused to eat meat or procreate, and they fasted on the Sabbath. Marcion edited S. Luke's Gospel and a commonly used collection of ten Pauline *letters to remove the corruptions he believed had been introduced by followers of the Creator. Along with a literal reading of the Jewish scriptures, this revised Gospel and letters became canonical in Marcionite churches. The organization (*bishops, presbyters) and sacraments of those churches were identical with those of orthodox churches. Apelles (*c.*170), Marcion's most famous disciple, initially rejected the Jewish scriptures as illogical fables.

The Marcionites had many *martyrs (*Eusebius, *HE* V, 16, 21; cf. VII, 12; IV, 15, 46 and *Passion of S. *Pionius*, 21, 5; Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine*, 10, 3). An *inscription records the construction in AD 318 of a Marcionite '*synagoge*' at Lebaba (mod. Deir 'Ali) near *Damascus (*OGIS* II, 608), but *Constantine I ordered the confiscation of Marcionite conventicles (*VCon* III, 64–5). Nevertheless *Cyril of *Jerusalem (*Catechetical Lecture*, 18, 26) was concerned that members of his flock might stray into a Marcionite church by mistake, and in the late 4th century *Epiphanius of *Salamis (*Panarion*, 42, 1, 2) recorded that there were Marcionites in *Rome, *Palestine, *Arabia, *Syria, *Cyprus, the *Thebaid, and the *Persian Empire. *Theodoret told Pope *Leo I (*ep.* 113) that in 26 years as Bishop of *Cyrrhus he had converted over 1,000 Marcionites; another letter (*ep.* 81) gives the figure as eight *villages and a letter to the monks of *Constantinople (*ep.* 145) claims he baptized 10,000.

As late as 695 Marcionites were among the heretics for whose reconciliation to the Church the *Quinisext Council made provision (*Canon*, 95). PP; OPN

EncEC I, 523–4.

S. Moll, *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (WUNT 250, 2010).

H. Räisänen, 'Marcion', in A. Marjanen and P. Luomanen, eds., *Companion to Second-Century 'Heretics'* (2008), 100–24.

Marcomanni Germanic tribe belonging originally to the Elbe cultural grouping, and famous for fighting two wars against Marcus Aurelius in 166–73 and 177–80 (e.g. *Ammianus, XXIX, 6, 1; cf. *Claudian, *De Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, 367–79). The Marcomanni threatened *Thessalonica under *Valerian (*Zosimus, I, 29, 2) but *Gallienus granted part of *Pannonia to their King Attalus by treaty (**Epitome de Caesaribus*, 33, 1; cf. Aurelius *Victor, 33, 6). They were defeated under the *Tetrarchy (Aurelius Victor, 39, 43). Ambrose corresponded with a Marcomannic queen called *Fritigil, but references to the Marcomanni by writers such as *Jerome (*ep*. 60, 16) and *Isidore of *Seville, *Etymologiae*, IX, 2, 97) may owe much to literary convention. In the 5th century there were various corps of the Roman *army named after the Marcomanni stationed in the field army (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *occ.* VI, 65), in *Libya (*Synesius, *ep*. 11), and in *Italy (*Notitia occ.* V, 198–9; VII, 38), as well as a Tribunus Gentis Marcomannorum commanding native troops in *Pannonia on the Danube *frontier (*Notitia occ.* XXXIV, 24). TF; OPN

TIR M-33 Praha (1986) *s.n.* Marcoman(n)i, 55–8.

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Markomannen, XIX (2001), 290–322 (Kehne, Tejral).

Marculf, Formulary of A collection of 92 *formulae, the longest and most varied of those which have survived from the Frankish kingdoms, compiled in the second half of the 7th century by a certain Marculf, possibly a monk at *S. Denis. Book I includes model royal *charters, and Book II private charters. It provides crucial evidence for the use of types of document which have not themselves survived. TWGF

ed. K. Zeumer, MGH Leg. V (1886).

ed. A. Uddholm, *Marculfi Formularum Libri Duo* (1962).

ET (annotated) A. Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf* (TTH 46, 2008).

A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c.500–1000* (2009).

Mardin (Gk. Margdis) Modern Turkish town occupying the site of a fortress on the Roman Eastern *frontier, spectacularly situated on an escarpment overlooking the Mesopotamian Plain. *Ammianus Marcellinus (XIX, 9, 4) calls it Maride. It was part of the defence line between *Dara and *Amida in the 6th century and was rebuilt by Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed*. II, 4, 14). EKK

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 201–14 (medieval etc.).

S. Aydın et al., *Mardin Aşiret Cemaat Devlet* (2000).

Mareotis *Greek toponym for a lake, district, and town located south of *Alexandria. The freshwater lake provided a vital link between *Egypt and the Mediterranean, connecting Alexandria to the Canopic branch of the *Nile by way of canals; its *harbours were transshipment points for produce, materials, and goods from the Nile Valley and beyond. It was also an important transfer point for people on *pilgrimage to the monumental *martyrium complex, at *Abu Mina, and the monks of *Nitria, *Kellia, *Scetis, and the Nile Valley.

The lake's marshes had a reputation for concealing bandits (Achilles Tatius, IV, 12; *Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, 1, 14, *Eusebius, *HE* VII, 11, 16), and rich Alexandrians reportedly hid there to avoid paying tribute after the *Arab conquest (*John of *Nikiu, *Chron.* 120, 69).

Settlement on the north shore of the lake was largely residential, an extension of suburban Alexandria. On the south shore and what is now Mareotis Island were commercial, industrial, and agricultural activities, including the manufacture of *pottery and *glass, and the production and processing of *wine, *olive oil, linen *textiles, and *papyrus (**Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, Epilogue 10). Extensive archaeological remains of a 6th–8th-century *harbour town on the south shore of the western arm of the lake have long been identified as ancient Mareotis/Marea but may instead (or also) be Philoxenite, a stopping-place for pilgrims. ERO

Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 4, 1593–1603.

L. Blue and E. Khalil, eds., *A Multidisciplinary Approach to Alexandria's Economic Past* (BAR IntSer 2285, 2011).

L. Blue and E. Khalil, eds., *Lake Mareotis: Reconstructing the Past* (BAR IntSer 2113; 2010),

H. Szymanska and K. Babraj, eds., *Marea*, vol. 1: *Byzantine Marea: Excavations in 2000–2003 and 2006* (2008).

Marga Region whose name means 'the meadow', north-east of *Mosul, east of the Great Zab. A *Miaphysite bishopric is attested in 595 at Gomel. A *diocese of the *Church of the East is not mentioned before the mid-8th century, when there was a *bishop dependent on *Adiabene; formerly, it was probably a part of Beth-Nuhadra.

*Syriac sources give evidence of the vitality of pagan cults until the 7th century. *Thomas, *Bishop of Marga *c.*840, describes numerous *monasteries reformed according to the rule of *Abraham (the Great) of Kashkar. They were important centres for training, especially for future leaders of the east Syrian communities, such as the monasteries of *Bar 'Idta or Mar Giwargis. From Beth-'Abē, established in the beginning of the 7th century, many missionaries went to the eastern and northern lands; at Ba Shosh, Babai the Musician (who 'had a high sweet voice like a trumpet') set up a school of *liturgy, and Abraham bar Dashandad, a century later, educated a generation of scholars in Hellenic *paideia*. CJ

ed. (with ET and introd.) E. A. Budge, *The Book of Governors by Thomas of Marga*, 2 vols. (1893).

Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. 1, 225–303.
F. Jullien, *Le Monachisme en Perse: la réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient* (CSCO 622, Subsidia 121, 2008).

marginal land Mountain uplands, boggy lowlands, desert margins, islands, and coastal areas could not be exploited for arable *farming. *Hunting and fishing were the best ways to exploit marshy and woody ground, though such tracts also provided wild edible plants and berries including numerous medicinal and herbaceous plants, such as purslane (*Dioscorides, 2, 150). Mediterranean islands that were small, treeless, and waterless were used to graze *sheep and goats; water was carried or supplied by *cisterns and such animals could even tolerate some seawater.

*Irrigation often made marginal land, such as the *Limestone Massif of northern *Syria in the 4th–6th centuries, available for farming. Dry lands in North *Africa and the East were brought into cultivation, by using cisterns, dams, and terraces, and directing seasonal surface water, such as seasonal runoff. Floodwater runoff watered *fruit and tree crops throughout the *Negev in southern *Palestine and contributed to the expansion of settlement there. The capturing of groundwater resources in wells and **qanats* was especially vital to the development of the desert margins of *Arabia and *Syria and the diffusion of water-lifting technologies in the Mediterranean allowed cultivation of wider areas than previously possible. MD

Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth*.

Margus (Margo) Roman *city and river (mod. Morava, Serbia). In 285 a battle on the Margus between *Diocletian and *Carinus led to the latter's death and completed Diocletian's rise to power (*NEDC* 50). *Priscus describes the *Huns' breach in 442 of an important treaty in retaliation against the *Bishop of Margus who had looted their ancestral graves. ABA

O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (1973).

Mari, Mar (*c.*2nd cent.) Said to have been one of the 70 disciples of Jesus and a missionary to *Mesopotamia and the Persian Empire. His *Life* (*BHO* 610), written in the 7th century, continues the *Teaching of *Addai* and represents the ecclesiastical administration of its own time as the context of his mission. AHa

GEDSH 268 *s.n.* Mari, Acts of (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 289.
BHO 610, ed. (with ET) A. Harrak, *The Acts of Mar Mari the Apostle* (2005).
ed. (with FT) C. and J. Jullien (CSCO 602–3, Scr. syr. 234–5, 2003).

Marib City of southern *Arabia (Yemen) in a transition zone between irrigable hills and desert. It is noted for having sophisticated *irrigation works beginning in *c.* the 3rd millennium BC. The capital of the *Sabaean kingdom from the 8th century BC, it flourished 7th–1st centuries BC thanks to the *incense trade from *south Arabia to the Mediterranean; this is attested by the many Sabaic *inscriptions and remains of walls, temples, and irrigation works. The city withstood Roman invasion in 25–24 BC, but damage to its irrigation network may have inaugurated some decline; Marib remained important, but other south Arabian kingdoms, notably *Himyar, usurped its power by the 1st century AD.

Local inscriptions record serious dam bursts and emergency repairs in the 4th–6th centuries; topographical survey reveals further flooding in the late 6th century, with a possible final, unrepaired burst in the early 7th century. The *Qur'ān (34: 16) describes the flood and subsequent desolation. *Arabic literature cites the breaking of Marib's dam as the impulse for legendary Arabian migrations: it is unclear to which dam-break these stories refer. In the Islamic period, Marib was inhabited, but only called a *qarya* (Ar. village). PAW

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Ma'rib (Müller).
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).
J. Schmidt et al., *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen* (1991–3).

Marina (403–49) Youngest sister of *Theodosius II and *Pulcheria. She adopted virginity with her sisters, visited *holy men, and owned property in *Constantinople. KGH

PLRE II, 723 Marina 1.
Holum, *Empresses.*

Marinus (early 5th cent.–*c.*490) Marinus was born in *Neapolis in *Palestine, trained as a *rhetorician, and lived as a *Samaritan until converted to *paganism (*Damascius, *VIsidori*, 97A). Sometime in the late 450s or early 460s he travelled to *Athens to study under *Proclus and stayed on as a teacher in the *school after completing his training. Marinus instructed *Isidore in Aristotelian *philosophy and *Damascius in *mathematics and *geometry. He wrote commentaries on Plato's *Parmenides* and *Philebus*, though he chose to destroy the latter before its publication after Isidore criticized it. His extant works include an introduction to *Euclid's *Elements* and a prose biography of Proclus (a verse biography of Proclus has been lost). Marinus was plagued by ill-health throughout his later life and Proclus was so worried about Marinus' ability to sustain Athenian Platonic teaching that he tried to convince Isidore to serve as his successor in Marinus' place. Isidore declined and Marinus took over as *Diadochus of the Athenian *Neoplatonic school following Proclus' death in 485. Marinus proved to be a divisive leader. He clashed with *Theagenes, the school's most important political supporter, and was once forced into exile in

*Epidaurus (Damascius, *VIsidori*, 101C). He was succeeded as head by Isidore, though Isidore left Athens soon after. EW

PLRE II, Marinus 3.

ed. R. Masullo (with comm., introd., and IT), *Marino di Neapoli: Vita di Proclo* (1985).

ed. J. L. Heiberg and H. Menge, *Euclidis Opera Omni*, vol. 6: *Euclidis Data cum Commentario Marini et Scholiis Antiquis* (1896), 234–569.

H. J. Blumenthal, 'Marinus' *Life of Proclus*: Neo-Platonist Biography', *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 471–93.

K. Hult, 'Marinus the Samaritan: A Study of *Vit. Isid.* Fr. 141', *ClassMed* 43 (1993), 163–75.

Marinus the Syrian As a career official in the *Scrinia, he introduced the office of **vindex* to regulate civic finances and tax collection. After effective service in financial offices, he was *Praefectus Praetorio *c.*512/15, under *Anastasius I, whose *Miaphysite sympathies he shared, and again in 519. According to *John Malalas (XVI, 16), in 515 he employed sulphur incendiaries devised by an Athenian *philosopher called Proclus to defeat the *fleet of the rebel *Vitalian then besieging *Constantinople. He allegedly frescoed a *bathhouse with the life-story of *Justin I, who in 519 dismissed him from office. OPN; FKH

Jones, *LRE* 235.

PLRE II, Marinus 7.

Haarer, *Anastasius.*

Marius M. Aurelius Marius. A former blacksmith proclaimed *Augustus in 268/9 by troops at *Mainz after *Postumus was murdered, he survived long enough to issue coins. The **Historia Augusta* wittily claims he was killed with a sword he had forged himself. *Victorinus succeeded him. OPN

PLRE I, Marius 4.

Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*, 35, 177–8.

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 265–6.

Marius Mercator (*fl.* 420) Latin Christian from *Italy or *Africa who wrote anti-heretical treatises and translated *Greek texts into *Latin. In *Rome he wrote two works against *Pelagius (418) which he sent to *Augustine, and in a *monastery in *Thrace he compiled condemnations and refutations of the Pelagians (429). He also wrote against *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. Only a selection of his writings survives, mostly his own Latin translations and refutations of some of *Nestorius' Greek *letters, *sermons, and treatises, and of the proceedings of part of the *Council of *Ephesus. These were collected and circulated about a century after his death, and survive in a single manuscript (Cod. Vat. Pal. 234). SJL-R

PCBE II/2, Mercator.

PL 48, reprinting J. Garnier (1673).

E. Schwartz, *ACO* I, 5, 1, 5–215.

GT C. Konoppa, *Die Werke des Marius Mercator: Übersetzung und Kommentierung seiner Schriften* (2005).

S. Prete, *Mario Mercatore polemista antipelagiano* (1958).

Marius of Avenches (?530/1–*c.*592) Bishop of Avenches, and latterly Lausanne, from 574. Marius wrote an important *chronicle which continued that of *Prosper from 455 to 581. Its earlier entries are generally sparse, but offer much useful information, particularly about the *Burgundian kingdom, and become fuller from the 530s onwards. Marius' metrical *epitaph, known only from its transcription into a chronicle of the bishops of Lausanne of 1235, discloses that he was from an *aristocratic *Autun family, and entered the Church at an early age. As well as exhibiting the more familiar episcopal virtues, he manufactured his own liturgical vessels. BC; STL

PLRE III, Marius 1.

PCBE IV/2, Marius 3.

Epitaph, ed. G. Waitz, in MGH SS 24 (1879), 795.

WORKS

ed. T. Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* II (MGH. Auct. Ant. 11, 1894), 225–40.

FT (with text and comm.) J. Favrod, *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (455–581)* (1991).

STUDIES

J. Favrod, 'Les Sources et la chronologie de Marius d'Avenches', *Francia* 17 (1990), 1–22.

Marius Victorinus (*c.*280–*c.*363) Renowned **rhetor* at *Rome of incisive philosophical abilities, who composed theological treatises and biblical commentaries after his *conversion to Christianity.

Victorinus' own writings contain almost no biographical hints. Born in *Africa, he taught rhetoric in Rome during the reign of the *Emperor *Constantius II, received a statue in the Forum Trajani (*Jerome, *Chron.* 239e Helm), and became a Christian 'in extreme old age' (Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 101), which must have occurred before mid-362 since he resigned as a teacher of rhetoric in the wake of *Julian's legislation against Christian teachers (*Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII, 5). Long interested in Christianity, his eventual public *baptism at a church in Rome aroused much popular interest and was cited prominently as a model by Augustine for his own *conversion (Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII, 2–5).

A group of rhetorical and grammatical treatises probably date from his pre-Christian period. An *Ars Grammatica* in four books bears strong manuscript evidence of being a corrupt compilation of his own work (Keil, 3, 6–31, 12) with that of Aelius Festus Aphthonius

de metris omnibus (Keil, 31, 12–173, 32, with explicit attribution at Keil, 173.32), an anonymous text on Horatian metre (Keil, 174, 1–183, 21), and a brief glossary of key terms (Keil, 183, 22–184, 14), the latter two possibly by Victorinus. Extant works on rhetoric include a commentary on Cicero's *On Invention* and a treatise *On Definitions*; the scope and nature of other works, including a commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, an *On Hypothetical Syllogisms*, and a translation of *Porphyry's *Introduction*, may be discerned to varying degrees from *Boethius, *Cassiodorus, and *Martianus Capella.

Soon after his *conversion he made an important, if not entirely influential, contribution to the *Arian controversy with responses to *letters of a (probably invented) Arian named Candidus, four books *Against Arius*, a short pamphlet *On the Necessity of Accepting the Homoousion*, and three theological hymns. These exhibit a fascinating application of *Neoplatonic doctrine to the Christian theological debate, in particular in the adoption of the triad Being–Mind–Life and in the articulation of the Trinity in terms of ontological predominance (each person of the Trinity possesses all three elements of the triad while distinctively typifying one of them). While Augustine records that Victorinus had translated many 'books of the Platonists', significant debate remains on the precise relationship between his theology and the thought of *Plotinus, Porphyry, and the anonymous *Commentary on the Parmenides* (often attributed to Porphyry). Possibly after producing his anti-Arian writings, Victorinus composed commentaries of a rather elementary nature on several epistles of Paul; those on Ephesians, Galatians, and Philippians are extant.His granddaughter's *epitaph commemorates him (*CIL* VI, 31934). APJ

PLRE I, Victorinus 11.
PCBE II/2, Victorinus 1.
HLL 5, section 564.
CPL 94–999.
ed. H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini: Scriptores Artis Metricae* (1874), vol. 6, 1–184.
ed. P. Henry and P. Hadot (annotated with FT), *Marius Victorinus: Traités Théologiques sur la Trinité*, 2 vols. (SC 68–69, 1960).
ed. P. Henry and P. Hadot, *Opera theologica* (CSEL 83/1, 1971).
ed. F. Gori, *Opera exegetica* (CSEL 83/2, 1986).
P. Hadot, *Marius Victorinus: recherches sur sa vie et ses œuvres* (1971).

Marius Victorius of Marseilles (*fl. c.*435) Claudius Marius Victorius, teacher of *rhetoric at *Marseilles, and author of *Alethia*, a biblical *epic in three books based on Genesis. The narrative currently ends with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, but may have originally extended to four books (*Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.* 61). The poet incorporates a large amount of exegetical material, primarily relating to the literal level of meaning. His poem shows a special interest in the development of the human race and its relation to God, stressing divine generosity, human decline into idolatry, and the redemptive piety of Abraham. MJR

PLRE II, Victor 10.
PCBE IV/ 2, Victorius 2.
HLL, section 793.
CPL 1455:
ed. C. Schenkl (CSEL 16, 1888), 335–510.
ed. P. F. Hovingh (CCSL 128, 1960, 115–93, 269–97).
M. Cutino, *L'Alethia di Claudio Mario Vittorio: la parafrasi biblica come forma di espressione teologica* (2009).
U. Martorelli, *Redeat verum: studi sulla tecnica poetica dell'-Alethia di Mario Claudio Vittorio* (2008).

Mariya al-Qibtiyya (Mary the Copt) A concubine said to have been sent to *Muhammad by a Roman official named Muqawqis. She bore a son named Ibrahim, who died in infancy. She died in 632 or 637. NK

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Māriya, p. 575 (Buhl).

Marj Dabiq A plain located near the town of Dabiq in northern *Syria used as a base by Muslim *armies for a number of attacks on the Byzantine Empire including the failed 717–18 siege of *Constantinople. MJRo

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Mardj Dābik, p. 544 (Honigmann).
G. Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).

Marj Rahit, Battle of (684) Fought outside *Damascus between the supporters of, *Marwan I b. al-Hakam and *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, who were contending for the *caliphate following Mu'awiya II's (r. 683–4) death. Marwan's forces claimed a decisive victory, paving the way for his recognition as caliph in *Syria. ARH

al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf.*
G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg* (1982).

Mark of Arethusa *Bishop who destroyed a *temple at Arethusa in *Syria, and during the *pagan restoration of the *Emperor *Julian (361–3) refused to pay for its rebuilding. The citizens *martyred him by coating him with honey and **garum*, tying him to a tree and upsetting a *beehive next to him (*Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Oration*, 4, 88–91; cf. *Sozomen, V, 10; *Theodoret, *HE* III, 7, 3–6). Gregory notes the irony that Mark had helped save Julian from the family massacre of 337. SFT

Mark the Monk (5th cent.) Greek monastic writer of uncertain location, author of nine *opuscula* on the

*ascetic life and related topics. Famed for his teaching on temptation and repentance, and drawing on the **Macarian Homilies* and *Evagrius Ponticus, Mark's work rapidly acquired classic status in the Christian East. Mark also combated *heresies, upholding *baptism against the *Messalians and refuting the Melchizedekians. Mark's Christological tendency is characteristic of the theology of *Alexandria and anti-*Nestorian, but he eschews controversial terms such as 'nature', a strategy which may place him in the context of the **Henotikon* of *Zeno of 482. MGPe

CPG 6090–102.
DictSpir 10 (1980), 274–83 (Gribomont).
ed. G. M. de Durand (annotated with FT), *Marc le Moine: Traités*, 2 vols. (SC 445 and 455, 1999 and 2000).
J. Kunze, *Marcus Eremita. Ein neuer Zeuge für das altkirchliche Taufbekenntnis, eine Monographie. Mit einer kürzlich entdeckten Schrift des Marcus* (1895).
M. Plested, *The Macarian Legacy: The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (2004), 75–132.
K. Ware, Introduction to C.-A Zirnheld (selections in FT), *Marc le Moine: Traités spirituels et théologiques* (Spiritualité orientale 41, 1985).

Marmara, Sea of (Propontis), and Princes' Isles Enclosed sea connecting the *Bosporus and the Aegean, containing the group of nine Princes' Isles, lying some 15 km (10 miles) from *Constantinople. As *Constantinople grew in the 4th century, using much *marble from the Marmara island of *Proconnesus, the northern coastline of the Sea became dotted with summer *villas, *monasteries, the shrines of saints, and other small settlements, such as *Hebdomon, Rhegium, Athyras, and Drypia. *Procopius criticized the villas for their excessive luxury and noted that they were vulnerable to barbarian raids (*Aed.* IV, 9, 1–13). The area suffered badly in the *Kutrigur raid of early 559 and again at the hands of the *Avars in *c.*590. The Princes' Isles provided a safe country retreat from Constantinople. *Justin II built a *palace on Principus, the largest of the group. The islands were also a secure place to detain political prisoners. In 542, *Hypatius, who had been proclaimed *emperor during the *Nika Riot, was executed on Principus (*AnthGraec.* VII, 591), the *Patriarch Euthymius was exiled there in 565, and *Heraclius exiled his illegitimate son Athaleric there in *c.*639 (*Nicephorus the Patriarch, 72–3). Settlements on the Asiatic shore included *Chalcedon, *Rufinianae, *Hieria, and *Helenopolis. JPH

Janin, *CPByz* 443–55, 489–506, 506–42.
Janin, *Grandscentres*, 61–76.

Marmoutier (dép. Indre-et-Loire, France) *Monastery originating in a retreat established across the River Loire from *Tours by S. *Martin soon after his election as *bishop. He acted as *abba* to a community of aspirant monks. *Sulpicius Severus emphasized the isolation and simplicity of the site, but recent work casts doubt on this. STL

Stancliffe, *St. Martin* (1983).
C. Lelong, *L'Abbaye de Marmoutier* (1989).
E. Lorans, 'Aux origines du monastère de Marmoutier: le témoignage de l'archéologie', *Annales de Bretagne* 119/3 (2012), 178–203.

Maron, S., and Maronites *Theodoret tells the story of Mar Maron, a 4th/5th-century anchorite, who lived out of doors, 'consecrating to God' a former *pagan sacred site near *Cyrrhus in the *province of *Euphratensis and attracting numerous disciples. After Maron's death there was bitter competition to secure his *relics; the successful *village built a shrine and held a public *festival for him (*Religious History*, 16; *BHG* 1172). *John Chrysostom wrote to a 'priest and monk' called Maron in 404/7 asking for *prayers (*ep.* 36).

In the 5th and 6th centuries a *monastery near *Apamea named after Mar Maron played a leading part in advocating the Christology of the *Council of Chalcedon. A *letter of 517 from the archimandrites of *Apamea complains that Peter, the *metropolitan bishop, and *Severus, the *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Antioch (in office 511–18), had sent *Isaurians to assault the monks (*ACO* III, 106–10; GT in Suermann, 79–81).

Like many Chalcedonians, the monks of Mar Maron accepted the doctrine of *Monotheletism promoted by the *Emperor *Heraclius as a compromise between Chalcedonian and Miaphysite positions. Monotheletism ascribes to Christ two Natures (human and divine), but only one will and energy. The Sixth Œcumenical *Council (*Constantinople, 680–1) condemned Monotheletism, but the Maronites were not present at the council and are not mentioned amongst the Monotheletes. From the 7th century onwards, they developed as a separate Church, whether because they were isolated from the Greek world by being under *Arab rule or because as Chalcedonians they were distinct from their Miaphysite *Syriac Orthodox neighbours. Certainly the *Melkite Theodore Abu Qurra (d. *c.*820) describes the Maronites as distinct from both Miaphysites and Chalcedonians.

The increasingly independent Maronite community required dedicated church officials, as the Patriarch of Antioch resided in *Constantinople from 636 onwards, and between 702 and 742 no Patriarch of Antioch was appointed at all. John Maron (d. 707) was appointed the first Maronite patriarch. *Dionysus of Tel Mahre (d. 845) is the earliest author to describe the Maronites as a separate community with a history going back to the late 6th century and headed in the 8th century by a patriarch, but he does not provide any details. The

Maronites developed as a spiritual and military 'nation', settling in the Lebanese mountains for protection from *Melkite and Miaphysite attack. Muslim persecutions in the 9th century forced the community to withdraw entirely, and the monastery at Apamea was destroyed in the 10th century (al-*Mas'udī d. 956). In the Crusader period the Maronites united themselves to the Church of Rome, eschewing Monotheletism but retaining their distinctive *Syriac *liturgy. Two features of Maronite history continue to be much debated, namely their early historical origins and their stance in the Christological debates of Late Antiquity. PMS

GEDSH s.v. Maron and Maronite Church, 270–1 (Amar).
DictSpir 10, fasc. 66/7/, *s.nn.* Maron (saint) and Maronite (église), cols. 631–44 (M. Hayek).
J. Gribomont, 'Documents sur les origines de l'Eglise maronite', *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974), 95–132.
John Maron, ed. (with FT) M. Breydy, *Exposé de la foi et autres opuscules* (CSCO 498, Scr. syr. 210, 1988).
B. Daou, 'Le Site du couvent principal de Saint Maron en Syrie', *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (1972), 145–52.
P. Dib, *Histoire de l'église Maronite*, 2 vols. (1962).
J. R. Mouawad, *Les Maronites, chrétiens du Liban* (2009).
P. Naaman, *The Maronites: The Origins of an Antiochene Church* (CSS 243, 2011).
H. Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte der Maronitischen Kirche* (1998).

Maronites *See* MARON, S. AND MARONITES.

Marpahis A *Lombard *court official, mentioned twice by *Paul the Deacon in his *History of the Lombards* (II, 9 and VI, 6) and glossed as **strator* (horse-master). CTH

marriage, adultery, divorce, and remarriage, Arab and Islamic The prevalent form of marriage in the pre-Islamic *Hijaz seems to have been monogamous, with the bridewealth passing from the husband to the wife's guardian. Alternative forms of marriage were between men and the women they captured following tribal conflict and (less frequently) concubinage with non-Arabs. Divorce was also permitted.

The arrival of *Islam made some changes to these practices. In the context of the high mortality rate of Muslim men in the Medinan period, the *Qur'ān allowed men to marry up to four free women at a time; a man was also permitted intercourse with his slave or captured women (Q. 4: 3). Marriage to maternal cousins, milk siblings, and polytheists was forbidden.

Temporary marriage (*mut'a*) is also alluded to in the Qur'ān (Q. 4: 24) although most Muslims came to argue that this form of marriage was later abolished. Others—predominantly *Shi'is—maintain that it has always been permissible.

The ability to divorce was retained in the Islamic period but the Qur'ān stipulated that the wife retained the bridewealth, not her guardian. Adulterers were punished by flogging according to the Qur'ān, followed by restrictions on the offender's choice of future marriage partner; later generations of Muslims argued that this had been overruled and the true punishment was death by stoning (albeit mitigated with almost unachievably high standards of evidence).

By the middle of the 8th century concubinage came to dominate *élite* marriage. While the *caliphs of the *Umayyad dynasty were almost all the children of free Arab women, their *Abbasid successors were almost all born of slave women. MJRo

G. H. Stern, *Marriage in Early Islam* (1939).
W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885).
K. Ali, *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam* (2010).

marriage, adultery, divorce, and remarriage, Central Asian Known through a few remaining contracts, the institution of marriage in *Central Asia is understood poorly. Based on what we know of marriage customs in the *Persian Empire in *Sasanian times, we assume that a type of 'authorized' or *padix-shayih* marriage existed at least in *Bactria and *Sogdiana. In this type of marriage, the bride was allowed to get married upon obtaining permission from her father or legal guardian/head of the household, and had control over her dowry and the property brought into the marriage. We do not possess information about the next of kin, *khwedodeh*, marriage, as was recommended in the *Zoroastrian *law, but can assume that it was at least religiously sanctioned in parts of Central Asia most closely connected to the Zoroastrian traditions, i.e. *Sogdiana.

Two marriage contracts provide first-hand information. One survives from the 4th century among the Bactrian Documents; another is an early 8th-century Sogdian marriage contract. The most striking feature of the Bactrian contract is the presence of polyandry, where one woman has married several husbands. This is a custom known from *India and is assumed to have been common in Bactria and other parts of Central Asia. Its significance is most likely that of preservation of property, and it might indicate a type of *sturih* 'guardianship' marriage. Known from Sasanian law, this is when a childless widow was obliged to marry the closest male kin of her deceased husband in order to produce an offspring who would then be designated as the heir of the deceased husband.

The Sogdian contract is a regular contract between a man, an official, and a woman of rank. The most significant part of the contract is its specification of the provisions in case the pair decide to separate, mostly

due to the husband's taking of a second wife or a concubine. Specifying different provisions depending on who initiates the divorce, the document shows that the main concern of the contract was the provision of property rights, and the control of the wife over her original property and what she has acquired during marriage. KR

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* marriage i: the marriage contract in the pre-Islamic Period (I. Yakubovich)—with ET of the contracts.

Kazuo Enoki, 'On the Nationality of the Ephtalites', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tokyo Bunko* 18 (1959), 1–58 at 51–8.

M. Macuch, *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch: 'Mātakdān i hazār dātistān' (Teil II)* (1981).

N. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan* (*CII*, part 2, vol. 6, 2001), 32–6.

marriage, adultery, divorce, and remarriage, Jewish Rituals associated with marriage seem to have developed from biblical to rabbinic times and were probably practised in various ways in Late Antiquity. Whereas the *Bible differentiates between betrothal and marriage and knows of the so-called brideprice (*mohar*), which the husband has to pay to the bride's father, Palestinian rabbinic literature merges the two rituals and replaces the brideprice by the marriage contract (*ketubbah*), which provides a security for the property which the bride brings into the marriage.

*Rabbis considered it necessary to define marriage and adultery. According to the Mishnah, 'a woman is acquired in three ways … she is acquired by money, by contract, and by intercourse' (Mishnah Qid. 1: 1). Neither a monetary payment nor a written contract are necessary to validate a rabbinically defined marriage: intercourse with the woman suffices. At the same time, it remains possible to hand over a small and symbolic monetary payment whose value differs in accordance with the 'value' of the bride (e.g. virgins require a higher fee than divorced women). Marriage contracts were probably used amongst the wealthy only to secure the property of the bride's family.

All Jewish marriages were what Roman *law termed marriages *in manu* in which the woman stood under the legal control of her husband. During the time of marriage her property belonged to her husband who could invest it in his own business. The *ketubbah* stipulated what the wife should receive if the marriage ended with divorce or the husband's death. Women could not initiate divorce in *Judaism but had to accept the divorce document (*get*) to make the divorce valid. They could not remarry without a *get*. Adultery was seen as a serious offence if committed by women. The Bible already recommends the so-called *sotah* ordeal for women suspected of adultery: she was forced to drink bitter water to determine whether she was guilty or not. CH

M. L. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (2001).

J. Hauptman, *Rereading the Rabbis: A Woman's Voice* (1998).

marriage, adultery, divorce, and remarriage, Persian In the *Sasanian period, marriage centred around the need to produce sons. In ancient Iranian religion, it was most meritorious to marry within the immediate family: father–daughter, mother–son, or brother–sister. Many Sasanian kings, such as *Shapur I, married in this manner and the *Zoroastrian clergy, such as *Kerdir, actively promoted such consanguineous marriages (MP *xwēdōdah*). It was justified in religious terms as keeping family lines pure and preventing disorder, mixture and disorder being the works of *Ahriman. It also kept the family's property from being split up.

A man's principal wife was the one that had legal and religious precedence. She was under the husband's guardianship; her children were his heirs and she would be the man's wife in the afterlife. To ensure *succession if there was no son when the man died, a 'proxy' (*stūr*) was needed, who was often female. The *stūr* could be the deceased's wife, his sister, the eldest daughter (*ayōgēn*), or a male member of the extended family. If no one else was available, someone could be designated the *stūr*, i.e. designated by the man or 'appointed' by some local authority. If a man did not have enough money to pay for a *stūr*, he could set aside part of his property. A sister's marriage as a principal wife would be annulled automatically when she became an *ayōgēn*, while a daughter's marriage 'in authority,' which had been approved by the father, would have to have a time limit specified in case the father and mother died without issue, after which she would be considered the father's principal wife.

Temporary marriages were considered a solution to obtain a son, both for the sonless man and, after his death, for a female proxy to restart his line. If his principal wife failed to produce a son, the husband could take a secondary wife (*chagar*) to produce a son, who would legally be the son of the temporary husband not her own husband. In order to produce a son, the female proxy (*čagar*) would conclude an auxiliary (usually temporary) marriage (*čagar*) with another man, while remaining the principal wife of the departed. In incestuous marriages, a daughter or sister acting as proxy also received the (formal) legal status of wife 'in authority' of the deceased. The children from the *čagar* marriage all belonged legally to the original husband.

Divorce could take place with mutual consent, but a man could also send his principal wife away on grounds of sinful behaviour, including adultery and knowingly having intercourse with her husband during her

menstrual period. If he dismissed her against her will, however, he would be guilty of transgression. POS

EncIran VII/4–5 *s.v.* divorce. ii. In the Parthian and Sasanian Periods, 443–51 (M. Shaki).

EncIran s.v. marriage. i. The Marriage Contract in the Pre-Islamic Period (I. Yakubovich).

M. Macuch, 'Incestuous Marriage in the Context of Sasanian Family Law', in M. Macuch, D. Weber, and D. Durkin-Meisterernst, eds., *Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies: Proceedings of the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies Held in Vienna, 18–22 September 2007* (2010), 133–48.

M. Macuch, 'The Pahlavi Model Marriage Contract in the Light of Sasanian Family Law", in M. Macuch, M. Maggi, and W. Sundermann, eds., *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (Iranica 13, 2007), 183–204.

M. Macuch, *Das sasanidische Rechtsbuch 'Mātakdān i hazār dātistān' (Teil II)* (AKM 45/1, 1976).

M. Macuch, *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran: die Rechtssammlung des Farroḫmard i Wahrāmān* (Iranica 1, 1993).

M. Macuch, 'Die Zeitehe im sasanidischen Recht. Ein Vorläufer der Šī'itischen Mut'a-Ehe in Iran?', *AMI* 18 (1985), 187–203.

marriage, adultery, divorce, and remarriage, Roman, Germanic barbarian, and post-Roman

The basic principles of Roman marriage changed little during Late Antiquity. The influence of Christian teaching on legislation and actual behaviour has in the past been exaggerated, and still remains a controversial issue. While there was limited influence on divorce and remarriage, there was negligible effect on the forms of marriage and on extramarital sexual relations. The dissolution of imperial power and the Germanic immigration brought about more sweeping changes.

Marriage

Roman marriage was free of any forms, depending only on the spouses' intention to be married. It was sometimes difficult to distinguish a wife from a *concubine. In the 5th and 6th centuries, the lawgivers attempted to introduce some compulsory signs, such as public weddings, *dowry, or written *contract. This was imperfectly realized both in the East and West and mainly applied to the upper classes.

For Roman girls, the minimum legal age of marriage was 12. Most women in the Mediterranean area married in their late teens, while men usually delayed marriage up to their late twenties. The consent of both parties and their fathers was necessary, although the consent of the young bride could often be tacitly assumed. A first marriage was not based on romantic love but on the parents' prudent consideration. Friends and relatives frequently assisted in the West, whereas professional matchmakers were preferred in the East. In a second marriage, the spouses' own affections played a far greater role.

The *law placed certain barriers to marriage. Slaves could not contract legal matrimony, although informal unions between free and slave existed. In Late Antiquity, marriage was forbidden e.g. between the following persons: citizens and barbarians; *Jews and Christians (a ban endorsed by the leaders of both religions); a guardian and his *ward; a woman and her own freedman; dignitaries and women of very low status (including freedwomen, but not poor freeborn women, unless they were occupied in a shameful profession). The last prohibition was removed by *Justinian I. Unions between cousins were forbidden in the late 4th century, but the ban was soon lifted in the Eastern Empire, where close-kin marriage remained common. The original marital customs of the Germanic peoples are poorly known. Polygamy existed at least in the *Frankish royal families up to the 7th century. The Church extended incest prohibitions to a wider circle of relatives, but they were adopted in secular legislation only in the 8th century.

Pagan and Christian authors concurred that male predominance was natural in a happy marriage. However, as Roman marriage was based on the separation of property between the spouses, the wife was not subjected to her husband's legal power. Although imperial law continued to uphold this principle, the idea of a common family property appears by the 6th century in both Eastern and Western practice. This led to a decrease of wifely independence in post-Roman societies. It had always been foreign to Germanic marriage.

Adultery

The penalties for marital infidelity are not consistently defined in the extant Roman sources. Although *exile with a partial confiscation of property seems to have been the norm in the 3rd century, even death sentences were passed. The practice may have varied according to *courts and social classes, humble people usually receiving more severe sentences. The death penalty was probably regularized by *Constantine I in the early 4th century, but it was not universally applied. Later laws sanctioned various punishments, which ranged from burning or drowning to *exile with a total confiscation of property. Literary sources describing actual sentences reflect both this uncertainty and the government's occasional campaigns to pursue offenders. People frequently did not denounce the culprits to the authorities, to avoid the most extreme consequences. This was also recommended by many Christian authors. According to an Eastern law of 556, the male adulterer had to be executed, while the woman was shut up in a *monastery unless her husband forgave her.

Occasionally an enraged husband wanted to revenge himself privately on his adulterous wife. In Roman law, he was not permitted to kill her, even if she was caught in the act. This rule was upheld by *Justinian I in the East, whereas in the West both the post-Roman codes and Germanic laws accepted private violence as the normal reaction. Frankish law attempted to avoid blood *feuds by offering statutory fines as an alternative.

Only the infidelity of the wife counted as criminal adultery. Although the Church strongly censured male sexual freedom, the infidelity of husbands was never penalized. Despite slight embarrassment about the double standard, *emperors and kings always allowed sex with *prostitutes and slave girls, and the practice was so prevalent that ecclesiastical penalties were impossible to apply.

Divorce and remarriage

Until the early 4th century, both men and women could divorce almost freely, with varying financial consequences for the culpable party. In 331 Constantine imposed severe penalties on unilateral divorce: exile for the woman or celibacy for the man (*CTh* III, 16, 1). Later legislation vacillated. *Julian rescinded Constantine's law and restored free divorced. The liberal tradition continued in the East until Justinian, who again imposed celibacy on the divorced of both sexes. Consensual divorce remained permissible except in 542–66, and Egyptian *papyri attest that in practice divorce was common. In the West, a ban on unilateral divorce was reintroduced in 421 (*CTh* III, 16, 2), and was maintained in the post-Roman codes of the early 6th century. Christian teaching was extremely hostile to divorce, but it cannot alone account for the legislation, because it would entail assuming that the more tolerant East was less Christian.

The original Germanic attitudes on divorce are partly conjectural. Divorce by women seems to have been more strongly censured (in extreme cases punished by death), while men could escape with lighter consequences. Divorce was not shunned by the Frankish and *Anglo-Saxon *aristocracies in their political marriages. Consensual divorce remained common until the Carolingian period, when the Church and state finally united to regulate marriage.

The population policy of the Early Empire had imposed financial disadvantages for people who did not remarry after divorce or *widowhood. In 320 Constantine I abolished these unpopular rules (*CTh* VIII, 16, 1). The Church sought to discourage remarriage but never condemned it totally. It remained an approved and common solution to the social problem of widowhood. Secular uneasiness about remarriage was connected with stepparents and the financial protection of children. From the late 4th century remarried parents had to preserve property received from the deceased spouse for the benefit of their common descendants. Later the same rules were extended both in the East and West to cover widows and widowers who did not remarry.

See also VIRGINS AND WIDOWS. AAr

Arjava, *Women and Law.*

J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance (4e–7e siècle)*, 2 vols. (1990–2).

J. Evans Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation* (1995).

Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law.*

M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, 2 vols. (²1972–5), vol. 2, 158–201.

J.-U. Krause, *Witwen und Waisen im Römischen Reich*, 4 vols. (1994–5).

S. F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (1981).

Marriage Edict, Tetrarchic Law issued in 295 at *Damascus by *Diocletian or *Galerius in the name of the *Tetrarchy. It praised emphatically the (pagan) religious character of Roman *marriage and repeated the prohibition of unions within the closest *family, condemning foreign incestuous practices. AAr

Text in *Collatio Legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum*, 6, 4, ed. in Riccobono, *FIRA* II, 558–60.

H. Chadwick, 'The Relativity of Moral Codes: Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity', in W. R. Schoedel and R. L. Wilken, eds., *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition: In Honorem Robert M. Grant* (1979), 135–53.

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 173–4.

Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, 140–3.

Marseilles (*civitas Massiliensium*: dép. Bouches-du-Rhône, France) A port *city in the *province of *Viennensis which had forfeited its former regional dominance under Roman rule. Its Late Antique revival is initially signalled in a Christian context in the pretensions of *bishops such as *Proculus to an anomalous *metropolitan status, though this quarrel was soon settled in favour of *Arles.

However the arrival of *John Cassian *c.*416 combined with that of such Gallic refugees as *Prosper, *Salvian, and *Paulinus of *Pella to thrust the *city to the forefront of the emergent western ascetic movement, and generated the responses to *Augustine's views on grace and free will that have been misleadingly categorized as semi-*Pelagianism. The sites of Cassian's two *monasteries remain elusive, but the dynamism of the wider Christian community is reflected materially in the

remains of a substantial cathedral complex, two funerary *basilicas, and some fine decorated *sarcophagi.

This golden age for the Church of Marseilles did not outlast the 5th century, but the disintegration of the Western Empire did see the port gradually regain the pivotal role in interregional exchange formerly played by the original Greek colony. Although Marseilles was a centre for the production of *glass and the regional DSP (**dérivées des sigillées paléochrétiennes*) fine *pottery, its primary commercial function was as a gateway for the distribution of Mediterranean goods into *Gaul by way of the Rhône corridor. Anecdotal indications in 6th- and 7th-century texts to the port's traffic in commodities such as *olive oil, *papyrus, and slaves have now been amplified by abundant ceramic evidence of imports from *Africa and the East.

This economic significance is reflected in the political importance of Marseilles under the Frankish kings, whose divisions of power took particular account of the city. By the 7th century Marseilles had supplanted *Arles as the leading centre in *Provence, and it became a staging-post in the careers of courtiers such as *Desiderius, *Eligius, and *Bonitus. Specific mechanisms were developed to exploit its trade, including distinctive *gold *coinages and fiscally controlled warehouses at which northern *monasteries enjoyed privileges. But when the Mediterranean interregional exchange-system underwent its final crisis *c.*700, the supply of imports to Marseilles dried up, and the port returned to obscurity. STL

CAGaule 13/3 (2005).

S. T. Loseby, 'Marseille: A Late Antique Success-Story?', *JRS* 82 (1992), 165–85.

M. Bonifay et al., *Fouilles à Marseille* (1998).

Marthanes (Malthanes) (*fl.* 549–60) Noble and general from *Cilicia. In the late 540s *Justinian I charged him, probably as *Dux, with suppressing violence in his home *province. According to *Procopius (*Anecd.* 29, 26–38), he took this as a licence to despoil his people, while offering part of the proceeds to the *emperor. He violently suppressed opposition from the Blue *faction and avoided punishment through his contacts in *Constantinople, in particular his father-in-law Leo. While visiting Constantinople, he escaped from a violent mob of Blues. *Inscriptions attest his promotion to *Magister Militum in 559/60. The dating of the events in Cilicia affects the dating of Procopius, *Anecdota*. GBG

PLRE III, Marthanes 1.

B. Croke, 'Procopius' *Secret History*: Rethinking the Date', *GRBS* 45 (2004), 419–20.

Martianus Capella (Martianus Minneius Felix Capella) (5th or early 6th cent.) North *African author of *The Wedding of Mercury and Philology*, a nine-book encyclopedia in a mixture of prose and verse. Its coda (IX, 999) identifies the author as a native of *Carthage and hints at a legal career (cf. also VI, 577). Martianus' date is controversial. He is later than *Servius, whose work he used in a recently discovered metrical treatise. His major work was corrected at *Rome by one Securus Melior Felix in either 498 or 534. The traditional dating between 410 and 439 rests on vague allusions to the contemporary state of Rome (VI, 637) and Carthage (VI, 669). A date in the early *Vandal period is at least as plausible. The work's traditional title goes back to a citation by *Fulgentius the Mythographer (*Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*, 45); the metrical treatise calls it simply *Philologia*.

Generically the work is a *satura* ('hodge-podge'); its prosimetrical form is paralleled in *Boethius, Fulgentius, and *Ennodius. It opens with a *hymn to Hymenaeus, followed by a brief *dialogue between Martianus and his son. The inspiration for the work is ascribed to the allegorical figure of Satura herself, who will occasionally intervene to correct or rebuke the author (notably at VI, 575–9; VIII, 806–9, and IX, 999). The first two books contain an elaborate mythological narrative combining motifs from Menippean satire with *Neoplatonic *cosmology. Book I describes Mercury's selection of Philology as a bride and the ratification of his choice by Jupiter at an assembly of the Gods. Book II details Philology's preparations for the wedding, her immortalization, and her journey to the Milky Way. At the wedding feast, Mercury presents his bride with seven handmaidens: *Grammar, Dialectic, *Rhetoric, *Geometry (really *geography), Arithmetic, *Astronomy, and *Music. The remaining seven books consist of lectures by these ladies, each depicted with suitable mannerisms, *dress, and accoutrements. Proposed presentations by Architecture and *Medicine are put off to a later occasion. The implied total of nine arts may look back to Varro's lost *Disciplinae*, but Martianus' abbreviated canon of seven proved decisive for medieval readers.

The work's style reflects its 'mixed' nature. The encyclopedic portions are pedestrian and rely heavily on earlier authors. Direct or indirect sources include Cicero, the 3rd-century **grammaticus* Aquila Romanus, and *Marius Victorinus (Book V), *Pliny and Solinus (Book VI), Nicomachus of Gerasa (Book VII), and *Aristides Quintilianus (Book IX). The frame narrative is highly ornate, with inset poems in a dazzling variety of metres and a baroque and archaizing prose style that owes much to Apuleius. The work as a whole has been viewed as a serio-comic educational aid, a crypto-pagan manifesto, and everything in between. Its vast medieval influence is evidenced by over 240 surviving manuscripts, a rich tradition of medieval commentary, and an Old High German translation by Notker Labeo. GH

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ed. I. Ramelli (annotated with IT, 2004).
ed. L. Cristante et al. (Bks. I–II annotated with IT, 2011).
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FT (annotated) A. Le Boeuffle, Book VIII, *Astronomie* (1998).
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Alan Cameron, 'Martianus and his First Editor', *CP* 81 (1986), 320–8.
M. De Nonno, 'Un nuovo testo di Marziano Capella, la metrica', *RivFil* 118 (1990), 129–44.
S. Grebe, *Martianus Capella, 'De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii': Darstellung der sieben freien Künste und ihrer Beziehungen zueinander* (1999).
F. Lemoine, *Martianus Capella: A Literary Re-Evaluation* (1972).
R. Schievenin, *'Nugis ignosce lectitans': Studi su Marziano Capella* (2009).
W. H. Stahl and R. Johnson with E. L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts* (1971).

Martin, S. (*c.*316–397) *Bishop of *Tours 371–97. Biographical details are known from *Sulpicius Severus' *Life of S. Martin* (composed 394–7) and *Dialogues* (*c.*405); the former narrates Martin's *conversion, career, and *miracles; the latter compares his deeds to those of Eastern monks. Martin was born into a military family in *Pannonia and entered the *army at the age of 15. He was baptized *c.*336 after offering half of his cloak to a cold beggar and subsequently having a *dream in which Christ appeared wearing the same garment. Despite Sulpicius' claim that Martin almost immediately left the army and became a monk, he waited over twenty years before becoming a disciple of *Hilary of *Poitiers, who trained him in *asceticism. Following Hilary's lead, Martin became an anti-*Arian crusader and travelled to *Italy, where he became a hermit at *Milan in the 350s. Soon expelled by the Arian bishop *Auxentius, he lived on the island of Gallinaria in Liguria with a presbyter friend as the first of a succession of hermits. With the restoration of Hilary to his see (360/1), Martin returned to *Gaul and became a hermit at *Ligugé, near Poitiers. Attracting both disciples and the attention of local clergy, he was elected Bishop of Tours in 371. His country retreat at *Marmoutier soon became a community of monks dedicated to the copying of manuscripts and to contemplation. Martin was a vigorous campaigner against *paganism, destroying shrines, building churches, and performing miracles to demonstrate the power of the Christian faith. Noted for his asceticism and insouciance about his own appearance or comfort (as well as for his avoidance of women), Martin's way of life was a reproach to his fellow bishops and to secular powers.

Martin's example inspired monastic foundations throughout western Gaul, though the lack of formal organization and reliance on the leadership of charismatic figures meant that these *monasteries tended to be short-lived. *John Cassian criticized the state of *monasticism in Gaul *c.*415, disparaging its alleged emphasis on miraculous powers and ostentatious asceticism rather than proven disciplines of spiritual perfection, and condemning liturgical practices for their lack of order and reverence. These critiques are generally understood to be directed at Martin's monasticism. Martin's ultimate legacy lay less in the monasticism he inspired than in the burgeoning cult around the saint himself, which had reached *Canterbury before the Romans left and was later fostered by *Gregory of Tours. Feast day: 11 November. CAS

PLRE I, Martinus 3.
PCBE IV/2, Martinus 1.
BHL 5610–66.

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F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung [4. bis 8. Jahrundert]* (1965).
Saint Martin et son temps: mémorial du XVIe centenaire des débuts du monachisme en Gaule, 361–1961 (Studia Anselmiana 46, 1961).
A. Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 4 (1997), 19–156.
Barnes *Hagiography*, 199–234.

Martin I As pope (649–55), Martin resisted the doctrine of Monotheletism (one will in Christ), promulgated by the *Emperor *Heraclius from 638 in the **Ecthesis*. Martin was born in Todi (Umbria) and served

as papal Apocrisiarius in *Constantinople, where he opposed the **Typos* issued by the *Emperor *Constans II in 648, which enjoined silence on the question of the number of *wills and operations in Christ. When he became pope in July 649, apparently without seeking imperial approval for his election, he continued his predecesssor Theodore's preparations for the *Lateran Council with the cooperation of *Maximus Confessor. As a result of this council's condemnation of the *Ecthesis* and *Typos*, Martin was arrested on 17 June 653 by Theodore Calliopas, *Exarch of *Ravenna, and sent by boat via Naxos to Constantinople. Arriving on 17 September, he was tried before the imperial *court in December and found guilty of conspiracy against Constans. He was accused of cooperating with the rebel Exarch of Ravenna, *Olympius. During this trial Martin was not permitted to raise any discussion on the *Typos*. After a lengthy period of incarceration, he was put on a boat bound for *the Chersonese, in the *Crimean region of the Black Sea. Although he did not know it, he had already been replaced by Pope Eugenius in August 654. Martin died in *exile in *Cherson on 16 September 655. *Letters survive, as well as an account in the **Liber Pontificalis* (76), a *Life* in *Greek, and an account of his exile (*Narrationes de Exilio Sancti Papae Martini*). BN

PBE, Martinos 6; *PmbZ* 4851.

Epistolae: PL 87, 119–204 reprinting G. D. Mansi.

Greek *Vita Martini* (*BHG* 2259); ed. P. Peeters in 'La Vie grecque du pape s. Martin I', *AnBoll* 51 (1933), 225–62.

Narrationes de Exilio Sancti Papae Martini, PL 129, 591–600, ed. (with ET and study) B. Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (2006), 166–232.

Hypomnesticon: ed. P. Allen and B. Neil (CCSG 39, 1999), 196–227.

P. Allen, and B. Neil, ed. with ET, *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions: Documents from Exile* (2002).

W. Brandes, '"Juristische" Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Papst Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes', *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 22 (1998), 141–212.

EncPapi s.v. Martino I papa, santo (2000), vol. 1, 598–603 (G. Jenal).

Martino I papa e il suo tempo, *Atti del XXVIII convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 13–16 ottobre 1991* (Spoleto, 1992), 429–58.

W. Peitz, 'Martin I und Maximus Confessor. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreites in den Jahren 645–668', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1917), 213–36.

Martina (*c.*598–641/2) Niece and second wife (from 622/3) of *Heraclius and mother of *Heraclonas. An enthusiastic supporter of *Monotheletism, Martina ruled as regent from May to November 641, when she and *Heraclonas were deposed by the *Senate, mutilated, and, along with her two younger sons, *David and Marinus, exiled to Rhodes. RCW

PLRE III, Martina 1.

PmbZ #4842.

Kaegi, *Heraclius.*

Martinianus *Magister Officiorum of *Licinius, who in July 324 made him an *emperor. *Constantine I executed him after Licinius fell ten weeks later. Coins survive. OPN

PLRE I, Martinianus 2.

NEDC 15.

Barnes, *CE* 76–7.

Martin of Braga (*c.*520–*c.*579) *Bishop of *Braga (Bracara Augusta), *Spain. Born in the Roman *province of *Pannonia, Martin lived briefly as a monk in the *Holy Land, and then ventured westward eventually arriving in *Gallaecia—around the year 550—where he became the leading churchman of the province. He was instrumental in the permanent *conversion of the *Suebes, formerly *Homoeans (*'Arians') and followers of *Priscillian. He maintained close relations with the Suebe rulers spanning 550 to 579. A highlight of his illustrious ministry was his participation in the two *Councils of Braga held in 561 and 572. He communicated a collection of canons from the eastern councils, the *Capitula Martini* to the council of 572. *Isidore of *Seville (*Vir. Ill.* 35) records that Martin wrote numerous works and *letters most of which do not survive. Of the extant, the most widely read was the *Formula Vitae Honestae*, dedicated to King *Miro and based loosely on a lost work of Seneca on the four cardinal virtues; it circulated well into the Renaissance. His *sermon against *paganism *De Correctione Rusticorum* was adapted and used in *Anglo-Saxon England and medieval Iceland. His **Sayings of the Egyptian Fathers* and *Questions and Answers of the Greek Fathers*, translated from *Greek to *Latin with assistance from *Paschasius of Dumium, had a decisive impact on Galician monasticism. AF

CPL 1079c–88:

ed. C. W. Barlow (1950).

ET C. W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 1: *Writings of Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, and Leander of Seville* (FC 62, 1969), 3–109.

A. Ferreiro, 'The Missionary Labors of St. Martin of Braga in 6th Century Galicia', *Studia Monastica* 23/1 (1981), 11–26.

Martinus General under *Justinian I, popular with the troops, he held important commands in *Africa (533–6), *Italy (536–40), and then in the East (*Agathias, *Histories*, II,18, 8). He was *Magister Militum by 536, was at *Dara in 540 when *Khosrow

I broke the *Everlasting Peace, and was defeated at *Anglon in 543. In 551 he mishandled relations with *Gobazes II, King of *Lazica, so badly that Gobazes' territory of *Suania defected to the Persians. In 554 Gobazes complained to Justinian about Martinus' incompetence. The following year Martinus murdered Gobazes. After an inquiry, Justinian dismissed Martinus and banned him from further command (Agathias, *Histories*, IV, 21, 1–4). PNB

PLRE III, Martinus 2.

martyr cult Veneration of the *martyrs was a central feature of Late Antique Christianity. It was practised even before the *persecutions had come to an end. *Cyprian's *letters make clear the grace and authority bestowed upon martyrs even while they were in *prison awaiting trial and execution, as well as after their witness had been perfected in death. *Martyr passions record the anniversary of martyrs' execution, their *natalis* (literally 'birthday'); Cyprian, writing to the *Carthage clergy during the Decian *Persecution, asked them to provide accurate records of the dates of death for both martyrs and Christians who died in *prison (*ep.* 12, 2, 1 of April/May 250). Passions also provide evidence of the veneration of *relics; when Cyprian of Carthage was executed his admirers ran forward to dip pieces of cloth in his blood, before he was taken off to be buried. Once the threat of actual persecution and suffering had faded away during the 4th century, devotion to the martyrs expanded exponentially, so that *Basil of *Caesarea could write almost wistfully of the days when 'the persecutors were in evidence, but so were the persecuted . . . The blood of the martyrs, watering the churches, nourished many more champions of true religion' (*ep.* 164, 1).

Communal cult of the martyrs

Early calendars, such as the **Codex-calendar of 354* and the lists known as *martyrologies, provide fundamental evidence for the initial growth of liturgical martyr cult, though by themselves they provide only a partial sample of the martyrs honoured. Official liturgical celebration of the martyr cult can be reconstructed from a range of sources, though it was clearly subject to considerable local variation.

The celebrations began with a night-time vigil, which preceded the feast day itself. Evocative descriptions of these vigils can be found in the writings of several church fathers. These sometimes appear as intensely spiritual occasions, where *miracles could and did take place, as *Gregory of *Nyssa describes (e.g. *Second Encomium on the *Forty Martyrs*, 9 = PG 46, 784D–785B). There are also disapproving accounts of more worldly behaviour. *Augustine attacked misbehaviour at vigils, notably drinking, singing, and dancing (e.g. *Sermon Denis*, 13, 4) as well as describing his own youthful indiscretions at martyr vigils in Carthage, which he had used as an opportunity for romantic liaisons (*Sermon Mainz*, 5, 5). Such disapproving commentary continued into the early Middle Ages (e.g. *Caesarius of *Arles, *Sermon* 55, 2).

On the feast day itself, a service was held, during which, in many areas of the Late Antique world, the passion of the martyr was read aloud, as prescribed by the *Council of *Hippo in 393 (*Breviarium Hipponense 393*, 36; cf. *Registri Ecclesiae Carthaginensis Excerpta*, 46). After this reading, the *sermon was delivered, often referring to the martyr passion; numerous sermons preached on such occasions survive, from both eastern preachers (such as the *Cappadocian fathers) and western (e.g. Augustine). During the Mass which followed, after the catechumens had left the church, the names of the martyrs were recollected in the *Eucharistic *prayers. The *festivals of the martyrs could last for several days, and attract pilgrims from far and wide; the writings of the Cappadocian fathers clearly demonstrate their importance in the local calendar.

Outside the annual festivals the faithful visited the tombs and shrines of the martyrs to pray, in particular for healing. This was not a purely popular phenomenon for which the impetus came from the faithful. Following the work of P. Brown, the involvement of the church hierarchy, in particular that of bishops, has generally been recognized to be of great importance. The exchange of *relics across ecclesiastical networks and the literary publicizing of the miracles of local martyrs were important elements in promoting the cults of martyrs.

Personal cult of the martyrs

Some lay practices related to the cult of the martyrs were disapproved by the clergy, even apart from the misbehaviour at vigils noted above. Clerics worried about the privatization of relic cult (particularly among women) and about the veneration of unauthorized (including heretical) martyrs at unofficial shrines. The cult of the martyrs had grown out of, and alongside, the traditional cult of the dead, the **refrigerium*. Many of these practices and traditions caused clerical unease not least because of a suspicion that they were tainted with residual *paganism; Augustine's mother S. Monnica was turned back from taking *wine and food to the martyrs in *Milan, in accordance with a North African custom that was forbidden by *Ambrose (Augustine, *Confessions*, VI, 2, 2). The very popularity of the martyrs amongst the faithful could lead to concern amongst the clergy, who were at times anxious to stress that martyrs were only human, and not themselves gods. Broader

criticism of martyr cult as superstitious, like that of *Jerome in his *Contra Vigilantium*, did exist within the Church, and also came from outside, most famously as uttered by the *Emperor Julian (*Against the Galilaeans*, 335B–340A).

Archaeology of martyr cult

The archaeology of martyr cult does much to supplement the picture given by texts, by providing a picture of the setting of the ecclesiastical cult of the martyrs across a number of locations. These are highly various. Martyr cult formed part of the regular round of the liturgy in cathedrals and local churches; it also found a place in the *martyria dedicated to individual martyrs and groups of martyrs as well as in funerary *basilicas and cemeteries, both above and below ground, smaller shrines, and memorials. Archaeological investigation reveals the nature and chronology of the development of martyr cult and its acquisition of commemorative monuments. It shows also the importance of burial *ad sanctos* (burial in close proximity to the saints) for Late Antique Christians. Study of *inscriptions associated with the martyrs also aids understanding of unofficial cult, for instance in the form of the many North African inscriptions and monuments erected to martyrs who are otherwise unknown. Visual depictions of martyrs developed much more slowly than texts but by the later 4th and 5th centuries they can be found in various media, including small objects (e.g. medallions, *glass, *pilgrimage flasks, espcially those commemorating S. *Menas) and larger-scale depictions in churches, shrines, and *catacombs. LHCG

Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.
P. Brown, 'Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity', *EME* 9 (2000), 1–24.
Duval, *Loca Sanctorum.*
L. Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (2004).
J. D. Howard-Johnston and P. A. Hayward, eds., *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (1999).
V. M. Limberis, *Architects of Piety: The Cappadocian Fathers and the Cult of the Martyrs* (2011).
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques*.

martyrdom, Islamic (Ar. *shahada*) In early Islam martyrdom varied with context but became closely associated with battle (although some tied it to the state of soul at death rather than the manner of death). The 'biography' of the prophet by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767) includes lists of battle martyrs. The term *shahada*, also denoting devotion apart from suffering, need not accompany description of a believer's death. In *Mecca, before the *Hijra (Emigration) to *Medina, Sumayya, mother of 'Ammar b. Yasir, was killed for refusing to abandon belief. Once in Medina, the prophet encouraged battle martyrdom with the promise of paradise as with 'Umayr b. al-Humam at the Battle of *Badr. The martyr is not sacrificial victim but battle hero whose readiness to die for God garners communal honour and heavenly reward. PH

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997) *s.v.* Shahīd, 203–7 (Kohlberg).
T. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity* (2009).

martyrium A commemorative structure built for a Christian saint, generally sheltering his or her tomb and *relics. Martyria have attracted persistent debate among historians of early Christian architecture. The influential work of André Grabar distinguished the form of classic martyria in the East from those in the West. In the East, a centralized plan dominated, usually circular, polygonal, or cruciform, originating in Greek and Hellenistic *heroa*. In the West, A. Grabar argued, the *basilica form prevailed. Subsequent research, however, has cast doubt on the possibility of identifying the martyrium as a single architectural form, with a clear linear development. The earliest known martyrium is generally thought to have been built at *Salona in *Dalmatia, and its excavation has been most illuminating. The Church of the *Holy Apostles in *Constantinople, a centrally planned building, featuring twelve 'columns', representing the apostles, alongside the *Emperor Constantine I himself, was greatly influential in Late Antiquity. There are few surviving examples of ancient martyria, one exception being that of S. Philip in *Hierapolis in *Anatolia, built at the end of the 4th century. This domed *octagonal structure was decorated with *mosaics and *marble, and featured a large enclosed ambulatory and accommodation for those who came there on *pilgrimage. LHCG

F. W. Deichmann, 'Märtyrerbasilika, Martyrion, Memoria und Altargrab', *RömMitt* 77 (1970), 144–69.
A. Grabar, *Martyrium: recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (1946).
J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Memoria, Martyr's Tomb and Martyr's Church', *JTS* 17 NS (1966), 20–37.
A.-M. Yasin, 'Reassessing Salona's Churches: *Martyrium* Evolution in Question', *JECS* 20 (2012), 59–112.

martyrologies Catalogues of the names of saints, not only of *martyrs, according to the day and month on which the anniversaries of their deaths were celebrated.

A calendar records the genuine liturgical celebrations actually observed by a definite group or place, normally listing one saint per day, but not for every day. A martyrology constitutes an artificial collection of names from a variety of sources, often listing several names per day for every day of the year. Martyrologies developed from calendars, and they originally included

similarly minimal information concerning each saint: personal name, place of execution, profession.

The starting points for martyrologies vary. The oldest surviving martyrology is the *Syriac **Martyrology of 411*, taking the feast of the first martyr S. Stephen (December 26th) as its starting point. The **Martyrology of Carthage*, dated 505/35, starts with the first feast after Easter.

Writing probably in 627/8, the author of the **Martyrologium Hieronymianum* drew upon a large variety of texts, including calendars from Auxerre and *Aquileia, lists of martyrs and *bishops from *Rome, a version of the *Martyrology of Carthage*, and a translation of the Syriac *Martyrology*, to create the first universal martyrology listing multiple saints for every day, taking his staring point from the birth of Christ on 25 December.

Writing probably in 725/31, *Bede adapted the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* by deleting most of the names, but adding narrative information derived from the relevant hagiographical texts in the case of the names retained, to produce the first so-called historical martyrology, taking 1 January as his starting point, while leaving some days empty. This process reached its peak in the 9th century when Florus of Lyons expanded Bede's text, Florus was revised by Ado of Vienne, and Ado was revised in turn by Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Each of these compilers supplemented his predecessor's work from a large variety of other sources. DW

H. Achelis, *Die Martyrologien. Ihre Geschichte und Ihr Wert* (1900).

H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge* (²1908).

J. Dubois, *Les Martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin* (1978).

***Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (*Martyrology of Jerome*)** Pseudonymous *Latin martyrology attributed to *Jerome. It lists multiple *martyrs and *holy men from throughout the early Christian world for every day starting on 25 December. The four earliest surviving manuscripts, all dating to the 8th century, derive from a Gallic text probably composed at *Luxeuil in *Burgundy in 627/8, possibly by the monk Agrestius as a propaganda text for use at the *Council of *Mâcon, using a wide variety of sources. A fictitious letter from *bishops *Chromatius of *Aquileia and *Heliodorus of Altinum to Jerome, and his reply to them, serve as a preface to the martyrology proper. DW

CPL 2031:

ed. G. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne (*AASS*, Nov. II/1, 1894).

ed. H. Delehaye and H. Quentin (*AASS*, Nov. II/2, 1931).

F. Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827* (2006).

Martyrology of 411, Syriac The oldest Eastern Christian *martyrology. Although it survives in *Syriac, its affinities are not with later eastern martyrologies but with the later, *Latin **Martyrologium Hieronymianum*.

The sole manuscript was written at *Edessa in November 411, taken from Baghdad to *Deir al-Suryani in *Egypt in 931, and from there to London in the mid-19th century (BL Adds. 12150). The Syriac is a *translation from *Greek. The most recent saints mentioned date from the reign of *Julian, but their names may have been inserted later than the original composition of the text.

The list of 'martyrs of the West', arranged by day and month of their deaths, begins with S. Stephen on 26 December and ends on 24 November with *Peter of *Alexandria. The *cities most frequently mentioned are *Nicomedia, *Antioch, and *Alexandria. There follow names of 'martyrs of the East', that is to say of saints who suffered in the persecution of *Christians in the *Persian Empire initiated by *Shapur II, listed by their order in the Church rather than by date. A fragment of a leaf listing further Persian martyrs was recognized at Deir al-Suryani in 2005. OPN

ed. L. Duchesne, J. B. De Rossi, and R. Graffin, *AASS* Novembris II/1, LII–LXV (with Greek retroversion and table showing parallels with the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*).

ed. (with FT and introd.) F. Nau in PO 10/1 (1915), 7–26.

GT H. Lietzmann, *Die drei älteste Martyrologien* (Kleine Texte 2, 1911), 8–16.

ET W. Wright, 'An Ancient Syrian Martyrology', *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* NS vol. 8 (1866), 243–32.

S. P. Brock and L van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)* (OLA 227, 2014), fr. 27, 360 and 389–92.

Martyrology of Carthage (*Kalendarium Carthaginense*) A short *Latin *martyrology from *Carthage in *Africa of 505/35. It begins after *Easter on 19 April and ends on 16 February before Lent, seldom listing more than one saint a day, and not every day. DW

CPL 2030:

ed. G. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne, *AASS*, Novembris II/1 (1894).

ed. H. Lietzmann, *Die drei älteste Martyrologien* (Kleine Texte 2, 1911), 4–6.

Martyropolis (Syr. Maipherqat, mod. Turkish Silvan, formerly Farqin and Mayyafariqin) Roman *frontier *city of Sophanene, one of the *Transtigritanae Regiones. It was founded in the late 4th or early 5th century by the *bishop and diplomat *Marutha, who brought back *relics of *martyrs from the *Persian Empire for this purpose. The city overlooks a tributary of the Nymphius River (mod. Batman Su), very close to

the Persian frontier district of *Arzanene; it was therefore the frequent target of Persian attacks. Surrendered to the Persians by the local satrap Theodore in autumn 502, it was soon recovered and its *city gates and walls were strengthened by *Justinian I, who also installed a *Dux in the city and incorporated it into the new *province of *Armenia Quarta. It resisted a siege in 531 but in 589 was betrayed to the Persians by a disgruntled Roman officer. *Khosrow II returned it to Roman control in late 590 or 591, an event commemorated by an *inscription on the north wall, now lost but recorded by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt. Parts of the city walls which survive confirm *Procopius' description (*Aed.* III, 2) of the work carried out by Justinian. Gertrude Bell in 1911 recorded two substantial churches of which one no longer survives; parts of the west wall of another were recorded in 1982 built into a modern house. GBG

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 287–91.
Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 48–59.
C. Mango, 'Deux études sur la perse sassanide', *TM* 9 (1985), 91–104.
M. Whitby, 'Procopius' Description of Martyropolis', *Byzantinoslavica* 45 (1984), 177–83.
Bell and Mundell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*, 58–65, 123–30.
C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* (1910), vol. 1, 410–18.

martyr passions, Armenian *Agat'angelos's story of the *conversion of *Armenia combines historical narrative with hagiographic stories of martyrs' deaths. S. *Gregory the Illuminator (Grigor Lusarovits', d. *c.*328) is all but martyred: he is left to die, and only after fifteen years does he rise from the deep pit to convert the afflicted king and his *court. The *Passion* of Ss. *Gayane and Rhipsime (Gaiane and Rhipsime) forms part of Agat'angelos's *History of the Armenians*. Gregory the Illuminator's son and successor *Aristakes suffered martyrdom, as did his grandson Grigoris.

A legendary tale introduces Thaddeüs as the apostle of Armenia, where he is martyred along with Sandukht (Sanduxt), daughter of King Sanatruk of Armenia; a similar legend leads S. Bartholomew to martyrdom in Armenia. The story told by *Elishe (Ełišē)'s *History of Vardan* (end of the 5th cent.) of religious freedom wrested from the Persians who were attempting to reimpose *Zoroastrianism follows the pattern of the story of the Maccabees, with the Armenians modelled on the solitary paradigm of the *Jews. The martyrdom of the Armenian *Shushanik (Šušanik), whose *Georgian husband did embrace Zoroastrianism, is preserved in Armenian and Georgian versions (*BHO* 1107–8). TMvL

V. Calzolari, *Les Apôtres Thaddée et Barthélemy: aux origins du christianisme arménien* (2011).
S. P. Cowe, 'Armenian Hagiography', in S. Efthymiadis, ed., *Ashgate Companion to Byzantine Hagiography* (2011), 299–323.
N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')* (1989).

martyr passions, Donatist Accounts of the sufferings and deaths of Christian *martyrs valued by *Donatists in *Africa embraced both Donatist versions of passions from earlier times of *persecution which were valued by the Donatist Church, for instance the Donatist *Passio Sancti Cypriani* and *Passio Sancti Felicis*, and also accounts of Christians who died specifically on account of their Donatist convictions, for instance the *Passio Sancti Marculi* and the *Passio Sanctorum Maximiani et Issac*, which commemorate the attempt by Macarius and Paul, agents of the *Emperor *Constans I, to impose Christian unity in Africa in 347. ETH

ed. J.-L Maier, *Le Dossier du Donatisme* I (TU 134, 1987), including *Passio Sanctae Crispinae* (*BHL* 1989), 105–12, and *Passio Cypriani* (*BHL* 2039c), 122–6 and others.
Passio Sanctorum Dativi, Saturnini Presbyteri et aliorum (*BHL* 7492), ed P. F. de' Cavalieri, 'La Passio dei martiri Abitinensi', in *Note agiografiche* 8 (ST 65, 1935), 1–71.
Passio Sancti Donati (*BHL* 2303b), ed. F. Dolbeau, '*La "Passio sancti Donati" (BHL 2303 b): une tentative d'édition critique*', in *Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes: Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer* (1992), 251–67.
Passio Sancti Felicis: H. Delehaye, 'La Passion de saint Félix de Thibiuca', *AnBoll* 39 (1921), 241–76.
Passio Sancti Marculi and *Passio Sanctorum Maximiani et Issac* (*BHL* 4473 and 5271), ed. P. Mastandrea, 'Passioni di martiri donatisti (*BHL* 4473 e 5271)', *AnBol* 113 (1995), 65–75 and 76–88.
Passio Sanctarum Maximae, Donatillae et Secundae (*BHL* 5809), ed. C. de Smedt, *AnBol* 9 (1890), 107–34.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 152–3.
A. Dearn, 'Donatist Martyrs, Stories and Attitudes', in R. Miles, ed., *The Donatist Schism—Controversy and Contexts* (TTH Contexts 2, 2016), ch. 5.

martyr passions, Egypt Most of the *Coptic manuscripts transmitting passions of martyrs who perished in the persecutions in the centuries before *Constantine I date from after the *Arab conquest. Noteworthy exceptions are the short passion of *Stephanos of Lenaios from the 4th century, or the beginning of the Coptic passion of *Phileas of *Thmuis from the 6th.

Most have come a long way from the *reports of proceedings produced by a *commentariensis* present at the *court hearing and later allegedly collected together by pious figures like *Julius of Aqfahs. The passion of Stephanos of Lenaios seems very closely related to such official documents, while other passions, such as those of *Colluthus I, Phileas, or Psote, also give the

impression of resulting ultimately from copies of court proceedings.

It has been generally assumed that Coptic martyr passions owe their existence to *Greek originals (Phileas of Thmuis) and that only the passions written after the Arab conquest are likely to have been composed originally in *Coptic. This view is supported by the many Coptic martyr passions written in an 'epic' manner, enhancing the negative image of the persecutor as well as the saintliness of the martyr by adding numerous cruel tortures to which the martyrs respond by citing extensively from the *Bible. These trials go on for several days, weeks, sometimes months, or even years with the martyrs being put in prison to die from their wounds, but miraculously always emerging entirely healthy. This phenomenon of physical indestructibility has been interpreted as an Egyptian feature referred to as the 'Koptischer Konsens'. GS

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.v.* hagiography, Coptic, cols. 1191–7 (T. Orlandi).

Th. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus Der Martyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und der Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche. Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens* (1972).

H. Delehaye, 'Les Martyrs d'Égypte', *AnBoll* 40 (1922), 5–154, 299–364.

H. Delehaye, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (SubsHag 13B, ²1966).

De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (1937).

T. Orlandi, *Il Dossier copto del martire Psote* (1978).

Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms.*

martyr passions, Latin and Greek The trauma of the *persecutions was such that Christians were still writing stories about the sufferings of the *martyrs a thousand years later. Such treatments as the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (1228–98) are useful to the historian only as a record of the spirituality of their imaginative medieval inventors. The elaboration of incident began early, as did the disappearance of accurate delineation of the martyrs' spiritual intentions. In his eyewitness account of the *torture of S. Romanus of *Antioch in 302/3 *Eusebius observes that the saint continued to 'glory boldly in the faith' even after his tongue had been cut out (*MartPal* S&L 2, 3–4); only 100 years later the Christian poet *Prudentius gives S. Romanus more than 130 lines of verse to utter his witness (*Peristephanon*, X, 895–1100).

The existence of so much fiction has made the sifting of *saints' lives and martyr passions, perhaps surprisingly, an exceedingly rigorous branch of historiographical study over the centuries since the Pères Bollandistes published the first volume of the monumental *Acta Sanctorum* in 1643. The number of martyr passions which can be affirmed as records contemporary with the events and attitudes they purport to describe now stands at about two dozen. They are of various literary genres. There are *letters from one church to another, as in the *Passion* of S. Polycarp and the Martyrs of *Lyons. There are more or less modified court records such as the *Passion* of the Scillitan Martyrs, the *Acta Proconsularia* of S. *Cyprian of *Carthage, and from the Great Persecution, all or parts of the *Passions* of S. *Euplus of Catania, of Ss. Agape, Irene, and Chione of *Thessalonica, of Ss. *Crispina of *Theveste, *Stephen of Lennaios, and *Gallonius and his companions, and the Bodmer and Chester Beatty *papyrus copies of the *Passion* of S. *Phileas of Thmuis. What all these texts (except the *Life of S. Cyprian* attributed to Pontius) have in common is that they record only the martyrs' trial, torture, and death, events which will have formed the final act of what must have been a protracted drama. The most harrowing account to survive is certainly the memoir of the execution of his friends, his housemates, and his beloved teacher *Pamphilus by Eusebius in his *Martyrs of Palestine*.

There is of course authentic information to be gleaned from passions which were written after the persecutions were over and also from the dated lists known as *martyrologies. Sometimes such information can be cross-checked. *Lactantius and Eusebius both record the execution of the Christian who tore down the imperial *edict inaugurating the Great Persecution on 23 February 303 and was 'cooked according to law' (*legitime coctus*: *Mort.* 13, 2–3; cf. *HE* VIII, 5); by comparing the dates with the *Syriac *Martyrology of 411* it may be concluded that his name was Euetius. However the information that can be ascertained in this way is generally confined to dates and names; it imparts nothing about attitudes and intentions. The same is true of later passions which can be shown to be well informed about local geography, such as those of S. *Alban and S. *Theodotus of Ancyra (*Ankara): geography is about maps, history is about chaps; it may be that the compilers of such passions were more familiar with the layout of their martyr's later shrine than with the horrific facts of his death. It is fortunate that there are contemporary sources for the persecution of the Christians apart from the accounts of individual martyrdoms.

During the century which followed the end of the Great Persecution, the reading of martyr passions came to form part of the saints' liturgical commemoration. The Armenian *Bible Lectionary of Jerusalem prescribes a number of such readings and the popularity of the practice is apparent from *sermons of *Augustine preached at martyrs' shrines (Saxer). There is even a sermon of *Gregory of *Nyssa which had to be broken off prematurely because the local crowd at *Sebasteia apparently disliked what he was saying about their *Forty Martyrs (PG 46, 756BD). The give and take

of public performance therefore came to shape the memory of the martyrs and the texts which encapsulated it. Those who heard the *Cappadocian fathers or *John Chrysostom speak in *praise of the saints who protected their *cities came to expect a properly composed oration; what H. Delehave called 'panegyric martyrdoms' were still being read in churches frequented by *Severus of *Antioch in the early 6th century. A more vulgar vigour was represented by 'epic martyrdoms'. In these texts, psychological subtlety was sacrificed to a proliferation of miraculous incident enacted by sharply polarized characters: the wicked *governor, no longer a busy official responding to local accusations but always acting on an *edict from the *emperor, cruelly confronts the heroic martyr; both engage in vigorous *invective and the martyr while suffering excruciating *torture is fortified by frequent *miracles. The image of the saint is so thickly varnished with partisan admiration that it is impossible for the reader to divine his intentions. No doubt such texts were exciting to hear in public performance.

In time the tales of the martyrs became even more elaborate, as in the hagiographical romances from *Rome known as the **Gesta Martyrum*, written over the late 5th and early 6th centuries. Accounts of martyrdom in the Roman Empire also helped later Christians undergoing persecution for their faith in other parts of the world understand what was happening to them. Echoes of Roman martyr passions are found in accounts as far apart as the description of the sufferings of S. *Sabas and his companions north of the Danube *frontier in the mid-4th century and those of the martyrs of *Najran in early 6th-century southern *Arabia.

OPN

Barnes, *Hagiography*.
H. Delehaye, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (SubsHag 13 B, ²1966).
Lemmans et al., *'Let us die that we may live'*.
Gemeinhardt and Leemans, *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300–450 AD)*.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques.*

martyr passions, Syriac Accounts of Christian martyrdom from the *Syriac-speaking regions of the Roman Empire share features with many of their *Greek and *Latin counterparts. They recount the saint's virtue, arrest, dialogue with a judge, *torture, death, and burial, as well as the distribution or enshrining of *relics.

Two sets of passions survive from *Edessa. One cycle describes the martyrdoms of Ss. *Shmona, Guria, and Habib. The legendary account of the sufferings of Ss. *Sharbel, Babai, and Barsamya, set in the early 2nd century under the *Emperor Trajan, belongs to a collection of 5th-century texts compiled to crystallize Edessa's Christian history.

The *Life* of S. Febronia of *Nisibis (6th cent.) is a romance idealizing the life of a monastic scholar, Febronia, who lived in a convent in Nisibis and was martyred for her refusal to marry a *pagan. Febronia's legend (perhaps written by a fellow sister) defines her death as betrothal to Christ. The story circulated also in Greek and Latin versions, thus diffusing her cult in the West.

The Long Recension of *Eusebius of *Caesarea's *Martyrs of Palestine* which describes, often in eyewitness accounts, the execution during the Great *Persecution of several of Eusebius' friends, of a man he shared a house with, and of his beloved master *Pamphilus has survived only in Syriac *translation from the Greek. The oldest surviving list of *Christian martyrs is the *Syriac *Martyrology of 411*.

See also MARTYRS AND MARTYR PASSIONS, CHRISTIAN, IN PERSIAN EMPIRE.

JNSL

GEDSH s.v. martyrs and persecutions, 271–3 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques* lists saints.
Life of S. Febronia (*BHO* 302), ed. P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. 5, 517–615.
ET (annotated) S. P. Brock and S. A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (1987; rev. edn. 1998), 150–76.
A. Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest as Written above the Old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite, of Beth-Mari-Qanûn in A.D. 778* (Studia Sinaitica X, 1900).
Further bibliography in A. Binggeli, ed., *L Hagiographie syriaque* (Études syriaques 9, 2012).

martyrs, Christian 'Anyone who bears witness to Christ for the sake of righteousness is without doubt a martyr' (*Caesarius of *Arles, *Sermon*, 53, 1). The primary meaning of 'martyr' as it is used in the New Testament is 'one who bears witness' (e.g. John 1: 7) and witness remained the core significance of martyrdom. In the late 2nd century, the term became more specialized, as it came to denote those who had completed their witness with their deaths, so that there was no longer any danger that through fear or other external pressure they might give way to official demands and *sacrifice to pagan gods (*Letter of Church at *Lyons, in *Eusebius, *HE*, V, 2, 3). But witness remained the core of the matter.

Persecution

Fear was the principal weapon of the persecutors. Their primary purpose was not to kill Christians, it was to secure conformity with the normal practice of the public religion which was each *city's first line of defence against *natural disasters. Persecution, like pagan religion, was in the first place a matter for individual cities; they rounded up Christians they wished to have dealt with and the provincial *governor tried them in the

course of his assize tour. Only on three occasions was there a general Empire-wide persecution, under *Decius in 250, under *Valerian in 257–9, and during the Great Persecution which began in 303.

Through all this time, from *Pliny's governorship of *Bithynia in the early 2nd century (*ep.* X 97, 2) to the Great Persecution two centuries later, judges consistently viewed as no threat a Christian who was prepared to offer sacrifice. A stubborn Egyptian *bishop was cajoled by the *Praefectus Augustalis by having held up to him the example of a compliant colleague: 'You have killed many men by not sacrificing. Pierius saved many by submitting' (**Passio* of S. *Phileas–col. II Bodmer). Around the same time a judge in *Bithynia wore down a Christian he had been working on for two years; the man sacrificed, the judge was as pleased as if he had conquered an entire barbarian nation (*Lactantius, *Inst.* V, 11, 15).

Christian reactions

Terror gave rise to various reactions. Some Christians simply gave way and did what the authorities wanted; *Cyprian described the cheerful queues snaking their way up to the Capitol at *Carthage during the Decian Persecution, to sacrifice (*On the Lapsed*, 8–9), and to receive the official counter-signature on the *papyrus chits (**libelli*) which certified that they had done so. The pastoral letter sent out to the Christians of Egypt by *Peter, *Patriarch of Alexandria, at the fourth *Easter of the Great Persecution in 306 reveals a broad range of strategems adopted by his people. Some gave way after *prison and *torture, but others bribed the authorities or sent a pagan friend to sacrifice for them; some even sent their Christian slaves.

Of particular interest are those who simply fled. Both Cyprian (*On the Lapsed*, 10–12) and Peter (10) commend these refugees for Christ. They would have had their goods confiscated and would need to rely on God to provide for them, but they had avoided the greater danger of apostasy. Peter (9) contrasts them favourably with hotheads who thrust themselves forward in the hope of dying a martyr's death; such voluntary martyrs should listen, he says, to the words of Jesus: 'But when they persecute you in one city, flee ye unto another' (Matthew 10: 23). The corollary of such praise of prudent withdrawal is that Christian witness is not simply a matter of getting oneself killed, like a lemming leaping off a cliff, it is something more subtle.

Christian martyrdom

For all that, Christians, as one Roman emperor complained to another, 'had the habit of dying gladly' (Lactantius, *Mort.* 11, 3). Ignatius of *Antioch, on his way to martyrdom in *Rome under Trajan, prayed that the *lions would make a meal of him, 'for it is they who can provide my way to God' (*To the Romans*, 4).

To the emperors such Christian resilience was simply an annoyance. To a reflective Christian, though, it was the product of 'inspirata patientia' (Minucius Felix, 37, 3–5). The phrase is revealing. Stoics achieved *patientia*, the capacity to bear pain, by denying its power over a rational man; Christian *inspirata patientia* was the capacity to bear pain by accepting the infusion of an external power greater than the pain. There was more to martyrdom than simply standing up for a set of beliefs, though it was that.

For *Origen, in his remarkable treatise the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, the fear generated by persecution is sublimated into a wholesome faith in God: 'give place to the Spirit of your Father' (39). Both Origen (34) and Cyprian (*ep.* 76, 5, 1) counsel Christians who get arrested not to plan in advance the speech they will give in court, but to let the Spirit speak through them. The advice comes from the Gospel (Matthew 10: 19–20) but it is remarkable in a world where *rhetoric was what educated men valued most. At the heart of martyrdom, then, is not the wish to suffer but the discovery of a source of strength.

The strength of the martyrs was recognized by their contemporaries. Some who had given way and sacrificed in the Decian Persecution put such confidence in Christians who were suffering in prison that they asked them for the forgiveness of their sin. Some imprisoned Christians even issued written documents forgiving sins, and Cyprian had to impress on his people that it was only the Church at large which could mediate God's forgiveness.

The strength of the martyrs was also remembered for centuries afterwards. The anniversaries of their deaths were celebrated at *martyria all over the Christian world and their sufferings were written up as *martyr passions—and unfortunately for historians the stories lost nothing in the telling. There are, however, sufficient contemporary sources written by thoughtful Christians, such as Cyprian, Origen, and Lactantius, for us to be able to see past the gratuitous invective and incredible miracles of most martyr passions to the subtle strength of their witness. OPN

Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society* (2004), 38–59.
G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom and Orthodoxy*, ed. L. M. Whitby and J. Streeter (2006).
D. Vincent Twomey and Mark Humphries, *The Great Persecution: Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference Maynooth 2003* (2009).
O. Nicholson, 'Flight in Persecution as Imitation of Christ: Lactantius *Divine Institutes* IV, 18, 1–2', *JTS* 40 NS (1989), 48–65.
O. Nicholson, 'What Makes a Voluntary Martyr?', *Studia Patristica* 65 (2013), 159–64.

R. Darling Young, *In Procession Before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity* (2001).
R. Darling Young, 'Martyrdom as Exaltation', in Burrus, *Late Ancient Christianity*, 70–91.
V. Saxer, *Morts, martyrs et réliques: en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles: les témoignages de Tertullien, Cyprien et Augustin à la lumière de l'archéologie africaine* (Théologie historique 50, 1980).
B. Wicker, ed., *Witnesses to Faith? Martyrdom in Christianity and Islam* (2006).
Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (1999).

martyrs, Jewish The most celebrated tales of Jewish martyrs (before the extensive Crusader-era literature) are located in the historical settings of (i) the Maccabean revolt (167–160 BC), and (ii) the aftershocks of the Roman destruction of the Second Temple (AD 70).

The Hasmonean traditions in 2 Maccabees 6–7 are the earliest strata of martyrology: Jews are compelled by the unjust king (Antiochus Epiphanes) to break the 'laws of their fathers and cease to live by the laws of God' (2 Macc. 6: 1). Refusal is met with *torture and death; the most repeated narrative is 2 Maccabees 7's tale of the mother and her seven martyred sons. The blameless martyrs pay for their community's sins: a lesson that 'discipline[s] our people', their public deaths constitute a 'blessing' that affords the community opportunity to reform before the chance for salvation is lost (2 Macc. 6: 12–13).

The Maccabean martyrdoms are preserved in *Greek Jewish scriptures, not in later rabbinic literature. The earliest rabbinical texts describing martyrdoms concern the deaths of Pappus and Julian during the reign of Trajan (*Sifra Emor*, 9, 5). Deaths during Bar Kokhba's Revolt, notably that of Akiba, expanded the corpus of martyr stories and, in the geonic period, they were embellished and combined into the tale of the 'Ten Martyrs': *Midrash Asarah Haruge Malkut*.

The interpretation of Jewish martyrology, its significance in halakhic literature, and role in religious thought during Late Antiquity are contested. Christian writers from the 4th century elevated martyrdom to a central pillar of Christian identity, and since the events associated with Jewish martyrdoms occurred prior to Christian persecution, it was assumed that Jewish traditions inspired Christian interest in martyrology (Frend). The scant attention to the Maccabean martyrs in rabbinic literature, however, could imply that martyrdom was not so central in Judaism during Antiquity, and that the martyr stories are Late Antique retrojections. Bowersock proposed that martyrdom's relevance arose from Jewish borrowings from Roman beliefs. Boyarin suggests that the stories result from an intimate nexus between Christian and Jewish writers in the 4th century AD (see *Sozomen, *HE* II, 4 for the sharing of the sanctuary at *Mamre between various faiths).

Jewish martyrology appears to have developed as part of widespread consideration of martyrdom and salvation in Late Antiquity, and the stories must have developed in dialogue with Christian martyr tales—and perhaps 'Pagan' martyrology too (Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*), but certain specifically Jewish aspects are noteworthy. Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, XII, 11, 2), provides anecdotal evidence for Jewish reverence for Maccabean martyrs prior to any articulated Christian martyrology, and martyrdom is sometimes described as a form of *kiddush hashem* (sanctification of God's name) in exegesis of Leviticus 22: 32. Notwithstanding the obvious symbolic importance of *kiddush hashem*, halakhic literature tends to restrict the obligation of martyrdom only to cases where an individual would otherwise be forced to engage in one of the three major transgressions, namely worshipping idols or committing incest or murder. Jewish exegetes legislated martyrdom towards the margins of rabbinic Judaism, interpreting martyrdom less as vicariously redemptive for the community, and more as joyful death of the individual as harbinger for end-time. PAW

G. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (1995).
D. Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Judaism and Christianity* (1999).
W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and the Persecution in the Early Church* (1965).
H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandriunorum* (1954).
S. Shepkaru, *Jewish Martyrs in the Pagan and Christian Worlds* (2005).

martyrs, Roman *See* GESTA MARTYRUM.

martyrs and martyr passions, Christian, in Persian Empire The earliest known Christian martyrs in the *Persian Empire suffered during the reign of *Bahram II (276–93) and further martyrdoms occurred right up to the reign of *Khosrow II (590–628). Persecutions occurred principally in *Adiabene, Babylonia (southern Persian *Mesopotamia), and Susiana (*Khuzestan), the areas where Christian communities had been longest established.

The *Persian Martyr Acts*, despite the long transmission and revisions to which their texts have been subjected, give a clear reflection of such judicial and administrative practices from the *Sasanian period as laceration, dislocation, sawing, bastinado, dismemberment (the penalty of the Nine Deaths), and the abandonment of corpses to wild animals. Trials by ordeal subjecting the accused to water, fire, or molten metal can be exactly compared to descriptions in the

Madayan-i Hazar Datestan (*Book of a Thousand Judgements*), a 7th-century legislative compilation in Middle *Persian.

This hagiographical literature was translated from *Syriac into *Greek in the early 5th century. *Sozomen and *Theodoret exploited many Syriac texts in their *Ecclesiastical Histories*. At around this time, Abraham the Confessor translated some of them into *Armenian. *Sogdian fragments have been found in Bulayiq, north of *Turfan, transmitted through the missionary movements of the *Church of the East. The attribution to *Marutha, *Bishop of *Martyropolis (Maypherqat) in the late 4th/early 5th centuries, of the principal passions describing martyrdoms under Shapur II is disputed. Some texts were collected into cycles, such as that containing the *Passion* of *Symeon bar Sabbaʿe, Bishop of Seleucia-*Ctesiphon.

Scholars who study *saints' lives usually classify this literature in three categories. First there are historical passions, corresponding to the reigns of *Bahram V (Ss. Jacob the Notary, Narsaï, Tataq), and of *Khosrow I and Khosrow II in the 5th–7th centuries (the Patriarch *Aba, Ss. Piran-Gushnasp, Giwargis Mihr-Mah-Gushnasp, Isho'sabran), which are based on contemporary testimonies. In a second category are narrative passions written following the persecution of *Yazdegerd II (439–57), such as those of the martyrs of Karka d-Bet Slokh (*Kirkuk), Ss. Anahid, Pethion. The third and largest category, comprising novelistic and interpolated stories (e.g. the passions of Ss. Symeon Bar Sabba'e, Tarbo, Pusay and Martha, Azad, Badam) is related to *Shapur II (309–79). The construction of *martyria, *pilgrimage, and commemorative reading of the passions contributed to the cult of *relics. CJ

GEDSH s.v. martyrs and persecutions, 271–3 (Brock).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*.

ANCIENT SOURCES

Syriac texts: ed. in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vols. 2–4.
GT O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer* (1915).
ed. (with partial LT) H. Delehaye, *Les Versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II*, in PO 2/4 (1907), 401–560.

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J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse* (1904), 56–82; 104–30.
S. Brock, *The History of the Holy Mar Ma' in: With a Guide to the Persian Martyr Acts* (2008).
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A. M. Becker, 'Martyrdom, Religious Difference, and "Fear" as a Category of Piety in the Sasanian Empire: The Case of the Martyrdoms of Gregory and of Yazdpaneh', *JLA* 2/2 (2009), 300–36.
C. Jullien, 'Peines et supplices dans les *Actes des martyrs persans* et droit sassanide', *Studia Iranica* 33 (2004), 243–69.
J. Walker, *The Legend of Mar Qardagh* (2006).

Marutha of Martyropolis (mid-4th cent.–*c.*420) A monk, *Bishop of *Martyropolis/Maypherqat (mod. Silvan), northern *Mesopotamia, *c.*399. His father was *governor of Sophanene. He was present at the *Councils of *Constantinople (381) and *Antioch (383, or 390). He acted as an ambassador, sent by the Emperor *Arcadius and his son *Theodosius II, to the Persian *court. His *Vita* was originally written in *Syriac (fr. ms. Sinai Syr. 24; *BHG* 2265–6; Armenian, *BHO* 720) then in *Arabic. A tradition makes him a skilled *doctor who succeeded in curing *Shapur II's daughter (Yaqut, *Kitāb al-buldān*) or in exorcizing *Yazdegerd I's son (*Socrates, *HE*, VII, 8). Marutha is recorded to have negotiated peace between the two empires and taken part in the *Council of Seleucia-*Ctesiphon of 410 (J.-B. Chabot, **Synodicon orientale*, 17–36) which reorganized the Persian Church after it had been deeply disrupted during the persecutions. After this mission, Marutha brought the *relics of the Persian Christian *martyrs to Maypherqat/Martyropolis.

The corpus of works attributed to Marutha is debated. Ascription to him of the *martyr passions of the Christians persecuted under Shapur II is hardly credible. One tradition attributes to him a history of the *Council of *Nicaea and its canons. The Acts of the Council of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon as well as some *hymns and an anaphora are his work. CJ

S. Brock, 'A Fragment of the Syriac Life of Marutha of Martyropolis', *AnBol* 128 (2010), 306–11.
R. Marcus, 'The Armenian Life of Marutha of Martyropolis', *HTR* 25 (1932), 47–71.
J. Noret, 'La Vie grecque ancienne de s. Maruta de Mayferqat', *AnBoll* 91 (1973), 77–103.
L. H. Tēr-Petrossian, 'L'Attribution du recueil des passions des martyrs perses à Marutha', *AnBoll* 97 (1979), 129–30.
A. Vööbus, ed., *The Canons Ascribed to Maruta of Maipherqat and Related Sources*, 2 vols. (CSCO 439, 440, Scr. syr. 191, 192; 1982).

Marutha of Takrit (d. 649) *Syriac Orthodox *Metropolitan of *Takrit. Born near Balad (Eski *Mosul), and educated at schools in the *Persian Empire and at the *Monastery of Mar Zakkay near *Callinicum (in Roman territory), he returned to the Monastery of Mar *Mattai near Mosul in 605. He became Metropolitan of Takrit in 628/9 and is regarded as the first in the line of *Maphrians. His *letter to the Syriac Orthodox *Patriarch John I (d. 648), describing the *persecution of the *Miaphysites by the '*Nestorian'

*Barsauma of *Nisibis, is preserved in the *Chronicle* of *Michael the Elder (XI, 9). HT

GEDSH s.v. Marutha of Tagrit, 273–4 (Brock).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 304.

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ed. (with ET) S. P. Brock, 'The Homily by Marutha of Tagrit on the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany', *OrChrist* 66 (1982), 51–74.

LT of Anaphora E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (²1847), II, 260–8.

Letter to Patriarch John, ed. (with FT) J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (1899–1924), vol. 4, 424–7 (text), vol. 2, 435–40 (FT).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Vita by Marutha's successor Denḥā (*BHO* 719), ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *Histoires d'Ahoudemmeh et de Marouta*, PO 3/1 (1905; repr. 1982), 61–96.

Marv Dasht Plain *See* ISTAKHR AND MARV DASHT PLAIN.

Marw al-Shahijan *See* MERV.

Marwan I b. al-Hakam (*c.*623/6–85) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 684–5). Stigmatized in the historical tradition as a late convert to *Islam (although most accounts place his birth well within the last decade of the Prophet *Muhammad's lifetime), Marwan entered the Muslim elite during the reign of the third caliph, *'Uthman b. 'Affan, who was his cousin. Marwan held the governorship of *Medina for two periods under *Mu'awiya, amassing a considerable estate in the area. After the failure of the Sufyanid branch of the Umayyad clan with Mu'awiya II's death in 684, Marwan was chosen as the family's candidate to challenge *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr for the caliphate during the Second *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*). His claim was not widely recognized, however, and much of his short (six- to ten-month, according to differing reports) 'reign'—if such it can be called—was spent on the battlefield, including his notable victory at *Marj Rahit in 684. NC

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Marwān I, 621–3 (Bosworth).

*Tabari, XXI.

G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate A.D. 661–750* (1986).

C. Robinson, *Abd al-Malik* (2005).

Marwan II al-Himar (*c.*692/6–749/50) Last *Umayyad *caliph (r. 744–49/50) to rule in *Damascus. Marwan fought his way to power after rebelling against *Yazid III's designated successor. His victory was short-lived; in 747 a group known as the Hashimiyya, led by the mysterious *Abu Muslim, raised their own (black) banners of revolt in *Khorasan. (To whom 'Hashimiyya' referred remains a matter of debate.) Two years later in *Kufa, they acclaimed al-Saffah, a member of the *'Abbasid family, as caliph. Marwan's forces were defeated. One member of the Umayyad family escaped the subsequent massacre: *'Abd al-Rahman found refuge in al-*Andalus, establishing an Umayyad regime that lasted until 1031. NC

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Marwān II, 623–5 (Hawting).

*Tabari, XXVI–XXVII, *passim*.

S. S. Agha, *The Revolution which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor Abbāsid* (2003).

P. Crone, 'On the Meaning of the 'Abbasid Call to *al-Rida*', in C. E. Bosworth, ed., *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times* (1989), 95–111.

E. I. Daniel, 'The Anonymous "History of the 'Abbasid Family' and its Place in Islamic Historiography"', *IJMES* 14 (1982), 419–34.

J. Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Enquiry into the Art of 'Abbasid Apologetics* (1986).

M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, 2 vols. (1983–90).

Mary, the Blessed Virgin The Mother of Jesus. She conceived and gave birth to Jesus while a virgin according to Matthew 1–2 and Luke 1–2. Other important NT passages mentioning Mary are Mark 3: 31; John 2: 1–11; 19: 25–7, and Acts 1: 14.

Mary's early significance is evident in 2nd-century extra-canonical writings, such as the *Protoevangelium of James*, and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. The earliest depictions of her are in Roman *catacombs of the 3rd/4th century, when Marian cult is evident from *amulets and such supplicatory prayers as **Sub tuum praesidium*. Hence, *Epiphanius of *Salamis (d. 403) voiced concern about excessive devotion to Mary.

Patristic writers such as Justin Martyr (d. *c.*165) and Irenaeus (d. *c.*202) often contrast her with Eve. In the 4th century a substantial Marian theology began to form. *Athanasius (d. 373) and *Jerome (d. 420) stressed her perpetual virginity, which was accepted by most church fathers, East and West, in the 5th century. At the *Council of *Ephesus (431) the title *Theotokos (Gk. 'God-bearer') for Mary was endorsed, and those contesting it were condemned as heretical. After Ephesus, important Marian *relics emerged (her *veil, *belt, tears, milk), and related *pilgrimage sites were founded. Mary was venerated as a symbol and protector of the Church. Primary Marian feasts, such as the Annunciation (25 March), Presentation (14 February: *Egeria, 26; *Armenian *Bible Lectionary*, 13) and Dormition/Assumption (15 August), gradually took their places in popular and liturgical calendars in the 5th and 6th centuries. RD

Protoevangelium of James, ed. E Strycker (annotated with FT), *La Forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques: recherches sur le Papyrus Bodmer* (SubsHag 33, 1961).
Infancy Gospel of Thomas, ed. R. F. Hock (annotated with ET), *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas* (1995).
Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, 78–9.
Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistle to Smyrnaeans*, 1–2.
Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, III, 21–2.
Jerome, *Against Helvidius on the Perpetual Virginity of Mary*.
Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 100.
T. de Bruyn, 'Greek Amulets from Egypt Invoking Mary as Expressions of "Lived Religion"', *JnlCanSocCoptSt* 3–4 (2012), 55–69.
Averil Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople', *JTS* 29 NS 29 (1978), 79–108 = her *CCSCB*, study XVII.
H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (1964).
J. Ledit, *Marie dans la Liturgie de Byzance* (1976).
J. Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries* (1996).
S. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (2002).

Mary in art Before the 5th century, Mary was depicted in connection with Christ, as his mother in scenes of his infancy, or in connection with the prophecy of his birth. Early images mostly come from funerary contexts, such as the Annunciation scene in the 2nd-century *Catacomb of Priscilla, *Rome. Thereafter, thanks to the apocryphal *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (Mary's biography), and her *acclamation as *Theotokos at the *Council of *Ephesus in 431, autonomous depictions became commonplace, particularly in the East. The *iconography shows her holding the infant Christ, either enthroned (*S. Maria Maggiore, Rome), or standing (the Pantheon icon); as queen (*S. Maria Antiqua, Rome); breast-feeding (Coptic *wall paintings); *orans (*S. Sabina, Rome); and, from the 6th century, ascending into heaven at the Dormition. Images of Mary as intercessor anticipate her later popularity in the Deisis (approaching Christ, with John the Baptist). Representations of her as Hodegetria (pointing to Christ as the Way), based on a portrait of Mary believed to have been painted by S. Luke through divine inspiration, informed Byzantine debates about the legitimacy of *icons. The recent discovery near *Jerusalem of the 5th-century Kathisma church, dedicated to Mary, indicates the prevalence of the cult of Mary. HAHC

Belting, *Likeness and Presence*.
L. Brubaker and M. B. Cunningham, eds., *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images* (BBOM 11, 2011).
Grabar, *Iconography*.
J. Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (1996).
B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (2006).
M. Vassilaki, ed., *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (2005).

Mary of Egypt, S. The story of Mary of *Egypt was told in monastic circles in a *Greek version by *Sophronius in the East from the 6th century and in *Latin soon after. Its main theme is of a *prostitute from *Alexandria who went to the Holy Sepulchre in *Jerusalem, underwent a *conversion of heart, and lived thereafter as a hermit in the desert beyond *Jordan. There a priest-monk Zosima encountered her, heard her story and eventually was present at her burial. She is commemorated in Orthodox churches on the fifth Sunday of Lent as a model of repentance for all. The main theme is the contrast between the pious works of Zosima and the free reception of unmerited grace by Mary. BW

CoptEnc vol. 5 *s.n.* 'Mary the Egyptian', cols. 1560a–1561a (Guillaumont).
BHG 1042–4: PG 87, cols. 3693–726.
BHL 5415–21: PL 73, cols. 671–90.
P. F. Dembrowski, *La Vie de Ste. Marie Egyptienne: versions en ancien et en moyen francais* (1977).
ET Ward. *Harlots of the Desert*, ch. 2.

Marzamemi A merchant *ship, wrecked off Capo Passero, at Marzamemi, on the south-east coast of *Sicily in 500/50, discovered in 1959 and investigated in 1960–7 and again from 2013. Its cargo included 200–300 tons of prefabricated *Proconnesian *marble architectural elements, intended for a small church, including marble slabs, columns, pillars, an altar canopy, choir *screen, pulpit, and a double *ambo made of green (*verde antico*) Thessalian marble. JC; AG

G. Kapitän, 'The Church Wreck off Marzamemi', *Archaeology* 22 (1969), 122–33.
E. F. Castagnino Berlinghieri and A. Paribeni, 'Byzantine Merchant Ships and Marble Trade', *Skyllis* 11 (2011), 64–75.
J. Leidwanger and N. Bruno, 'Marzamemi II "Church Wreck" Excavation: 2013 Field Season', *Archaeologia Maritima Mediterranea* 10 (2013), 191–8.
J. Leidwanger and S. Tusa, 'Marzamemi II "Church Wreck" Excavations: 2014 Field Season', *Archaeologia Maritima Mediterranea* 12 (2015), 103–15.

marzban Military official of the *Persian Empire whose title indicates he was 'guardian of the marches'. The rank and functions of a marzban are not entirely clear, but seem to denote responsibility on a provincial level rather than on the level of the four administrative regions of the late *Sasanian Empire. AZ

Ph. Gignoux, 'L'Organisation administrative sasanide: le cas du *marzbān*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984), 1–29.

Mashtots', Mesrop (Maštoc') (d. 441) Armenian *bishop credited with inventing an *Armenian alphabet. The *Life* of Mashtots' by his disciple *Koriwn is itself one of the earliest extant works of Armenian literature. Mashtots was charged with the task of the invention of an alphabet by King Vramshapuh (389–417) and the *Catholicus *Sahak I Part'ew, who saw the need for a vernacular text of the *Bible in order to continue the work of spreading Christianity throughout the *Caucasus. He is also credited with the invention of the *Georgian and *Albanian alphabets around the same time. Mashtots' and his disciples travelled to *Edessa and *Caesarea to seek inspiration for an alphabet, and also to collect texts for written *translation into their native language. These disciples came to be known as the *Holy Translators for their work in establishing an Armenian version of the Bible and other liturgical and ecclesiastical texts. As well as an account of the origins of Armenian literature, the *Life* of Mashtots' demonstrates the competing influences of Syrian and Greek Christianity, respectively, on the early Armenian church. TLA

PLRE II, 'Mesrop'.

BHO 546–8.

Life, ed. with comm. K. H. Maksoudian, with ET by B. Norehad, *Koriwn: Vark Mashtots i* (1985).

Masius, Mons *See* TUR 'ABDIN.

Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 738) *Umayyad general and son of the *Caliph *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705; 692–705 unopposed). Maslama's main theatre of campaigning was the Arab–Byzantine *frontier: among many other routine, seasonal raids, in 716–17 he led a major (but unsuccessful) campaign against *Constantinople (*Theophanes AM, 6208–10). In 720 Maslama put down a revolt by Yazid b. al-Muhallab; after the latter was removed from his post as governor of Iraq by Maslama's half-brother, the Caliph *'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. Maslama then became Iraqi governor himself, but was soon removed. He owned considerable land in *Syria and *Mesopotamia (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 228–9 and 232–3). NC

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, p. 740 (G. Rotter).

K. Y. Blankinship, *The End of the Jihâd State* (1994).

F. Gabrieli, 'L'eroe omayyade Maslamah Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik', *Rendiconti Lincei* 5 (series 8) (1950), 22–39.

R. Guilland, 'L'Expédition de Maslama contre Constantinople (717–718)', *Études byzantines* (1959), 109–34.

W. E. Kaegi, 'Confronting Islam: Emperors versus Caliphs (641–*c.*850)', in J. Shepard, ed., *Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500–1492* (2008), 365–94.

Masona of Merida Catholic *bishop (*c.*570–610) of the *city of *Merida (Emerita Augusta) in *Visigothic *Spain, known from the 7th-century *Lives of the Fathers of *Merida*. He is an unusual example of a *Goth who professed the Catholic faith before the official conversion of the kingdom in 589. He built a *hostel in the city in 580, founded *monasteries, and built *basilicas. The *Homoean (*'Arian') King *Leovigild tried to reduce Masona's power by appointing a rival, Arian bishop named Sunna and attempting to seize the tunic of the city's patron saint S. Eulalia. When both attempts failed, he banished Masona from 582 to 585. In 588, with the Catholic King *Reccared in power, a disenfranchised Sunna plotted Masona's murder but was thwarted and exiled. EMB

Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium (*CPL* 2069, *BHL* 2530):

ed. A. Maya Sánchez (CCSL 117, 1992).

ET A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (TTH 26, new edn., 2011).

masons and masons' marks Carvers of stone or *marble marked their work with their signs, mostly letters and *monograms. In the churches of *Constantinople, *Ephesus, *Ravenna, and *Poreč from the reign of *Justinian I, the same marks appear on similar artefacts made of marble from *Proconnesus, all apparently carved by the same highly specialized masons at a central workshop in or near Constantinople. Other artefacts from the same workshop are not marked, and the purpose of the marks remains unclear. Other masons worked elsewhere; *Gregory of *Nyssa asked for some to be sent from *Iconium (*ep.* 16). Masons from the mountains of *Isauria were particularly famous and were involved, for instance, in building the church of S. *Symeon Stylites the Younger near *Antioch. PhN; OPN

J. Bardill, 'The Masons' Marks', in J. Bardill, R. Bayliss, and J. Crow, eds., *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (2008), 181–210.

Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2/2 (1976), 206–30.

A. Paribeni, 'Le sigle dei marmorari et l'organizzazione del cantiere', in C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, eds., *Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli* (2004), 651–736.

C. Mango, 'Isaurian Builders', in P. Wirth, ed., *Polychronion Fs Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (1966).

massa *Latin term used with or without *fundorum* (*see* FUNDUS) to indicate an agglomeration of farms managed as a *estate, attested in *Italy and *Africa (e.g. **Liber Pontificalis*, 34). *See also* ESTATE MANAGEMENT. RM

D. Vera, 'Massa fundorum: forme della grande proprietà e poteri della città in Italia fra Costantino e Gregorio Magno', *MÉFRA* 111 (1999), 991–1025.

Masts, Battle of *See* PHOENIX OF LYCIA.

al-Mas'udi (*c.*890–956) Muslim traveller and scholar of many and varied interests. The author of (by his own account) 36 works, he is best known for *Kitab muruj al-dhahab* ('Book of the Meadows of Gold'), an eclectic compendium of history, folklore, geography, and travel writing. The *Muruj* spans the breadth of the Islamic world and beyond; as well as a narrative of Prophetic and caliphal history, it contains sections on Frankish kings, Indian customs, precious *stones *hunting and hawking, and legends of pre-Islamic figures such as Alexander the Great, among others. Al-Mas'udi gathered his information from teachers (many named in his books), his own travels (including in *India), and the vast array of books at the disposal of the intellectually curious Muslim in 10th-century Baghdad; he cites over 150 works in the *Muruj*, including Arabic translations of Aristotle and Ptolemy, and also indicates familiarity with some contemporary Christian writing. NC

EI 2, vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* 'al-Masʿūdī', 784–9 (Pellat).

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Kitab muruj al-dhahab wa-ma'adin al-jawhar, ed. (1962–79) and FT C. Barbier de Meynard, J.-B. Pavet de Courteille, and Ch. Pellat (% vols., revised edn., 1966–97). To date, only partial ETs have seen print: A. Sprenger, *El-Mas'údí's Historical Encyclopædia* (1841); P. Lunde and C. Stone, *From the Meadows of Gold* (2007).

Kitab al-tanbih wa-al-ishraf, ed. M. J. de Goeje (1894).

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T. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography: The Histories of al-Mas'udi* (1975).

A. Miquel, *Le Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du IIe siècle*, 2 vols. (1967–75).

A. M. H. Shboul, *al-Mas'udi and his World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims* (1979).

Matara Major archaeological site in the highlands of southern Eritrea. Large-scale excavations in 1959–63 revealed an extensive and prosperous Aksumite settlement as well as earlier occupation, but have not yet been comprehensively published. Sixth-century levels yielded evidence for *Christianity. Buildings included substantial elite structures as well as a *basilican church over an underground tomb, and tightly packed, less prosperous accommodation. The Aksumite settlement, lying on or close to the most direct practicable route between the capital at *Aksum and the Red Sea port at *Adulis, was involved in overseas *trade, with luxury items originating in the Mediterranean basin and in southern *Arabia. DWP

EncAeth, vol. 3 (2007), 864–5 *s.v.* Matara (Anfray).

P. R. Schmidt, M. C. Curtis, and Zelalem Teka, eds, *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea* (2008), 316–21.

F. Anfray, 'Matara: The Archaeological Investigation of a City of Ancient Eritrea', *Palethnology of Africa* 4 (2012), 11–48.

mathematics In Late Antiquity the mathematical domain took a meta-textual and scholarly turn. The main outcome was the production of commentaries, which took several forms. Some were running commentaries on texts, such as the work of *Pappus and *Theon on *Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Other commentaries such as that of *Eutocius (who also treated philological issues) considered only specific points. Some focused on self-contained argumentative units, definitions and propositions, and other works, such as that of *Proclus on *Euclid's *Elements* I, discussed foundational issues. Pappus' *Collectio* is typical of commentaries organized as a simple sequence of lemmata. Such writings might include antiquarian digressions and these therefore preserve earlier texts which are otherwise lost.

Shorter writings called *prolegomena* served as an introduction to major treatises according to an isagogical scheme that came to be canonized, as applied to philosophical treatises, in the 5th/6th-century *Neoplatonic *schools. Among such writings are the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*, prefacing the Ptolemaic treatise in a textual family originating in the circle of *Ammonius, a very short text on Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic*, *Marinus of *Neapolis' prolegomena to Euclid's *Data*, the spurious introduction to one of the redactions of Euclid's *Optica*, Damianus' *Optical Hypotheses* and the extracts on optical subjects from Geminus' *Theory of Mathematics*, a part of the material edited in the pseudo-*Hero of Alexandria's *Definitions* and *Geometrics*, collections of scholia and extracts that in some manuscripts precede the *Elements*.

On the technical side, number theory had its culminating point in *Diophantus. Domninus is a shadowy figure; to him are ascribed a 'pocketbook' version of Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic* and a very short tract on the 'subtraction' of ratios. Writings on arithmetic, in the form of disconnected lists of (supposed) properties of numbers in the decad, took shape as early as Speusippus (in the 4th century BC), grew by accretions in the hands of Anatolius and Nicomachus, and surfaced in some (pseudo-)Iamblichean writings (*On Nicomachus' Arithmetic Introduction* and the *Theology of Arithmetic*).

The development of mathematical *astronomy entailed the redaction of *logistica* (computation manuals). Two such treatises are ascribed to scholars called Magnus and Apollonius, but the only surviving work dedicated to it is the logistical core of the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*. It contains an introduction to the sexagesimal system and main operations on single sexagesimal species (multiplication, division); descriptions of the algorithms of multiplication, division between (and square root of) numbers with a complex sexagesimal representation; rules of interpolation; composition and 'subtraction' of ratios.

Editorial activity during Late Antiquity (we only have names: Patrikios, Makarios, the *Praefectus Praetorio Modestus) and interactions with the agrimensural practices of land *surveyors eventually gave rise to the pseudo-Heronian metrological corpus, currently edited under the titles of *Geometrics* and *Stereometrics*. FA

WORKS

F. Acerbi, N. Vinel, and B. Vitrac, 'Les *Prolégomènes à l'Almageste*: une édition à partir des manuscrits les plus anciens: Introduction générale–Parties I–III', *SCIAMVS* 11 (2010), 53–210.

Metrological corpus: ed. (with GT) J. L. Heiberg (1912, 1914).

Domninus: ed. P. Riedlberger (annotated with ET), *MGA* 2 (2013).

ed. F. Acerbi and B. Vitrac (annotated with FT), *Héron, Metrica* (*MGA* 3, 2013).

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F. Acerbi, *Il silenzio delle sirene: la matematica greca antica* (2010).

F. Acerbi, 'Commentari, scolii e annotazioni marginali ai trattati matematici greci', *Segno e testo* 10 (2012), 135–216.

S. Corcoran, 'The Praetorian Prefect Modestus and Hero of Alexandria's *Stereometrica*', *Latomus* 54/2 (1995), 377–84.

F. E. Robbins, 'The Tradition of Greek Arithmology', *CP* 16 (1921), 97–123.

mathematics in art and architecture From the origins of Christian architecture there was a strong interest in incorporating sacred *geometry and *number symbolism into places of worship. From the beginning this was expressed in its simplest terms by the adoption of a tripartite *apse, often lit by three *windows in the central apse, signifying the mystery of the Trinity. This interest in number symbolism extended to the shape of buildings, especially *octagonal buildings, including such centrally planned monuments as *Qal'at Seman in *Syria, where a central octagon surrounds the *stylite's pillar and an octagonal *baptistery stands at the ancient entrance to the complex. The significance of octagonal baptisteries is explained in a 4th-century *inscription on the baptistery at *Milan (*CIL* V, p. 617, 2 = *ILCV* 1841), attributed to S. *Ambrose but probably earlier. The inscription links the number eight to *baptism and the Christian hope of salvation, drawing on a common Christian cosmological association between eight and the General Resurrection which will occur once the seven Great Days of world history have been completed by the Last Judgement.

The most famous example of mathematical virtuosity in architecture, praised by *Procopius (*Aed.* I, 1, 29) and much discussed by scholars, is the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in Constantinople. Historians have particularly examined the mathematical calculations that enabled *Isidore of *Miletus and *Anthemius of *Tralles to build upon a rectangular base a curved (if irregular) *dome with a diameter of 30.9 m (101 feet 6 inches) to 31.8 m (104 feet 4 inches).

However *mathematics was employed by Late Antique *architects for purposes which went far beyond the symbolic and mechanical calculations necessary for the construction of large buildings. Detailed knowledge of *astronomy and *optics could be combined with geometry and number symbolism to ensure that buildings such as the Holy Wisdom were aligned to be well lit whatever the season of the year, and to enhance the sensation of entering a hallowed space, a microcosm, so Procopius claims of the Holy Wisdom, created from the composition of number, nature, and light (*Aed.* I, 1, 27–65). EL; OPN

N. Schibille, 'Astronomical and Optical Principles in the Architecture of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople', *Science in Context* 22/1 (2009), 27–46.

mathematics in art and architecture, Islamic The earliest extant Islamic material culture exhibits extensive use of mathematics in the design of buildings and in the patterns of their decoration, as well as in other decorative arts. Very early monuments, such as the *Dome of the Rock (*c.*692) and the Great Mosque of *Damascus (*c.*706), are built upon geometric formulae, and their decorations are also ordered geometrically; both the repeating vegetal motifs of the Dome of the Rock and the lattice windows from the Great Mosque of Damascus are laid out according to geometric patterns. Similar patterns are also found in the decoration of Umayyad-era *Qur'ān manuscripts and the arrangement of early Arabic calligraphy also depended upon the use of ratios and measured spacing. This earliest art and architecture of the *Umayyad period developed the mathematical and geometric aspects of the art of Roman Late Antiquity into new forms. It is very likely that the artists and patrons of these works made similar connections between these material forms and the heavenly order. AM

K. Azzam, ed., *Arts and Crafts of the Islamic Lands* (2013).

R. Ettinghausen, O. Grabar, and M. Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250* (2001).

A. George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (2009).

matricula In the Late Empire term for a public register listing praetorian officers (e.g. *CJust* XII, 20, 3 of *Leo I). In the 6th century, it was a term for a church register listing clerics who had the right to be remunerated, or, more frequently, the *poor, disabled, and sick entitled to beg for alms in front of sanctuaries. The term was also used, by extension, for an almshouse for the care of the poor. Its changing function reflects the disappearance of ancient *euergetism and the rise of episcopal

power in the *cities, and the Christian spiritualization of poverty and emphasis upon *almsgiving and ministration to the poor as a means to salvation. RLJ

Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 510.

E. Boshof, 'Armenfürsorge im Frühmittelalter. Xenodochium, matricula, hospitale pauperum', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1/2 (1984), 153–74.

Matrona, S. Superior of a nunnery at *Constantinople in the last quarter of the 5th century. Matrona is mentioned by *Theodore Lector, and *Theophanes (AM 5991) says that she resisted pressure from *Anastasius I to abandon Chalcedonian Christology. The *Life* of S. Matrona (*VMatrona*; *BHG* 1221) was compiled after 543, perhaps from notes made by the nun Eulogia. OPN

BHG 1221: ed. H. Delehaye in *AASS* Novembris III, 790–813.

ET J. Featherstone (with notes and introd. by C. Mango) in A.-M. Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 1, 1996).

Mattai, Mar (4th cent.) A *Syriac hermit on Mount Alpap (mod. Jebel Maqlub, north-east of *Mosul) who baptized Mar *Behnam and his companions. The *Monastery of Mar Mattai was a centre of *Miaphysite teaching and of the *Syriac Orthodox Church, the seat of a *bishop (from 540 onwards) and later, in the 12th to 19th centuries, of the *Maphrian of the East. Its is still important to Iraqi Christians. FJ

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 305.

GEDSH s.v. Matay, Dayro d-Mor, 280–1 (Kiraz).

Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, vol. 2, 759–70.

P. Bruns, 'Hagiographia satis legendaria. Einige Beobachtungen zum Mâr Behnâm-Martyrium (*BHO* 177)', in Christelle Jullien, ed., *Itinéraires missionaires: échanges et identités = Studia Iranica* 44 (2011), 13–47.

Th. Jacob, *Das Kloster Mar Mattai und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Syrisch-Orthodoxen Kirche (von der Spätantike bis ins 13. Jh.), mit Edition und quellengeschichtlicher Untersuchung der Mār Mattai-Legende* (HBOW 46, 2012).

Mar Ignatius Yacoub III, *History of the Monastery of Saint Matthew in Mosul* (2008).

Mauretania Caesariensis, Mauretania Sitifensis, and Mauretania Tingitana Westernmost provinces of *Africa, encompassing modern Morocco and Algeria. Mauretania had been divided in two in AD 42. To the east, Caesariensis had its capital at *Caesarea (Chercell). To the west, Tingitana had its capital at *Tingi (Tangiers). Sitifensis was divided from the eastern end of Caesariensis under the *Tetrarchy; it was governed from *Sitifis (Sétif). From the 2nd and 3rd centuries there was a reduction of military presence in the line of forts along the southern *frontier. The **Notitia Dignitatum* gives the title of the governors of Sitifensis and Tingitana as Praeses and of the *governor of Caesariensis as *Dux et *Praeses—that is to say that the governor of Caesariensis, unusually, was also the local military commander. It places Tingitana in the *Dioecesis *Hispaniae, and Caesariensis and Sitifensis in the Dioecesis *Africae. From the 5th century the area was ruled by *Moors who consolidated their power inland away from the coast. CJG

Barrington Atlas, 28–31.

S. Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie* (1911).

J. F. Matthews, 'Mauretania in Ammianus and the *Notitia*', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (1976), 157–86.

Y. Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IVe–VIIe siècle)* (2003).

P. Salama, 'Occupation de la Maurétanie Césarienne occidentale sous le Bas-Empire romain', in *Mélanges Piganiol*, vol. 3, 1291–311.

Maurice (*c.*539–602) *Emperor (582–602). A successful commander on the eastern *frontier and in the *Balkans, Maurice's reign often delimits accounts of Late Antiquity, as his death precipitated the last great war between the Roman and *Persian Empires.

Early career

Born in *Cappodocia, Maurice became *notary to the future *Tiberius II while the latter was *Comes Excubitorum. Evidently, Tiberius saw Maurice as a loyal lieutenant, for on Tiberius's appointment as *Caesar, Maurice succeeded him as Comes Excubitorum. Then in 577 Maurice was promoted to *Magister Militum per Orientem and given overall command of the eastern armies.

In 578 Maurice led the army on a successful expedition into the rich province of *Arzanene, and again raided territory of the *Persian Empire in 580. In 581 Maurice undertook a daring foray against *Ctesiphon in conjunction with the *Jafnid leader al-*Mundhir, but the expedition proved an acrimonious failure, leading to accusations of treachery being levelled against al-Mundhir. In 582, a Persian *army was defeated at *Constantia-Tella, though Maurice may already have left for *Constantinople. Arriving in triumph, Maurice was made Caesar by Tiberius on his deathbed, and quickly succeeded him as *Augustus.

Internal affairs

Maurice immediately consolidated his rule by marrying Tiberius' daughter *Constantina, with whom he had eight children, thereby becoming the first emperor since 401 to have a son.

Maurice's pre-eminent problem was financial. Tiberius' profligacy, expensive *diplomacy, constant warfare, recurrences of the *plague, and an increase in the power of prominent men had all drained the imperial treasury. Maurice, therefore, sought to retrench and save. Customary expenses were curtailed, giving rise to accusations of greed and general unpopularity. More dangerously, Maurice sought to reduce military expenditure, so causing a mutiny in the eastern *army in 588 and in the *Balkans in 593/4. Further, despite Maurice's personal frugality, perceptions of avarice were compounded by Maurice's generosity towards members of his own *family.

Maurice inherited a religiously divided empire. He was personally highly devout, but was generally disinclined to persecute either *Miaphysites or *pagans. However, Maurice became involved in disagreement with *Gregory the Great about the position of the *Patriarch of *Constantinople, and over imperial policy in *Italy and the Balkans. Maurice was also a notable *patron of literature.

The eastern front

Maurice and his commanders generally followed the strategy of raiding Persian territory, reinforcing Roman defences, and continuing diplomacy. The overall result in 582–8 was stalemate, but in 589 the rebellion of *Bahram VI Chobin in the *Persian Empire, and the flight of *Khosrow II to the Romans dramatically altered the picture. Both factions of Persians sought to purchase Roman assistance, but Maurice chose to support Khosrow, duly dispatching a force in 591 that restored Khosrow to his throne. In return, the Romans received back *Dara (lost in 573 under *Justin II), and were ceded *Iberia and much of *Persarmenia. This diplomatic coup radically improved the Roman Empire's position in the East, and ushered in a decade of cooperation between the empires.

The West and the Balkans

In Italy, operations against the *Lombards included offering inducements to the *Franks to intervene, but achieved little beyond containment. Campaigns by the *Exarch of *Ravenna in the 590s managed to secure communications between Ravenna and *Rome, but this belligerence alienated Gregory the Great, who preferred negotiation with the Lombards. Meanwhile, Roman territory in *Spain continued to contract in the face of *Visigothic pressure. Both Italy and Spain were essentially left to their own resources, as first the Persian front and then the Balkans diverted men and money.

By Maurice's accession, the Roman position in the Balkans had become precarious. *Slavs had overrun much of the countryside, and the *Avars held the strategically vital *city of *Sirmium and were extracting from the Empire an annual *tribute of 80,000 **solidi*. The Avars then demanded an increase in their tribute to 100,00 *solidi*, and Roman refusal led to their capture of Singidunum (*Belgrade) on the Danube in 583, followed by ravaging as far as *Anchialus on the Black Sea, before in 584 Maurice agreed to the increased tribute. Then the Slavs rampaged throughout *Thrace in 584–5. Limited Roman counter-attacks succeeded only in displacing Slav raids, leading to the sack of *Athens and *Corinth, and the *siege of *Thessalonica. In 586, the Avars renewed hostilities, penetrating into Thrace, and capturing Anchialus in 588. There the *Khagan symbolically donned imperial robes, challenging Roman authority.

For unknown reasons, the Avars were quiescent between 589 and 593, allowing a Roman recovery, including an expedition in 590 to Anchialus under Maurice's personal command. Following the peace with Persia of 591, Roman resources were directed to the Balkans, and a succession of commanders made gradual process, against both Avars and Slavs. The different challenges these opponents presented, and the Roman responses to them, are revealed in the **Strategicon*, the handbook of military strategy normally ascribed to Maurice. By 599, the Roman position had improved sufficiently to permit an attack on the Avars' heartland in *Pannonia, which inflicted a series of humiliating defeats. By 601 the Avars seemed on the verge of disintegration.

Downfall

Seeking to cap these successes, Maurice ordered the army in 602 to winter north of the Danube, when the Slavs were thought to be most vulnerable. Faced with this hardship, and long resentful of Maurice's economies, the army mutinied. Electing *Phocas their leader, they marched on Constantinople. Maurice's unpopularity, demonstrated as recently as February 602 by riots in the capital, once more bubbled to the surface. Lacking sufficient troops to defend Constantinople, after a night of further rioting on 22 November, Maurice fled, and on the following day Phocas was proclaimed emperor. Finally, on 27 November, Maurice and most of his male relatives were seized and killed, providing the perfect pretext for Khosrow II to restart hostilities and avenge his patron. MTGH

The principal source is the *History* of *Theophylact Simocatta: ed. C. de Boor and P. Wirth, *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae* (1972).

ET (annotated) L. M. Whitby and M. Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (1986).

Greatrex and Lieu, 160–81.

J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'The Two Great Powers in Late Antiquity: A Comparison', in Averil Cameron, ed., *BEINE* III (1995), 157–226.

F. Schlosser, *The Reign of the Emperor Maurikios (582–602): A Reassessment* (1994).
Whitby, *Maurice*.

Maurontus (*fl.* 736) Frankish *Dux and perhaps **patricius* in *Provence. He led an unsuccessful uprising of the local *aristocracy, with *Arab support, against *Charles Martel in Provence (*Fredegar Continuatus, 20–1). HJH

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CCXLI.

Mavia (*fl.* 370s) On the death of her husband, Mavia became leader of an *Arab *tribe (perhaps the Tanukh) that raided the Limes Arabicus and the neighbouring provinces during the reign of the *Emperor *Valens. She is mentioned as a queen of the *Saracens by several church historians, the earliest being *Rufinus (XI, 6); they appear to have a common source, perhaps *Gelasius of *Caesarea. Mavia agreed to a peace treaty with the Romans after a Christian hermit, Moses, was consecrated as *bishop over her people, and after her daughter was given in *marriage to the *Magister Equitum, Victor (*Socrates, IV, 36, 12). Mavia sent auxiliary troops to *Constantinople during the Gothic siege of 379. KMK

G. Bowersock, 'Mavia, Queen of the Saracens', in W. Eck, ed., *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte* (1980), 477–95.
P. Mayerson, 'Mauia, Queen of the Saracens', *IEJ* 30 (1980), 123–31.
O. Schmitt, 'Mavia, die Königin der Sarazenen', in T. Herzog, ed., *Nomaden und Sesshafte* (2003), 163–79.

Mavortius Roman aristocrat in *Ostrogothic *Italy with the honorary title of *Comes Domesticorum, Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius was *consul for 527 (without colleague) in the West. He was one of several Roman noblemen who corrected literary texts, in Mavortius' case, *Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* and Horace's *Epodes* in collaboration with Felix, *rhetorician of *Rome. He may be the Mavortius who composed a *Vergilian *cento, *Iudicium Paridis* (*The Judgement of Paris*, *AnthLat* 1,10), and the Mavortius associated with the poem *De Ecclesia* (*AnthLat* 10, 16, 110). PNB

PRLE II, Mavortius 2.
MacGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, 71–5.
Ziolkowski and Putnam, *Virgilian Tradition*, 480–1.

***mawali* (sg. *mawla*)** *Wala'* (Ar. 'proximity') is the term denoting the connection of a person (*mawla*) to another person, whether a relationship between equals, mostly in pre-Islamic Arabia, or an unequal relationship of support, most prevalent in *Islam. In pre-Islamic *poetry *mawali* occur frequently as Arabs with the status of kinsmen or allies. Islamic *wala'* was an instrument by which non-Arab freedmen, converts, and others could join Muslim society. According to Islamic *law a freedman became a *mawla* to his former master who was obliged to pay his blood money and was entitled to a share of his inheritance.

According to some schools of *law contractual *wala'* was also possible between a free, male, adult Muslim and a **dhimmi*, convert, freedman without *wala'* or foundling. *Mawali*, although formally treated like other subjects, were considered inferior because of their defeat by the Arab conquerors and their prevalent background as enslaved prisoners of war. Depending on their skills, background, and the status of their patron, *mawali* earned important positions, especially in the administration and as scholars. From the end of the 8th century, *mawali* regularly served in the *army, also obtaining positions of command. Socially heterogeneous, the experience of *mawali* cannot be uniformly described, nor can one explanation be offered for their actions. The *'Abbasid Revolution (750) diminished Arab political and social superiority, and marked the beginning of a steep acceleration in *conversion to Islam among the conquered peoples. PMS

R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (1979).
P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (1980).
I. Hasson, 'Les Mawali dans l'armée musulmane sous les premiers Umayyades', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991), 176–213.
C. Onimus, 'Les Mawali en Égypte dans la documentation papyrologique Ier–Ve s. H.', *Annales Islamologiques* 39 (2005), 81–107.

Maxentius *Emperor 306–12. Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of the *Augustus *Maximian, exercised power from the *City of *Rome from his usurpation in 306 till he was defeated and killed by *Constantine I at the Battle of the *Milvian Bridge outside Rome on 28 October 312.

Maxentius was born *c.*283, the son of *Maximian, *Diocletian's colleague as *Augustus in the original *Tetrarchy, and his wife *Eutropia. When Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in 305, both Maxentius and the future Constantine I were passed over for promotion to imperial rank. On the death in 306 of *Constantius I (one of the Augusti since the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian), his son Constantine was acclaimed by troops at *York. Maxentius followed Constantine's example and was hailed emperor at *Rome by the *Praetorian Guard with popular support. He initially styled himself Princeps Invictus, but in 307 took the title Augustus.

Maxentius failed to receive recognition from members of the new Tetrarchy, led by the Augustus *Galerius (called Maximianus in most ancient sources). In 307 Galerius launched an attack on *Italy, in an attempt to reinstate *Severus the Tetrarch, but was repelled by Maxentius. In November 308, Maxentius was declared

a public enemy by a conference of surviving emperors held at *Carnuntum. Seeking legitimacy and support, Maxentius restored the title Augustus to his father Maximian in 307, but father and son soon fell out, and in 308 Maximian fled to join Constantine in *Gaul. Despite such uncertainties, Maxentius (residing at Rome) was widely acknowledged as emperor over Italy, *Sicily, *Sardinia, and *Corsica; in 308/9 he temporarily lost *Africa to the *usurper, *Domitius Alexander, but he regained these *provinces after a brutal campaign waged by Rufius *Volusianus, his *Praefectus Praetorio (Aurelius *Victor, 40, 18; *Zosimus, II, 14, 2).

Throughout his reign Maxentius was based in Rome and promoted a revival of the old imperial city. His building programme included the Temple of Romulus in the Roman Forum, and the Basilica Nova which was completed with modifications by Constantine. He also built a *circus and mausoleum on the Via Appia south of the city. Contrary to his later reputation, Maxentius also tolerated Roman Christians and called a halt to the Great *Persecution in his dominions (*Eusebius, *HE* VIII, 14, 1).

In 312 Constantine invaded Italy from the north-west and found troops loyal to Maxentius mostly concentrated in north-eastern Italy; he therefore secured mastery of the Po Valley before turning south to meet Maxentius unusually late in the campaigning season (*PanLat* XII [IX], 5–14; *Nazarius, *PanLat* IV [X], 19–26; Eusebius, *HE* IX, 9, 3). Maxentius himself remained in Rome, but at the last moment advanced into battle just across the Tiber from the *city gates, reportedly following the advice of the *Sibylline Books (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 44). On the sixth anniversary of his *acclamation as emperor, Maxentius' army was crushed and Maxentius himself drowned in the river. Constantine retrieved his body and had his head paraded around Rome and Africa. The victory was depicted on the *Arch of Constantine dedicated to the victor by the Roman *Senate in 315. The *panegyrics of Constantine (*PanLat* XII [IX] and IV[X]) which celebrated these events are the earliest suriving texts to represent Maxentius as a *tyrant—Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (44) is altogether milder in his depiction of Constantine's enemy. The *Church History* (*HE* IX, 9) and *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius (especially *VCon* I, 33–6) were to cement Maxentius' unsavoury reputation as usurper and persecutor in history and legend. DMG

PLRE I, Maxentius 5.

NEDC 12–13.

T. D. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (2014).

M. Cullhed, *Conservator Urbis Suae: Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius* (1994).

R. Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (2011).

Maxima Caesariensis *Province created in the early 4th century and listed in the *Verona List and **Notitia Dignitatum* as part of the *Dioecesis *Britanniae (*Not. Dig. occ.* IIII, 33). The *governor was a *Consularis. Its boundaries are imprecisely known but lay in south-east England with *London probably as capital. It was possibly renamed Valentia after the *Barbarian Conspiracy of 367–8. ACR

D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (2006).

Maxima Sequanorum Late Roman *province established under the *Tetrarchy in the southern part of the former Germania Superior. It included the uppermost Rhine, Geneva, and its principal *city, *Vaison-la-Romaine. The *Verona List calls it Sequania within the *Dioecesis of *Galliae. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists it as Maxima Sequanorum in the Dioecesis *Septem Provinciarum (occ. III, 23) and as governed by a Praeses (occ. I, 109; XXII, 31). It became part of the *Burgundian kingdom. EMB

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 15, Besançon, ed. C. Bonnet and C. Santschi (2007).

Maximian *Caesar 285–6, *Augustus 286–305, *usurper 306–8 and *c.*309–10. Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus *signo* Herculius, one of the last 3rd-century *Balkan soldier *emperors, was *Diocletian's first colleague as an *emperor after his *accession in 284. They had served together under *Aurelian and *Probus. Maximian was appointed first as Caesar in 285/6 and then, on 1 March 286, as joint Augustus. Maximian oversaw the West, its *armies and *frontiers, while Diocletian ruled the East. His achievements were commemorated in two of the **Panegyrici Latini* (*PanLat* X (II) of 289 and *PanLat* XI (III) of 291). On the organization of the *Tetrarchy in 293, Maximian received as his Caesar *Constantius I, who had married *Theodora, Maximian's daughter or stepdaughter.

As part of the *Tetrarchy, Maximian campaigned on the Rhine, in *Spain, and in *Africa. He visited *Rome in 298/9 and commissioned work on the *Baths of Diocletian, returning there in 303 with Diocletian to celebrate their *Vicennalia. Like Diocletian, Maximian trusted in the traditional gods. Diocletian adopted Jupiter as his divine patron, Maximian took Hercules, hoping to produce the same effects on affairs as their guardian gods (*PanLat* X [II] 11, 6). When Diocletian began the Great *Persecution of Christians in 303 provincial *governors in Maximian's territories enforced the initial *edicts in *Italy and particularly in North *Africa, where the persecution gave rise to the *Donatist Schism.

On 1 May 305 Diocletian and Maximian abdicated as Augusti, although Maximian apparently did so

unwillingly. He retired to southern Italy, but on 28 October 306 his son *Maxentius usurped power at Rome and recalled Maximian as Augustus for the second time. Together in 307 they confronted *Severus the Tetrarch (*Lactantius, *Mort*. 26–7), and Maximian formed an alliance with *Constantine, ruling north of the Alps, by marrying to him his daughter *Fausta (*Mort*. 27, 1; 28, 1), a union celebrated in one of the surviving *Panegyrici Latini* (*PanLat* VI [VII]). In 308 Maximian attempted, but failed, to supplant his son, so took refuge with Constantine (*Mort*. 28). The conference of emperors at *Carnuntum in November 308 obliged him to retire again and he returned to Constantine in Gaul, where he once more tried and failed to reinstate himself as emperor and to murder Constantine in his bed. 'In the end,' says Lactantius (*Mort*. 30, 5), 'he was given a choice of how he would like to die' and he hanged himself.

The following year Constantine damned Maximian's memory (*Mort*. 42, 1; *Eusebius, *HE* VIII, 13, 15); Lactantius stigmatizes Maximian more than Maxentius in *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*. Constantine later damned Maxentius and rehabilitated Maximian whom he placed on the *coinage as the grandfather of *Constantine II, *Constantius II, and *Constans I.

DMG; OPN

PLRE I, Maximianus 8.
NEDC 13, 32–5, 56–60.
Barnes, *CE* 6–9, 23–7, 30–2, 40–1.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 38–40, 46–50, 55–9, 68–70.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*.
R. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (2004).

Maximian *Bishop of *Ravenna 546–57. A *deacon from Pola at the head of the Adriatic, elevated by *Justinian I after the see had been vacant for over a year. Unlike the bishops of *Milan and *Aquileia, Maximian conformed to the imperial position in condemning the *Three Chapters and received the title of archbishop before 553. Wearing the **pallium*, he appears with Justinian in the S. Vitale processional *mosaic. *Agnellus (*Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 72–7, 97) records Maximian's labours to glorify Ravenna. They include composing a (lost) chronicle, building several churches, most prominently S. Vitale (dedicated 547) and S. Apollinare in Classe (535–49), both funded by *Julianus Argentarius, and commissioning the *ivory-panelled episcopal throne that bears his own *monogram and Old and New Testament scenes, along with altar cloths embroidered with images from the life of Christ and portraits of his episcopal predecessors. SAHK

PCBE II/2, Maximianus 2.
Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I 14–15, 75–6, 226–77, II 47–206.
Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, 210–74.

Maximianopolis *See* LEJJUN, AL- AND DISTRICT.

Maximianus (*fl. c.*540) *Latin poet and author of six elegies (or, as some scholars suggest, one long continuous elegiac poem), which lament the ills of old age and narrate a series of apparently autobiographical erotic encounters. Although not everything in his witty and allusive poems need be true, the poet speaks of a bachelorhood spent in *Rome (*Elegy* 1, 64), of fame as an orator (1, 10), mentorship by the *philosopher *Boethius (whom he portrays rather scurrilously, *Elegy* 3), and an ambassadorial mission to the East (*Elegy* 5). The elegies adapt phrases and themes from classical models (chiefly Ovid), but recent critics have also stressed their allusions to 6th-century politics, philosophy, and religion. JFU

PLRE II, Maximianus, 7.
ed. E. Baehrens in *Poetae Latini Minores* (1879–83), vol. 5, 313–48.
S. J. B. Barnish, 'Maximian, Cassiodorus, Boethius, Theodahad: Literature, Philosophy, and Politics in Ostrogothic Italy', *NottMedSt* 34 (1990), 16–32.
W. Schneider, *Die elegischen Verse von Maximian. Eine letzte Widerrede gegen die neue christliche Zeit* (2003).

Maximilian the Recruit, S. Christian venerated as a *martyr at *Theveste in *Africa, executed 12 March 295, purportedly for refusing military service. His *Passio* presupposes *recruiting procedures characteristic of the late 4th century. It claims that a *Carthage matron had him buried at the shrine of S. *Cyprian. OPN

BHL 5813:
ed. (annotated with IT) A. A. R. Bastiaensen in Bastiaensen, ed., *Atti*, 238–45.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 379–86.
HLL 5, section 594.

Maximinus Envoy to *Attila in 449, accompanied by *Priscus. In 453 he went to *Egypt, defeated the *Nubians and *Blemmyes in the *Thebaid and negotiated a 100-year peace, which collapsed after his sudden death. OPN

PLRE II, Maximinus 11.

Maximinus Daza (*c.*270–313) *Emperor 305–13. Galerius Valerius Maximinus Daza (or Daia) was born around 270 in *Dacia Ripensis. His mother was a sister of the Emperor Maximianus *Galerius, referred to by scholars as Galerius. *Lactantius represents him as a country bumpkin, who had gained rapid promotion from the ranks in the imperial household troops, and claims that there was general surprise when he was selected as one of the new *Caesars when *Diocletian abdicated on 1 May 305 (*Mort.* 18, 13–14; 19, 2–6). The territory for which he was initially responsible was

the *Dioecesis of *Oriens (which at this time included *Egypt), and he resided principally at *Antioch and *Caesarea of *Palestine.

Maximinus Daza was twice passed over for promotion to *Augustus. In 306, after the Augustus *Constantius I died, *Severus the Tetrarch was promoted to Augustus rather than Daza, though he did become the more senior Caesar. After the turmoil intitiated by the usurpation of *Maxentius in October 306 and the reappearance in active politics of the retired Augustus *Maximian, an imperial conference was held at *Carnuntum in November 308. This conference reconfirmed Daza's rank as Caesar within the Tetrarchy, but it was *Licinius who was given the title of Augustus. He did receive the title of Filius Augustorum in 309, but this did not satisfy him. He laid claim to the title of Augustus in 310 with support from his troops, a claim that Galerius eventually recognized. After Galerius' death in the spring of 311, Daza advanced to the *Bosporus and took control of *Anatolia in addition to the territories he already controlled in *Oriens. He also attempted to marry Galerius' widow, Diocletian's daughter *Galeria Valeria, but she declined his proposal (*Mort.* 39, 2–41, 3).

Maximinus Daza favoured the traditional Roman gods. He promulgated an *edict of *persecution against Christians in 309 (*Eusebius, *MartPal* 9, 2), enforced in his territories, and though he initially recognized Galerius' deathbed retraction of his persecuting policy in the spring of 311, he reverted to persecution with renewed vigour in the autumn of that year (Eusebius, *HE* IX, 1–7; Lactantius, *Mort.* 36, 3–7). He responded favourably to *petitions requesting permission to remove Christians from *cities; the texts of several of these *rescripts are preserved by Eusebius (*Tyre copy: *HE* IX, 7) and on *inscriptions from *Arycanda of *Lycia (*ILCV* 1) and Colbasa of *Pisidia (Mitchell, 108).

It was only in 313, after Licinius had defeated him in battle, that Daza himself promulgated an *edict lifting the persecution in his territories. Lactantius reports that Daza then fled to *Tarsus and ate poison, which failed to act instantaneously because of the immense dinner he had consumed beforehand, so that he endured prolonged and excruciating visions of divine judgement (*Mort.* 49). Others report an illness (Aurelius *Victor, 41, 1; *Eutropius, X, 4, 4; *Zosimus, II, 17, 3). After Daza died, Licinius extinguished his line by killing Daza's family and followers. Eusebius (*HE* IX, 11, 2) remarks that *damnatio* of his memory caused a number of his images to be damaged, though several survive, in Berlin, Chieti, and Leiden. The unfinished fortified residence at *Šarkamen is associated with him. SEB

PLRE I, Maximinus 12.
NEDC 6, 39, 65–7.
Barnes, *CE* 26, 32–3, 39–41, 48–9, 62–4, 149–62.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 59–60, 66–70, 97–8, 116.
E. Varner, *Monumenta Graeca et Romana: Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (2004), 220–1.
H. Castritius, *Studien zu Maximinus Daia* (FAS 2, 1969).
S. Corcoran, 'Titulature of the Third Tetrarchy', *BICS* 49 (2006), 231–40.
S. Mitchell, 'Maximinus and the Christians in A.D. 312: A New Latin Inscription', *JRS* 78 (1988), 105–24.

Maximus *Usurper 409–11. Maximus was proclaimed *emperor by the general *Gerontius at *Tarragona, after Gerontius had defected from the cause of the Gallic usurper *Constantine III. This resulted eventually in Constantine's demise (*Orosius, VII, 42; *Olympiodorus fr. 16; *Sozomen, IX, 13).

The antecedents of Maximus are unclear; he may have had a close military or family connection to Gerontius. Although Maximus was proclaimed in Tarragona his *silver and *bronze coinage was all struck in *Barcelona, and he probably transferred his administration to that highly fortified port city very soon after his elevation. Maximus and Gerontius invaded *Gaul in 410, and in 411 captured and executed Constans, son of the usurper *Constantine III, near *Vienne. Their supporters abandoned them, Gerontius died, and Maximus fled and was apparently hiding in *Spain when Orosius was writing in 417.

The usurper of 409–11 is probably identical with the Maximus who 'obtained power in Spain by force' (**Chronicle of 452*, ad ann. 420), and was captured and executed at *Ravenna in 422, at the public games in honour of *Honorius' Tricennalia *anniversary. PJC; RCW

PLRE II, Maximus 4; Maximus 7.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 311–13.
M. Kulikowski, 'The Career of the "Comes Hispaniarum" Asterius', *Phoenix* 54 (2000), 124–41.

Maximus (*Consul 523; d. 552) Flavius Maximus was related to the prominent *Anicii and descended from *Emperor *Petronius Maximus (455). He was *Primicerius Domesticus at the *court of the *Ostrogothic King *Theodahad in 535, when he married a bride of the Gothic *Amal family. *Belisarius expelled him from *Rome on suspicion of Gothic sympathies in 537, although Gothic soldiers later executed him. *Justinian I's *Pragmatic Sanction mentions him prominently. MSB

PLRE II, Maximus 20.

Maximus of Ephesus *Neoplatonic *philosopher and practitioner of *theurgy, believed to have inflluenced *Julian towards *paganism before he became *emperor

*c.*350. Maximus was a pupil and kinsman of *Aedesius, and Julian sought Maximus out at *Ephesus when he was studying with Aedesius at *Pergamum (*Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 475). After *Constantius II died, Julian summoned Maximus to *Constantinople and greeted him effusively (*Ammianus, XXII, 7, 3). His brother Nymphidianus became Julian's secretary for *Greek correspondence. Maximus accompanied Julian's Persian expedition and discussed with him the sublimity of the soul as the emperor lay dying (Ammianus XXV, 3, 23). He was arrested twice under *Valens, and was executed in 371 for *treason. SFT

PLRE I, Maximus 21.

Maximus of Turin *Bishop of *Turin (*c.*390–408/23) and preacher of the early 5th century. Little is known about Maximus' life. He is sometimes confused with a bishop of the same name in the same city who lived in the latter part of the 5th century. He assisted in defending the city during at least one siege (*Sermon* 86). His *sermons (106 survive) display a love of imagery, but no systematic theology. RJM

CPL 291a–b:

ed. A. Mutzenbecher (CCSL 23, 1962).

ET (annotated) B. Ramsey, *The Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin* (ACW 50, 1989).

A. Merkt, *Maximus I. von Turin. Die Verkündigung eines Bischofs der frühen Reichkirke im zeitgeschichtlichen, gesellschaftlichen und liturgischen Kontext* (1997).

R. Lizzi Testa, 'Christianization and Conversion in Northern Italy', in A. Kreider, ed., *The Origins of Christendom in the West* (2001), 47–96.

Maximus the Confessor (*c.*580–662) Author of a huge body of work in various genres, Maximus is a significant figure for the theology and philosophy of the 7th century. His impact spanned the Church in both West and East, with his involvement in the western resistance to Monoenergism and *Monotheletism, notably at the *Lateran Council in 649. Over the course of seven years Maximus endured two trials in *Constantinople (655 and 662), three *exiles, and possibly mutilation for his commitment to the cause of two energies and two wills in Christ. In this doctrinal controversy he found a staunch ally in the *bishops of *Rome, especially Theodore II and his successor *Martin I, who was also sentenced to death by the imperial tribunal in 655. Martin's sentence was transmuted to exile and he died in *Cherson in the same year.

Concerning Maximus' early life the sources offer various accounts. Before he became a monk at *Sophronius' *Monastery of Eucrates in North *Africa he was probably based at Constantinople. The Greek *Life* also recounts that he came from an aristocratic family and was *A Secretis of the imperial *court of *Heraclius. A hostile *Syriac *Life* by the Monothelete *George of *Resaina makes him the son of a Persian *merchant and a slave girl. George plays up the bad influence of Sophronius on Maximus, who, he claims, grew up near *Tiberias, and fled the Palestinian monastery of Mar Chariton to *Anatolia, *Crete, and then North Africa, arriving there in the 620s. According to the Greek source, after a few years Maximus left Constantinople to pursue a monastic life in the monastery of *Chrysopolis, on the Asian side of the *Bosporus. After some ten years there he moved to the monastery of S. *George in *Cyzicus (mod. Erdek) in 624 or 625. He fled the Persian invasion of Cyzicus, travelling to *Rome via North Africa. He was certainly in Rome by 649, in time to orchestrate the Lateran Council in the name of *Martin I. The similarities between the accounts of Maximus' peregrinations in the two *Lives* up until his arrival in North Africa suggest that the truth lies somewhere in the middle.

His works from this period include *Questions and Doubts*, and the tract *On the Ascetic Life* and the *Four Centuries on Charity* (Sherwood, 24–7, nos. 1–15), the tract *On the Our Father*, and the *Books of Difficulties* (Sherwood, 31–2, nos. 25–6), the latter being composed after his arrival in North Africa *c.*630. Some time after 618, Heraclius and *Patriarch Sergius concocted the formula of one activity or operation in Christ (Monoenergism) in an effort to bring the anti-*Chalcedonian Churches in *Egypt, *Palestine, and further east back into communion with the Church of Constantinople. Parts of Egypt were reconciled when *Cyrus, Patriarch of *Alexandria, accepted the formula in 633. The doctrine of one will (Monotheletism) was the next stage in Constantinople's bid for unity, based on Pope *Honorius I's unfortunate use of the expression 'one will in Christ' in a letter of 638 to Sergius of Constantinople. Only in the 640s did Maximus fully join the anti-Monothelete campaign in earnest, harnessing the energies of a large circle of exiled eastern monks to destabilize the *Emperor *Constans II's attempts to establish his authority in the wake of the *Arab conquests of Palestine and Egypt.

At the trial of 655, Maximus was accused of *treason, for betraying Egypt, Alexandria, and the Pentapolis to the Arabs. Such an unlikely accusation was most likely a foil for the true cause of imperial dissatisfaction with the monk, namely his denial of the emperor's authority in matters of doctrine. Maximus's hostility towards the invaders, 'a barbarous nation from the desert overrunning another's lands as if they were their own', is made clear in his *Letter* 14 to Peter (PG 91, 540A). Maximus died during his third exile, in *Lazica, on 13 August 662. His cause but not his name was exonerated at the Council of *Constantinople, in 680/1. BN

PBE, Maximos 10.
PmbZ 4921.
CPG 7688–721: ed. in PG 90–1 reprinting F. Combefis (1675).
His key works are: *On the Ascetic Life* (*CPG* 7692); *Four Centuries on Charity* (*CPG* 7693); *Two Centuries on Theology and the Incarnation* (*CPG* 7694); *On the 'Our Father'* (*CPG* 7691); *Books of Difficulties (Ambigua)* (*CPG* 7705); *Questions and Doubts* (*CPG* 7689); *Questions to Thalassius* (*CPG* 7688); *Mystagogy* (*CPG* 7704).
Short Theological and Polemical Works (Opuscula Theologica et Polemica) (*CPG* 7697, 1–27):
FT J.-C. Larchet and E. Ponsoye, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur: Opuscules théologiques et polemiques* (SagChr., 1998).
Letters (*CPG* 7699):
FT J.-C. Larchet and E. Ponsoye, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur: Lettres* (SagChr., 1998).
ET (selected) G. C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings* (CWS, 1985).
ET of *Letter* 2 and selected *Ambigua* and *Opuscula* (annotated with extensive introd.) A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor* (Early Church Fathers, 1996).
ed. P. Allen and B. Neil (with ET and introd.), *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions: Documents from Exile* (OECT, 2002).
ed. S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *AnBoll* (1973), 299–346; repr. in Brock, *Syriac Perspectives*, XII.
B. Neil and P. Allen, eds., *The Life of Maximus the Confessor—Recension 3* (Early Christian Studies 6, 2003).
P. Sherwood, *An Annotated Date List of Works of Maximus the Confessor* (Studia Anselmiana 30, 1952).
P. Allen and B. Neil, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor* (2015).

Mayen (Roman Megina) Gallo-Roman settlement now in the Rhineland-Palatinate Land of Germany, noted for its extensive Late Antique stone and *pottery *trade and significant *cemetery excavations. Located in a region of volcanic geology, on a crossroads along the River Nette, as well as being a hub for long-distance trade, Late Antique Mayen boasted both public buildings and a large number of craft workshops.

As well having volcanic tufa, the Mayen area is richly provided to the north-east with basalt, used in Late Antiquity to make millstones. There were also seven ceramic workshops in the **vicus* on the right bank of the river. During the Late Roman period common tablewares were produced industrially, baked at high temperature and characterized by a rough surface and gritty paste with volcanic inclusions. Their quality and distribution reached levels unprecedented for this type of ceramic. The later 4th and the 5th centuries mark the peak of the diffusion of these ceramic products. They are found throughout the Rhine and Moselle valleys, Lorraine, Switzerland, western Germany, and also in north-west *Gaul. Outside the settlement itself even larger workshops developed subsequently, and remained active during the early Middle Ages. Roman-era kilns seem to have been concentrated on the left bank of the Nette, with medieval workshops on the right.

Mayen is also known for excavations of a large cemetery, including burials in *sarcophagi made of tufa. During the last third of the 4th century grave offerings were particularly rich, and another significant burial group of the mid-5th century has been identified. The Mayen graves have a military appearance and contain objects of 'Germanic' style, suggesting a link with the fortified site of Katzenberg, 2 km (1.25 miles) from Mayen, an elevation with surviving monumental defensive works. RBr

R. Brulet, 'La Céramique rugueuse de l'Eifel', in R. Brulet, F. Vilvorder, and R. Delage, eds., *La Céramique romaine en Gaule du Nord: dictionnaire des céramiques. La vaisselle à large diffusion* (2010), 402–23.
A. Glauben, M. Grünewald, and L. Grunwald, 'Mayen am Übergang von Spätantike zu frühem Mittelalter', in O. Wagener, ed., *Der umkämpfte Ort—von der Antike zum Mittelalter* (2009), 135–56.
A. Hunold, *Die befestigung auf dem Katzenberg bei Mayen und die Spätrömischen Höhenbefestigungen in Nordgallien* (2011).
A. Hunold, 'Altes und Neues aus dem römischen Mayen. Eine neue Karte zur Topographie des vicus', *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 34 (2002), 69–82.
M. Kiessel, 'Zur Datierung der Produktion von rauhwandiger Ware Mayener Technik', in H.-H. Wegner, ed., *Berichte zur Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel* 12 (2007), 207–14.
M. Redknap, 'Die römischen und mittelalterlichen Töpfereien in Mayen, Kreis Mayen-Koblenz', in H.-H. Wegner, ed., *Berichte zur Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel* 6 (1999), 11–401.

Mayor of the Palace (*Maiordomus*) Official who emerged in 6th-century *Merovingian *Gaul, in charge of the offices and provision of the royal *palaces. Initially, there could be several, but there came to be three mayors corresponding to the *tria regna* of *Austrasia, *Neustria, and *Burgundy. After 626–7, only two mayors existed, one in Austrasia, the other in Neustria-Burgundy. In the earlier 7th century, mayors of the palace, now in charge of the royal *estates, became more powerful, but kings were able to maintain their pre-eminence. Subsequently, as royal power declined, both mayoral offices came under the control of the *aristocracy, and mayors such as *Grimoald and *Ebroin became central figures in Merovingian politics. In Austrasia as in Neustria-Burgundy, leading kin groups competed, often violently, for the control of the mayoralty. Ultimately, the Austrasian Pippinids succeeded in eliminating their rivals, first in Austrasia (680s), then in Neustria (687). They were able to use royal estates,

*monasteries, and bishoprics to build up their followings and eventually took the throne for themselves (751). After this, they did away with the office of Mayor of the Palace. RLJ

LexMA 4, 1974–5, 'Hausmeier' (J. Fleckenstein).
P. Fouracre, 'Merovingians, Mayors of the Palace and the Notion of a "Low-born" Ebroin', *BIHR* 57 (1984), 1–14.

Maypherqat *See* MARTYROPOLIS.

Maysun bt. Bandal b. 'Unayf (*fl. c.*660) Wife of the *Caliph *Mu'awiya, mother of the Caliph *Yazid I, Maysun was daughter of a chief of the Christian Arab *tribe *Kalb. Her marriage solidified a vital alliance between the Sufyanid *Umayyads and the Kalb; a surviving fragment of *poetry is dubiously attributed to her. RJL

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Maysūn, p. 924 (Lammens).

Mazdak and Mazdakism Mazdak was a *Zoroastrian high priest in the *Persian Empire in the late 5th/early 6th centuries whose heretical judgements and interpretation of the *Avesta were exploited by *Qobad I and *Khosrow I to institute social and economic reforms in the Sasanian Empire.

Our most detailed source of the description of Mazdakite religion comes from the 13th-century *Kitab al-melal wa'l-nehal* of al-Shahrestani. Mazdakism stemmed from a wider intellectual ferment within Zoroastrianism and other Late Antique Iranian religions. Contrary to the tenets of orthodox Zoroastrianism, Mazdakism held that light and darkness were pre-existent entities. Mazdak's ideas may have been influenced by an earlier Zoroastrian priest name Zardosht Khorragan from the province of *Fars. Some of the teachings of Mazdak have *Gnostic traits which may have come from *Mani or a similar tradition. The Mazdakites abhorred violence and were vegetarians. Most notoriously, Mazdak allegedly held that all men's property and women should be held in common.

It is difficult to assess the historicity of all the tenets attributed to Mazdakism, but it is clear that with the accession of Qobad I, the King of Kings promoted Mazdak and used his ideas to break the power of the great *aristocracy and to empower the lesser nobility. In Middle *Persian texts the Mazdakites are commonly accused of sharing property and women, probably an exaggeration and slander stemming from Mazdak's rulings on legal matters pertaining to *marriage which relaxed marriage laws in order to accommodate the lower classes. The great houses viewed this (probably correctly) as a ploy to dilute their bloodlines and privileges.

Mazdak is remembered in medieval Zoroastrian tradition as the arch-heretic who tricked the king and weakened the Zoroastrian religion. The episode contributed to the overthrow of Qobad I in favour of his son, Khosrow I. After they had served their purpose, Khosrow I orchestrated a massacre of the Mazdakites. Mazdak himself is said either to have perished in prison or to have been killed and then flung from a *bridge. TD; MPC

EncIran VI/3 *s.v.* Cosmogony and Cosmology iv. In Mazdakism, 315–17 (Sundermann).
M. Shaki, 'The Social Doctrine of Mazdak in the Light of Middle Persian Evidence', *Archív Orientální* 47 (1978), 289–306.
E. Yarshater, 'Mazdakism', *CambHist Iran* III (2), 991–1024.

Mazun (Oman) Called 'Omana', more commonly 'Magan' in Hellenistic sources (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 32, 38, 106), and 'Mazun' in *Pahlavi. From the 3rd millennium BC, Sumerians imported *copper and diorite from 'Dilmun [Bahrain] and Magan'; Persian control may date from the Parthian period.

'Mzw[n]' is listed as part of the *Persian Empire controlled by *Shapur I on the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* at *Naqsh-e Rostam. *Arabic literature refers to migrations of the *Azd *tribe into Mazun/Oman and clashes with *Sasanian authority. The Azd eventually established some independence; kings of the Julanda family were sovereign at the dawn of *Islam. The Azd converted to Islam, but *Umayyad control was weak overall: the *Kharijites, in particular the *Ibadites, established independent imamates and clashed with the Umayyads and *Abbasids. From the 9th century, an Ibadi imamate asserted more successful and lasting independence. PAW

D. T. Potts, 'From Qadê to Mâzun', *Journal of Oman Studies* 8 (1985), 81–95.
D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity* (1990).
I. Rawas, *Oman in Early Islamic History* (2000).

mead An ancient alcoholic beverage made from fermented honey and water. During the early Middle Ages mead became a potent symbol of obligation and *patronage in north-west Europe. The warriors praised in *Y Gododdin* were feasted and given mead in a great hall by their lord before being sent into battle. The mead-hall theme recurs in **Beowulf* and early medieval sources from *Ireland depict the consumption of mead as an important element in aristocratic social life. JFG

M. Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup: Ritual, Prophecy and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tène to the Viking Age* (1996).
S. Pollington, *The Mead Hall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England* (2003).

Meander Valley Fertile agricultural area in *Asia Minor. At some 530 km (330 miles), the Meander

(mod. Büyük Menderes) is the longest river in western *Anatolia. Rising on the Anatolian Plateau it meanders westwards through a broad, flat-bottomed valley, covering 25,000 square km. In Late Antiquity, the river emptied into the Aegean at *Miletus. Its flood plain is ideal for the cultivation of *olive and fig trees. Much of the land was incorporated into very large *estates, but there were also independent smallholdings, as appears from *census records preserved on *inscriptions at such small but prosperous *cities as *Tralles and *Magnesia ad Maeandrum. JPH

Thonemann, *Maeander Valley.*

K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.

A. H. M. Jones, 'Census Records of the Later Roman Empire', *JRS* 43 (1953), 49–64.

meat Consumed more commonly in the Roman Empire than in classical Greece. In the Roman world meat was prepared mainly by boiling or roasting, though frying, grilling, and baking were also employed. Wild game apparently played only a minor role in the diet. Meat *sacrificed to pagan gods posed problems for Christians (1 Cor. 8).

Archaeozoological data indicate that meat probably contributed a greater portion of calories to the Late Roman diet than is often assumed. Beef and pork were the most important meat in the Late Roman *diet (MacKinnon, 244), though *sheep, *goats, and chickens were also consumed. For a time pork was distributed as part of the food dole, and pork consumption seems to have risen in urbanized regions. Data from *Sagalassos in *Anatolia suggest an increase in pork consumption in AD 300–450 but a rise in sheep and goats in the food supply AD 450–600, probably reflecting changing ecological conditions. In the post-Roman West, evidence from *Anglo-Saxon England also indicates that sheep and goats were increasingly important in supplying meat, with *cattle and *pigs in secondary roles.

On a protein equivalent basis, animal protein from meat was about three times the cost of vegetable protein. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (§4.1) set the price of a Roman pound (0.3 kg/0.7 lb) of pork at 12 *denarii* and a *modius castrensis* (about 44 litres, approximately 12.5 kg/28 lb) of beans—a common source of protein—at 60 *denarii* (§1.9). Meat was sold in stalls in urban markets or in *macella* by butchers who slaughtered the animals and processed the meat. At least two *macella* specializing in meat sales existed in *Constantinople. In the *Persian Empire the types of meat consumed and the reservation of choice cuts for wealthier consumers parallels the Roman experience. MD

M. MacKinnon, *Production and Consumption of Animals in Roman Italy: Integrating the Zooarchaeological and Textual Evidence* (2004).

Meaux (dép. Seine-et-Marne, France) A *city in a meander of the Marne, which acquired a wall-circuit encompassing 8 ha (*c.*20 acres) during Late Antiquity; little else is known of its layout. Meaux was briefly the site of a mint (mint mark IAN) in 293/4 as part of the campaign to end the usurpation of *Allectus but it was rapidly superseded by *Trier.

The Church of Meaux appears in the *Life of *Genovefa*, but its *bishops appear only sporadically from the mid-6th century onwards. STL; RRD

CAGaule 77/2 (2008), 713–819.

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 8 (1992), 131–9 and vol. 16 (2015), 177–80.

D. Vagi, *Coinage and the History of the Roman Empire* (2000).

RIC V/2.

Mecca Town in western Arabia (the *Hijaz), the spiritual and cultic centre of *Islam, and scene of *Muhammad's early prophetic career. Although this is not certainly attested in any pre-Islamic source, Muslim tradition ascribes Mecca's urbanization to Qusayy, who gathered the *Quraysh together there, five generations before Muhammad.

According to tradition, the site had previously been occupied by various peoples. Its importance is that it was the place of the *Ka'ba, a shrine established there by God when He expelled Adam from Paradise, and subsequently rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael. Ishmael continued to live there and became the forefather of the main branch (from an Islamic perspective) of the Arab people.

Although Abraham introduced *pilgrimage to Mecca (*Hajj) and monotheism to the Arabs in Arabia, by the time of Muhammad, *Quraysh and most of the Arabs were polytheists and idolaters, and Mecca one of the main centres of their religion. Muhammad experienced his first revelations there, but failed to win over Quraysh. He left the town for *Medina (then called Yathrib) in 622, and by 629 was strong enough to return to capture it, destroy its idols, and restore the Ka'ba as the House of God on earth.

How the strongly monotheist religion of *Islam originated in a remote part of Arabia dominated by pagans has been at the heart of academic enquiry. The solution favoured by many is that Mecca was not so isolated from the outside world as Muslim tradition suggests, and that social and religious changes were at work there by the late 6th century. Exploiting certain other details and reports in Muslim traditional sources, historians such as H. Lammens and W. Montgomery Watt argued that Mecca lay on important international *trade routes, and Montgomery Watt in particular developed from this an economic and social explanation for the emergence there of Islam.

Others, like J. Wansbrough, have regarded Islam's origins in Mecca as an idea developed by early Muslim

scholars for religious purposes. In 1987 P. Crone argued that the notion of Meccan trade derives from a misunderstanding of the traditional reports and does not make logical sense, and that Montgomery Watt's explanation of the rise of Islam in Mecca is unsustainable. These scholars and some others envisage the possibility that what in due course became Islam emerged further north where the Arabs were more in contact with the religious and other developments of the early 7th century.

Although Muslim tradition portrays the significance of Mecca for Islam as part of the divine order of things, some scholars envisage its rise as the consequence of the early development of Islam in the Arab empire. *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, a claimant to the *caliphate, made Mecca his base between 684 and 692, but the building of the *Dome of the Rock in *Jerusalem by his *Umayyad rival, *Abd al-Malik, could indicate that Mecca's status in Islam was still contested in the 690s. The rebuilding of the Ka'ba by 'Abd al-Malik after the defeat of 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr may have been an important stage in the adoption of Mecca as the centre of Islam. GRH

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* Makka, 144–6 (Watt).
W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953).
P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).

Medard Gallic *bishop (*c.*546–61); bishop of the *civitas Veromanduorum*, a *city whose location is uncertain. He consecrated *Radegund as a *deaconess at Noyon (*Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundi*, 12). *Chlothar I had him buried at *Soissons, and began to build a church over his tomb. Venantius Fortunatus wrote a poem in *praise of him (*Carmen*, II, 16 = *BHL* 5863), but not his earliest surviving *Life*, which dates from the reign of *Theudebert II. MG

PCBE IV.2, Medardus 1.
Life of S. Medard (*BHL* 5864), ed. B. Krusch in MGH Auct. Ant. IV.2 (1885), 67–73.

Mediana *See* NIŠ.

medicine From the 4th century onwards, Galenism eclipsed earlier traditions and dominated medical discourse and practice in the Greek East, and later the Muslim world and Latin West. Medical education in 5th–6th-century *Alexandria and 6th–7th-century *Ravenna was based around a syllabus of Hippocratic texts (primarily those favoured by *Galen) and a Galenic canon consisting of sixteen books. Read in a particular order, these works offered a wide-ranging curriculum, covering general principles and more specialized disciplines, e.g. *therapeutics and dietetics. Medical professors expounded the syllabus in formal lectures and commentaries, adding significant qualifications in light of their own clinical experience. For ease of memorization, the Galenic canon was also abridged, thereby consolidating Galenism into a more unified, dogmatic system.

The medical encyclopedists *Oribasius of *Pergamum (*c.*325–400), *Aëtius of *Amida (*fl.* 530), and *Paul of Aegina (*c.*630) derived most of their material from Galen and earlier authorities. Composed as reference guides, these encyclopedias cover both theoretical and practical aspects of medicine. While authorial comments are rare, sources are often modified based on personal experiences or contexts. Paul, for instance, gives instructions for the surgical removal of arrows with specific reference to an Egyptian environment (*Pragmateia* VI, 88).

Other traditions

In North *Africa, *Caelius Aurelianus (*c.*420) and *Cassius Felix (*fl. c.*447) compiled medical handbooks in *Latin, drawing on *Greek sources, both Methodist and Galenic. Perhaps due to its simple and practical nature, Methodism flourished in the Latin world despite Galen's trenchant criticisms. It stressed that all diseases shared 'commonalities' (κοινότης), which once recognized suggested a certain course of treatment. Enquiries into the hidden causes of disease were irrelevant and time-consuming, as the patient's condition indicated the appropriate commonality. In *Acute Diseases*, Caelius Aurelianus also cites prescriptions from the Empiricist Heraclides of Tarentum (*c.*100–65 BC), although he primarily advises against their use (e.g. 1, 17). Founded by Philinus of *Cos (*c.*260 BC), Empiricism maintained that knowledge should be derived from experience (ἐμπειρία) alone, not rational abstraction. Successful treatment depended on accurate observation, a written collection of past experiences, and an understanding of similarities. Both Methodists and Empiricists dismissed the 'Dogmatic' insistence on the use of reason to determine the causation of disease. Attributing their origins to Hippocrates, the Dogmatics believed that disease resulted from an excess or deficiency of one of the four humours; treatment consisted in restoring balance. The Ps.-Galenic author of *Introductio* lists Asclepiades of *Bithynia (1st cent. BC) among the Dogmatics (14, 683K). Asclepiades, however, held that the body was composed of invisible particles, and health depended on their unhindered and balanced movement through pores. His opponents criticized the gentle nature of his therapies (e.g. use of *wine and light exercise) as a means of indulging his wealthy clientele. Doctors identified as Asclepiadeans can be found in 3rd–4th-century *Gaul and *Anatolia.

Diseases

Considered a disease, fevers (Gk. πυρετοί, Lat. *febres*) are discussed at length in the medical handbooks and

encyclopedias. The taxonomy 'quotidian', 'tertian', 'quartan' derives from the fever's periodicity: intervals of one, two, or three days. This pattern suggests malarial infection. Increased deforestation and the neglect of hydraulic works contributed to the diffusion of *malaria in Late Antiquity. The Roman Campagna was a particularly virulent region for malarial infection, as abandoned farmland receded into marsh. Scattered populations prevented frequent outbreaks of *epidemic diseases, but *armies moving en masse were vectors for transmissible diseases such as bacillary dysentery and typhus. Beginning in *Egypt *c.* AD 541, the Justinianic *Plague, possibly the first outbreak of bubonic plague, spread as far as *Spain, *Trier, and *Wales. It continued to flare up in densely populated areas of the eastern Mediterranean throughout the 6th–8th centuries. Those who contracted leprosy (Hansen's Disease) were excluded from society, as the disease was thought to be an outward sign of divine punishment, though it was also deemed curable (e.g. *Cyril of *Alexandria, *Sermon*, 82, cf. Num. 12: 10). The first *leprosaria* ('hospitals for lepers') in Europe date from the 5th or 6th century; *Gregory of Tours (*c.*538–94) mentions a **xenodochion* (Gk. 'hospice') for lepers built outside Cabillonum (mod. *Chalons-sur-Saône) *c.*550 (*Gloria Confessorum*, 85).

Doctors

Often bi- or even trilingual, many doctors served on *embassies or as guides, or *court politicians in political and religious negotiations. The doctor and *deacon Elpidius (*fl.* 510–30) took part in an embassy to *Constantinople, and later attended *Theodoric the *Ostrogoth on his deathbed (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 1, 38). *Sergius of *Resaina (d. 536) translated a number of Greek medical and philosophical works into *Syriac, but also participated in theological disputes that sent him to *Rome and Constantinople. Used by Hunayn *Ibn ʾIshāq (d. *c.*873 or 877) and his associates, Sergius' translations shaped the reception of Galenic medicine in the Islamic world and beyond. ARD

Ps.-Galen, *Introductio sive Medicus*, ed. C. G. Kühn (1827).

For editions of other medical works, many of them in the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, see under AËTIUS OF AMIDA, AURELIANUS, FELIX, ORIBASIUS, PAUL OF AEGINA, and GALEN IN LATE ANTIQUITY.

R. Degen, 'Galen im Syrischen. Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens', in V. Nutton, ed., *Galen: Problems and Prospects* (1981), 131–66.

M. D. Grmek, *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World* (1989).

V. Nutton, 'Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in L. Conrad et al., eds., *The Western Medical Tradition* (1995), 71–83.

V. Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (2004).

P. E. Pormann, 'Medical Education in Late Antiquity: From Alexandria to Montpellier', in M. Horstmanshoff, ed., *Hippocrates and Medical Education* (2010).

J. Scarborough, ed., Dumbarton Oaks symposium on Byzantine Medicine, published in *DOP* 38 (1984).

O. Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (1973).

Medina Town in the north-western *Arabian Peninsula about 350 km (220 miles) north of *Mecca, home of the first Muslim polity, centre of the *caliphate from 632 until 656, and thereafter important in Islamic practice and learning.

A number of linked settlements around an oasis, before *Islam Medina was known as Yathrib, and is attested in several pre-Islamic texts in various languages. Why it came to be called Medina (*al-madina*, 'the town') is variously explained. According to Islamic sources its population on the eve of Islam consisted of pagan Arab and Jewish clans. There are diverse theories about the origins and nature of the *Jews of Yathrib, who are not mentioned in pre-Islamic Jewish sources.

*Muhammad reportedly came to the town with several Meccan *Companions at the invitation of some of the pagan Arabs, in 622 (the *hijra). His supporters in Medina are known as the *Ansar. Over the next ten years he established his political and religious authority in the town, fought off attacks from his Meccan opponents, expelled and then exterminated the Jews who refused to accept him, sent expeditions against neighbouring tribes and places, and conquered *Mecca in 629. A document drawn up by Muhammad, known to scholars as the Constitution of Medina, is preserved in Muslim literary sources, and widely accepted as fundamentally authentic. Muhammad's house is counted as the first *mosque, and he was buried there on his death in 632. A monumental mosque was built on the site under the *Umayyad Caliph al-*Walid I (705–15), and became the second most important mosque in Islam after that of Mecca. Most pilgrims to Mecca also try to visit Medina.

After the death of Muhammad, the caliphs remained in Medina until *'Ali left for *Kufa at the start of the First *Arab Civil War (656–61). The Caliph *'Umar I was assassinated (644) in Medina, and the Caliph *'Uthman b. 'Affan killed by rebels (656). Following the succession of the Umayyad Caliph *Yazid I in *Syria in 680, many leading Muslims in Medina refused to accept his authority and expelled the governor and members of the Umayyad family living there. In 683 an army sent by Yazid defeated the dissidents and forced them to acknowledge Umayyad rule.

Subsequently Medina lost the political importance it had had in early Islam, but its reputation as the home of

authentic Islamic practice grew as Islamic *law developed primarily in Iraq. Medina came to be seen as the home of the **sunna*, which more and more was identified as the practice of the Prophet and the main source of Islamic law together with the Qur'ān. The most prominent legal scholar of Medina, *Malik b. Anas (d. 795), the eponym of the Maliki 'school of law', regarded the practice of Medina as an authoritative source alongside traditions about the Prophet's practice. The town is also seen as the birthplace of the traditional biographical material about Muhammad (*sira*), *Ibn Ishaq (d. 765), being its best-known representative. GRH

EQ s.v. Medina (Schöller).
EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* al-Madina, 994–8 (Watt).
M. Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (1995).
H. Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (2014).

Melania the Elder, S. (*c.*340–*c.*410) Noblewoman from *Spain, Christian benefactor, saint and promoter of *asceticism. Granddaughter of Antonius Marcellinus (consul 341), Melania was *c.*22 when her husband and two of her three sons died (*Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 46). After ten years in *Rome to establish her remaining son, Publicola, in senatorial circles, she travelled to *Egypt, where she visited the *monasteries of *Nitria. When Egyptian ascetics were exiled to *Sepphoris (Diocaesarea) by *Valens she followed as their patroness (*Paulinus of Nola, *ep.* 29, 11) and *c.*374 established a women's *monastery on the Mount of Olives. She presided there 27 years, an associate of fellow ascetic *Rufinus and a minister to visitors, most famously *Evagrius Ponticus (383) and *Jerome (386), whose early praise turned to opprobrium after the second *Origenist controversy (compare *ep.* 4 of AD 374 to *ep.* 133.3 of 417). She returned to Rome *c.*400, promoting asceticism among the aristocratic class (Paulinus of Nola, *ep.* 29) and persuading her granddaughter *Melania the Younger and her husband to embrace an ascetic *marriage (*Lausiac History*, 54). After disposing of her *estates she lived out her life in *Jerusalem. JDK

PLRE I, Melania 1.
PCBE II, Melania 1.
N. Moine, 'Melaniana', *RechAug* 15 (1980), 3–79.
K. Wilkinson, 'The Elder Melania's Missing Decade', *JLA* 5 (2012), 164–82.

Melania the Younger, S. (*c.*380–31 December 439) Roman saint and *ascetic, granddaughter of *Melania the Elder (*c.*342–*c.*410). After losing two children in infancy, she persuaded her husband Pinianus (*PLRE* I, Pinianus I, 385/7–431/32) to adopt an ascetic life and together they divested themselves of their properties. They joined *Paulinus' ascetic circle at Nola, then sailed to *Africa in 410, where they founded *monasteries and came to know *Augustine, eventually visited ascetics in *Egypt, and finally settled in* Jerusalem. They founded a nunnery on the Mount of Olives, where Melania lived enclosed in a cell. Following the death of Pinianus, she founded a male monastery near the Church of the Ascension. Her *Life*, which survives in both *Greek and *Latin recensions, was composed by Gerontius (d. 485), a monk associated with her in Jerusalem. GAF

PLRE I, Melania 2.
PCBE II/2, Melania 2.
Gerontius, *Vita S. Melaniae Iunioris*.
BHG 1241–2. Greek: ed. (annotated with FT) D. Gorce (SC 90, 1962).
ET E. A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (1984).
BHL 5885–6. Latin: ed. (annotated with FT) P. Laurence (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor 41, 2002).
C. M. Chin and C. T. Schroeder, eds., *Melania: Early Christianity through the Life of One Family* (2017).

Meleager Mythological hero, admired for his bravery. *John Malalas recounts one version of the *hunting of the Calydonian Boar, Meleager's love for Atalanta, and his tragic death (VI, 21). This myth combined love and hunting with an elevated moral tone, so continued to inspire visual artists. Meleager spearing the boar and his death appear on *sarcophagi in the 2nd–3rd centuries, and the hunt on 4th-century floor *mosaics both eastern and western (e.g. *Daphne-by-Antioch, Constantinian villa; S. Pedro del Aroyo, Villa Romana). He also features on *silver, e.g. the Meleager plate in the *Sevso Treasure (5th century), another plate in Munich (6th/7th century), and a plate of 613–29 in the Hermitage. MGP

D. M. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 vols. (1947), 237–40.
R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (1984), 145–61.
Mango and Bennett, *Sevso Treasure*, 99–152.
Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 137–40.

Meletius and Meletians Meletius was *Bishop of *Lycopolis in *Egypt and a confessor during the Great *Persecution. Imprisoned with *Peter I, *Patriarch of *Alexandria in 305/6, Meletius split from Peter over the readmission of lapsed Christians and formed the rigorist Meletian 'Church of the Martyrs', resembling the better-known *Donatist Schism in *Africa. An attempt at reconciliation at the *Council of *Nicaea in 325 failed, and the Meletians clashed with successive patriarchs of Alexandria, particularly *Athanasius (bp. 328–73). Meletian *letters, preserved in P. London VI, 1914 (Bell) accuse Athanasius of violence, charges which contributed to Athanasius' first *exile in 335. Athanasius in turn accused the Meletians of allying with

'Arian' heretics and conspiring against him (*Apologia contra Arianos*, 59–71, *Historia Arianorum*, 78–9).

The *Breviarium Melitii*, the list of clergy that Meletius submitted at Nicaea (in Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 71), reveals a Meletian presence throughout the *Nile Valley. While in no sense a nationalist movement, the schism posed a significant threat to Alexandrian episcopal authority and held special attraction for Egyptian *ascetics. By 400 Meletian influence was fading, although Meletians appear in the works of *Cyril of Alexandria and *Shenoute and may have survived into the 8th century. DMG

H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy* (1924).
Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy.*
H. Hauben, *Studies on the Melitian Schism in Egypt (AD 306–335)*, ed. P. van Nuffelen (2012).
J. W. B. Barns and H. Chadwick, 'A Letter Ascribed to Peter of Alexandria', *JTS* 24 NS (1973), 443–55.

Melitene (mod. Eski Malatya, Turkey) *City and bishopric in eastern *Cappadocia near the Euphrates. It housed a legionary camp of the Legio XII Fulminata attested from 71/2 until the 5th century AD, and received city status from Trajan.

The *Tetrarchy integrated the city into the *province of *Armenia Minor. In the wake of the Peace of Acilisene (*c.*387), the city became part of *Armenia Secunda, and under *Justinian I of Armenia Tertia. The city housed *monasteries named after the local *military *martyr S. Polyeuctos, allegedly executed under *Valerian in 259 (*BHG* 1567–8), as well as S. Hieron and the 33 *martyrs who purportedly died at Melitene in 290 (*BHG* 749–50). *Cyril of *Scythopolis' *Lives* frequently mention inhabitants of Melitene who came to the *Holy Land on *pilgrimage; some settled there in monastic communities. The most famous of them was S. *Euthymius the Great in the early 5th century. Strongly fortified under *Anastasius I and Justinian (*Procopius *Aed.* III, 4, 15–20), the *city was destroyed by the army of *Khosrow I in 575. In Islamic times, Melitene continued to switch back and forth between the Byzantine Empire and the Muslims. In 656/7 *Mu'awiya's generals reconquered it and used it as an important strategic rear base for the Islamic campaigns against Byzantium. During the reign of *'Abd al-Malik Melitene again became Byzantine but was conquered for a third time by *Hisham. However, in 751 the city was destroyed under *Constantine V and rebuilt by the *'Abbasid al-Mansur. KMK

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981), 233–7.
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 3–12 (topography and walls).
H. Hellenkemper, 'Der Limes am nordsyrischen Euphrat', in D. Haupt, ed., *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* 2 (1977), 461–71.
T. Mitford, 'The Euphrates Frontier in Cappadocia', in D. Haupt, ed., *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* 2, 501–10.
J. Wagner, *Die Ostgrenze des Römischen Reiches: 1.–5. Jh. n. Chr.* (1992).

Meliton the Philosopher (*fl.* 2nd or 3rd cent.) Author of an oration addressed to Antoninus Caesar, found in a 7th-century Syriac manuscript, alongside works of *Bardaisan and various Greek philosophical texts. The author urges the *emperor to adopt *monotheism because it is morally superior to polytheism. The text, however, makes no explicit reference to either Christianity or Judaism. It remains unclear whether the author is identical with the 2nd-century *Bishop Melito of *Sardis, an excerpt of whose *Apology*, cited by *Eusebius of *Caesarea (*HE* IV, 26, 3, 5–11), does not align with the *Syriac text. RAKi

GEDSH s.v. Meliton the Philosopher, 284–5 (Van Rompay).
ed. (with ET) W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum* (1855), 22–31 (text), 41–51 (ET).
I. Ramelli, 'L'apologia siriaca di Melitone ad "Antonino Cesare": osservazioni e traduzione', *Vetera Christianorum* 36 (1999), 259–86.

Melkite Term of derision employed by *Miaphysite writers to describe those who adopted Dyophysitism, the doctrine that there are Two Natures in Christ, both human and divine, as promulgated by the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) and the **Tome of *Leo I* (449). It originated from the *Syriac adjective *malkaya* ('royal' or 'imperial'), thereby characterizing the proponents of Chalcedon as simply 'the king's men'. There is no *Coptic equivalent to 'Melkite', though the term became relatively common among later *Arabic Christian writers in *Egypt. CJH

GEDSH s.v. Melkite, p. 285 (Brock).
D. W. Johnson, 'Anti-Chalcedonian Polemics in Coptic Texts, 451–641', in B. A. Pearson and J. E. Goehring, eds., *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (1986), 216–34.
S. Griffith, '"Melkites", "Jacobites" and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in Third/Ninth-Century Syria', in D. Thomas, ed., *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years* (2001), 9–55.
J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église Melchite du V^e^ au XX^e^ siècle*, several vols. (1979–).

Melloproximus Second-highest-ranking official (behind the *Proximus) in each of the Sacra *Scrinia. Melloproximi from the **epistulares* and **libellenses*, and the *Laterculensis (the third-ranked **memorialis*) acted as the senior assistants (**adjutores*) to the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, with the right to sell their posts to a substitute (*NovJust* 35). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 576–7.

Melminii Family of curial status from *Ravenna, important in the *city government from the late 5th to the late 6th century. Individual Melminii are recorded in the *Ravenna Papyri as Defensor Ecclesiae Ravennatis, as *Defensor Civitatis, and as *magistrati*. As **principales* they had a prominent position in the *city council. In the Byzantine period, two Melminii were honoured with the *title of **vir clarissimus* (*PLRE* III, Andreas 6 and Cassianus). The family is not attested after the 6th century. CARM

Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*.
S. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia Bizantina*, 2 vols. (1996–2000).

Melque *See* SPAIN, CHURCHES OF, MELQUE.

Membij *See* HIERAPOLIS OF SYRIA.

memoriales Staff, overseen by the *Magister Memoriae, in one of three main departments of the Sacra *Scrinia, whose organization is outlined in a law of *Theodosius II and *Valentinian III (*CJust* XII, 19, 7). In 470, *Leo I made provision for 62 personnel (*CJust* XII, 19, 10). By then, legitimate sale of offices and a supernumerary waiting-list had arisen. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 575–8.

memra (plur. *memre*) Ambivalent *Syriac term indicating both poetic and non-poetic texts. The latter are 'homilies', 'exhortations', or 'discourses' that often combine straight prose with highly stylized artistic prose, as in the *Demonstrations* of *Aphrahat (*c.*270–after 345). The poetic *memra* is a 'verse homily' that consists of isosyllabic couplets (cf. METRE, POETIC, SYRIAC) and whose length ranges from just 100 to several thousands of verses. Composed for a rhythmic, psalmodic recital, its repetitive structure full of parallelisms and antitheses generates a narrative kind of poetry of great rhetorical power. The oldest extant poetic *memre* are found among the works of *Ephrem the Syrian (*c.*300–373); the genre was mostly popularized by *Jacob of Sarug (*c.*451–521), to whom more than 700 verse homilies are ascribed. KDB

S. P. Brock, 'Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac', *OHECS*, 657–71.

Mên (deity) *Pagan Moon God depicted with Phrygian cap, cloak, crescent moon, pine-cone, and cockerel, worshipped in central *Anatolia, with a few *inscriptions from *Greece, *Italy, *Dacia. Like other local deities, he was associated with justice and punishment. Mên Askaenos was the highly officialized *patrios theos* of the Roman *colonia* at *Antioch in *Pisidia, where his *temple survived until the 3rd century AD. Other dedications are known from Laodicea Combusta of *Pisidia, *Aphrodisias, and Cabeira in Pontus. In *Lycaonia, Mên was invoked to protect graves. ACFC

E. N. Lane, 'Men: A Neglected Cult of Roman Asia Minor', in *ANRW* II.18.3 (1990), 2161–74.
E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis*, 4 vols. (EPRO 19, 1971–8).
Mitchell, *Anatolia*, II.

Menander Protector (*fl.* late 6th cent.) Historian. Born, probably in *Constantinople, to a father who gave both his sons a legal education. His brother dropped out; Menander persisted, although a legal career lacked appeal. Instead, he explains, in one of two surviving testimonies by a *circus *faction supporter (the other is *Jacob the Newly Baptized), how he 'put aside serious things and chose the most disreputable . . . my enthusiasms were the brawls of the colours (*scil.* the factions), the chariot competitions, the pantomime ballets. . . . I lost my cloak, my common sense and my honour.' He was apparently rescued from his disorderly life by the *patronage of the new *emperor, *Maurice, which led him to write his *History* (fr. 1). His career is otherwise obscure; he appears to have acquired the status of a **protector*. By the late 6th century, *protectores* were less military men than imperial agents and courtiers, and Menander enjoyed access to imperial *archives, which he quotes extensively and reliably.

His *History* survives in over 70, sometimes extensive, fragments chiefly found in the **Excerpta de Legationibus*, the *Excerpta de Sententiis* (parts of an encyclopedia commissioned by *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus), and a later encyclopedia, the **Suda*, which drew on the *Excerpta*. It starts from where *Agathias ended (557/8), and continues until at least 582 (fr. 1). Judging from what remains, it was written on a grand scale, relating the history of wars, emperors, and empires, with *Constantinople as the centre of events. It was also 'classicizing', less in terms of allusions to ancient writers or ancient learning, than in the use of a classical style of writing, in its linguistic purism (although technical *Latin words intrude), and in the introduction of speeches that often owe more to the conventions of *rhetoric than to what was actually said—though, in the best traditions of classical historiography, the speeches do often characterize the speakers and explore the issues.

While wide-ranging both geographically and ethnically, the *History* focuses on the East more than the West, and is particularly concerned with Roman relations with the *Avars and the *Persian Empire. The latter are treated as Rome's equals and their primary diplomatic partners. Notable is the unusual attention Menander pays not just to international relations, but to the procedures and language of *diplomacy—especially to that employed in treaties, which he quotes at length (e.g. fr. 6.1; the *Fifty Years Peace of 561). This reflects

his understanding of diplomacy as an economical way of achieving balance between the two great powers. It probably also indicates professional experience of diplomacy as well as careful study of official texts. His generally fair-minded approach is reflected in his evaluation of the main characters in his *History* from *Justinian I to *Khosrow I. Nor are his judgements warped by religious enthusiasm, though he was almost certainly a Christian, as is indicated by his *epigram on a martyred Persian convert to Christianity, Isaozites (fr. 13, 3). But he was no zealot. PNB

ed. (with ET, introd., and notes), R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (ARCA 17, 1985).
Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. 1, 309–12.

Menander Rhetor A *rhetorician from *Laodicea ad Lycum, under whose name two treatises on epideictic oratory have been preserved. Both are dated on internal evidence to the late 3rd century, but differences in approach suggest different authors.

Treatise I, the work of a rhetorician with Platonist leanings, identifies the topics appropriate to the different genres of epideictic speech, subdividing each topic into alternative possibilities. By contrast, Treatise II analyses the different genres of epideictic speech into linear sequences of headings—an approach methodologically similar to Menander's other attested work.

Though he is most familiar to modern scholars as an expert on epideictic, Menander's fame in Late Antiquity rested primarily on his commentary on Demosthenes. Only sixteen named fragments survive, but parallels in material transmitted anonymously in the Demosthenes scholia show that the overall strategies and local tactics of Demosthenes' arguments were analysed in minute detail, using the theoretical resources of Late Antique issue-theory. Significantly, Menander's entry in the **Suda* (*M*590) reveals that he also wrote a commentary on *Hermogenes, *On Issues*. Menander's exegesis of Demosthenes appears to have originated in lectures to advanced students, and was practically oriented. He highlights rhetorical techniques for his students to observe and imitate, while encouraging them to evaluate doctrines taught by textbook writers such as Hermogenes independently, in the light of Demosthenes' practice and their own experience. Source-critical analysis suggests that Menander's commentary was the dominant (though not the only) influence on the Late Antique commentaries that lie behind the Demosthenes scholia.

The *Suda* also mentions a commentary on a treatise on **progymnasmata* by Hermogenes' rival Minucianus. Two references to Menander in the scholia to *Aelius Aristides suggest a commentary on (at least) the *Panathenaicus*. A late 5th-century *letter (P.Berol. 21849) contains an urgent request for the return of borrowed copies of Menander's *Art*, *Methods*, and *Encomia*: these works cannot be identified with certainty. MFH

ed. (with ET and comm.) D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (1981).
ed. M. R. Dilts, *Scholia Demosthenica*, 2 vols. (1983–6).
M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2006).

Menas, S. Christian *military saint widely venerated as a *martyr, *miracle worker, and healer. Plentiful and mutually contradictory sources survive in *Greek, *Coptic, Old Nubian, Ethiopic, *Latin, *Syriac, and *Armenian for his life, martyrdom, and miracles. Menas was believed to have been Egyptian in origin, and to have served as a soldier under the *Tetrarchy in *Phrygia where he was martyred. His fellow soldiers brought his body to *Mareotis, south-west of *Alexandria. Eventually, the *camels bearing his *relics refused to move further, and this was taken as a sign that his body should be interred at *Abu Mina. Soon, miracles of healing were reported at his grave, and his cult flourished even as his *martyrium was enlarged to accommodate growing numbers of pilgrims. They often returned with souvenir *pilgrimage flasks (*ampullae*) depicting S. Menas in the *orans position, flanked by a pair of kneeling camels. The diffusion of these flasks throughout the Mediterranean, and his veneration at sites outside Egypt, indicate the popularity of S. Menas' cult in Late Antiquity. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 5 *s.n.* Menas the Miracle Worker, Saint, cols. 1589b–1590b (M. Krause).
BHG 1250–71.
BHO 745–50.
ed. (with ET) E. A. Wallis Budge, *Texts Relating to Saint Menas of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian Dialect* (1909).
J. Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas* (1946).
F. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen zum Heiligen Menas* (1993).
P. Grossmann, 'The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ', in D. Frankfurter, ed., *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (RGRW 134, 1998), 281–302.

Menas of Nikiu *Bishop of *Nikiu in the *Nile Delta in the early 8th century in succession to *John of Nikiu. Menas was already old when he came to Nikiu from the *monastery of Macarius in *Scetis. He wrote in *Coptic an encomium *On Macrobius* (*BHO* 583) and a *Life* (*BHO* 539) of Isaac, *Patriarch of *Alexandria (in office 690–2).

The *Life* of Isaac relates the patriarch's wondrous works and also gives especially good information on the relationship between the patriarch and the *Arab governor 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 685–705). The governor is generally sympathetic towards the patriarch, observing his holiness and appreciating his clever disobedience

at times. He also, however, has the patriarch arrested when he suspects him of having intervened by *letter in a conflict between the kingdoms of *Nubia and *Ethiopia.

Macrobius, a 4th-century Bishop of Nikiu, was believed to be a *martyr of the Great *Persecution. His *martyr passion written by Menas describes Macrobius' career in the Church, his ordeals in *prison and in court at the hands of officials, and his *miracles. PMS

BHO 583, *Passion of S. Macrobius*: ed. (with FT) H. Hyvernat, *Les Actes des martyrs de l'Egypte* (1886/7), 225–46.

BHO 539, *Life of Isaac*, ed. (with FT) E. Porcher, in *PO* 11/3 (1915), 299–389.

ed. (with FT) E. Amélineau, *Histoire du patriarche copte Isaac* (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger: Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine 2, 1890).

ET and study D. N. Bell, *Mena of Nikiou: The Life of Isaac of Alexandria & the Martyrdom of Saint Macrobius* (CSS 107, 1988).

H. Suermann, 'Copts and the Islam of the Seventh Century', in E. Grypeou, M. N. Swanson, and D. Thomas, eds., *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam* (2006), 95–109.

Swanson, *Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt.*

Menog-e Xrad The *Dādestān-e Mēnōg ī xrad* (*Judgements of the Spirit of Wisdom*) is a Middle *Persian text from the *Sasanian period, consisting of a prologue and 62 sets of questions asked by Dānāg (meaning 'wise') and their answers. These mix secular advice about eating, drinking wine (in moderation), and the disposal of the *dead with dualist *cosmology and religious precept. There are no references to *Arabs or *Islam. TD

EncIran VI/5 (1993) *s.n. Dādestān-e Mēnōg ī xrad* 554–5 (A. Tafażżolī).

ed. A. Tafaẓẓoli, *Mīnū-yi khirad* (1364 AH, AD 1975).

ET E. W. West, 'Menog-i-Khrad', in *Pahlavi Texts* Part 3 (Sacred Books of the East 24, 1885).

ET M. Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (1984), 17.

menorah The most frequently encountered motif in ancient Jewish art and a central appurtenance in the Wilderness Tabernacle (Exodus 25: 31–40), it became prominent in the First and Second Jerusalem Temples. Only in the 1st century BC did the *menorah* appear elsewhere, and in Late Antiquity it served as the dominant Jewish symbol in cemeteries and *synagogues in *Palestine and the Diaspora, much as the *cross did in Christian contexts. Often appearing alone, the *menorah* could also be accompanied by other Jewish symbols such as the Torah shrine, *shofar*, *lulav*, and *ethrog*. LL

R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-Armed Candelabrum* (2001).

Menouthis *See* ABOUKIR.

***mensores* (*metatores*)** Junior palatine officials responsible for arranging billeting for the *emperor and *court (*Comitatus) while travelling, and for requisitioning lodgings in *Constantinople for visiting dignitaries (*CTh* VII, 8). They reported to the *Magister Officiorum (*Not. Dig.* 11.12 [*or.*]), and were probably (like the **lampadarii*) organized as a *Schola. They should not be confused with the *mensores* at *Portus (the *harbour for *Rome) who measured state-imported *grain before storage (*CTh* XIV, 4, 9). CMK

Boak, *Master of the Offices*, 80–2.

Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine*, 306–7.

Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 19–20.

merchant (Lat. *negotiator*; also *mercator*) There was no recognized mercantile class in Late Antiquity, and buyers and sellers of products for resale, i.e. of products not primarily produced by the merchant or intended for his own consumption, came from diverse social backgrounds and attained very varied levels of success. Nobles and government officials were discouraged from engaging in *trade, but these suggestions were often disregarded, and some merchants built huge fortunes and great social notoriety. Other merchants struggled financially or ran modest enterprises, and slaves, women, and clerics could all operate as merchants (*CTh* XIII, 1 *passim*). No particular religious, linguistic, or ethnic community dominated merchant activity, though note may be made of a Syrian merchant in *Paris in 592 (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* X, 26) and Manichaean merchants on the *Silk Road in *Central Asia.

Mercantile activity could also accompany other professional activities; **navicularius* (shipowner) and merchant were not synonymous, for example, but many who owned *ships were also merchants. Evidence for a voluntary *guild structure in Late Antiquity is limited but for the collection of the **collatio lustralis* merchants were obliged to organize themselves according to trade. Less formal social networks based upon ethnicity, origin, and language facilitated inter-regional trade. Both literature and legal documents tend to exhibit moral disapproval toward merchants, although it is equally clear from legal texts that the government relied upon merchant activity to secure goods for public consumption, to provide markets at outposts, and to acquire luxury items which it valued (e.g. *silk). Trade in specie, rather than barter, was the norm (*CJust* IX, 23, 1). Speculative trading was facilitated by the availability of loans, particularly (though at high rates) maritime loans, as well as by the unpredictability of government requisitions, and by the system of tax-collection, which promoted an active trade in precious and base metals. Merchants operated both intra- and inter-regionally as

well as at and beyond the borders of the Roman and *Persian Empires, with some efforts at government regulation (*CJust* IV, 63, 4). AAB

Jones, *LRE* 864–72.

P. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, 'Trade, Industry and the Urban Economy', in *CAH* XIII (1998), 312–37.

Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea.*

Mercuriana At first, by one hypothesis, a distinctly named part of the *province *Aegyptus Herculia; then, from 322 until 324, a short-lived province in its own right. Only one *governor is known by name, and then only in part. JGK

PLRE I, Sabinianus 2.

J. D. Thomas, 'Sabinianus, *Praeses* of Aegyptus Mercuriana?', *BASP* 21 (1984), 225–34.

Meriamlik *See* SELEUCIA AD CALYCADNUM.

Merida (Roman Emerita Augusta) *City in modern Extremadura in western *Spain on the River Guadiana. Founded in 25 BC as a *colonia* for Roman army veterans, it was the capital of the *province of *Lusitania. *Bishops of Merida were criticized in 254 for yielding during the *persecution of *Decius (*Cyprian, *ep.* 67). The significant rebuilding of the city in the 4th century included the first *basilica to its patron saint, S. Eulalia; it was then occupied by *Alans, *Vandals, and *Suebes before coming under *Visigothic control in 456. The archaeological record shows *houses and mausoleums within the city *walls destroyed and abandoned during these occupations. The *Lives of the Fathers of *Merida* recount the lives of the 6th-century bishops Paul, Fidel, and *Masona, who presided over more rebuilding and some new constructions, including a bishop's *palace, *hostel, *monasteries, and many basilicas that provided the setting for a *stational liturgy. In 713, the *Arab conquest reached the city. Many Roman monuments are preserved in part, including a *bridge, *villa, *circus, theatre, amphitheatre, sections of city wall, *forum remains, and multiple *aqueducts. Part of the Visigothic basilica of S. Eulalia can be seen under the modern church, and some of the Arab riverside fortress remains. EMB

Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium (*CPL* 2069, *BHL* 2530):

ed. A. Maya Sánchez (CCSL 117, 1992).

ET A. T. Fear (TTH 26, new edn., 2011).

R. Collins, 'Merida and Toledo: 550–585', in E. James, ed., *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (1980), 189–219.

J. Arce, 'The City of Merida (Emerita) in the Vitas Patrum Emeretensium (VIth Century A.D.)', in E. Chrysos and I. Wood, eds., *East and West: Modes of Communication* (1999), 1–14.

Merida, Lives of the Fathers of Series of *saints' lives of the 7th century from *Visigothic *Spain, said to have been written in *Merida by a *deacon named *Paul. Its stated purpose was to strengthen faith by describing local, contemporary *miracles in the manner of *Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. It tells of the young boy Augustus, a monk from Cauliana, the abbot Nanctus, and the important *bishops Paul, Fidel, and *Masona of Merida. It shows the bishops as unofficial *city leaders who repaired and built new infrastructure, represented the city to important visitors, and organized care for those in need, in addition to their duties as spiritual leaders and intercessors with the patron saint Eulalia. It describes the city topography, particularly ecclesiastical sites, in detail. EMB

Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium (*CPL* 2069, *BHL* 2530):

ed. A. Maya Sánchez (CCSL 117, 1992).

ed. (with ET and comm.) J. N. Garvin (1946).

ET A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (TTH 26, new edn., 2011), 45–106.

***meritum* (plur. *merita*)** Criteria, encompassing both performance and pedigree, for deserving promotion to high office or rank; or time served and seniority (*ordo*) for promotion to higher clerical positions within the *civil service, independent of **suffragium* (influence) or *patronage. JND

Rilinger et al., *Ordo und dignitas*, 181–222.

Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius*.

Merobaudes, Flavius *Magister Peditum and *consul in 377, 383, and possibly 388. Merobaudes was possibly of Germanic origin. He supported the proclamation of *Valentinian II, but later backed the *usurper *Magnus Maximus and committed *suicide at *Trier soon before Maximus' defeat by *Theodosius I (*Pacatus, *PanLat* II (XII), 28, 4–5). DN

PLRE I, Merobaudes 2.

B. S. Rodgers, 'Merobaudes and Maximus in Gaul', *Historia* 30 (1981), 82–105.

Merobaudes, Flavius (*fl.* 435–46) General, poet, and panegyrist. Born in *Baetica (*Sidonius, *carm.* 9, 297), Merobaudes was probably related to the 4th-century Magister Peditum and *consul of the same name (in 377, 383, and 388). He left *Spain for an imperial career and by the early 430s was closely associated with the powerful general *Aëtius. As a *vir spectabilis* and *Comes Sacri *Consistorii, he was honoured in 435, like the earlier 'epic panegyrist' *Claudian and later Sidonius (Gillett, 284–7), with a *statue in the Forum of Trajan in *Rome; its *inscription praises him for literary and military accomplishments alike (*CIL* VI, 1724). His first extant *panegyric, a speech

of thanksgiving for Aëtius, probably dates between 437 and 443. He married the daughter of Fl. Asturius (consul 449), and after 441 succeeded his father-in-law as *Magister Utriusque Militiae in *Tarraconensis. His victory in 443 over the *Bacaudae was followed by a sudden recall to Rome (*Hydatius, *Chronicle*, 120, ed. Burgess). His last datable accomplishment was probably the hexameter panegyric for Aëtius's consulship of 446. A fragmentary *epitaph commemorates his burial at the cemetery of S. Agnese on the via Nomentana (*CIL* VI, 41395) in *Rome. His works survive on eight folios of the palimpsest Sangallensis 908 (*CLA* VII, 962). In addition to the panegyrics, his writings include two *ecphrases on imperial themes (*Carmina* I–II), fragmentary couplets describing a *locus amoenus* (*Carmen* III), and a *genethliacum* for the first birthday of Aëtius' son (*Carmen* IV). Merobaudes may also have written the hexameter poem *De Christo* (*AnthLat* 1.878). WEK

PLRE II, Merobaudes.

ed. F. Vollmer (*MGH*, *Auct. Ant.* 14).

ed. (with FT and commentary) F. Ploton-Nicollet (doctoral thesis, Paris IV, 2008).

ET (annotated) F. M. Clover, *Flavius Merobaudes: A Translation and Historical Commentary* (TAPS., NS 61.1 (1971), 1–78.

A. Bruzzone, *Flavio Merobaude: Panegirico in versi* (1999).

A. Gillett, 'Epic Panegyric and Political Communication in the Fifth-Century West', in Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*, 265–90.

Meropius Greek *philosopher from *Tyre who travelled to *India under *Constantine I. He put in at *Aksum, and was killed, but the king took his two young kinsmen into his court. One of them, *Frumentius, was eventually consecrated by *Athanasius as the first Christian *bishop in Aksum. OPN

PLRE I, Meropius.

Merovech (*fl.* mid-5th cent.) First mentioned by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 9) as a descendant of the Frankish King *Chlodio and father of *Childeric I. *Fredegar (III, 9) makes him the son of Chlodio or a sea-beast (a likely play on his name), and is the first to describe him explicitly as the eponymous founder of the ruling Frankish dynasty of the *Merovingians. STL

PLRE II, Merovechus.

A. C. Murray, '*Post vocatur Merohingii*: Fredegar, Merovech and Sacral Kingship', in Murray, *After Rome's Fall*, 121–52.

Merovingians and the Merovingian dynasty Name given since at least the 7th century to the dynasty that held sole kingship among the *Franks from *c.*500 to 751. The first certainly historical king of that dynasty was *Childeric I, who achieved power in northern *Gaul by astute alliances with the last Roman powers in the area; it is likely that he controlled much of northern Gaul by the time of his death in *c.*481. He was succeeded by his son *Clovis, who was the true founder of the Merovingian monopoly of royal power, by his military successes, by his *conversion to Catholicism, and above all by his elimination of other royal dynasties among the Franks, notably those based in *Cambrai and *Cologne.

*Fredegar, in the 7th century, claims (III, 9) that 'it is said' that Childeric's father *Merovech was the result of a union between 'a beast of Neptune resembling the quinotaur' (Minotaur) and the wife of King *Chlodio, and that Merovech's descendants were called *Merohingii* after him. This assertion, combined with the fact that Merovingian kings were distinguished from their subjects by their long *hair, has led to much (possibly futile) speculation about the 'sacral' nature of Merovingian kingship.

At Clovis' death in 511, royal power was shared between his four sons, the youngest three of whom were the children of Queen *Chlothild. It is likely that this was the result of negotiation between the eldest son *Theuderic I and Chlothild herself rather than traditional Frankish practice. Theuderic retained power in the Frankish homeland in the north-east of Gaul, up to and beyond the middle and lower Rhine, which would later be called *Austrasia. He and his son *Theudebert I were prime movers in the aggressive extension of Frankish power east of the Rhine, and also south, against the *Burgundians, into *Provence, and even beyond into *Spain and *Italy. If we are to believe *Gregory of *Tours, almost the only source for Frankish political history in the 6th century, his younger brothers *Childebert I and *Chlothar I acted decisively to prevent further dissolution of royal power by eliminating the children of their brother *Chlodomer when he died in 524. By 558 all the sons of Clovis apart from Chlothar I had died, and he ruled as sole king. When he died, in 561, his four sons, *Charibert, *Guntram, *Sigibert I, and *Chilperic I, divided the kingdom up in much the same way as had happened in 511.

Civil wars between the three brothers who survived Charibert's premature death in 567 occupy many pages of Gregory's *Histories*. These disputes have sometimes been seen as the result of rivalry between *Sigibert's Queen *Brunhild and Chilperic's Queen *Fredegund, after Brunhild's sister *Galswintha, who had for a time replaced Fredegund as Chilperic's consort, had been murdered at *court. Conflicts over the redistribution of Charibert's territory may, however, have been more significant. Sigibert was assassinated in 575 (possibly by his brother Chilperic), and succeeded by his infant son *Childebert II; Chilperic was assassinated in 584, and succeeded by his infant son *Chlothar II. There is doubt, then and now, that Chlothar was the child of Chilperic

and *Fredegund, since the appearance of a baby, after Chilperic's death, was essential for the political survival of Fredegund. After 584 the sole surviving son of Chlothar I, *Guntram, was dominant, and he cemented an alliance in 587 with his nephew Childebert.

When Guntram died in 592, Childebert II took over much of the realm, for his cousin Chlothar was still only 9 years old. When Childebert himself died in 596, his mother Brunhild became regent for her grandchildren and, briefly, great-grandchildren. However, in 613 Chlothar II was able to establish himself as the single ruler of the Franks, with the help of nobles such as *Arnulf of *Metz and *Pippin I (the first known members of the family that would later become the Carolingians) and inaugurate a long period of internal peace, during which monasticism was able to prosper. In 622 he gave Austrasia, based on the Rhine and Meuse valleys, to his son *Dagobert I as a sub-kingdom. Henceforth, *Neustria (the Seine and Oise valleys) and *Burgundy, centred on the former Burgundian kingdom to the south-east, were frequently ruled together, with Austrasia under a separate king. Dagobert established himself as sole ruler of Francia again after Chlothar's death in 629, but when he died another division took place between his two sons by different wives: *Clovis II, still a child, took Neustro-Burgundy, and *Sigibert III took Austrasia.

From this time onwards, the *Mayors of the Palace in each kingdom (notably ambitious ones such as *Grimoald, the son of Pippin I, or *Ebroin) have often been seen as more important than the kings themselves. But that should not blind one to the continuing significance of the later Merovingian kings (and queens), for the Mayors themselves needed kings in order to survive, at least until the last gasps of the dynasty in the 730s and 740s. Although it has become traditional to refer to these later monarchs as the *rois fainéants*, the 'do-nothing kings', in fact adult Merovingian kings, such as *Childebert III (694–711), could still be very effective; unfortunately, many of the later Merovingians were children. There were a number of crises, notably in 675 (the murder of *Childeric II), and 679 (the murder of *Dagobert II, which instigated the resumption of warfare between Neustrians and Austrasians, for the first time since 613).

But the end of the dynasty was not inevitable until *Charles Martel, son of *Pippin II, acquired the mayoralty, and began an aggressive policy to reunite Francia. His son *Pippin III suggested to Pope *Zacharias that the Merovingian kings had outlived their usefulness; and the pope agreed. *Childeric III was deposed in 751, and Pippin was anointed as the first Carolingian king. EJ

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (1962).
E. James, *The Franks* (1988).
Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*.
Ewig, *SFG*.
Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF*.
M. Diesenberger, 'Hair, Sacrality and Symbolic Capital in the Frankish Kingdoms', in R. Corradini et al., ed., *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* (2003), 173–212.
P. Fouracre, *Frankish History: Studies in the Construction of Power* (2013).

Merv (Marw, Marv, Marw al-Shahijan) City on the Murghab River, capital of Achaemenid Margiana and later the Persian province of *Khorasan. Known as Alexandria Margiana or Antiochia Margiana under the Seleucids (Ptolemy, VI, 10), Merv was an integral part of the Persian world and the seat of the *marzban responsible for defending the *Persian Empire against the steppe nomad barbarians to the north-west (Markwart, *Catalogue*, 11). Situated at the crossroads of major east–west trade routes, it was well known for its extensive walls, citadel, and *irrigation system and renowned as an agricultural and commercial centre. Before the *Arab conquest, most inhabitants of Merv were *Zoroastrians, with sizeable *Buddhist, Christian, and *Manichaean minorities at times.

In 651, *Yazdegerd III, the last *Sasanian shah, was killed in the city, sealing the Arab conquest of Persia (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 490–3). Under the Muslims, Merv functioned as the capital of *Khorasan (al-Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 163–5) and the launching point for Arab expansion into *Central Asia, especially under *Qutayba b. Muslim (d. 715). In addition to the native Persians, a large part of the population was soon composed of Arab **ghazi*s, 'fighters against the infidels'. Later on, Merv played a key part in the social revolution which led to the establishment of the *'Abbasid *caliphate in 750. Several Arab geographers give accounts of the place, including al-*Yaqubi (86–8), Ibn al-Faqih (375–82), and al-*Muqaddasi (273–6). Nine seasons of excavations were carried out between 1992 and 2000 under the auspices of the International Merv Project, whose study of the city and its oases continues, coordinated from offices at University College, London. MLD

EI 2 vol. 6 (1991) *s.n.* Marw al-Shāhidjān (A. Yu. Yakubovskii, C. E. Bosworth).
G. Herrman and H. N. Kennedy, *Monuments of Merv: Traditional Buildings of the Karakum* (1999).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 397–406.

Mesembria (mod. Nessebur, Bulgaria) Coastal *city of *Haemimontus founded in the 6th century BC on an oblong tombolo, now in parts submerged. It was unsuccessfully besieged and assaulted several times in Late

Antiquity. The *Bulgars took it in 812, but the Romans reconquered it in 863. In the 8th century, it was the liaison centre for *trade between Romans and Bulgars and base of the Commerciarius, the successor to the *Comes Commerciorum.

Its Hellenistic fortifications were rebuilt in the late 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 9th centuries. *Brickstamps of *Justinian I have been found in the masonry. The city had at least six 5th- to 6th-century *basilicas, the most notable being the Old Metropolis, the Holy Apostles, and the Sea Basilica. Four of the churches replaced *pagan *temples. In the late 5th century Mesembria acquired an *aqueduct and monumental *baths. ER

TIR K 35/2 (2012), 220–3.
TIB 6 Thrakien (1991), 355–9 (*s.v.* Mesembria 2).
RByzKunst 6 (2005), 218–43 (P. Soustal).
Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 229.
E. Teoklieva-Stoicheva, *Η τοπογραφία της Μεσημβρίας του Ευξείνου Πόντου από τον 4ο ως τις αρχές του 7ου αιώνα* (2009).
Wendel, *Karasura*, III (2005), 92f., 328.

Mesopotamia, Persian Region forming the south-western end of the territories of the *Persian Empire, as it had done since the Arsacid period. In the *Sasanian period, it housed the longest-lasting Sasanian capital, *Ctesiphon, and was known as Asuristan or Suristan (from Assyria) and Dil-ī Eranshahr 'the Heart of the Iranian Realm'.

The Sasanian capital and provinces

The capital complex at Ctesiphon, known as al-*Mada'in in the later Islamic sources and *Mahoze in *Syriac—both meaning 'cities'—was founded in the Seleucid and Arsacid periods. It was originally made up of *Seleucia ad Tigrim, and was later expanded with the addition of Walashgerd under the Arsacid Vologases I (AD 51–78). The *Sasanian founder, *Ardashir I, expanded the complex with the addition of Weh-Ardashir (*Kokhe). In the late Sasanian period, a *dastgerd* (royal settlement) was founded to the east of Ctesiphon and along the Nahrawan Canal, demonstrating the prosperity of the region.

Apart from Ctesiphon, Sasanian Mesopotamia included the important cities of *Nisibis, often contested with the Roman Empire in the north, Anbar (MP *Peroz Shapur, location of the main military supply storage and possibly the city of Misikhe) in the west, and the port of Ubulah in the south. It also contained the city of *Hira in the south-west, used by the *Lakhimid Arab tribe as the seat of their client kingdom of the same name. The whole of Asurestan, in fact, was divided into 12 *kura* or *ostan* (provinces) and 60 *tasuj* (districts), each with a governor and local tax authority. These provinces are named as Holwan in the north, Shad-Hormizd, Shad-Kawad, and Bazigan-Khosrow in the east, Shad-Shapur and Shad-Bahman in the south on the plain of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Upper Ostan, Ardashir Pabagan, Masapatan, Upper-Weh-Kawad, Middle Weh-Kawad, and Lower Weh-Kawad in the west. This strict division appears to have been significant for Sasanian tax regulation in the 6th and 7th centuries, following the reforms of *Qobad I and *Khosrow I. The more ancient divisions of the region, known from the Babylonian *Talmud and the Syriac sources, divide *Asorestan/Mesopotamia from south to north into the regions of Kashkar/*Beth Aramaye, Babil, Jukha, Garmakan, Now-Ardashiragan/*Adiabene, and Arbayastan/*Beth 'Arabaye. The description of these regions given by the 9th-century Arab geographer Ibn Khordadbeh clearly drew on accounts dating from the Sasanian period.

Economic development

The Sasanian *court invested heavily in the development of Mesopotamia, the seat of their empire and perhaps their largest tax contributor. Archaeological investigations show the most intense period of occupation in the Diyala basin, as well as southern Mesopotamia, was during the middle Sasanian period. Imperial investments in creating artificial waterways such as the Nahrawan Canal provided water across the higher plains and allowed for intense settlement in northern Mesopotamia. Drainage of marshlands in the south also allowed for the use of marginal lands, while the alluvial plain in the south, remaining from the Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, continued to yield abundant crops and taxes at least until late Sasanian times. The newly formed gentry, known as the **dehqan*, were among the most enduring communities of the region and communicated much of the Sasanian administrative practices to the early Islamic period.

Religious communities

While the Sasanian ruling class spoke Middle *Persian, and perhaps initially Parthian, and conformed to the general tradition of *Zoroastrianism, most of the Mesopotamian population appears to have adhered to other faiths. Ample evidence from the acts of church *councils (**Synodicon Orientale*) and other texts implies that a great portion of the population spoke Aramaic and were Christians. Throughout the Sasanian period, their numbers grew and by the late Sasanian period, members of both the *Church of the East and the *Syriac Orthodox Church were active in the service of the Sasanian *administration and *court.

The presence of Christians in Mesopotamia had in fact been the subject of discussion between the Romans

and the Sasanians since the exchange of *letters between *Constantine I and *Shapur II in the early 4th century. It continued to be a factor in relationships of the two empires, with Christians such as *Aphrahat being considered a Roman fifth column by the Persians. They were subjected to serious *persecution by Shapur II, and again intermittently in the 5th century. The Romans showed concern for the safety of the Christian population of the Sasanian territories when engaged in *diplomacy with the Persians. However, as early as 410, the King of Kings, *Yazdegerd I, permitted a *council of the *Church of the East to be convened in Ctesiphon and these meetings continued to be held. After the *Council of *Ephesus of 431, Christians who favoured the Christology of *Nestorius migrated to Nisibis, in the north-west of Asurestan, and reinforced the Church of the East. By the 6th century, the Church of the East was well established, and in subsequent centuries carried the gospel as far afield as *China. The Sasanian King of Kings was prepared to intervene in the election of the *Catholicus of the Church of the East and Christians of Mesopotamia became active members of the Sasanian *administration. In the latter years of *Khosrow I and under *Khosrow II, Christians who favoured a *Miaphysite Christology and adherents to the *Syriac Orthodox Church became more numerous in the Persian Empire. Yazdin, Khosrow II's minister, and *Shirin, his favourite wife, were *Miaphysite Christians.

The evidence of the Babylonian Talmud points to the presence of a large Jewish population, mostly living in southern Mesopotamia, where they were farmers. Numerous Talmudic commentaries concern the use of land, the legal basis of its ownership, and the role of the Jewish community vis-à-vis the Sasanian administration, so demonstrating the established position of the *Jews in Mesopotamia. At least one Sasanian king of kings, *Yazdegerd I, married a Jew, Shoshindokht, the daughter of the Jewish *Exilarch (Resh-Galota: 'Head of the Exiles', the official head of the Jewish community of Mesopotamia); their son Narseh was an important military and political figure in the 5th century.

Alongside these communities, other Aramaic-speaking populations, including *Mandaeans, in addition to other gnostic cults, lived in Sasanian Mesopotamia. Some of these have survived to the present. *Mani was brought up in one of these communities, the Elchasaites, before he received the revelations which inspired Manichaeanism to spread west into the Roman Empire and east to *China. It was out of these communities that the Manichaean religion also founded, since the prophet *Mani is known to have been a native of Babylonia. KR

J. P. Asmussen, 'Christians in Iran', in *CambHistIran* III/2, 924–48.
Mohammadi Malayeri, *Tarikh o Farhang*, II (1375/1996).
M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (1984).
R. E. Payne, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity* (2015).
S. Secunda, *The Iranian Talmud: Reading the Bavli in its Sasanian Context* (2013).
Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*.
Ibn Khurradādhbih: ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik* (1889).

Mesopotamia, Roman Roman *province of the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, extending from the *frontier with the *Persian Empire in the east to *Osrhoene in the south-west, and *Euphratensis in the north-west. To the north of the Tigris lay the Armenian Satrapies which in 536 under *Justinian I became the province of *Armenia Quarta.

A small province called Osrhoene was formed in the late 2nd century, when it encompassed territory east of the Euphrates taken from the client-kingdom of Osrhoene, though not the kingdom's principal *city of *Edessa. To this province was added *c.*198/9 a large province to the east called Mesopotamia, garrisoned by at least two legions. The Abgar dynasty finally disappeared from Edessa in 241/2 (Millar, *RNE* 125–6, 151–2). The *Verona List names separate provinces of Osrhoene and Mesopotamia. By this time Mesopotamia would have included the territory ceded by the *Persians in 298.

The territorial gains of 298 were returned to the Persians by *Jovian in 363. *Nisibis and *Singara were handed over denuded of their inhabitants (*Ammianus, XXV, 7, 11). Those who became refugees at Edessa included the *Syriac poet *Ephrem the Syrian. The **Notitia Dignitatum* indicates that the legions previously stationed at Nisibis and Singara were relocated at *Constantia-Tella to the west and at *Cephas, on the Tigris, north of the *Tur 'Abdin; Constantia-Tella became the headquarters of the *Dux Mesopotamiae (*or.* XXVI). He commanded formidable detachments of troops dispersed across the province and its neighbours, but the loss of Nisibis left Roman Mesopotamia vulnerable to attack from the east along the flat lands of the northern Mesopotamian plain. The title of the civil *governor was *Praeses (*or.* I, 93; II, 22, XXII, 13 and 29). The only *city listed by *Hierocles is *Amida (715, 3–4).

When the Persians eventually did attack, in 502, they came from the north, from the direction of *Theodosioolis (Erzerum). The *Emperor *Anastasius I built *Dara a few miles inside the Roman frontier to block future Persian approaches from Nisibis, but a condition of the *Everlasting Peace of 532 was to move the headquaters of the Dux Mesopotamiae from Dara (*Procopius, I, 22, 3). It is from this time onwards that the

*Arabs of the Syrian Desert, the *Ghassanids on the Roman side and the *Lakhimids on the Persian side, became more heavily involved in the tensions between the empires. From 540 (when the Everlasting Peace was broken by *Khosrow I) the province continued to be a military zone, with lulls in fighting between the making of the *Fifty Years Peace in 562 and its breaking by the Romans in 573, and between 591 and the *Persian invasion under *Khosrow II which started in 603. Dara was captured in 604, after a siege of more than nine months. When *Heraclius struck back, Amida was one of the first places to see Roman troops, and the emperor appears to have passed through and founded a church there on his triumphant return in 628/9.

However, probably in 641, the Arab general *Iyad b. Ghanm came to Constantia-Tella where the 300 Romans refused to surrender and were killed. He then captured Dara and killed every Roman in the city. He is said to have taken *Resaina, *Mardin, and Amida by treaty, but himself died violently and was buried at Amida. Mesopotamia became the Arab province of al-*Jazira.

Despite these persistent military manoeuvres the province of Mesopotamia remained, with neighbouring Osrhoene, part of a *Syriac-speaking civilization which flourished throughout Late Antiquity on both sides of the international frontier. This was predominantly Christian and produced poetry as well as theology; monasteries such as *Qenneshre were important centres of learning producing original work as well as *translations into Syriac and commentaries on Greek *philosophy and literature, some of which were later translated into *Arabic. Christians in the 5th century who found their Christology at odds with that formulated by the *bishops at the Council of *Ephesus of 431 made their way to Nisibis and Persian territory and eventually carried Christianity as far afield as *China. In the mid-6th century *Jacob Burd'oyo set up a separate *Miaphysite Christian hierarchy in Roman Mesopotamia and this too began to spread into Persian *Mesopotamia by the end of the century. On both sides of the frontier, *monasteries were numerous: *John of *Ephesus, originally a monk of the Monastery of Mar John Urtaya near Amida, chronicled the lives of 6th-century Miaphysite monks in his *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, Thomas of Marga those of the *Church of the East in his *Book of the Governors*. *Syriac-speaking monasticism is still alive in Roman Mesopotamia on the *Tur 'Abdin and at the 5th-century Abbey of Deir Zafaran near Mardin. OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, ch. 10.

NEDC 221.

Matthews, *Ammianus*.

P. Sarris, *Empires of Faith: The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700* (2011).

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*.

L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents: contribution à la géographie historique de la région, du Ves avant l'ère chrétienne au VIes de cette ère* (1962).

E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen* (1935).

Palmer, *Monk and Mason*.

N. G. Garsoïan, T. F. Mathews, and R. W. Thomson, eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks Symposia Proceedings, 1982).

Mesopotamia and Osrhoene, churches of The churches of the *cities of *Mesopotamia and *Osrhoene are known mostly from ancient written sources (e.g. *Soghitha on the Church at *Edessa*). The few that survive and have been recorded show a variety of types of plan. The three-aisled *basilica was a common type mentioned in texts and has been recorded archaeologically at *Martyropolis. The aisled *tetraconch in *Amida and the Octagon in *Constantia-Tella were monumental centralized churches. The former plan was widespread, whereas the latter was unique in many respects. The monumental *cistern beneath the cathedral at *Dara survives. The cathedral of Edessa, dedicated to the Holy Wisdom, was considered one of the wonders of the world by Arab writers but none of the 23 churches in the city recorded in the texts has survived, though reused fragments are scattered around the city. Excavations around the *baptistery at *Nisibis have uncovered remarkable architectural remains which may have belonged to the cathedral, but they remain unpublished.

In the countryside, surviving churches are concentrated in the *Tur 'Abdin. Isolated churches also survive on the hills around Edessa, in the Tektek Mountains, and in Kale-i Zerzevan, close to Amida. The style of the architectural *sculpture (e.g. at *Deir Zaferan) unites the whole region, urban and rural, and is significant for its classical character. EKK

Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur 'Abdin*.

M. Mundell Mango, 'The Continuity of the Classical Tradition in the Art and Architecture of Northern Mesopotamia', in Garsoian et al., eds., *East of Byzantium*, 47–70.

Mesrop Mashtots' *See* MASHTOTS, MESROP.

Messalians An allegedly heretical *ascetic group arising in 4th-century *Mesopotamia; 'Messalianism' became a staple of ecclesiastical condemnations for centuries. The name, from the *Syriac *msallyānē*, 'those who pray', appears first in *Ephrem's *Against Heresies* (before 373) with the single comment that they are 'debauched' or 'agitated'. It soon moved into *Greek and *Latin heresiological literature, appearing in works by *Epiphanius of *Salamis in the mid-370s

and in anti-*Pelagian writings by *Jerome *c.*415. The Messalians and an associated book, their *Asketikon*, were condemned at the *Council of *Ephesus of 431. Later Greek texts contain lists of alleged Messalian doctrines, the most complete in *John of *Damascus' *De Haeresibus*, 80 (before 749), claiming to be taken 'from their book', perhaps the *Asketikon* mentioned at Ephesus. These lists include claims that sin is indwelling and can be uprooted only through the power of the Holy Spirit, that *prayer rather than *baptism accomplishes such liberation from sin, an emphasis on intense spiritual experience, and disdain for manual labour and for ecclesiastical authority. In the 1920s the list presented by John of Damascus was found to contain excerpts from the **Macarian Homilies*, a classic of Byzantine spirituality. More recent study has examined the Syriac origins of the Messalians and of the terminology found in the *Macarian Homilies*, while leaving inconclusive the exact constitution and leadership of the group. CAS

K. Fitschen, *Messalianismus und Antimessalianismus. Ein Beispiel ostkirchlicher Ketzergeschichte* (1998).

C. Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart: The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431* (1991).

metallurgy In Late Antiquity it is difficult to identify metallurgy as a distinct science since theoretical concepts about metals belonged to so many different disciplines (*philosophy, natural history, *medicine, *pharmacy) and because it is not clearly distinguishable from the studies of minerals, precious *stones, *dyes, etc.—in practice, theoretical metallurgy is included in *alchemy. Outside the context of alchemy, interest in metals was mainly practical (*mining, smelting, and casting) rather than theoretical, until Georgius Agricola struggled for metallurgy to become an academically accepted subject (*De Re Metallica*, 1556).

In accordance with ancient beliefs, metals were considered powerful agents in medicine and *magic, used in pharmaceutical concoctions and talismans alike. Within the framework of analogical thinking characteristic of antique natural philosophy in general and alchemy in particular, metals were associated with the seven planets (deities): *gold—*Sun; *silver—Moon; *copper—Venus; *iron—Mars; *tin—Jupiter; lead—Saturn; quicksilver—Mercury (alternative associations and sequences are attested). Analogical thinking was by no means restricted to the relationship between microcosm and macrocosm but was pertinent as well to correlations within the terrestrial sphere (minerals, animals, plants, virtues). In Greek alchemy (*Zosimus of *Panopolis, 3rd cent.) the main purpose of manipulating metals shifted from imitation (coating, colouring) to transformation (*transmutatio*). Beyond the question of feasibility, disputations focused on the quality of the products, the legality of such operations, and ultimately on their theological implications.

The fundamental importance of metallurgy is reflected in the uninterrupted tradition of its practice as well as its theory during the historical turbulences of Late Antiquity. Metallurgical precepts from the earliest alchemical *papyri of Upper *Egypt find their way into medieval compendia of European *monasteries through a scarcely documented but undeniable chain of tradition suggesting a steady undercurrent of metallurgical lore throughout the ages. TH

ed. (with FT) M. Berthelot and Ch.-Em. Ruelle in *Collections Alchimistes* (1888, repr. 1963).

ed. M. Mertens (with FT), *Alchimistes grecs* (1981–).

*Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*, Books XXXIII–XXXVII.

W. Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (1996).

W. R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions: Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (2004).

L. M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (2013).

metalwork, Roman, barbarian, and post-Roman

Metals known and worked in Late Antiquity include: *gold; *silver; *iron; *tin; *lead; and *copper. They were used to make tools, *arms and armour, plate, *jewellery, *coinage, and furnishings. Metalworking techniques were refined throughout the Classical period, and Late Antiquity featured new developments, particularly the use of *niello*, a black powder consisting of silver sulphide. Formerly, the evidence was limited to literary allusions and depictions of manufacturing processes, but 20th-century archaeological discoveries of metallurgy and metalworking, combined with archaeometallurgy (the experimental reconstruction of metalworking processes), now offer a clearer picture.

Mining and refining

Precious metals were rarely mined in a pure state, and their ores required washing and refinement, through such processes as cupellation, liquation, or amalgamation, followed by treatment with *salt or sulphur. This took place at *mines, creating ingots which were then sent to smiths. Gold was obtained by sifting either alluvial detritus or mined rock. Sources in *Armenia, *Nubia, *Egypt, *Greece, the *Balkans, and the Danube were supplemented by imports from Afghanistan and *India. Silver was produced widely, with *Anatolia, the Danube, *Britain, *Macedonia, and Greece the largest producers. Silver was derived by purifying smelted lead; in Late Antiquity, high purity was often achieved, particularly in plate, which can be explained by its use as bullion. *Bronze (*aes*) was produced by alloying copper with tin, and brass by alloying copper with zinc. Copper was mined at *Phaeno of *Palestine; tin (and silver) was still reaching *Alexandria from *Britain in the early 7th century (*Life of*

John the Almsgiver, 10). Control of mines exacerbated tension between the Roman and *Persian Empires from the 5th century, and the loss of *mining areas in the 7th severely disrupted state mining operations.

Smiths and techniques

Smiths worked independently, or in large workshops, and formed *guilds. Areas of *cities where smithies concentrated, such as the Chalkoprateion at *Constantinople, were named after them. The imperial household employed its own smiths. There is no extant ancient treatise on smithing, so the objects themselves constitute the main evidence.

Different techniques were used for different types of metal. Ancient furnaces could not reach temperatures sufficient to melt iron, so iron was primarily worked while hot, using hammer and anvil. Techniques used for softer metals, such as silver and gold, included: raising (hammering a sheet into shape); casting (used for attachments, such as feet and handles, but also whole vessels, both decorated and plain); and spinning (the burnishing of sheet metal onto a ready mould on a lathe). Vessels might be created in one piece, but larger and more complex designs involved joining separate pieces by soldering or rivets (or, more rarely, hammering at high temperatures). Creating large bronze *sculptures from cast pieces (as was done in making statues of pagan gods) declined in Late Antiquity. Coins were struck in *mints using punches and dies to impress designs.

Methods of decoration included: chasing (the indentation of the surface using a hammer or punch; 'flat chasing' involved removing the background); engraving (the cutting away of the design, while cold, popular in 3rd-century *Gaul); *repoussé* (the embossing of a design from the back, using hammer or punches); casting (from a mould, sometimes of much earlier date; common for vessels from the 3rd century); overlaying (the beating of leaf or foil onto a design, or whole vessel); inlaying (the filing of recesses in a design with another metal, or precious *stones; *niello* was popular from the 3rd century); and gilding (using gold mixed with mercury). *Cloisonné *enamel and filigree developed in Late Antiquity, notably in barbarian *jewellery. *Inscriptions were carried out in pointillé, or *graffito*. Names (usually in the form of a *monogram) may be those of owners, *donors, recipients, or (for bronze vessels) smiths or workshops. Weight inscriptions guaranteed the metal's value, and an official, imperial system of *silver stamps developed, under the supervision of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, in the 5th century.

Metalwork can exhibit local influence or peculiarities; the Gallic Hemmoor bucket (consisting of a deep bowl on a low foot, in bronze or silver) was a type characteristic of *Gaul, and a hybrid of Persian and Roman styles was evident further east (e.g. in the *Concesti Treasure).

Survival

Precious metals were regularly melted for bullion or reuse throughout Antiquity (and even into the 19th century). Many surviving vessels have been recovered from burials, whether as grave goods (especially in barbarian areas), or from *hoards (sometimes broken up ready to re-melt, like the 5th-century *Traprain Law Treasure). The *Treasure of Berthouville (Normandy) is a rare example of a pagan treasure that escaped the melting pot. Late Roman hoards have been found in *Italy, Gaul, *Britain, the *Balkans, southern Russia, and *Syria, and swords in Sweden. Domestic plate (such as the *Kaiseraugst Treasure) was distributed as imperial **largitio*, and along trade routes extending beyond Roman *frontiers. Roman metalwork, such as the *Hildesheim Treasure, reached barbarian areas through both looting and gift-giving. HAHC

Oleson, *OHETCW*, 93–120, 418–38.
F. Baratte, *La Vaisselle d'argent en Gaule dans l'antiquité tardive: IIIe-Ve siècles* (1993).
H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, vol. 4 (1886; repr. 1969), 1–378.
P. C. Bol, *Antike Bronzetechnik. Kunst und Handwerk antiker Erzbildner* (1985).
H. Eggers, 'Römische Bronzegefässe in Britannien', *JbRGZMainz* 13 (1966), 67–164.
R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vols. 8–9 (²1971–2).
J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (1978), 139–98.
R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (²1980).
Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*.
M. Lombard, *Les Métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* (1974), 9–73, 124–50.
K. Matschke, 'Mining', in *EHB*, 115–20.
A. Moss, 'Niello', *Studies in Conservation*, 2 (1953), 49–62.
W. A. Oddy, ed., *Aspects of Early Metallurgy* (British Museum Occasional Paper 17, 1980).
J. Ramin, *La Technique minière et métallurgique des anciens* (1977).
J. P. Sodini, 'L'Artisanat urbaine à l'époque paléochrétienne IVe–VIIe S.', *Ktema* 4 (1979), 71–119.
D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (1966).
D. Strong and D. Brown, eds., *Roman Crafts* (1976).
R. F. Tylecote, *The Early History of Metallurgy in Europe* (1987).

Metanoia, monastery of (Gk. 'Repentance') Convent founded by the *Empress *Theodora in a disused *palace on the Asian side of the *Bosporus to shelter some 500 women previously forced into *prostitution (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 9, 1–10). Unwilling inmates escaped by night (Procopius, *Anecd.* 17, 5–6). JPH

Janin, *GrandCentres*, 20–1.

Metanoia, monastery of, Egypt *See* ABOUKIR.

meteorology Study of 'things high up' (Gk. *meteora*). The focus of several later commentators, Aristotle's natural philosophical *Meteorology* treated 'everything that happens naturally'—but with less regularity than that of the primary element (*aither*)—in the region below the celestial motions. Phenomena common to air and water, and kinds and parts of earth, including shooting stars, *comets, clouds, rain, hail, rivers, coastal erosion and silting, the sea's saltiness, *thunder, lightning, whirlwinds, rainbows, winds, and *earthquakes are among those things explained.

In the 6th century, the Christian philosopher *John Philoponus produced a (partially extant) commentary on Aristotle's *Meteorology*, as did *Olympiodorus, whose work is the most extensive extant ancient commentary on the text. Both repeatedly cite Alexander of Aphrodisias' earlier treatment, but disagree with him, considering Book 4 (concerning metals and minerals) part of the *Meteorology*. Famously rejecting Aristotle's *aither*, Philoponus explained heat as arising from the *Sun's fiery nature (*In Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, 49), rather than its motion. Like Philoponus, Olympiodorus did not rely only on ancient texts; he also incorporated information from contemporary scientists from *Alexandria.

LCT

John Philoponus, *In Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, ed. M. Hayduck (CAG XIV/1, 1901).

ET (with comm.) I. Kupreeva, vol. 1= 1.1–3 (2011); vol. 2 =1.4–9, 12 (2012).

Olympiodorus, *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, ed. G. Stüve (CAG XII/2, 1900).

Methodius, Apocalypse of Ps.- (Greek) The *Greek translation of the Syriac *Apocalypse of Ps.-*Methodius* was made sometime between *c.*691/2, the date of the composition of the *Syriac original, and 727, the date of the earliest manuscript of the *Latin translation made from the Greek. Some Greek texts of the *Apocalypse* are distinguished by a probably 9th-century interpolation (13, 7–10) which mentions Malagina (a district of *Bithynia attacked by the *Arabs in 798, 860, and 875) and seems to refer to the severe cold during the winter of the Arab *siege of *Constantinople in 717–18. The Greek *Apocalypse* can provide a *terminus post quem* for the latest recension (γ) of the **Alexander Romance*, since the *Apocalypse* is the source for that version of the *Romance*'s account of Alexander's encounter with the Unclean Nations. The *Apocalypse* was the fountainhead and the mainstay of the Byzantine *apocalyptic tradition and perennially popular reading. The Greek text was also at the root of all the European versions of the *Apocalypse*. Peter the Monk translated it into Latin in the early 8th century, thence it was translated into many Western vernacular languages. Old Slavonic translations were also made from the Greek in the 11th and 13th or 14th centuries.

BMG

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 295–7.

CPG 1830:

ed. W. J. Aerts and G. A. A. Kortekaas (with GT), *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen* (CSCO 569, 570, Sub. 97, 98; 1998).

text (with ET) B. Garstad, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (DOML 14, 2012).

Methodius, Apocalypse of Ps.- (Syriac) (*c.*690 or 691) An Eastern Christian apocalypse, composed in *Syriac in the late 7th century (possibly of *Miaphysite origin) in the *city of *Singara and attributed pseudonymously to the 4th-century *Bishop *Methodius of Olympus (*Patara). Pseudo-Methodius presents itself as a 'Homily on the succession of kings and the End of Time' (so the superscription), dividing the history from Adam to the End (the *eschaton*) into segments of seven millennia. The historical part begins with the expulsion of Adam from Paradise (I, 1) and ends with the defeat of the *Persian Empire in the early 7th century (X, 6). It is followed by a prophecy about the End (XI, 1–XIV, 14), set during the seventh and final millennium: an eschatological 'king of the Greeks', the Last Emperor who acts like a second Alexander the Great, will overthrow the *Arab invaders, conquer the entire world, and establish an eternal Christian reign of peace, before his abdication on Golgotha (XIV, 6–14).

An apocalypse of immense popularity and influence in the Middle Ages and beyond, Pseudo-Methodius' translations into *Greek, *Latin, and subsequently several other languages testify to its broad readership. Not only does Pseudo-Methodius explain the Islamic threat as an act of divine chastisement, it seeks to assure its readers that the Muslim invaders of the time of the actual author will soon be defeated by the last Byzantine king.

MHen

GEDSH s.v. Methodius, Apocalypse of Pseudo-, entry 372 (Brock).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 263–7.

ed. (annotated with GT and introduction) G. J. Reinink, 2 vols. (CSCO 540–1, Scr. syr. 220–1, 1993).

ET B. Garstad, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (DOML 14, 2012).

ET (extract, annotated) Palmer and Hoyland, *Seventh Century Chronicles*, 222–42.

S. Brock, 'Syriac Views of Emergent Islam', in G. H. A. Juynboll, ed., *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (1982), 9–21.

Methodius of Olympus (martyred *c.*312) *Bishop of Olympus (in Eastern tradition, of *Patara) in *Lycia. Of fourteen writings which are known, only the *Symposium* has survived completely in *Greek. In this

dialogue Methodius imitates Plato's *Symposium*, but at the same time contrasts Platonic *praise of Eros with the praise of Virginity, sung by ten *virgins. In his longest writing, *De Resurrectione*, Methodius attacked the concept of spiritual resurrection as put forward by *Origenists, thereby influencing the reception of *Origen (e.g. *Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 64). This and five more writings are extant only in Greek fragments (*De Autexusio*, *De Creatis*, *De Lepra*, *In Iob*, *De Martyribus*), supplemented by a reliable Old Slavonic translation dating from the 10th century. This translation includes three additional writings not transmitted in Greek (*De Cibis*, *De Sanguisuga*, *De Vita*). Most of Methodius' writings are Platonic *dialogues with numerous allusions to and quotations from Plato's writings, but also reflecting considerable Stoic influence. Four other writings mentioned by *Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 83), including a refutation of *Porphyry, *Against the Christians*, are lost completely. KB

CPG 1810–30:

ed. G. N. Bonwetsch (GCS 27, 1917).

De Autexusio (*CPG* 1811), ed. (annotated with FT) A. Vaillant (PO 22/5, 1930).

Symposium (*CPG* 1810), ed. (annotated with FT) H. Musurillo and V. H. Debidour (SC 95, 1963).

GT (annotated) L. Fendt, *Gastmahl oder Die Jungfräulichkeit* (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 2 (3), 1911).

L. G. Patterson, *Methodius of Olympus: Divine Sovereignty, Human Freedom, and Life in Christ* (1997).

K. Bracht, *Vollkommenheit und Vollendung. Zur Anthropologie des Methodius von Olympus* (STAC 2, 1999).

RAC 25 (2011), 768–84 (Bracht).

metre, poetic, Arabic *Arabic *poetry is scanned quantitatively, and its forms were apparently followed intuitively by pre-Islamic nomadic poets. A formal system was first elaborated by al-Khalil b. Ahmad (*fl.* 750), who identified fifteen metres. Of these, about a half dozen are the most common; five of the seven **Mu'allaqat*, for example, are in either *al-kamil* or *al-tawil* metres.

Any line of Arabic poetry is divided evenly into two hemistichs, each of which consists of two to four feet. Seven of Khalil's metres use one foot throughout; the others feature some sort of alternation. So, for example, the repetition of a bacchius (short-long-long) eight times in a line (four per hemistich) gives *al-mutaqarib*. Beginning with a bacchius and alternating with a first epitrite (short-long-long-long) four times (two of each foot per hemistich) gives us the most common metre, *al-tawil*. One metre is maintained throughout a typical poem.

Outside the poetic corpus, one pre-4th-century *inscription seems to be in *al-tawil*, perhaps indicating ritual origins. Occasional segments of the *Qur'ān are metrical. NAM

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* ʿArūd, 667–77 (Weil).

W. Stoetzer, *Theory and Practice in Arabic Metrics* (1989).

F. L. Beeston, 'Antecedents of Classical Arabic Verse?', in *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65*, vol. 1 (1994), 234–43.

metre, poetic, Latin and Greek Late Antique poets writing in *Greek and *Latin inherited schemes of quantitative verse that had formed the distinctive sound of classical poetry for centuries. As in classical times, prosody in most Latin and Greek poetry depended on artificial but fluid patterns of long and short syllables, though Latin poets also developed rhythms keyed to word accent. DET

metre, poetic, Greek Apart from occasional experimentation with rare metrical schemes and polymetry (e.g. by *Synesius), quantitative verse in Late Antiquity was limited almost exclusively to stichic hexameter, elegiac, anacreontic, or iambic trimeter. The weakening distinction in pronunciation between long and short vowels is often evident (e.g. increased incidence of 'false' quantities). In the 5th century, however, *Nonnus perfected a strict set of rules for the hexameter that both respected classical prosody and accounted for the growing influence of stress accent (e.g. avoidance of proparoxytone line-endings). Nonnian rules were observed by the better *epic and elegiac poets down to the 7th century (e.g. in *Agathias' *Cycle*). At the same time the iambic trimeter also underwent transformation. Already in the 4th century, *Gregory of *Nazianzus was limiting resolution. This was a step towards the later dodecasyllable, in which lines invariably contain twelve syllables without regard for their quantity. KWW

G. Agosti and F. Gonnelli, 'Materiali per la storia dell'esametro nei poeti cristiani greci', in M. Fantuzzi and R. Pretagostini, eds., *Struttura e storia dell'esametro greco* (1995), vol. 1, 289–434.

M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (1982).

A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos. Metrisch-stilistische Untersuchungen zur späteren griechischen Epik und zu verwandten Gedichtgattungen* (1933).

metre, poetic, Latin Late Latin poetry retained many of the metres that distinguished its classical forerunners while also initiating the rise of accentual verse schemes characteristic of much medieval poetry. Dactylic hexameter remained, like *epic itself, a benchmark, while also serving an array of poetic genres that now included Gospel epic, *saints' lives, *elogia* of *martyrs, and funerary *epigrams as well as didactic, *panegyric, and satire. Writers from *Ausonius and *Prudentius in the 4th century to *Ennodius and *Boethius in the 6th displayed versatility and sustained literary tradition by deftly deploying lyric and elegiac as well as epic metres. In the hands of a good poet metre remained not an inert formula but an integral part of the sound of poetry being written, read, and enjoyed.

At the same time, however, word accent, which had always been a feature of Latin prosody but may have become more prominent in the spoken Latin of the Later Empire, began to serve as the foundation of a parallel tendency. Quantitative metres such as the iambic and trochaic schemes employed in *hymns by *Hilary of *Poitiers, *Ambrose, and Prudentius lent themselves to accentual scansion. *Augustine's *Psalm against the Donatists*, however, epitomizes the turn towards the rhythm, rhyme, and syllabically equal lines of popular song within Christian liturgical and polemical contexts. DET

F. J. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (²1953).
D. S. Raven, *Latin Metre* (1965).
D. Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, tr. G. Roti and J. de La Chapelle Skubly (French original 1958) (2004).
D. J. Nodes, 'The Organization of Augustine's *Psalmus contra partem Donati*', *VigChrist* 63/4 (2009), 390–408.

metre, poetic, Syriac The basic principle of *Syriac poetic metre is syllable count, with no importance attached to vowel length or word accent or stress. While the oldest samples of Syriac poetry (e.g. **Odes of Solomon*, late 2nd cent.) do not follow strict metric schemes, the poetic works of *Ephrem the Syrian (*c.*300–373) contain a wealth of metres. These can be distinguished in two subsets insofar as they belong to the literary genres of **memra* or **madrasha.*

The poetic *memra* or 'verse homily' is a composition in which two isosyllabic verses make up a couplet. Ephrem's *memre* characteristically employ a heptasyllabic metre with 7+7 syllables in each couplet. The poet *Balai (*fl.* 450) is known for his pentasyllabic *memre* (5+5 syllables per couplet), while the genre was greatly popularized by *Jacob of Sarug (*c.*451–521) who used a dodecasyllabic structure of 12+12 syllables per couplet.

The **madrasha* is a highly developed strophic composition, whose stanzas all have the same syllabic pattern. Ephrem uses about 50 different metres, ranging from simple structures like 4+4/4+4/4 syllables to complex structures like 5+5/5+5/5+5/5/6+3/5+3/6+3/5+3 syllables. Metrical breaks in the stanzas usually correspond to transitions in the text. KDB

E. Beck, 'Ephräms des Syrers Hymnik', in H. Becker and R. Kaczynski, eds., *Liturgie und Dichtung. Ein interdisziplinäres Kompendium* (1983), vol. 1, 345–79.
S. P. Brock, 'Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac', in *OHECS* 657–71.

Metrodorus A *philosopher during the reign of *Constantine I (*Jerome, *Chron.* 232h Helm). Of Persian origin, Metrodorus travelled to *India, where he taught the construction of water *mills and *baths. He won the respect of the Brahmans in this way and was granted access to their shrines, where he stole many *pearls and precious *stones. Metrodorus also received precious gifts from the King of India for Constantine. However, after returning to *Constantinople he offered the presents to the *emperor in his own name, and added that the Persians had stolen many others. Constantine demanded these from *Shapur II and, as he did not receive any answer, broke the peace with the Persians (Cedrenus, i, p. 295). The story, narrated by the 11th/12th- century historian *George Cedrenus, is regarded as apocryphal. However, in the 4th century, *Ammianus Marcellinus also said that Metrodorus' lies to Constantine were the reason for the war with the *Persian Empire (XXV, 4, 23). Metrodorus' travels induced *Meropius and *Frumentus to follow his example and visit *Ethiopia, where Meropius was killed and Frumentus became the first *bishop (*Rufinus, *HE* X, 9). DN

PLRE I, Metrodorus 1.
G. L. Fowden, 'The Last Days of Constantine: Oppositional Versions and their Influence', *JRS* 84 (1994), 146–70.
B. H. Warmington, 'Ammianus Marcellinus and the Lies of Metrodorus', *CQ* 31 (1981), 464–8.

metrological systems *See* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

metropolitan In general, the *bishop of the principal *city of a civil *province. The *Council of *Nicaea (325) required the appointment of any bishop in a province to be ratified by the metropolitan (canon 4), the first recorded use of the term. It also ordered that the Bishop of *Alexandria should have supervision of *Egypt, *Libya, and the Pentapolis 'in accordance with ancient custom' (canon 6). *Eusebius mentions bishops (e.g. Dionysius of *Corinth) exercising oversight of other churches. The *letters of *Cyprian of *Carthage (d. 258) show him performing many of the functions of a metropolitan, such as convening councils, though in the provinces of *Africa outside *Africa Proconsularis the functions of a metropolitan were exercised by the senior bishop by date of consecration.

Disputes sometimes occurred over the metropolitan rights of bishops, such as that between *Arles and *Vienne which began in 417. The title was subsequently accorded to bishops of cities other than the provincial metropolis; the Bishop of *Nicomedia, for instance was Metropolitan of *Bithynia, but the title was also accorded to the Bishop of Nicaea in the late 4th century and to *Chalcedon at the Council of *Chalcedon, which however reserved the prior rights of Nicomedia. The Council of Chalcedon permitted appeal from the decisions of a metropolitan to the *exarch, the bishop of the principal city of a (civil) **dioecesis*. BKS; OPN

Bingham, *Antiquities*, II, 16; vol. 1 (1875), 60–7.

W. Bright, ed., *The Canons of the First Four General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon* (²1892), x–xi.

Metz (dép. Moselle, France, Roman civitas Mediomatricum, Mettis) A substantial Roman *city, strategically located beside two navigable rivers at the intersection of two major Roman highways, Metz was fortified sometime after the 3rd-century *Alaman attacks, and prospered in the 4th century by virtue of its proximity to the imperial capital at *Trier and the restored *frontier. Imperial *textile factories were transferred there from *Autun and Viviers, and new public buildings erected including an imposing *basilica, perhaps never completed, and transformed into a church in the *Merovingian period (now S. Pierre-aux-Nonnains). The city's first securely attested *bishop, Victor, appears in 346, but a credible late 8th-century list gives him several predecessors.

Metz was sacked by the *Huns in 451 (and perhaps previously in 406), but although archaeological evidence (or its absence) implies that it was hit hard by these episodes and by the collapse of the imperial system more generally, it was never totally abandoned, and revived significantly under the *Franks from the mid-6th century onwards, superseding *Reims as the main urban base of the kings of *Austrasia. *Sigibert I married *Brunhild there in 566, and *Gregory of *Tours depicts their son *Childebert II watching beast-baiting near his *palace, while *Venantius Fortunatus praises its walls and describes a royal progress from the city down the Moselle. *Merovingian dynamism is similarly reflected in its hinterland by the emergence of *cemeteries with richly furnished *burials, indicative of competitive display amongst families of the emerging landed *aristocracy. The city remained significant thereafter, not least because of its lasting connections with the *Arnulfing dynasty, whose progenitor *Arnulf was *Bishop of Metz *c.*614/15–629/30; his cult was celebrated in one of over 40 churches and *monasteries that existed in and around the city by the mid-8th century, a reflection of its importance as a focus for royal and aristocratic *patronage. BKY; STL

CAGaule 57/2 (2005).

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 1 (1986), 33–53; 16/1 (2014), 181–9.

N. Gauthier, *L'Evangélisation des pays de la Moselle: la province Romaine de Première Belgique entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge (IIIe–VIIIe siècles)* (1980).

G. Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz* (1995).

G. Halsall, 'Towns, Societies and Ideas: The Not-So-Strange Case of Late Roman and Early Merovingian Metz', in N. Christie and S. T. Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition* (1996), 235–61.

J. K. Gregory, *Roman Metz: Transition and Change in the City and its Countryside* (diss., University of Minnesota, 2002).

Mezezius *Usurper in *Sicily 668–9. A **patricius* from *Armenia who was proclaimed *emperor after the death of *Constans II. He was eliminated by troops loyal to *Constantine IV, the son of Constans, and his head sent to *Constantinople. OPN

PBE, Mizizios 1.

PmbZ 5163.

Miaphysites Christians, fomerly termed *Monophysites, who hold the doctrine that the incarnate Christ has a single nature (Gk. *mia physis*), in which the human and divine cohere in a unified existence that allows for the dynamic and integral continuation of both. Adherents reject the Dyophysite (Gk. two natures) emphasis expressed in the Definition adopted at the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) and are similarly opposed to the strong distinction of human and divine natures in Christ asserted by the *Church of the East ('*Nestorians').

Though the term 'Monophysite' occurs in dogmatic discussions of Miaphysitism from the 7th century onwards, it is technically inaccurate, being a heresiological label properly confined to the view in which the union of divine and human in Christ is seen to result either in the emergence of a distinctive 'third' nature or the absorption of one nature into the other (usually the human into the divine), as in the profession of *Eutyches (d. *c.*454), whose emphasis on the singularity of Christ's incarnate nature appears to have led him to deny that Christ's body was consubstantial to human flesh.

By contrast, the Miaphysite (or 'henophysite') view developed in the Christology of *Cyril of *Alexandria (d. 444). Cyril, in combating the Antiochene doctrine of distinct natures held by Nestorius (d. *c.*451), used the formula 'one nature (*mia physis*) of God the Word incarnate' to assert the hypostatic union of genuine natures in the Incarnation. Cyril's view triumphed over Nestorius at the Council of *Ephesus (431), but the Alexandrine emphasis on singleness of nature continued to arouse the opposition of those adhering to the Antiochene focus on distinct natures, exciting widespread dissension in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.

This dissension resulted in the Council of Chalcedon (451). Rejecting the Monophysitism of Eutyches, the council discussed a preliminary form of the Chalcedonian Definition that held 'one nature *out of* two'—a formula compatible with Miaphysite sensibilities—but settled instead on the formula, 'one person *in* two natures', thereby alienating many of the Alexandrine way of thinking who felt Cyril's Christology had been betrayed through capitulation to Dyophysite language. Among early leaders who rejected the Definition of Chalcedon, and the related **Tome of *Leo the Great* of 449, were *Timothy Aelurus (d. 477) and Peter Mongo (d. 490) in Alexandria, and *Peter the Fuller

in Antioch (d. 488), each of whom became embroiled in ecclesial battles over the control of influential sees. *Severus of Antioch (d. 538) was the most influential early Miaphysite theologian, along with *Philoxenus of Mabbug (d. 523).

In the late 5th and early 6th centuries, East Roman emperors sought political unity by advocating various compromise formulas to appease Miaphysites. The most successful of these formulas was the **Henoticon* of the Emperor *Zeno (d. 491). During this period, Miaphysites enjoyed imperial support and held a dominant political position in the Christian East. With the rule of *Justin I (518), Chalcedonian orthodoxy was re-asserted; yet ecclesial unity remained unattainable. *Justinian I (527–65) sought to conciliate Miaphysites at the Council of *Constantinople (553) through the anti-'Nestorian' condemnation of the *Three Chapters.

Despite the Miaphysite sympathies of the *Empress *Theodora and Justinian's own attempts to seek peace, ongoing political tumult produced increasingly oppressive measures of reconciliation during his reign. This resulted in widespread persecution, which forced Miaphysite leaders such as *John of Tella (d. 538), Theodosius of Alexandria (d. 566), and *Jacob Burd'oyo (d. 578) to adopt clandestine tactics. They also strengthened Miaphysite churches, by solidifying rival, anti-Chalcedonian hierarchies in key *cities such as Alexandria and Antioch and by ordaining Miaphysite leaders in many places.

As much a political and ecclesial phenomenon as a theological movement, Miaphysites were driven to the margins of East Roman society, where they continued to thrive within distinct ecclesial organizations amongst non-Greek populations in what are known as the Oriental Orthodox Churches—the *Syriac Orthodox, the Coptic Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, and Ethiopian Orthodox. The Georgian Orthodox Church was Miaphysite until the 7th century, when it aligned itself with the Chalcedonians. JWC

P. Allen, 'Monophysiten', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (1994), vol. 23, 219–33.
R. C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug and Jacob of Sarug* (1976).
W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (1972; corr. repr. 1979).
M. K. Gebru, *Miaphysite Christology: An Ethiopian Perspective* (2010).
J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (⁵2001), 310–43.
J. A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, the Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology, and Texts* (repr. 2004).
F. M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and its Background* (²2010), 241–343.

Miaphysites, Armenian Armenian Christians who were adherents to only the first three Œcumenical Councils. Armenian Miaphysites considered the Christology promulgated at the *Council of *Chalcedon a departure from the Christology of the Council of *Nicaea reaffirmed at the Councils of *Constantinople and *Ephesus (431), and specifically as a negation of the agreement reached at Ephesus that ended the *Nestorian controversy for they considered that the Chalcedonian Definition of the Godhead and Manhood of Christ simply reaffirmed *Nestorianism using different terms, namely by substituting 'distinct natures' (*physeis*) for the Nestorian 'distinct entities' (*hypostaseis*). Early evidence pointing to an implicit Armenian rejection of Chalcedon can be found in the second of two official *letters by Catholicus Babgen I Otmsets'i (in office 490–515), preserved in the **Book of Letters*. It was addressed to the 'Orthodox' bishops in the *Persian Empire, from where there were reports of Nestorian celebration of the Christological definition promulgated at Chalcedon.

Before the end of the 6th century it is difficult to speak of an official Armenian break with Chalcedonian Christianity. Armenian clergy and hierarchs accepted the **Henotikon* at the First Council of *Dvin in 504, remaining thereby in formal union with the Church of *Constantinople. The transferral in bulk of anti-Nestorian sentiments to anti-Chalcedonian polemics came for the most part in the wake of the schism between the Armenian and Georgian churches, when the latter embraced Chalcedonian Christology early in the 7th century, although relations had already taken a turn for the worse as a result of adversarial policies initiated by the Emperor *Maurice I in the 590s. Armenian Miaphysites stated their Christology by drawing upon the pre-Chalcedonian Greek patristic legacy, and delineated their understanding of Orthodoxy in terms of Apostolicity as defined by S. Irenaeus. Greek Chalcedonians pursued their polemics against Armenian Miaphysites not on theological grounds but by concentrating on liturgical differences. There were to be several attempts at reconciliation throughout the medieval period, most notably during the patriarchates of Germanos and Photius in the 8th and 9th centuries. AT

M. M. van Esbroeck, *Annuarium Historicae Conciliorum* 30 (1998), 146–84.
N. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (CSCO 574, Sub. 100, 1998).
I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins à l'époque de Photius* (2004).
A. Terian, 'To Byzantium with Love: The Overtures of Saint Nerses the Gracious', in R. G. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian, eds., *Armenian Cilicia* (2008), 131–51.

Michael the Elder (Michael the Syrian, Michael the Great, Michael Rabo) (1126–99) *Syriac Orthodox *Patriarch of *Antioch (1166–99) and author

of an important world chronicle from the Creation to 1195, as well as of (now largely lost) canonical, liturgical, and hagiographical works. The parts of his *Chronicle* dealing with earlier history draw on earlier Syriac *chronicles, such as those of *Jacob of *Edessa and *Dionysius of Tel Mahre, and constitute an important source for their reconstruction. HT

GEDSH s.v. Michael I Rabo, 287–90 (Weltecke).

ed. (with FT) J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4 vols. (1899–1924).

ed. G. Y. Ibrahim, *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* (2010) [facsimile edition of unique surviving Syriac ms.].

ET M. Moosa, *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo* (2014).

D. Weltecke, *Die 'Beschreibung der Zeiten' von Mor Michael dem Großen (1126–1199). Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext* (CSCO 594, Subs. 110; 2003).

J. J. van Ginkel, 'Michael the Syrian and his Sources', *JCSSS* 6 (2006), 53–60.

Michael the Syrian *See* MICHAEL THE ELDER.

midday At the sixth hour of the day, Romans enjoyed a siesta (Martial, IV, 8, 4). Students used the time to memorize their lessons (*Augustine, *Confessions*, VI, 9, 14). Litigants were forbidden to call on judges at midday (*CTh* I, 20 of 408). The monastic author *Evagrius Ponticus equates the 'noonday *demon' of Psalm 90: 6 (LXX) with *acedia* or *accidie* (*Practica*, 12), 'the most troublesome of all' the thoughts (*Practica*, 28). *Acedia* causes a monk to visit others and avoid his spiritual exercises, to stare listlessly, eagerly await visitors, yawn, drift off to sleep, stare at the walls, and be lazy in *prayer (Evagrius, *Eight Thoughts*, 6). However, noon is also a frequent time for religious visions, such as the **Vision of Dorotheos*. TV; OPN

A. Crislip, 'The Sin of Sloth or the Illness of the Demons? The Demon of Acedia in Early Christian Monasticism', *HTR* 98/2 (2005), 143–69.

R. Caillois, 'Les Démons de midi', *RevHistRel* 115 (1937), 142–73, and 116 (1937), 54–83, 143–86.

Middle Platonism The name given to the period in the history of Platonism which traditionally begins with Antiochus of Ascalon (130 BC–AD 68) and runs through to the immediate predecessors of *Plotinus (AD 205–70), who is regarded as the founder of *Neoplatonism. It is a period characterized by wide-ranging philosophical views beginning with the scepticism of the New Academy and Antiochus' reaction against that, through to *philosophers who held strong dogmatic viewpoints forged from an eclecticism that combined Platonic philosophy, written and unwritten, with various elements from rival philosophical schools. Aristotelian logic, Stoic ethics, and Pythagorean metaphysics are all utilized by the Middle Platonists to varying degrees.

As a result, this is a diverse group, chronologically, philosophically, and geographically. They flourished from the 1st century BC (if we begin with Antiochus) through to the 2nd century AD. They sometimes held conflicting philosophical viewpoints, for example, on the quantity of first principles, and they were located from *Athens to *Alexandria, and parts in between. In spite of this we may label them as a single group in the main due to their common metaphysics, namely the fundamental belief in the transcendence of a supreme principle above all things reached only through intermediaries.

The most important Middle Platonists were Antiochus and Eudorus from the 1st century BC; Plutarch, Atticus, Albinus, Alcinous, Apuleius, and *Numenius, who all wrote in the 2nd century AD. Their philosophical views survive, for the most part, only in fragments and summaries by later authors. Of those listed only Plutarch's writings are extant in any substantial form, although we also have a text by Alcinous entitled the *Didaskalikos* (*Handbook of Platonism*), which presents a guide to Plato's thought in the 2nd century AD, revised to embrace Aristotelian and Stoic contributions. Although relegated to the derogatory category of 'middle men' these philosophers were highly influential, particularly in the evolution of Neoplatonism, and, in particular, of the Neoplatonic triad of One, Intellect (*Nous*), and Soul, which in turn, through such figures as S. *Ambrose and S. *Augustine, provided the philosophical framework for Christian theology. KTMcG

J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (1977, rev. edn. 1996).

Mididi *City in *Byzacena with buildings of the later 3rd and 4th centuries. At the dedication of the rebuilt *Curia in 290/3, all the *city councillors gave a banquet to the people. Mididi was one of six *cities whose council made Q. Aradius Valerius Proculus, *Praeses Byzacenae in 321, its hereditary *patron, as is documented on a *bronze plaque found in the family mansion on the Caelian Hill in *Rome (*CIL* VI 1689). There is also a double-apsed Christian *basilica. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 295–8.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 109.

Duval, *Les Églises africaines à deux absides*, 155–62.

F. Vattioni, 'Mididi e le sue epigrafi', *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 11 (1994), 113–28.

Midrash This Hebrew term, meaning 'enquiry', has three academic meanings. **1.** The hermeneutics of the Talmudic period (3rd–7th centuries). This approach takes the biblical wording to carry divine implied messages, conveyed by non-esoteric, general linguistic-semiotic mechanisms which require close reading, but

no key to a secret code. It is, however, legitimate to re-contextualize isolated biblical sentences or phrases through specific rabbinic themes or unconnected biblical passages. This uncovers meanings immediately relevant to the reader's own historical-collective situation, including valid norms of behaviour, general truths about the world, and exemplary events. Apparent irrelevancies, inconsistencies, or inaccuracies in the biblical text merely indicate additionally implied themes or meaning (Samely, 1992). Rabbinic sources contain three rudimentary lists of hermeneutic 'rules', but no developed hermeneutic theory. Named *rabbis are often reported as disagreeing on specific interpretations. At times, oral tradition deriving from the biblical Sinai revelation is claimed as validating interpretations, perhaps in response to early Christianity. The juxtaposition of conflicting interpretations on the level of texts (not within single quoted utterances) is common, so that the same biblical wording is suggested as having more than one valid meaning; occasionally there are also explicit statements to this effect, so that some scholars see rabbinic hermeneutics as parallel to post-modernism (Hartmann and Budick).

2. The formally self-contained quotation-comment unit (or comment-quotation unit), often attributed to a named rabbinic speaker, which dominates substantial parts of rabbinic literature. Often virtually identical quotation-comment units recur in more than one text without any acknowledgement.

3. A branch of rabbinic literature (in main contrast to Mishnah or Talmud), consisting of (a) works of sequential commentary on whole biblical books or parts of them, such as *Genesis Rabba; these target in particular the books of the Pentateuch and the so-called 'Five Scrolls' (Lamentations, Canticles, Ruth, Esther, and Qohelet); and (b) collections of so-called rabbinic 'homilies' which treat a selected set of verses through a variety of rhetorical structures, as illustrated by the texts juxtaposed in *Leviticus Rabba (Visotzky) and *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana. There are also other works of so-called Midrash, not so easily categorized and usually later (Stemberger). Homilies and whole works of Midrash are anonymous. AS

Porten, 'Midrash', *ANRW* II.19.2 (1979), 103–38.
A. Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah* (2002).
G. H. Hartman and S. Budick, eds., *Midrash and Literature* (1986).
A. Samely, 'Scripture's Implicature', *JSS* 37 (1992), 167–205.
G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, tr. M. Bockmuehl (²1996).
B. Visotzky, *Golden Bells and Pomegranates: Studies in Midrash Leviticus Rabbah* (2003), 354.

Migration Period Term used by scholars for the period approximately AD 300–700 to refer to the mass movement of peoples across western Eurasia into lands dominated by the Roman Empire and its successors. MD

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West* (2008).

Migration Period Pessimum (MPP) Also called the Late Antique Little Ice Age, the Vandal Minimum or Dark Ages Cold Period. A period of lower global temperatures and general climatic instability between approximately AD 400 and 800. European temperatures were between 0.3 degrees Celsius (0.54 degrees Fahrenheit) and 1.5 degrees Celsius (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit) cooler than those prevailing at present. One probable cause of the MPP is reduced solar radiation resulting from increased volcanic activity or solar grand minima. Over much of Europe the MPP witnessed cooler temperatures, seasonal instability, higher spring winds and cooler, wetter weather overall, and glacier advances in the north. As its name suggests, the MPP has been linked to social disruption throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, and it has been suggested that it was a factor in or even the principal cause of Germanic *Barbarian Migrations into the Mediterranean basin, the Justinianic *Plague, and the *Arab Conquests. *See also* CLIMATE AND CLIMATE CHANGE. MD

J. L. Brooke, *Climate Change and the Course of Global History: A Rough Journey* (2014).

Mihr MP form of *Avestan Mithra. This deity of covenants in *Zoroastrianism had a *festival in his honour known as *Mihragān celebrated at harvest time. Along with *Ohrmazd and his fellow deities, Mihr is an accountant who judges the recently departed. Covenant-breakers known as Mihrōdruj ('Liars unto Mihr') were cursed along with their descendants (**Dādestān-e Dēnīg*, 13, 3). He is portrayed with a rayed *nimbus on *Ardashir II's *rock relief at *Taq-e Bostan. YSDV

EncIran (2006) *s.n.* Mithra ii Iconography in Iran and Central Asia (F. Grenet).
Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 109.
ed. (with ET) M. Jaafari-Dehaghi, *Dādestān-i Denig* (1988).

mihrab An arched niche set into the **qibla* wall of a *mosque denoting the direction of *prayer for the faithful. All Islamic prayers must be conducted facing the *Ka'ba at *Mecca and the *mihrab* therefore marks the wall in each mosque facing the direction of *Mecca. In a building adapted from previous use, the *mihrab* may be set at an angle to indicate a more precise direction. In Islamic tradition, the *mihrab* is not intrinsically sacred and all parts of a mosque are equally holy. The origins of the *mihrab* remain obscure; associations with the throne recess of the monarch have been suggested, and there are a variety of Ancient Near Eastern

precedents for the architectural form, notably in the pagan, Jewish, and Christian architecture of Late Antiquity. EL; AM

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Miḥrāb, 7–15 (Fehérvári).

Mihragan *Zoroastrian *festival in honour of *Mithra (MP *Mihr) known from the Achaemenid period onward. It was celebrated at harvest time with a blood *sacrifice and other offerings. The *Sasanian King was expected to hold a public audience on the day and distribute gifts, as he did also at *Nōg rōz in the spring. POS

EncIran (2013) *s.v.* Mehragān (S. Cristoforetti).

M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1: *The Early Period* (1975), 172–3.

M. Boyce, 'Mihragān among the Irani Zoroastrians', in J. R. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies*, 2 vols. (1975), vol. 1, 106–8.

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 183.

Mihranids The ruling dynasty of Caucasian *Albania from the late 6th to early 8th century AD. The dynasty was founded by Mihran, who settled in the region of Gardman in Uti. The Mihranids were listed among the Seven Great Houses of Iran, whose other line (the Khosroid dynasty) also ruled in *Iberia. The Mihranids assumed the title Arranshah (i.e. shahs of Arran, the Persian name of Albania). The most notable representative of the dynasty was the Prince *Juansher (535–81). The family's rule came to an end after the death of Varaz-Trdat II in 822–3. NA

C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963).

Mihr-Mihroe (Gk. *Mermeroes*; MP Mihrmahrui) (d. 554) Persian general, serving under *Qobad I and *Khosrow I. He invaded Roman *Armenia and attacked *Satala in 530, then besieged *Martyropolis in 531 (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 15), but was captured at *Dara by *John Troglita in the early 540s. Between 548 and his death in 555 he commanded the Caucasus region and protected *Sasanian interests in *Armenia and *Lazica against Roman and northern invaders, before dying of gout at *Mtskheta (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 29–30; *Agathias, II, 19–22). KR; OPN

PLRE III, Mermeroes.

F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 203.

Averil Cameron, 'Agathias and the Sasanians', *DOP* (1969/70), 79–90.

Mihr-Narseh (early/mid-5th cent.) Famous Sasanian Wuzurg-Framadār (chief minister) in the first half of the 5th century. Initially mentioned under *Bahram (Wahram) V as a sinner who had been obliged to perform penance, he was then raised to the highest office under *Yazdegerd II. He promoted the good things of *Ohrmazd by planting three *gardens (one with 12,000 date palms, one with 12,000 cypress trees, one with 12,000 *olive trees) and founded four villages each with a *fire temple in the fertile Farrashband Plain in *Fars and built a *bridge over a river south of *Firuzabad (Gor) 'for the good of his soul', as the surviving *inscription says. He was the leader of the Sasanian forces in the effort to impose *Zoroastrianism on *Armenia, resulting eventually in the rebellion of *Vardan Mamikonean, as related by *Elishe Vardapet. KR

PLRE II, Narses 1.

EncIran (2012) *s.n.* Mehr Narseh (T. Daryaee).

L. Vanden Berghe, 'Récentes Découvertes de monuments sassanides dans le Fārs', *Iranica Antiqua* 1 (1961), 163–98.

Milan (Roman Mediolanum) *City in northern *Italy founded in the early 4th century BC (Livy, V, 34, 9). Milan came under direct Roman rule in 194 BC, and was granted Latin rights in 89 BC and Roman citizenship in 49 BC. Under the early Empire Milan was thus firmly established as one of the leading cities of Cisalpine Gaul, but gained wider imperial and Christian significance from the 3rd century onwards. *Gallienus (*Augustus, 253–68) based part of his mobile army at Milan under the general *Aureolus, and in 268 was murdered while besieging the city after Aureolus' usurpation.

Under the *Tetrarchy, the city's strategic location prompted *Maximian (Augustus, 286–305) to make Milan his principal Italian residence and mint. Maximian bestowed upon the city a large *bath complex, a *circus, and reinforced walls, and it was probably during this time that Milan became the seat of the provincial *governor of *Aemilia et Liguria. In 313 Milan was the scene of the marriage of the *Emperor *Licinius to Constantia, sister of Constantine although the *Letter of Licinius (often miscalled the Edict of Milan) was not in fact issued as an *edict from Milan. The Milan mint had been founded *c.*260, but operated only sporadically, issuing precious-metal coinage, especially *c.*323–402/4, *c.*452–500, and again under *Ostrogothic rule.

Milan remained a prominent centre under the Constantinian dynasty, and was the location of a church *council under *Constantius II in 355. The city's importance reached its peak in the second half of the 4th century when Milan became the regular Western imperial residence. This period coincided with the episcopate of *Ambrose (*Bishop of Milan 374–97), whose prestige greatly enhanced Milan's ecclesiastical standing. The discovery of the *relics of Ss. *Gervasius and Protasius inspired the Church at Milan and under Ambrose's *patronage a series of important Christian *basilicas transformed the urban topography. During these years *Augustine came to the city as court *rhetorician, and in 386 made his commitment to an ascetic

Christian life in a *garden in Milan (*Confessions*, VIII, 12, 28). *Ausonius of *Bordeaux ranked Milan seventh in his hierarchy of cities, just behind *Trier, for 'at Milan also are all things wonderful, abundant wealth, countless stately *houses, men able, eloquent, and cheerfully disposed' (*Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, VII). *Theodosius I (Augustus 379–95) resided in Milan while in the West, despite several famous clashes with Ambrose. Theodosius' ban on all forms of pagan *sacrifice was issued from Milan in 391 (*CTh* XVI, 10, 10), and it was in Milan in January 395 that the *emperor died.

Across the next two centuries Milan's prestige steadily declined. The death of Ambrose in 397 inevitably diminished Milanese episcopal authority, and in 402 the Western Emperor *Honorius moved his residence to *Ravenna, as it could be defended more easily. Milan features rarely in sources for the first half of the 5th century, and in 452 the city was sacked by *Attila and the *Huns. As imperial power in the West decayed, Milan fell in turn to *Odoacer in 476 and *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth in 493. There is some evidence from building *inscriptions and passing textual references for a limited revival in the early 6th century, but Milan remained overshadowed by the Ostrogothic capital Ravenna and also lost significance in comparison to nearby *Pavia and *Verona. Milan was then caught up in the chaos of the *Byzantine invasion of Italy under *Justinian I, and in 539 a Gothic army destroyed the city and massacred the male population (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VI, 21).

The *Lombard invasion of Italy began in 568, and Milan surrendered without a fight the next year while Honoratus, Bishop of Milan, fled to Byzantine Genoa. Lombard Milan was far smaller than the imperial residence of earlier times, and the Lombard rulers favoured Pavia. The only Lombard king to exalt Milan was *Agilulf (591–616), who placed particular emphasis on his Roman image and in 604 had his son Adaloald proclaimed co-ruler in the *circus of Milan in imitation of Byzantine ceremonial (*Paul the *Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, IV, 30). Yet the splendours of the Roman past were never entirely forgotten. In *c.*739 the poetic encomia known as the **Versus de Mediolano civitate* still celebrated the city's *forum, *aqueduct, and *roads, although it was the Christian heritage of churches, saints, and relics that dominated the poet's vision of Milan. DMG; RRD

N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800* (2006).
M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400* (1999).
McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan.*
R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (1983).
B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300–850* (1984).
RIC V/1, V/2.
R. Bland, 'From Gordian III to the Gallic Empire (A.D. 238–74)', in Metcalf, *OHGRC*, 514–37.
Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins.*

Milan, buildings of As the principal residence of *emperors in the West from the *Tetrarchy to *Honorius and the see of such *bishops as *Ambrose, Late Antique Milan developed monumental architecture that was both sophisticated and experimental in its forms. *Ausonius praises the *city for 'all things wonderful', including its double wall, a *circus ('her people's joy'), the theatre, its Palatine citadels and mint, and the quarter famous under the title of the Bath of Hercules (*Ordo Urbium*, lines 35–45 = section 7). The baths were the work of the Emperor *Maximian, but the site of the imperial *palace has so far eluded identification.

The church buildings of Milan influenced early church building throughout the West. At the episcopal complex within the *city which may have been built by Ambrose, an octagonal *baptistery (now S. Giovanni alle Fonti) bore an *inscription announcing the appropriateness of the *number symbolism of eight for a hall where there will come to people the true salvation of the Resurrected Christ who breaks open the closed places of death (*ILCV* 1841 = *CIL* V, 617, 2). The cathedral complex included an early *basilica, whose remains are very obscure, and a new basilica, rebuilt in the later 5th and 6th centuries, which became the main cathedral church, dedicated to S. *Thecla. Near these was an episcopal residence with oratory, *garden, and *bath; it may have included an apsed hall.

Of uncertain date, but dramatic in form, the Church of S. *Lawrence was built in the late 4th or 5th century as a square hall extended by curving *exedras on four sides, with two octagonal chapels added to it. The architecture in honour of the saints initiated by Ambrose was to have lasting influence. Ambrose built at least three churches outside the walls: the Basilica Apostolorum (now S. Nazaro), the Basilica Martyrum (now S. Ambrogio), and the Basilica Virginum (now S. Simpliciano). He enshrined *relics from *Constantinople and across northern *Italy in cross-shaped basilicas of considerable size. A shrine to S. Victor, adjacent to the Basilica Martyrum, was rebuilt in the 5th century to include a *dome over the body of the shrine, depicting the local *martyr S. Victor holding a Christogram and flanked by a cross. Beneath the golden vault are images of Bishops Ambrose, dead by the time of the renovation, and Maternus, who had translated Victor and other saints to Milan, along with the saints venerated in the main basilica. In this chapel, Ambrose buried his brother next to the relics, and in the main church his own body was buried. CJG

R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (1983), 69–92.

G. Mackie, 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: The Case of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan', *Gesta* 34/2 (1995), 91–101.
M. Mirabella Roberti, 'Contributi della ricerca archeologica all'architettura ambrosiana Milanese', in G. Lazzati, ed., *Ambrosius Episcopus* (1976), vol. 1, 335–62.

Milan, See of The early Christian history of *Milan, like that of many Western *cities, is uncertain. A Christian community existed by the 3rd century; *Bishop Merocles of Milan attended the *Lateran *Council of 313 and the Council of *Arles in 314. Dionysius of Milan was exiled by *Constantius II after refusing to condemn *Athanasius of *Alexandria at the Council of Milan in 355—*Ambrose was to retrieve his *relics from Cappadocia (*Basil, *ep.* 197). Dionysius' replacement was the *Homoean *Auxentius, who was followed by *Ambrose, Milan's greatest bishop (374–97). Ambrose exerted substantial *influence as *metropolitan over the Church in the cities of northern *Italy, in Milan he built new churches, and the bishop's authority was strengthened by close ties with the imperial *court. The relics of such *martyrs as S. Victor (at whose shrine Ambrose buried his brother) and Ss. Felix and Nabor were already venerated at Milan even before Ambrose spectacularly added to their number by the discovery of Ss. *Gervasius and Protasius.

Milan and its bishop declined sharply in significance after Ambrose's death and the removal of the imperial court to *Ravenna under *Honorius. Little evidence survives from the 5th century. In 553 Milan was represented at the Second *Council of *Constantinople, but the northern Italian churches rejected the council's decrees and broke from Rome in the Istrian Schism. When Milan fell to the *Lombards in 569, Bishop *Honoratus abandoned the city and withdrew to Genoa, a *city still under Byzantine control. DMG

McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*.
Delehaye, *Origines*, 335–9.
Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*.

Mildenhall Treasure Spectacular ensemble of Roman *silver tableware, found in 1942 at Mildenhall in Suffolk, and now in the British Museum. Among its 27 pieces are plates and bowls with figural decoration, much of it *Dionysiac in theme. MH

R. Hobbs, 'Platters in the Mildenhall Treasure', *Brittania* 41 (2010), 324–33.
K. S. Painter, *The Mildenhall Treasure: Roman Silver from East Anglia* (1977).

milestones Roadside columns typically 2–3 m (*c.* 6 feet) tall, naming the reigning *emperors, and displaying a numeral giving the distance from or to the (often unnamed) ultimate endpoint of the *road, without indicating direction. Most Roman milestone texts belong to the period AD 200–350. Over time, reworked milestones account for an increasing proportion of the total; these celebrated less often imperial road building or improvement and more often local loyalty at the advent of new regimes. The last flurry of this activity in the Latin West comes with the usurpation of *Magnus Maximus and the reinstallation of *Valentinian II in the late 380s. The latest known Western milestone (*ILS* 806) was erected just outside *Arles in 435. In the East, where *Greek had largely superseded *Latin on milestones, examples after this date are exceedingly rare, the latest being erected by Ioannes *Consularis of *Caria under *Anastasius I. RWBS

CIL XVII.
A. E. Cooley, *Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (2012), 159–68.

Miletus (mod. Milet, Turkey, formerly Palatia/Balat after the 'palatial' ruins of the medieval period) *Harbour *city of *Caria. In Late Antiquity the ancient cityscape of Miletus was preserved inside its extensive mid-3rd-century city walls. The Byzantine city walls may date from the 7th/8th centuries. Numerous churches were built as late as 595/606 and are remarkable for their conservative style. *Hesychius Illustris repaired the city's *baths. *Isidore of Miletus and his nephew, also *Isidore, were famous architects under *Justinian I. The *territorium* also prospered in Late Antiquity, with numerous settlements, churches, and marbles. PhN

Thonemann, *Maeander Valley*, 303–20.
P. Niewöhner, *Die byzantinischen Basiliken von Milet* (2016).
P. Niewöhner, *Miletus/Balat. Urbanism and Monuments from the Archaic to the Turkish Period* (2016).
P. Niewöhner 'The Byzantine Settlement History of Miletus and its Hinterland', *ArchAnz* (2016/2), 225–90.

Milevis *City, *c.*50 km (*c.*30 miles) north-west of *Cirta. *Optatus was *bishop in the later 4th century. *Faustus the *Manichaean was brought up here, poor and *pagan. Church *councils gathered in 402 and 416. Fortifications were built under *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* VI, 7, 8). There was still a bishop in 883. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 438–9.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 335–6.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 219–20.

miliarensis Numismatic term for two Late Roman *silver denominations. Two coins, termed light (*c.*4.55 g/0.15 ounces) and heavy (*c.*5.45 g/0.19 ounces) *miliarenses*, were issued from 324 onwards and the coin is first named in 384 (*CTh* VI, 30, 7). From the 5th century both weights appear to have become a ceremonial issue. RRD

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 8 (2006) *s.v.* miliarensis col. 896 (D. Klose).

military organization, Germanic It has been debated whether military affairs among Germanic entities were organized by tribe or if they lay in the hands of high-status individuals or families who could afford to provide weapons for their loyal followers. Past research considered that armed peasants comprised the main body of Germanic *armies. More recent analysis suggests that in prehistoric self-sufficient societies, hardly 10% of the entire population could be spared for warfare activities.

Current scholarship consequently sees Germanic barbarian warriors as warbands grouped around a lord and his entourage or **comitatus*. Warriors were recruited and trained to use standardized weaponry, though how exactly this recruitment and training was conducted is still debated, as are the procedures for command and control of armed forces during combat. Finds from sacrificial sites in Germanic areas indicate that groups of armed men included individuals trained for various specialized tasks, including craftsmen for maintaining equipment, medical experts for healing wounds, and those who operated *ships, chariots, and other vehicles.

Later Germanic kingdoms, such as the Early *Merovingians, incorporated Late Roman *logistics, *administration, and methods of *recruiting, so had more complex military organization and tactical command. In the past, historians have used written sources to deduce the existence of huge Germanic armies, but these forces will in general have comprised only a few hundred men, and rarely more than one or two thousand combatants. AR

B. S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (1972).

H. Steuer, 'Warrior Bands, War Lords and the Birth of Tribes and States in the First Millennium AD in Middle Europe', in T. Otto, H. Thrane, and H. Vandkilde, eds., *Warfare and Society: Archaeological and Social Anthropological Perspectives* (2006).

military saints A category of saints who, according to tradition, were *martyred during the *persecutions of *Decius or *Valerian or the Great Persecution. The chief military saints, those whom H. Delehaye identified as the *état-major*, were Ss. *George, *Theodore, Procopius, *Demetrius, and Mercurius. Although there is an expansive literature dedicated to them, no early accounts survive of the alleged martyrdoms of the major military saints, and much of the textual tradition is of legendary character. In some cases, the legends may be connected to historical figures. The soldier-saint Procopius, for example, has the same name as the first martyr mentioned in *Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine*, although Eusebius does not describe him as a military man (*MartPal* (S&L) 1); only in later tradition is Procopius identified as a military saint.

The popularity of the military saints varied by region and time. Though Ss. George and Theodore in particular enjoyed widespread veneration, the cults associated with other military saints were more localized. Interest in S. Demetrius, for example, is not frequently attested outside *Thessalonica and its environs, and he increased in popularity only in the Byzantine period. By contrast, archaeological and textual evidence suggests that certain military saints became the subject of cult activity quite early; *Gregory of *Nyssa's homily on S. Theodore, for example, attests to the vitality of late 4th-century devotion to the saint (*GNO* 10/1, 59–71), while his brother *Basil's homily on the *Forty Martyrs helped to promote the cult of these Christian soldiers. SEI

Mercurius: *BHG* 1274–77a; Procopius: *BHG* 1576–82c.

Delehaye, *Saints militaires*.

C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (2003).

military treatises Late Roman military manuals survive in both *Latin and *Greek. They can be divided into: (1) practical treatises that included borrowings from older works (**Strategicon*, *Syrianus); (2) fresh versions of old treatises (Asclepiodotus, Aelian, Arrian, Onasander, Frontinus); (3) compilations of old material (*Vegetius, *Urbicius Barbatus, *Tacticon*); (4) works advocating technical innovations meant to solve current problems (*Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis*, Urbicius, *Epitedeuma*). The Greek texts influenced the thinking of later generations of Byzantine military theorists and generals. Greek treatises were traditionally divided into separate treatments of *tactica* (military terminology and tactics), *strategica* (generalship), *naumachica* (naval warfare), and *stratagemata* (stratagems); manuals included some or all of these elements. Latin treatises adopted a similar division of material (e.g. Frontinus wrote separate treatises on tactics and stratagems). The Latin texts survived in the western successor states where especially Vegetius' influence remained strong. IAPS

B. Campbell, 'Teach Yourself How to Be a General', *JRS* 77 (1987), 13–29.

A. Dain and J. A. de Foucault, 'Les Stratégistes byzantins', *TM* 2 (1967), 317–92.

Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.

militia Term used for career service under the *emperor, encompassing not only military service but also the government bureaucracy at *court and in the *provinces. Appointment to a *militia* was distinct from appointment to a **dignitas*. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 377–8.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 20, 134.

mills and milling Mills were used in *olive oil processing and *mining but most commonly in the milling

of *grain. Millstones were usually volcanic in origin—the hardness and grit of the material made it ideal for grinding.

Most milling was done domestically with rotary querns, the most common type of flour mill from the British Isles to the *Persian Empire. The rotary quern consists of two disc-shaped stones, usually 50 cm (20 inches) in diameter, with a central hopper into which grain was fed manually. The operator rotated the device by means of a vertical handle inserted near the edge of the stone.

The more efficient, often animal-driven Pompeian- (or Vitruvian-) type rotary mill was commonly *c.*0.5–0.9 m high (1.6–3 feet) and consists of an hourglass top stone (*catillus*) rotating on a lower conical stone (*meta*). The Pompeian type was common within the Roman Empire and was used in the Levant until at least the 7th century.

Water-mills became increasingly important from the 1st century AD and by the 6th century were common there and throughout the Persian Empire. Its possession of water-mills was one of the arguments put forward by *Orcistus to support its petition to *Constantine I for a grant of *city status (*MAMA* VII, 305). Water-mills with multiple grinding installations are known from *Barbegal and *Caesarea of Palestine. MD

L. A. Moritz, *Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (1958).

F. Jacques,. 'Les Moulins d'Orcistus: rhétorique et géographie au IV^{e} s.', in Christol et al., *Institutions, société et vie politique*, 431–46.

A. Wilson, 'Water-Mills at Amida: Ammianus Marcellinus 18.8.11.', *CQ* 51 (2001), 231–6.

Milo Bishop of *Trier and *Reims (717/22–762). Member of a powerful *Austrasian family, who supported *Charles Martel and the Arnulfings. S. *Boniface considered Milo and his ilk to be harmful to the Church, and Hincmar (Bishop of Reims 845–82) later criticized him for losing lands belonging to Reims and behaving like a layman while *bishop. JTP

Ewig, 'Milo et Eiusmodi Similes', *SFG* 2, 189–219.

Milvian Bridge, Battle of Battle fought just north of *Rome on 28 October AD 312 where *Constantine I finally defeated and killed *Maxentius so becoming sole ruler of *Italy and *Africa as well as *Britain, *Gaul, and *Spain. After two victories in northern Italy Constantine overcame Maxentian forces again at Saxa Rubra on the Via Flaminia. Maxentius cut the Pons Mulvius but then faced Constantine on the right bank of the Tiber, having prepared a pontoon bridge in case he needed to withdraw back to the *city. In the event, he was forced to do precisely this, but the temporary bridge collapsed, drowning Maxentius and many of his soldiers (*PanLat* XII (IX), 17; *Eusebius, *HE* IX, 9; *Lactantius, *Mort.* 44; *Zosimus, II, 16). The rout is depicted on the Arch of Constantine and entered early Christian *art as the *iconography of Pharaoh's army destroyed at the Crossing of the Red Sea. JCNC

P. Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (2009), 131–8.

D. S. Potter, *Constantine: The Emperor* (2013), 137–44.

R. van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (2011).

mimesis *See* IMITATION AND ALLUSION, GREEK.

minaret (Ar. *manara*, *manar*, or *sawma'a*) Tower, usually associated with a *mosque. The earliest mosques had no minarets, and the minaret is said to have been introduced under *Umayyad rule in the mid-to-late 7th century. The monumental mosques constructed at *Medina, *Damascus, and *San'a under al-*Walid I (r. 705–15) had four corner towers. The 9th-century *'Abbasid mosques at Samarra are notable for their huge spiral minarets. Although the minaret is often associated with the call to *prayer (*adhan*), it is clear that the minaret also had other more purely architectural functions as the most visible component of the mosque. AM

J. Bloom, *Minaret: Symbol of Islam* (1989).

minbar A raised step or set of steps from which the *khutba* (speech, sermon) is delivered in the *mosque. Tradition relates that *Muhammad had such a platform at *Medina, and its use is described in a number of 7th- and 8th-century mosques. The first datable extant *minbar* is usually said to be the teakwood *minbar* (*c.*862–3) at *Kairouan. Analogies between the form of the *ambo (pulpit and lectern) of Late Antique churches, especially in *Egypt, and the *minbar* of Islamic mosques have been noted. EL

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Minbar, 73–9 (Pedersen and Golmohammadi).

R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* (^{2}2000).

Minervina Wife of *Constantine I and mother of *Crispus. She had presumably died by autumn 307, when Constantine married *Fausta. OPN

NEDC 42–3.

Barnes, *Constantine*, 48–9.

D. S. Potter, *Constantine the Emperor* (2013), ch. 9.

mines and mining The methods employed during the Principate and in Late Antiquity to mine metal ores range from opencast to underground mining operations. Hydraulic mining techniques such as *hushing* and *ground sluicing* used water to remove either topsoil from hard rock ore deposits or massive overburden from alluvial deposits. Hard rock faces were broken up by fire

setting and by iron picks, gads, or hoes. Water from tunnels and galleries was drained by adits or water-lifting devices, e.g. water-wheels, Archimedean screws, or pumps. Most extracted ore needed to be reduced in size in order to minimize dross during the smelting process (beneficiation); the ore was therefore crushed either by hand or automated trip hammers, and then ground by stone *mills. The smelting of ores took place on site, with significant effects for the environment.

By the late 3rd century mining in *Spain and *Britain had declined. *Dacia north of the Danube *frontier was relinquished in 271. It is difficult to assess whether mining operations in the *Balkans, *Anatolia, or *Cyprus made up for this loss in resources.

The Late Roman state controlled mining operations through a Comes Metallorum per *Illyricum in the East (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *or.* 13, 1) and a Comes Auri in the West. Mining districts were run by *procuratores metallorum*, a post filled by city councillors from *cities within whose territory *gold was being mined (*CTh* I, 32, 5; *SEG* 6. 166 [4th cent.]). Mining workers were partly provided by convicts condemned *ad metallum* (to the mines); in the Great Persecution Christians were sent to the *copper mines of *Phaeno in Palestine (*Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine*, VII, 2; cf. VIII, 1). The free *metallarii* working gold pits were forbidden to leave and required to render a set amount of gold to the state; any additional gold had to be sold to the state for a fixed price (*CTh* X, 19, 3–7, 9, 12, and 15; XI, 1, 23; XI, 20, 6). AMH

P. T. Craddock, 'Mining and Metallurgy', in Oleson, *OHETCW*, 93–120.
J. C. Edmonson, 'Mining', in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA* 579–80.

minimi and _minimissi_ Name given by numismatists to tiny imitations of 3rd–4th-century Roman *bronze coins, produced and used mainly in *Britain. These coins circulated alongside and supplemented official Roman coinage and had ceased to be struck by the end of the 4th century. RRD

Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins.*

ministeriales A group of minor staff at the imperial *court. They were not *eunuchs but were under the overall charge of the *Castrensis Sacri Palatii (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *or.* XVII, 4, *occ.* XV, 5). Though they performed menial services in the *palace, their positions nevertheless attracted aristocratic families and a supernumerary waiting-list. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 571.

Minorca *See* BALEARIC ISLANDS.

minster The Old English term *mynster* translated Latin *monasterium*; both were used in *Anglo-Saxon England to refer to a wide range of ecclesiastical sites with churches. The early 11th-century laws of King Æthelred describe a fourfold ranking of churches from the greatest cathedrals down to humble field-churches; all but the lowest rank were still called minsters at that time (Whitelock et al., *Councils*, 389–90). Minsters frequently enjoyed close links to royal dynasties whose members acted as founders, granted land and other property, and became abbots, abbesses, monks, and nuns. From the 7th century minsters were key instruments in the *conversion of the Anglo-Saxons because most seem to have provided pastoral care to people in surrounding districts. In time they won control over other functions such as the burial of the *dead. SCT

J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (2005).
S. [R. I.] Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c.600–900* (2007).

mint marks Elements of coin design recording location of production, usually abbreviation of mint name. Roman and *Sasanian coins often included detailed information about the mint and sometimes the section of the mint (**officina*) in which they had been struck, presumably to facilitate quality control and monitor *forgery. While imperial mint marks reflect high levels of state control, in some Western barbarian coinages, such as early Merovingian *coinage, mint names suggest dispersed and autonomous local minting. Conversely, the increasing absence of mint marks on *gold coins from late 8th-century *Constantinople highlights increased centralization of gold minting in the capital, rendering a mint mark superfluous. RRD

DOC 1, II.1, II.2, II.1.
R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics* (1971).
MEC 1.
RIC V/1, V/2, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.

miracles Late Roman authors distinguished between wonders (Gk. *thauma*, Lat. *miraculum*) and signs (Gk. *semeion*, Lat. *signum*). A wonder was simply a remarkable event; a sign was a wonder which made sense of a larger pattern of events. For *Hierocles, the anti-Christian polemicist at the time of the Great *Persecution, the miracles of Christ were passing wonders of no particular significance, the sort of event associated with the occasional appearance on earth of a godlike man, a *theios aner*, like *Apollonius of *Tyana. For his Christian opponent *Lactantius (*Inst.* V, 1–4 and IV, 15) they were uncoded divine intervention, exemplifying the benevolent providence of the Christian God as it really was, as it could be seen directly at work throughout the history of the world, from the Creation into the present work of the Church. Christ's miracles were therefore not interruptions of the laws of nature but keys to understanding the force which created the world out of nothing.

It is in this perspective that *Augustine presents a series of miracle stories in the final book of the *City of God* (XXII, 8–10; cf. *Sermons*, 320–4). The latter twelve books of this 'large and difficult work' have traced the City of God through the whole of world history from the Creation onwards; the stories of miracles which had occurred in *Africa are told to show that God had been active in the witness of the *martyrs and continues to be at work in the Church. In 416, *relics of S. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, were brought from *Jerusalem to Africa, and shrines (*memoriae*) containing fragments of the relics were set up in many churches, including Augustine's *basilica at *Hippo. Augustine was scrupulous in maintaining records of the miracles which began to occur there; he required the person cured to submit a written report (*libellus*) which was then read aloud in church in front of the writer, before it was placed in the cathedral *archive.

Such records of miracles became a regular appendage of both martyrs' shrines and accounts of *saints' lives, from S. *Menas in *Egypt and S. *Thecla in *Cilicia to S. *Cuthbert on the isle of *Lindisfarne. Not all miracle collections were made with the scientific rigour of S. Augustine, nor recounted in the engaging way that *Bede told such stories. The records, however, encouraged people, particularly those on *pilgrimage, to expect a miracle when they visited certain places, whether in the *Holy Land or at the resting-places of martyrs or *holy men, like those catalogued by *Gregory of *Tours in his brief *Lives* of saints.

Most miracles that are recorded are medical in character, especially those associated with Ss. *Cosmas and Damian, the 'physicians who take no fee'. But just as the everyday *patronage of individual saints took various forms, so the special benefits which they were able to obtain for their clients took different shapes. S. *Demetrius was honoured by the *city of Thessalonica with a substantial *martyrium in the centre of the city, and *prayer directed through him sometimes secured cures from disease. But he also miraculously saved the city from the attacking hordes of *Slavs and *Avars.

*Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* recount the remarkable deeds of the holy men who had given strength to *Italy in troubled times; men like S. *Benedict (*c.*480–*c.*545) had provided islands of powerful calm during the decades of war in the middle of the 6th century which followed the *Byzantine invasion of Italy. The power and value of their day-to-day ministry was, Gregory says, sometimes dramatically apparent in miraculous events. Gregory, like Lactantius, sees these miracles not as isolated incidents but as elements in a larger pattern. After Gregory has told a story, his *deacon Peter chimes in, giving it a wider significance by saying how it reminds him of events described in the *Bible. Like Augustine, Gregory was insistent on accurate attestation concerning the details of events, but like early Christians in general he was interested not in the way that a miracle had come to happen, but in the significance of the event, not how it had occurred, but why it had occurred. The literal sense needed to be established, but the real interest lay in the inner meaning for the hearer. In the end it was not marvellous phenomena as such that Gregory looked for but the deeper significance of these and indeed of all events. For the Church in Late Antiquity, the central miracle was redemption, and contemporary miracles were seen in relation to the life of conversion of the redeemed.

The *Dialogues* were translated into Greek in the 8th century and into *Anglo-Saxon in the 9th; the Greek version was so popular that Gregory was known in the Byzantine world as Gregorios ho Dialogos. The pattern of thought which Gregory did so much to form and foment was so firmly set that in the West it was not reconsidered until the 12th and 13th centuries.

BW; OPN

W. Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquty* (1999).
E. Eve, *The Healer from Nazareth: Jesus' Miracles in Historical Context* (2009).
R. M. Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought* (1952).
H. Delehaye, 'Les Premiers "*libelli miraculorum*"', *AnBoll* 29 (1910), 427–34.
H. Delelhaye, 'Les Recueils antiques des miracles des saints', *AnBoll* 43 (1925), 74–85.
Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.
S. Efthymiadis, 'Greek Byzantine Collections of Miracles: A Chronological and Bibliographical Survey', *SymbOsl* 74 (1999), 195–218.
A.-M. Talbot, 'Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts', *DOP* 56 (2002), 153–73.
Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (1987).

Mirian (Meribanes) (*c.*306–332) First Christian King of Caucasian *Iberia, often identified with the Iberian King Meribanes who received diplomatic *gifts from *Constantius II (*Ammianus, XXI, 6, 8). One of the pseudepigraphic books of the **Moktsevai Kartlisai* (*Conversion of Georgia*) is entitled *Mirian's Testament* and is attributed to him. NA

PLRE I, Meribanes.
C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 21–4.
W. Seibt, ed., *Die Christianisierung des Kaukasus. Referate des internationalen Symposions (Wien, 9.–12. Dezember 1999)* (Denkschr. Wien 296, 2002).

Miro Last King of the *Suebes (570–83) in *Spain. In 583 Miro signed a treaty with his nemesis the *Visigothic King *Leovigild, an ardent *Homoean (*'Arian'). Miro undermined this agreement by supporting the

failed rebellion of Leovigild's son *Hermenegild, leading to his defeat by Leovigild in 585, and the end of the Suebic kingdom. The influential Second *Council of *Braga (572) was convened during his reign, presided over by S. *Martin of Braga, who dedicated to Miro the moral treatise *Formula Vitae Honestae*. AF

PLRE IIIB, Miro.

P. C. Díaz, *El Reino Suevo (411–585)* (2011).

mirrors In Late Antiquity mirrors were especially associated with women. The typical form was held from behind either by means of a straight handle, often in two opposed fingers, or by means of a more elaborate knotted handle in the form of a reef knot. Such mirrors, generally of *silver, were often highly decorated with ornament in the form of *foliage. Many of them were so heavy that they had to be held by a maid, as shown on a 3rd-century funerary relief from Neumagen near *Trier and on caskets from the *Esquiline and *Sevso Treasures (4th–5th centuries). The earliest of the type is a splendid mirror from *Wroxeter, Shropshire (3rd century), but the form does not change and those from the Latakia Treasure (4th–5th centuries) and the *Antioch (i.e. *Kaper Koraon) and *Lampsacus Treasures (6th–7th cents.) are virtually identical. Venus herself holds such a mirror while braiding her hair on a silver statuette from the *Kaiseraugst Treasure. MEH

G. Lloyd-Morgan, 'Roman Mirrors and the Third Century', in King and Henig, *West in the Third Century*, 145–57.

M. M. Mango, 'Three Illuminating Objects in the Lampsacus Treasure', in Entwistle, *Through a Glass Brightly*, 64–75 at 71–3 ('the mirror').

Mishnah *See* TALMUD.

Misiche *See* PEROZ-SHAPUR.

Misr Arabic term for garrison *city, and so the name by which the capital of *Egypt and its main *Arab settlement and by extension the country as a whole became known. In *Syria and *Palestine the Arabs settled mainly in existing centres with a pre-Islamic Arab presence, while elsewhere they established new garrison towns (e.g. *Kufa, *Basra, *Kairouan, *Fustat). PMS

H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).

Missorium of Theodosius *Silver plate, 74 cm (*c.*2 feet 6 inches) in diameter, found with other silver near *Merida in 1847, now in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. The missorium's original weight is recorded in *Greek on its foot. It was made to mark the *Decennalia (tenth anniversary) of *Theodosius I in 388, probably as an honorific gift for a senior official. Theodosius is shown flanked by *Valentinian II and *Arcadius in an architectural setting. Below reclines the Bountiful Earth. JB

M. Almagro Gorbea et al., eds., *El Disco de Teodosio* (2000).

A. Effenberger, 'Das Theodosius-Missorium von 388', in C. Sode and S. Takács, eds., *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck 19 December 1999* (2001), 97–108.

Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 11–60.

misthos *Greek word which could signify both hire and pay (which Greek had some difficulty distinguishing between, just as it could blur the distinction between lessees and labourers). In the documentary sources for Late Antiquity it is commonly used to signify wages, such as those paid to agricultural workers on large *estates. PS

Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.

Sarris, *Economy and Society*.

Mithraism in Late Antiquity, Roman By the Severan period, Mithras was widely worshipped in *Italy, *Dalmatia, and the Rhine–Danube *provinces but is poorly attested outside these areas. The only new 'universal' cult to incorporate the geocentric model of the universe, it offered intense small-group religious experiences focused on the heroic deeds of Mithras. The first intellectual to interest himself in the cult was the *Neoplatonist *Numenius, who, like later Neoplatonists (Celsus, *apud* Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VI, 22; *Porphyry, On the Cave of the *Nymphs*, 6 etc.), believed Mithraism to be an Iranian mystery-cult. Numenius is probably the source of Christian interest in reportedly Mithraic rituals (e.g. Justin, *1Apology*, 66, 4; Tertullian, *De Corona*, 15, 3–4). Virtually ignored by apologetic, the cult received some official support in the late 3rd century and the *Tetrarchy (e.g. *ILS* 659), and continued to flourish until the 390s. At *Rome, where several 4th-century senators held the senior post of Father (e.g. *CIL* VI, 500; 1675; *ILS* 4267a–e), at least four Mithraic 'caves' continued to be used into the 5th century. RLG

RAC 24 (2012) *s.v.* Mithras 964–1009 (Gordon).

J. Børnebye, *'Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus': The Cult of Mithras in Fourth-Century Rome* (2007).

M. Gawlikowski, 'The Mithraeum at Hawarte and its Paintings', *JRA* 20 (2007), 337–61.

R. L. Gordon, 'Institutionalised Religious Options: Mithraism', in J. Rüpke, ed., *A Companion to Roman Religion* (2007), 392–405.

O. Nicholson, 'The End of Mithraism', *Antiquity* 69/263 (1995), 358–62.

R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus* (EPRO 47, 1975).

Mithras Liturgy The misleading name given by Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908) to a long section of

the Great Paris Magical Papyrus (*PapGraecMag* IV, 475–820) that provides instructions for the performance of an elaborate ritual of personal 'immortalization' (Gk. *apathanatismós*) in order to obtain a revelation from a high deity, most probably Aiôn-Agathodaimôn. The name Mithras is found only in the (ancient) editor's prologue. The text is an adaptation for purposes of divination and *theurgy of an older Egyptian ritual for ascent to heaven. RLG

ed. M. Zago (with introd. and IT), *La ricetta di immortalità* (2010).
ed. H.-D. Betz (with ET, comm. and introd.), *The 'Mithras Liturgy'* (2003).
G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Xrhma/tison, ku/rie (PGM IV 718)', *MHNH: Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas* (Malaga) 11 (2011), 83–122.

mittendarii Couriers (sent from the imperial capital to the *provinces) on financial business, organized as the *Scrinium Mittendariorum of the Sacrae *Largitiones (*CTh* VI, 30, 7, 1). Couriers on the staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio as established by *Justinian I in *Africa in 534 were organized as a *Schola (*CJust* I, 27, 1, 30). CMK

Delmaire, *Largesses*, 157.

Mocius, S. and Church of S. Mocius S. Mocius was a local *martyr of the *city of Byzantium. In 330 *Constantine I dedicated *Constantinople on 11 May, the anniversary of Mocius' *martyrdom, subsequently celebrated as the city's birthday. The church is mentioned already in 402 (*Sozomen, VIII, 17, 5). It was located in a cemetery, a short distance outside the Constantinian Walls. An open *cistern was constructed nearby in the late 5th century. The church was rebuilt on a grand scale by *Justinian I and gave its name to a *quartier*, Ta Mokiou. JB; OPN

Delehaye, *Origines*, 235.
Janin, *CPByz* 205, 393.
Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 354–8.
Dagron, *Naissance*, 395.
Mango, *Développement*, 35.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 126–7.
A. Berger, 'Mokios und Konstantin der Große. Zu den Anfängen des Märtyrerkults in Konstantinopel ', in *Antecessor: Fs Spyros N. Troianos*, 165–85.

moderator Term for a provincial *governor, frequent in the law codes, because of its general descriptive quality. The expression *moderator provinciae* is first attested under *Diocletian (*CJust* V, 17, 3, 2). In AD 535/6, Justinian I made Moderator the official title for the governor of *Helenopontus (*NovJust* 28), *Arabia (*NovJust* 102), and *Phoenice Libani (*EdJust* 4). DSl

modius *Latin term for a standard Roman unit for dry measure, equivalent to one peck or nine litres. PS

Moesiae **Dioecesis* mentioned in the *Verona List. It covered the north central *Balkans and modern Greece, bordering the Dioecesis *Pannoniae on the west, the Dioecesis *Thraciae to the east, the Mediterranean on the south, and the Danube *frontier to the north. In the Verona List it included eleven *provinces, namely the Dacias (i.e. *Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea), *Moesia Superior Margensis, *Dardania, *Macedonia, *Thessalia, Priantina (i.e. *Achaea), *Praevalitana, *Epirus Nova and Vetus, and *Crete. Probably before 327 it was split between the Dioecesis *Daciae in the north and the Dioecesis Macedoniae in the south (as in **Notitia Dignitatum* ([*or.*] III, 5–19). ABA; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 47, 107, 373.
NEDC 202–3 and 207.
Barrington Atlas, map 101.

Moesia Inferior (Secunda) *Province on the Danube *frontier governed by a *Praeses, upstream from *Scythia Minor and downstream from *Dacia Ripensis, with *Thracia and *Haemimontus to the south. The *Verona List and **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* II, 57) place it in the *Dioecesis Thraciae. The principal *city was *Marcianopolis. The *Visigoths were settled as **foederati* in Moesia after the Battle of *Adrianople of 378. *Atilla and the *Huns raided in the mid-5th century. *Theoderic and the *Ostrogoths often resided at Novae on the Danube (near mod. Svishtov, Bulgaria) in the years before they moved west in 488. In 536, *Justinian I brought Moesia Secunda under the *Quaestura Exercitus (*NovJust* 41), but *Avars and *Slavs took possession in the early 7th century and in 680–1, the *Bulgars took control. ABA; OPN

Barrington Atlas, map 101.
NEDC 222.

Moesia Superior Margensis (Prima) *Balkan *province on the Danube *frontier. *Pannonia Secunda lay upstream and *Dacia Ripensis downstream. To the south were *Praevalitana and *Dardania. The *Verona List placed it in the *Dioecesis *Moesiae. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* III, 17) places it in the Dioecesis *Daciae (under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum), governed by a *Praeses. The principal city was *Sirmium. *Hierocles (657, 1–6) lists five *cities under the *hegemon* (*governor) of Moesia, but in the late 6th century, the *Avars took over, and in *c.* 800, the *Bulgars conquered it. ABA

TIR L-34 (1968).
Barrington Atlas, 101.
Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia.*

Mogorjelo (near mod. Čapljina, Bosnia-Herzegovina). Early 4th-century fortified *villa of rectangular plan with three gates and square towers at the corners and gates, near *Narona of *Dalmatia. Residential and agricultural buildings surrounded an open courtyard, where a *basilica and *baptistery were erected in the 5th century. Late Antique and Carolingian *pottery has been found. IDS

M. Suić, *Antički Grad na istočnom Jadranu* (2003).

***Moktsevai Kartlisai* (*Conversion of Georgia*)** Medieval Georgian historical treatise narrating the conversion of *Iberia by S. *Nino and the early Christian history of Iberia. The *Conversion* consists of two parts: *The Life of S. Nino*, a detailed account of the conversion of Iberia and of its royal family by S. Nino, and the *Chronicle*, a brief history of *Georgia from the 'earliest times' until the 7th century. Initially the two parts were separate works. The *Life of S. Nino* is divided into further books or chapters attributed to different witnesses of Nino's life. Four redactions of the *Conversion* have survived: the Shatberdi codex (10th cent.), the Chelishi codex (13th cent.), and two 'Sinaitic' versions (probably copied from an 8th-cent. manuscript and close to the Chelishi redaction), which also include the *Lives of the *Thirteen Syrian Fathers*. The Sinaitic collections prove that initially there were several 'Books of Georgia's Conversion' narrating the early history of Christianity in Georgia. Later these narratives spread as separate works; part of these traditions united around the Nino cycle and another part around the Syrian Fathers' cycle. NA

Z. Aleksidze and J.-P. Mahé, *Le Nouveau Manuscrit géorgien sinaïtique N Sin 50: édition en fac-similé* (CSCO 586 = CSCO Subsidia 108, 2001).

S. H. Rapp and P. C. Crego, '*The Conversion of K'art'li*: The Shatberdi Variant, Kek.Inst. S-1141', *Le Muséon* 119 (2006), 169–225.

ET (with introd. and comm.) C. B. Lerner, *The Wellspring of Georgian Historiography*: *The Early Medieval Historical Chronicle, the Conversion of K'art'li and the Life of St. Nino* (2004).

monastery Term used by the late 4th century in *Greek, *Latin, and *Coptic for any dwelling place and/or community of monks. *Syriac preferred *deir* (or *dayr*: 'sheepfold').

Physical structures

The *Emperor *Justinian I decreed in 539 (*NovJust* 133, 1) that every monastery should have strong walls, a single entry, a gatekeeper, and an abbot, but it is not clear that these standards became widespread. Not until the 9th-century plan of S. Gall is there evidence of monasteries being designed in the style of a cloister complex. Archaeologists now recognize the difficulty of identifying monastic ruins: criteria such as surrounding walls, ossuaries, and oratories have been proposed, but it is apparent that monks frequently lived in structures indistinguishable from secular *villas or apartment buildings. This seems to have been especially true in *cities and in Western Europe, where no Late Antique monastery has been identified without literary corroboration. This variety and informality reflect the relatively independent, home-grown nature of Late Antique monasticism and its kinship to earlier philosophic or religious experiments.

Nonetheless, excavations and literary sources reveal distinct types of settlement tied to practice and region. The principal areas of anchoretic or semi-anchoretic monasticism were *Kellia in *Egypt, the *Judaean Wilderness in *Palestine, and the *Sinai Peninsula. In each of these areas the *lavra arrangement predominated, meaning a cluster of hermitages joined by a path to a communal chapel or *garden. In Kellia over 1,500 hermitages of 6th–9th-century date have been found, most of them featuring mud-brick walls, kitchen, two or three cells, and a court. In *frontier regions like the *Balkans, *Mesopotamia, the Sinai Peninsula, and *Libya, military fortresses and lavrae were often combined, exemplified by the Monastery of Mar *Gabriel on the *Tur 'Abdin and Justinian's Monastery of Mount *Sinai (now S. Catherine's).

Monasteries arranged on the **coenobium* model tended to be built close to inhabited areas or within abandoned *villages. Though they emphasized the communal life they usually had a number of anchoretic cells for older monks located outside their walls. Coenobitic monasteries sometimes constituted new villages in themselves: the *White Monastery at Sohag in Egypt by the late 5th century housed 4,000 male and female monks, including whole *families, inside its walls. *Pachomius' coenobitic monasteries in Egypt featured dormitories, refectories, workshops, infirmaries, guesthouses, orchards, and churches. Monasteries following the model associated with *Basil of *Caesarea in *Anatolia, *Mesopotamia, and *Palestine had additional facilities such as *hostels to provide for strangers and the *poor. For example, the Monastery of Theodosius the Coenobite outside *Bethlehem, besides having four different churches (for *liturgies in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and *Bessan), also had three guest hostels and four *hospitals—one for monks, another for seculars, another for the poor, and another for the monastic insane.

Perhaps the two best-preserved Late Antique monasteries are at *Alahan Manastır in *Isauria (near Geçimli, south-west Anatolia) and the Martyrius monastery north-east of *Jerusalem (at Ma'ale Adumin). Both

were built on major highways in the late 5th century and show a high level of financial investment. The Alahan monastery had two large churches, a *baptistery, and a colonnaded terrace, while the Martyrius monastery had a *bathhouse, guest *hostel, several chapels, and a two-storeyed refectory equipped with *marble tables and geometric floor *mosaics. Donations probably furnished their wealth, as seems likely for most Late Antique monasteries; these came from monastic recruits as well as from the local community, visitors, and distant *patrons who all had different reasons for giving. Many monasteries were probably founded and endowed by lay people to ensure the perpetual commemoration of their souls. *Papyri show that in Egypt by the 7th century, monasteries had amassed as much land as churches. Otherwise their economic impact has been hard to assess. Some served as state *prisons, apparently in return for financial aid.

Spiritual infrastructures

The purpose of a monastery was not only to shelter its monks but also to provide an environment conducive to their spiritual transformation. This was advanced though ascetic regimens, scriptural study, and liturgical practices, as well as other artifices such as *wall paintings like those at *Bawit or the White Monastery in Egypt, which made monks aware that they were living under a perpetual heavenly gaze. Communal duties were deliberately designed to instil humility and obedience. Most monasteries were hierarchies based on degrees of achieved spiritual advancement and humility. According to *saints' lives, some monasteries managed to re-establish paradise on earth by virtue of their monks' purity, innocence, obedience, and close relation to God and to have an effect on the world beyond their walls through the power of the *prayers offered within them. Monasteries were ultimately Christian utopias whose spiritual infrastructures were as important as their physical superstructures. DFC

K. Bowes, 'Inventing Ascetic Space: Houses, Monasteries, and the "Archaeology of Monasticism"', in Fentress and Dey, *Western Monasticism ante Litteram*, 315–54.

D. Brooks Hedstrom, 'Divine Architects: Designing the Monastic Dwelling Place', in R. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (2007), 766–804.

H. Dey, 'Building Worlds Apart: Walls and the Constuction of Communal Monasticism from Augustine through Benedict', *AntTard* 13 (2004), 357–71.

M. Gough, *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (1985).

J. Hillner, 'Monastic Imprisonment in Justinian's Novels', *JECS* 15 (2007), 204–37.

Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries*.

R. Kasser, *Le Site monastique des Kellia (Basse-Égypte): recherches des années 1981–1983* (1984).

Y. Magen, 'The Monastery of St. Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim', in Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed* (1993), 170–96.

S. J. McNally, ed., *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism* (BAR IntSer 941, 2001), esp. E. Bolman, 'Joining the Community of Saints: Monastic Paintings and Ascetic Practice in Early Byzantine Egypt', 41–56.

Palmer, *Monk and Mason*.

L. Schachner, *Economic Production in the Monasteries of Egypt and Oriens, AD 320–800*, 2 vols. in 3 (diss. Oxford, 2006).

monasticism A form of Christian *asceticism that first appears in literary sources of the early 4th century. It could be practised alone (anchoretic), in loosely organized groups (semi-anchoretic), or in a more structured community (coenobitic). All of these were characterized by celibacy; renunciation of unnecessary possessions; regular times of *prayer consisting largely of chanted *Psalms, with reading and devotional practices at other times; *fasting; manual labour; obedience to a spiritual guide. Coenobitic monasticism featured a special emphasis on surrender of personal property and on service of others, whether within the *monastery itself or beyond it.

Typology and terminology

Distinguishing monastic from more generic asceticism is impeded by fluid and imprecise terminology. The distinctive feature of monasticism, as expressed in its canonical literature (e.g. *Athanasius' *Life of *Antony*), was separation from secular engagements and activity ('flight from the world', Lat. *fuga mundi*). In *Egypt, this was symbolized by leaving town or *village to dwell in the desert. The proximity of desert to settled land in the *Nile Valley meant that such withdrawal (*anachōrēsis*) nevertheless allowed ready communication with others, both monastic and secular, and there is abundant evidence of monks dwelling in or very near villages. The Jewish writer Philo had already coined the word *monastērion* to describe the dwellings of the Therapeutae, and the word was adopted by Athanasius for Christian use. Egyptian *papyri from *c.*325 refer to ascetics as *monachoi* and *apotaktikoi* ('renouncers'), and other texts use *monazōntes* ('those who live alone'), but *monachoi* would eventually become the favoured term in both *Greek and *Latin usage. In Egypt the anchoretic form of life associated with S. Antony and his successors was complemented by the coenobitic monasticism of *Pachomius (d. 347), later exemplified by *Shenoute (347/8–465/6).

This new expression of asceticism was not immediately or universally embraced. Relations with ecclesiastical authority could sometimes be difficult, as the charismatic authority of the monks competed with the hierarchical authority of the *bishops and other clergy. *Basil of *Caesarea, in his *Apokriseis* (commonly known

as the *Longer and Shorter Rules*) directed to ascetic communities of men and women, avoided monastic vocabulary and scorned the anchoretic life. For *John Chrysostom in *Antioch in the 380s, 'monks' lived in the hills around the *city, while ascetic 'brothers' and '*virgins' lived in the city itself. In *Edessa a few decades later, the Bishop *Rabbula (d. 436) described a clear distinction between the traditional asceticism of the Sons and Daughters of the *Covenant (*bnay/bnāt qyāmā*), living in the towns like the clergy, and the monastic *dayrāyē* (lit. 'those living in a flock or fold') who live outside the towns. A different but not incompatible picture emerges from the *Religious History* of *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus (*c.*393–*c.*457), whose monks are mostly hermits or semi-hermits who practise severe physical asceticism, and include *stylites. In the Latin world, where monasticism became prominent later than in the East, the translation of the *Life of Antony* soon after its appearance in the mid-350s, and travels by key figures to Egypt and other Eastern monastic sites later in the 4th century, meant that the Egyptian model was very influential at an early stage.

The dominance of the monastic paradigm

During the late 4th and 5th centuries, with greater ecclesiastical and imperial regulation of the various orders of Christian life, and with the monasticizing of the episcopate, the earlier forms of Christian asceticism were gradually conformed to the new paradigm. This was reinforced by propagation of the Egyptian monastic ideology of *fuga mundi* through hagiography, monastic travel narratives and treatises, and later the famous 'Sayings' of the monks (**Apophthegmata*). These writings spread across the Christian world through translation into Latin, *Syriac, *Coptic, *Armenian, *Georgian, and eventually *Ge'ez (Ethiopic) and *Arabic. In *Mesopotamia even the memory of the earlier indigenous Syriac ascetic and monastic traditions was eclipsed by the legend that monasticism in the region arrived in the 4th century with the Egyptian Mar *Awgen and his 70 companions. The flourishing asceticism of women, which had typically been practised in a family setting or within communities in the cities and towns, tended now to be subsumed into a monastic paradigm primarily identified with men: many male monastic founders had sisters whose monasteries were associated with those of their siblings.

In the West, the earliest Latin monastic literature, written by *Jerome and *Rufinus (the latter also an energetic translator of Greek monastic texts), already showed the influence of the Egyptian traditions. In *Aquitaine, S. *Martin of *Tours (d. 397) created a semi-eremitical form of monasticism, but the trend in the West was towards coenobitic life, as expressed in the rules emanating from the island of *Lérins from the early 5th century, and reinforced by the writings of *John Cassian (d. *c.*435). Cassian laid the foundation for the classic exposition of Latin coenobitism contained in the *Rule of S. *Benedict* (*c.*540). Benedict's *Rule* became a normative instrument for monastic reform only in the late 7th and early 8th centuries in the Frankish empire of Charlemagne and his successors; other monastic rules continued to flourish, especially in areas under Irish influence and in *Spain. CAS

D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (1995).
P. Brown, 'Holy Men', *CAH* XIV (2000), 781–810.
Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks.*
D. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (1966).
M. Choat, 'Development and Usage of Terms for Monk', *JbAC* 45 (2003), 5–23.
A. Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West', in Fentress and Dey, eds., *Western Monasticism ante litteram*, 53–84.
J. Goehring, 'Through a Glass Darkly: Diverse Images of the Ἀποτακτικοί(αί) in Early Egyptian Monasticism', in his *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (1999), 53–72.
P Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca.350–850* (2007).
F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung [4. bis 8. Jahrundert]* (1965).
P. Rousseau, 'Monasticism', *CAH* XIV (2000), 745–80.

monasticism, Armenian The earliest form of monastic life in Armenia was eremitic and peripatetic. The 5th-century *Epic Histories* (**Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*) attributed to P'awstos and *Koriwn's *Life of Mashtots'* constitute the two principal Armenian sources for ascetic practices in the 4th and 5th centuries, and suggest parallels with *Syriac examples. In addition to hermits, they depict small groups of disciples gathered around a teacher for a period of time before setting out on their own. The ascetics of this period were essential to the spread of Christianity in the region and in the establishment and maintenance of cult centres. These early ascetic groups do not appear to have followed a regulated life nor to have developed a strict hierarchy beyond the acceptance of a spiritual master. Some monastic associations apparently developed around service to a particular saint. Groups of consecrated *virgins who participated in fasts and vigils are also attested.

Debate remains concerning the emergence of coenobitic monasticism in Armenia, but recent scholarship has supported its introduction in the late 6th or 7th centuries based upon Palestinian models. The Rule of S. *Basil, translated into Armenian in the 6th century,

was probably employed, although the earliest explicit reference to its use appears in conjunction with a late 9th-century monastic foundation. SVLa

N. G. Garsoïan, 'Introduction to the Problem of Early Armenian Monasticism', *REArm* 30 NS (2005–7), 177–236.

S. La Porta, 'Monasticism and the Construction of the Armenian Intellectual Tradition', in I. A. Murzaku, ed., *Monasticism in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Republics* (2016), 330–50.

E. Mathews, 'The Early Armenian Hermit: Further Reflections on the Syriac Sources', *St. Nersess Theological Review* 10 (2005), 141–68.

monasticism, Georgian The development of Georgian monasticism in Late Antiquity can be divided into three principal stages. Georgian monasticism originated in the Holy Land, where the presence of Georgian monks and the existence of Georgian *monasteries is widely attested throughout Late Antiquity. The arrival of *Peter the Iberian and his companions provided further impetus to Georgian monastic and ascetic activity in the region. As for monastic practice in the territory of *Georgia itself, the arrival of the *Thirteen Syrian Fathers in *Iberia in the early 6th century can be considered the second stage of the development of Georgian monasticism. The Georgian tradition ascribes to the Syrian Fathers the foundation of numerous major monastic centres, such as Davit Gareja, Nekresi, Zedazeni, Shio Mghvime, and others, mostly in eastern and central Georgia. A revival and flourishing of Georgian monasticism is associated with the name of S. Gregory of Khandzta (759–861) and his companions. Gregory left central Iberia in the late 8th century and moved to *Tao-Klarjeti in the south-west of Georgia. Under his supervision, the large monasteries of Khandzta, Oshki, Ishkhani, Shatberdi, Ubisa, and many others were built. NA

G. Peradze, *Die Anfänge des Mönchtums in Georgien* (1927).

P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgienne', *AnBol* 36–7 (1917–19), 74–159.

Moneta Publica Late Roman mint producing *bronze and regular *silver coinage. With the increasing centralization of *gold minting to the *Comitatensian Mint from the early 4th century onwards, Moneta Publica appears to have been the term denoting regional mints authorized to produce bronze and silver (*CTh* IX, 21, 7). When the imperial *court was resident in a city with a Moneta Publica, the Comitatensian Mint might use the resources and personnel of the Moneta Publica. RRD

M. Hendy, 'Aspects of Coin Production and Fiscal Administration in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period', *NumChron* 7/12 (1972), 117–39.

J. van Heesch, 'Transport of Coins in the Later Roman Empire', *Revue belge de numismatique*, 152 (2006), 51–62.

monetary system, late Roman *See* COINAGE, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN.

money Medium of exchange with collectively recognized units of value. Money in Late Antiquity was generally represented by *coinage, often issued and endorsed by state authorities, at times supplemented by *credit systems. It served the economic purpose of facilitating transactions within and between states. The production and regulation of money was a major function of states, and the Roman and *Persian Empires were the most significant money-issuing governments. Other polities issued currency influenced by these models.

While coinage was issued extensively, the monetary use of such coinage varied significantly over time and space. At one end of a spectrum of Late Antique monetization, the Roman Empire seems to have utilized money in the form of coinage as a mechanism for accounting in state transactions such as *taxation and payment of military and bureaucratic personnel and also for private transactions, including low-level payments with base metal denominations (*see ADAERATIO*). At the other end of this scale Late Antique Roman coinage in Scandinavia served as a portable store of value and could be used as *jewellery but did not circulate within a monetary economy.

Money played an important part in representing the state through legends and symbols, such as the name and portrait of rulers and the religious emblems often depicted on coins. Such messages were aimed at both internal and external audiences. *Aksumite *gold coinage used elements of Late Roman coin designs but also demonstrated a high level of innovation, and included one of the earliest coin designs to demonstrate a government's movement towards Christianity, with implications for its diplomatic relations with the Roman Empire. In areas of the post-Roman West, the appropriation of the previously Roman privilege of minting gold represented burgeoning government ambition.

*Diplomacy constituted a significant arena for the use of money in Late Antiquity. Coinage was often paid in *tribute to foreign powers to facilitate peace or alliance. Roman gold coinage was paid to the Persian Empire, despite the *Sasanian preference for minting *silver currency, and also to powers on the borders of the Empire which had no monetary system of their own. Coinage and the associated assertion of a state's ability to regulate a monetary system thus communicated beyond the region in which collective recognition of a unit of exchange enabled it to function economically as money. RRD

J. Banaji, 'Precious Metal Coinages and Monetary Expansion in Late Antiquity', in F. de Romanis and S. Sorda, eds., *Dal denarius al dinar: l'oriente el la moneta Romana…* (2006), 265–303.

R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (1994).
J. Fagerlie, *Late Roman and Byzantine* Solidi *Found in Sweden and Denmark* (1967).
R. Göbl, 'Sasanian Coins', in *CambHistIran*, vol. 1 (1983), 322–8.
P. Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence', *TRHS* 5th ser., 9 (1959), 123–40.
W. V. Harris, 'A Revisionist View of Roman Money', *JRS* (2006) 96, 1–24.
S. Munro-Hay, *Catalogue of Aksumite Coins in the British Museum* (1999).
S. von Reden, *Money in Classical Antiquity* (2010).

monogram Monograms as personal emblems occur from the late 4th century AD onwards. Written in *Greek or *Latin, they denoted personal names, *titles, and *prayers. The earliest type had a foursquare block-like form, but, as of the 6th century, a cruciform type also became popular. They decorated architectural *sculpture (e.g. the imperial monograms on the column *capitals of the churches of Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus and of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople), *coinage, *jewellery (especially *rings), precious vessels (e.g the *Kumluca Treasure), and *furniture (e.g the *ivory *chair of *Maximian, *Bishop of *Ravenna) and were particularly common on the personal and official *seals of Romans. As official marks, they were stamped on *silverware, *bricks, and *amphorae. On coins from *Theodosius II monograms occurred as the reverse design on **nummi* and *pentanummi*. They became more widespread in the 7th century and appeared as countermarks to change the value or issuer of a coin. From 685 they appear only from Western mints. ER; RRD

PLRE IIIB, 1556–73 and *PBE* provide coverage of individual monograms.
RByzKunst 6 (2005) *s.v.* 'monogram', 603–6 (Seibt).
ODB (1991) *s.v.* 'monogram', 1397–8 (Hörandner).
J. Bardill, *Brick-Stamps of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (2004).
RIC X.
Bellinger, *DOC* I, Grierson, *DOC* II/2.
R. Feind, *Byzantinische Monogramme und Eigennamen. Alphabetisches Wörterbuch* (2010).

Monophysite (*Greek for 'one and only nature') Term used since the 7th century by Christians who disagreed with them, and by scholars until recently, to denote Christians (mostly in *Egypt and *Oriens) who rejected the Dyophysite ('two natures') understanding of the Person of Christ articulated at the *Council of *Chalcedon of 451. The term *Miaphysite (Greek for 'single nature'), used by *Cyril of *Alexandria, has been preferred in anglophone scholarship since *c.*1992, as it expresses more clearly that non-Chalcedonian Christians believe that Christ has one nature in which humanity and divinity are fused and that they reject the doctrine of *Eutyches, who considered that Christ's manhood was absorbed by his divinity. OPN

OED (³2014) *s.v.* Miaphysite.

monopolies The exclusive control of production and sale of specific goods by private citizens was officially forbidden under Roman *law but efforts to legislate against them suggest their presence (*CJust* IV, 59). In 473 and 483 respectively, official proclamation restricted both monopolies obtained by imperial *rescript or other (false) governmental permission and those formed by collusion among groups of traders and/or private manufacturers.

The state, however, did exercise (or sought to exercise) monopolies over the production and sale of various products, most notably *salt, *arms, *purple *dye, and *silk (*CTh* X, 20). The production of salt was controlled primarily by the state, although some private individuals were licensed and taxed for its sale (e.g. *CTh* XI, 20, 3; XIV, 5, 1). The manufacture of arms was monopolized by the state for reasons of imperial security, compelling armourers to operate within hereditary *guild structures (*CTh* X, 22). While the purchase of raw silk had long been restricted to government employees, governmentally mandated maximum prices also created a de facto monopoly for the sale of processed silk, as narrow price margins drove private *merchants out of business. *Procopius alleges the granting of many private monopolies by *Justinian I to his courtiers, demonstrating the blurred moral distinctions between state (licit) and private (illicit) monopoly, but Procopius' defamatory rhetoric is difficult to substantiate as evidence for economic practice (*Anecd.* 26, 19). AAB

Jones, *LRE* 296, 671, 826, 837.
P. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, 'Trade, Industry and the Urban Economy', in *CAH* XIII (1998), 312–37.

monotheism, henotheism, and polytheism Roman pagans were sincere polytheists. The natural instinct of civic religion was to address the *praesens divus*, the god who specialized locally in the matter at hand, 'for you, for the city of Iguvium, for this station which has been established', as an old Etruscan rite put it (Iguvine Tablet VIa). What was essential was to maintain the appropriate balance of power between the various divine forces; it was failure to sustain the Pax Deorum which had caused the Trojan War, and could cause more immediate tension among the forces of nature to whose vagaries the agricultural economy of ancient cities was vulnerable. In such a world, the God of the Jews could easily be understood, through *interpretatio Romana*, as yet another 'national god', perhaps some form of Dionysus (e.g. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 671C–672C).

There were those who worshipped a Most High God as part of a pantheon. These *Hypsistarii are known principally from *inscriptions of the 1st to 4th centuries AD from the shores of the Black Sea, *Anatolia, and the Levant, honouring Theos Hypsistos or Zeus Hypsistos; although *Gregory of *Nazianzus records that his father was associated with them as a young man. They may be associated with Judaism. It is also possible that the text of an utterance from the *Oracle of Apollo at *Claros, inscribed high on the inside of the city wall at Oenoanda in *c.* AD 200, is also associated with them. It advocates *prayer towards the east at dawn, and affirms that God is self-generated, untaught, without a mother, impossible to affect, unbounded by a name, many-named, and living in fire, and that messengers (*angeloi*) such as Apollo himself are only small pieces of him (cf. *Lactantius, *Inst.* I, 7, 1). More generally, the *Sun was widely regarded as the greatest power in heaven; the wall paintings from the Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere show Mithras shaking hands with the Sun.

Philosophical speculation had long posited a single god who ultimately held all things together. Stoics had equated him with the cosmos; their attempts to equate him also with the Jupiter of civic religion did not find universal acceptance (e.g. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III). *Plotinus, founder of *Neoplatonism, affrmed a single transcendent source of all things, the One (*to Hen*), concerning whom nothing could be predicated; the life of the Neoplatonic sage was intended to be a process of return to the One, achieved by strenuous and rational inner contemplation. 'Sacrifice', said his pupil *Porphyry (*On Abstinence*, II, 34, 3), 'is fulfilled in passionlessness of the soul and the contemplation of God'.

Christians brought together two sides of life which Romans habitually considered separate, namely religious practice and philosophical contemplation (e.g. Lactantius, *Inst.* IV, 3–4) in a Religion of the Most High God, who was not subject to Fate, was whatever made the world out of nothing, and required that he be the only object of his devotee's worship. They affirmed the existence of other spiritual beings, but *angels honour God and want no honour for themselves, and veneration of *demons, spirits in rebellion against God, is an activity which leads to catastrophe (e.g. *Inst.* II, 16). Worship of other entities was therefore not merely otiose, but also dangerous. OPN

S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen, eds., *Monotheism between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 12, 2010).

S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen, eds., *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (2010), 16–33.

T. D. Barnes, 'Monotheists All', *Phoenix* 55 (2001), 142–3.

M. Frede and P. Athanassiadi, *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (1999).

R. MacMullen, 'Tertullian and "National Gods"', *JTS* 26/2 NS (1975), 405–10.

Monotheletes Upholders of the doctrine that there is one (divine) will in Christ (Monotheletism). It emerged as a refinement of Monoenergism, which proposed one divine-human activity (*theandrikē energeia*) in Christ, while otherwise accepting the decision of the *Council of *Chalcedon (451), affirming in Christ one Person in two Natures. Monoenergism emerged in the 620s as a way of reconciling those who accepted Chalcedon and those who rejected it as betraying Christ's unity (*Monophysites, or *Miaphysites). The basis for a reconciliation of the Churches in *Egypt in 633, it met with immediate opposition, notably from *Sophronius, soon to be *Patriarch of *Jerusalem. Monotheletism similarly accepted Chalcedon, but affirmed a single will in Christ, on the grounds that two wills would render Christ's unity inconceivable. The term 'one will' occurred in a letter from Pope *Honorius I to Patriarch Sergius, and was incorporated in the **Ecthesis*, composed by Sergius and issued with the authority of the *Emperor *Heraclius in 638.

If Monoenergism was a muddle which, so its opponents feared, failed to affirm clearly enough the full humanity of Christ, Monotheletism, in appearing to deny a human will in Christ, was regarded as a barely disguised form of Apollinarianism. It is not clear that there were any Monotheletes in the strict sense; they may have maintained that the human will was utterly quiescent to the divine will in Christ, rather than denying its existence altogether.

Opposition to Monotheletism was led by *Maximus the Confessor, then resident in North *Africa. In July 645, there took place a public debate between Maximus and Pyrrhus, Sergius' successor as Patriarch of *Constantinople, who, in the power struggle after the death of the *Emperor *Heraclius, had resigned and fled to North Africa. Pyrrhus, convinced by Maximus' arguments, made his way to *Rome to be reconciled with the Church (though he later reneged). Maximus later followed him and persuaded Pope *Martin I to call the *Lateran Council in 649, at which Monoenergism and Monotheletism were condemned, as well as those hierarchs—Sergius, Pyrrhus, and others—who had promoted these *heresies (the fact that the original version of the *Acta* is in *Greek indicates the prominent role played by Maximus and other Greeks in Rome in decisions of the council). Although the council took care not to condemn the emperors involved directly, the synod was regarded by the Emperor *Constans II as an act of sedition, contradicting his edict, the **Typos*, issued in 648, that had

forbidden any discussion of the number of wills or activities in Christ. Pope Martin was soon arrested, tried in Constantinople, and condemned for sedition; he died in *Cherson in 645. Maximus was also condemned, for heresy, and died in exile in *Lazica in 662.

There were defenders of Monotheletism at the Œcumenical Council of *Constantinople (680–1), which condemned the heresies. An attempt to reintroduce Monotheletism was made by the Emperor *Philippicus Bardanes (711–13), with the apparent acquiescence of (later Patriarch) Germanus and *Andrew of *Crete. Groups of Monotheletes remained in *Syria for centuries. AL

F. Winkelmann, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit* (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 6, 2001).

monoxyls (*monoxyla*) Canoes carved from single tree-trunks. They are usually associated with the *Slavs who employed them skilfully, for example, at the *Avar–*Persian siege of *Constantinople in 626, described in the **Chronicon Paschale*, and in several attacks on *Thessalonica described in the *Miracles of S. *Demetrius*. ABA

Mons Claudianus (mod. Jabal Fatira) Cluster of *quarries, 130 of them well preserved, in the Eastern Desert of *Egypt, about 700 m (*c.*2,300 feet) above sea level, on the more southerly of the two *roads between Qena (ancient Kaine) on the *Nile and Abu Sha'ar (ancient identity uncertain), a Late Antique fort on the Red Sea coast. It was the source of grey granodiorite stone for building projects of the imperial period (1st – 3rd centuries), including Trajan's Forum in *Rome. In the centre of the complex were a fort, *Temple of Sarapis, *bathhouse, and an animal-enclosure-cum-granary. The site is the source of thousands of *ostraca (inscribed potsherds), many of them concerned with *food supply. JGK

TIR NG-36, 8.

Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*, 285–7 (regional map 278, site plan 286).

D. P. S. Peacock, V. A. Maxfield, et al., *Mons Claudianus: Survey and Excavation, 1987–1993*,vol. 1: *Topography & Quarries* (1997); vol. 2: *Excavations: Part I* (2001); vol. 3: *Ceramic Vessels & Related Objects* (2006).

O. Claud. = J. Bingen et. al., *Mons Claudianus: Ostraca Graeca et Latina*, 4 vols. (1992–2009).

Mons Porphyrites (mod. Jabal Abu Dukhkhan) Cluster of *quarries in the Eastern Desert of *Egypt, connected by a roughly circular branch route to the northern of the two *roads between Qena (ancient Kaine) on the *Nile and Abu Sha'ar (ancient identity uncertain), a Late Antique fort on the Red Sea coast. These quarries were the unique source of 'imperial' *porphyry, a valuable *purple stone (for which the site is named) used for buildings in both *Rome and *Constantinople, for imperial *sarcophagi and other *sculpture. They were exploited from the time of their discovery in AD 18 by C. Cominius Leugas until their abandonment in the 430s. The core settlement included a fort and *temples of Sarapis and Isis. The quarries lay in the surrounding mountains, as much as 1,500 m (*c.*5,000 feet) above sea level and were difficult to reach. Evidence, including *ostraca (inscribed potsherds), suggests a 1st-century foundation, with quarrying ending by the mid-5th century. JGK

TIR NG-36, 6.

Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt* 287–8 (regional map 278).

V. A. Maxfield, D. P. S. Peacock, et al., *The Roman Imperial Quarries Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites, 1994–1998*, vol. 1: *Topography and Quarries* (Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society 67, 2001); vol. 2: *The Excavations* (Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society 82, 2007).

Monte Barro Fortified, *villa-like complex overlooking Lake Como in the Alps of north *Italy. An aristocratic or possibly royal residence of the *Ostrogothic period, it was destroyed during the Gothic War following the *Byzantine invasion of Italy. JJA

G. P. Brogiolo and L. Castelletti, eds., *Archeologia a Monte Barro*, 2 vols. (1991–2001).

Monte Cassino Site of a *monastery in central *Italy thought to have been founded by S. *Benedict of Nursia *c.*525, and traditionally considered the community for which he wrote his *Rule for Monks*. *Gregory the Great in Book 2 of his *Dialogues* (*c.*593) describes the move of Benedict and his companions from *Subiaco to the hilltop above the town of Cassinum (80 miles south of *Rome), where he destroyed a shrine of Apollo (*Dial.* 2, 8). He also records the destruction of Monte Cassino by the *Lombards in the late 6th century (*Dial.* 2, 17); according to *Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* (late 8th cent.), the monks fled to Rome in 577 with the autograph of the *Rule* and returned only in 717/18. The arrival of Carloman, son of *Charles Martel, as a monk *c.*750 began an association with the *Franks that was strengthened after Charlemagne's conquest of Lombardy in 773–4. Monte Cassino was destroyed again in 883 by the Saracens, but was soon rebuilt and has been continuously occupied since. CAS

Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*:

ed. (annotated with FT) A. de Vogüé, 3 vols. (*SC* 251, 260, 265, 1978–80).

ET of *Dialogues* 2 T. Kardong, *The Life of St. Benedict* (Religious order series 1, 2009).

Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*:

ed. L. K. Bethmann and G. Waitz (MGH SS rer. Lang. 1, 1878), 45–187.
ET W. D. Foulke, ed. E. Peters (1974, rev. edn. 2003).
M. Dell'Omo, 'Montecassino altomedievale: i secoli VIII e IX. Genesi di un simbolo, storia di una realtà', in Spinelli, *Monachesimo italiano* (2006), 165–92.

Montmaurin (Haute-Garonne, France) Vast *villa in the *province of *Novempopulana, near the modern *village of *Montmaurin, characteristic of the lavish aristocratic rural residences of Late Antique *Aquitaine. Built in the 1st century AD as a peristyle villa, it was extensively redesigned in the 4th and 5th centuries, when the complex included over 200 rooms, featuring copious *marble decoration and statuary. A polygonal *temple was located in the entrance courtyard. The chronology of the later phases is uncertain. ACR; STL

CAGaule 31/2 (2006), 198–218.
Balmelle, *Demeures aristocratiques*, no. 35, 379–85.
G. Fouet, *La Villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne* (1969).
L. M. Stirling, *The Learned Collector: Mythological Stauettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (2004), 37–49.

Moors (Mauri) In Late Antiquity, a term used primarily to refer to indigenous North African populations living west of *Egypt. Although the word also denoted the Romanized inhabitants of the Empire's *Mauretanian *provinces, it was also deployed rhetorically to evoke stereotypical *barbarian savagery and perfidiousness. The idea of Moors as non-Roman, rooted in the terror and destruction caused by such raids as those of the *Quinquegentani (296–7) and *Firmus (372–4/5), was reinforced in the 5th century, as imperial control of the African hinterland was replaced by *Berber kingdoms, some of whose warriors allegedly joined in the *Vandal attack on *Rome in 455. From 534 onwards, the efforts of Byzantine authorities to re-establish imperial rule in Africa brought them into conflict with several Moorish kings and chieftains, documented in *Procopius, *Vandalic War*. The African frontier zone was fortified, and in 544 the *Praefectus Praetorio Africae, *Solomon, was killed in battle with Moorish insurgents, precipitating an extended campaign under *John Troglita to crush Moorish resistance, praised in *Corippus' poem *Johannis* of 549/50. However, imperial officials also sought to win Moorish loyalty, including by evangelizing populations which were still *pagan. Conflicts continued into the late 6th century, but in the 7th Moorish troops joined *Heraclius' revolt against *Phocas and allied with the Empire against the *Arabs. JPC

G. Camps, 'Rex Gentium Maurorum et Romanorum', *AntAfr* 20 (1984), 183–218.
Y. Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine* (BEFAR 314, 2003).
A. Rushworth, 'From Arzuges to Rustamids', in Merrills, *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, 77–98.
Conant, *Staying Roman*, ch. 5.

Mopsuestia (Mamistra) (mod. Yakapınar, formerly Misis, Turkey) *City in *Cilicia Secunda, 20 km (12.5 miles) east of Adana, on the *Antioch road, commanding a *bridge over the River Pyramus, rebuilt under *Valerian, *Constantius II (allegedly: *John Malalas, XIII, 17), *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 5, 4–7), and *Arab rule.

A *bishop attended the *Council of *Nicaea (325). In 360 Aetius the *Anomoean was exiled here. Its most famous bishop was the influential theologian *Theodore of Mopsuestia (bp. 392–428). A *bath building is known and a 5th-century *basilica with *mosaics depicting Noah and Samson. Written sources attest further churches.

Having suffered Arab attacks from 637 onwards, Mopsuestia was conquered in 703, rebuilt, and made a bridgehead for Arab raiding over the Arab–Byzantine *frontier (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 255–60). In 758 the city was colonized with Persians, *Slavs, and Christian Nabataeans, who in 772 allegedly killed 1,000 Arabs. IJ

TIB 5 (1990) *s.v.* Mopsuestia, 351–9.
L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien 1. Frühchristliche Mosaiken in Misis-Mopsuhestia* (1969).

Morgengabe *See* DOWRY AND BRIDEPRICE.

mortality and infant mortality As in much of the pre-modern world, Late Antiquity was characterized by high infant mortality rates, particularly in the first year of life. Adult life expectancy varied substantially over time, place, and social standing, but can be estimated at 25–35 years on average. Direct data is scarce, and modelling problematic, but there is broad agreement on headline figures, largely unchanged from the earlier Roman Empire. Life expectancy at birth averaged around 25 years, and those who reached the age of 15 could expect to survive about eighteen more years. The difference between these two expectations related in part to an infant mortality rate which is estimated at 25–30%, and an overall *childhood mortality rate around 50%. That is, about a quarter of any birth cohort died before their first birthday, and about half before their fifteenth. A range of endemic infectious diseases—primarily gastro-intestinal and pulmonary disease, and *malaria—as well as violent trauma (accidental or intentional) were the main causes of *death.

Broadly generalized estimates, however, mask wide variation within and between populations, by geographical region and environmental circumstances, as well as by sex and economic status. The most marked differentials were probably those between *city and

countryside. In the larger cities poor housing, nutrition, and sanitation, overcrowding, and migration all contributed to reduce average life expectancy and increase infant mortality rates. Risks associated with pregnancy and childbirth, combined with unequal access to resources, seem to have produced a female disadvantage of a decade in respect to mean age at death. Wealth might buy a few extra years of life across the board, but its powers against disease were limited. The *plague, which sporadically spread across the whole Late Antique world betweem 540 and *c.*750, and warfare generated further chronological and regional variation in adult mortality rates. REF

C. Bourbou, *Health and Disease in Byzantine Crete* (2010).
E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (1977), 73–112.
W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Demography and Disease in Roman Egypt* (2001).
B. Shaw, 'Seasons of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome', *JRS* 86 (1996), 100–38.

mosaics An art form in which artisans used small pieces (*tesserae*) of stone, *glass, and other materials to create geometric and figural images. *Tesserae* typically were applied on top of a preparatory drawing which had been sketched onto a prepared setting bed. While floor mosaics were first made by the Greeks, the Romans greatly expanded their use, applying the medium to walls and ceilings, especially curved spaces such as vaults and *apses.

For durability, floor mosaics (*opus tessellatum*) were primarily made of stone *tesserae* which were quarried near the site of the final work, while wall mosaics (*opus musivum*) were made mainly of glass, including gold and silver sandwich-glass. Raw glass was produced in large tank furnaces in *Egypt and the Levant before being shipped to secondary production sites at which elements were added in order to achieve the colours desired. Other materials used included *brick or terracotta, semi-precious stones, and mother-of-pearl.

Mosaicists were organized into workshops, and occasionally signed their compositions with *inscriptions. While most workshops were based in *cities or towns, some may have been itinerant. Craftsman who travelled include those from *Carthage who made the floor mosaics of the 4th-century *villa at *Piazza Armerina in *Sicily. According to the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of 301 (7, 6–7), *musaearii* (most likely wall mosaicists) were paid 60 *denarii* a day in addition to their board, while *tessellarii* (probably floor mosaicists) were paid 50 *denarii*. Multiple craftsmen worked simultaneously on larger mosaics. Apse mosaics in churches were produced by two mosaicists who worked from the centre out, one in each direction.

While motifs were transmitted around the Mediterranean by pattern books and travelling craftsmen, workshops in different regions favoured different iconography and produced work in varied styles. In *Italy, the wall mosaics of churches in *Rome, *Ravenna, and *Poreč in Croatia were produced with large quantities of coloured and gold-glass tesserae. There were also workshops in the Western Empire, for instance in *Britain at Dorchester in Dorset (mosaics at *Hinton S. Mary and *Frampton) at Cirencester (the *Woodchester *villa mosaics), and at Brough-on-Humber in the East Riding of Yorkshire. In *Spain distinctive schools created polychrome floor mosaics of mythological and *hunting scenes, e.g. the 4th-century mosaic of Dulcitius hunting in his villa near Tudela. In south-west *Gaul artisans preferred elaborate *foliage motifs. There were also mosaicists in Germany near *Trier. Many of these schools, especially those in *Aquitaine and Spain, were influenced by African workshops which produced vividly coloured mosaics incorporating flowers and foliage, as well as scenes of *hunting, marine life, and figures from myth, including Bacchus (*Dionysus), Venus (Aphrodite), and the Amazons (e.g. the 5th-century mosaics of the House of the Hidden Statues at *foliage Carthage), and the life of country house **otium* (e.g. the *Dominus Julius mosaic). Workshops at *Cuicul (mod. Djemila), *Hadrumetum (mod. Sousse), and *Thabarca also created unique Christian funerary pavements which combined *epitaphs and images of the deceased.

In the *foliage Balkans, mosaicists in *Thessalonica, possibly sent from *Constantinople, produced the 5th-century *foliage dome mosaics of the Rotunda of *foliage Galerius (later the Church of S. *George), as well as the wall and *foliage apse mosaics of the churches of S. *Demetrius and the Latomus *Monastery (Hosios *David). Workshops in *Greece and *Cyprus made the pavements of both villas and churches, indicating that there was no functional division between Christian and secular domestic production. The Cypriot workshops also created the apse mosaics of the Virgin and Christ in the churches of the Panagia Kanakariá at *Lykanthromi (500–50) and the Panagia Angeloktistos at *Kiti (late 6th or 7th century). Apart from these two churches, the only mosaics to survive from the Late Antique East are those of the 6th-century Katholikon of the Monastery of St Catherine at Mount *Sinai.

Workshops from *Constantinople produced the mosaic ceiling decoration of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom, the now-lost 6th-century mosaics of *Justinian and *Theodora triumphing over the *Vandals and *Goths in the vault of the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace, described by *Procopius (*Aed.* I, 10, 16–18), as well as the 6th-century (?) floor mosaics of the *Palace which depict *animals and a staged hunt (*venatio*).

Elsewhere in Asia Minor, churches and *houses were adorned with mosaics, including the Terrace Houses at *Ephesus which feature floor mosaics and a vault mosaic dated to *c.*400. The apse mosaic commissioned by *Anastasius I for the church at the Monastery of Mar *Gabriel on the *Tur 'Abdin on the Persian *frontier depicts foliage but no figures. In *Palestine, *Syria, and Transjordan, the strength of the Hellenistic tradition of framed 'pictures on the floor' (*emblemata*) persisted in domestic decoration, including in the houses at *Daphne, a wealthy suburb of *Antioch in Syria, and at *Apamea, where workshops favoured mythological and *allegorical images. In the late 4th and 5th centuries, mosaicists in this area developed the *carpet mosaic style, creating unified pavements decorated with geometric, floral, animal, and *inhabited scroll designs. Carpet pavements were popular in the churches of the region into the 8th century at sites under *Umayyad control, including those in the Church of S. Stephen at Umm al-Rasas in Jordan, produced by artists from nearby *Madaba. Umayyad rulers employed mosaicists to decorate their *desert palaces with elaborate geometric pavements and their *mosques with scenes of *Earthly Paradise, including those in the Dome of the Rock in *Jerusalem and the Great Mosque in *Damascus, possibly produced by Byzantine artisans. SVL

J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient: chronologie, iconographie, interprétation* (1995).
M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung. Eine Quellenstudie* (1989).
K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (1999).
K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (1978).
N. Duval, *La Mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien* (1976).
R. Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements: Themes, Issues, and Trends* (2009).
C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (1960).
L. James, 'Byzantine Glass Mosaic Tesserae: Some Material Considerations', *BMGS* 20/1 (2006), 29–47.
D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 vols. (1947).
A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá at Lykanthromi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (1977).
W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome, from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (1967).
M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (1992).

Moschus *See* JOHN MOSCHUS.

Moses Dasxuranc'i *See* MOVSES KAGHANKATVATSI.

Moses of Abydos (*c.*470–before 550) Born at Abydos in Upper *Egypt, then still a *pagan stronghold, Moses founded a *monastery along the lines of that of *Shenoute, and had several confrontations with pagan *temples and the *demons who lived there. He met *Severus, *Patriarch of *Antioch, when, from 518 onwards, Severus was *exiled in *Egypt. In 540 Moses indirectly warned *Justinian I that *Blemmyes were making attacks in Middle Egypt. AAl

CoptEnc vol. 5 *s.n.* Moses of Abydos, cols. 1679a–1681a (R.-G. Coquin).
Fragments of Coptic *Life* (*BHO* 777), ed. (with FT) E. C. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux ive (–viie) siècles* (1888), 680–706.
Further fragments published (with ET) by Sami Uljas in *ZPE* 179 (2011), 117–22, and *Orientalia* 80 (2011), 373–422 and *Le Muséon* 125/1–2 (2012), 1–33.
M. Moussa, 'The Coptic Literary Dossier of Abba Moses of Abydos', *Coptic Church Review* 24/3 (2003), 66–90 (including ET of Coptic *Life*).

Moses of Chorene *See* MOVSES KHORENATS'I.

mosque (Ar. *masjid*) Place of Islamic *prayer. The first securely datable mosques that are substantially extant are the congregational mosque at *Wasit (*c.*703) and the Great Mosque of *Damascus (*c.*706). The mosque at Wasit was excavated in the mid-20th century; the Great Mosque of Damascus remains intact, albeit much modified in restorations. Both are 'congregational', or *jami'* mosques—the main places of assembly where the ruler or his representative would appear before his followers at Friday prayer and other occasions. Wasit, built by the *Umayyad governor al-*Hajjaj, has an orthogonal hypostyle plan, with a covered prayer-hall at the south-west **qibla* wall that faces towards *Mecca. At Damascus, the existing *temenos* and Church of S. John were adapted on the orders of the Umayyad *Caliph al-*Walid I (r. 705–15), with the southern *qibla* wall again forming a covered sanctuary. A much wider, domed, central aisle in the prayer-hall, as well as a *mosaic-decorated monumental *façade for the prayer-hall, and corner towers were distinctive features. Some of these elements are also found at other mosques developed during al-Walid I's reign, notably at *San'a, *Fustat, and *Medina.

The basic form of an orthogonal walled enclosure oriented towards *Mecca and in part (or occasionally wholly) covered by a hypostyle roof became immediately ubiquitous in the first centuries of *Islam, albeit with many local variations. The **mihrab*, a niche in the interior of the *qibla* wall, had also become a ubiquitous feature by the beginning of the 8th century. Congregational mosques also usually had a **minbar*, or 'pulpit', and in some cases a **maqsura*—an enclosed space where the imam was more secure. The *minaret and the *dome began to become associated with the mosque

during this early period. The open courtyard provided a space for worshippers to cleanse themselves ritually before entering the mosque to pray, and had spaces for them to leave their footwear and other accoutrements behind. Auxiliary buildings provided spaces for teaching and for *almsgiving and care of the needy, and meeting rooms for religious and community leaders.

The mosque became the centre of religious and social life for the *village, town, or *city quarter it served. Congregational mosques of the 8th century were also associated with the residence of the governor or the caliph. The residence was usually located just outside the *qibla* wall, with private access for the ruler to the prayer-hall—a formation that is sometimes referred to in the secondary literature as the 'mosque–palace complex'.

Smaller, private, or local mosques are sometimes harder to date. However, the *Umayyad *qusur*, or so-called 'desert *palaces', include a number of much smaller 8th-century mosques. These are still pillared spaces, oriented towards Mecca. Very rudimentary mosques such as the hypaethral (roofless) mosques in the *Negev are particularly hard to date accurately, but some may be very early. There is good evidence in the literary and material sources for some sharing of prayer space with conquered peoples in the first decades of Islam.

There is a secondary literature on the origins of the mosque, much of which refers back to the courtyard established by the Prophet *Muhammad after his arrival at *Medina in 622, adjacent to which were residences for himself and his wives. In much of the secondary literature, this space is referred to as the 'house of the Prophet'. However, there is some evidence that sacred spaces for prayer were already referred to as mosques (Ar. *masajid*, sing. *masjid*) and that a number of spaces for prayer had been established by Muhammad and his followers before he settled in Medina in 622. Thus, the form of the mosque as it developed in the Umayyad and early *'Abbasid periods probably had its roots in the varying types of sacred space used for prayer in the pre-Islamic *Arabian Peninsula, which were adapted by Muhammad and his followers and then their successors in the conquered territories. EL; AM

E. S. Ayyad, 'The "House of the Prophet" or "The Mosque of the Prophet"?', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24 (2013), 273–334.

K. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (rev. edn., J. Allan, 1989).

R. Ettinghausen, O. Grabar, and M. Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650–1250* (2003).

M. Guidetti, 'The Contiguity between Churches and Mosques in Early Islamic Bilād Al-Shām', *BSOAS* 76 (2013), 1–30.

R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (1999).

J. Johns, 'The "House of the Prophet" and the Concept of the Mosque', in J. Johns, ed., *Bayt al-Maqdis* (1999), vol. 2, 59–112.

Mosul *See* NINEVEH AND MOSUL.

mousikos aner The cultivated and educated man, learned in *paideia* and the arts of the Muses. Following H. I. Marrou, the term is used to describe the deceased whose *portraits appear as men of learning or *philosophers on Roman *sarcophagi decorated with scenes pertaining to the intellectual life, especially during the 3rd century AD. The deceased, in contemporary *dress and *hairstyle, is shown reading, in contemplation, teaching, or declaiming, alone, accompanied by his wife or *family, or in the presence of a larger audience of historical or mythological figures, such as ancient philosophers or the Muses. These deceased were not necessarily professional men of letters; some were private individuals who wished to advertise their learning. This iconography expressed the deceased's adherence to philosophy as a way of life and as a means of achieving inner peace in the present world and salvation in the next, a preoccupation that certainly resonated with the spirit of the times. This mode of representation was also employed for children, especially boys, and for women, though mostly in order to display their achievements in the *musical arts. The theme of the learned man is encountered on Christian sarcophagi, though on these it is the study and contemplation of the *Bible, rather than the Classics, which is proclaimed as the path towards a good life and salvation. MGP

H. I. Marrou, *Mousikos Anēr: étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (1937).

Zanker, *Mask of Socrates.*

Movses Kaghankatvatsi (Movses Daskhurantsi) Traditionally the author of *History of Albania*, the only account of the history of Late Antique Caucasian *Albania. The treatise was written or preserved in *Armenian. Movses was most probably of Albanian origin and is also known as Movses Daskhurantsi. The *History* is not a uniform work and has several chronological layers. It has been suggested that Kaghankatvatsi and Daskhurantsi are two different persons, the former living in the 7th century and the latter in the 10th. NA

ET C. F. J. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by* Movsēs Dasxuranc'i (London Oriental Series vol. 8, 1961).

R. H. Hewsen and G. Clauson, 'Notes and Communication of the Chronology of Movses Dasxuranc'i', *BSOAS* 27 (1964), 151–6.

Movses Khorenats'i (Movsēs XorenaćI, Moses of Chorene) Author of a *History of the Armenians*, and purportedly a student of Mesrop *Mashtots', creator of the *Armenian alphabet *c.* AD 406. The author of the

History claims that it was composed by command of his patron, Smbat *Bagratuni. Many scholars, however, now maintain that Movses could not have composed his work before the 8th or even the 9th century. Movses is not mentioned before the 10th century. Furthermore, it would have been problematic to claim Bagratid patronage in the 5th century after the apostasy of the Bagratunis and their absence from, if not their total antipathy to, the Armenian cause at the Battle of *Avarayr in 451. There are, indeed, historical and geographical anachronisms which indicate a late date of composition. Also the *History* makes use of *Armenian sources written after the stated date of composition as well as sources translated into Armenian well after the 5th century. There are, to be sure, interpreters who insist upon a 5th-century date of composition, as well as interpreters who ascribe the difficulties in the text to faulty copying and corruptions in the textual tradition. But it was after the 10th century, when his work grew popular through quotations from it in other sources, that Movses became known as the *patmahayr*, the father of Armenian history.

Movses begins his work with a Genealogy of Greater Armenia which reconciles the prior history of Armenia with biblical and so with Christian history. For example, the eponymous hero of Armenia, Hayk (from whose name are derived the words Hayots ashkharh, Hayastan, the names which Armenians give their land), is said to be descended from the biblical house of Torgom. Movses continues by supplying invaluable information for the intervening period about the pre-*Arshakuni dynasties of the Orontids and the Artaxiads, before concluding with the history of the 4th and early 5th centuries up to the death of Mashtots'.

The *History* certainly has historical merit. Much of what is reported has been substantiated by archaeological and epigraphic witness. Contained in its pages is the oral literary tradition of Armenia's age of *paganism. It also certainly preserves materials from Western classical and earlier Armenian sources.

Among other works previously attributed to Movses is an important geography which is now generally held to have been composed by the 7th-century Armenian mathematician and scientist *Ananias of Shirak. LA

Thomson, *BCAL* 156–68.

ET (with comm.) R. W. Thomson (1978).

mowbed Middle *Persian title of 'Master of the Magi' in *Zoroastrianism, also attested in *Armenian as *magpet*. The Zoroastrian high priest *Kerdir (Karter) was called 'the *mowbed* of *Ohrmazd' under *Hormizd I (r. AD 270/2–3). As an extension of the *Sasanian legal system, *mowbed*s engaged in administrative and legal duties in the provinces and many *fire temples preserve caches of *bullae* (sealings), some of which sealed ratified documents. The Romans noticed their function and *Agathias states that 'nothing whatever is held to be lawful or right among the Persians unless it is ratified by a Magus' (Agathias, II, 26, 5). YSDV

A. Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sasanians', *DOP* 23–4 (1969–70), 65–183, 87.

Sh. Shaked, 'Administrative Functions of Priests in the Sasanian Period', in G. Gnoli and A. Panaino, eds., *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies. Part I. Old and Middle Iranian Studies* (1990), 180–93.

Mozarabic Liturgy The Christian liturgical rites characteristic of Spain until the 11th century, when the Roman rite, brought by monks, displaced local customs. The term 'Mozarabic' refers to Moorish rule (after AD 711), but Mozarabic Liturgy pre-dates the *Arab conquest. Canon 2 of the Fourth *Council of *Toledo of 633 ordered uniformity in the *liturgy, and *Isidore of Seville's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* provides evidence, as do pre-11th-century manuscripts of the rites themselves—such as the *Liber Ordinum* (*CPL* 1930). An illustrated book of prayers written at *Tarragona *c.*700, the *Orationale Visigothicum* (*CPL* 2016), survives at *Verona (Bibl. Cap. lxxxix; Lowe *CLA* 515). MFC

CPL 1929–32:

ed. J. Janini, *Liber Ordinum Sacerdotal (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monastic, 3)* (1981).

ed. J. Vives and J. Claveras, *Oracional visigótico* (1946).

DACL 12/1 (1935) *s.v.* Mozarabe (La Liturgie), cols. 390–491 (F. Cabrol).

T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation in Spain c.300–1100* (1967).

Mravaltavi Collection of *Georgian homilies literarily meaning 'many chapters'. *Mravlatavi* is probably one of the oldest genres of Georgian literature. The *Greek prototype of the *Mravaltavi* is the *Panegyricon*, which consists mostly of homilies on Christ and the Blessed Virgin *Mary. Initially, the *Mravaltavi* contained some 480 texts. *Mravaltavi*s were usually used as homiletical additions to *Bible lectionaries and were translated and compiled from *Greek homiletical and liturgical collections. The *Mravaltavi* include both original and translated homiletical works, some of them lost in their Greek originals. Such collections were popular already in 6th–7th-century *Georgia. The oldest redactions of *Mravaltavi* are the so-called *Khanmeti* fragments (6th cent.). The oldest dated redaction is the *Sinai Mravaltavi* of AD 864. Other notable *Mravaltavi*s are the Udabno, Klarjeti, Tbeti, Parkhali, and Athos *Mravaltavi*s. NA

Klarjeti Mravaltavi, ed. (with English summary) T. Mgaloblishvili (1991).

Udabno Mravaltavi, ed. A. Shanidze and Z. Chumburidze (1994).

The Sinai Mravaltavi of 864, ed. A. Shanidze (1959).

M. Maisuradze, M. Mamulashvili, A. Ghambashidze, and M. Chkhenkeli, *The Athos Polycephalon* (1999).

Mren Church in Kars vilayet (Turkey) dating from *c.*638. It is a domed *basilica, divided on the interior by four piers supporting a *dome on squinches. The west façade bears an *inscription naming the Roman *Emperor *Heraclius a 'prince of Armenia and Syria', and a local lord and *bishop. The west portal is carved with images of archangels, Christ, saints, and Armenian nobles. A carved lintel on the north portal most probably represents the return of the *Relic of the True *Cross *to *Jerusalem by Heraclius. CM

P. Donabédian, *L'Âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne* (2008), 185–7.
C. Maranci, 'New Observations on the Sanctuary Frescos at Mren', *REArm* 35 (2013/14), 213–35.
C. Maranci, *Vigilant Powers: Three Churches of Early Medieval Armenia* (2015).
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 1, 384–6.

Mshatta One of the largest of the so-called *Umayyad desert *palaces, Mshatta (or al-Mushatta) lies approximately 30 km (18 miles) south of *Amman and has been attributed by some scholars to the reign of *Caliph al-*Walid II (743–4). It is particularly well known for its extensive stone sculptural decoration that embraces figurative, floral, and faunal motifs, as well as utilizing geometric and *foliage designs on the main *façade of the palace. This façade is now on display in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. EL

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* al-Mushatta, 675–6 (Soucek).
K. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (rev. edn., J. Allan 1989).

Mshiha Zka *See* CHRONICLE OF ARBELA.

Mtskheta The most important city of *Iberia and its capital until the 5th century AD, 20 km (12.5 miles) north of *Tbilisi at the confluence of the Aragvi and Kura (Cyrus) rivers. *Ptolemy names it Mestleta (*Geography*, V, 10, 3). A *Greek *inscription from Mtskheta records that in AD 75 Roman engineers 'strengthened the walls' for the Iberian king. The capital and its environs, 'Greater Mtskheta', were defended with a system of fortresses of which Armaztsikhe-Baginet (Harmozica) and Seusamora (mod. Tsitsamuri) on the Aragvi River (Strabo, XI, 3, 5; Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 20, 3) were towns in their own right. The city had three main gates. According to the Georgian chronicles, in pre-Christian times there were statues of local gods Armaz, Zaden, Gac, and Gaim and female deities Ainina and Danina in Mtskheta. A large burial ground at Samtavro and aristocratic burials at Bagineti and Armaziskhevi have produced *inscriptions in *Greek and Armazian (a local form of Aramaic), diplomatic gifts bearing Roman imperial images, *silverware, and *jewellery, and coins including Roman imperial **aurei*. Several races, religions, and languages were represented at Mtskheta; there were Jewish and Persian (Magian) districts. Artisans and craftsmen included the chief artist at the royal *court.

King *Mirian, a contemporary of the *Emperor *Constantine I, declared Christianity a state religion. The first wooden church was built at the site where, according to tradition, the robe of Christ was buried, thus evoking the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem. It was replaced by a stone *basilica in the 5th century, the remains of which can be seen in the 11th-century church of Svetitskhoveli (Life Pillar). Jvari (Holy Cross) Church was built by Guaram and Stephanos Eristavi, the rulers of Kartli (586–604), on a hilltop overlooking central Mtskheta, where S. *Nino had erected a *cross. Stone relief *sculptures bear portraits of the donors Stephen, Demetrius, and Adarnarse and the cruciform plan is crowned with a *dome. Guaram Eristavi also built another small church with *mosaic decoration nearby. The 6th/7th-century churches at Samtavro called Antioch and Gethsemane allude to the analogy which represented Mtskheta as a second Jerusalem. From the 5th century onwards Mtskheta remained the principal religious centre of Georgia. MO

A. Apakidze, G. Gobejishvili, A. Kalandadze, and G. Lomtatidze, *Mtskheta*, vol. 1 (1968).
G. Chubinashvili, *Pomyatniki tipa Jvari* (Jvari type monuments) (1958).

Mu'allaqat A collective term for seven pre-Islamic Arabic *poems. The name, meaning 'suspended', appears only from the late 9th century onwards; the folk-etymological explanation claims that the poems were hung up in the *Ka'ba in honour of their prizewinning authors. This custom, however, is not attested in any early source and it appears more likely that the name means 'esteemed'. The first selection of seven renowned poems is said to have been the initiative of the *Umayyad *Caliph *Mu'awiya. The number and names of the *Mu'allaqat*'s authors vary; most medieval Arabic philologists agreed on a list containing Imru'l-Qays, Tarafah, Zuhayr, Labid, 'Antarah, Harith b. Hillizah, and 'Amr b. Kulthum. KMK

ET: A. J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* (1957).
M. Kister, 'The Seven Odes', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 44 (1969), 27–36.
A. Beeston, 'The "Muʿallaqāt" Problem', in A. Beeston, ed., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983), 111–13.

Mu'awiya I b. Abi Sufyan (595/605–80) *Caliph (661–80) and founder of the *Umayyad dynasty (661–750). Mu'awiya is a controversial figure in the Islamic historical tradition, not least because his father *Abu

Sufyan led *Meccan opposition to the Prophet *Muhammad, and converted to *Islam late in the day (*c.*630); he did, however, marry his daughter (Mu'awiya's sister) to the Prophet the year before this, presumably indicating a degree of mutual trust, or at least cooperative self-interest.

Mu'awiya's career—seen by his critics as vice-ridden and impious—brought its own controversies. Chief among them, from the medieval perspective, was his involvement in the community's First *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*, 656–61) during the reign of the fourth caliph, the Prophet's son-in-law *'Ali b. Abi Talib. This began as a conflict between 'Ali and certain Meccans—notably *'A'isha, the Prophet's most prominent widow—but escalated due to Mu'awiya's demands for redress after the murder of his kinsman, the third caliph *'Uthman b. 'Affan. Mu'awiya and 'Ali clashed at the Battle of *Siffin (657), before agreeing to turn the matter over to arbitrators. This achieved little except to cause a section of 'Ali's support—later known as the *Kharijites, 'those who go out'—to desert him; eventually one of these disaffected former followers murdered 'Ali, giving Mu'awiya the chance to seize power.

Modern historians also disagree about Mu'awiya, although primarily in terms of his achievements as caliph. Most have seen him as essentially an Arab *tribal leader in the traditional mode, ruling through strategic alliances and personal contact rather than the structures of a state. Others, however, have traced a more centrally directed programme of *administration through documentary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence. NC

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Muʿāwiya, 263–8 (Bosworth).
*Tabari, XVII–XVIII.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*.
F. M. Donner, 'The Formation of the Islamic State', *JAOS* 106 (1986), 283–96.
C. Foss, 'Egypt under Muʿawiya', *BSOAS* 72 (2009), 1–24 and 259–78.
G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).
R. Hoyland, 'New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State', *BSOAS* 69 (2006), 395–416.
R. S. Humphreys, *Mu awiya ibn Abi Sufyan* (2006).
E. L. Petersen, *Alī and Mu āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (1964).

Mucking Fifth- and 6th-century Germanic settlement and cemetery in Essex, England. The site exemplifies 'settlement shift' as the focus of habitation moved over time. Buildings included post-built 'halls' and **Grubenhauser*. The *cemeteries included both inhumation burials and cremations. Some of the deceased were accompanied by important groups of grave goods. These include a 5th-century *belt buckle in the Quoit Brooch Style that perpetuates the Late Roman tradition of belt sets as symbols of martial status. JFG

A. Clark, *Excavations at Mucking*, vols. 1 and 2 (1993).
S. Hirst and D. Clark, *Excavations at Mucking*, vol. 3 (2009).

Mugh, Mount (Abghar) Mountain fortress situated above the Zerafshan River, 120 km (72 miles) east of *Samarkand, where the *Sogdian archives of *Dewashtich, last ruler of *Panjikent, were discovered in 1932. Dewashtich retreated to Mount Mugh during the Sogdian rebellion of 722. When the *Arabs besieged his fortress, the Sogdian defenders surrendered, after which Dewashtich was executed. Wooden, leather, cotton, *silk, and wool artefacts were found at the fortress, in addition to the documents. MLD

EncIran (2002) *s.n.* Mugh, Mount (G. Semenov).
A. A. Freiman, I. A. Orbeli, et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*: pt. 2, vol. 3, Sogdian [1]: Dokumentï s gorï Mug: *Documents from Mt. Mugh* (1963).
D. S. Powers, tr., *Tabari*, XXIV: *The Empire in Transition* (1989), 171.
F. Grenet and É. de la Vaissière, 'The Last Days of Panjikent', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8 (2002), 155–96.

muhajirun 'Those who have made *hijra (emigration)'. In Muslim tradition it predominantly denotes those Meccans who accompanied *Muhammad when he made the hijra from *Mecca to *Medina in 622. It also referred more widely to all those who had left their abodes in order to participate in the *Arab conquest in the 7th and 8th centuries. *Syriac *mahgraye* and *Greek *moagaritai* as terms for the Arab conquerors probably imply that *muhajirun* was used by the latter for self-designation. *Kharijites also insisted often on the duty of hijra for war. Such evidence suggests that the *muhajirun* were those who had made hijra in order to participate in war.

Muslim tradition and many academic scholars tend to see this wider usage as secondary, and to consider those who came to Medina with Muhammad as the true *muhajirun*. It is more likely that there was an evolution in the opposite direction: social and religious change made it less important to encourage migration for warfare, and Muhammad's migration to Medina became the paradigm of hijra. GRH

EQ s.v. Emigration (al-Faruque).
P. Crone, 'The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*', *Arabica* 41 (1994), 352–87.
I. Lindstedt, 'Muhājirūn as a Name for the First/Seventh Century Muslims', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 74 (2015), 67–73.
W. Madelung, 'Has the *Hijra* Come to an End?', *Revue des études islamiques* 54 (1986), 226–37.

Muhallabids A family of governors and generals under the *Umayyad and *'Abbasid *caliphs, who appear frequently in the *History* of *Tabari. Muhallab

b. Abi Sufra (d. *c.*702) rose through the ranks to become governor of *Khorasan in eastern Iran. His son Yazid (d. 720) inherited the position, but rebelled and was killed, along with much of the family. Under the *'Abbasids, whose rise they supported, the family came to prominence again, particularly as governors in North *Africa in the 8th century. In the 9th and 10th centuries, the grammarian Niftawayh, the poetry scholar Sukkari, and the vizier and patron of letters al-Muhallabi were all from this same family. NAM

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Muhallabids, 358–60 (Crone).
Anon., *Akhbar al-dawlah al-'Abbasiyyah*, ed. al-Duri (1971).
al-'Awtabi, *An Early Islamic Family from Oman: Al-'Awtabi's Account of the Muhallabids*, tr. M. Hinds (1991).
Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-A'yan*, ed. 'Abbās.

Muhammad al-Baqir (*c.*676/7–*c.*732/6) Fifth Twelver *Shi'i Imam and father of the sixth Imam, *Ja'far al-Sadiq. He became Imam on the death of his father 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin (*c.*712–14). Muhammad al-Baqir is credited with formulating many of the fundamental beliefs of the Twelvers. He is not remembered as outwardly challenging *Umayyad rule, unlike many of his predecessors, and is mentioned in some seemingly anti-*'Alid accounts as being positive towards certain Umayyads, in particular the *Caliph *'Umar II b. 'Abd al-Aziz (r. 717–20). RJL

Al-Mufid, *Kitab al-Irshad*: ET I. K. A. Howard, *The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imams: Kitāb al-Irshād* (1981), 393–406.
A. Lalani, *Early Shīʿī Thought: The Teachings of Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir* (2000).

Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya (*c.*633–700) Son of *'Ali and Khawlah bt. Ja'far of the Banu *Hanifa, hence al-Hanafiyya. As one of the few survivors of the Battle of *Karbala, he was the focus of *'Alid loyalist aspirations to the *caliphate in Iraq, where the rebel al-*Mukhtar declared Ibn al-Hanafiyya to be the Islamic *apocalyptic figure known as the Mahdi. Ibn al-Hanafiyya appears to have ignored this declaration, and Zubayrids eventually extinguished al-Mukhtar's rebellion. After *Umayyad forces deposed the counter-Caliph *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, Ibn al-Hanafiyya recognized the caliphate of *'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705). Classical Arabic sources refer to Ibn al-Hanafiyya's supporters, who were politically quietist, as Murji'a. AJD

al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*.
S. A. Arjomand, 'The Crisis of the Imamate and the Institution of Occultation in Twelver Shiism: A Sociohistorical Perspective', *IJMES* 28/4 (1996), 491–515.
C. P. Turner, 'The "Tradition of Mufaddal" and the Doctrine of the Raj'a: Evidence of "Ghuluww" in the Eschatology of Twelver Shi'ism?', *Iran* 44 (2006), 175–95.

Muhammad b. Marwan (d. 719/20) *Umayyad commander and governor, son of the *Caliph *Marwan b. al-Hakam, and half-brother of Marwan's successor, *'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan. In 692, 'Abd al-Malik appointed him as the governor of al-*Jazira (northern *Mesopotamia) and *Armenia, a position that he held until 710. As governor, Muhammad led regular military expeditions across the Arab–Byzantine *frontier. The principle source for his life is al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*. ARH

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Muḥammad b. Marwān, p. 408 (Zetterstèen).

Muhammad the Prophet (Muhammad b. 'Abdallah) (*c.*570–632) Political and religious leader from the *Arabian Peninsula and, according to Muslim belief, the last prophet sent by God who revealed the *Qur'ān to him.

While the Muslim biographical tradition (biographies and collected sayings of Muhammad (*hadith)) describes at length the events that happened during Muhammad's life and extensively comments on his charismatic personality, his habits, and character traits, the vast majority of this source material post-dates the Prophet's lifetime. The first biography (*sira*) was compiled by *Ibn Ishaq in the mid-8th century. This text is lost and survives only in subsequent quotations and in an abridged 9th-century recension by Ibn Hisham (d. 833). Muslim documentary sources mention Muhammad from the end of the 7th century onwards, and can be linked with the generally not very detailed non-Muslim sources that refer to his prophethood soon after the time of his death. Biographical references from within the Qur'ān are not easily interpreted. While Muslims regard Muhammad as the 'seal of the prophets', affirm his prophetic role in the creed (*shahada*), and consider him an intercessor on the day of the Last Judgement, his person is deemed to be completely human and not divine.

According to the traditional Islamic account, Muhammad was born in *Mecca into the *Hashim clan of the *Quraysh tribe. His father had died before the birth of his son, who also lost his mother soon after and was brought up first in the household of his paternal grandfather, 'Abd al-Muttalib (d. *c.*578), and then by his uncle, Abu Talib. The latter succeeded his father as leader of the Hashim. Muhammad earned his living mainly as a trader travelling the Arabian Peninsula. It is, however, unlikely that he reached faraway destinations, as suggested by the Muslim sources, which recount a meeting with a Christian monk in *Bosra. Muhammad entered the service of a rich widow, *Khadija, whom he married in 595. At the age of 40 (*c.*610), Muhammad, who used to withdraw several weeks each year in a mountain cave near Mecca, informed his wife that he had received revelations by God through the *Angel

Gabriel (Jibril/Jibra'il) who commanded him to recite verses, which would eventually form the Qur'ān. Muhammad kept his revelations secret, only telling Khadija, who was the first to accept the prophecy, and a circle of close friends, among them '*Ali b. Abi Talib, his cousin, and *Abu Bakr. About three years after the first revelation, Muhammad started preaching his religion in Mecca; his message predominantly consisted of warnings of the Last Judgement, appeals for charity, and the call for a strict monotheism. While Islam was most likely perceived as a new religion by both Arabs and later non-Muslim observers, it is important to note that Muhammad himself did not regard himself as founder of a religion, but rather as restorer of a monotheistic faith that had already existed in Mecca since the days of Abraham (Ibrahim). After Muhammad had gained a significant number of followers, who came from all strata of society, his sermons attacked polytheism, which was prevalent in Mecca as well as in all of Central Arabia. Muhammad thus soon met with opposition by members of his own tribe, the Quraysh, who had previously only mocked his prophetic claims. The following years witnessed an increasing hostility, culminating in a three-year boycott against the Hashim. In 619, the so-called 'Year of Sorrow', two of Muhammad's strongest supporters, Khadija and Abu Talib, died. The new clan leader, *Abu Lahab, withdrew the Hashim's protection, so far guaranteed more because of kinship ties than beliefs, making it increasingly difficult for Muhammad to preach.

After some Muslims had left Mecca for *Ethiopia already in 615, Muhammad, lacking his clan's support, unsuccessfully attempted to establish alliances with tribal leaders from the city of Ta'if. Eventually, he found new supporters in a group from Yathrib (Medina) who promised him their protection at the 'pledges of 'Aqaba'. Muhammad left Mecca with his followers in 622 (the *hijra) and acted as an arbitrator between rivalling tribes in Medina, creating an alliance between the city's eight tribes and the new immigrants against outside enemies. The document of alliance is preserved in later tradition and is often known as the 'Constitution of Medina'. In Medina, Islam attracted an increasing number of converts, initially from the less powerful tribes, but it soon encompassed the majority of Medina's population. Muhammad's private house functioned as the first gathering place for communal prayer and would become the model for all early Islamic *mosques. Medina's considerable *Jewish community proved difficult to win over, and after an initial phase of integrating Jewish rituals into Islam, these practices were abolished. While two Jewish tribes were expelled from the city, a third one was almost completely annihilated after it had sided with the Meccans. While Muslim property left in Mecca had been seized by the Quraysh in the wake of the hijra, the Muslims started raiding Meccan caravans soon after, with Qur'ānic revelations justifying these actions that were followed by several armed clashes: while the Battle of *Badr (624) ended with a surprising victory for the Muslims, the defeat at Uhud (625) was a significant setback. Following an unsuccessful Meccan siege of Medina (627), both parties were exhausted and eventually reached a truce that allowed Muslims to enter Mecca on *pilgrimage (628; Treaty of Hudaybiyya). Peace with Mecca gave Muhammad time to conquer the Jewish oasis of Khaybar, where the Muslims accepted a tribute (**jizya*) from the defeated, which would become a model for all subsequent treatments of monotheists under Muslim authority. The treaty with Mecca, however, was dissolved only one year later, and Muhammad launched a large-scale attack against his hometown which culminated in the relatively peaceful conquest of 630, followed by the removal of pagan idols from the *Ka'ba and by the majority of the population *converting to *Islam. Immediately after, the Muslim armies secured a victory against neighbouring tribes from the area of Ta'if in the Battle of Hunayn. In the following year many other tribes accepted Islam following a call for submission. In 632 Muhammad visited the Ka'ba for the last time and regulated the rituals of pilgrimage. He died in Medina on 8 June in the house of his favourite of thirteen wives and concubines, *'A'isha, the daughter of Abu Bakr. While his three sons and three of his daughters had died before him, he was outlived by one remaining daughter, *Fatima (d. 633), the wife of 'Ali. After his death disagreement over the right of succession arose, until the conflict was eventually won by Abu Bakr who, according to the later Sunni tradition, became the first of the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs. KMK

A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah* (²2002).
P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).
F. Donner, 'Muhammad's Political Consolidation in Arabia up to the Conquest of Mecca', *The Muslim World* 69 (1979), 229–47.
T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad* (2009).
M. Lecker, *The 'Constitution of Medina'* (2004).
M. Lings, *Le Prophète Muhammad* (2002).
T. Nagel, *Mohammad. Leben und Legende* (2008).
A. Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike* (2010).
R. Paret, *Mohammad und der Koran* (2005).
U. Rubin, *The Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims* (1995).
U. Rubin, 'The Life of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān: The Case of Muḥammad's *Hijra*', *JSAI* 28 (2003), 40–64.
R. Sellheim, 'Muhammads erstes Offenbarungserlebnis', *JSAI* 10 (1987), 1–16.

al-Mukhtar b. Abi 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi (*c.*622–*c.*687) *'Alid rebel against Zubayrid and *Umayyad forces in Iraq and *Khorasan. His active pursuit of political influence, socio-economic reform, and greater power for 'Alid notables, such as al-*Husayn b. 'Ali (d. 680) and *Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, attracted support from disaffected Arab and non-Arab Muslims who opposed what they perceived as unfair *taxation by the Umayyads in *Syria and the Zubayrid counter-caliphate during the Second *Arab Civil War (*fitna). Al-Mukhtar enjoyed early success in 685, and appointed governors in *Kufa and surrounding areas in 686, but his coalition began to crumble due to internal disputes and an especially damaging fall-out with al-Ashtar, leading to his eventual defeat and execution at the hands of the Zubayrid governor of *Basra, *Mus`ab b. al-Zubayr (d. 691). Though short-lived, al-Mukhtar's propaganda had an enduring impact on the development of Hashimi loyalist and proto-*Shi'i ideology, especially his popularization of the term *mahdi* (messiah or saviour, lit. 'rightly guided one') in expressing millenarian expectations. AJD

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* al-Mukhtar, 521–4 (Hawting).

K. A. Fariq, *The Story of an Arab Diplomat* (1967).

A. H. Kharabuti, *Al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi* (1963).

R. Marin-Guzman, 'The 'Abbasid Revolution in Central Asia and Khurasan: An Analytical Study of the Role of Taxation, Conversion, and Religious Groups in its Genesis', *Islamic Studies* 33/2–3 (1994), 227–52.

***Mulomedicina Chironis* (*Chiron's Medicine for Equids*)** A pseudonymous *Latin compilation of *veterinary medicine in *Latin, attributed to Chiron Centaurus (Cheiron the Centaur), written *c.* mid-4th century in either south *Italy, the islands, or North *Africa. *Vegetius (*fl.* AD 430) paraphrased it and it is through him the work remained known. Two manuscripts of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* survive. It comprises ten books detailing the medical care of *horses, mules, and donkeys, and includes diagnosis of diseases, bloodletting, surgery, and cures. Material on breeding and mare management (Book 8) is absent from Vegetius. The bulk of the work is selected from *Apsyrtus, *Gargilius Martialis, and Columella. MD

HLL 5, section 513 (Fischer).

ed. E. Oder, *Mulomedicina Chironis: Claudii Hermeri Mulomedicina Chironis* (1901).

K.-D. Fischer, 'Ancient Veterinary Medicine: A Survey of Greek and Latin Sources and Some Recent Scholarship', *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 23 (1988), 191–209.

V. Gitton-Ripoll, 'The Author of Book 10 of the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and its Greek and Latin Sources', in B. Maire, ed., '*Greek*' *and* '*Roman*' *in Latin Medical Texts: Studies in Cultural Change and Exchange in Ancient Medicine* (2014), 402–20.

mummification Natural or artificial preservation of the *dead was long customary in ancient *Egypt. Mummification by evisceration and removal of the brain probably ceased in Egypt around the 4th century. Whereas, according to his *Life*, S. *Antony expressed aversion to Egyptian burial traditions (*VAntonii*, 90), *Abraham, *Bishop of *Hermonthis, in the 6th–7th century, requested burial 'according to the customs of the country' (P.Lond. I, 77). ERO

Mummolus (d. 585/6) **Patricius* in *Burgundy (569–81). He replaced his father as *Comes of Auxerre, and in 568 he led the army of *Sigibert I and *Guntram against *Chilperic I, before being appointed *patricius* by Guntram. He led Guntram's army against *Saxon and *Lombard invasions in the early 570s, annihilating a large force of Lombards in 574. In 581 he deserted Guntram and established himself in *Childebert II's territory at Avignon. He supported the claims of the *Merovingian pretender *Gundovald from 582, but betrayed him at the siege of *S. Bertrand-de-Comminges (585), only to be executed on Guntram's orders. EJ

PLRE IIIB, Mummolus 2.

al-Mundhir III (Alamundaros/-as/-us) King of the *Lakhimids (503/5–554, short interregnum of al-*Harith the *Kindite in the 520s), ally of *Khosrow I Anushirvan, who entrusted him with the Persian sphere of influence in Arabia. Throughout the *Persian-Roman wars he persistently raided the border provinces including *Syria (especially in the 520s) and warred with the *Ghassanids, Arab allies of the Romans. He participated in the Persian victory at *Callinicum in 531 (*Procopius *Persian* I, 17–18). He was finally killed by the *Ghassanid al-*Harith near *Chalcis in 554. IT-N

PLRE II, Alamundarus 2.

Fisher *Between Empires.*

I. Shahid, *BASIC.*

al-Mundhir b. al-Harith *Ghassanid *phylarch 570–81. In 569 Mundhir successfully defeated the *Lakhimids, the *Arab allies of the *Sasanians in the Syrian Desert. His request for *gold for his men allegedly angered *Justin II who sent instructions to kill him. Mundhir broke off his alliance with the Romans, but was reconciled with them in 575 and attacked the Lakhimid capital al-*Hira, distributing the booty to *monasteries and churches. Mundhir also bestowed gifts on the shrine of S. *Sergius at *Sergiopolis-Rusafa, the *city where he held his *divan* in a Byzantine-style audience hall. *Tiberius II received him at *Constantinople in 580, where Mundhir convened a *Miaphysite *council. After an unsuccessful campaign against the

Persians in the same year, he was accused of treachery and ended his life in *exile. KMK

PLRE III, Alamundarus.
Shahid, *BASIC.*
Nöldeke, *Ghassânischen Fürsten*.
Nau, *Arabes chrétiens*.
Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*.
Fisher, *Between Empires*.

mundium* and *mundiburdium Terms in Germanic *law referring to the guardianship of the head of a *family over minors, women, and slaves as well as to the royal protection of *monasteries, *Jews, *merchants, *orphans, and *widows. ADi

Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 922–5.

Mundus (Mundo) (d. 536) *Gepid prince and ally of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, later allied with *Justinian I who appointed him *Magister Militum in *Illyricum (529–31, 532–6). In 259 he defeated the Getae (perhaps *Slavs) and the *Bulgars in 530. He was briefly Magister Militum in *Oriens (531), then helped suppress the *Nika Riot with *Belisarius. In 535, while Belisarius prepared to invade *Italy, he went to *Dalmatia to secure *Salona from the Ostrogoths. The Goths killed his son Mauricius. Enraged, he counterattacked and was killed (*Procopius, *Gothic*, I, 7, 1–5). FKH

PLRE III, Mundus.
B. Croke, 'Mundo the Gepid: From Freebooter to Roman General', *Chiron* 12 (1982), 125–35.

munera *See* SERVICES, COMPULSORY PUBLIC.

Munich Treasure A *silver bust of *Licinius I and set of **largitio* bowls of unknown provenance, now in Munich. Three bowls, weighing about one Roman pound (0.3 kg) each, bear medal-portraits of Licinius I or his young son *Licinius *Caesar, and *inscriptions celebrating the son's *Quinquennalia in 321/2. Inscriptions on two other bowls record **vota* for a *Decennalia. HAHC

B. Overbeck, *Argentum Romanum. Ein Schatzfund von spatro mischen Prunkgeschirr* (1973).
R. R. R. Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I', *JRS* 87 (1997), 190–1.

al-Muqaddasi (al-Maqdisi) (940s–after 990) Muslim geographer and merchant. Nothing is known about al-Muqaddasi's life beyond what he reveals in his geographical work, *Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma'rifat al-aqalim* ('The Best Framework for Knowledge of the Provinces'). Al-Muqaddasi's descriptions contain topographical, economic, and social elements, including local customs. In his introduction he places great emphasis on the fact that he travelled in person to the places he discusses, rather than only learning about them second-hand, as he says was the practice of his predecessors. NC

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* al-Mukadassi, 492–3 (Miquel).
Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, ed. M. J. de Goeje (1906); ET B. A. Collins, *The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions* (1994).
J. F. P. Hopkins, 'Geographical and Navigational Literature', in M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant, eds., *Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period* (1990), 301–27.
A. Miquel, *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, 2 vols. (²1973–5).

Muratorian Canon A now-incomplete catalogue of NT and other writings. A Western provenance and late 2nd- to early 3rd-century date, widely accepted until challenged by Sundberg and Hahneman (favouring a 4th-century Eastern provenance), are persuasively reasserted by Verheyden. It accepts four Gospels, Acts, thirteen Pauline letters, Jude, two Johannine letters, Wisdom of Solomon, Revelation, *Apocalypse of Peter*. It does not mention James, 1–2 Peter, a third Johannine letter, Hebrews. It permits reading the *Shepherd of Hermas* privately; and rejects several writings and authors. MWHo

CPG 1862.
J. Verheyden, 'The Canon Muratori: A Matter of Dispute', in J.-M. Auwers and H. De Jonge, eds., *The Biblical Canons* (2003), 487–556.

murex *Purple dye extracted from *murex trunculus*. Evidence for murex production is identifiable from the Late Bronze Age into the Byzantine era (Reese). Significant commercial production probably ceased in 1204, as a result of the Fourth Crusade's sack of *Constantinople (Jacoby, 210). *Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, IX, 60–5, 36–41) provides a detailed description of its production at *Tyre (see Cooksey for the chemical processes involved, and extensive bibliography). Various laws and *inscriptions reveal the economic importance of purple dye production in the Roman and Late Roman eras, particularly in Tyre (Hall, 229–36); a constitution of 383 distinguished the *publicus murex* from the *sacer murex*, reserved for imperial use (*CTh* X, 20, 18; *CJust* IV, 40, 4). LJH

C. J. Cooksey, *Molecules: A Journal of Synthetic Chemistry and Natural Product Chemistry* 6 (2001), 736–69.
L. J. Hall, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity* (2004).
D. Jacoby, 'Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West', *DOP* 58 (2004),197–240.
D. S. Reese, 'Shells from Sarepta (Lebanon) and East Mediterranean Purple-Dye Production', *MAA* 10/1 (2010), 113–41.

Mursa and Battles of Mursa (mod. Osijek, Croatia) Roman *city near the *Via Militaris in the *Balkans and site of two important Late Antique battles for the imperial office. In *c.*260, the *armies of the *Emperor *Gallienus and *Ingenuus, *governor of *Pannonia and personal tutor to Gallienus' son Valerian II, fought at Mursa. An ingenious *cavalry manoeuvre by Gallienus surprised Ingenuus, bringing about his ultimate defeat.

The second battle at Mursa occurred in 351 between the Emperor *Constantius II and the *usurper Magnentius who was proclaimed emperor by Western troops. Magnentius lost the battle in which very large numbers were killed (*Eutropius, 10, 12; **Epitome de Caesaribus*, 42, 4–8; *Zosimus, II, 51–2) The *Homoean *Bishop of Mursa, Valens, allegedly foretold Constantius' victory, and the battle was subsequently presented as a triumph of the Christian *God of battles. ABA

Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*.

Potter, *Empire at Bay* 474.

[E.] D. Hunt in *CAH* XIII (1998), 15–21.

Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr (d. 691) Brother of the counter-*Caliph *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, Mus'ab served as the Zubayrid governor of Iraq during the Second *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*). During that time, he quelled al-*Mukhtar's pro-*'Alid rebellion in *Kufa (687) and then turned his attention to securing the Zubayrids' hold on the region. In 691, *'Abd al-Malik's forces defeated and killed Mus'ab at the Battle of Dayr al-Jathaliq and subsequently took control of Iraq. The principle source for his life is al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*. ARH

J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (1963).

Musa b. Nusayr (640–716) *Governor of *Ifriqiya from 698, where he consolidated Muslim rule, built a navy that captured the *Balearic Islands, and conquered the *Berbers of the Maghreb. His client and deputy in Tangiers, *Tariq b. Ziyad, invaded *Visigothic *Spain in 711, prompting Musa, anxious at his progress, to follow him in 712, confronting Tariq near *Toledo and taking charge of subjugating the remainder of the Peninsula himself. After installing his son as governor, he returned to *Damascus in 714, where the *caliph *Sulayman stripped him of his rank, confiscating the spoils of victory. GDB

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993), *s.n.* Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, col. 643 (C. Lévi-Provençal).

Musaeus (5th cent.) Author of a brief hexameter poem (343 lines) on the story of Hero and Leander (*Τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον*): he is called 'Musaeus the grammarian' (*γραμματικος*) in the manuscripts. His handling of the story inevitably shows the influence of Chariton's romance on the same theme, but as a poet he was most influenced by *Nonnus of *Panopolis. He in turn left his imprint on *Colluthus of *Lycopolis. His relation to these two poets allows him to be dated to the middle or second half of the 5th century and suggests that he too might have been from *Egypt. RAK

PLRE II, Musaeus.

ed. E. Livrea and P. Eleuteri (1982).

ed. T. Gelzer (annotated with introd. and with ET by C. Whitman) in C. Trypanis and T. Gelzer, *Callimachus: Aetia etc. and Musaeus* (LCL 421R, 1975).

Musaylima (d. 633) Leader of the resistance by the *tribe of *Hanifa in Southern *Arabia (Yamama) to the authority of *Abu Bakr in *Medina during the *Ridda Wars. He claimed to be a prophet, and the Muslim sources give examples of his revelations. Some reports suggest he was active before *Muhammad's death. GRH

EQ s.v. Musaylima (Kister).

D. Eickelmann, 'Musaylima: An Approach to the Social Anthropology of Seventh Century Arabia', *JESHO* 10 (1967), 17–52.

music, theory and practice of In Late Antiquity, perhaps more than in any other period of music history, music is marked by a broad gulf between theory and practice. In the West, the surviving music-theoretical writings are the product and residue of the final stages of ancient Greek music theory, whose practice (and practitioners) had long since been forgotten. Conversely, the distinctively new features of Late Antique musical practice, namely the use of music in early Christian *liturgy, did not receive systematic (written) theoretical articulation until the 8th and 9th centuries, long after its distinctive forms and practices had originally emerged. In the Persian East, despite abundant literary and iconographical evidence for musical practice, no music-theoretical sources survive from before the *Arab conquest.

Latin and Greek theoretical sources

Western theoretical sources sought, in various ways, to preserve and systematize a tradition of scientific speculation on the nature of music and its theoretical underpinnings. None, it must be stressed, reflects (transparently or immediately) the current state of musical practice. The tonal space they describe is that of the Greater Perfect System (a two-octave gamut built from tetrachords with variable internal structures). The tuning of the intervals and the methods of generating and dividing intervals are resolutely *Pythagorean, premised upon number, not perception, as the primary explanatory ground for describing musical relations.

The basic musical concords (the octave, the fifth, and the fourth) are reducible to super-particular whole number ratios ($n + 1:n$) constituted by the Pythagorean

tetractys: 2:1 is the octave, 3:2 the fifth, and 4:3 the fourth. Subtracting the fourth from the fifth provided the whole tone (9:8). It remained a fundamental premise that these basic arithmetical and musical ratios cannot themselves be divided equally; hence, the tone can only be divided into two unequal semitones (major and minor).

There had been in Antiquity a tradition, most fully represented by Aristoxenus and his adherents, that cleaved to an empirically driven, acoustically grounded music theory, premised upon the division of the tone into equal aliquot parts. No Latin treatise, however, presented this Aristoxenian position in a positive light. Hence, the evidence for Aristoxenian theory that Late Antiquity bequeathed to the Middle Ages was primarily negative, namely, the critique of Aristoxenian positions from a Pythagorean perspective. This had enormous consequences for the philosophical and empirical grounding of Western music theory for the next millennium.

Music-theoretical writings of Late Antiquity can be divided among three primary categories: independent textbooks, encyclopedic compendia, and philosophical commentaries.

1. Independent textbooks on music include *Aristides Quintilianus' *On Music* (*Peri mousikes*, late 3rd or early 4th cent.), which combines the melodic richness of the Aristoxenian tradition with the mathematical precision of the Pythagoreans; *Augustine's *On Music* (*De Musica*, 387–91), a Pythagorean treatment of music, defined in the Varronian manner as the *scientia bene modulandi* ('the science of making well measured melody'), originally conceived as one volume in a (never completed) series of works on the liberal disciplines (which was to include *grammar, dialectic, *rhetoric, *arithmetic, music, *geometry, and *philosophy: see *Retractationes*, 1, 6); and, most influentially, *Boethius' *On the Fundamentals of Music* (*De Institutione Musica* of *c.* AD 510), an interpolated translation of a (no longer extant) musical treatise by Nicomachus of *Gerasa (Books 1 to 4) and *Ptolemy's *Harmonics* (Book 5), and likewise intended as part of a fourfold mathematical suite (arithmetic, geometry, music, and *astronomy; cf. *Cassiodorus, *Variae*, I, 45, 5 to Boethius). Boethius' tripartite division of music into cosmic, human, and instrumental music became a commonplace within later music theory.

2. Several large-scale encyclopedic works treat of music. They include Censorinus' *Birthday Book* (*De Die Natali*), a compendium on the measures and cycles of time (composed for the birthday of his patron Qu. Caerellius in 238). *Martianus Capella's allegorical encyclopedia of the liberal arts, *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (*De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, probably early 5th cent.), in its 9th and final book on *Harmonia* largely follows the first book of Aristides Quintilianus' *Peri Mousikes*; Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* (after 540), in its chapter on music (2, 5), draws on *Gaudentius (by way of the now lost translation by an otherwise unknown Mutianus) and bears affinities with the Aristoxenian tradition, notably the division of music into hamonics, rhythmics, and metrics. *Isidore of *Seville's immense *Etymologiae* (early 7th cent.), in its chapter on music (3, 15–23), cleaves closely to Cassiodorus. Both Cassiodorus and Isidore supplemented the received ancient tradition(s) with fresh reflections on the importance of music within Christian communities, adducing evidence from the *Bible for the power of music (e.g. Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum*) and registering the growing formalization of music within the Christian Church (e.g. Isidore's specification of the clerical offices of the *cantor*, *praecentor*, *succentor*, and *concentor* at *Etymologies*, VII, 12, 26–8).

3. Philosophical commentaries within the Platonic tradition witness the continued importance of speculation on the mathematical principles governing the harmonious combination of numbers that were thought to model both the psychological and cosmological domains. *Calcidius' partial translation of and commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (early 4th cent.) details the music theory necessary to understanding Plato's harmonic division of the World Soul (*Timaeus*, 35A–36D). Favonius *Eulogius and *Macrobius' early 5th-century commentaries on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* likewise emphasized and explained the mathematical ratios and musical intervals necessary for understanding the harmonic structure of Platonic *cosmology. Greek philosophical treatises and commentaries (by e.g. *Porphyry, *Iamblichus, *Proclus, and *Simplicius) bear similar witness to the cosmological and therapeutic importance of music within Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy.

Latin and Greek musical practice

The many polemics against *pagan music and musical instruments found in patristic sources provide the bulk of evidence for non-Christian musical practices, particularly the use of music in *drama and dancing, in *marriage celebrations, and banquets. The instruments most frequently mentioned (the *aulos*, *tibia*, trumpet, and cithara) are familiar from classical sources; there is also concern that singing in religious contexts not be theatrical or, more specifically, performed 'in the manner of tragedians' (*Jerome, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, III, V, 19; cf. Isidore, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, II, 12). Nevertheless, Augustine recalled how the chanting of the Psalms moved him to tears when he first recovered his Christian faith (*Confessions*, X, 33, 50).

Throughout Late Antiquity, in processes too complex to be easily summarized, Christian liturgies developed into regional practices, including (*inter alia*) in the West, Old Roman, Milanese (*Ambrosian), Old Beneventan, Gallican, *Mozarabic, and Celtic chant, and in the East, Byzantine, *Syriac, *Armenian, *Coptic, and Ethiopian chant practices. Through various liturgical reforms these repertories and ritualized practices became increasingly standardized, and there emerged by the 8th century two dominant practices, Byzantine and 'Gregorian' (a Frankish adaptation of Roman *chant), though local usages continued well after Late Antiquity.

The precise melodic contours of these early chants, however, are not preserved. While there are a few surviving *papyri that notate *Greek chants in Hellenistic alphabetic pitch and rhythmic signs (the sole Christian example is the *Oxyrhynchus Hymn), these are exceptions. The preservation of the melodies across generations was handled orally and not through pitch-specific notation. As late as the 7th century, Isidore still remarks that 'unless sounds are held by the memory of man, they perish, because they cannot be written down' (*Etymologies*, III, 16, 2). The first widespread notational systems for the transmission of liturgical chant do not surface in the West until the 9th century, although homologies across disparate traditions suggest that the melodies are considerably older.

In the East, rich *hymn-traditions flourished, including **troparia*, **kontakia*, and *kanones*, composed by *Greek hymnographers, the best known being *Romanus the Melodist (d. after 555), *Andrew of *Crete (*c.*660–740), and *John of *Damascus (*c.*675–*c.*749). The earliest surviving *Latin hymns are those of *Hilary of Poitiers (d. *c.*367), whose *Liber Hymnorum* survives only in fragments. The *Ambrosian tradition of hymnody, centred in *Milan and Rome, seems to have had simple enough melodies to allow the congregations to sing them together—Augustine famously recalls that *Ambrose taught a congregation hymns to sing during the sit-in at a *basilica at Milan in 386 (*Confessions*, IX, 7, 15). The liturgical distribution of hymns among the canonical *Liturgy of the Hours is first prescribed in the 6th-century (Gallican) rules of *Caesarius of *Arles and Aurelian of Arles, and the *Rule* of S. *Benedict prescribes hymns at all the Hours, but only specifies the use of the Ambrosian hymns (*Aeterne Rerum Conditor* at Matins, *Splendor Paternae Gloriae* at Lauds, and *Deus Creator Omnium* at Vespers).

Persian musical practice

*Zoroastrian and *Manichaean hymnody is well documented in the Late Antique East, but nothing is known of the (presumably) musical performance of the hymns (though manuscript evidence for Manichaean hymns preserved in the **Manichaean Psalm Book* suggests an antiphonal structure). There is, however, direct evidence for the use of music at Zoroastrian *festivals such as *Nog Ruz (the Iranian New Year).

Likewise, there is good literary and visual evidence for a lively musical culture at the *Sasanian *court, and accounts of social structure in *Persian literature prescribe a fixed place for minstrels (MP *gosan*), though they differ in the details. The **Letter of Tansar* claims that *Ardashir I (*r.* 224–42) numbered minstrels (along with scribes, physicians, and astronomers) among the third estate of the realm; the much later testimony of al-*Mas'udi (*Muruj al-Dhahab*) indicates that Ardashir gathered singers, minstrels, and musicians into their own courtly class (within which there were distinctions of rank). The *Pahlavi dialogue *On King Khosrow and his Page (Xusrov i Kavatan ut retak; Khusrow ud Redag*) names at least eight musical instruments, but many identifications are uncertain: the **chang* (harp), *vin* (a lute type?), *vinkannar* (a lute type?), *mustak* (mouth organ), *tambur* (long-necked lute), *barbut* (a lute type?), *nad* (flute), *dumbalak* (hand drum). Later sources (e.g. Ferdowsi and Tha'labi) also attest to the patronage of minstrels by the Sasanian shahs and nobility, e.g. the accounts of *Barbad, Sarkash, and Nakisa, the famous musician-poets of *Khosrow II (*r.*590–628). Barbad is traditionally credited with the composition of seven Royal Modes (*khosrovani*) and an additional Thirty Modes (Ar. *si lahn*), but they survive only as (corrupt and often suspect) names in much later sources (Ferdowsi, Manuchehri, Nizami). Whatever their irrecoverable sonic reality, they have become, as best we can tell, a literary construction that forged an imaginary soundscape for the minstrel tradition of the era before the *Arab conquest. AJH

C. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (2009).

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C. Bower, 'The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages', in T. Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (2002), 136–67.

M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian* (1954).

M. Boyce, 'The Parthian Gosan and Iranian Minstrel Tradition', *JRAS* 9 (1957), 10–45.

M. Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (1984).

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A. Hicks, 'Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in C. Huffman, ed., *A History of Pythagoreanism* (2014).
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T. J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (1999).
J. McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (1987).
D. Monchi-Zadeh, '*Xusrov i Kavatan ut retak*: Pahlavi Text, Transcription, and Translation', in *Acta Iranica* 22: *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne* II (1982), 47–92.
C. Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (2010).
J. Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*, tr. B. Ramsey (1983).

Mutina (mod. Modena, *Italy) *Colonia* in *Aemilia et Liguria, with visible centuriation, on the Via Flaminia, traversed in 333 by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim (616) on the way north to *Milan. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict associates the *city with woollen production (19–21). *Constantine I's forces besieged Mutina during his campaign against *Maxentius in 312 (*Nazarius *PanLat* IV (X), 27, 1). *Bishops are known from the late 4th century, but none for most of the 6th and 7th centuries. In 589 the city was damaged in serious floods, recorded by *Paul the Deacon as the worst 'since Noah' (*HL* III, 24), exacerbated by changing *setttlement patterns and land use. Settlements in the area were abandoned; hoards not of treasure but of *pottery and other domestic articles, deposited by whole communities in *c.*550–625, have been recovered from eleven wells in the area. From 570 onwards the territory was disputed between the *Lombards and the Byzantines at *Ravenna. *Rothari the *Lombard defeated the *exarch nearby on the River Scultenna in 643 (**Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, 6; Paul the Deacon, *HL* IV, 45). OPN

TIR L-32, 97–8.
Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*.
P. Squatriti, 'The Floods of 589 and Climate Change at the Beginning of the Middle Ages: An Italian Microhistory', *Speculum* 85 (2010), 799–826.

Myos Hormos *Harbour for *trade in *incense and Indian Ocean goods on the Red Sea coast of *Egypt, located 8 km (5 miles) north of modern Qsueir al-Qadim, initially misidentified as Leukos Limen. The harbour was founded in the Ptolemaic period perhaps under Ptolemy II, enhanced in the Roman period by a pier 60 m (197 feet) long, made of *amphorae and in use until the 3rd century, when the lagoon silted up. Like *Berenice, the harbour was connected to *Coptos on the Nile by a path protected by military forts. Although Berenice revived between the 4th and 6th centuries, no archaeological evidence has been found at Myos Hormos past the 3rd century. In the Islamic period (12th–15th cent.) another port settlement was founded outside the lagoon along the northern shoreline of the Red Sea. KS

D. P. S. Peacock and L. Blue, *Myos Hormos-Quseir al Qadim* (2006).

Myra (mod. Kale or Demre, SW Turkey) Ancient *city on the Myros/Demre River, metropolis of *Lycia, now deeply buried under alluvium. *Pottery, coins, and *lamps of the 5th–7th centuries have been found under the Middle Byzantine church containing the former grave of S. Nicholas, whose *relics were brought to Bari in *Italy in 1098. There was a separate *harbour town called *Andriace. PhN; OPN

J. Borchhardt, ed., *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Istanbuler Forschungen 30, 1975).
N. Çevik, 'Myra', *Current World Archaeology* 41 (2010), 18–25.
C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, at 23–37.
P. Niewöhner, 'Neues zum Grab des hl. Nikolaus von Myra', *JbAC* 46 (2003), 119–33.

Mysia *See* HELLESPONTUS.

myth Graeco-Roman *paganism had at its core not a set of articulated beliefs but the practice of *sacrifice. What made sense of the gods and the worship offered to them was not a creed but the multifarious stories which made up classical mythology. It was through these narratives that the character of the gods could be discerned.

In the 1st century BC the polymath Varro, who as a Stoic liked to put things into categories, identified three sorts of pagan theology, namely: mythical theology in the narrow sense articulated by poets and applicable in the theatre, natural or physical theology generated by *philosophers and applicable to the natural world, and civic theology expounded by pagan *priests and

applicable to the rites and affairs of *cities. The division was taken up by *Augustine (*City of God*, VI, 5; cf. IV, 27) and a similar categorization may be found in the *Preparation for the Gospel* of *Eusebius of Caesarea.

The myths repeated by poets and civic priests were multifarious and sometimes self-contradictory but they were potent not least because of their familiarity. Mythological scenes appear frequently on *sarcophagi, where they were open to polyvalent interpretation. The figure who appears most frequently on floor *mosaics in *villas in both *Africa and *Syria is that of the god Dionysus. Literary interpreters, such as *Porphyry, could derive from myths and put into words profound insights into Nature, the divine, and the human condition by applying to them the methods of *allegory. There was also a strain of scepticism about myths in non-Christian thought which went back to Plato's *Republic*.

Christian attitudes to classical mythology ranged from denunciation of the cruelties and vice attributed to the pagan gods (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst*. V, 10, 15–16; Augustine, *City of God*, VI, 7–27) to appropriation of the stories as allegorical illustration. At the core of the Christian approach was a conviction that what made sense of the Christian God, the force which made all Nature out of nothing, was not a set of shifting fictions but an understanding of the whole of world history from beginning to end. This enabled Christian thinkers to deploy the techniques of what is conveniently called *Euhemerism, the belief that stories about the gods whether poetic or civic were actually garbled accounts of the deeds of ancient human kings and their dysfunctional families (e.g. *Arnobius, IV, 20–8; Lactantius, *Inst*. V, 5–7; Augustine, *City of God*, VII, 27). This then permitted them to assimilate mythology into a Christian account of the overall span of world history (e.g. Lactantius, *Inst*. I, 23, 2–5; II, 13). It also enabled Christians to retain mythical stories as allegories of Christian truths: the floor of the nave of the small 4th-century church at *Hinton S. Mary in Somerset bore a mosaic showing Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera, an allegory no doubt of Evil being overcome by Christ, whose image is on the floor of the chancel. In less religious contexts it remained possible for *hunting men to continue stlll to eat from *silver plates decorated with the heroic figure of *Meleager.

The pagan response under *Julian the Apostate is instructive. *Sallustius Neoplatonicus wrote *On the Gods and the World* as a short catechism of restored paganism, and in it devoted substantial space to correct methods for interpreting pagan myths in an appropriately neo-pagan manner. At the same time, the *emperor was forbidding Christians (except his own old tutor *Proaeresius) to teach ancient literature, because too many *rhetoricians were, like *Basil of *Caesarea, discovering and expounding characteristically Christian values in classical myths. Not all devotees of the old gods approved of Julian's legislation (e.g. *Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 10, 7; XXV, 4, 20). But clearly some pagans by the mid-4th century felt they could no longer bask in the ambiguities of mythology and felt driven to articulate clear and exclusive definitions of their beliefs. OPN

ed. (with ET) N. G. Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (1975).
Z. Newby, *Greek Myths in Roman Art and Culture: Imagery, Values and Identity in Italy 50 BC–AD 250* (2016).
M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (1993).
F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (1956).
Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*.

myth, interpretation of In Late Antiquity, a variety of strategies existed for the interpretation and exegesis of myths, particularly when they were obscure or depicted the gods acting with apparent immorality, such as the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares. One option, represented by *Basil of *Caesarea's *Address to Young Men*, was to seek out moral precepts in myth, but to reject anything that did not promote virtue. *Euhemerism, which argued that the pagan gods were merely ancient humans who had come to be worshipped, was also a popular interpretative approach for Christian authors (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst.* I, 8–14; *Isidore, *Etymologies*, VIII, 11, 1–5; *Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, II, 1; II, 5).

Allegorical interpretation was an important exegetical approach, especially among *philosophers (often drawing on Stoic practice) within the Platonist tradition, as for instance with *Porphyry's *allegory of the Cave of the Nymphs in *Homer. In the mid-4th century, the pagan *Sallustius Neoplatonicus (*De Diis et Mundo*, 4) classified five types of myth: 'theological', about the nature of the gods; 'physical', concerning the gods' interactions with the universe; 'psychical', about the actions of the soul; 'material', in which physical objects, such as *wine, are described as gods; and 'mixed', combining two or more of the types. The 'theological' was for *philosophers, the 'physical' and 'psychical' for poets, and the 'mixed' for religious rites, while the 'material' was dismissed as base and unworthy. Sallustius described the Judgement of Paris and the story of Cybele and Attis as 'mixed' myths, but also explained how Kronos swallowing his children could be interpreted in 'theological', 'physical', or 'psychical' ways. RAF

A. D. Nock, *Sallustius: Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (1926).
L. Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology*, ET C. Tihanyi (2004).
J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie: les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiens* (rev. edn. 1976).

myth in art In an empire which was gradually becoming Christianized, Graeco-Roman mythology continued to provide artistic inspiration down to the 7th century and beyond. Floor *mosaics both public and domestic, *sarcophagi, *silver plate and its *pottery imitations, wall hangings, *ivory *diptychs and boxes, garments and *jewellery, all served as vehicles for a rich repertoire of mythological themes. These included representations of pagan deities and their retinues, the stories of demigods and heroes like Hercules, Achilles, Hippolytus, *Meleager, and Bellerophon, as well as a host of personifications of aspects of the natural world and Time. While in some cases, especially in the 4th and 5th centuries, the choice of a mythological theme may have been related to the religious beliefs of the owner, this was certainly not always the case, as there is abundant evidence for the adoption of mythological imagery by Christians, as well as pagans. Indeed, being familiar, mythological themes could be employed to convey a variety of messages and concepts irrespective of the owner's or viewer's beliefs, their religious connotations having become neutralized. Thus, Aphrodite could appear as an *allegory for feminine beauty on a silver casket destined for the Christian *Projecta, while *Dionysiac revelry and the tales of heroes could adorn the houses and effects of Christians and pagans as celebrations of *hunting, love, and the pleasures of a prosperous life. At the same time, mythological imagery in *houses advertised the classical education of the owner and could have provided the incentive for erudite discussions at social gatherings (like those in *Macrobius' *Saturnalia*). The moral aspects of certain myths and the message of natural and spiritual rebirth and renewal of others must have also made them appealing in domestic and funerary contexts. Certain mythological figures even infiltrated churches, for instance Orpheus, who was understood as an allegory for Christ. MGP

R. Brilliant, 'Mythology', in *Age of Spirituality*, 126–31.
H. Maguire, 'The Good Life', in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA*, 238–57.
Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 123–71.

myth in literature, Greek The central role of classical poetry in elite *education throughout Late Antiquity meant that a knowledge of traditional myths and their characters was an integral part of the *paideia* shared by pagans and Christians. *Epic poetry was an important medium for the portrayal of myth. Poetic treatments of the Trojan War such as *Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica*, *Colluthus' *Rape of Helen*, and *Tryphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* tend to focus on episodes not treated in the poems of *Homer, while *Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* treats a less known story. *Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is a vast compendium of myths surrounding Dionysus into which are interwoven a wealth of other stories including foundation myths. The many similarities between Nonnus' Dionysus and Christ illustrate the interaction between pagan myth and Christian theology.

In rhetorical training, stories and characters drawn from tragedy and epic provided the basis for exercises (**progymnasmata* and sometimes *declamation); *Libanius' examples draw on a wide range of mythographic sources. Mythical exempla were used in speeches as part of the argumentation, e.g. by *Themistius and Libanius. In prose epithalamia, including those for Christians, evocations of Aphrodite, Eros, and the loves of the gods are common. Myths of Aphrodite are also used in speeches connected to the Rose festival in *Gaza. As an integral part of classical *paideia* and often of civic identity, the traditional myths could be seen as representing a religiously neutral zone. In the specific case of the Trojan War, the stories and characters were often considered to be historical as their inclusion in *John Malalas' *History* testifies. RW

myth in literature, Latin Full-scale mythological narrative poetry is represented in the West by the incomplete *De Raptu Proserpinae*—it breaks off after three books—of the Egyptian-born poet *Claudian (late 4th/early 5th cent.). A *Latin Gigantomachy by the same poet did not progress beyond 128 lines. (He had earlier treated the same subject in *Greek.) In the late 5th century the *African poet *Dracontius composed a series of epyllia on mythological subjects: Hylas, the abduction of Helen, Medea (*Romulea*, 2, 8, and 10), and the separately transmitted *Orestis Tragoedia*, covering in hexameters the events of Aeschylus' Oresteian trilogy.

Narratives of a different nature, involving Venus, Cupid, and other divinities appropriate to *marriage, feature in Late Latin epithalamia—a much practised genre in the period—following the model of Statius, *Silvae*, 1, 2. Epithalamia featuring mythological personnel were written by Claudian, *Sidonius Apollinaris, Dracontius, *Ennodius, and *Venantius Fortunatus. Despite Christian denunciation of them, representations of the *pagan gods continued to enjoy cultural prestige among the educated elite, lending lustre in such fantasy compositions as the epithalamia to secular ceremonies or appearing, for instance, in the marine thiasos of Venus or the retinue of Bacchus, on highly valued works of art.

In *panegyric, especially verse panegyric, mythical figures and events, along with figures from Roman history, most often occur in comparisons, in which frequently the person to be praised outdoes his or her mythological counterpart. In his *Consolation of Philosophy* *Boethius uses mythological exempla, sometimes understood allegorically, to explore themes important to his work. MJR

Mytilene Principal *city on the Aegean island of Lesbos, though the name could refer to the whole island. Its main export was *wine. Lesbos has yielded *inscriptions, now dated under *Valens, with property declarations associated with *Tetrarchic taxation and *census reforms. The *Bishop of Mytilene (first attested in 359) initially had charge of all Lesbos, *Tenedos, and their mainland possessions. In 536 (when he attended the Second *Council of *Constantinople) this was *Zacharias, the *Miaphysite author. The island has many Christian *basilicas. AK

TIB 10 *Aigion Pelagos*, 230–4.

K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.

A. Kaldellis, *Λέσβος και ανατολική Μεσόγειος* (2002).

A. Kaldellis and S. Efthymiades, *The Prosopography of Byzantine Lesbos, 284–1355* (2010).

Mytilene Treasure A 72-piece hoard of the early 7th century, consisting of *gold *jewellery and *silver, and a *bronze stamp, excavated along with coins of *Phocas and *Heraclius near *Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, in 1951 and now in the Byzantine Museum at Athens. HAHC

E. Chalkia and I. Touratsoglou, *The Kratigos, Mytilene Treasure: Coins and Valuables of the 7th century AD* (2008).

Mzhezh Gnuni (d. 635/7) Armenian general present with *Heraclius at *Ganzak in 628. From *c.*630 he was commander in Roman *Armenia. In 635/7 he arrested *David Saharuni for complicity in a plot against Heraclius. However, David escaped and killed Mzhezh. MTGH

PLRE III, Mezezius.

*Sebeos, 131–3.

N

Nabataea The kingdom of the Nabataeans, nomadic Arabs of the late Hellenistic and Roman era, who built up an extensive trade network in *incense from the *Arabian Peninsula. Centred around the *city of *Petra, their area of influence extended from the *Hijaz to southern *Syria as far as *Damascus, and across the *Negev Desert to the Mediterranean Sea at *Gaza. Following the annexation of the kingdom by Rome in AD 106, the territories were incorporated into the *provinces of *Syria, *Palestine, and *Arabia. *Petra was made the metropolis of Provincia Arabia. MESW

J. Frösén and Z. T. Fiema, *Petra: A City Forgotten and Rediscovered* (2002).

Nabed (Gk. Nabedes) Persian noble and general (*fl.* 541–50). He was driven back to *Nisibis in 541 by *Belisarius, whose speech to his soldiers allegedly described Nabed as next in honour to *Khosrow I himself (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 18, 9; cf. *Anecd.* 2, 28). In 543 he defeated a superior Roman army at *Anglon, near *Dvin (*Persian*, II, 25), but had little success in *Lazica in 549/50 (*Gothic*, VIII, 9, 6). GBG

PLRE III, Nabedes.

Nablus *See* NEAPOLIS.

Nacolea (mod. Seyitgazi, Turkey) City of *Phrygia Salutaris and today the site of a Bektaşhi monastery that contains numerous Late Antique marbles. *Valens beheaded the *usurper *Procopius at Nacolea in 366 (*Ammianus, XXVI, 9; 7–11; *Zosimus, IV, 8, 3), and it was the base of *Tribigild during his revolt in 399 (*Philostorgius, *HE* XI, 8). A Church of S. Michael was built by the same Studios who funded the churches of S. Michael at *Germia and *S. John Baptist of Studius at *Constantinople. PhN

TIB 7: *Phrygien und Pisidien* (1990).

C. M. W. Cox and A. Cameron, *MAMA* V (1937).

van Dam, *Roman Revolution of Constantine*, 169–227.

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, II, 60–2.

J. Kramer, 'Architekturteile des Seyitgazi-Tekke (Vilâyet Eskişehir) und die Michaelskirche von Nakoleia', *JbÖB* 22 (1973), 241–50.

Nag Hammadi Town in Upper *Egypt near to which a collection comprising thirteen leather-bound codices was discovered in 1945. Written in *Coptic translated from *Greek originals, the Nag Hammadi codices (NHC) represent one of the largest collections of translated literature from Antiquity. Many of the texts in the collection are unique. They include sectarian theological works with biblical and apocalyptic themes, and also excerpts from Plato's *Republic* (NHC VI, 5) and works associated with *Hermes Trismegistus, the *Asclepias* (NHC VI, 8) and the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI, 6).

The collection may have derived from an Egyptian monastic *library, and taken together the codices have been dated to around the mid-4th century. A significant number of the individual texts are, however, translations of writings deriving from the variegated Christian world of the 2nd century. A number of prominent works from the library, among others the habitual *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1; III, 1; IV, 1), the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II, 2), the *Gospel of Truth* (NHC I, 3), and the *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I, 5), have been used to argue for a *Gnostic–Christian orientation to the collection. The library has also been used in the related enterprise of defining the characteristics of ancient gnosticism, and for acuminating gnostic theology and social organization from Late Antiquity, e.g. the division between Sethian, Valentinian, Thomasian, and Hermetic Gnosticism. NJBB

ET J. M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (^{4}1998).

D. M. Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (2010).

J. M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 86, 2013).

Nahr al-Malik 'King's canal/river' (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 6, 1: *Naarmalcha*), a navigable canal linking the Euphrates and Tigris, joining the latter below *Seleucia–*Ctesiphon and irrigating the area in between. Probably identical with the much older *Nār-šarri* (King's Canal), it was dredged and repaired by *Julian the Apostate. Yaqut records three traditions identifying its founder as Iskandar (Alexander the Great), Aqfurshah b. Balash (Pakor), or Soleyman b. Dawud (Solomon son of David). Istakhri mentions it was crossed by a bridge of boats. DTP

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 149–51.
Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia Judaica*, 196, 224.
M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen* (1900), 27.

Naissus *See* NIŠ.

Najd Desert plateau in Central *Arabia crossed by wadis and containing oases where settlements clustered. In Late Antiquity Najd was populated by *Bedouin tribes over whom the semi-nomadic kingdoms of *Kinda and the *Lakhimids, based on the edges of Najd, exercised partial political authority. PAW

R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).

Najran Oasis in south-west Arabia on the borders of *Yemen and al-*Hijaz. Najran was an important site on trans-Arabian trading routes; a citadel that flourished between *c.*500 BC and AD 250 has been excavated and pre-Islamic south Arabian *inscriptions record campaigns against the Najran oasis as early as 685 BC.

In Late Antiquity, Najran's material fortunes declined, but it remained an agricultural and trading centre on the Yemen/Arabian frontier with links to the Eastern Roman Empire through its Christian community. Christianity entered Najran in the 4th century, allegedly by way of a *Greek-speaking bricklayer called Phemion; there was a bishopric in the 5th century.

The oasis also housed a Jewish community. *Jews and Christians famously clashed *c.*523/4 when a Jewish *Himyarite king, *Yusuf Ash'ar, invaded Najran, killing many Christians. The *persecution of the *Martyrs of Najran and related wars in southern *Arabia are documented in contemporary *Syriac, *Greek, and south Arabian sources; accounts of the Martyrs' passion circulated (*see* HIMYARITES, BOOK OF THE), and the *Qur'ān 85: 4–8 refers to the burning of believers at al-Ukhdud, presumably a reference to the same martyrdoms.

Yusuf Ash'ar did not extinguish Christianity in Najran: the Christian Harith b. Ka'b tribe occupied the oasis in the 6th–7th century and entered into a treaty with *Muhammad in 630 permitting them to keep their faith and religious institutions in return for payment made in *textiles to the Muslim state. Their treaty was upheld by the first *Caliph *Abu Bakr. However the second Caliph *'Umar I allegedly ordered their expulsion to purify *Arabia of non-Muslims. A *mosque named after 'Umar was constructed in Najran, but it is unclear whether the expulsion orders were implemented: and Christians may have lived in Najran until at least the 10th century. PAW

Syriac text, ed. I. Shahid (with ET and comm.), *The Martyrs of Najrān: New Documents* (SubsHag 49, 1971).
ed. (with ET) A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work* (1924).
G. Bowersock, *The Throne of Adulis* (2013).
A. I. al-Ghabban et al., eds., *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (Louvre exhibition catalogue, 2010).

Nakchevan (Arm. Naxčawan, mod. Kocaköy, Kars province, Turkey) Village south of Ani with a tomb perhaps of the 4th century of the Armenian **naxarar* (*nakharar*; noble) Kamsarakan family, murdered by King *Arshak II (**Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* IV, 19; *Movses Khorenats'i III, 30–1). TMvL

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 1, 422.
R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (2001), map 91.

Nakhchivan (Gk. Nazouana; Arm. Nashawā; mod. Arm. Naxiǰewan; post-Soviet Azeri Turkish Naxçıvan) Located north of the Araxes, and known as Naxouana to *Ptolemy (V, 12, 5), the *city, in existence already during the Eruanduni/Orontid Armenian kingdom (4th–2nd cent. BC), formed part of the *road system connecting Iran with the shores of the Black Sea through the successive Armenian capitals of Eruandashat, Armawir, Artashat, and *Valarshapat (Vałaršapat). A prosperous town, it was destroyed by the Persian Shah *Shapur II in 363, who deported its Armenian and *Jewish population into the *Persian Empire (**Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* IV, 55). In 650, when the *Arabs besieged Nakhchivan, the Armenian *Sparapet (commander-in-chief) *Theodore Ṙshtuni closed a pact with them. In 705, after an Armenian rebellion, the **naxarars* (*nakharars*; noble) were burned in churches in Nakhchivan and Goltn (Gogh't'n); thus an entire senior generation of the nobility perished.

The see of the *Bishop of Mardpetakan region was in Nakhchivan, only one of two bishops' sees of the Armenian Church established in a *city before the 9th century. TMvL

N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')* (1989), 482.

N. G. Garsoïan, 'The Arab Invasions and the Rise of the Bagratuni', in R. G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People* (1997), vol. 1, 117–42.
R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (2001).

naming, systems of, Roman and post-Roman Within the distinctive Roman system of three names (*praenomen, nomen*, and *cognomen*), the function of personal identifier had shifted by Late Antiquity from the first to the last, and the *praenomen* had largely fallen into desuetude long before Late Antiquity. After the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 211 granted Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire, the ubiquity of the imperial *nomen* *Aurelius undermined its utility as a family identifier. By AD 300, many on entering state service were keen to adopt the *nomen* of the imperial family (Valerius under the *Tetrarchy, thereafter the Constantinian *Flavius) to differentiate themselves from the majority Aurelii. Evocative nicknames (*signa*) might add differentiation (e.g. the Christian writer Firmianus qui et *Lactantius, or Proculus *signo* Populonius, *consul in 340). Christianization enriched the canon of *cognomina* but did not affect the system. At *Constantinople a new polyonymy emerged, commemorating religious devotion and *patronage, as well as *inheritance. Most people made do with a single *cognomen*; in Europe this system blended seamlessly with those of migrating Germanic *tribes and *Slavs. RWBS

B. Salway, 'What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from *c.*700 BC to AD 700', *JRS* 84 (1994), 124–45.
A. Laniado, 'Parenté, relations et dévotions', in C. Badel and C. Settipani, eds., *Stratégies familiales dans l'Antiquité tardive* (2012), 27–56.

Naples (ancient Neapolis) *City in south-central *Italy on the Bay of Naples, whose population in Late Antiquity fluctuated between 10,000 and 20,000. Located in *Campania *c.*25 km (15 miles) west of Mount Vesuvius, Naples was affected by a serious volcanic eruption in 472.

Civic history

Founded as a Greek colony in the 5th century BC, Naples was a relatively minor Roman city, due in large part to the commercial dominance of nearby Puteoli. But with Puteoli's decline from the 4th century, Naples emerged as the most politically and culturally significant city in Campania. It had an especially cosmopolitan citizenry, including Greeks, Romans, Syrians, Africans, later *Goths and *Lombards, as well as a sizeable Jewish community.

Late Roman Naples was served by a large Roman *aqueduct (the Aqua Augusta), which fed a network of channels and *cisterns capable of holding about 4.5 million cubic metres (990 million gallons) of water. Despite damage in the siege of 536, the aqueduct was evidently repaired, since functioning *baths are recorded in early medieval times.

Since its origins, Naples was a walled city. The Greek defensive circuit was repaired under *Valentinian III (425–50), probably in response to the *Vandals. During the *Byzantine invasion of Italy, Naples was the only city strongly garrisoned by the *Ostrogoths. Its walls were tested when *Belisarius besieged it in 536. He captured the city by cutting the aqueduct and having troops crawl in along its course (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 8–10). The Ostrogoths under *Totila besieged the city in 542–3, starved the Byzantine garrison into submission and set about razing the walls to the ground (*Gothic* VI, 6–8).

Naples also had a Roman forum, including a covered market in use until the mid-6th century (recently excavated beneath the medieval church of S. Lorenzo). Naples (mint mark NE) minted copper half-*folles* *c.*663–95. Some low-quality *gold issues have been attributed uncertainly to the same mint.

Late Antique Naples witnessed a period of intensive ecclesiastical building. While its Christian population dates from the 2nd century, Naples had no prominent local *martyrs. Consequently, it claimed numerous 'imported' martyrs, notably S. Januarius, a *Bishop of Beneventum, martyred, according to legend, at Puteoli during the Great *Persecution. S. Januarius became Naples' *patron saint in the early 5th century, when his *relics were brought to the city by Bishop John I (413–32). They were buried in a *catacomb complex cut into the hill of Capodimonte which came to bear S. Januarius' name ('the Catacombs of S. Gennaro') and which features portraits of Januarius and other Late Roman bishops interred there. According to the **Liber Pontificalis* (34, 32), *Constantine I built a forum, an aqueduct 8 Roman miles long, and a church in Naples, which is traditionally, and perhaps anachronistically, identified as that dedicated to S. Restituta (an Ischian martyr whose *relics were translated to Naples in the 9th century). Built in the (late?) 4th century using *spolia, S. Restituta is the nucleus of the city's present cathedral. During the 5th century, it was annexed to the richly decorated *baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte (*c.*400), constructed by Bishop Severus (363–409). Severus is thought to have constructed another major basilica within Naples, later known as S. Giorgio Maggiore. KMS

P. Arthur, *Naples: From Roman Town to City-State* (2002).
C. Bruzelius and W. Tronzo, *Medieval Naples: An Architectural and Urban History, 400–1100* (2011).
Grierson, *DOC* II/1.

Naples Dioscorides Illustrated Greek herbal manuscript (cod. Neapolitanus, ex Vind. Gr. 1) of

*Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*, with a very large series of title miniatures and painted plant pictures. It was written in the late 7th century and is apparently derived from the same ancestor as the *Vienna *Dioscorides. NAS

C. Bertelli et al., eds., with introd. by G. Cavallo, *Dioscurides Neapolitanus: Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, codex Ex Vindobonensis Graecus 1*, 2 vols. (1992).

Naqlun Mountain south of Fayyum (*Egypt), with a *monastery of the Archangel Gabriel, founded in the second half of the 5th century, a cemetery, and rock-cut hermitages (occupied 5th to 12th cent.). *Greek, Coptic, and *Arabic papyri have been found. MCDP

P. Naqlun = *Deir El-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri*: ed. T. Derda et al., 2 vols. (1995–2008).

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dayr Al-Naqlun, cols. 845a–847a (O. Meinardus and P. Grossman).

W. Godlewski, 'Excavating the Ancient Monastery at Naqlun', in G. Gabra, ed., *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis* (2005), 155–71.

Naqsh-e Rajab Cluster of four Sasanian *rock reliefs located *c.*2 km (1.2 miles) from *Staxr and *c.*4 km (2.5 miles) from Persepolis. They consist of one early relief of *Ardashir I (divine investiture), two of *Shapur I (mounted king with nobles and an equestrian divine investiture), as well as a relief (profile bust portrait) and inscription (KNRa) of the priest *Kerdir. The reliefs are located at a fissure into the northern spur of Kuh-e Rahmat, whose geomorphology indicates an ancient spring flowed from it. MPC

E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 3 vols. (OIP 68–70, 1953–70), vol. 3, 123–5.

M. Canepa, 'Sasanian Rock Reliefs', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (2013).

Naqsh-e Rostam New Persian toponym for an Achaemenid necropolis and *Sasanian *rock reliefs *c.* 8 km (5 miles) north of Persepolis and *c.*2 km (1.2 miles) north-west of *Staxr. The site preserves traces of Elamite reliefs, four Achaemenid tombs, one Achaemenid ashlar tower (the 'Ka'ba-ye Zardosht'), and eight completed Sasanian reliefs. Mud-brick fortifications with rounded Sasanian-style bastions protect the site. *Shapur I carved a trilingual *inscription, the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*), on the Kaba-ye Zardosht. The priest *Kerdir carved a Middle *Persian inscription on the Ka'ba and one next to the relief of Shapur I. The hills nearby carry numerous Sasanian-era mortuary and funerary features. Soundings by E. Schmidt indicate that the space that the fortifications contain was densely built up in the Sasanian period. Evidence from the inscriptions implies the site hosted memorial *fires dedicated to the souls of Shapur I and his family. Some have speculated that the Sasanians reused the Achaemenid tombs. MPC

M. P. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran: Achaemenid Sites and Sasanian Identity', *AJA* 114 (2010), 563–96.

Narbonensis Prima and Secunda *Provinces on the Mediterranean coast of *Gaul created from the former Narbonensis in the *Verona List (256, 5–6) as part of the *Dioecesis *Viennensis, later, e.g. in the **Notitia Dignitatum*, the *Dioecesis *Septem Provinciarum (*occ.* III, 27–8). Each province was governed by a *Praeses (*occ.* I, 113–14).

The **Notitia Galliarum* (15) lists six *civitates* in Narbonensis Prima: *Narbonne, *Toulouse, Béziers, Nîmes, Lodève, and, depending on the manuscripts, Carcasonne or Elne. After 418, parts of the province were protected by the *Visigothic **foederati*. By agreement with the Roman authorities, Visigothic military protection was extended to Narbonne after 462 and Nîmes after 464–5. After 476, the whole province was included in the Visigothic kingdom.

Narbonensis Secunda lay east of Narbonensis Prima and, in the *Notitia Galliarum*, is accorded seven *civitates*: Aix-en-Provence, Apt, Riez, Fréjus, Gap, Sisteron, and Antibes. Following the Visigoth–*Burgundian alliance of 476, the *cities north of the Durance came under Burgundian influence and their *bishops took part in the councils of Agde (506) and Epaone (517). After the war of 506–7, the province was controlled by the *Ostrogoths until 534, when the Ostrogoths ceded the region to the Burgundians. CD

Barrington Atlas, 101G3 and 101H3.

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 7 Narbonne, Narbonnensis Prima, ed. P.-A. Février (1989) and vol. 2 Aix and Embrun, Narbonnensis Secunda, ed. Y. Duval (1986).

A. L. F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern France in Roman Times* (1988).

Chr. Delaplace, *La fin de l'Empire romain d'Occident: Rome et les Wisigoths de 382 à 531* (2016).

Narbonne (*metropolis civitas Narbonensium*, dép. Aude, France) The Roman *colonia* of Narbo, an important port and provincial capital of Gallia Narbonensis in the early imperial period, became the capital of *Narbonensis Prima in Late Antiquity. The *city became a metropolitan see, but with the exception of *Rusticus (427–58/61), whose church-building is commemorated in a series of *inscriptions, its early *bishops appear primarily in the context of resistance to the encroachment of their counterparts in *Arles upon their prerogatives. *Ausonius praised Narbonne's professors (*Professores*, 18–19), its commerce, and its monuments (*Ordo*, 19), but the Late Antique topography of the city is poorly known.

Narbonne was besieged by the *Visigoths in 436, and finally handed over to them in 462 by *Agrippinus in exchange for their support against *Aegidius. *Sidonius rationalized this surrender in a poem (*Carmen*, 23) sent to his friend Consentius that depicted the city as battered but unbowed, and celebrated the hospitality of a resident *aristocracy that also included Leo and *Magnus Felix. The city remained in Gothic hands thereafter, despite recurrent Frankish attacks, and as the main centre of *Septimania, also still known as Gallia *Narbonensis, played a peripheral but intermittently significant part in the politics of the Visigothic kingdom; Liuva I was elected king there in 568, and it was a focus of unsuccessful rebellions against *Reccared in 588 and by *Paul against *Wamba in 672–3. Narbonne fell to the *Arabs in 720, before finally coming under the control of the *Franks in 759. CD; STL

CAGaule, 11, 1 (2003).

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 7 (1989), 15–23; 16/1 (2014), 193–7.

F. Riess, *Narbonne and its Territory in Late Antiquity: From the Wisigoths to the Arabs* (2013).

Narona (mod. Vid, Croatia) *City on the marshy estuary of the River Neretva, in the *province of *Dalmatia, between *Salona and *Epidaurum (Cavtat). Narona was a Hellenistic *emporium* which became a Roman *colonia*, but was eclipsed by *Salona from the 2nd century AD. The Hellenistic and Roman city walls were extended in Late Antiquity.

Excavation of the *forum in the Upper City during the 1990s exposed remains of the Roman Augusteum (*Temple of the *Imperial cult). This contained broken imperial *sculpture and *inscriptions, and had been demolished *c.* AD 400 and covered with a layer of earth and rubble in which were 6th-century burials.

In the Lower City there were several 5th/6th-century Christian *basilicas (one built over a **villa rustica*), including, under the present Church of S. Vitus, the 6th-century cathedral, whose *baptistery walls were painted to resemble *marble. A *bishop is last recorded in AD 533. The site was not occupied during the Middle Ages. IDS

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 9 (2006), col. 512 (E. Olshausen).

E. Marin, 'The Temple of the Imperial Cult (Augusteum) at Narona and its Statues: Interim Report', *JRA* 14 (2001), 80–112.

Narratio de Obitu Theodosii Hierosolymitani Short text in *Syriac relating the *exile (453), imprisonment, and death (457) of *Theodosius, *Patriarch of *Jerusalem, and the exile and recall of his associate, Abba Romanus. In many ways an appendix to *John Rufus' *Life of *Peter the Iberian*; it is transmitted in the same two manuscripts that contain the *Life* and refers back to it (*Narratio*, 21 Brooks). PMP

BHO 1178.

ed. E. W. Brooks, in *Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas Celeberrimorum* I (CSCO 7, Scr. syr. III/25, pp. 21–7, 1907; LT: CSCO 8, Scr. syr. III/25, 15–19, 1907).

ET (annotated) Horn and Phenix, *Rufus*.

ET (annotated) C. B. Horn and R. R. Phenix Jr (WGRW, 2008).

Narratio de Rebus Armeniae Narrative of *Armenian affairs which describes Roman–Armenian relations from a decidedly pro-*Chalcedonian point of view, but is not concerned wholly with ecclesiastical matters. It was written originally in Armenian *c.* AD 700, but only a *Greek translation, possibly of the 8th century, survives.

The Armenian Church ratified the decisions of only the first three œcumenical *councils of the Church. With its rejection of the Christological formulae of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 it gradually distanced itself from the *Greek- and *Latin-speaking Churches and through a series of councils and deliberate theological decisions set a distinct *Miaphysite path away from those Churches. Surviving sources do not permit complete understanding of the events which led to the final rupture between the Churches, as they are mostly written from the point of view of the Armenian Church. However, there clearly remained a minority Chalcedonian element in the Armenian Church structure. LA

Thomson, *BCAL* 174.

ed. (with FT and comm.) G. Garitte (CSCO 132, subsidia 4, 1952).

FT J.-P. Mahé, 'La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae (traduction française)', *REArm* NS 25 (1994–5), 429–38.

N. Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne et le grand schism d'orient* (CSCO 574 subsidia 100, 1999).

narrative in art Late Antique art often told stories. These are drawn from classical mythology, from the *Bible, and from current events. Dense sequences of narrative cycles are shown in wall paintings, *mosaics, illuminated manuscripts, *textiles, the minor arts, *sculpture, and various plastic media. Sometimes narratives follow a chronological sequence of scenes, as in the battle scenes on the Column of *Arcadius, or in the illuminations of such manuscripts as the *Vatican Vergil, the *Vienna Genesis, and the 5th-century mosaics at the clerestory level of S. Maria Maggiore in *Rome. Sometimes such scenes are represented as *totum simul*, where two stages of a story are represented in the same image, as in the figure of Barabbas in the scene of Christ before Pilate in the *Rossano Gospels. Sometimes images are arranged thematically, as in the choice of scenes on the *Arch of *Galerius at *Thessalonica

illustrating different elements of imperial glory, or in *hunting sequences like those in the 3rd/4th-century Hunting *Baths at *Lepcis Magna which evoke the image of war without its guilt, or in *circus and arena scenes which symbolize *victory, as in the floor mosaics at the *villa at *Piazza Armerina in *Sicily. Christian art sometimes presents narrative scenes typologically, so that images of Daniel in the Lions' Den and the Crossing of the Red Sea in the *Catacombs at Rome and on *sarcophagi at *Arles are associated with one another as exemplifying *persecution and liberation, and the mosaics in the sanctuary of the Church of S. Vitale in *Ravenna represent types of the *Eucharist. Sometimes such thematic patterns can be exceedingly subtle, incorporating thematic notions and biographical allusion in a complex series of images, as on the Sarcophagus of *Junius Bassus of 359. DK; OPN

Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 49–119.
Age of Spirituality, 396–512.
Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage 1 (1967), 2 (1998), 3 (2003).

Narsai (d. after 496) Director of schools and *Syriac poet. Narsai was a student, then teacher at the School of *Edessa. He became director probably around 450. After twenty years, that is *c.*471 under *Bishop *Qura (but before the closure of the school in 489), he was expelled, or fled. He migrated to *Nisibis, in Persian territory, and under the patronage of the Bishop *Barsauma assumed charge of a new school. He was still in office in 496 when the *Statutes of the School at *Nisibis* were published. *Barhadbeshabba gives him a lifespan of more than 100 years (*c.*399–502).

Narsai is venerated in the *Church of the East, where he is called the 'Harp of the Holy Spirit'. As a poet, Narsai cultivated the form of a verse homily (Syriac **memra*, plur. *memre*). He is credited with 360 *memre*, of which 81 survive, the majority on biblical subjects. Narsai's exegesis draws on earlier Syriac sources (*Ephrem in particular) but he more closely follows the commentaries and method of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, generally rejecting *typology and *allegory. Narsai's *memra* on the 'Greek doctors' *Diodore of *Tarsus, Theodore, and *Nestorius is the first evidence of the canonization of these Antiochene authorities in the east Syriac Church. Chapter 31 of Barhadbeshabba's *Church History* outlines the life of Narsai. There is further biographical information in Barhadbeshabba's *Cause of the Foundation of Schools* (383–7). JFC

GEDSH s.v. Narsai, 303–4 (Van Rompay).
ed. (with FT) P. Gignoux, *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création* (PO 34/3–4, 1968).
ed. (with ET) F. McLeod, *Narsai's Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension* (PO 40/1, 1979).
'Life of Narsai' (i.e. Barḥadbeshabba *HE* 31):
ed. (with FT) F. Nau, PO 9/5 (1913) 588/100–615/127.
ET (annotated with introd.) A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008), 47–72.

Narseh *Sasanian King of Kings (r. AD 293–302). Before his coronation in 293, Narseh, a devoted Mazdean, had governed two viceroyalties (first Hind, Sakastan, and *Turan; later *Armenia). After *Hormizd I's death (273), *Bahram I appears to have ignored Narseh's claim to the throne. In 293, the coronation of *Bahram II's son led to a serious crisis in the *Persian Empire. Some members of the aristocracy offered the *crown to Narseh. In the end, *Bahram III renounced the throne, and Narseh became seventh Sasanian King of Kings.

In 296–8, Narseh undertook an invasion of *Armenia which ended in disaster for the Sasanians. Narseh himself was able to escape from the battlefield, leaving behind 13 *elephants, 250 *horses, and the women of his *court. The peace treaty of *Nisibis in 298 dictated by *Diocletian caused a considerable loss of territory for the Sasanians and of prestige for Narseh (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 14). JWi

EncIran (2016) *s.n.* Narseh (U. Weber).
U. Weber, 'Narseh, König der Könige von Ērān und Anērān', *Iranica Antiqua* 47 (2012), 153–302.

Narses (*c.*479–*c.*574) *Eunuch courtier and general from *Persarmenia and one of *Justinian I's closest collaborators. He served successively as *Sacellarius et *Primicerius Sacri *Cubiculi (530–1), *Spatharius (532), Sacellarius et *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi (537/8–554), and **patricius* (559–*c.*574). During the *Nika Riot of 532 he rallied *Blues to the *emperor by bribery and helped quell the *disorder. In 535–6 he provided armed support for the anti-*Chalcedonian patriarch *Theodosius in *Alexandria before being dispatched to fight the *Ostrogoths in *Italy in 538. He was recalled to *Constantinople in 539 as a result of disagreements with *Belisarius. Appointed to supreme command of the war in *Italy in 551 after the death of *Germanus, he recruited a heterogeneous force with which he defeated *Totila at *Busta Gallorum (Taginae) in June 552. In October 552 he destroyed the remaining Gothic forces under *Teias (Theia) at Mons Lactarius. He defeated a *Frankish army at *Casilinus in spring 554; only in 562 did he capture the last cities loyal to the Goths. He remained at *Rome as the effective governor of the peninsula until his death. Although he may have failed to accede to a summons to Constantinople by *Justin II in 568, the later tradition that he invited the *Lombards to invade Italy is untrustworthy. His military successes may be due largely to the substantial resources at his disposal and to his firm control of his subordinates. GBG

PLRE III, Narses 1.
P. Rance, 'Narses and the Battle of Taginae (Busta Gallorum) 552', *Historia* 54 (2005), 424–72.

Narses Roman general. In 530 Narses and his brother *Aratius defected from their native Persian *Armenia to the famous Roman general *Narses. As commander at *Philae in southern *Egypt, he destroyed pagan shrines of the *Blemmyes and *Nubians. Later, he served in *Italy in 538–40 against the Goths, and died in 543 fighting Persians in Armenia. OPN; FKH

PLRE III, Narses 2.
Greatrex, *RPW* 147, 189, 192.

Narses Roman general under *Maurice. In 591 he helped *Khosrow II defeat *Bahram VI Chobin and regain the Persian throne. In 602 *Phocas overthrew Maurice. Khosrow refused to recognize Phocas; Narses revolted, seized *Edessa, and asked Khosrow for help, but was captured, taken to *Constantinople, and burned alive. OPN

PLRE III, Narses 10.

narthex A narrow passage at ground level running perpendicular to the nave and aisles of a church, providing access to each through *doors. A double narthex consists of an esonarthex (inner narthex) and an exonarthex (outer narthex). An exonarthex may serve as the rear portico of an atrium, the courtyard preceding a church. JB

Nasr b. Sayyar (d. AD 748) The last *Umayyad governor of *Khorasan, Nasr was elevated to the title of governor in AD 738, aged 74. While Nasr ended twenty years of war against raiding Turkic tribesmen, the region remained divided, and the elevation of a local Arab with connections to the Mudar (north Arabian) tribes was seen as a way to secure the area once again. Nasr also began a programme of tax reform. With the turmoil around the succession after the death of the *Caliph *Hisham (r. AD 723–43), control in Khorasan became increasingly difficult, and troop resupply became sporadic. Soon after Nasr's death, Khorasan was lost to the Umayyads, shortly before the Umayyad caliphate itself fell. RHos

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Naṣr b. Sayyār, 1015–16 (Bosworth).
Y. K. Blankinship, *The End of the Jihād State* (1994).

Nasrids The term describes an *Arab dynasty, also known as the Lakhimids, allied to the *Persian Empire. The earliest evidence for the family is from the *Paikuli *inscription, where "Amr of Lakhm' appears as a vassal of *Narseh (293–302). *Tabari (V) reports that one *Imru'l-Qays, perhaps the same as the individual from the Nemara inscription from *Syria (328), was also of the family, but the identification is not certain. In contrast to the *Jafnids, most detailed evidence for the individual family members is derived from Muslim histories of the dynasty and its base at al-*Hira in Iraq. However, at certain points the family appears in Graeco-Roman sources. Several incidents involving the Nasrids feature in contemporary reports, including battles near *Edessa (*Joshua the Stylite, 51–3), the incursions into Syria of al-*Mundhir III (Alamundarus; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 17, 40–3), the involvement of al-Mundhir's son 'Amr (Ambrus) in treaty negotiations (*Menander Protector, *fragmenta* 6.1), and the adoption of Christianity by al-*Nu'man III (Naamanes, 4; *Evagrius, *HE* VI, 22). Al-Nu'man was deposed by *Khosrow II in *c.*602 and the Nasrid dynasty ended. As with the Jafnids, the accuracy of the terminology is contested, but similarly identifying and separating the elite offers analytical benefits. GF

PLRE II, Alamundarus; IIIA, Naamanes 4.
C. Bosworth, 'Iran and the Arabs Before Islam', in E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran, The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, 3 vols. (³1983), 593–612.
G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥira. Ein Versuch zur arabisch-persischen Geschichte zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (1899).
I. Shahid, *BAFIC.*

natalis Latin for 'birthday', Greek *genethlia*. Christians in 2nd-century *Smyrna celebrated the 'birthday of the martyrdom' of their *bishop S. Polycarp (*Passio*, 18). In 3rd-century *Carthage care was taken to commemorate *martyrs on the exact day of their ultimate witness (*Cyprian, *ep.* 12, 2, 1; cf. 39, 3). The *festivals of popular saints spread beyond their local communities. MFC

Delehaye, *Origines*, ch. 2.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques.*
Brown, *Cult of the Saints.*

natalis imperii *See* ANNIVERSARIES, IMPERIAL.

natural disasters As the means to manipulate the natural environment were very limited in Late Antiquity, the effects of any event that disturbed the fragile balance between humans and their management of nature were often considerable. A number of natural phenomena fall within the category of disasters: climatic anomalies (droughts, floods, excessive cold), *earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, *tsunamis, and pests (predominantly *locusts). They could result both in direct mortality and, more often than not, in affecting livelihoods through the destruction of agricultural production, thus leading to shortages and *famine.

At times, secondary effects of such events could have important repercussions as well. For example, long droughts would cause nomadic pastoralists to migrate en masse (thus changing demographic patterns and

passively transporting disease), whereas gas emitted through volcanic eruptions would dim sunlight and negatively affect agricultural production, as with the *Dust Veil of 536. Some of the above phenomena were common, and therefore populations had developed strategies of coping with their effects. When, however, their intensity grew or when more than one disaster occurred in close succession, the coping mechanisms broke down and outside aid was required. This took the form of imperial help for the reconstruction of damaged *cities, import of foodstuffs, or assisted relocation. A telling account of how populations reacted to multiple catastrophes (plague of locusts, *epidemic disease, famine, drought) is preserved in the *Chronicle* of *Joshua the Stylite for the turn of the 6th century in *Mesopotamia.

In pagan times, the only technology available to vulnerable pagan Mediterranean communities for sustaining normal environmental conditions was to maintain the regular calendar of *festivals of the gods. These were set by tradition, because too little observance made the gods angry, but excessive worship (Lat. *superstitio*; Gk. *deisdaimonia*), often motivated by fear, was deemed to bring on bursts of divine favour which could not be sustained in the long term. If natural disasters did occur, Greek *cities might well seek advice from an *oracle. Roman cities might perform a repetition (*instauratio*) of a festival which had been deemed flawed (e.g. *Arnobius, VII, 39). Christians were criticized and persecuted precisely because they denigrated efforts to avert the anger of the gods (e.g. Arnobius, I, 1-26; IV, 36). Once cities turned Christian, such means were not available. Furthermore, the thinking behind crisis management shifted. In the first books of the *City of God*, *Augustine argued against the notion that divine anger was turned on and off in response to individual events or irregularities, whether ritual or moral. Other Christians thought more narrowly in terms of disasters as punishment for sin, or as types of the tribulation which would occur at the Last Times. Their reaction was expressed in *processions, litanies, and *prayers, such as those inaugurated in response to earthquakes in 5th-century *Constantinople, a city which from its foundation by Constantine had taken the risk of doing without a calendar of 'feasts of *demons' (*Eusebius, *VCon* III, 48, 2). *Holy men were often perceived as protectors against such events and as mediators for their cessation once these were under way. In the West, *Rogation developed precisely as a regular annual ritual for asking God's blessing on the kindly fruits of the earth.

DSt; OPN

A. Arjava, 'The Mystery Cloud of 536 CE in the Mediterranean Sources', *DOP* 59 (2005), 73–94.
Hordern and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*.
Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*.
E. Watts, 'Interpreting Catastrophe: Disasters in the Works of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, Socrates Scholasticus, Philostorgius and Timothy Aelurus', *JLA* 2 (2009), 79–98.

Naucellius, Junius (Julius) (*c.*320s–*c.*427) *Senator and friend of *Symmachus (*epp.* III, 10–16). After living in *Rome, he retired to *Spoleto in old age. He is the author of some (not all) of the **Epigrammata Bobiensia*, and may, less probably, have compiled it.

JFU

PLRE I, Naucellius.
E. Champlin, 'The Epitaph of Naucellius', *ZPE* 49 (1982), 184.
W. Speyer, *Naucellius und sein Kreis. Studien zu den Epigrammata Bobiensia* (1959).

naval warfare Fighting by sea, like fighting on land, is a matter of tactics and movement. Hellenistic and Roman *fleets employed various practices, of which sailing around (Gk. *periplous*) or sailing through (Gk. *diekplous*) were the commonest. The development of faster *ships under the Roman Empire led to changes in naval tactics. Rather than manoeuvring to a position from which the enemy could be rammed and sunk, naval commanders aimed to degrade an enemy ship's ability to fight, so that it could then be boarded and captured. However, from the 1st to the 5th century AD the Romans lacked significant maritime enemies in the Mediterranean; *Vegetius excused his cursory coverage of naval matters by saying that 'the sea has long been pacified, and our struggle with barbarian races is played out on land' (*De Re Militari*, IV, 31). The Roman navy up till the 5th century was engaged mostly in providing transport, patrolling the Mediterranean for *pirates, and guarding the northern *frontiers of the Empire.

Provisioning an advancing *army from a fleet sailing alongside was a common military practice. The commissariat of *Julian's army invading the *Persian Empire in 363 floated down the Euphrates. The army of *Belisarius during the *Byzantine invasion of *Africa in 534 disembarked five days' journey south of *Carthage (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 14, 17; cf. *Aed.* VI, 6, 6–16), and marched up the coast with the fleet alongside providing supplies (*Vandalic*, III, 17, 50).

The ports at Misenum in *Campania and *Ravenna at the head of the Adriatic Sea, established in the 1st century BC, provided the bases for a few large vessels, though most of the ships there were three-level *triremes and smaller **liburnae*. These were the largest warships of Late Antiquity prior to the development of the **dromon* in the 6th century, a development on which they had a great influence. The *fleets at Misenum and Ravenna are listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* in the early 5th century (*occ.* XLII, 3–11; cf. *Vegetius, IV, 32). The arrival of the *Vandals in *Africa in 428/9

affected the balance of naval power in the western Mediterranean; in 455 they sacked *Rome, they acquired *Corsica and *Sardinia, and were in a position to threaten *Alexandria (*VDanStyl* 56). *Leo I's colossal naval expedition of 468, commanded by *Basiliscus, ended in a crushing Vandal naval victory off Cape Bon. Belisarius' battles with the Vandals took place on land, and the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy was also mostly fought out on land, although the *Ostrogoths were defeated in a naval battle off Ancona in 551 (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 23 8–42). Byzantine reliance as a bridgehead on *Otranto, the port on the heel of Italy which assures the shortest possible crossing of the Adriatic, suggests a continuing reluctance to cast military fortunes upon the waters of the western Mediterranean.

Roman fleets in the East were involved in naval warfare from time to time from the 6th century onwards. It was thought possible that a hostile *Lazica might pose a maritime threat to *Constantinople (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 15, 27 and II, 28, 23), and the Persians found it worthwhile to carry on naval operations around *Phasis on the Black Sea (*Agathias, III, 20, 1–8 and 21, 3–9). It is probable that the Persians also deployed fleets in their operations in southern *Arabia and *Ethiopia in the 6th century. More seriously, the *Persian invasion of Asia Minor resulting in the capture of *Rhodes in 622/3 and culminating in the *Avar–Persian siege of *Constantinople in 626 used the sea room off the south coast of *Anatolia in ways which foreshadowed naval operations during the *Arab invasions such as the Battle of the Masts in 655 off *Phoenix of *Lycia.

By this time naval technology was moving on with the evolution of the *dromon*, the imperial galley which developed into the Byzantine *dromon* of the medieval period. This sort of *dromon* is first mentioned in sources of the 6th century, the *Chronicle* of *Marcellinus Comes (*ad ann.* AD 508) and *John Lydus (*Mag.* II, 14; III, 43). The *dromon* was fully decked, approximately 25 m (82 feet) in length, with banks (one or two) of 25 oarsmen on each side. Some had decking to provide a platform for *archery and *artillery. *Siphones* for projecting *Greek Fire also came to form part of their armament. Changes in technology led to changes in tactics; the objective was less to sink enemy ships than to exchange missiles until grappling onto them made it possible to take possession by boarding them. With the exception of the Early Byzantine shipwrecks excavated from the *harbour at Yenikapı at *Constantinople, there are very few archaeological discoveries of Late Roman seafaring warships, but it seems that Roman naval superiority at the end of Late Antiquity derives principally from three factors: Greek fire, the *dromon*, and the *chelandion*, a variant on the *dromon* with greater cargo capacity, first attested for the mid-8th century.

The northern limits of the Empire also enjoyed naval protection. A series of naval bases on the east coast of *Britain and the north coast of *Gaul provided a bilateral system of defence which the **Notitia Dignitatum* states was under the command of the *Comes of the *Saxon Shore. It was his subversion of this system which made possible the usurpation of *Carausius in the early years of *Diocletian.

The *Notitia* also gives details of the fleets stationed on the river all along the Danube *frontier, but Vegetius, in the abrupt final sentence of *De Re Militari* (IV, 46), disclaims knowledge of their methods of operation. It was the collapse of this system in the 5th century which ultimately made possible *Gepid domination of much of the middle Danube in the time of *Justinian I, and so permitted *Slavs in their *monoxyls to take part in successive sieges of *Thessalonica, inspiring the chapters on waterborne warfare in the **Strategicon* of *Maurice. JC; OPN

D. Baatz and R. Bockius, *Vegetius und die römische Flotte* (RGZM Monographien 39, 1997).

Pryor and Jeffreys, *Age of the Dromon*, 134–52, 382–406.

R. Van Nort, *The Battle of Adrianople and the Military Doctrine of Vegetius* (doctoral diss., New York University, 2007).

A. Sarantis, 'Naval Battle Tactics', in A. Sarantis and N. J. Christie, *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity* (2013), 199–207.

naval warfare, Arab Surviving Egyptian *papyri tell us much about *Umayyad-era naval organization: the requisitioning and pay of skilled workers for shipyards, the apprehension of fugitive workers, and the fleets' chains of command. Egyptian shipyards included *Alexandria and *Clysma (Suez); in *Syria, activity was concentrated in *Tyre and Acre. Initially, shipbuilders and sailors were mostly Christians or **mawali* (non-Arab converts to *Islam), and the on-board troops mostly Arab Muslims; the latter earned higher salaries.

Muslim naval warfare combined naphtha bombardment with ramming and boarding. Fleets were used for sea battles (e.g. the Battle of the Masts, against the Byzantines, off *Phoenix of *Lycia in 655), to blockade and besiege ports (notably *Constantinople, 674–8 and 717–18), and to land raiders on islands (including, during the 7th century, *Crete, *Cyprus, Rhodes, and *Sicily). NC

EI 2 vol. 7 (1993), Milāḥa, 40–53 (Tibbetts).

H. I. Bell, ed. and tr., *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 4: *The Aphrodito Papyri* (1910).

M. Canard, 'Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende', *Journal Asiatique* 208 (1926), 61–121.

L. I. Conrad, 'Islam and the Sea', *al-Qantara* 23 (2002), 123–54.

A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organization in the Eastern Mediterranean* (²1966).

G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* (²1995).

X. de Planhol, *L'Islam et la mer* (2000).

Navan Fort Artificial mound and ring fort in Co. Armagh, *Ireland, identified with *Emain Macha*, ancient seat of the kings of Ulster. Much evidence from the site indicates an important 1st-millennium BC political and cult centre. In Late Antiquity, the site was prominent in folk memory: tales in the Ulster Cycle (perhaps in existence by *c.*400) mention it, later genealogies suggest erroneously it fell in the 5th century, around the time of the establishment of the Christian centre at *Armagh. NJE

T. Kinsella, *The Táin: Translated from the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cuailnge* (1969).
B. Wailes, 'The Irish "Royal Sites" in History and Archaeology', *CMCS* 3 (1982), 1–29.

navicularii *Shipowners or masters, often organized into a *guild, obliged to perform public service transporting goods for the Roman state, especially *grain from *Egypt and North *Africa to *Rome and *Constantinople. *Navicularii* financed and organized the construction, repair, and operation of *merchant ships and enjoyed a range of privileges and exemptions from *taxation and *tolls (CTh XIII, 5). They conducted private shipping business, though the state legislated to limit such activity and to prevent profiteering from government cargoes (CTh XIII, 5, 24, and 26). Some *navicularii* were ship's captains while others might hire captain and crew and might include women and slaves (*Digest, XIV, 1, 1, 15). The primary connection with shipping seems progressively to have disappeared but *navicularii* were still involved in the Late Roman *food supply system. Their state obligations could be transmitted hereditarily or through the sale of landed property upon which such burdens were imposed. JC; AG

W. Broekaert, *Navicularii et Negotiantes: A Prosopographical Study of Roman Merchants and Shippers* (2013), 216–22.
L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971), 314ff.
L. De Salvo, 'I Navicularii di Sardegna e d'Africa nel tardo Impero', in *L'Africa romana: Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari 1988* (1989), 743–54.
ODB 1441.
J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain* (1966), 142, 154–5, 252–3.

navigation Ancient Mediterranean *ships utilized a pair of side rudders (technically called quarter-rudders), while North Sea ships used a single side rudder. The stern rudder was not unknown, but generally appears to have been reserved for river craft. Both square sails (for sailing with the wind) and triangular lateen sails (for tacking against the wind) were in widespread use.

Mediterranean sailors long navigated by the simple system of pilotage, not sailing out of sight of land and even pulling up on the shore every night. Warships had difficulty carrying enough food or water for a voyage and needed to stop frequently. This system relied on landmarks, such as the *lighthouse at *Corunna and the *temple on the *Bosporus whose *demons S. *Daniel the Stylite considered had lured earlier mariners into danger. No doubt the pillar of S. *Symeon Stylites the Younger, set high on the mountain overlooking *Seleucia Pieria, the port of *Antioch, was also a guide to mariners. Reliance on landmarks required no knowledge of the stars, but for sailing at night knowledge of the stars was necessary and for merchant ships, unlike warships, such sailing was desirable.

For this purpose many *astronomical texts were available. Aratus and *Ptolemy were popular throughout Late Antiquity and *Avienius translated Aratus into *Latin in the 4th century. Many geographical aids, such as the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus, were produced in the 4th century. *Gregory of Tours in the 6th century wrote *De Cursu Stellarum*, a handbook for telling the time of night by the stars.

Sailing speed with a following wind was 4–6 knots (making it a two–three-day trip from *Rome to *Carthage, seven days from Rome to Cadiz) but with poor winds speed was closer to 1–2 knots (30 days from *Marseilles, 7 days from *Alexandria to *Cyprus). Favourable winds are more likely as one moves clockwise around the Mediterranean. Puteoli–Alexandria could take 8 or 9 days but Alexandria–Puteoli could take 50–60 days. Rowing at 'ramming speed' got up to around 7–9 knots.

Because of these prevailing winds and currents, ships generally sailed the Mediterranean in an anticlockwise direction. The *grain fleet sailing from Alexandria to *Rome routinely stopped in Cyprus and Rhodes, for example. Travel along the coast of *Africa was possible in both directions due to the very strong land and sea breezes. To sail against the prevailing winds could take five times as long as the reverse journey.

Additionally, as *Vegetius indicates, the Mediterranean had an annual closed season between 10 November and 10 March) dictated by the winter storms that made winter sailing dangerous and marked in pagan times by the ceremonies of the ship of *Isis. In the Indian Ocean, as *Cosmas Indicopleustes well knew, the monsoons meant that merchants could only travel in one direction before the season changed (June to October, in this case). ALB

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*.
Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*.

***naxarar* (*nakharar*)** *Armenian term meaning a noble dynast. The phrase '*naxarar* system' is used in modern scholarship to describe the dynastic system of social organization that predominated in Armenia between the 4th and 7th centuries. '*Naxarar*' did not

constitute a title or rank, but denoted members of the hereditary nobility in general. The dynasts possessed 'immemorial rights' including inalienable properties, privileges, and offices that derived from their sovereign status prior to the establishment of the monarchy. Property was held in common and administered by the head of the family; succession was agnatic. Although the *naxarar*s were theoretically considered to be of equal rank, in practice there existed a hierarchy among them that was reflected in the 'seat' (*gah*) that a *naxarar* occupied at court. The rights possessed by the *naxarar*s often limited the powers of the king who was obliged to consult with the council of nobles. The **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (late 5th cent.) constitutes the principal source for the *naxarar* system in the 4th century, prior to which the sources do not permit a precise understanding of its development. SVLa

N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System* (rev. ET by N. Garsoïan, 1970).

N. Garsoïan, 'Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Elements in Arsacid Armenia', *Handes Amsorya* 90 (1976), 177–234.

Garsoian, *P'awstos Buzand.*.

C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963).

Nazareth A Jewish town in *Galilee where in the time of *Constantine I, according to *Epiphanius of Salamis, there were no pagans, *Samaritans, or Christians (*Panarion*, XXX, 1, 9–10). The *Piacenza Pilgrim records that Nazareth had the most beautiful women among the Hebrews, and he found the surrounding countryside as fertile for *grain as *Egypt and better for *wine and *olive oil and fruit. In the *synagogue he saw the bench where Jesus had sat as a boy with the other children, and also the house of the Virgin *Mary which had been turned into a *basilica. Arculf spent two days and nights in Nazareth, which, so he told *Adomnán (*De Locis Sanctis*, II, 26), had no circuit of walls, but had two enormous churches, one over the house where Jesus grew up and the other over the house where the Annunciation occurred.

The remains of a Late Antique *mosaic floor of the Annunciation Basilica were uncovered in 1892 by B. Vlaminick. Systematic excavations were directed by B. Bagatti in 1955 and extended over the area of the Romanesque Crusader basilica and adjoining buildings. BH; OPN

B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*, tr. from Italian by E. Hoade, 2 vols. (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 17, 1969–2002).

P. Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises de l'Annonciation et de Saint-Joseph* (1910).

B. Vlaminick, *A Report of the Recent Excavations and Explorations Conducted in the Sanctuary of Nazareth* (1900).

Nazarius Identified as a distinguished rhetorician by *Ausonius (*Professors of Bourdeaux*, 14, 9), with a daughter equally accomplished (*Jerome, *Chron.* 233l Helm), Nazarius probably taught in *Bordeaux or *Rome. He was the author of a *panegyric addressed to *Constantine I in 321, extant as **Panegyrici Latini*, IV (10). RDR

PLRE I, Nazarius.

ed. R. A. B. Mynors, in Rodgers and Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors 608–28* (with ET and notes, 334–85).

Nazianzus Small bishopric in *Cappadocia Secunda, near modern Bekârlar (formerly Nenizi), 30 km (20 miles) east of Koloneia (Aksaray). The father of *Gregory of Nazianzus built a *domed octagonal church with two perambulatories (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 18, 39), which does not survive. PJT

TIB 2 (1981) *Kappadokien*, 244–5.

R. Van Dam, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* (2003), 40–58.

Nea Anchialos (ancient Thebes of Thessaly; Thebai Phthiotides) Third *city of the *province of *Thessalia, and an important port on the Pagasitic gulf. Originally two settlements; the Romans moved the main habitation to the coastal location, known as Thebai Phthiotides in texts but Thebai on coins and *inscriptions. The city's prosperity of the 4th to 7th centuries declined after a catastrophe, which included a fire.

The *bishop attended the *Council of *Nicaea in 325. Extensive excavations have revealed the remains of nine early Christian churches, including a *basilica with two *baptisteries. Its episcopal church (Basilica A), of the 5th/6th century and dedicated to S. *Demetrius, has a twin-towered atrium similar to the Acheiropoietos church in *Thessalonica. *Procopius records that the walls were renewed under *Justinian I (*Aed.* IV, 3, 5). A *pottery workshop has been identified in the marketplace, together with *baths, a restaurant, and other basilicas. PA; OPN

TIB 1 (1976), 271–2 *s.n.* Thebai Phthiotides.

O. Karagiorgou in Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*, 156–67.

P. Lazarides, '*Ανασκαφή Νέας Ανχίαλου*', *PraktArchHetair* (1982), 95–104.

A. Avramea, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλία μέχρι τοῦ 1204* (1974), 150–6.

Neapolis (mod. Nablus) City in Palestine, between *Gerizim and Ebal, *c.*57 km (37 miles) north of *Jerusalem and *c.*1.5 km (1 mile) west of biblical Shechem (mod. Tel Balāta) of Samaria. It was founded as Flavia Neapolis on the site of an older village in AD 72 by Vespasian and made a Roman *colonia* in 244.

The *bishop attended the councils of *Ancyra (*Ankara, 314) and *Nicaea.

The pilgrim guide of *Theodosius (2) mentions Jacob's well and the bones of Joseph. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (6) saw in the *Basilica of S. John the well and the fig tree where Jesus spoke with the Samaritan woman. *Procopius describes the Samaritan uprising of *Justasas under *Zeno, after which the summit of Mount Gerizim was turned into a Christian sanctuary, and that under *Anastasius I (*Aed.* V, 7); he does not mention the rising of 529 under *Justinian I, during which many churches and *estates were burned and the *usurper *Julian laid on chariot racing in the Neapolis *circus, thereby claiming an imperial prerogative (*John Malalas, XVIII, 35). The *Madaba Map showed it still a substantial *city in the 6th century. In 636, the city, together with the greater part of Palestine, was conquered by the Muslims. RP

EncJud (2nd edn. 2007), vol. 14, 718, s.v. Nablus (M. Avi-Yonah/ S. Gibson).

Y. Magen, *Flavia Neapolis: Shechem in the Roman Period in the 1st–4th Century A.D.* (Judaea and Samaria Publications, 11, 2009).

G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500, Translated from the Works of the Mediaeval Arab Geographers* (1890; repr. 2008).

Negev The southern desert in the present state of Israel, representing more than a third of its territory. It extends from the south of the *Gaza strip to the Dead Sea and from the Beersheva plain to the northern edge of the Red Sea. Its eastern and western edges are the Egyptian and Jordanian borders. During the Late Roman period, the Negev was the largest part of the *province of *Palaestina Tertia. The ruins of ancient towns, mostly of Nabataean origin, were discovered in the 19th century but excavated much later. Christianity was introduced into the region in the 4th century by monks from *Gaza (*Jerome, *Life of Hilarion*, 25); *inscriptions and literary references attest to the development of the Church. PFi

J. Shereshevski, *Byzantine Urban Settlements in the Negev Desert* (1991).

P. Figueras, 'Monks and Monasteries in the Negev Desert', *Liber Annuus* 45 (1995), 401–47.

P. Figueras, 'The Christian History of the Negev ad Northern Sinai', in D.-M. A. Jaeger, ed., *Tantur Papers on Christianity in the Holy Land* (1981), 147–67.

Negev, churches and synagogues of Following the introduction of Christianity in about AD 350, churches were built in all the towns and villages of the *Negev, and their ruins have been excavated in *Elusa, *Oboda, *Sobata, *Nessana, *Memphis (Mampsis), Ruheibeh, Birosaba, Horvat Karkur 'Illit, Tel Qerioth, and others. They are large *basilicas, with two rows of columns separating the nave and aisles and ending with one or three *apses, all facing east. *Baptisteries, chapels, and *diaconicon and *prothesis chambers were annexed to many of them. Independent chapels have also been excavated, particularly in *monasteries, such as Tel Masos and Tel Ira. In contrast, the only evidence for the existence of any *synagogues in the region is a chancel pillar with an *Aramaic *inscription discovered in Birosaba. PFi

A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (1970).

A. Negev, 'The Churches of the Central Negev: An Archaeological Survey', *RevBibl* 81 (1974), 400–22.

Nehardea Place near *Mahoze in Persian *Mesopotamia, identified with Tell Nihar/Quhr Nahar. At the end of the period of the Tannaim, the rabbinic sages whose views are recorded in the Mishnah, Samuel ben Abba established the reputation of its Jewish academy, which came to be considered one of the main centres of Babylonian Judaism. After its destruction in 259, scholars studied at *Pumbedita.

In the 4th–5th centuries, Nehardea became again an important place of scholarship because of renowned Amoraim sages such as Amemar, mentioned in the *Talmud for his liturgical innovations. Nehardea was the seat of the Jewish *exilarchate before it was transferred to *Sura. CJ

J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, I–IV (Studia post-Biblica 9, 11, 12, 14; 1966–70).

Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia Judaica*, 198–207.

Nemesianus, Marcus Aurelius Olympius (*fl.* 283/4) *Latin poet of didactic and pastoral poetry. Nemesianus, a native of *Carthage, was celebrated as a poet in his lifetime. The *Historia Augusta* claims he participated in a poetry competition with the future *Emperor *Numerian (*HA* Carus 11, 2). The titles of a number of didactic poems are attested, but only the first 325 lines of his *Cynegetica*, about hounds and *hunting, have survived. Nemesianus' reference in that work to the 'brave sons of deified Carus' (line 65) implies a date between *Carus' death (283) and the death of his son Numerian (284). He also wrote four pastoral poems transmitted in manuscripts as part of the corpus of Calpurnius Siculus. Two fragments of a poem *De Aucupio* ('On Bird-Catching') have also been ascribed to him, doubtfully.

For Nemesianus, hunting symbolizes an idyllic retreat from the *city and from urban and political concerns. Allusions to the danger and excitement of hunting, and the moralizing and imperial overtones of his Augustan predecessor Grattius, are replaced by Nemesianus with *praise of hunting as an activity appropriate to **otium*. His pastoral poems, more nostalgic and idealizing in tone than those of Calpurnius, are intricately intertextual, reworking names, phrases, and even entire lines from *Vergil and Calpurnius into new situations. JFU

PLRE I, Nemesianus 2.
HLL 5, section 555.
ed. H. J. Williams, *The Eclogues and Cynegetica of Nemesianus* (1986).
ed. (with ET) J. W. and A. M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* vol. 2 (LCL, ²1982), 451–515.
W. Schetter, 'Nemesians Bucolica und die Anfänge der spätlateinischen Dichtung', in C. Gnilke and W. Schetter, eds., *Studien zur Literatur der Spätantike* (1975), 1–43.
P. Toohey, *Melancholy, Love, and Time: Boundaries of the Self in Ancient Literature* (2004), 246–53.

Nemesius of Emesa *Bishop of Emesa (mod. Homs, *Syria), late 4th century, known only from his *De Natura Hominis*. This remarkable work, in the apologetic tradition, explores the nature of the human being as a supreme example of divine providence, discussed in the final chapters, thereby demonstrating a Christian view of God and the cosmos. As an apologist, Nemesius draws extensively on the classical philosophical (and medical) tradition, outlining, with citations, the different views of the *philosophers, before expressing the Christian view. The work adds greatly to our knowledge of, especially, Hellenistic philosophy. Unmentioned until its use by *Maximus the Confessor in the 7th century, it thereafter became, together with *Gregory of *Nyssa's *De Opificio Hominis*, a popular source for Byzantine anthropology. AL

CPG 3550: ed. M. Morani (1987).
ET (annotated with introd.) R. W. Sharples and P. J. van der Eijk (TTH 49, 2008).
M. Streck, *Das schönste Gut. Der menschliche Wille bei Nemesius von Emesa und Gregor von Nyssa* (2005).

Nennius *See* HISTORY OF THE BRITONS.

Neocaesarea (mod. Niksar Tokat vilayet, Turkey) *City of *Pontus, about 112 km (70 miles) inland from the *Black Sea, formerly Hellenistic Cabeira, named Diospolis in 64 BC and Neocaesarea by *c.* AD 100. It was apparently Christianized in the 3rd century by its *bishop *Gregory the Wonderworker, a local man who had studied with *Origen. It became the metropolis of the *Tetrarchic *province of *Pontus Polemoniacus. In 344 an *earthquake destroyed the whole city except the church and those in it (*Jerome, *Chron.* 236c Helm); the same thing happened again in an earthquake *Theophanes places in 502/3.

For Neocaesarea of *Euphratensis (*Syria) *see* DIBSI FARAJ. SJL-R

Jones, *Cities*, 170–1.
Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 107–10.

Neoplatonism The name given by modern scholarship to the school of Platonic philosophy that developed in the 3rd century AD. Platonic philosophy had already undergone some radical changes in the period labelled *Middle Platonism, where it was combined with various elements from Aristotelian, Stoic, and Pythagorean philosophy. From this emerged Neoplatonism which must be linked first to Ammonius Saccas, the teacher of *Plotinus, even if Plotinus is commonly regarded as its founder. Having studied with Ammonius Saccas in *Alexandria, Plotinus settled in *Rome where he set up his own school. There is no secure evidence to suggest that this survived his death, but Neoplatonism continued in *Syria (*Iamblichus) and at *Athens (*Proclus) in a revived Academy in the early 5th century until the *Emperor *Justinian I caused its closure in 529. At Alexandria Neoplatonism continued for another century after that.

Plotinus and Neoplatonic doctrine

The *Enneads* of Plotinus contain the standard account of Neoplatonic philosophy. This work is composed of six books of nine treatises each; hence the title, nines (*Enneads*). *Porphyry, a pupil of Plotinus, is responsible for this ordering of the treatises, to which he prefaced a biography of Plotinus. The *Enneads* contain a reading of Platonic philosophy which supports a radical development of Plato's metaphysics, combined with concealed Stoic and Peripatetic doctrines. In particular, Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, as Porphyry notes, is concentrated in them. Neoplatonism, then, was a synthesis of the ideas of Platonists, Stoics, Aristotelians, and Pythagoreans, uniquely and distinctively blended by Plotinus to produce a coherent philosophical doctrine. At the heart of his metaphysics is a triad of principles: the One, Intellect (*Nous*), and World-Soul. The One is beyond being and yet is the source of all being. As complete unity it is perfection and as such it overflows (emanates), the result of which is the next ontological level, Intellect. This is the One in multiplicity. Intellect contains the archetypes of all that exists; this is the world of Plato's Forms. This is the realm of being (fullest life) and thought. Intellect, too, overflows, the result of which is World-Soul. At this level exist individual human souls, which have a foot in both camps, the realm of Intellect above and the material world below, which is the product of the emanation of World-Soul. The relationship between the three principles is a-temporal and a-spatial and may be regarded as one of ontological dependence. Individual souls, tied to Time and Space in the material world, the result of ontological degradation, through a rigorous *asceticism can return to the highest level of being (Intellect), and ultimately to unity with the One, Plotinian ecstasy. In Plotinus' view the human soul is able to do this because a part of it never comes down from the Intelligible World; the practice of philosophy enables one to regain consciousness on this level of soul. This

essential doctrine was developed and expanded by later members of the school, allowing Neoplatonism to become the dominant philosophy in the ancient world for over 200 years after Plotinus' death.

Successors

The most important figures in the development and spread of Neoplatonism were Porphyry (AD 234–*c.*305), Iamblichus (AD *c.*245–*c.*325), and Proclus (AD *c.*412–85). Porphyry, a scholar as well as philosopher, wrote prolifically on a great variety of topics but, relatively speaking, only a small portion of his oeuvre is extant. It is clear that his interests were much more wide-ranging than those of Plotinus, but it is difficult to gauge on the basis of his surviving work whether he differed significantly from Plotinus. In terms of metaphysics some claim, on the basis of assigning an anonymous commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* to him, that Porphyry raised the One to an 'ineffable' status, but the authorship of the commentary is in dispute. In his psychology and ethics he displays a close affinity with Plotinus but it is clear that they differed in their attitudes to escape from embodiment and reincarnation. Porphyry shows an interest in *pagan religion and *magic, though he confined it to the material world and did not see it as a substitute for philosophy. Undoubtedly he influenced Iamblichus, who seems to have introduced serious modifications to Plotinian metaphysics. The One 'beyond being' while yet being the source of being caused him to introduce a second One, which he termed the 'Ineffable', designed to safeguard the unity of the First Principle. In addition, he introduced a number of additional levels on the chain of being to account for further plurality and which also accommodated numerous pagan deities in his system.

Iamblichus was a firm believer in *theurgy, which he considered essential for the human soul to regain its position on the highest ontological level. The performance of certain rites, which brought the help of various deities, was indispensable to the return of the soul. In his belief in theurgy Iamblichus was at odds with Porphyry, who considered that theurgy belonged only to the material world; it is believed that they had a serious disagreement about this. This expanded metaphysical system and man's place in it was extremely influential for later Neoplatonists, especially Proclus, although some scholars consider that the expanded chain of being belongs to Proclus, and not to Iamblichus.

Proclus, like his predecessors, followed the Plotinian triad of principles but also either accepted from Iamblichus or introduced the expanded ontology. Like Iamblichus, he was also keen to illustrate the harmony of pagan theology with Platonic philosophy, endorsing the authority of the **Chaldean Oracles*. He, too, stressed the importance of theurgy for the human soul in the process of salvation, a human soul which, like Iamblichus and against Plotinus, he believed descended in its entirety into body.

Neoplatonism had a major influence on Christian theology through S. *Augustine and, later, *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, while the Renaissance saw Marsilio Ficino spark a revival in interest in Neoplatonic thought. KTMcG

For Plotinus and Iamblichus and Proclus, see individual entries.
ed. (with FT) L. Brisson et al. (and ET by J. M. Dillon), *Porphyre: Sentences*, 2 vols. (2005).
ed. (with ET) E. R. Dodds, *Proclus: The Elements of Theology* (²1963).
ed. (annotated with FT) H. D. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink, *Proclus: Théologie platonicienne*, 6 vols. (1968–97).
K. Corrigan, *Reading Plotinus: A Practical Introduction to Neoplatonism* (2005).
A. C. Lloyd, *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism* (1990).
P. Remes, *Neoplatonism* (2008).
Svetla Slaveva-Griffin and Pauliina Remes, *The Routledge Handbook of Neoplatonism* (2014).
R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (²1995).

Nepheros, archive of Collection of 42 *papyrus documents of the *priest Nepheros (*fl. c.*350–99), consisting of *letters, accounts, and loans, predominately in *Greek though two are in Coptic. The *monastery of Hathor, where Nepheros lived, was near the *village of Neson in the *Heracleopolite *Nome of Upper *Egypt. The monks were *Meletians. Whether Nepheros was the head of the monastery is a matter of dispute.

Some of the documents refer to religious affairs (e.g. locals sought the aid of Nepheros when they were ill), but most of the *archive is more mundane and illustrates the internal business of running the monastery, and relations between the monks and local villages and villagers. There are, for example, loans, transfers of property, and other such transactions. Many of the papyri are personal *letters between the monks. JSM

P. Neph. = ed. B. Kramer, J. C. Shelton, and G. M. Browne, *Das Archiv des Nepheros und verwandte Texte* (1987).
E. Wispzycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe–VIIIe siècles)* (2009), 81–2.

Nepotianus Briefly *Augustus at *Rome in June 350. The son of *Eutropia, *Constantine I's half-sister, and the Roman *senator Virius Nepotianus (*consul 336), he exploited his dynastic connection to seize power at Rome following the murder of *Constans I in January 350, but was overthrown and killed, along with his mother, in a bloody purge of opponents by *Magnentius (*Zosimus, II, 43, 2–4; Aurelius *Victor, *Caesars*, 42, 6–8). JDH

PLRE I, Nepotianus 5.

Nerses I the Great, S. *Catholicus of Greater *Armenia, *c.*353–73, the son of At'anagines and Bambishn a princess of the royal Arsacid (*Arshakuni) house, and great-great-grandson of S. *Gregory the Illuminator.

Nerses was educated in *Caesarea of *Cappadocia and was possibly married there. He may have entered a military career and become *senekapet*—a term perhaps signifying the royal sword-bearer. He was the last Armenian patriarch to be consecrated at Caesarea in Cappadocia. As patriarch he led at least one embassy to *Constantinople resulting in the release of royal hostages. Nerses reorganized the Armenian Church after a disputed council at Ashtishat in *c.*354. He established charitable institutions throughout Armenia, almshouses, asylums for lepers, and *hospitals.

Nerses opposed the Arianizing policy of the Arsacid kings, a stance which led eventually to his murder, and more immediately to his *exile after the Council of Seleucia in 359. He returned to the Armenian court at the enthronement of King *Pap in *c.*368, but King Pap had Nerses killed in 373.

The **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, composed in the 5th century, although uncritical in its *praise, is the main source for Nerses' life. It is the source for the unreservedly panegyrical *Life* of him written later. Interpolation into the *Buzandaran* of elements from hagiographic material on S. Basil (Barseł in *Armenian) causes anachronisms and other inaccuracies, such as the statement that Basil was present at his consecration.

TMvL

N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')* (1989).

N. G. Garsoïan, 'Introduction to the Problem of Early Armenian Monasticism', *REArm* 30 (2005–7), 177–236 (repr. in N. G. Garsoïan, *Studies on the Formation of Christian Armenia* (2010), IX).

Nessana (Ar. 'Auja el-Hafir) Late Antique town of Nabataean origin in the western *Negev, extending on the plain along a *wadi* that surrounds an acropolis. The ruins of two churches on the plain were reported as early as 1896 and 1909, but no traces exist today. British-American excavations in 1934–6 exposed the ruins of two churches on the acropolis, one of them a *monastery flanking a Byzantine fort. The *Nessana papyri, an *archive of *Greek texts of the 6th and 7th centuries, contains literary, economic, and juridical documents, private and official *letters, and lists of offerings to the Church. Israeli excavations between 1987 and 1995 have revealed another church on the plain and a second monastery to the north of the acropolis. PFi

H. D. Colt, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 1 (1962).

L. Casson and E. L. Hettich, eds., *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 2: *Literary Papyri* (1946).

C. J. Kraemer, ed., *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 3: *Non Literary Papyri* (1958).

D. Urman, ed., *Nessana—Excavations and Studies*, vol. 1 (2004).

Nessana Papyri Collection of *c.*150 *Greek and *Arabic *papyri dating from the 6th and 7th centuries, discovered in 1935–7 during excavations in the Nabataean *city *Nessana in the *Negev (*Palaestina Tertia). The texts give an insight into the daily life of the city in Late Antique and Early Islamic times as well as into administrative, military, economic, and ecclesiastical matters. Among the literary texts are a Greek glossary to *Vergil's *Aeneid* as well as fragments of *saints' lives and the Gospels. The documentary texts include the *archives of the local military unit (505–96), church records of the abbot Patrikios, son of Sergios, personal papers of a certain Georgios, son of Patrikios, and an Islamic poll-tax register for the years 687–9. The majority of individuals mentioned in the papyri carried Arab names, but their lives, prior to the *Arab conquest of the region, formed part of Christian Graeco-Roman culture. The documents therefore make visible a transition in state involvement over this period: while there is little noticeable identification with the Late Roman Empire, the connection between *village bureaucracy and centralized power becomes clearer in early Islamic times. KMK

ed. L. Casson and E. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana II: The Literary Papyri* (1950).

ed. C. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana III: Non-Literary Papyri* (1950).

R. Stroumsa, *People and Identities in Nessana* (diss. Duke University, 2008).

'Nestorian Church' *See* CHURCH OF THE EAST; PERSIAN EMPIRE, CHRISTIANS IN; NESTORIUS AND NESTORIANISM.

Nestorius and Nestorianism Nestorius (d. 451) was *Patriarch of *Constantinople from 428 to 431. He subscribed to a dual-nature Christology rejected at the First Council of *Ephesus in 431 and not affirmed at the Council of *Chalcedon in 451. Nestorius was a student of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia and a *priest from *Antioch whom *Theodosius II selected to be Patriarch of Constantinople. Nestorius was installed in April 428 amid dissenting factions among the clergy, *bishops, and monks of the *city. Some said that the Virgin *Mary should be called *Theotokos ('Mother of God') and others that she should be called 'Mother of Man'. As a conciliatory gesture, Nestorius proposed the title 'Mother of Christ' to demonstrate that Christ was both God and man.

When *Cyril, Patriarch of *Alexandria, heard about Nestorius' teachings from monks who had brought his *sermons to *Egypt, he wrote three doctrinal *letters to

Nestorius (June 429, 430, and November 430) and enlisted the support of Celestine of *Rome. Cyril said that Nestorius rejected the personal union of God and Man in Christ and so divided the one Lord Jesus Christ into two Sons. Nestorius defended his doctrine and criticized Cyril's in a letter to Celestine, but made the tactical error of mentioning *Pelagians he had received into communion. Celestine concluded that Nestorius' doctrine was heretical and excommunicated him at a synod held in Rome (August 430). In December 430, the *emperors Theodosius II and *Valentinian III summoned a council to meet at *Ephesus at Whitsun 431. The First *Council of *Ephesus eventually met on 22 June 431 to evaluate Nestorius' orthodoxy. Nestorius was formally deposed, excommunicated (22 June 431), and sent into *exile in Upper *Egypt.

Among the *letters, sermons, and treatises the council considered was Nestorius' fourth book on dogma, an exegetical elaboration, based on the *Bible, of his dual-nature Christology. Using the term 'Son' to designate the duality of natures, Scripture describes generation from the Virgin by saying 'God sent his Son', not 'God sent the Word'. This generation then became the Son of God by conjunction with the deity. Before the Incarnation, God the Word was understood to be both Son and God, united with the Father. But after the Incarnation, the Son who had been separated could no longer be called 'Son'.

Nestorius was criticized by his contemporaries (and continues to be criticized today) for promoting a two-Sons doctrine through his failure to establish an ontological basis for the union between the humanity and divinity of Christ. To answer his critics he wrote in *exile the *Bazaar of Heracleides*, which located the principle of union between the eternal Logos and the Son of Mary in the *prosopon* that each has taken of the other, there being one *prosopon* for both. Nestorius believed that his orthodoxy was vindicated by the exoneration of Flavian of Constantinople.

Nestorianism flourished in *Edessa until the Emperor *Zeno closed its *school in 489. The *Church of the East in the *Persian Empire officially accepted Nestorianism at the *Council of *Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 484, and the teachers and students who fled from Edessa founded the School of *Nisibis in Persian territory. Missionary activity expanded after the *Arab conquest of Persia in 642, during which Nestorians were neutral toward the *Arabs. Favourable political conditions along the *Silk Road in the early 7th century allowed Nestorian missionaries, consisting of *merchants and medical *doctors, to spread Nestorianism eventually to the *Arabian Peninsula, *India, *Central Asia, and *China. In 781, a Nestorian monk erected the *Xi'an Stele at the imperial capital city of Chang'an which recounts the history of 150 years of Nestorianism. Documents, stone *inscriptions, wall paintings, and *bronze *crosses also attest to the presence of Nestorians in China. SW

CPG 5665–763:

P. Bedjan, *Nestorius: Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (1910).

F. Loofs, *Die Überlieferung und Anordnung der Fragmente des Nestorius* (1904).

F. Loofs, *Nestorianna*; *Die fragmente des Nestorius gesammelt, untersucht, und herausgegeben von Friedrich Loofs* (1905).

FT F. Nau, *Nestorius: Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (1910).

M. V. Anastos, 'Nestorius was Orthodox', *DOP* 16 (1962), 119–40.

R. C. Chesnut, 'The Two Prosopa in Nestorius' "Bazaar of Heracleides"', *JTS* 29 NS (1978), 392–409.

A. de Halleux, 'Nestorius: Histoire et Doctrine', *Irénikon* 66/1–2 (1993), 38–51, 163–78.

Li Tang, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and its Literature in China* (Asian and African Studies Series 27, 2002).

F. Loofs, *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (1975).

P. Pelliot, *L'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-Ngan-fou*, ed. with supplements by A. Forte (Italian School of East Asian Studies. Epigraphical Series 2, 1996).

H. E. W. Turner, 'Nestorius Reconsidered', *SP* 13 (1975), 306–21.

Neustria One of three main kingdoms of the *Franks, alongside *Austrasia and *Burgundy, which developed from the recurrent divisions of the *Merovingian realm among the sons of a deceased king. Neustria was centred on the Seine and Oise valleys of northern France, and bounded by the Loire to the south, *Brittany to the west, and the *Silva Carbonaria to the north-east; its major *cities included *Rouen, *Paris, and *Soissons. Although the term is sometimes retrospectively applied by historians to the share of the kingdom held by *Chilperic I in the later 6th century, it is first attested only in an incidental reference by *Jonas of Bobbio *c.*642 to the rule of Chilperic's son *Chlothar II over the 'Neustrasian Franks' (*VColumbani* 1, 24). The chronicle of *Fredegar, written *c.*660, then routinely employs it as a spatial and political entity, in counterpoint to Austrasia and Burgundy. Its meaning is obscure, but it seems to have been used by outsiders to refer to Frankish areas or peoples that were neither Burgundian nor Austrasian; Neustrian sources suggest that they thought of themselves as the Franks. For much of the 7th century, under Chlothar II and *Dagobert I, and latterly *Balthild and the *Mayor *Ebroin, Neustria was the dominant kingdom, having absorbed Burgundy, but the defeat of the Neustrians by the Austrasians under *Pippin II at *Tertry in 687, and the succession of similar victories by *Charles Martel at *Amblève in 716, *Vinchy in 717, and *Soissons in

718, culminated in the rise of the Carolingians, and the downgrading of Neustria to a secondary administrative unit. EMB; STL

*RGA*2 'Neustria', 21, 126–31 (H. Reimitz).

P. Perin and L.-C. Feffer, *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)* (1985).

Nevitta *Consul 362, and military commander of *barbarian origin. He served in *Gaul when *Julian was *Caesar, becoming *Magister Equitum in 361. He sat on the tribunals at *Chalcedon, and was consul for 362 with Claudius *Mamertinus. He went on the Persian expedition of 363 and survived Julian. SFT

PLRE I, Nevitta.

Nezak (Tarkhan Nezak) (d. 710) Prince who opposed the *Arab conquest of *Central Asia. He belonged to a *Hephthalite dynasty also called Nezak, based in southern *Tukharistan (7th–8th cent.). Mentioned in Arabic sources and seemingly preserving the remnants of Hephthalite leadership after their defeat by the *Persian Empire and the *Türks (556–61), the dynasty is possibly that referred to as the Nezak Shahs on the legends of 7th-century coins from Kapisa, north of Kabul. Kapisa is described by the Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 54–68), who notes the flourishing of *Buddhism in the area. The most famous member of the dynasty, Tarkhan Nezak, initially resisted the Arab invaders from his fortress in Badghis, but made peace with *Qutayba b. Muslim in 705 and accompanied him on subsequent campaigns in *Sogdiana. However, after Nezak led a joint Hephthalite–Türk rebellion against the Muslims in 709, Qutayba captured him by trickery in 710 and executed him. The conquest of Tukharistan was essential to establishing Arab authority north of the *Oxus. MLD

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.n.* Nīzak, Ṭarkhān (C. E. Bosworth).

EncIran (2002) *s.n.* Nēzak.

M. Hinds, tr., *Tabari*, XXIII: *The Zenith of the Marwanid House* (1990), 74–6, 96–7, 103–4, 133–4, 143, 153–6, 164–74.

E. Esin, 'Tarkhan Nīzak or Tarkhan Tirek?', *JAOS* 98 (1977), 323–32.

H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923), 32–9.

F. Grenet, 'Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite periods', in N. Sims-Williams, ed., *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (2002), 203–24.

S. Kuwayama, 'The Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India', *Zinbun* 24 (1989), 89–134.

Niall Noígiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages) Ancestor of the Uí Néill, the dominant midland and northern dynasties of medieval *Ireland. Sources claim that Niall reigned during the 5th century and that his raiding brought him as far as the English Channel. They also present him as establishing the Uí Néill's claim to the kingship of *Tara. Among his many reputed sons were Eógan and Conall Gulban, the ancestors of Cenél nEógain and Cenél Conaill, northern dynasties who were to claim the kingship of Tara from the 6th to the 12th centuries. EB

ODNB s.n. Niall Noígiallach (Kelly).

T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (2000), 441–68.

Nicaea (mod. Iznik, Turkey) With its neighbour *Nicomedia, Nicaea was one of the two most important *cities of ancient *Bithynia. After being sacked by the *Goths in 257, the city was equipped with a magnificent 5-km (3-mile) circuit of walls, much of which survives. The imperial *palace where the *Council of Nicaea of 325 convened was still standing under *Justinian I; its site has not been identified. The cathedral Church of the Holy Wisdom, the site of the Seventh Œcumenical Council (787), should probably be identified with the extant 5th- or 6th-century *basilica at the city's central crossroads. The late 7th-century Church of the Dormition, destroyed in 1924, retained much of its remarkable *mosaic and *opus sectile decoration. A vaulted *tomb in the north-east necropolis has fine 4th-century figurative wall painting. The city had an important cult of S. Tryphon (*BHG* 1856–7), allegedly martyred under *Decius. PJT

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 105–10, 119, 121–4.

C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and its Praises* (1996).

Nicaea, Council of (325) First Œcumenical *Council of the Church, which met at Nicaea (mod. Iznik) in *Bithynia in May–July 325. The council was summoned by *Constantine I shortly after he defeated *Licinius and united the Empire under his sole rule in September 324. Traditionally known as the Council of the 318 fathers (the number of Abraham's servants in Gen. 14:14), the true number of *bishops in attendance is estimated at 220–50. Only a few westerners took part, including *Ossius of *Cordoba, Caecilian of *Carthage, and two *priests representing the *Bishop of *Rome. The vast majority of those present were from the *Greek-speaking Eastern half of the Empire, with delegates also arriving from the Crimea, *Armenia, and the *Persian Empire, While not fully ecumenical (literally in *Greek, 'worldwide'), the council was easily the largest church council yet held and one of the most remarkable events of Constantine's reign.

No formal record of the council's discussions survives, but *Eusebius of *Caesarea and *Athanasius of *Alexandria (who attended as *deacon to his bishop Alexander) both left eyewitness accounts. The theological issues debated at Nicaea revolved around the

teachings of the Alexandrian presbyter *Arius concerning the divinity of God the Son and the relationship between Father and Son in the Trinity. Arius himself was exiled during the council, and the most notorious views attributed to him were anathematized. In the original Nicene Creed, the Son was declared to be 'true God from true God' and *homoousios* ('consubstantial', 'of one essence') with the Father. The term *homoousios*, which happens not to be used in the *Bible, proved highly controversial, and the creed failed to resolve the Trinitarian debates which continued for more than half a century. Revised at the Council of *Constantinople in 381, however, the Nicene Creed became, and remains, the premier statement of orthodox Christian faith.

The bishops at Nicaea attempted to establish uniform practices for calculating the date of *Easter each year. They also sought to reconcile to the Church the rigorists of the *Meletian Schism, which had emerged in the aftermath of the Great Persecution and the Novatianist Schism. Twenty canons addressed a variety of disciplinary issues, most significantly concerning the authority of the leading sees of Rome, Alexandria, *Antioch, and *Jerusalem (can. 6–7). The council concluded with the inaugural celebration of the twentieth *anniversary (Vicennalia) of Constantine becoming an *emperor. Eusebius compared the celebration to 'an imaginary representation of the kingdom of Christ' (*VCon* III, 15).

The Seventh Œcumenical Council of 787 was also held at Nicaea. It was summoned in 787 by the Byzantine *Empress Irene. This council resolved the *Iconoclast Controversy, in language repeatedly invoking the council of 325. DMG

CREED AND CANONS

Hefele and Leclercq (1907–52), I/I, 335–632.

STUDIES

L. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (2004).

Barnes, *Constantine*, 121–5.

Barnes, *CE* 208–23.

Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 16–17.

J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (^{3}1972).

C. Luibhéid, *The Council of Nicaea* (1982).

Nicephorus (*c.*750/8–828) *Patriarch of Constantinople 806–15. A prominent iconophile theologian, polemicist, and historian, Nicephorus wrote the *Breviarium Historiae*, probably 775–87, a work of history in the classical manner, perhaps deliberately continuing the classicizing tradition extending from *Procopius to *Theophylact Simocatta. The work covers the years 602–769, but omits all but the merest mention of *Constans II's reign. It exists in two distinct versions, one ending in 713, both probably unfinished. Despite its brevity and anti-*Iconoclast sympathies, the *Breviarium* incorporates earlier sources otherwise unknown and, alongside *Theophanes, is a key Roman source for the 7th and 8th centuries. Nicephorus also composed the *Chronographicum Syntomum*, a brief universal chronicle listing rulers from Creation down to 829. MTGH

PBE Nikephoros 2.

PmbZ no. 5301.

Breviarum and Chronographicum: ed. C. de Boor, *Opuscula historica* (1880).

Breviarium: ed. (with ET and notes) C. Mango, *Short History* (1990).

Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus*.

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 237–67.

Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. 1, 344–7.

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopolus (before 1256?–c.1335?) Author of a huge *Church History* (the first since *Evagrius in the 6th century), also covering secular events, from Christ to AD 610 in eighteen books; the preface includes a summary of an additional five books reaching to 911, possibly never written. Probably a priest at the Church of the *Holy Wisdom with access to the patriarchal *library and eventually a monk, Nicephorus made considerable use of surviving ecclesiastical histories and chronicles, but also preserves valuable information from sources now lost, particularly on matters of *heresy and *liturgy; *HE* XVII, 28 [292A], for instance, is the sole source for the *Emperor *Maurice's introducing the *festival of the Dormition of the *Theotokos on 15 August. As he also wrote extensive liturgical, exegetic, and hagiographic works, some in verse (including a poem on *beer), his historical material is based on good research. Though basically a compiler, Nicephorus did not simply copy but intelligently combined material from various sources. For instance, he alone preserves together four variant stories of *Marcian's justification of himself as God's chosen emperor, otherwise only known as individual stories in separate accounts. RDS

ODB s.v. Xanthopoulos (Talbot).

PG 145.559–147.448.

G. Gentz and F. Winkelmann, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus und ihre Quellen* (TU 98, 1966).

Nicetas (d. after 618) *Patricius. Nicetas was a cousin of *Heraclius and supported Heraclius' bid to overthrow *Phocas. In 609–10 he led the expedition which secured *Libya and *Egypt for Heraclius, serving as *Praefectus Augustalis from 610. He nominated *John the Almsgiver as the *Melkite (Chalcedonian) *Patriarch of *Alexandria. He then replaced *Priscus as *Comes Excubitorum and fought in *Palestine

against the Persians in 612–14. He achieved a truce or small victory over Persians at *Emesa, to commemorate which an equestrian statue was erected. He fled Alexandria with John before the Persians captured the city in 619. It is possible that he served as *Exarch of *Africa after 619, and died sometime before 630. RCW

PLRE III, Nicetas 7.

Kaegi, *Heraclius.*

Nicetas of Remesiana (d. after 414) *Bishop in *Dacia Mediterranea, a *province ecclesiastically dependent on *Rome but politically joined to the East. He visited *Italy and *Nola in 400 and 403 (*Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 27, 329–44; *ep.* 29, 14), and in 414 received Pope Innocent's *ep.* 17. Paulinus of Nola's *propempticum* dedicated to him in 400 (*Carmen*, 17) praises his missionary activity on the Danube *frontier. *Gennadius (*Vir. Ill.* 22) credits him with a catechetical handbook, partially extant. Other surviving treatises include works on the names of Christ, vigils, and *hymn singing. Assignment to him of the *Te Deum and several other writings remains controversial. DET

CPL 646–652:

ed. A. E. Burn (with introd. and map), *Niceta of Remesiana* (1905).

ET (annotated) G. G. Walsh, *Niceta of Remesiana: Writings* (FC 1949).

ed. (annotated) K. Gamber, *Textus Patristici et Liturgici*, 1, 2, 5, 7 (1964–9).

ed. R. Kirstein (with GT, comm., and account of Nicetas), *Paulinus Nolanus: Carmen 17* (2000).

Nicetas Xylinites (d. 719) *Magistros. In 718/19 Nicetas either urged the former *Emperor *Anastasius II (*Nicephorus, 57, 1–36), or was urged by him (*Theophanes, AM 6211), to revolt against *Leo III (717–41). The conspirators obtained help from *Tervel the *Bulgar, but were betrayed and executed. IAPS

PBE I, Niketas 3.

PmbZ 5372.

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 76–7.

Kaegi, *Unrest*, 211.

Nicetius of Lyons (*c.*508–573) *Bishop of *Lyons (552–73). A career cleric of senatorial family, recommended by his uncle Sacerdos as his episcopal successor. After his death, a cult soon developed at his tomb in Lyons, and his maternal great-nephew *Gregory of *Tours drew on personal experience to complement a short anonymous *Life* (*BHL* 6088) with his own concise hagiographical treatment, in which Nicetius comes across as a saintly but somewhat stern figure (*Lives of the Fathers*, 8 = *BHL* 6089). The existing Church of S. Nizier marks the site of his burial; in 1308, it still contained his epitaph (*CIL* XIII, 2400), as well as those of several other bishops of Lyons. EJ; STL

PLRE IIIB, Nicetius 1.

PCBE IV/2, Nicetius 5.

Life (*BHL* 6088), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. III (1896), 521–4.

M. Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien* (1976), 152–74.

Nicetius of Trier *Bishop of *Trier (*c.*525/6–*c.*566/7). Abbot from *Aquitaine, appointed bishop by *Theuderic I. Nicetius repeatedly challenged Theuderic's successors *Theudebert I and *Chlothar I and their entourages over their behaviour, reproached the *Emperor *Justinian I over his theological position (*Ep. Aust.* 7), and encouraged the Frankish Princess Chlodoswintha to follow the example of her grandmother *Chlothild in working for the *conversion of her husband the *Lombard King *Alboin (*Ep. Aust.* 8). Five *letters to Nicetius are also preserved within the **Epistulae Austrasiacae*, showing his contacts with *Italy (*Ep. Aust.* 5, 6, 11, 21, 24). *Venantius Fortunatus (*Carmina*, 3, 11–12) praises his ecclesiastical building projects and his lavish rural residence on the Moselle. *Gregory of *Tours praises his holiness, wrote a brief *Life* (*Lives of the Fathers* 17) based on information provided by Nicetius' protégé *Aredius of Limoges, and mentions his posthumous *miracles (*Lives of the Confessors*, 92). BD; STL

PCBE IV/2, Nicetius 6.

Roberts, *Humblest Sparrow*, 85–93.

H. Pohlsander, 'A Call to Repentance: Bishop Nicetius of Trier to the Emperor Justinian', *Byzantion* 70 (2000), 456–73.

K. Uhalde, 'Proof and Reproof: The Judicial Component of Episcopal Confrontation', *EME* 8 (1999), 1–11.

Nicholas of Sion, S. (d. 564) Sixth-century abbot of the *monastery of Sion in *Lycia who became Bishop of Pinara but later resigned and returned to his monastery. Most of our knowledge of Nicholas derives from a *Greek *saint's *Life* written shortly after his death by someone close to him. Miraculous powers of healing were attributed to him, including during the Justinianic *Plague of AD 541–2. SJL-R

PCBE IV, Nikolaos 8.

BHG 1347.

ed. G. Anrich (with comm. and prolegomena, 2 vols., TU, 1913 and 1917).

ed. I. Ševčenko and N. P. Ševčenko (with ET and comm.) (1986).

Nicolaus Rhetor of Myra Teacher of *rhetoric (*fl.* 5th cent.). Nicolaus is the author of the latest known **Progymnasmata* handbook from Antiquity. Some model exercises are variously attributed to him and to *Libanius but are likely to be the work of a different

author. The *Suda distinguishes two different rhetoricians by the name of Nicolaus: one, of unknown origin, who was a contemporary of *Proclus (*Marinus, *VProcli* 10), and another from *Myra, brother of Dioscurides (= *PLRE* II, Dioscorus 5), **grammaticus*, *Praefectus Urbi at *Constantinople (where he taught the daughters of *Leo I) and *Praefectus Praetorio (472–5 and 489). The *Suda* attributes to the former the *Progymnasmata* as well as declamations which are now lost, and to the latter a *Techne Rhetorike*.

The *Progymnasmata* handbook attributed to Nicolaus is particularly rich in its introductory discussion of the nature and use of these elementary exercises, providing valuable information about pedagogical practice. The instructions for the individual exercises are also unusually full and often preserve earlier doctrines; they were reused in Byzantine commentaries on *Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata*. RW

PLRE II, Nicolaus 2.

Progymnasmata, ed. J. Felten (1913).

ET G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (2003).

H. Fruteau de Laclos, *Les Progymnasmata de Nicolaos de Myra dans la tradition versicolore des exercices préparatoires de rhétorique* (Montpellier thesis 1999, published 2003).

Nicomachorum–Symmachorum Diptych Elegantly carved *ivory *diptych, just under a foot (30 cm) long, made in *Rome, probably in 402. The Symmachorum leaf (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) shows a woman with a small attendant offering at an *altar. The Nicomachorum leaf (now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris) is in worse condition and depicts a woman holding an inverted torch. JEH; OPN

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 39, no. 55, pl. 14.

E. Simon, 'The Diptych of the Symmachi and Nicomachi: An Interpretation', *Greece & Rome* 39 (1992), 56–65.

Cameron, *Pagans*, 712–42.

M. Vickers, 'A Lost Ivory Diptych Panel in an Indian Painting', *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 17 (2013), 355–64.

Nicomachus Flavianus *Senatorial aristocrat, son of Virius *Nicomachus Flavianus. As a young *Proconsul Asiae (382–3), Flavianus was praised by *Himerius (*Oration* XII, 36, 43), but was dismissed for flogging a *city councillor. He was *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome during the usurpation of *Eugenius which culminated in the *suicide of his own father in 394. His subsequent return to official favour is documented in 81 *letters of his father-in-law *Symmachus (in Book VI, spanning the years 394 to 402). He may have become a Christian (perhaps referred to by *Augustine, *Civ. Dei* V, 26, 1). He was Praefectus Urbi a second time in 399–400 and again at an uncertain date. As *Praefectus Praetorio Italiae in 431–2 he had *Valentinian III restore his father's statue in the Forum (*CIL* VI, 1783). His name appears three times in subscriptions of Livy's first decade.

See also NICOMACHORUM-SYMMACHORUM DIPTYCH.

GAJK

PLRE I, Flavianus 14.

Cameron, *Pagans*.

C. W. Hedrick, Jr, *History and Silence: Purge and the Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (2000).

A. Marcone, *Commento storico sul libro VI dell'epistolario di Q. Aurelio Simmaco* (1983).

Nicomachus Flavianus the Elder (?330s–5/6 November 394) Roman aristocrat and administrator; author of now lost works. The birthdate of 334 sometimes asserted for Virius Nicomachus Flavianus depends on his misidentification as the *Praefectus Urbi attacked in the **Carmen contra Paganos*. It cannot, however, be far wrong, as Flavianus' son *Nicomachus Flavianus the Younger held offices in the early 380s. Flavianus was Pontifex Major, *Vicarius *Africae *c.*377, *Quaestor Sacrae Palatii to *Theodosius I *c.*388–90 and *Praefectus Praetorio of *Italy, *Illyricum, and Africa *c.*390–2, and again 392–4 under the *usurper *Eugenius, who appointed him *consul for 394. He committed *suicide during Eugenius' defeat at the River *Frigidus, *Rufinus' account of which polemically portrays him as a *pagan fanatic (*HE* XI, 33). His son arranged a formal rehabilitation with a statue in the Roman Forum in 431 (*CIL* VI, 1783 = *ILS* 2948).

Book II of *Symmachus' *Letters contains 92 letters to Flavianus, more than to any other addressee. Symmachus' daughter married Flavianus' son and Symmachus' son Memmius later married Flavianus' daughter. In fictional guise he is one of the learned pagan interlocutors of *Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, along with Symmachus and *Praetextatus. It is as one of these 'last pagans of *Rome' that Flavianus has become controversial in modern scholarship. Rufinus' portrayal, combined with the almost certainly erroneous association with the *Carmen contra Paganos*, leads some to see him at the centre of an alleged pagan revival in the 390s.

A lost historical work, the *Annales*, is attested in two inscriptions (*CIL* VI, 1782–3 = *ILS* 2947–8). It has been cast as a pagan interpretation of the 3rd and 4th centuries—despite its scope being unknown and its dedication certainly being to the Christian *Emperor Theodosius. It has also been claimed as a source for *Ammianus, the **Historia Augusta*, *Eunapius, and the **Epitome de Caesaribus*, as well as (via the so-called 'Leoquelle') *Zonaras. Equal uncertainty surrounds other writings. Flavianus may have translated, or

perhaps just transcribed, *Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* (*Sidonius, *ep*. VIII, 3, 1). He has sometimes been identified as the Flavianus who wrote the *De Vestigiis sive de Dogmatis Philosophorum*, cited in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*,II, 26, VIII, 11–12 for anecdotes about *philosophers. GAJK

PLRE I, Flavianus 15.
Bleckmann, *Reichskrise der III. Jahrhundert*.
Cameron, *Pagans*.
T. Honoré and J. F. Matthews, *Virius Nichomachus Flavianus* (1989).
F. Paschoud, *Eunape, Olympiodore, Zosime: Scripta Minora: recueil d'articles, avec addenda, corrigenda, mise à jour et indices* (2006).
G. A. Cecconi, *Commento storico al libro II dell' epistolatio di Q. Aurelio Simmaco* (2002).

Nicomedia *City of *Bithynia (mod. İzmit, formerly Iznikmid), founded in 264 BC by Nicomedes I.

Nicomedia became the principal imperial residence under *Diocletian, who had been proclaimed *emperor outside Nicomedia on 20 November 284 (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 17–19). The city was extensively reconstructed, with a *palace, *circus, and *weapons factory, 'to make it the equal of the City of *Rome' (*Mort*. 7, 8–10), and was ringed with a massive 6-km (*c.*4-mile) circuit wall, parts of which survive. Diocletian equipped Nicomedia with a mint *c.*302, which operated until *c.*474. It reopened in 498 and issued coins until 627.

The main source for *Tetrarchic Nicomedia is *Lactantius, who gives a vivid eyewitness account of the outbreak of the Great Persecution at Nicomedia in February 303 (*Mort.* 12–15). The city retained its prominence under *Licinius, who resided at Nicomedia between 317 and 324, and *Constantine, whose ecclesiastical policy was strongly influenced by the *Arian *Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia from *c.*320 to 337.

Nicomedia lost its imperial status to *Constantinople in 330. A vivid picture of the city in the mid-4th century is provided by *Libanius, who taught *rhetoric there AD 344–9 (*Oration*, 1, 48–75). The city was destroyed by an *earthquake in AD 358 (*Ammianus, XVII, 7; Libanius, *Oration*, 61), foretold by *Arsacius, a local *holy man, and commemorated in *Ephrem the Syrian's sixteen *Hymns on Nicomedia* (359), which survive in *Armenian translation. Despite counterclaims from its neighbour and old rival *Nicaea (*ACO* II, 1, 3, 415–21), Nicomedia remained the civil and ecclesiastical capital of *Bithynia throughout the 4th and 5th centuries, though imperial visits became progressively less frequent. Repeated earthquakes disintegrated the urban fabric, and the regional economy was further damaged by *Justinian I's diversion of the main Anatolian highway and *Cursus Publicus from Nicomedia to Nicaea (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 30, 8–11). The city was visited by S. *Theodore of *Sykeon in 612, who found a thriving market town with merchants, a large poorhouse, and a *Jewish community; the weapons factory was still functioning, and hermits inhabited unoccupied parts of the Diocletianic city walls (*VTheod-Syk* 156–60). PJT; RRD

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 77–104.
Barnes, *CE*.
C. Foss, *Survey of Mediaeval Castles of Anatolia II: Nicomedia* (1996).
DOC 2.1.
RIC VI.

Nicopolis (Egypt) *City on the Mediterranean coast about 8 km (5 miles) east of *Alexandria, site of the principal legionary fortress of Roman *Egypt, built by Augustus. Remains of a fortress of Late Roman appearance with massive walls of stone with *brick courses, remains of *baths, and a *mosaic with *Dionysiac themes were still visible in the late 19th century. GS; OPN

R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* (1995), 192–3.

Nicopolis (Emmaus) The town called Emmaus (Hebr. Hammath, Arabic 'Amuas) was situated west of *Jerusalem. It became a toparchy during the Hasmoneans, and a *city with the name Nicopolis from AD 221. Its identification with Emmaus of the Gospel (Luke 24:13) was unanimous in the Byzantine period, despite the disagreement about its distance from Jerusalem (60 or 160 stadia, *c.*7 or 19 miles (11 or 30 km)) in the manuscript tradition. The *apse of a Late Antique *basilica and the walls of a Crusader church have been excavated there, as well as a *baptistery, *mosaic floors, and several *inscriptions. *Theodosius the pilgrim (4) mentions a *martyrium. PFi

H. Vincent and M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (1932).
K.-H. Fleckenstein, M. Louhivuori, and R. Riesner, *Emmaus in Judäa* (2003).

Nicopolis ad Istrum *City of the *province of *Moesia Secunda, founded *c.* AD 110 by Trajan, and of military and commercial importance through the 6th century. Located to the north of the Balkan Mountains near the confluence of the Rositsa and Yantra rivers, Nicopolis served as a second line of defence for the Danube *frontier behind the port cities of Novae (mod. Svishtov) and Sexaginta Prista (mod. Ruse). It was also a trade hub between the Danube and the *Dioecesis of *Thracia.

Nicopolis was urbanized under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius with a major renewal programme in the Severan period after the Costobocci sacked it in the 170s. The *Goths overcame the city in 270 but it was

re-fortified in the late 3rd and 4th centuries. New defences were constructed in the mid- to late 5th century following devastation by the *Huns in 447. The city was Christianized in the 4th and 5th centuries and had a *bishop by 458. The city was later occupied in the Slavic period.

The plan of the city is well known thanks to excavation and geophysical surveys by Bulgarian and British archaeologists. Given the relatively level topography of the site, the Romans established an orthogonal *street plan. The public district of the city has been well excavated and consists of a **forum* with a rectangular courtyard and *basilica, a covered theatre (*odeon*), and a monumental meeting hall (*thermoperipatos*). The wealth of the city is attested by *marble architectural sculpture and statues. Geophysical surveys have revealed the plans of domestic features, and a small number of *houses have been excavated. Water was supplied through a system of wells and an *aqueduct; associated with the latter, a *castellum aquae* and *cisterns have been identified. The Late Roman fortification wall is composed of concrete masonry with monumental *city gates and towers.

A separate fortified area immediately to the south of the city probably served a military function at first. In the Late Roman period, this area was occupied by a Christian basilica and a smaller church as well as buildings that served domestic, storage, and craft purposes. ECD

TIR K-34, 91; *TIB* 6 (1991), 376–7.

Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, 51–100, 193–250, 375–89.

A. G. Poulter, *The Roman, Late Roman and Early Byzantine City of Nicopolis ad Istrum: The British Excavations, 1985–1992* (1995).

A. G. Poulter, *Nicopolis ad Istrum: A Late Roman and Early Byzantine City. The Pottery and Glass* (1999).

A. G. Poulter, *Nicopolis ad Istrum: A Late Roman and Early Byzantine City. The Finds and the Biological Remains* (2007).

Nicopolis of Epirus Port and *city, north of modern Preveza (*Greece), on a promontory between the Aegean Sea and the Ambracian Gulf and opposite the heel of *Italy. It was founded by Augustus as a Roman *colonia* to commemorate the Battle of Actium, and was metropolis of the Late Roman *province of *Epirus Vetus. Fish were plentiful (**Expositio Totius Mundi*, 53).

S. Paul wintered there (Titus 3:12), and *Eusebius claims that *Origen found an obscure version of the OT at Nicopolis (*HE* VI, 17, 2). A *bishop is first attested at the Council of *Serdica of 343. *Jerome (*Prologue to Commentary on Titus*) notes that the senatorial *family of his ascetic friend *Paula owned property here. *Letters from 516–17 between the new Bishop John and *Hormisdas in *Rome are preserved in the **Collectio Avellana* (*epp.* 117–23 and 134–5).

The Emperor *Julian was praised in a *panegyric for repairing the Nicopolis *aqueducts (Claudius *Mamertinus, *PanLat* III (VIII), 8, 2), damaged perhaps in an *earthquake. The city's coastal position made it important strategically. *Alaric savaged *Epirus (*Claudian, *In Eutropium*, II, 215, cf. *Socrates, VII, 10, *Zosimus, V, 7). *Geiseric the *Vandal captured Nicopolis to strengthen his position in negotiations with an emissary of the *Emperor *Zeno in 474 (*Malchus, fr. 5 Blockley = 3 Müller *FHG*). An *Ostrogothic naval expedition under *Totila sacked Nicopolis in 551 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 22, 31).

The monumental 5th-century walls of Nicopolis are modelled on those of *Constantinople. Five Christian *basilicas were constructed in the 5th and 6th centuries. Three of them have architectural similarities to 4th-century churches in *Milan and *Ravenna, including a tripartite transept plan and *brick construction. The largest was possibly the city's catheral, for which Bishop Alcison (491–516) sponsored renovations. The subjects of the *mosaics of the bishop's palace and a *villa suggest Aegean influences and a local school of mosaicists. *Slav incursions in the late 6th century caused the collapse of civic structures, and the location was abandoned shortly afterwards. PA; OPN

TIB 3 (1981), 213–14.

E. Chalkia in Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*, 140–55.

J.-P. Sodini, 'Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce', *BCH* 94 (1970), 699–753.

E. Chrysos, ed., *Nikopolis 1: Proceedings of the 1st International Symposion on Nicopolis* (1987) and K. L. Zachos, ed., *Nikopolis 2* (2007): *Proceedings of the International Symposion on Nikopolis*.

Niederdollendorf Stone Frankish gravestone found in 1901 in Niederdollendorf, now part of Königswinter, on the Rhine 8 km (5 miles) south of Bonn. One side depicts a spear-carrying man with a circle on his chest and rays (or *hair) surrounding his head, possibly in representation of *Christ. The other side, one of the best-known examples of Frankish sculpture, is more deeply carved: the man carries a *scramasax, and appears menaced by three serpent heads. Some have taken this as a depiction of the dead warrior lying in his *tomb. EJ

K. Böhner, 'Der fränkische Grabstein von Niederdollendorf am Rhein', *Germania* 28 (1944–50), 63–75.

Nihawand, Battle of Decisive battle between Muslims and Persians in 640/2 (*Tabari, XIII, 179). Following the loss of *Mesopotamia to the *Arab conquest of 635–8, *Sasanian armies mustered in the Iranian Plateau to block the Muslims' path across the Zagros. Several Sasanian generals met the Muslims at Nihawand. The battle lasted several days with heavy losses to

both sides; Muslim victory is ascribed either to a ruse or to the arrival of reinforcements. Victory led to Muslim conquest of al-Jibal and *Khuzestan, and *Isfahan fell soon afterwards. PAW

G. H. A. Juynboll, tr., *Tabari* XIII: *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt* (1989).

P. Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire* (2008).

Nika Riot The largest uprising against the *Emperor *Justinian I, which took place over nine days in *Constantinople in January 532. It is well documented in contemporary sources, such as *Procopius, *John Malalas, and later in the **Chronicon Paschale* and *Chronicle* of *Theophanes.

After Justinian became sole emperor in August 527, he reined in the excesses of the *circus *factions. On 10 January 532, seven partisans were sentenced to death; the execution of two of them, one *Blue and one *Green, was bungled, and they were given sanctuary. Both factions clamoured in vain for their release in the Hippodrome on the following Tuesday; they then united with the slogan 'Nika' ('Victory') and burned down many buildings. Justinian sought to appease the rioters by continuing games on Wednesday, but they demanded the dismissal of the *Praefectus Praetorio, *John the Cappadocian, and other officials, to which the emperor assented. Rioting continued nonetheless. Justinian brought in reinforcements from *Thrace, who met with stiff resistance in fighting on the Saturday. That evening the emperor dismissed *Anastasius I's nephews *Hypatius and Pompeius from the palace and on Sunday morning made a renewed appeal to the people in the Hippodrome. The people preferred Hypatius, who arrived soon afterwards. But a brutal assault on the assembled populace quashed the revolt, leaving 30,000 dead and the *city in ruins. Hypatius and Pompey were executed the next day. Whether Justinian deliberately provoked or encouraged the riot is debated. GBG

G. Greatrex, 'The Nika Riot: A Reappraisal', *JHS* 117 (1997), 60–86.

M. Meier, 'Die Inszenierung einer Katastrophe: Justinian und der Nika-Aufstand', *ZPE* 142 (2003), 273–300.

Nikiu Fortified market town in the Nile Delta usually identified with Pshati/Ibshadi on the east bank of the *Nile opposite Terenouthis, and reputedly a stopping place for the Holy Family during the Flight into *Egypt. Nikiu's *bishops were staunch supporters of the *Patriarchs of *Alexandria during the 4th and 5th centuries. Nikiu's strategic location made it an important military objective for both the Persians and the *Arabs in their respective conquests of the delta in the 7th century; the *Chronicle* of *John, Bishop of Nikiu, though starting with the Creation, provides an important, if lacunose, contemporary account of the *Persian invasion and *Arab conquest. By the 10th century, Nikiu had declined to the point where it was no longer the seat of a bishop. CJH

CoptEnc 6 *s.v.* Nikiou 1793b–1794a (R. Stewart).

Nile and Nilometer '*Egypt is the work of the Nile' (*Libanius, *Oratio*, 30, *Pro Templis*, 35). The vast majority of the Egyptian population in Late Antiquity lived in the Nile Valley and the river was their principal thoroughfare. The annual flooding of the river provided the fertile silt and *irrigation that made *farming in Egypt the most productive in the Late Antique world. Nile irrigation channels were protected by law (*CTh* IX, 32 = *CJust* IX, 38). *Nilotic scenes, such as those woven into Egyptian *textiles or depicted in *mosaics at the church at *Qasr el Lebia, symbolize fertility and abundance. As late as Libanius, the rise and fall of the Nile, and the plenty it guaranteed, was seen as sympathetically linked to the due performance of pagan rites (*Oratio*, 30, 35).

Ancient observations of the varying extent and character of the annual Nile flood are of use to modern historians of *climate change. The flood could normally be seen in July in southern Egypt. In August the region of the First Cataract at Aswan was in full flood, and the high water then moved north over the course of the next four to six weeks. The flood levels were measured in cubits (Gk. *pechus*; Lat. *ulna*) and recorded at intervals along the river by a series of Nilometers. The novelist *Heliodorus, who regarded the flooding of the Nile as a mystery, describes a Nilometer with stilling wells of polished stone marked in cubits and fed with river water from below.

The best-known Nilometer was housed in the *Serapeum of *Alexandria. No remains of the Roman Nilometer (as distinct from that of the Ptolemaic period) have been found—it seems indeed to have been a portable instrument. *Constantine I ordered it to be moved from the Serapeum to a church, but it was reinstated in the Serapeum under *Julian (*Socrates, I, 18, 2; *Sozomen, V, 3, 3). The Serapeum was sacked by Christians in 391, and everyone feared that as a consequence the Nile would not rise, as if Serapis 'were responsible for the swelling and flooding of the waters'; however the river rose and the measuring instrument was removed 'to the church of the Lord of the Waters' (*Rufinus, *HE* II, 30).

Christian Egypt continued to measure the rise of the Nile in cubits. Among the pagan paraphernalia confiscated from Gesios of *Panopolis by his rival Abba *Shenoute was an instrument for measuring the rise of the Nile, identical in appearance to one used by the Church. The technology was similar, but it was

hallowed by different rites. *Holy men such as *John of *Lycopolis came to be known for their ability to discern the extent and character of the annual flood (**Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, I, 11). After the *Arab conquest, under the *'Umayyads, a Nilometer was constructed on Roda Island at Cairo; it was described by *Dionysius of Tel-Mahre after his visit to Egypt in 830, and, although considerably restored, was in use into the 20th century. OPN; JGK; JAT

CoptEnc 6 (1991) *s.v.* Nilometer, 1794 (D. Bonneau).
D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil: divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 avant J.-C. à 641 après J.-C.)* (1964).
D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil: incidences des irrégularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine* (1971).
D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (1993).
W. Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer: Studies in Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt* (1951).
M. McCormick, 'What Climate Science, Ausonius, Nile Floods, Rye and Thatch tell us about the Environmental History of the Roman Empire', in W. V. Harris, ed., *The Ancient Mediterranean Environment between Science and History* (2013).

Nilotic scenes Derived from Roman art, representations of the *Nile and its flora and fauna were popular until the 8th century and symbolized fertility and abundance, as in the *mosaic of the Nile personified in the Nile Festival Building at *Sepphoris. Christians such as the author of the **Chronicon Paschale* identified the Nile with the Gihon or Gion River, one of the four rivers of Paradise of Genesis 2:10–14. In churches, Nilotic scenes could signify abundance, as in the wall paintings of the Church of S. Stephen at *Gaza described by *Choricius (*Laudatio Marciani*, 2, 50), good fortune, as on Egyptian *textiles, or appear as natural elements in scenes of the *Earthly Paradise. SVL

J. Balty, 'Thèmes nilotiques dans la mosaïque tardive du proche-orient', in J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques du proche-orient: chronologie, iconographie, interprétation* (1995), 245–54.
H. Maguire, 'The Nile and the Rivers of Paradise', in Piccirillo and Alliata, *Madaba Map Centenary*, 179–84.

Nilus, Narrations of Early 5th-century text merging Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian genres, such as (travel) romance, *martyr narrative, and hagiography. The *Narrations* are particularly rich in ethnographical details concerning *Arab nomads and the geography of the Late Antique *Sinai and *Negev; their language is rich in allusions to the Old Testament. The narrator (Ps.-Nilus, wrongly identified with *Nilus the Ascetic, otherwise known as Nilus of Ancyra) describes a *'Saracen' raid, in which his son was abducted, and their reunion in the *city of *Elusa. KMK

BHG 1301–7:
ed. F. Conca, *Nilus Ancyranus Narratio* (1983).
ed. (with GT and comm.) M. Link, *Die Erzählung des Pseudo-Neilos: ein spätantiker Märtyrerroman* (2005).
ET (with extensive introd.) D. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* (TTH 53, 2010), 84–137.

Nilus of Ancyra *See* NILUS THE ASCETIC.

Nilus of Sinai *See NILUS, NARRATIONS OF.*

Nilus the Ascetic (Nilus of Ancyra) (*fl. c.*390–430) Monk and author active in Ancyra (mod. *Ankara), *Galatia, and a pupil of *John Chrysostom, not to be confused with Nilus of *Sinai (or Ps,-Nilus), author of the *Narrationes* (*see NILUS, NARRATIONS OF*). Little about Nilus is known for certain, as his earliest witness dates to the 9th century and there is limited autobiographical information in his works. These include a large corpus of *letters (*CPG* 6043), in addition to commentaries and treatises on the monastic life, notably his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (*CPG* 6051), the *Ascetic Discourse*, and *On Voluntary Poverty* (*CPG* 6048). While the letters can be used cautiously to outline Nilus' network and thought, there is no modern edition and the collection is rife with critical difficulties, including doublets, spurious letters, and questionable authenticity of titular headings (Cameron, 182–6). Nonetheless, Nilus' surviving works are of tremendous value for the study of monasticism in 4th–5th-century *Anatolia. SEI

Life: BHG 2316.
Letters (*CPG* 6043): PG 79, cols. 81–581.
CPG 6046–7: ed. in PG 79, cols. 720–968.
CPG 6048: ed. in PG 79, cols. 968–1060.
CPG 6051: ed. in PG 79, cols. 719–810 and ed. (with FT) M.-G. Guérard, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques* (SC 403; 1994).
ET (*ep.* IV, 62) D. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* (TTH 53, 2010), 138–40 (cf. 73–5).
DictSpir 11 (1982), 345–56, *s.n.* Nil d'Ancyre (M.-G. Guérard).
Alan Cameron, 'The Authenticity of the Letters of St. Nilus of Ancyra', *GRBS* 17 (1976), 181–96.
K. Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen* (*TU* 42/2; 1917).
Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 177–90.

nimbus The disc surrounding depictions of the head of a sovereign or divine entity. The disc nimbus appears first on Kushan coins as an attribute of kings and gods. In the Roman Empire, it emerges as an attribute of a ruling sovereign first under *Diocletian in the *Lyons Lead Medallion, appearing as standard in the *Luxor wall paintings. Both *Constantine I and *Licinius used it.

By the late 4th century Christian *iconography began to appropriate the nimbus. Sasanian *silver plate incorporates the disc nimbus in the late 5th century to represent the **xwarrah*; it later appears in coins and relief sculpture. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 193–6.

'Nine Saints' Ethiopian traditions relate that a number of Christian holy men came to *Aksum from parts of the Roman Empire during the late 5th and early 6th centuries. They dispersed over areas adjacent to the capital and over outlying areas further east, where they are recalled as having been responsible for the establishment of *Christianity and the foundation of *monasteries including Pantalewon near Aksum, Afse at Yeha, Za-Mika'el at *Dabra Damo, and *Garima near Adwa. The dating of such developments more than a century after the initial royal *conversion is in accord with evidence from other sources. Later traditions tended to group these individuals together and to attribute to them a Syrian origin that is incompatible with some of the individual versions. Although these sources generally agree that they numbered nine, the lists of nine names and locations show significant variation. Commentators have noted the probability that the arrival of the 'Nine Saints' was linked to Ethiopia's non-adherence to the doctrinal rulings of the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451. DWP

Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (1972), 89–113.

S. C. Munro-Hay, 'Saintly Shadows', in Raunig and Wenig, *Afrikas Horn*, 137–68.

Nineveh and Mosul (Ar. Al-Mawsil) Important settlement on the Tigris in northern Iraq: Nineveh refers to the town on the east bank of the Tigris, Mosul to that on the west bank.

Nineveh, the ancient capital of Assyria, remained mostly unoccupied from its obliteration in 612 BC until the Seleucid period when the province of *Adiabene was established. The capital of Adiabene was *Arbela (mod. Erbil), but Nineveh was resettled and there is evidence of occupation through the Parthian and Sasanian periods. By the 2nd century AD it began gaining a significant Christian population. Nineveh does not appear to have been a *Sasanian administrative centre, but was large enough to merit its own bishopric of the *Church of the East: *bishops from Nineveh attended church *councils in AD 554, 576, and 585 (Chabot, 678). Late Antique Nineveh also appears to have housed a small Jewish population (Oppenheimer, 313).

In Late Antiquity Nineveh's population was concentrated on the east bank of the Tigris. The west bank was mostly unoccupied except for a garrison fortification ascribed to the Sasanian monarch *Khosrow II. Other Sasanian-era walled enclosures appear to have been erected as refuges for local farmers against nomadic raiding. In the late 6th century monastic construction began on the west bank too: the *holy man Īshōʿyahb founded a *monastery, Mār Īshaʿyā, in *c.*570 (**Chronicle of Seert*, 200), perhaps near an existing Sasanian fortress. Another monastery, Mār Elia, was built nearby, *c.*595 (**Chronicle of Khuzestan*, 23). The name Mosul (Ar. al-Mawsil) is not attested to describe these west-bank settlements before *Islam; the west-bank fortifications were perhaps known as Hesnā ʿEbrāyē (the Jews' Fort), but the toponyms remain unclear and the east-bank town of Nineveh was clearly the dominant regional centre.

On 12 December 627, Nineveh was the site of the decisive battle between the East Roman *Emperor *Heraclius and the Sasanian general Rozbihan (MP Rōzwehān, Gk. Razates, Ar. Rāhzār). This Roman victory opened the path to *Dastgird, the Sasanian royal residence and estate in central *Mesopotamia, and signalled the end of *Khosrow II's reign and ultimate Roman success in the *Persian–Roman war of 602–28 (*Theophanes, AM 6118).

Muslims led by 'Utba b. Farqad conquered Nineveh and the fort on the west bank of the Tigris in 20 AH/AD 641, and shortly afterwards the Muslim commander Harthama b. 'Arfaja constructed a new garrison town (Ar. **miṣr*) with a congregational *mosque near one of the west-bank Sasanian-era monasteries or churches (al-Azdī, 147). The Muslims' new town took the name al-Mawsil, and was the administrative centre for Muslim rule over the surrounding steppe (which the early Muslim state called 'Dār Rabī'a'). In the late 7th century AD the *Caliph *'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān reorganized northern Iraq and northern *Syria into the cohesive *jund of 'al-*Jazīra, and al-Mawsil became its principal town, witnessing extensive urban expansion under the later *Umayyads (Robinson, 77–89). Al-Mawsil was predominantly a Muslim *city, but pre-Islamic landowners continued to manage the surrounding agricultural lands, and nearby monasteries thrived in the Umayyad period, notably those of Rabban *Hormizd and *Mar Mattai.

Al-Mawsil's Umayyad-era expansion eclipsed the old town of Nineveh, which became a suburb where Christian populations continued smaller-scale construction. Nineveh was mostly ruins in the early 13th century AD; one of its churches was transformed into a mosque and shrine of the Prophet Jonah (Ar. Yūnis). Arabic folklore linked the site by the Tigris to the location where Jonah was swallowed by the whale (al-Harawī, 63); it became a place of Muslim *pilgrimage (Fiey, 33) until its destruction in 2014. PAW

al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil* (1967).

Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*.

S. Dalley, 'Nineveh after 612 BCE', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 20 (1993), 134–47.

J. M. Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne* (1959).
al-Harawī, *al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt* (2002).
Oppenheimer, *Babylonia*.
C. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest* (2000).

Ninian, S. British *bishop (more correctly 'Niniau') credited by 8th-century observers (e.g. *Bede, *HE* III, 4) in northern England with missionary work among the *Picts and the foundation of *Whithorn. Want of contemporary evidence makes the man and his dates shadowy and controversial. JEF

BHL 6240–1.
CPL 2152–3.
ODNB s.n. Ninian [St Ninian] (Broun).
T. O. Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', *Innes Review* 52/1 (2001), 1–28.
J. E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (2009), ch. 3.
J. Murray, ed., *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland* (BAR BritSer 483, 2009).

Nino, S. (4th cent.) Evangelizer of *Georgia. Her *Life* is narrated in the **Moktsevai Kartlisai* (*Conversion of Georgia*), according to which she baptized *Mirian, King of *Iberia, and his wife Queen Nana. S. Nino is also known from *Greek, *Latin, and *Armenian sources. In Greek and Latin sources she is represented as a mere 'captive woman', whereas the Armenian *Movses Khorenats'i calls her Nunē. The date of the Georgian *Life* is uncertain, although both her *Life* and liturgical collections commemorating her were widely spread by the 8th century. NA

BHO 811.
ET (with introd. and comm.) C. B. Lerner, *The Wellspring of Georgian Historiography: The Early Medieval Historical Chronicle, the Conversion of K'art'li and the Life of St. Nino* (2004).

Niš (Serbia, Roman Naissus) *City of *Dacia Mediterranea, where the Balkan *Via Militaris crossed roads leading north-east to *Ratiaria and the Danube *frontier and south to Scupi and *Thessalonica. *Gallienus or *Claudius II Gothicus defeated Germanic invaders near Niš in AD 268/9. *Constantine I was born there, as was, later, *Constantius III. It was while at Niš on his march eastwards to *Constantinople along the Via Militaris that the *Caesar *Julian heard that his kinsman and rival the *Augustus *Constantius II had died (*Zosimus, III, 11, 2).

The city had a military factory (**Notitia Dignitatum*, XI, 37) and probably an *officina* of the imperial mint processing locally mined *silver. It was famous for its Christian *martyrs (*Victricius of *Rouen, *De Laudibus Sanctorum*, 11, 1), though no authentic *martyr passion survives. Niš (or *Serdica) was the see of the heretical Bishop Bonosus (*fl. c.*390).

*Attila sacked Niš in 441, massacred its inhabitants, and demanded that it become the place of commercial exchange between *Huns and Romans. He sacked it again in 448. *Priscus of Panium found the place empty except for sick people in the *hostels, and the banks of the river littered with the bones of those who had died in the fighting (fr. 11, 2 Blockley = 8 Müller *FHG*). The *Ostrogoths captured it in *c.*473 (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 285). Further sacks occurred in 480 and 540. *Justinian I restored the city (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 1, 31), but it soon came under *Avar control and remained so during the 7th century.

The 18th-century Ottoman fortress of Niš overlies the Late Roman fortified city, which occupied about 40 ha (about 100 acres). Excavations have revealed parts of the ancient city walls, *streets, a 4th-century *house, cemeteries with Christian tombs, and four *basilicas, one of which was a mausoleum or *martyrium (Jagodin Mala). Finds include a *porphyry statue of an *emperor of the Tetrarchy and a *bronze portrait-head of Constantine I.

In the locality of Brzi Brod, about 8 kms. (5 miles) south-east of Niš, excavations and survey have located a settlement of 40 ha (about 100 acres), consisting of a sumptuous *villa flanked by two large compounds of *barns (*horrea*) and barracks. The site is identified with *Mediana, the military campus of Niš mentioned as 3 Roman miles from the city by *Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVI, 5, 1). Built in the early 4th century, the buildings were abandoned and taken over by a rural settlement before 400. ER

TIR K-34 (1976) *s.n.* Naissus, 89–90.
New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 9 (2006) *s.n.* Naissus, cols. 494–6 (E. Wirbelauer).
ODB s.n. Naissus 1433 (A. Kazhdan).
G. Milošević, 'A Residential Complex at Mediana', in G. von Bülow and H. Zabehlicky, eds., *Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad* (2011), 167–76.
G. Milošević, 'Late Roman Martyrium and Basilica at the Necropolis in Niš (Naissus)', in A. Minčev, ed., *Early Christian Martyrs and Relics and their Cult in East and West* (2006), 173–85.
D. Mladenović, *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior* (BAR IntSer. 2367, 2012), 76, 159–60.
M. Rakocija, 'Paleobyzantine Churches of Niš', *NišByz* 5 (2007), 125–47.
M. Vasić and U. Brandl, eds., *Roms Erbe auf dem Balkan. Spätantike Kaiservillen und Stadtanlagen in Serbien* (2007), 96–107.

Nishapur *Sasanian *city in north-east Iran (*Khorasan). Founded by *Shapur I in the late 3rd century, Nishapur was the capital of the province of Abaršahr, which encompassed three Parthian provinces. The New

York Metropolitan Museum's excavations (1935–40 and 1947–8) found only early Islamic material. MPC
EncIran (2010) *s.v.* Nishapur i. (C. E. Bosworth).

Nisibis *City described by *Ammianus as 'the strongest bulwark of the Orient' (XXV, 8, 14), modern Nusaybin in south-east Turkey, south of *Tur 'Abdin and by the River Mygdonius (modern Çağçağ). Nisibis appears in Assyrian inscriptions as Nasibina. It was refounded in Hellenistic times as Antioch on the Mygdonius, but in Late Antiquity the population was predominantly *Syriac-speaking. The city changed hands between Armenians, Parthians, and Romans until the 40 years of peace between the Roman and *Persian Empires (AD 298–337). According to the peace treaty of 298, Nisibis became, despite Persian objections, the point of contact between the two empires (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 14), and also capital of the newly enlarged Roman *province of *Mesopotamia and headquarters of the *Dux of Mesopotamia. Considerable international *trade was transacted at Nisibis, though the export to the Persian Empire of *bronze and *iron was forbidden by law (**Expositio Totius Mundi*, 22).

The Persian Shah *Shapur II besieged the city in 338, 346, and 350. The last *siege is documented in the *Emperor *Julian's *panegyrics of his kinsman *Constantius II, and by the renowned Syriac poet *Ephrem the Syrian, a native of the city who lived through all three sieges and in his *Carmina Nisibena* praised three successive *bishops, *Jacob, Babu, and Vologeses, for inspiring the city's defenders. After Julian's disastrous Persian expedition of 363 *Jovian surrendered the city to the Persians (*Ammianus, XXV, 7–9; *Jerome, *Chron.* 243c Helm; *Zosimus, III, 31, 1 and 33, 1–34, 2; etc.), to the disgust of Ephrem (*Carmen contra Julianum*, III). The population of the city was forced to move out, mainly to *Amida where a new suburb was built for them (Zosimus, III, 34, 2; *John Malalas, XIII, 27; **Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. AD 363), though Ephrem settled at *Edessa. Roman sources claim that the cession of Nisibis was for a term of 120 years (*Eutropius, *Breviarium*, X, 17, 1).

Under the Sasanians, Nisibis remained the main point of commercial exchange; a Roman *law of 408/9 made it one of three permitted places for international trade (*CJust* IV, 63, 4, pr. and 1). In 410 the Bishop of Nisibis attended the Synod of Isaac, at *Ctesiphon, the first *Council of the *Church of the East, as *metropolitan of the five provinces which had previously, between 298 and 363, been the Roman *Transtigritanae regiones. In the 470s *Narsai, a well-known Syriac poet and former teacher at the *School of Edessa, established a *school in Nisibis together with Bishop *Barsauma. When *Zeno closed the school in *Edessa in 489, many of Narsai's colleagues and students joined him and made Nisibis the main centre of theological studies for the Church of the East. The Monastery of Mar *Abraham of Kashkar on Mount *Izla, the escarpment north-east of the city, initiated a monastic revival in the Church of the East in the second half of the 6th century.

There was relative peace between the Roman and Persian empires during the 5th century, though Nisibis suffered a brief Roman siege in 421/2. However, in 502 *Qobad I attacked Roman territory, rejecting the Roman claim that the Persians had for years been enjoying the tax revenue of Nisibis illegitimately (*Joshua the Stylite, 18–20). In response *Anastasius I built the fortress-city of *Dara about 26 km (*c.*15 miles) west-north-west of Nisibis and only about 10 km (*c.*6 miles) inside the Roman *frontier. The Persians claimed that this contravened treaty obligations, as it had the purpose of blocking future Persian advances westward across the flat land of the Mesopotamian plain. The two fortified cities confronted one another throughout the *Persian–Roman wars of the mid-6th century. Although the Romans tried many times to retake Nisibis during the 6th century, they never succeeded in capturing it and the city eventually fell to the Muslim *Arabs in 639.

Ancient sources mention a citadel, towers, and numerous churches, but modern Nusaybin has few remains from Late Antiquity. This may partly be due to an *earthquake in 717 which devastated the city. Columns with Corinthian *capitals survive in the modern frontier zone between Syria and Turkey and some fragments of Late Antique architectural *sculpture are displayed in the public park of the municipality. Very little is known of the church buildings of the city under the *Sasanians. In the 7th century the church at Nisibis had five doors (*John Moschus, 185). The *Life* of S. *Symeon of the Olives, a monk of the *Syrian Orthodox *Monastery of Mar *Gabriel at Qartmin and later Bishop of *Harran, records the saint's building and renovation of churches in the early years of *Arab rule (cf. *Syriac*, **Chronicles of 817 and 846*, ad Ann. Gr. 1018).

The only standing Late Antique monument in Nusaybin is part of the *baptistery built in 359 by Bishop Vologeses, as recorded on a surviving *Greek *inscription. The baptistery was probably divided into three parts. The northern aisle was restored, probably in 758/9, and came to be known as the Church of Mar Jacob (Ya'qub), after the city's first known bishop who built the cathedral in 313–20. His *sarcophagus is still in a crypt under the baptistery. Excavations between 2000 and 2005 and later in 2007 and 2008 in the area around the baptistery uncovered remarkable building remains, as yet unpublished. These include substantial evidence of the 4th-century cathedral.

See also NISIBIS, SCHOOLS AT and *NISIBIS, STATUTES OF SCHOOL AT*. EKK

EncIran (2006) *s.v.* Nisibis (Lieu).
EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* Nasibin, pp. 983–4 (Honigmann and Bosworth).
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 343–45.
Dodgeon and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, esp. 146–82, 206–36.
J. M. Fiey, *Nisibe: métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours* (CSCO 388, Subs. 54; 1977).
M. Falla Castelfranchi, *Baptisteria: intorno ai più noti battisteri dell' Oriente* (Universita di Chieti, Quaderni dell' Istituto di archeologia e storia antica, monograph 1, 1980).
J. Gaborit and G. Thébault, 'L'Église Mar-Ya'qub de Nisibe', in F. Briquel Chatonnet, ed., *Les Églises en monde syriaque* (2013), 289–330.
A. Khatchatrian, 'Le Baptistère de Nisibis', in *Actes du Ve Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (1957), 407–21.
E. Keser-Kayaalp and N. Erdoğan, 'The Cathedral Complex at Nisibis', *AnatSt* 63 (2013), 137–54.
Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin*, 70–3, 142–5.
F. P. T. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet* (1911–20).
C. S. Lightfoot, 'Facts and Fiction: The Third Siege of Nisibis (A.D. 350)', *Historia* 37/1 (1988), 105–25.

Nisibis, schools at *Barhadbeshabba in his work on the foundation of the schools at *Nisibis claims that the apostle *Mari inaugurated the first Christian teaching at Nisibis. An association was made between this and *Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis (d. 337). In 363, the *Emperor *Jovian handed Nisibis over to the Persians and *Ephrem the Syrian and other citizens were obliged to migrate to *Edessa in Roman territory.

In the late 5th century teachers and students came to Nisibis, including *Narsai. At the time, there was a little school managed by Simeon Garmkaya. Bishop *Barsauma asked Narsai to administer another establishment, which he endowed with statutes. What was known as the second school of Nisibis was enlarged under *Abraham of Beth-Rabban with collective houses, a *hospital, and *baths. The school was called the 'Mother of Sciences' and made an important contribution to the education of the leaders of the east Syrian community and the *Church of the East. It taught *medicine as well as theology.

To limit the impact of *Henana's teaching when he was directing the school, Bishop Elijah in 570 founded another scholastic institution near the *martyrium, the school of Beth-Sahde, and this became the focus of east Syrian orthodoxy in Nisibis. Progressively, the centre lost its influence and its leadership as the school in Seleucia-*Ctesiphon progressed. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Nisibis, School of (Becker).
Becker, *Fear of God*.
A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subsidia 26 (1965).
Fiey, *Nisibe*.
U. Possekel, 'Selbstverständis und Bildungsauftrag der Schule von Nisibis', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 19 (2015), 104–36.

Nisibis, Statutes of School at In 496, the founder of the second school of *Nisibis, *Narsai, drew up a set of statutes. The particularly austere rules reinforced the former ones, now lost. This document reveals the life of students and teachers in 5th-century Nisibis. All had to have faith in the Dyophysite Christology, the belief that there were two separate Natures in Christ, the Divine and the Human. A semi-monastic lifestyle was followed (celibacy, liturgical offices, a form of *tonsure, *dress). The students were to live in collective cells, where all common activities took place, under the authority of a leader: meals, work, sleep. Students could have private possessions; but they could not practise a profession except during summer holidays. The calendar was divided into two annual sessions. *Abraham of Beth-Rabban reorganized the education programmes, especially biblical and exegetical studies. The rule of Narsai presented some gradual penalties, which were strengthened under *Henana's direction; exclusion from the school was the most severe, particularly for breach of discipline (chastity), usury, robbery, or *heresy. Public punishments were allowed for less important offences such as quarrels or slanders. CJ

ed. (with ET) A. Vööbus, *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis* (1961).
A. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008).
Becker, *Fear of God*.
A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subsidia 26, 1965).
U. Possekel, 'Selbstverständnis und Bildungsauftrag der Schule von Nisibis', *ZAC* 19 (2015), 104–36.

Nitria The largest monastic settlement of lower *Egypt, founded AD 325/30. Reportedly founded by *Amoun of Nitria, it was located on the western edge of the *Nile Delta, 64 km (40 miles) south-east of *Alexandria, at modern al-Barnuj. Its name comes from its proximity to an area where nitre, an important cleansing agent in antiquity, was extracted. *Palladius, who lived there 391–2, claims it had 5,000 inhabitants living in a variety of arrangements: as hermits, in pairs, and in larger houses (*Lausiac History*, 7). They made their living especially by manufacturing linen. Its best-known leader was Abba Pambo (d. 373), some of whose sayings survive in the **Apophthegmata Patrum*. Because the site was easily accessible by boat, it was the most visited and thus the best-known Egyptian desert monastic settlement; among its celebrated visitors was S. *Melania the Elder. *Rufinus of *Aquileia visited

Nitria in the 370s and gives a vivid account of the warm hospitality he received (**Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, 20 Latin). JWH

H. G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of Wadi 'n Natrûn*, 3 vols. (1926–33).
Harmless, *Desert Christians*.

Nivelles (prov. Brabant wallon, Belgium) *Austrasian *monastery, known from *saints' lives and extensive archaeological excavations. It was founded by *Itta, widow of the *Mayor of the Palace *Pippin I in *c.*648/9, with the encouragement of Bishop *Amandus of Maastricht. Its first abbesses were S. *Gertrude, Itta's daughter, and Vulfetrude, daughter of Itta's son *Grimoald. It was originally a female community, but soon became a double monastery in 651 through the addition of a community of Irish monks, notably Foilan and Ultan, the brothers of S. *Fursey. Closely linked to royal power, the abbey retained its aristocratic connections and developed considerably in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. ADier

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Nivelles, XXI (2002), 227–31 (A. Dierkens).
J. Mertens, *Le Sous-sol archéologique de la collégiale de Nivelles* (1979).
A. Dierkens, 'Notes biographiques sur saint Amand', in E. Bozoky, ed., *Saints d'Aquitaine, missionnaires et pèlerins du haut Moyen Âge* (2010), 63–80.

Nobades *See* NUBIA AND NUBIANS.

Nocera Umbra One of the best-known *Lombard-period *cemeteries in central *Italy, from the territory of the Duchy of *Spoleto. The necropolis explored at the locality Il Portone in 1897 was probably connected with a nearby fortress, originally Byzantine, protecting the Via Flaminia. In total, 165 *burials were excavated: the cemetery chronology, based on the burial artefacts (weapons, *dress fittings, *belt typologies, and decoration) extends from *c.* AD 570 to 690, though there was probably also a pre-Lombard presence. High-status burials stand out, including males with *gold weapon fittings, riding equipment, decorated shields, and *hunting gear; and females with necklaces, brooches, drinking horns, and *silver jugs. *Gold sheet *crosses indicate 7th-century Christianity. Two other (poorly explored) burial sites of *c.* AD 600 are known, both probably linked to the nearby habitat of Nocera Umbra, at Pettinara and Piazza Medaglie d'Oro. NJC

A. Pasqui and R. Paribeni, 'La necropoli barbarica di Nocera Umbra', *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* 25 (1918), 137–352.
L. Jørgensen, 'Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra: A Chronological and Social Analysis of Family Burial Practices in Lombard Italy (6th–8th Cent. A.D.)', *Acta Archaeologica* 62 (1992), 1–58.
L. Paroli, ed., *Umbria longobarda: la necropoli di Nocera Umbra nel centenario della scoperta* (1997).

Nōg rōz (MP; NP Nowruz) *Zoroastrian New Year festival originally celebrated at the spring equinox. Said to have been instituted by the mythical King Jamshid, it, along with *Mihragan in the autumn, was when the *Sasanian King of Kings traditionally held a public audience. POS

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* 'Nowruz' (M. Boyce, A. Sh. Shahbazi, S. Cristoforetti).
EncIran II/2 (1986) *s.v.* Apadāna. ii. Building, 145–8 (D. Stronach).
M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (1979).

Noirmoutier *See* FILIBERT, S.

Nokalakevi *See* ARCHAEOPOLIS.

nomads and semi-nomads Perennially or temporarily non-sedentary groups, often pastoralists, lived predominantly on the margins of large Late Antique states. Literary sources depict the nomadic lifestyle as radically different from sedentary life, tending to demonize nomads as thieves or marauders; the distinction between 'nomad' and 'barbarian' easily becomes blurred within these texts. Accounts also exist that idealize certain aspects of nomadic life. In both cases, nomads were often employed as a literary device to provide a 'pristine' alternative to an author's own culture. Documentary sources, by contrast, show that nomadic and sedentary groups lived in a complex system of mutual exchange and interaction. Recent scholarship has argued that nomads rarely posed a serious threat to urban or rural communities.

While nomadic groups also lived within the Late Roman Empire (e.g. in southern *Anatolia), the main regions in which the sedentary population came into contact with nomads were border areas around the Black Sea, North *Africa, and the steppe along the Arabian *frontier, the Limes Arabicus. The latter, although originally dating to the 1st century AD, was rebuilt under the *Tetrarchy and re-fortified under *Justinian I. It was, however, not meant to function as a military barrier against nomadic tribes, but rather as a permeable security belt monitoring their movements.

As *Islam originated in a sedentary environment, the *Qur'ān is inclined to present pejorative portrayals of the nomadic *Bedouin of the *Arabian Peninsula. However, *Umayyad and especially *'Abbasid depictions became somewhat more positive once it came to be recognized that Bedouin were the best sources for pre-Islamic traditions (particularly on questions of the

correct use of language). Nevertheless, their depiction as harsh people and unreliable allies persisted. KMK

E. Banning, 'Peasants, Pastoralists and Pax Romana', *BASOR* 261 (1986), 25–50.
H. Barnard, 'The Identification of the Ancient Pastoral Nomads on the North-Western Red Sea Littoral', in L. Blue et al., eds., *Connected Hinterlands: Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV, Held at the University of Southampton (September 2008)* (2009), 19–28.
R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads* (2007).
S. Binay, *Die Figur des Beduinen in der arabischen Literatur* (2006).
D. Graf, 'Nomads and the Arabian Frontier', in P. Freeman, ed., *Limes XVIII* (2002), 153–60.
A. Gutsfeld, 'Der Nomadendiskurs als Motiv der Herrscherkritik bei Prokop', in E. Olshausen, ed., *Migrationen in der antiken Welt* (2006), 150–7.
M. Macdonald, 'Nomads and the Ḥawrān', *Syria* 70 (1993), 303–413.
S. Parker, 'Peasants, Pastoralists, and Pax Romana: A Different View', *BASOR* 265 (1987), 35–51.
B. Shaw, ed., *Rulers, Nomads, and Christians in Roman North Africa* (1995).

nomads and semi-nomads, Central Asia Beginning in the 7th century BC, a succession of polities based on pastoral nomadism (*sheep, *horses, *cattle, *camels), mounted warfare, and transcontinental *trade—*Scythians, Xiongnu, *Huns, *Hephthalites, Juan-juan, *Avars, *Türks, *Bulgars, *Khazars, *Uighurs, and others—flourished in the steppe regions of Eurasia (from Mongolia to *Central Asia to the Pontic Steppe). Usually called 'barbarians' in Chinese, Persian, and East Roman sources and often much more ephemeral than these surrounding empires, steppe polities shared many characteristics with their detractors, including well-organized administrative and military systems, coinage, taxation, *trade networks, and sophisticated artwork; many also utilized writing systems and some became semi-nomadic, incorporating urban and agricultural elements (although the ruling elites frequently preferred a traditional nomadic lifestyle).

Many of these states were *tribal confederations, mixtures of Iranian and/or Turkic peoples, usually led by a charismatic clan which claimed the 'mandate of heaven' to rule; they were rarely if ever ethnically uniform. Although most such states had short lifespans, the constituent tribes were usually absorbed into subsequent steppe polities, reappearing under a different name, ruled by a new dynasty. Steppe nomad societies were stratified between the *aristocracy, common warriors, poor, and slaves and were typically patrilineal, but women generally had higher status than in sedentary societies. Nomads generally lived in tents and often used ox-pulled wagons when travelling from camp to camp. In some cases (Huns, Hephthalites, Avars, Bulgars, Khazars), these highly mobile groups were able to migrate vast distances across the Eurasian steppe, whether in flight from other nomads, in search of better grazing grounds, or in military expansion.

Relations with neighbouring civilizations were dynamic and frequently challenging; thus, cultural interchange, *diplomacy, trade, *tribute, and *warfare figure frequently in the interplay between 'steppe and sown'. Good relations between steppe nomads and their sedentary neighbours were necessary to ensure the steady flow of trade from which they benefited. The Chinese and later the *Arabs, when ruled by strong central governments, could put steady military and economic pressure on the nomads. Conversely, a combination of dynastic weakness in the sedentary states and strong nomadic leadership enabled the latter to flourish and expand their territorial base and military and economic power. MLD

T. J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (1989), 1–31.
C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (2009), 320–62.
P. B. Golden, 'Nomads and their Sedentary Neighbors in Pre-Chinggisid Western Eurasia', *ArchEurasiaeMedAev* 7 (1991), 41–81.
W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (1939).
D. Sinor, 'The Greed of the Northern Barbarian', in L. Clark and P. Draghi, *Aspects of Altaic Civilization*, vol. 2 (1978), 171–82.
D. Sinor, 'Reflections on the History and Historiography of the Nomad Empires of Central Eurasia', *ActOrHung* 58 (2005), 3–14.

nomes of Egypt From early times, the territory of *Egypt was divided into units called nomes. While changes occurred in the number of nomes and their boundaries, this system of land administration was maintained by the Ptolemies and then the Romans. Nomes allowed the rulers to assess and collect tax revenues easily. Under the Romans, the administrator of the nome was called the **strategos*.

Nomes were subdivided into toparchies and *villages, each with their own officials. In 307/8, the imperial *administration replaced the toparchies with new subdivisons called **pagi*; the nome was thereafter administered by a *logistes*, and the *pagi* and *villages by a *praepositus pagi*.

During the course of the 4th century, nomes were grouped and regrouped into sub-provinces of Egypt and even independent *provinces, as had been done earlier under the Ptolemies. By the end of the 4th century there were four groups, each headed by a *praeses*. JSM

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile.*

Nonnosus Author of an account of embassies to the Kindite *Arabs and to *Aksum under *Anastasius I, *Justin I, and *Justinian I. The memoir was summarized by *Photius (cod. 3).

Nonnosus' grandfather Euphrasius (*PLRE* II, Euphrasius 3) had been sent to al-*Harith (Arethas) the *Hujrid ruler of Kinda in the Central *Arabian Peninsula in 502 to form an alliance and to bestow on al-Harith the title of *phylarch. Nonnosus' father Abraham (*PLRE* II, Abramius 2) went on a similar mission to *Qays (Caisus), the son of al-Harith, in 523/4, to renew the alliance.

Nonnosus himself was sent, probably in 530/1, to Qays as part of a diplomatic initiative to get help from *Himyar in southern *Arabia and from Aksum for Justinian's war against the *Persian Empire. Nonnosus' mission was to remove Qays to *Constantinople and to report to *Julian, who was leading the embassy to Aksum and Himyar. He did not persuade Qays to move, but a subsequent mission led by his father Abraham succeeded in this.

The accounts of *Ethiopia given by *John Malalas (XVIII, 56) and *Theophanes (AM 6064—the date is wrong) may draw on Nonnosus' memoir as well as Julian's report. Photius' summary of Nonnosus mentions the three 'sacred months' of the pre-Islamic *Arabs when fighting was forbidden, and the strange climate of Ethiopia, shy fish-eating pygmies encountered on an island of the Red Sea, and a herd of nearly 5,000 *elephants seen between Aksum and *Adulis.

OPN

PLRE III B, Nonnosus.

Fragments: ed. (with LT) in Müller, *FHG* IV, 178–80.

Shahid, *BASIC*, 153–6.

I. Kawar (Shahid), 'Byzantium and Kinda', *BZ* 53 (1960), 57–73.

Bowersock, *Throne of Adulis*, 109–10, 135–43.

Nonnus of Panopolis (*fl.* mid–late 5th cent.) Greek *epic poet from *Panopolis in *Egypt. Best known as the author of the *Dionysiaca*, an epic of *c.*21,000 lines on the prehistory, life, and subsequent apotheosis of the god *Dionysus, written in 48 books. The core of the poem (Books 25–40) engages creatively with the main episodes of the *Iliad* and focuses on Dionysus' campaign against the Indians, his killing of the Indian leader Deriades, and the capture of the Indian city. The last books of the epic conclude with a period of Odyssean wandering, but Nonnus' literary ambitions extend far beyond 'father Homer' (*Dion.* 25, 265). On one level his work may be seen as an attempt to replicate the whole Epic Cycle of Greek mythology including elements of Titanomachy and a reworking of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*. It is a work that also seeks to encompass the whole of Greek literature: from *hymns and the stories of the foundation of cities (such as *Beirut, *Tyre, and Byzantium) to Greek tragedy (Books 43–6 recast Euripides' *Bacchae* as epic poetry), Hellenistic poetry (including the *Hecale* of Callimachus and the *Erigone* of Eratosthenes) and the Greek novel (Book 40 in the city of Tyre takes us into the territory of Achilles Tatius). As with much later Greek poetry there is little evidence for any sustained engagement with *Latin poetry and in spite of several references to the positive benefits of the Roman Empire the work concludes on a firmly Hellenic note in the *temple of *Eleusis outside *Athens. The metrical control and verbal exuberance of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* had a profound influence on the later Greek poets including *Colluthus, *Agathias, Musaeus, *John of Gaza, and the much-maligned *Dioscurus of *Aphrodito. Thanks to the efforts of F. Vian and his team of editors the *Dionysiaca* is now accessible in an edition comprising a translation, newly edited text, and extensive notes.

Another team of critics led by E. Livrea is working towards completing a commentary on another hexameter work attributed to Nonnus: the *Paraphrase* of S. John's Gospel. Theologically this work relies closely on the commentary on S. John's Gospel by *Cyril of *Alexandria, but in terms of language (e.g. use of compound adjectives and imagery) it is closely related to the *Dionysiaca*. The two projects of Vian and Livrea have tended to maintain a clear divide between these two different versions of Nonnus: the *Dionysiaca* is seen as an epic poem in the classical tradition with little real connection to the world of Late Antiquity; the *Paraphrase* has been seen as a work rooted in the theological debates of Late Antiquity, but with little real sense of engagement with classical literary culture. This division has its roots in the early 20th century when it was seen as too difficult to accept that the author of a 'serious' poem on the life of Christ should also be responsible for the 'frivolous' epic about Dionysus and his drunken adventures (including homosexual encounters, scenes of voyeurism, and the brutal rape of *virgins). As a result it was suggested that the poet must have experienced a religious conversion that caused him to reject '*pagan' epic in favour of the poetry of Christ. More recently, however, critics have begun to explore deeper connections between the two poems: Dionysus and Christ have begun to emerge not as contradictory or antithetical characters but as complementary figures in a wide-ranging debate about the nature and power of divinity, about chastity and virginity, and more broadly about the relationship between Christian and classical cultural traditions in a new Late Antique world. RECS

Dionysiaca:

ed. (with comm. and FT) F. Vian et al., 18 vols. (1976–2006).

ed. (with comm. and IT) D. Gigli Piccardi et al. (BUR, 2003–4).

ed. (with ET) W. H. D. Rouse, 3 vols. (LCL 344, 354, 356, 1940).
Paraphrase:
ed. A. Scheindler (1881).
ed. (with comm. and IT) E. Livrea et al., 21 vols., (1989–).
ed. (with ET and comm.) K Spanoudakis, *Paraphrasis of the Gospel of John XI* (OECT, 2015).
P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques* (1991).
N. Hopkinson, ed., *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (*PCPS* Supplement 17, 1994).
R. Shorrock, *The Challenge of Epic: Allusive Engagement in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (2001).
R. Shorrock, *Nonnus, Dionysus and the World of Late Antiquity* (2011).

Noricum Mediterraneum, Noricum Ripense Two Late Roman *provinces in modern western Austria. Noricum Ripense was immediately south of the Danube *frontier with *Raetia upstream to the west, *Pannonia Superior downstream, and Noricum Mediterraneum to the south. The more mountainous Noricum Mediterraneum bordered *Venetia et Histria to the west, Pannonia Superior to the east, and *Savia to the south. The *Verona List placed both in the *Dioecesis *Pannoniae, and the **Notitia Dignitatum* listed them in the Dioecesis of *Illyricum (*occ.* II, 33 and 34). Both were governed by a *Praeses. *Eugippius' *Life* of S. *Severinus gives vivid details of life in 5th-century Noricum. *Franks took over both provinces in *c.*536 while *Slavs and *Avars and the *Baiuvari overran the region around 600. ABA

TIR L-33 (1961).
Barrington Atlas, maps 101 and 102.
Alföldy, *Noricum*.

notaries (*tabelliones*) Public scribes who composed legal documents, such as *contracts, *petitions, and *wills (**Digest*, XLVIII, 19, 9, 4–8), for private customers, so distinct from **notarii*, who worked for the state, from lawyers, who provided legal advice and representation, and from *shorthand writers. The *Formula Baetica* (Riccobono, *FIRA*² vol. 3, 92 = *CIL* 2.5042), a *contract template or **formula*, attests to their practices and work, as do the frequent abbreviations in petitions on *papyrus (e.g. P. Oxy. LI 3611). A common presence in the *provinces from at least the Early Empire—two signed a petition from *Aphrodito—rules limiting their place of business and conduct were promulgated by Justinian I (*NovJust* 44 of 537, cf. *CJust* IV, 21, 17 pr., 535). SDC

Jones, *LRE* 515.
J. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World* (1995), 116–18.
I. Pfaff, *Tabellio und Tabularius. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von den römischen Urkundspersonen* (1905).

notarii Secretaries, originally *shorthand writers, and still sometimes attested as such in Late Antiquity, notably in the church bureaucracy. The *notarii* of *Licinius are the earliest attested working for an *emperor (**Suda*, A 4450). Imperial *notarii* were incorporated in a *Schola under the *Primicerius Notariorum before 428 (*CTh* VI, 2, 26). They mostly ranked as **tribunus* (cf. for other ranks, *CTh* VI, 10, 2–3 [381]). During the 4th century they took on various tasks, and eventually knowledge of shorthand was no longer required for service in the *schola*. Their number increased; there were 520 *notarii* in 381 (*Libanius, *Or.* 2, 58). From at least 381 they had the *title of **clarissimus* (*CTh* VI, 10, 2–3), and could claim certain privileges (*CTh* XI, 16, 15 [382]). HCT

Jones, *LRE* 572–5.
Teitler, *Notarii*.
Delmaire, *Institutions*, 47–56.

Notitia Antiochena List of bishoprics of the Patriarchate of *Antioch from the end of the 6th century, republished by Honigmann in 1925. The accusation by Devreesse that it is a 9th-century forgery is convincingly rejected by both Honigmann (1947) and Laurent. It provides a list of the *cities of the *provinces of *Cilicia (I and II), *Syria (I and II), *Euphratensia, *Osrhoene, *Mesopotamia, *Phoenicia Maritima and Libanensis, *Arabia, and *Palaestina (I and II). Together with the 6th-century *Synecdemus* of *Hierocles and the later *Descriptio Orbis Romani* of *George of *Cyprus, it is an important tool for the study of the geography of the Late Roman Near East. AMC

ed. (with study) E. Honigmann, 'Studien zur Notitia Antiochena', *BZ* 25 (1925), 60–88 and 'The Patriarchate of Antioch: A Revision of Le Quien and the Notitia Antiochena', *Traditio* 5 (1947), 135–61.
R. Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe: études palestiniennes et orientales* (1945).
V. Laurent, 'La Notitia d'Antioche: origine et tradition', *REB* 5 (1947), 67–89.

Notitia Dignitatum A problematic, yet invaluable, illuminated document which lists a minimum of 2,360 civil and military offices of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire (*Notitia Dignitatum Omnium Tam Civilium Quam Militarium*). Its internal structure and the titulature of army regiments suggest that it originally dated to AD 395, with some chapters of the Western part emended up to *c.*408. The oldest known manuscript was the lost 9th-century Codex Spirensis, itself probably based on an earlier Carolingian copy. Several 15th–16th-century copies of Codex Spirensis are extant.

Both halves of the *Notitia* follow a broadly similar structure, commencing with an overall list of officials, then descending in seniority. Each post to the level of

*Dux has its staff (**officium*) listed with the titles of its personnel. The *Praefecti Praetorio were the senior civil administrators, two in each half of the Empire (*per Italias, Galliarum, Orientem, Illyricum*). Under them are listed **dioeceses* headed by *Vicarii (10 west, 6 east), and 122 *provinces under *governors with the *titles *Consulares, *Praesides, and *Correctores. Next comes the *Praefectus Urbi Romae (*Constantinople is missing). The senior military commanders were two **Magistri* in the west (*Magister Peditum praesentalis, *Magister Equitum praesentalis) and five in the east (two *in praesenti*, and Magistri per Orientem, Thracias, Illyricum). They are listed with regiments under their command and their *insignia pages depict the purported shield-blazons of those units.

Next come the high offices of the *palace domestic staff and the central *administration. The *Magister Officiorum administered bodyguard regiments (**scholae*), imperial *intelligence (**agentes in rebus*), secretariats (**scrinia*), and armaments centres (**fabricae*: 20 west, 15 east). The *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum oversaw officials of the *mines and mints, payment of **stipendia* to soldiers and civil servants, clothing manufacture and issue to troops. Under the *Comes Rei *Privatae were the administrators of *imperial estates, rents, and acquisitions. *Comites Domesticorum were responsible for crack bodyguard regiments (**domestici*). The *Primicerius Sacri Cubiculi and the *Castrensis Sacri Palatii oversaw administration of the imperial chamber, palaces, and secretariats. The *Primicerius Notariorum issued commissions to various *field army (**comitatenses*) and *frontier (**limitanei*) regiments.

Subordinate to the Magistri are *Comites Rei Militaris (6 west, 2 east), and Duces (12 and 13) who have regiments under them listed by commander's rank (mainly west), unit title, and place name location. Units fall within two broad categories: the field armies of **vexillationes equitum*, **legiones*, and **auxilia* under Magistri and Comites Rei Militaris; the frontier forces of *legiones, equites, alae, cohortes, numeri, milites*, and river *fleets (*classes*). Overall 937 military formations are listed, some dating back to Julius Caesar and Augustus. The *Notitia* was most concerned with the distribution of western field army regiments (*Notitia Dignitatum, occ.*5–7), and surviving versions are probably based on a copy used in the *officium* of the Magister Peditum. Many sections had become outdated, and the original document was a richly illuminated presentation copy, rather than a practical, working document. JCNC

ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876, repr. 1962).
Jones, *LRE*.
Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*.
R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (BAR SupplSer 15, 1976).
P. C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (1981).
M. J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire* (1998).

Notitiae Episcopatuum Lists from the Eastern Roman Empire of the sees of *bishops arranged in the order of precedence of individual *dioceses. The earliest to survive is that of pseudo-Epiphanius which appears to date from the reign of *Heraclius in the 7th century. Together with the lists of *provinces and *cities in *Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, and *George of *Cyprus, the *Notitiae* are important in attempts to chart the presence of Christianity, particularly in the *Balkans, in the early Byzantine period. OPN

ed. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (1981).

Notitia Galliarum List of the seventeen *provinces of Roman *Gaul, grouped under headings naming the two 4th-century **dioeceses*, *Galliae (with ten provinces) and the *Septem Provinciae. Under each province is listed its metropolitan/capital *city and other *civitates* (cities), described by their ethnic titles (e.g. *civitas Arvernorum* for modern *Clermont), some 115 in total, along with six or seven *castra* (lesser, fortified settlements) and a *portus* (*harbour).

In its original form the *Notitia* probably dates from the reign of *Magnus Maximus (383–8); it typifies the emphasis on written records which characterized the Late Roman *administration, and was also necessitated by frequent imperial provincial reorganizations (cf. the *Verona List). The *Notitia Galliarum* is headed by a rubric, stating that the list was adopted at the formal request of the *bishops (*ordo pontificum*) 'lest antiquity be overturned by any eventuality', and that it was to be used to settle disputes over *metropolitan authority. Some scholars have concluded that the list reflects episcopal organization in Gaul in the late 4th century, but since many of its features are incompatible with what is known of that period from *saints' lives, conciliar lists, and local traditions, it is more likely that the list was recycled for church use later, probably in the 6th century, and that both the rubric and the *castra* (most of which had acquired bishops by the 6th cent. but not the 4th) and *portus* were added then. The text continued to be much copied, and updated, throughout the early Middle Ages. JDH

ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876), 261–74.
J. Harries, 'Church and State in the *Notitia Galliarum*', *JRS* 68 (1978), 26–43.

Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae A short text addressed by its unknown author to the *Emperor *Theodosius II. The *Notitia* provides an invaluable account of the new *city of *Constantinople only a century after its foundation, identifying more buildings and institutions than are known from any other single source. Although the Theodosian circuit wall is noted in the preface, the account is concerned with the

Constantinian foundation, accurately recording the distance from the original Golden Gate to the sea. Like old *Rome, the new city had fourteen *regions, the last lying outside the later core, its location still a matter of dispute. The regions are listed from the east, thus the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd included the Great *Palace, the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom, and the *Hippodrome respectively. Most importantly for a city hardly known from archaeological excavation, the lists present the diversity of urban structures and functions, from the *houses of the great, major public and private *baths, *harbours, storehouses and bakeries, the grand colonnades and lesser *streets, warehouses, markets, *cisterns, and nymphaea. No pagan *temples are listed but fourteen churches are. JCr

ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* … (1876).
J. F. Matthews, 'The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*', in Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*, 81–115.

Notitia Urbis Romae One of the **Regionary Catalogues* of *Rome, closely related to the **Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIV* and an essential source for the history of the urban fabric of Rome. It inventories many major buildings and monuments in the *city, as well as *insulae* and *domus*, listed region by region, and enumerated in total at the end. It is usually dated to the later 4th century, after 357, due to its inclusion of the *obelisk erected by *Constantius II. It provided a model for the later **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. As with its counterparts, the accuracy and purpose of this document have been much debated. LHCG

ed. Jordan, *Topographie*, 2/2, 539–74.

Novatianus (251–*c.*258/9) **and Novatianists** (3rd–7th/8th cents.) First *bishop of the separatist Church named after him which opposed the readmission to communion of Christians who apostatized. The question of readmission had become urgent because of those who had lapsed during the *persecution under *Decius in 249–51, chronicled by *Cyprian (*epp.* 44–55) and *Eusebius (*HE* VI, 43–6). When Cornelius, who favoured readmission, was elected to the see of *Rome in 251, the minority rigorist party chose the learned presbyter Novatianus as bishop. He was excommunicated by a Roman synod in the same year.

Novatianus himself died in 258/9, probably by *martyrdom, but his view that only God, and not the Church, could forgive the gravest sins, won sympathetic hearing in various quarters, and his Church spread gradually across the whole Empire, being known in the East as the Katharoi ('puritans'). The orthodoxy of the Christological and Trinitarian doctrines of Novatianus and his followers was never questioned. His *De Trinitate*, a rich and skilful defence of the Roman *creed against Adoptionism on the one hand and Modalism on the other, succeeds in expounding the doctrine of redemption without reducing Christ to a substantially subordinationist position.

Novatianist adherence to Nicene orthodoxy won them toleration from the mainstream Church in the eastern half of the Roman Empire. The church historian *Socrates had known the Novatianists well since his boyhood in *Constantinople (where they had four churches) and provides considerable information about their strength in the hinterland of *Anatolia. They lasted perhaps into the 8th century, but were driven from Rome under Celestine I (422–32). Whether their views on *penance remained quite unchanged to the end is disputed. PRA

CPL 68–74:
ed. G. F. Diercks (CSSL 4, 1972).
ET R. J. DeSimone, *Novatian* (FC 67, 1972).
J. L. Papandrea, *The Trinitarian Theology of Novatian of Rome* (2008).
H. J. Vogt, *Coetus Sanctorum. Der Kirchenbegriff des Novatian und die Geschichte seiner Sonderkirche* (1968).
Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 94, 96–9.

***Novels*, imperial** (Lat. *novellae* [*leges/constitutiones*], lit. 'new [laws/constitutions]') Acts of imperial legislation promulgated after the **Theodosian Code* in 438 and the second edition of *Justinian's *Code* in 534, respectively. Unlike constitutions excerpted and adapted for the Codes, the texts of *Novels* are generally preserved complete. In contrast with the preceding parts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Justinian's *Novels* were composed mainly in *Greek, reflecting the extent to which *Latin was being supplanted as the language of *law and *administration in the 6th century.

Meyer's edition of the post-Theodosian *Novels* includes 26 acts of *Theodosius II (*NovTh*) and 36 of *Valentinian III (*NovVal*), twelve of *Majorian (*Nov Maj*), five of *Marcian (*NovMarc*), two of *Libius Severus (*NovSev*), and three of *Anthemius (*NovAnth*). A *Novel* of *Glycerius (*NovGlyc*) is also extant.

Schöll and Kroll's edition of the *Novels* of *Justinian I (*NovJust*) is based largely upon the so-called Greek Collection of 168 constitutions, including four of *Justin II (*NovJustmin*) and three of *Tiberius II. Unknown in the medieval West, it includes material used by the Byzantine epitomators Athanasius of *Emesa and Theodore Scholasticus in the late 6th century and the compilers of the *Basilica* in the 9th century. One of the two manuscripts preserves thirteen additional Greek constitutions known as the *Edicts of Justinian* (*EdJust*).

Supplementing this material are: (i) the *Epitome of Julian*, named after *Julianus Antecessor, a law professor from *Constantinople and the chief source of Justinianic legislation in early medieval Europe, containing abridged Latin translations of 124 constitutions; (ii) a collection of 134 constitutions in the

original Latin or a literal but unreliable Latin translation, rediscovered in the 12th century and called the *Authenticum* because Justinian was believed to have authorized it. A handful of constitutions is known from other sources. CFP

Post-Theodosian *Novels*: ed. P. M. Meyer, *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes*, in Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, eds., *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis: et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes*, vol. 2 (1905).

ET (annotated) in C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (1952).

NovJust and *NovJustmin*: ed. R. Schöll and G. Kroll, *Novellae, Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3 ([5]1928).

ET (annotated) P. Sarris and D. Miller, *The Novels of the Emperor Justinian* (forthcoming).

P. Noailles, *Les Collections de novelles de l'empereur Justinien*, 2 vols. (1912–14).

N. van der Wal, *Manuale Novellarum Justiniani* ([2]1998).

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 652–79.

Novels of Justinian (Lat. *novellae constitutiones*) The *Novels* or 'new constitutions' are a collection of over 150 unabridged imperial constitutions issued by *Justinian I after the promulgation of *Justinian's *Code* in 534. The majority were issued before the death of *Tribonian (*c.*542/3); about 30 more were issued between the death of Tribonian and that of Justinian in 565.

The *Novels* are written predominantly in *Greek, the language of the Eastern Empire; constitutions intended specifically for Justinian's newly conquered western provinces, especially *Africa and *Italy, are the chief exception. The language of the *Novels* is grandiose and rhetorical throughout: Justinian both introduces law and justifies it in the same texts. The *Novels* primarily address *administration and procedure (e.g. *NovJust* 8, against the bribing of officials) and ecclesiastical law (e.g. *NovJust* 5, on *monasteries and monks), but also introduce substantial amendments to private law, for example *marriage (*NovJust* 22) and intestate *succession (*NovJust* 118), and regulate a variety of other subjects (e.g. *NovJust* 14, on pimps).

Although printed as the third volume of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* today, the *Novels* were never codified in an official collection, as Justinian had hoped. Thus, unlike the *Code*, the *Novels* circulated in unofficial collections and are not systematically arranged in titles, although Athanasius of Emesa subsequently accomplished this in his *Syntagma* (AD 572–7). The most important sources for the *Novels* are the *Epitome Juliani* (*see* JULIANUS ANTECESSOR), the *Authenticum*, and the *Collectio Graeca*. The *Epitome Juliani* is a contemporary abridged *Latin version of 124 novels presumably composed for instruction; copies proliferated in the West during the early Middle Ages. The *Authenticum* contains 134 novels, giving the Latin novels in the original and the Greek novels in an infelicitous Latin translation; it would eventually supplant the *Epitome* in the West. The third collection, the *Collectio Graeca*, is by far the most important, compiled in the reign of *Tiberius II and containing 168 novels down to AD 575 in the original Greek. The *Collectio Graeca* was used in the compilation of the *Basilica* under *Leo VI and serves as the basis of the modern critical edition of the *Novels*. In the edition of Schöll and Kroll, the Greek constitutions are printed alongside the translation of the *Authenticum*, with a modern Latin translation below. Thirteen edicts of Justinian are preserved independently and appended to the *Novels*.

See also NOVELS, IMPERIAL. JND

ed. R. Schöll and W. Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, III ([6]1954).

ET F. Blume, *Annotated Justinian Code: The Novels* (2010) http://www.uwyo.edu/lawlib/justinian-novels/. This is at present the only reliable English translation. The website is maintained by The University of Wyoming George William Hopper Law Library.

J. D. Miller and Peter Sarris, *The Novels of the Emperor Justinian* (forthcoming).

I. Avotins, *On the Greek of the Novels of Justinian* (1992).

F. A. Biener, *Geschichte der Novellen Justinians* (1824; repr. 1970).

W. Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani. Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtsunterricht* (2004).

T. G. Kearley, 'The Creation and Transmission of Justinian's Novels', *LLJ* 102 (2010), 377–97.

G. Lanata, *Legislazione e natura nelle Novelle giustinianee* (1984).

P. Noailles, *Les Collections de Novelles de l'empereur Justinien*, 2 vols. (1912–14).

N. Van der Wal, *Manuale Novellarum Iustiniani* ([2]1998).

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 652–79.

Novempopulana *Province in south-west *Gaul carved from the former province of *Aquitania in the late 3rd century and included in the *Verona List as Novem Populi in the *Dioecesis *Viennensis. It lay between the River Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Atlantic; Éauze (Roman Elusa) was its capital. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists it as governed by a *Praeses under the *Vicarius of the *Dioecesis of the *Septem Provinciae and the *Praefectus Praetorio per Gallias, (*occ.* I, 112; III, 26; XXII, 34) and having a cohort of troops under the *Magister Militum Praesentalis (*or.* XLII, 18–19), but *Visigoths settled around the area from 418 and it became the centre of the *Frankish Duchy of Vasconia in the early 7th century. ACR

NEDC 212–13.

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 13 Éauze, ed. L. Maurin (2004).

Noviodunum (mod. Isacea, Romania) *City, fort, and naval base on the Danube in *Scythia Minor.

A fort was built under the *Tetrarchy as part of an elaborate strengthening of the lower Danube *frontier. In 369 *Valens crossed the Danube at Noviodunum to campaign against the *Goths. The *Rugian chieftain Valips conquered it for the *Huns in the 430s (*Priscus, fr. 1). *Anastasius I and *Justinian I restored it. According to *Jordanes (*Getica*, V, 36), it lay at the southernmost end of *Slav territory. Its archaeological remains include parts of the stone fortification (enclosing *c.*10 ha, *c.*25 acres) and earthen ramparts, buildings, and small finds, including lead *seals. A *basilica with a *martyrium containing the intact tomb of the *martyrs Zotikos, Kamasis, Attalos, and Philippos was found in the nearby village of Niculițel in 1971. ER

V. H. Baumann, *Sângele martirilor* (2004).
F. Curta, 'Quaestura Exercitus: The Evidence of Lead Seals', *Acta Byzantina Fennica* 1 (2002), 9–26.
K. Lockyear, A. Popescu, and T. Sly, 'The Noviodunum Archaeological Project 2000–2004', *Peuce* III–IV (2005–6), 121–58.
M. Zahariade, *Scythia Minor: A History of a Later Roman Province (284–681)* (2006), 91–2.

Nubia and the Nubians Name of the land and people south of *Egypt in Antiquity, comprising modern southernmost Egypt and northern Sudan.

In the first half of the 4th century, the kingdom of Meroe (which had dominated Nubia from the 3rd century BC until the 3rd century AD) began to disintegrate, resulting in a complex transitional phase about which we are best informed in Lower Nubia. In 298 the *Emperor *Diocletian withdrew the southern frontier of *Roman Egypt northwards to the Aswan region (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 19, 27–37). A complex tribal society then arose south of the frontier in the 4th and 5th centuries consisting of the indigenous Nubian population, called Noubades or Nobades in the 5th-century sources and concentrated in places such as Primis (*Qasr Ibrim), and tribes of *Blemmyes, in places such as Talmis (*Kalabsha).

Several texts provide detailed information about these peoples, most notably the *inscription recording the victories of the Nobadian chieftain Silko over Blemmyan tribes at Kalabsha (*Sammelbuch*, V, 8536). The growing organization of the Nobades in the 5th century led to the emergence of one of the three Christian kingdoms of Nubia in the 6th century, the kingdom of Nobadia. The historian *John of *Ephesus (*HE* III, 4, 6–9; 49–53) reports three Byzantine missions sent to Nubia at this time: the first to convert the Nobadian king (536–48), the second to provide Nobadia with its first *bishop (569), and the third to convert the King of Alodia (Alwa; 579/80), another kingdom further south. Moreover, according to *John of Biclar, Makouria, the third kingdom situated between Nobadia and Alodia, adopted Christianity in 569. The three Nubian kingdoms thus became officially Christian in the 6th century, although the process of religious transformation was considerably more complex than these literary sources suggest. We know, for example, that through frequent exchanges with Egypt Christianity started to spread in Lower Nubia already before the 6th century. By the end of the 6th century Christianity was firmly established in Nubia, as appears for example from the churches built in the capitals of Nobadia and Makouria, Faras and Old Dongola. The medieval Nubian kingdoms remained Christian until *c.*1500. JHFD

CoptEnc vol. 6 *s.n.* Nubia, cols. 1800a–1801a (W. Y. Adams).
D. N. Edwards, *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan* (2004), 182–255.
Dijkstra, *Philae*, 131–73, 271–304.

al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir *Ghassanid *phylarch *c.*581–582/4, son of al-*Mundhir b. al-Harith. He was promised his father's release from exile if he fought as an ally of the Romans against the *Persian Empire and renounced *Miaphysitism. Al-Nu'man refused the latter condition and was arrested; this ended the hegemony of his house over Ghassan. KMK

PLRE III, Naamanes 3.
Shahid, *BASIC*.

al-Nu'man III b. al-Mundhir (Naamanes, Na'man) The last *Lakhimid king (*c.* AD 580–602) to rule in al-*Hira. During his reign, the city developed into the greatest centre of Arab *poetry. In *c.*590 he became a Christian and a member of the Church of the *East. Serious tensions within Hira and continuous *wars with the *Arab *tribes worsened his position. He was deposed and killed by *Khosrow II in 602. IT-N

PLRE III, Naamanes 4.
EI 2 vol. 7 (1993) *s.v.* al-Nu'mān, al-(III) b. al-Mundhir, pp. 119–20 (Shahid).
I. Toral-Niehoff, 'The 'Ibād in al-Hīra: An Arab Christian Community in Late Antique Iraq', in A. Neuwirth and N. Sinai, eds., *The Qur'an in Context* (2010), 323–47.

number symbolism In *Greek usage, numerical signs coincided with letters: alpha is one, beta is two, and so forth. The practice of differentiating numbers from letters by marking a cardinal number with a bar and an ordinal (or a sexagesimal part) with an apex probably dates back to the early development of mathematical *astronomy. *Diophantus (mid-3rd cent. AD) introduced signs denoting the numerical species studied in his *Arithmetics*; these are made by the initial letter(s) of the name(s) of two basic species, followed by a superscript Y: Δ^Y for *dynamis* (a square), K^Y for *kybos*

(cube), ΔK^{Y} for *dynamokybos* (a square multiplied by a cube having the same side). An indeterminate species was denoted by the sign that since Late Antiquity was adopted as an abbreviation for 'number'.

The relationship between letters and numbers contributed to *allegorical interpretation of texts, in particular the *Bible. This might be a matter of a simple correspondence susceptible of typological interpretation: Neron (the Greek form of Nero) notoriously adds up to the Number of the Beast of Revelation (13:8), and so does one form of the *Vandal King *Geiseric, when spelled Genserikos, as a later redactor of the commentary on Revelation of *Victorinus of Poetovio pointed out (*Recensio Hieronymi*, XVII, 4). But allegorical interpretations of numbers could also point to deeper truths. They grew from a sense, shared with Stoics, that there were no mere coincidences in nature, number, history, or literature, and from a conviction, shared with Pythagoreans, that the basis of reality is in some way mathematical. When *Methodius of Olympus wrote (*Symposium*, 8, 11) that 'it is clear that the entire creation of the world was achieved out of the harmony of the number 6', he had in mind not only the six days of Creation, as frequently commented on in Christian **hexaemeron* literature, but also the mathematical qualities of the number. FA; OPN

number symbolism in art and architecture *See* MATHEMATICS IN ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

Numenius (*fl.* 2nd cent.) Neopythagorean *philosopher from Syrian *Apamea. Fragments of his otherwise lost works are preserved primarily in *Eusebius and *Proclus. *Middle Platonists and *Neoplatonists valued his theological and ontological formulations, and his privileging of Eastern wisdom. APJ

ed. (annotated with FT) E. des Places (1973).

numerarii Senior financial staff, heading specialized bureaux within the **officium* of a *Praefectus Praetorio, *Vicarius, *governor of a *province, and in military *officia* (*CTh* VIII, 1, 14–15). Appointment by internal promotion appears to have been usual. The office survived in the kingdom of the *Visigoths (*Leges Visigothorum*, 12, 1, 2). AGS

Jones, *LRE* chs. 13, 16–17 *passim*.

Numerarius In Visigothic *Spain, a tax-collector appointed by either the *Comes Patrimonii or the *bishop and *populus* of individual *cities. CMG

P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (1972), 69–70.

D. Fernández, 'What is the *Fisco Barcinonensi* about?', *AntTard* 14 (2006), 217–24.

Numerian *Emperor 282–4. After *Probus died in 282, the new Emperor *Carus (282–3) made his sons Numerian and *Carinus *Caesars. *Nemesianus dedicated his *Cynegetica* to the brothers. Numerian accompanied Carus on his Persian campaign, and after his father's death returned with the *army through *Anatolia. On reaching *Nicomedia, he was found dead and decomposing in his travelling litter. Diocles, captain of the guard, paraded the troops, accused Numerian's father-in-law Aper, the *Praefectus Praetorio, of murdering Numerian, ran him through with his sword, and promptly received *acclamation as the Emperor *Diocletian. OPN

PLRE I, Numerianus.

CAH XII (2005), 57–8.

numerus An elastic term used to denote a military formation. In the 1st to 3rd centuries these might be detachments of legionaries or auxiliaries, or 'national' *numeri*, units of infantry or cavalry recruited from barbarian groups (Palmyrenes, *Sarmatians, *Moors, Germans, Britons) for their military specialisms, so as to make use of the manpower of allies, or to siphon off warriors from defeated enemies. The term remained as a generic usage for 'unit', but only sixteen appear in the **Notitia Dignitatum*, almost all in *Britain (*Not. Dig. occ.* XXVIII, 13, 15, 20–1; XXXV, 32; XL, 22–31, 47). JCNC

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 335–9.

P. Southern, 'The Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army', *Britannia* 20 (1989), 81–140.

Numidia, Cirtensis, and Militana Provinces of the *Dioecesis *Africae situated between *Mauretania Sitifensis and the Ampsaga River to the west and *Africa Proconsularis and *Byzacena to the east; the latter border ran to the west of the *territorium* of *Hippo Regius, *Theveste, and the Chott Djerid. In 303 Numidia was divided into Cirtensis governed from *Cirta, and Militana, with its capital at *Lambaesis; both are in the *Verona List. The provinces were reunited during 314. The *governors had the title *Praeses until 320 or earlier when the governor became a *Consularis, as he still is in the **Notitia Dignitatum*. The province was ceded to the *Vandals in 435. After the *Byzantine invasion of 534 *Justinian I organized it (*CJust* I, 27, 10) with a Praeses as governor. GMS

Barrington Atlas, 31 and 34.

S. Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie* (1911).

NEDC 171–3, 222.

Jones, *LRE* 42, 107, 190, 273.

nummus Late Roman *bronze coin and smallest monetary unit of account. By AD 498 the *nummus* had become physically tiny and fiscally almost worthless.

Anastasius I's coinage reform of 498 retained the *nummus* as a unit of account, but produced only multiples of it as physical coin types. In 512 the *nummus* coin was reintroduced. RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*.

Nydam *Weapon deposit site in a wet meadow in south-eastern Jutland, which changed from an open lake into a bog during its period of usage. Since 1859 more than 15,000 items of equipment suitable for military use have been excavated at Nydam; they represent at least six large-scale *sacrifices of military equipment which took place between *c.* AD 240 and 480. As well as metal artefacts of weaponry and warrior equipment, wooden items are especially well preserved in Nydam and give particular insight into the organic components of Germanic *arms and armour, e.g. complete wooden shields, bows, arrows, and quivers. Particularly noteworthy are the three large rowing *ships which were associated with sacrifices of military equipment. Among them is a clinker-built troop carrier propelled by fifteen pairs of rowers and 23 m (over 75 feet) long, discovered almost intact and then reconstructed in 1863 (the Nydam Boat). A collection of gilded *silver components of 5th-century sword scabbard fittings discovered in Nydam in 1888 gave its name to the 'Nydam style' of chip carving technique. The position of the sacrificial site in south-eastern Jutland and the archaeology of the surrounding area indicate that Nydam served as a central site of *votive offerings for the political entity of the continental Angles. AR

C. Engelhardt, *Nydam Mosefund, 1859–1863* (1865).

A. Rau, *Nydam Mose. Die personengebundenen Gegenstände: Grabungen, 1989–1999*, 2 vols. (2010).

Nyssa Small bishopric in western *Cappadocia Prima, east of Lake Tatta (Tüz Gölü), at modern Harmandalı. *Gregory of Nyssa was *bishop 372–6 and again from 378. The site is marked by a settlement mound, with a circuit of *walls enclosing an area of *c.*12.5 ha (*c.*31 acres). PJT

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981), 246–8.

O

Oak, Synod of the Synod of 36 *bishops, mostly from *Egypt, held in September AD 403 at the palace of *Rufinianae, ancient Drus (Gk. 'oak') on the Asiatic side of the *Bosporus. Presided over by *Theophilus, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, it secured from *Arcadius the first exile of *John Chrysostom. WEM

C. Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404)* (2000), 327–53.

Oasis (Great Oasis) Fertile depression in the Western Desert of Upper *Egypt, with two main agglomerations of sites, Kharga to the east and Dakhleh to the west. After a population growth in Roman times, the Oasis was more lightly populated from the end of the 4th-century, but retained a wealthy economy and active cultural life. Roman forts were built in the Oasis's northern part to defend trade routes; many of these forts (such as Umm el-Dabadib and el-Deir, which may have housed Ala I Abasgorum: *Not. Dig. or.* 31, 55) show occupation by civilians in Late Antiquity (also with cemeteries), and in some cases until around the 10th century. The Oasis had a lively Christian community: Kharga was a bishopric from the 4th to the 14th century; 4th-century churches and a cemetery have been found in the area of Dakhleh. A monumental necropolis (both pagan and Christian), used from the 1st to the 7th century, has been found in el-Bagawat (Kharga) with a three-aisled church of the 5th century; fine Christian paintings have been uncovered in the mausolea of the necropolis. *Kellis (mod. Ismant el-Kharab), in the Dakhleh Oasis, is the best-known Christian centre of the Oasis from the 4th century, with a *Manichaean community and also three churches (one a Constantinian three-aisled *basilica) and a cemetery. Kellis has yielded numerous *papyri (P. Kellis) in *Greek, Demotic, Coptic, *Latin, and *Syriac, as well as *ostraca, and wooden codices. Both *Athanasius and *Nestorius were sent into *exile at Kharga. MCDP

G. E. Bowen, 'The Church of Deir Abu Metta and a Christian Cemetery in Dakhleh Oasis: A Brief Report', *BACE* 19 (2008), 7–16.

M. Reddé, 'Sites militaires romains de l'oasis de Kharga', *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 377–396.

NKOS Project, American University in Cairo: http://www1.aucegypt.edu/academic/northkhargaoasissurvey/home.htm.

oaths In Late Roman society oaths were used in a very broad variety of contexts, from solemn international treaties and *courts of law, to mundane commercial transactions or many kinds of domestic promise. They continued to hold a firm place in the Byzantine, Islamic, and barbarian states.

The day-to-day swearing of oaths is most visible in the written records of commercial transactions extant in Egyptian *papyri from the 4th and 5th centuries. The *Qur'ān and the earliest works of Islamic jurisprudence from the later 8th century were also concerned in detail with domestic oaths. Oaths were fundamental to the conduct of warfare and establishment of treaties. Although there is some anxiety in Christian exegesis about the status of non-Christian oaths, oaths were commonly sworn across religious and cultural boundaries.

Oaths were used also in more domestic politics. *Theodosius II and *Valentinian III imposed an oath on provincial *governors in 439, which concentrated on avoiding corruption. Roman soldiers swore annual oaths of loyalty to the *emperor. In early Islamic societies, the *bay'a*—pledge of loyalty—was an important political tool. By the mid-7th century, *Visigothic kings were demanding personal oaths of loyalty from all the free inhabitants of the kingdom, while kings themselves swore loyalty to their people. There is evidence in *Cassiodorus' *Variae* for similar oaths among the *Ostrogoths, and there survive texts of oaths of loyalty to the king from *Merovingian Francia, although only in the Carolingian period were such oaths demanded of all the *Franks.

In the papyri from Roman Egypt, oaths were sworn by the health or the *victory of the emperor. From the mid-5th century they also mention the Trinity, while other oaths developed more explicitly Christian imagery and sanctions. *Justinian I's oath for provincial

governors, for example, specified that a violator of the oath would suffer the fate of Judas. This is the first so-called 'Judas curse' to have survived. In the Islamic world, 8th-century *hadith specified that oaths may only be sworn by Allah, and while the principal sanction for breaking an oath was a painful doom and a barring from paradise, worldly sanctions could also be specified, such as divorcing one's wife, feeding paupers, or freeing slaves.

Weighty oaths could involve elaborate ritual. *Procopius recounts how the Persian King *Peroz swore on *salt, and *Theophanes describes Leo IV's generals swearing by *relics of the True *Cross, and depositing records of the oaths on the *altar of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. The barbarian law codes generally encouraged swearing on the *Bible, relics, or other sacred objects, while also describing swearing on or with weapons.

Despite the ubiquity of oath-taking, Late Antique Christian exegetical texts show an anxiety concerning the place of oaths in society, largely based on Jesus' injunctions against oaths in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:33–7). *Augustine eventually reconciled himself to the prevalence of oaths, although he warned of the dangers of perjury and of oaths sworn rashly. *John Chrysostom, however, uncompromisingly forbade the swearing of oaths in any context.

In judicial procedure, Chrysostom's views are thought to have influenced Byzantine practice. By the 8th century, witnesses in Byzantine courts were no longer sworn in before their testimony could be heard, as had been the case under Justinian I. Rather, oaths were used only for confirmatory purposes at the end of a court session. In the barbarian kingdoms, however, oaths came to take a far more prominent and distinctive role in the settlement of disputes.

Oaths were used extensively in Roman law, but in barbarian law codes they appear as the most common method of proof, while narrative accounts preserve many accounts of purgation by oath, and cautionary moral tales warning of the dangers of perjury. These oaths were sworn by a number of 'oath-helpers' alongside the protagonist. TWGF

D. Claude, 'The Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of the King in the Visigothic Kingdom', *Classical Folia* 30 (1976), 3–26.

G. Hawting, 'An Ascetic Vow and an Unseemly Oath? Ila' and Ihar in Muslim Law', *BSOAS* 55 (1994), 113–25.

A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (2009).

C. Pazdernik, '"The Trembling of Cain": Religious Power and Institutional Culture in Justinianic Oath-Making', in A. Cain and N. Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (2009), 143–54.

E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht* (1933).

K. Uhalde, *Expectations of Justice in the Age of Augustine* (2007).

I. Wood and Paul Fouracre, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (1986).

obelisks Several of the enormous tapering granite monoliths erected outside the *temples of Pharaonic *Egypt, where they were associated with the cult of the *Sun, were brought to *Rome and other Roman *cities by *emperors from Augustus onwards.

Two obelisks from Sais were erected under the *Tetrarchy at the Temple of *Isis at Rome. One is now outside the *Pantheon at Rome, the other at Urbino.

The pink Aswan granite obelisk, now 32 m (105.5 feet) high, which has stood outside the *Lateran Basilica at *Rome since 1588, was originally erected by Thutmosis IV at *Thebes, from where it was removed under *Constantine I, who may or may not have intended it for *Constantinople (*ILS* Dessau, 736). A special *ship with 300 oars was built to transport it. It was placed on the *spina* (central reservation) of the *Circus Maximus at Rome in 357 at the time of *Constantius II's only visit to the city. Its removal was no sacrilege, said *Ammianus Marcellinus, a *pagan, because Rome is the 'temple of the whole world' (XVII, 4, 13).

In 390 *Theodosius I erected on the spina of the Circus (Hippodrome) at *Constantinople an obelisk originally placed at Thebes by Thutmosis III (*CIL* III, 737 = *ILS* Dessau, 821; *Marcellinus Comes *s.a.* 390, 3). This may be the obelisk for which Constantius II had a ship built and which *Julian requested the people of *Alexandria to send to Constantinople, his native city (*ep.* 57 = 49 Wright). A relief carved on the south-west side of its base shows it being shipped from Egypt and winched into position. As late as the 6th century, *Corippus, while affirming that Sun-worship had been supplanted by worship of the Creator of the Sun, saw in the chariots in the four colours of the *factions revolving around the Hippodrome a cosmic symbolism of the *seasons and the Sun (*In Laudem Justini Minoris*, I, 315–65).

The obelisk which has stood outside the Church of S. Trophime at *Arles since 1676 bears no *inscription, *Latin, *Greek, or *Egyptian, and is made of pink granite from the Troad in modern north-west Turkey. It comes from the *spina* of the circus, which was in use from soon after AD 149 into the *Visigothic period, and it may have associations with Constantine or his sons. OPN

E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* (1968).

G. Fowden, '*Nicagoras of Athens* and the Lateran Obelisk', *JHS* 107 (1987), 51–2.

O. Nicholson and C. Nicholson, 'Lactantius, Hermes Trismegistus and Constantinian Obelisks', *JHS* 109 (1989), 198–200.

L. Safran, 'Points of View: The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context', *GRBS* 34/4 (1993), 409–35.
A. Chanon and M. Heijmans, 'L'Obélisque du cirque d'Arles', *JRA* 14 (2001), 373–80.

Oberdorla Bog site in north-west *Thuringia which has been interpreted as the location of numerous sanctuaries used for over a millennium, from the 5th century BC late into the period of the *Barbarian Migrations. The waterlogged environment preserved wooden remains, which include structures interpreted as *altars and more than 30 anthropomorphic figurines designated 'idols' by the excavators. Prominent among the other finds are bones of animals and humans, *tools, ornaments, and *pottery. PSW

G. Behm-Blancke et al., *Heiligtümer der Germanen und ihrer Vorgänger in Thüringen. Die Kultstätte Oberdorla: Forschungen zum alteuropäischen Religions- und Kultwesen*, 2 vols. (2002–3).
RGA2 s.v. Oberdorl, XXI (2002), 466–76 (Dušek).

Oboda The Greek name of the Nabataean town of 'Avdat (Ar. 'Abdeh) in the *Negev. The original road-station developed into a religious centre and a military camp, and later into a town. The *temple on the acropolis was later replaced by two churches; one, the *Martyrium of S. Theodore, had a *monastery attached. Behind this complex was a fortified area. On the acropolis slope, rock-cut houses and installations attest to the agricultural work carried out in the *wadi* to the west. Recent excavations show that Oboda was destroyed by an *earthquake. PFi

A. Negev, *The Architecture of Oboda: Final Report* (1997).
A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (1981), 14–45.
P. Fabian, 'Evidence of Earthquake Destruction in the Archaeological Record: The Case of Ancient Avdat', in *Abstracts of the Annual Meeting of the Israel Geological Society: Field Trips Guidebook* (1996), 21–6.

***obryzum* (OB)** Mark on *coinage indicating purified *gold. Following the coinage reform of 365–8 enacted by *Valentinian I, gold coins were marked OB (*obryzum*), usually following the *mint mark. RRD

DOC I, II.1, II.2, III.1.
S. Moorhead, 'The Coinage of the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 364–498', in Metcalf, *OHGRC*, 601–32.
RIC IX, X.

observatories and astronomical instruments The temples of ancient Babylonia, staffed by priestly scribes who preserved astronomical observations in archives, constituted the most substantial 'observatories' of the ancient world. Though observations began in the early second millennium, the astronomical diaries—records of night-by-night watching—started probably by the 8th century BC. The middlebrow Christian apologist *Lactantius (*Inst.* VII, 14, 4) knew of Chaldean astronomy from Cicero (*De Divinatione*, I, 36) and recognized its authority.

In the Greek world, astronomical observation was more the province of the individual astronomer. The oldest dated Greek observation is Meton and Euctemon's work on the summer solstice of 432 BC, but systematic observation did not begin until the Hellenistic period. Important observers include Timocharis (3rd cent. BC), Hipparchus (2nd cent. BC), and Claudius *Ptolemy (2nd cent. AD).

The most important ancient account of observing instruments is in Ptolemy, *Almagest*, but discussions by *Pappus (early 4th cent. AD), *Theon of *Alexandria (late 4th cent.), and *Proclus (5th cent.) add valuable details. The *gnomon (a vertical stick) could be used to determine the cardinal directions and the rough dates of equinoxes and solstices. The meridian *quadrant (or meridian ring) could be used to measure the noon altitude of the *Sun: measurements at summer and winter solstice yielded the obliquity of the ecliptic, a fundamental parameter of astronomy. The equatorial ring, fixed in the plane of the celestial equator, could be used to establish the time of an equinox, when the lower part of the ring was shaded by the upper. According to Ptolemy (*Almagest*, III, 1), there was such a ring in the Square Stoa in Alexandria in Hipparchus' time, and there were two such in the Palaestra in Alexandria in his own day. Several kinds of dioptra are attested. One sort was used by Archimedes, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy to measure the angular diameter of the Moon. This instrument consisted of a graduated stick, at one end of which was a plaque with a sighting hole. A small cylinder could be slid along the stick until the cylinder was seen to just cover the moon.

The armillary sphere equipped with sights—called by Ptolemy the 'astrolabic (Gk. star-taking) instrument'—was the most complex observing instrument of the ancient astronomers. It could be used for direct, though clumsy, measurement of celestial longitudes and latitudes of the stars and planets. Ptolemy describes also a 'parallactic instrument' for taking zenith distances. This is sometimes called 'Ptolemy's rulers' and gave rise to the medieval *triquetrum*. In later antiquity, the plane *astrolabe came into vogue—a portable instrument useful for telling the time, but not a tool of precise astronomy. JCE

ET (annotated) G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (1984).
ed. (with GT) C. Manitius, *Procli Diadochi Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum* (1909).
ed. A. Rome, *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*. vol. 1: Pappus on Books 5 and 6 (*ST* 54, 1931); vol. 2: Theon on Books 1 and 2 (*ST* 54, 1936); vol. 3: Theon on Books 3 and 4 (ST 106, 1943).
D. R. Dicks, 'Ancient Astronomical Instruments', *JnlBritAstronAssoc* 64 (1954), 77–85.

J. C. Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (1998).
D. J. Price, 'Precision Instruments: To 1500', in C. Singer et al., eds., *A History of Technology*, vol. 3 (1957), 586–92.
A. M. Rome, 'L'Astrolabe et le météoroscope d'après le Commentaire de Pappus sur le 5e livre de l'Almageste', *AnnSocSciBrux*, série A, sciences mathématiques 47 (1927), 77–102.
J. Włodarczyk, 'Observing with the Armillary Astrolabe', *JnlHistAstron* 13 (1987), 173–95.

octagonal buildings The single- and double-shelled octagonal buildings of Hellenistic and Roman architecture were a precedent for such Late Roman buildings as the Tetrarchic Palace Octagon at *Thessalonica and the octagonal Mausoleum of *Diocletian at *Split (now the city's cathedral). Octagons and other centrally planned buildings encourage circumambulation round a central focal point; octagonal plans were often adopted for places of Christian *pilgrimage (such as the Church of the Nativity at *Bethlehem) and *martyr shrines (such as that of S. Philip at *Hierapolis of *Phrygia). Other churches were also octagonal, including the lost Golden Octagon, probably the cathedral, built by *Constantine I at *Antioch, and S. Vitale at *Ravenna, for which *Agnellus (87) uses the term *basilica. Some octagonal churches (e.g. Ss. Sergius and Bacchus at *Constantinople) were associated with imperial *palaces, but by no means all. *Baptisteries, including that endowed by *Constantine I at the Lateran Basilica in *Rome and both the Arian and the Orthodox (Neonian) Baptistery at Ravenna, were also often built on an octagonal plan. An *epigram formerly inscribed on the baptistery at *Milan, and attributed to *Ambrose, notes the peculiar appropriateness of the octagonal plan to a place where salvation is received (*ILCV* 1841 = *CIL* V, 617, 2). This arises from a sense, common to Christians and to *philosophers from Pythagoras onwards, that individual numbers have particular qualities, and that patterns ascertainable by *mathematics and the science of numerology were essential to harmony in nature and *astronomy, in *music and *architecture. This conviction persisted into Islamic culture, where the *Dome of the Rock continued the tradition of domed octagonal sacred buildings. JTPi; OPN

Mango, *Byzantine Architecture.*
Gervase Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (1964).
O. Brandt, 'Understanding the Structures of Early Christian Baptisteries', in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, vol. 2 (2011), 1587–610.
F. J. Dölger, 'Die Symbolik der Achtzahl in den Schriften des Ambrose und in der sonstigen Literatur des christliche Altertums', in *Antike und Christentum* 4 (1934), 153–87.
Grabar, *Martyrium.*
M. J. Johnson, *Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (2009).

Odaenathus (*c.*220–266/7) Septimius Odaenathus ruled the Empire of *Palmyra *c.*260–6/7. Descended from a leading Palmyrene family, in the aftermath of the capture of *Valerian by *Shapur I he became the most powerful Roman in the Near East, acquiring the titles of king and *Corrector Totius Orientis. His second wife, *Zenobia, bore him at least one son. Odaenathus and his son from his first marriage were killed at *Emesa in a dynastic dispute in 266/7 (*Zosimus, I, 39) and were replaced by his son Vaballathus, with Zenobia as regent. Politically adept and a skilled general, Odaenathus' greatest achievements were establishing a semi-independent kingdom between the Roman and the *Persian Empire and repelling a Persian threat. SGB

PLRE I, Odaenathus.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 255–9.
CAH XII (2005), 511–15.
R. Stoneman, *Palmyra and its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome* (1992).

Odes, Seven Golden or Hanging *See MU'ALLAQAT.*

Odes of Solomon (2nd or 3rd cent.) A coherent collection of 42 lyric poems, preserved most completely in *Syriac, partially in *Greek and *Coptic. A single verse is quoted in *Latin by *Lactantius (*Inst.* IV, 12, 3). The original language is uncertain, though Greek or Syriac is the most likely. The *Odes* exhibit a Jewish–Christian provenance, and their clear soteriological and eschatological focus offers demonstrable connections to Johannine and Pauline material. The *Odes* were readily received and transmitted within *Gnostic circles. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Solomon, Odes of, 383–4 (Lattke).
ed. (with ET) J. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon* (1977).
ET (annotated) J. Emerton and H. Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament* (1991), 683–731.
ET J. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2 (1985), 725–71.
M. Lattke, *The Odes of Solomon: A Commentary* (2009) (ET).
E. Engelbrecht, 'God's Milk: An Orthodox Confession of the Eucharist', *JECS* 7 (1999), 509–26.

Odessos (mod. Varna, Bulgaria) Commercial *city in *Moesia Inferior with a *harbour on the Black Sea coast, founded as a colony of *Miletus in the 6th century BC, prosperous in Late Antiquity, despite its exposed position near the Danube *frontier. *Justinian I made it the administrative and military centre of the *Quaestura Exercitus. Four bishops are known: Dittas in 458, Johannes in 518, Martin after 565, and Danail from an inscribed tombstone. The Late Antique *cemetery included tombs with wall paintings and more than 70 *epitaphs, some of ordinary craftsmen and *merchants but also of a presbyter, a *reader, and even one Abba Markelios.

The largest, probably the cathedral, in Chan Krum Street, a three-aisled *basilica with *apse, *narthex, exonarthex, atrium, and *baptistery, was the last of three churches constructed on the same site between the early 5th and early 6th centuries; in the second of these churches, built in the mid-5th century, an undisturbed crypt with preserved stone *reliquary was found at the south side of the presbyterium. Four other basilicas are known within the city; one was rebuilt from a *pagan *temple. Of several churches in the vicinity, one at Djanavara Tepe displayed an unusual plan with square rooms at the four corners of a single nave church; it contained a *gold and jewelled reliquary. The city of Odessos was abandoned and destroyed in the early 7th century. CSS

A. Mintschev, 'Das frühe Christentum in Odessos und seinem Territorium', *Die bulgarische Schwarzmeerküste im Altertum* (1985), 51–65.

A. Minchev, 'Early Christian Double Crypt with Reliquaries at Khan Krum Street in Varna', *Early Christian Martyrs and Relics and their Veneration in East and West* (2006), 229–56.

Odilo (d. 748) Appointed *Dux of *Bavaria in 736/7 by *Charles Martel, whose daughter he married. During the rebellions that followed S. *Boniface's establishment of four episcopal sees in Bavaria in 739, Odilo temporarily fled to the Frankish *court, but, after Charles died, he led an unsuccessful revolt against the *Franks in 743. MDi

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Odilo, XXI (2002), 559–61 (H. Wolfram).

Odoacer (Odovacar) (433–93) Ruler of *Italy (476–93) after the deposition of *Romulus Augustulus, the last *emperor of the West. Odoacer's lifetime is emblematic for the 5th century, being shaped by *diplomacy with the *Huns, the settlement of barbarians in the Roman Empire as **foederati*, and the truncated influence of the Western imperial *court in Italy.

Odoacer was the son of Edeco, a commander under *Attila. He is commonly assigned to the *Sciri; this may refer to a family name as opposed to an ethnic group. Sources refer to Odoacer variously as Scirian, *Rugian, and Gothic, reflecting the fluid affiliation of ethnic groups after the dismemberment of Attila's Empire. *Gregory of *Tours claims that Odoacer competed with *Childeric for control of the Loire region of *Gaul (*HF* II, 18), possibly representing opportunistic activities of Attila's former warlords. *Eugippius later places him in the company of S. *Severinus of *Noricum while en route to Italy in 469/70 (*VSeverini* 7, 1). Odoacer may have been part of a group of Rugians and *Heruli received in Italy as *foederati*. When *foederati* later revolted against *Orestes in Italy, Odoacer's subsequent elevation as Rex Italiae may indicate that he previously held a prominent position among the Huns, where many of these soldiers had previously served.

Odoacer is generally regarded as a successful ruler. After the deposition of Romulus, Odoacer returned imperial *regalia to the Emperor *Zeno in Constantinople and accepted the title of **patricius*. While not recognized as emperor, he performed the same functions as previous 5th-century *Magistri Militum in Italy, although in 493 he did attempt to elevate his son as *Caesar. He maintained good relations with the *Senate, appointing *senators from *Rome to high offices (including the *consulship); he abolished the *praebitio tironum* (the levy which obliged senators to furnish military recruits) and refurbished senatorial seats at the Colosseum. In 477, he negotiated the return of *Sicily from the *Vandals, thereby benefiting senatorial landowners.

Odoacer's other diplomatic activities include a treaty with Childeric to prevent *Alamans from invading Italy (Gregory of Tours, *HF* II, 19). In 482, after the death of *Julius Nepos (the last Western emperor recognized by the Eastern court), Odoacer reclaimed *Dalmatia for the Praetorian Prefecture of Italy. Disputes with Zeno prompted Odoacer to lead a military force into *Illyricum and against Rugians in Noricum in 487. His brother Onoulf evacuated some portion of the population of Noricum, settling refugees in Italy in 488. This population included monastic communities founded by S. Severinus of Noricum, who translated Severinus' *relics to Castellum Lucullanum in *Campania. With Zeno's encouragement, *Ostrogoths commanded by *Theoderic invaded Italy in 489. After two defeats in the field, Odoacer retired to *Ravenna for three years until reaching terms to rule jointly with Theoderic. Odoacer was reportedly slain by Theoderic at a banquet, followed soon after by his family and supporters. MSB

PLRE II, Odovacer.

M. Cesa, 'Il regno di Odoacre: la prima dominazione germanica in Italia', in B. Scardigli and P. Scardigli, eds., *Germani in Italia* (1994), 307–20.

H. J. Kim, *The Huns, Rome and the Birth of Europe* (2013).

Odzun (Ōjun, Awjun) The church of Odzun (Lori region, Armenian Republic) is a domed *basilica with four piers supporting a *dome on squinches. An arcaded portico flanks the north and south walls and terminates in exterior *apses. Its date is uncertain, but most scholars agree on a 7th-century foundation date with subsequent renovations. Odzun bears relief *sculpture on each façade. North of the church, elevated on a stepped podium, are two large stelae bearing carved scenes related to the *conversion of *Armenia to Christianity. CM

P. Donabédian, *L'Âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne* (2008), 110–14; 206–9.

officina Subdivision of a Roman or Byzantine mint, often translated as 'workshop'. *Officinae* divided responsibility within mints, presumably to increase regulation, though whether the division was by physical spaces, work groups, overseers, or otherwise is unclear and may have varied. *Officina* marks (usually letters or numbers) often appear on precious- and base-metal coins and may suggest relative mint sizes. For example, 4th-century *Constantinople operated twice as many *officinae* as any other mint. However, when in AD 298/9 *Rome's mint expanded to seven *officinae* output was not significantly larger (*RIC* VI, p. 46). RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage.*

RIC VI.

officium The bureau that supported such Roman officials as *governors, *Vicarii, the *Praefectus Praetorio, and *Praefectus Urbi. The most important evidence for their composition and membership comes from the **Notitia Dignitatum*, *John Lydus' *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, and *Cassiodorus' *Variae*. The size of *officia* differed according to the status and rank of the officials they served. Thus, the *officium* of a Praefectus Praetorio contained more than 2,000 staff members called (*officiales*) *cohortini* or **cohortales*, whereas the *officium* of a governor consisted of about 100 (cf. *CJust* XII, 57, 9). The *officia* were responsible for civil *administration (both financial and judicial) and formed a stable component in government, as the members of a staff were not replaced when new Praefecti, Vicarii, or governors were appointed. DSl

B. Palme, 'Die *Officia* der Statthalter in der Spätantike', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 85–133.

C. M. Kelly, 'John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture', *BZ* 98 (2005), 431–58.

Officium Palatinum The *Visigothic king's lay entourage, composed of **duces*, **comites*, and **gardingi*; a large definition includes secretaries and servants. Some of its members attended the *councils of the Church at *Toledo. CMG

P. C. Díaz, C. Martínez Maza, and F. J. Sanz Huesma, *Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda: historia de España*, vol. 5 (2007), 417ff.

A. Isla Frez, 'El *officium palatinum* visigodo', *Hispania* 62 (2002), 823–47.

P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (1972), 56–63.

ogam (ogham, *ogom*) The earliest alphabet in *Irish, consisting of twenty letters with further letters added for later sound changes. It was designed by an inventor who knew *Latin script and *grammar and consists of scores of various lengths incised along the edges of stone pillars, designating consonants and vowels. Approximately 300–400 *inscriptions survive, with a marked concentration along the southern and south-western coast of *Ireland. A large number, many with corresponding Latin inscriptions, survive in south Wales and reflect the existence of Irish settlements in that region. They are also found in Cornwall, the *Isle of Man, and Scotland. Most inscriptions date to between the 5th and 7th centuries.

The inscriptions had a dual function as memorial and as proof of title to land. The inscriptions follow particular formulae, the most common of which is 'X MAQQI Y AVI Z', 'X son of Y descendant of Z'. Although they were commemorative, very few mark burials and early Irish *laws suggest that they were used as boundary markers. With the widespread adoption of the Latin alphabet from the 6th century, the use of ogam declined, but knowledge of it endured throughout the medieval period. Manuscripts such as the 14th-century Book of Ballymote contain keys to the cipher. Later scholars resurrected an interest in ogam, the archaeologist R. A. S. Macalister being the first scholar to record the inscriptions systematically. EB; MAH

D. McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (1991).

R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum: The Ogham Inscriptions of Ireland and Britain* (²1996).

Oghurs (Urog) Turkic group that, along with the *Onoghurs and *Saraghurs, was originally part of the Turkic Tiele (T'ieh-le) tribal confederation in *Central Asia (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* XII, 7k, ix). They spoke Oghur-Bulghar Turkic and moved into the western Siberian steppe after the *Huns left for Europe. *Priscus (fr. 40 Blockley = 30 Müller, *FHG*) describes how *c.*463 'the Urogi' (scribal error for Oguri) were attacked by the *Sabirs, who had themselves been attacked by the *Avars. *Theophylact Simocatta (VII, 7, 13–8, 6) summarizes, not unconfusingly, their subsequent relations with the Avars (cf. *Menander Protector fr. 10, 4 Blockley). The Oghurs, Onoghurs, and Saraghurs eventually settled on the Pontic–Caspian steppe. Subsequently, the Oghurs—whose name means 'grouping of tribes' (equivalent to *Oghuz* in Common Turkic)—seem to have taken over former Hun territory. The related *Bulgars probably contained Oghuric elements. MLD

BT II, *Οὖγωροι*.

K. Czeglédy, 'Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the Nomads', in L. Ligeti, ed., *Studia Turcica* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 17, 1971), 133–48.

P. B. Golden, 'The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 257–9.

P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, vol. 1 (1980), 30–4.

P. B. Golden, 'Oq and Oğur ~ Oğuz', *Turkic Languages* 16 (2012), 155–99.

D. Sinor, 'Autour d'une migration de peuples au V^e^ siècle', *JA* 235 (1946–7), 1–77.

Ohrid (Ochrid) *See* LYCHNIDUS.

Ohrmazd (NP Hormizd, Av. Ahura Mazda, Gk. Hormisdas) Middle *Persian (Pahlavi) form of the name of the supreme deity in *Zoroastrianism and namesake of several Persian kings (NP Hormizd) and nobles, including a Persian defector to the *court of the Roman Emperor *Constantine I and his sons.

The **Denkard* describes Ohrmazd as the 'greatest knowledgeable one, who nurtures and protects, who is beneficent and pure, whose deeds are good, who forgives, whose judgements are good, who has all powers, and whose worship is great and enduring' (*Denkard*, 3, 81) and that 'every good thing was created by Ohrmazd and every bad thing was created by *Ahriman' (*Denkard*, 6, B1). He holds an account of all humanity's thoughts, words, and deeds through his omniscience (**Dadistan-e Denig*, 13, 3).

The variant of Zoroastrianism promoted by the *Sasanian court appears to have privileged Ohrmazd in a way not seen under Arsacids, for whom *Mihr may have played a more prominent role. First appearing in fully anthropomorphic form in the *rock reliefs of *Ardashir I (r. AD 224–39/40) at *Firuzabad (Gor), *Naqsh-e Rajab, and *Naqsh-e Rostam, the supreme deity appears in several other Sasanian reliefs where he invests the King of Kings with the diadem and, in some cases, tramples *Ahriman in a manner compositionally similar to the earthly sovereign's treatment of his enemies, be they Arsacid, Roman, or internal.

YSDV; MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 60.
Shaked, *Wisdom.*
Skjærvø, *Spirit.*
M. Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images* (2014), 47–65.

oikos (Gk. for house, *household, estate; cf. Gk. *syngeneia* and Lat. *domus*, *familia*) Basic, though multiform and dynamic, unit of society ('microstructure') and of the *census, perhaps made more stable by legal changes and ecclesiastical involvement in the Later Roman Empire.

In *Egypt the term refers also to a tax-gathering institution, in effect a legal personality whose compulsory public *service (*munus*) was based on fiscal 'shares' (*merides*) assigned (initially and sometimes heritably) to important landlords both for their own *tenants and for tenants of landowners who had not been assigned 'shares'. The principal example is the *oikos* of the *Apion family of *Oxyrhynchus. This ensured that Egypt's large *estate owners did not usurp the tax-collecting authority of the state, but acted in cooperation with it.

KF; JGK

R. S. Bagnall and B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (²2006).
L. Brubaker and S. Tougher, eds., *Approaches to the Byzantine Family* (2013).
J. Beaucamp, 'Family', in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA* 445–6.
J. Gascou, 'Les Grands Domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine', repr. in his *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008).
R. Macrides, 'Families and Kinship', in *OHBS.*
R. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprieta senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (2001).
R. P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (1994).

olives and olive oil The olive (*Olea europaea L.)* has been exploited since at least Neolithic times, and along with *grain and *wine formed one of the staples of the Mediterranean diet. The olive is a hardy, easily tended, but slow-growing tree well adapted to hot, drier conditions. While universally grown in the Mediterranean climate zone, the olive generally does not grow above 1,000 m (3,281 feet) altitude and cannot survive prolonged cold. *Egypt was a rare exception to the olive culture; it produced only limited quantities.

In Persian lands, olives were cultivated mainly around the Caspian. Plantations near medieval *Nishapur and in *Fars may indicate *Sasanian-era production there, possibly encouraged by the transferral of Roman captives. Olives were important in Aramaic-speaking northern *Mesopotamia, but could not be grown in lower Mesopotamia, where sesame oil was the staple. On the whole, however, olive cultivation was always marginal in Persian society.

Olive oil was used widely for industrial purposes, as a lubricant for machinery, and as a base for many drug mixtures and ointments for human and veterinary *medicine. It was also used in *cosmetics and perfumery and was used as a rub in *baths and gymnasiums. Holy oil had important uses in both *pagan and Christian ritual, and was an item of *trade at temples and places of *pilgrimage; numerous *pilgrimage flasks of holy oil from Christian pilgrimage shrines survive. Lighting was another major application, as oil was used as *lamp fuel.

The most significant use of olive oil, though, was as food. Oil was used as a cooking fat, as a condiment, and as a preservative in cuisine throughout the Roman world. The Early Roman state went to great lengths to provide olive oil to its officials and soldiers stationed on the *frontiers, as evidenced by the distribution and quantity of Dressel 20 oil *amphorae known from Roman *Britain and along the Rhine *frontier. From the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211) oil was part of the free *food supply of *Rome.

The olive thrives in rocky limestone soils where cereals cannot grow, making it an ideal crop in many marginal landscapes of the Mediterranean basin. Vast

olive plantations in Roman North *Africa began to produce significant surpluses during the Late Republic: Caesar's fine of three million pounds (*c.*1,000 tonnes) of oil on *Lepcis Magna is a famous example of the surpluses available (Mattingly, 89). African oil shipments to the city of Rome, the wider Mediterranean world, and the Rhine frontier are well established archaeologically. These had declined by Late Antiquity, but the region remained a major producer, shipping to urban markets in *Gaul, *Spain, and the Levant. *Baetica in southern Spain also developed an important oleiculture; its output is best attested by the gigantic refuse dump that forms Monte Testaccio in Rome, a hill composed almost entirely of Dressel 20 Spanish oil jars. In the 3rd century Baetican production declined, apparently due to Severan confiscations and state appropriations, and though it did not completely disappear, Baetica had assumed a secondary role in the oil trade by the 4th century (Reynolds, 39). African oil began to dominate the trade, and *Carthage continued to export quantities of oil into the 6th and 7th centuries (Leone).

Another major shift in the oil trade occurred with the foundation of *Constantinople. Just as olive cultivation expanded in southern Gaul, Spain, and North Africa during the early imperial period, in Late Antiquity new plantings were started throughout *Greece and the Levant in response to increasing urban and state demands. A reorganization of trade is attested by the appearance and wide distribution of Late Roman Amphorae 2 (LRA 2) vessels from mainland Greece and LRA 1 from the eastern Aegean, *Cyprus, and the north Levantine coast of *Cilicia and *Syria. Similar to earlier Dressel 20 jars, LRA 2 is prominent along the militarized frontiers, which may indicate state *taxation and distribution, though its appearance in Egypt and elsewhere may be purely commercial. Syrian oil continued to be prominent in the diet of the Islamic era; the prophet *Muhammad called the olive the 'blessed tree' and *rikābi* oil was prized throughout the Near East (Tha'alabi, tr. Bosworth, 118). After the *Arab conquests, the long-distance maritime trade in oil declined and the Mediterranean region returned to reliance on local production, while areas outside the olive belt turned to other plant oils and animal fats for subsistence and industrial purposes. MD

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Olive tree (W. Floor).

M.-C. Amouretti, and J.-P. Brun, eds., *La Production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée* (1993).

A. Leone, 'Late Antique North Africa: Production and Changing Use of Buildings in Urban Areas', *Al-Masāq* 15/1 (2003), 21–33.

D. Mattingly, *Triopolitania* (1994).

J. Remesal Rodríguez, 'Baetica and Germania: Notes on the Concept of "Provincial Interdependence" in the Roman Empire', in P. Erdkamp, ed., *The Roman Army and the Economy* (2002), 293–308.

P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700: Ceramics and Trade* (2010).

Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā if al-ma ārif*; ET: C. E. Bosworth, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* (1968).

Olybrius (d. 472) Western *emperor, 472. A leading senatorial *aristocrat, he fled to *Constantinople when the *Vandals attacked *Rome in 455. The Emperor *Leo I sent him to *Italy to reconcile *Ricimer with *Anthemius. Ricimer made him emperor in April 472. He died seven months later. ADL

PLRE II, Olybrius 6.

Olympia *City and *pagan sanctuary on a low-lying plain in the north-west Peloponnese, now 22 km (nearly 14 miles) from the coast, but in Antiquity closer. Olympia was famous from ancient times for its *Temple of Zeus and for the *Olympic Games. A *bronze plaque bearing the names of Olympic winners from the 1st to the 4th century has been found, but the Games are said to have ceased in the reign of *Theodosius I (*George Cedrenus, 1, 573, 1). The temple buildings were enlarged *c.* AD 300 and archaeological evidence suggests that pagan religious activities continued into the early 5th century.

There was a fire at Olympia in 426. Later in the 5th century ancient bronze statues were arranged, without their statue bases, along the southern colonnade of the temple, perhaps with the intention of displaying them as works of art. A church was built in the Workshop of Pheidias in the first half of the 5th century, and at least fourteen wine *presses were operating at the site.

The famous *gold and *ivory statue of Olympian Zeus, the height of a three-storey house, had been removed by 426 to *Constantinople, where it stood in the Quarter of Lausus, and was probably destroyed in a fire in 475 (Cedrenus, I, 564 and 616, cf. *Zonaras, XIV, 2 = *Malchus, 11 Blockley).

By the 6th century a peristyle court complex with a notable marine-themed *mosaic floor was being reused as a winery and for the manufacture of *pottery. Fires, *earthquakes in 523 and 551, and flooding damaged the site. The last coins found have been of *Phocas. From 630 into the 8th century the Hill of Kronos was used as a *Slav cemetery. Core-sampling of the overburden on the site, in places over 4 m (13 feet) thick, has suggested that *tsunamis may have overwhelmed the coastal hills and flooded Olympia with water which could not then drain back to the sea. OPN; PA

U. Sinn, *Olympia: Cult, Sport, and Ancient Festival*, tr. T. Thornton (2000).

T. Stevenson, 'The Fate of the Statue of Zeus at Olympia', in J. McWilliam, S. Puttock, T. Stevenson, and R. Taraporewalla, eds., *The Statue of Zeus at Olympia: New Approaches* (2011), 155–72.

T. Vida and T. Völling, *Das Slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia* (2000).
A. Vött et al., 'Sedimentary Burial of Ancient Olympia (Peloponnese, Greece) by High-Energy Flood Deposits: The Olympia Tsunami Hypothesis', in *International Workshop on Active Tectonics, Earthquake Geology, Archaeology and Engineering, Corinth, Greece* (2011).

Olympias (*c.*361–410) *Deaconess of *Constantinople and correspondent of *John Chrysostom (*epp.* 1–17). Of distinguished parentage, and wife of Nebridius, *Praefectus Urbi, but soon widowed, she declined remarriage, and devoted herself to charitable work and to supporting a women's *monastery at Constantinople. DGH

PLRE I, Olympias 2.
BHG 374–6.
ed. A.-M. Malingrey (annotated with FT), *Jean Chrysostome: Lettres à Olympias augmentée de la vie anonyme d'Olympias* (SC 13bis, 1968).
E. A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* (²1982).

Olympic Games Athletics contests as elements of pagan religious *festivals were widespread in the ancient world, but the Olympic Games held at the sanctuary of *Olympia in the north-west Peloponnese every four years in August or September were so important that the four-year *Era of the Olympiad (starting in 776 BC) was a common way of reckoning the year in the Greek world. *Sacrifices and feasting were integral parts of the ceremonies. Competitors came from all over the Greek world, and *Movses Khorenats'i (III, 40) claims, possibly apocryphally, that a King of *Armenia of the late 4th century had been a winner in his youth.

Prior to the late 3rd century special local civic *coinage was struck by cities to mark festivals, but the widespread circulation of Roman *coinage caused this supplementary evidence to disappear during the 3rd century. Although the games are said to have ceased in the reign of *Theodosius I (*George Cedrenus, 1, 573, 1), their reputation survived. A proposal by Leontius, *Praefectus Urbi at *Constantinople, to establish Olympic Games at *Chalcedon in 434/5 was thwarted by the active opposition of S. *Hypatius, Abbot of the *Rufinianae *monastery (*Vita Hypatii*, 33). However, the Olympic Games that had been established by the Emperor Claudius at *Antioch on the Orontes continued until abolished by *Justin I in 521. PA; OPN

U. Sinn, *Olympia: Cult, Sport, and Ancient Festival*, tr. T. Thornton (2000).
G. Downey, 'The Olympic Games at Antioch in the Fourth Century A.D.', *TAPA* 70 (1939), 428–38.
J. Jiménez Sánchez, 'The Monk Hypatius and the Olympic Games of Chalcedon', *Studia Patristica* 50 (2013), 39–45.
S. Remijsen, *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity* (2015).

Olympiodorus (365/80–after 425) A native of Egyptian *Thebes, openly *pagan, and a friend of the *philosophers Leontius of *Athens and Hierocles of *Alexandria, he called himself a poet, although his career was in *diplomacy within and outside the Empire.

A narrative poem on fighting with the *Blemmyes (*nomads beyond the border of Upper *Egypt), which survives in *papyrus fragments, has plausibly been ascribed to him. His important work, however, is an account in 22 books of events from 407 to 425, dedicated to the *Emperor *Theodosius II. It survives in a summary by *Photius (80), in the last part of *Zosimus' *New History* (V, 26–VI, 13), which drew exclusively on it, in passages in the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of *Sozomen and *Philostorgius, and, possibly, in a passage in *Procopius' *Vandalic War*.

As a diplomat with excellent connections (his friend Leontius was the emperor's father-in-law), Olympiodorus was well placed to collect good information on events, some of which he witnessed himself. The majority of his narrative deals with events in the West and with relations between the two halves of the Empire, and is an especially important source for the *Barbarian Migrations to the West and the activities of such leading figures as *Stilicho, *Alaric, *Athaulf, *Boniface, Galla *Placidia, and *Constantius III.

Olympiodorus' work, although secular in its orientation, does not conform to the style of the classicizing histories of the period. Indeed, Photius says that its style was 'formless and inept' and that the writer himself termed his work 'material for history'. It is possible that the published work, of which fragments survive, represents the compilation and expansion of a series of reports and briefing notes, and is thus a document of primary importance. RCB

PLRE II, Olympiodorus 1.
ed. E. Livrea, *Blemmyomachia* (1970).
ed. (with LT) Müller, *FHG* IV, 58–68.
ed. (annotated with ET) Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 2, 152–220.
ET in Gordon, *Age of Attila*, 7, 16–18, 22–3, 25–6, 30–47, 59.
Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 1, 27–47.
J. F. Matthews, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D. 407–425)', *JRS* 60 (1970),79–97.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 89–96.

Olympiodorus (4th/6th cent.) Christian *alchemist well versed in *Egyptian culture (including its calendar and geography), whose commentary on *Zosimus of *Panopolis concentrates on elemental theory and quotes

abundantly both ancient alchemists and Greek philosophers from the pre-Socratics to Aristotle. TH

PLRE II, Olympiodorus 5.

ed. M. Berthelot and Ch.-Em. Ruelle in *Collections Alchimistes* (1888; repr. 1963), vol. 3, 2ème partie, iv, 69–106 with FT (annotated), vol. 2, 2ème partie, iv, 75–113.

Cristina Viano in P. T. Keyser and G. L. Irby-Massie, eds., *Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists*: *The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs* (2008), 589–90.

Olympiodorus the Elder (mid-5th cent.) Olympiodorus was a native of *Alexandria who taught Aristotelian *philosophy to *Proclus in the 420s. Proclus had a standing invitation to dinner at Olympiodorus' home, and Olympiodorus tried to convince Proclus to marry his daughter. Proclus refused and, disappointed with the limitations he found in Olympiodorus' teaching, left Alexandria for *Athens. EW

PLRE II, Olympiodorus 2.

Olympiodorus the Younger (*c.*490–after 565) Olympiodorus was a native of *Alexandria and student of the *philosopher *Ammonius. Around 525, Olympiodorus took over the *school of Ammonius from *Eutocius, Ammonius' short-lived successor, and remained the head of the school until his own death sometime after 565. A *pagan, Olympiodorus followed Ammonius in teaching *Neoplatonic ideas to an Alexandrian Christian audience and seems to have fended off a challenge to his position from the Christian *John Philoponus in the late 520s. His early commentaries exhibit strong reliance on the teaching of Ammonius, but this decreased as he matured. He composed various extant texts, including commentaries on Plato's *Gorgias*, *First Alcibiades*, and *Phaedo*, Aristotle's *Categories* and *Meteorologica*, and a *Life* of Plato. EW

PLRE II, Olympiodorus 5.

ed. L. G. Westerink (with ET), *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 1 Olympiodorus (1976).

ET (annotated) K. R. Jackson et al., Olympiodorus, *Commentary on the Gorgias* (1998).

ed. A. Büsse, *Prolegomena et In Categorias Aristotelis* (CAG, XII, 1, 1902).

ed. Guilelmus Stüve, *Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria* (CAG XII, 2, 1900).

Watts, *City and School*, 232–56.

L. G. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (²2011), xv–xix.

Olympius *Magister Scriniorum who masterminded the assassination of *Stilicho by *Heraclian in 408 and then became *Magister Officiorum. He refused to ratify the agreement of November 409 between *Alaric and the besieged *senators of *Rome. Soon after, he and 300 *Huns killed over 1,000 *Goths near *Pisa. He was eventually clubbed to death to avenge Stilicho. OPN

PLRE II, Olympius 2.

Olympius *Exarch of *Ravenna, sent to *Italy by *Constans II in 649 to secure approval of the *Typos and to arrest Pope *Martin I. Olympius instead made peace with Martin and declared himself *emperor. His subsequent actions are uncertain, and he died in 652. RCW

PmbZ #5650.

PBE, Olympios 1.

Oman *See* MAZUN.

Onchesmus (mod. Saranda, Albania) Remains include a hilltop church dedicated to the *Forty Martyrs, and a further *basilica that was previously a *synagogue, also a major circuit of walls (with a *proteichisma*) built under *Anastasius I. WB

W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus: The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (2003).

Onoghurs (Onogundurs) Turkic group that, along with the *Oghurs and *Saraghurs, was originally part of the Turkic Tiele (T'ieh-le) *tribal confederation in *Central Asia (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* XII, 7k, ix). They spoke Oghur-Bulghar Turkic, and moved into the western Siberian steppe after the *Huns left for Europe. *Priscus (fr. 40 Blockley = fr. 30 Müller, *FHG*) describes how *c.*463 they were attacked by the *Sabirs, who had themselves been attacked by the *Avars. The Oghurs, Onoghurs, and Saraghurs eventually settled on the Pontic–Caspian steppe. *Theophylact Simmocata (VII, 8, 13) mentions Bakath, an Onoghur city with a *Sogdian name, suggesting historical ties with *Sogdiana. The Onoghurs—whose name means 'ten *oghur*' (*oghur* meaning 'grouping of tribes')—seemingly mixed with the related *Bulgars and *Kutrigurs (*Theophanes, AM 6171). They were absorbed into the expanding First *Türk Empire *c.*576, but also played a role in the *Bulgar State; *Kubrat, the first Bulgar ruler, is called 'lord of the Onogundurs' (*Nicephorus, 22) and they accompanied *Asparukh's Bulgars to *Moesia in 679. The ethnonym 'Hungarian' can also be traced back to 'Onoghur', suggesting a past association between the two peoples. A Hun chieftain who came to *Constantinople to be baptized *c.*619 (Nicephorus 9) was probably an Onoghur. Passing references to the Onoghurs are made by *Movses Kaghankatvatsi' (I, 29–30; II, 1–2) and *Menander Protector (frs. 5, 2 and 19, 1 Blockley). MLD

BT II, *Ὀνογούνδουροι*; *Ὀνόγουροι*.

K. Czeglédy, 'Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the Nomads', in L. Ligeti, ed., *Studia Turcica* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 17, 1971), 133–48.
P. B. Golden, 'The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes', in *CHELA* I (1990), 257–9.
P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, vol. 1 (1980), 30–4.
D. Sinor, 'Autour d'une migration de peuples au V^e siècle', *JA* 235 (1946–7), 1–77.

ophthalmology *Eye diseases were very prevalent in the ancient world, especially around the Mediterranean, where the *Sun caused predictable but unavoidable damage. The anatomy of the eye was an area of interest among physicians from early times, and Greek physicians developed a sensible and precise range of analytical tools to deal with eye-related ailments: Hellenistic and Roman texts display a rich terminology and a complex pathological approach.

The picture is no different in Late Antiquity. All great medical compilers of the period (*Oribasius, *Aëtius of *Amida, and *Paul of Aegina), as well as other medical writers, wrote about eye diseases and their cures (surgical, pharmaceutical), often using Demosthenes Philalethes as a source. A rich knowledge of eye salves and other recipes was available in many parts of the Roman Empire. Surgical instruments dedicated to such ailments as trichiasis and even cataract have been preserved. In the Christian spheres, *miracle narratives involving eye trauma and cure are to be found in almost every collection, for example *Sophronius of *Jerusalem's *Miracles of Ss. Cyrus and John*, written in the early 7th century. As in other areas of ancient *therapeutics, cures could include magical elements such as incantations and *amulets. The Late Antique *Latin translation of a large excerpt (chs. 16–20) on eye diseases and surgery from the *Introduction, or the Physician*, ascribed to *Galen, demonstrates that medical interest in the diagnosis and cure of eye diseases was not limited to the Greek world, but existed in *Italy as well. Similar material of unclear authorship and date can be found in early Islamic medical texts and in Byzantine manuscripts. CP

C. Petit, 'L'Introductio sive medicus du Pseudo-Galien dans le Haut Moyen Âge latin: problèmes d'édition posés par la tradition indirecte', in A. Ferraces Rodríguez, ed., *Colloquio Internacional Textos medicos latinos, La Coruña, 2–4 Sept. 2004* (2007), 250–70.
B. Zipser, 'Deleted Text in a Manuscript: Galen on the Eye and the Marc. gr. 276', *Galenos* 3 (2009), 107–12.
B. Zipser and K.-D. Fischer, 'Neue Quellen zur antiken Augenheilkunde. Der lateinische Aphorismenkommentar Lat-A, the Syriac Book of Medicines und Theophilos Protospatharios', in Isabella Andorlini, ed., *Testi medici su papiro: Atti del seminario di studio (Firenze, 3–4 giugno 2002)* (2004), 3–28.
B. Zipser, 'Gleiche Form und unterschiedliche Interpretation. Die Pseudogalenische Introductio XI (14,711 Kühn), Hunains "Zehn Abhandlungen über das Auge" und das "Buch über Fragen zum Auge"', in W. Geerlings and Chr. Schulze, eds., *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Neue Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung* (2004), 35–40.

Opsikion Theme Element of the *theme system, commanded by a *Comes resident at *Nicaea, the Opsikion descended from the army of the *Magister Militum Praesentalis. Stationed in north-west *Anatolia and originally responsible for the defence of *Constantinople, the Opsikion and its *Comes were important participants in imperial politics. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 723–43.
TIB 4, 59–62.

Optatan Appendix A dossier of ten documents relating to the early history of *Donatism, especially the validity of the consecration of Caecilian, *Bishop of *Carthage, by Felix, Bishop of *Abthungi, and the activities of Felix and Donatist bishops during the Great *Persecution. It survives in an appendix to *Optatus of *Milevis's treatise *Against the Donatists*, but is probably part of an earlier compilation made by an opponent of the Donatists with access to public *archives in *Africa.

The first and lengthiest document in the collection is the *Gesta apud Zenophilum.* This records proceedings held at *Cirta in 320 before Domitius *Zenophilus, *Consularis of *Numidia, which incriminate the opponents of Caecilian. The second document is a *report of proceedings acquitting Felix of the charge of handing over scriptures to be burnt. The remaining documents comprise one *letter from the bishops at the *Council of *Arles to *Sylvester, Bishop of *Rome, six letters from the *Emperor *Constantine I, and a travel pass for Donatist bishops issued by the office of the *Praefectus Praetorio.

The collection attests to Constantine's interest and effort in resolving the dispute between Donatists and Catholics, and to his growing support of the Catholic party in *Africa. The authenticity of some of the documents, such as the letter of Constantine to Aelafius, has been questioned. SJL-R

ed. C. Ziwsa (CSEL 26, 1893, 185–216).
ed. (annotated wtih FT) J.-L. Maier, *Le Dossier du Donatisme* (1987), vol. 1.
ET (annotated) M. J. Edwards, *Optatus: Against the Donatists* (TTH 27, 1997), 150–201.
Barnes, *NEDC* ch. XI.
T. D. Barnes, 'The Beginnings of Donatism', *JTS* NS 26/1 (1975), 13–22.
L. Duchesne, 'Le Dossier du donatisme', *MÉFRA* 10 (1890), 589–650.

Optatus of Milevis (d. after 384) *Bishop of *Milevis of *Numidia and opponent of the *Donatists. Little is known about Optatus beyond his influential treatise against the Donatist Bishop Parmenian which includes a dossier of historical documents (*see* OPTATAN APPENDIX). Optatus attacked the Donatists for insularity, exclusivity, and causing schism. SJL-R

PCBE I, Optatus 1.

PL 11.883–1104, reprinting L. Dupin (1700).

ed. C. Ziwsa (CSEL 26, 1893).

ed. (annotated with FT) M. Labrousse (*SC* 412–13, 1995–6).

ET (annotated) M. Edwards (TTH 27, 1997).

C. Mazzucco, *Ottato di Milevi in un secolo di studi: problemi e prospettive* (1993).

optics Late Antique optical works include significant contributions to the science of burning mirrors. The incomplete tract *On Wondrous Machines* by *Anthemius of *Tralles contains approximate constructions of an elliptical mirror and of a parabolic *mirror burning at a given distance. The first construction is grounded on the identification of single points on the line, resulting from the fact that the angles made between the 'broken' straight line drawn from a point of the ellipse to the two foci and the tangent to the line through that point are equal. The second construction, that of the parabolic mirror, uses the focus-directrix property and the fact that the tangent to the line at the point of incidence of a ray bisects the angle between the incident ray produced and the reflected ray.

The *Fragmentum Mathematicum Bobiense* is a very short and incomplete fragment that contains an elegant proof of the focal properties of a parabola and a result about spherical mirrors. Its anonymous author must be a contemporary of Anthemius.

The Aristotelian commentator *Olympiodorus transmits a *Greek version of the proof provided by *Hero of Alexandria that, because visual rays travel along the shortest distance, reflection occurs at equal angles. The original work of Hero is attested under the name of *Ptolemy, in *Latin translation only and in a severely abridged form. The 6th-century compiler Damianus wrote an elementary tract on *Optical Hypotheses*; this is the only source which assigns this proof to Hero. FA

ed. J. L. Heiberg, *Mathematici Graeci Minores* (1927).

ed. R. Schöne (with GT), *Damianos Schrift über Optik, mit Auszügen aus Geminos* (1897).

F. Acerbi, 'The Geometry of Burning Mirrors in Greek Antiquity: Analysis, Heuristic, Projections, Lemmatic Fragmentation', *ArchHistExSc* 65 (2011), 471–97.

W. R. Knorr, 'Archimedes and the Pseudo-Euclidean *Catoptrics*: Early Stages in the Ancient Geometric Theory of Mirrors', *ArchIntHistSciences* 35 (1985), 28–105.

G. L. Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles: A Study of Later Greek Geometry* (GRBS monographs 1, 1959).

optimates (barbarian) *Latin term signifying 'best men' or 'leading men', originally used to refer to the political elite of the Roman Republic, and then less specifically in the Vulgate for biblical notables, and to designate high-ranking members of post-Roman barbarian societies. In Late Antique sources the term is roughly synonymous with *principes*. It is also used of noble barbarian women, for instance of the *Gothic kinswomen of Hunila, the wife of the *usurper Bonosus (*HA Vita Firmi et al.* 15, 6). Barbarian *optimates* are recorded among the *Alemanni (*Ammianus, XXIX, 4, 7), the *Vandals (referring to King *Geiseric's opponents in AD 442, *Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* 1348), and the *Franks (*Annales Mettenses*, 316). GMB

optimates (Roman military) An elite *cavalry regiment of the late 6th century, mentioned in the **Strategicon* of *Maurice (II, 6, 29–40). Along with the **foederati* and the **bucellarii* they were probably raised by *Tiberius II and attached to the Eastern imperial *army based at *Constantinople. Many members were of Germanic origin. HE

Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*.

opus sectile Polychrome *marble inlay on walls and floors. Aristocratic *houses of the 4th century in *Rome and *Ostia have opus sectile wall revetments, including figural scenes. At the *Lateran Baptistery in *Rome and at the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople, marble wall revetment is combined with an inlaid vine rinceau, at S. *Sabina in Rome with inlaid images of chalices. At S. Vitale in *Ravenna and at the Basilica of Eufrasius in *Poreč, the *apses are clad in geometric marble patterns. Geometric opus sectile also occurs on floors, particularly in the Near East. PhN

F. Guidobaldi, 'Le decorazione in opus sectile dell'aula', in S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma* (2000), 251–62, 530–7.

A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, 'The Marble Floor Decoration in Constantinople', in M. Şahin (ed.) *XI. Uluslararası Antik Mozaik Sempozyumu*, (2011), 413–36.

Y. Ötüken, 'Opus sectile-Fußböden in der Türkei', in W. Jobst, R. Kastler, and V. Scheibelreiter, eds., *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul* (1999), 41–5.

U. Peschlow, 'Zum byzantinischen opus-sectile Boden', in R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (1983), 435–47.

Oracle of Ba'albek A *Greek *apocalyptic text of the reign of *Anastasius I. The *Oracle* is set on the Capitoline Hill and recounts the *Sibyl's interpretation of the vision of the 100 'judges' of *Rome. The nine suns of the vision are interpreted as nine generations,

including the time of Christ (which interpretation gives rise to a query by the priests of the Hebrews about God begetting a son), the *emperors from Augustus to Anastasius, and a series of eschatological emperors concluding with the Antichrist and Christ's Second Coming. The *Oracle* was based on an earlier Greek apocalypse of the late 4th century (probably written between 378 and 390), now lost, which was translated into *Latin before 390; this Latin translation, also lost, formed the basis of a number of texts from the late 10th or 11th century attributed to the Tiburtine Sibyl. The surviving Greek text was composed between 502 and 506, in the midst of Anastasius' *Persian war (the latest historical event mentioned), by an adherent of the Christology adopted at the *Council of *Chalcedon. It makes special reference to the monuments and region of *Heliopolis (Ba'albek) in *Syria, hence the name of the *Oracle* and its probable attribution to a native or inhabitant of Heliopolis. The *Oracle* notes the diminution of Rome and takes a pessimistic attitude toward the prospects of *Constantinople and the Roman Empire. BMG

ed. P. J. Alexander (with ET and comm.), *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (DOS 10, 1967).

Oracle of the Potter A prophetic text composed in *Egypt probably in the 2nd century BC. Attributed to a legendary potter who is the incarnation of the god Khnum, it prophesies the imminent downfall of the ruling Ptolemaic dynasty, the destruction of Egypt, and its restoration under the leadership of a saviour. It survives in *Greek in *papyri from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD; papyrus fragments show that the text was brought up to date in the 3rd century to express hostility against Romans and *Jews. SJL-R

ed. L. Koenen, 'Die Prophezeiungen des "Töpfers"', *ZPE* 2 (1968), 178–209.

ET S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (1985), 136–9.

F. Dunand, 'L'Oracle du potier et la formation de l'apocalypse en Égypte', in F. Raphael, M. Philonenko, et al., eds., *L'Apocalyptique* (1977), 41–67.

L. Koenen, 'The Prophecy of a Potter: A Prophecy of World Renewal Becomes an Apocalypse', in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. D. Samuel (1970), 249–54.

L. Koenen, 'Die Apologie des Töpfers an König Amenophis, oder das Töpferorakel', in A. Blasius and B. U. Schipper, eds., *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (2002), 139–87.

oracles and oracle collections Prophetic communications thought to be from the gods, delivered through inspired persons, whose individuality was generally suppressed. The term 'oracle' may refer to the prophecy itself, to the human uttering it, or to the site, normally a sanctuary, where prophesying took place.

The oracular shrines at ancient Greek Panhellenic sanctuaries had varied fates in Christian Late Antiquity. The victorious forces of *Licinius in 313 had taken violent action against the *prophetes* of *Didyma whose oracles had supported the Great *Persecution (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 11, 7; *Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, IV, 2). *Theodosius I's *edict banning oracular activity in 391 (*CTh* XVI, 10, 9) was not wholly effective. *Severus of *Antioch declared in the late 5th century that all major pagan oracular centres had been closed and overturned, but this may have been wishful thinking. The sanctuary buildings of oracular sites such as Didyma, *Delphi, and *Dodona were converted to secular uses or neutralized by the building of churches. Christianization, especially the burying of *martyrs, interfered with the operation of oracles; the proximity of S. Babylas' *relics to the shrine of Apollo at *Daphne outside *Antioch was said to have silenced the god (*John Chrysostom, *De Sancto Babyla*, 73). In some cases, the closure of a shrine was spurred by political rather than religious motivations, as with the Abydos Bes shrine in *Egypt.

Despite the decline and closure of shrines, the utterances of oracles could still be consulted as written texts, whether recorded in *inscriptions, or circulated in collections such as *Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*. Many Christian writers were hostile to the notion of oracular prophecy, deeming it a pagan practice which was either fraudulent or, when it worked, operated by *demons (*Lactantius, *Inst.* II, 16; *Augustine, *De Divinatione Daemonum*). However, Christians were also aware of the role of oracles in their own history and scripture, and adopted and adapted oracular practices and traditions. The procedure of the so-called ticket oracle was practised at saints' shrines in Egypt; a questioner would submit two written queries describing contradictory courses of action he was considering, and the oracle would return to him the 'ticket' which described the action it advised him to undertake. In these cases, the personal holiness of the saint mediated between the enquirer and God.

Christians also exploited the monotheistic character of some pagan oracles, using them to demonstrate the truth of their religion to pagans. The **Sibylline Oracles*, a varied collection of hexameters including monotheistic and messianic oracles, were partly produced by *Jews and Christians; Lactantius adduced them plentifully (though Augustine did not: *City of God*, XIX, 22). The late 5th-century Christian *Theosophia*, partly preserved in the **Theosophy of Tübingen*, assembled a collection of Greek and Sibylline oracles which agreed with scripture and proclaimed Christian truth. SJL-R

P. Athanassiadi, 'The Fate of the Oracles in Late Antiquity', *DeltChristArchEtair* 115 (1989–90), 271–8.

P. Athanassiadi, 'Philosophers and Oracles: Shifts in Authority in Late Paganism', *Byzantion* 62 (1992), 45–62.
D. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (1983).
A. Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon: pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive (IIe–VIe siècles)* (2005).
S. Levin, 'The Old Greek Oracles in Decline', *ANRW* II.18.2 (1989), 1599–649.
D. S. Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the 13th Sibylline Oracle* (1990).

orans *See* HAND GESTURES.

orans Pose of *prayer, adopted by Christians, standing up with the forearms raised and the hands extended upwards, palms open and facing forwards. It had Roman antecedents. In funerary art from the 3rd-century *catacombs of *Rome onwards, the deceased in paradise was represented as an orant, as were biblical figures, such as Daniel in the *lions' den. HAHC

L. de Bruyne, 'Les "Lois" de l'art paléochrétien comme instrument herméneutique', *RivArcCrist.* 39 (1963), 7–92.
T. Klauser, 'Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Christlichen Kunst', *JbAC* 2 (1959), 115–45 and 3 (1960), 112–33.
W. Neuss, 'Die Oranten in der Altchristlichen Kunst', in *Fs P. Clemen* (1926), 130–49.

orarium A rectangular linen napkin or neckerchief. In 301 the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (26, 162–82) lists 21 different qualities of *orarium* by origin and price, catalogued among minor accessories of linen. In the **Vision of Dorotheus* (*c.*400) (Bremmer, 86, line 332) the *orarium* is wrapped scarf-like around the neck of a palace guard. *Jerome (*ep.* 52, 9) equates it with the (military) *sudarium* and in emergencies it could be used as a blindfold (*Passio of Julius the Veteran*, 4, 4) or to tie up a wound (*Augustine, *City of God*, XXII, 8). *Deacons of the 4th-century church wore the *orarium*; *subdeacons did not (Canons of *Laodicea, 22, 23). Later, an elongated form of the *orarium* was conflated with the *stola*, worn over both shoulders as a *vestment of a Christian *priest. JPW

J. Bremmer, 'An Imperial Palace Guard in Heaven: The Date of the Vision of Dorotheus', *ZPE* 75 (1988), 82–8.

Orcistus Town in the upper Sangarius basin (Turkish Alikân, now Ortaköy), at an important road junction of eastern *Phrygia. *Constantine I granted the settlement *city status (*c.* AD 324/6) on grounds of its physical advantages (water-*mills, agora, suitability as a posting-station for the *Cursus Publicus) and its Christian population (*MAMA* VII, 305). PJT

TIB 4 (1984), 211.
D. Feissel, 'L'Adnotatio de Constantin sur le droit de cité d'Orcistus en Phrygie', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 255–67.
van Dam, *Roman Revolution of Constantine*, 368–72 (inscription); 149, 167–220.

Ordines Romani *Latin *liturgical rites (*ordines*), of various lengths, originally celebrated in churches of *Rome during Late Antiquity. The extant texts, however, reveal distinctive Frankish emendations, for they were taken northward from *Rome by pilgrims or monks in the early Middle Ages.

Ordines I–X were rites celebrated by the *Bishop of *Rome. *Ordo* XI is a rite of *baptism; *Ordines* XII–XIV are for the *Liturgy of the Hours. *Ordo* XV contains pontifical rites for various celebrations during the year and *Ordo* XVI adapts *Ordines* XIV and XV for a *monastery. *Ordo* XVII does the same for *Ordines* XV and XVI. *Ordines* XVIII and XIX supply rules for the hours of *prayer and for meals in Roman monasteries. *Ordines* XX–XXXIII prescribe certain rites for *festivals and seasons of the church year. *Ordines* XXXIV–XL are rites for the ordination of bishops and *priests, prescribing the *Ember season for ordination rites. *Ordines* XLI–XLIII regulate the consecration of churches in Rome and the deposition of *relics in them. *Ordo* XLIV prescribes the ritual cleaning of the *Confessio* of the *Vatican Basilica. *Ordines* XLV–XLVIII lays down the rite for the *coronation of the *emperor. *Ordo* XLIX provides a ritual for the dying and for the disposal of the *dead. *Ordo* L is among the latest and longest of the *Ordines;* it lays out the calendar of liturgical *festivals, and clearly draws on other details in the *Ordines*. MFC

ed. M. Andrieu, *Les* Ordines Romani *du Haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 1: *Les Manuscrits* (SSL 11, 1965); vol. 2: *Ordines I–XIII* (SSL 23, 1960); vol. 3: *Ordines XIV–XXXIV* (SSL 24, 1961); vol. 4: *Ordines XXXV–XLIX* (SSL 28, 1965); vol. 5: *Ordo L* (SSL 29, 1961).
C. Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte Chrétien au Moyen Âge* (Biblioteca degli *Studi Medievali* 1, 1966), 101–81.

ordo *See* CITY COUNCILS AND COUNCILLORS.

Orestes Father of *Romulus Augustulus. A *Pannonian, he served *Attila as a **notarius* in 449 and 452. In 475 he was given command of Roman troops to go to *Gaul, but instead marched on *Ravenna. The Western *emperor *Julius Nepos fled and Orestes proclaimed Romulus emperor. The following year Orestes was captured by *Odoacer and killed near Placentia. OPN

PLRE II, Orestes 2.

organ (Lat. *organum hydraulicum*, *hydraulus*) A keyed musical instrument activated by air (regulated by hydraulic pump or bellows) forced through pipes, as described by *Hero of *Alexandria (*Pneumatica*, 42)

and *Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, X, 8). Evidence from Tertullian (*De Anima*, 14, 4–5) onwards indicates a larger instrument than anything attested in classical sources. The smaller, pneumatic (bellows) organ was first distinguished from the hydraulic (water) organ in Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon* (4, 69–70); in later centuries, *hydraulus* (or *hydraula*) continued to be the name for both types, though the pneumatic organ seems to have gradually supplanted its hydraulic predecessor, especially in the Eastern Empire.

Widely attested in literary and iconographical sources, the organ is (*inter alia*) cited as a mechanical marvel (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1, 45), hailed as art imitating nature (*Theodoret, *De Providentia*, Oratio 3), and allegorized by the church fathers (*Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, 20, 41, 78–9). There exist only two known archaeological remains of organs from Late Antiquity, both dating from the 3rd century: the *Aquincum organ (discovered in 1931) and the organ fragments of Aventicum, excavated in 1865 but identified as an organ only in 1996. AJH

M. Markovits, *Die Orgel im Altertum* (2003).

J. Perrot, *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (1971).

Orhay *See* EDESSA.

Oribasius (*c.*325–395) Physician to the *Emperor *Julian (*Augustus 361–3) whom he accompanied in *Gaul and Persia. Oribasius is perhaps most famous for his massive medical encyclopedia in 70 books, which had a decisive influence on such later authors as *Aëtius of *Amida, *Alexander of *Tralles, and *Paul of *Aegina. This work, entitled *Medical Collections*, deals with most aspects of *medicine, ranging from hygiene and *diet to diagnosis, *therapeutics, *pharmacy, and anatomy. He also composed a medical *Overview for Eustathius* in nine books; and a monograph on *Drugs that are Easy to Procure, for Eunapius*, perhaps the contemporary *Eunapius of *Sardis, who wrote his life (*Lives of the Philosophers*, 21) and for whom he wrote a memoir of Julian's Persian campaign. PEP

PLRE I, Oribasius.

ed. I. Raeder, 3 vols. in 5 (CMG VI, 1926–33).

ET (with comm.) Mark Grant, *Dieting for an Emperor: A Translation of Books 1 and 4 of Oribasius' Medical Compilations* (1997).

B. Baldwin, 'The Career of Oribasius', *Acta Classica* 18 (1975), 85–97.

Oriens (Gk. *Ἑῴα*) *Dioecesis governed from *Antioch on the Orontes by the *Comes Orientis, answerable to the *Praefectus Praetorio Orientis (**Notitia Dignitatum or*. II). The eighteen *provinces it comprised in the *Verona List included those of *Libya and *Egypt as well as the Levant, *Isauria, and *Cilicia. Egypt was made a separate *dioecesis* in *c.*370 (*Not. Dig. or*. XXII) and *Cyprus was separated from Oriens in 535/6. MMos

Jones, *LRE* 47–8, 141, 280–1, 373–4.

CAH XII (2005) appendix 1, 709 (J. Wilkes).

orientation of churches From the 4th century onwards church buildings were commonly aligned on an east–west axis, with the *apse and *altar at the east end. This was not universal; in order to incorporate the shrine of S. Peter, the *Vatican Basilica was built with the altar at its west end. But it was sufficiently engrained to make *architects undertake considerable effort to accommodate it, for instance in building substructures into the side of the hill at *Qalat Seman so that the apse and altar might stand east of the pillar of S. *Symeon Stylites.

The *church order known as the **Didascalia Apostolorum* (XII, 2, 57) requires that 'you pray toward the east, as knowing that which is written: *Give ye glory to God, who rideth upon the heaven of heavens toward the east*' (Psalm 67:34 LXX). Christian authors also expected that at the Second Coming Christ would appear in the eastern *sky and that the Sign which would precede Him (Matthew 24:27; 26:64) would be the *Cross. Crosses are depicted in the vaults of church sanctuaries as far apart as S. Apollinare in Classe near *Ravenna and the Monastery of Mar *Gabriel on the *Tur 'Abdin near the Persian *frontier. OPN; EL

E. Peterson, 'La croce e la *preghiera verso* Oriente', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 59 (1945), 52–68.

E. Peterson 'Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des jüdischen Gebetsrichtung', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 3 (1947), 1–15.

G. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th-Century Apses and Catecheses*, tr. E. R. Waaler (VigChrist suppl. 5, 1989).

Orientius (d. after 439) Generally identified with Orens, *Bishop of Auch, the author of a poem of moral exhortation in two books of elegiac couplets, conventionally entitled *Commonitorium* and dated to the first decades of the 5th century. The poem is a call to *conversion to the virtuous Christian life. After recommending the biblical commandments to 'love the Lord your God' and 'love your neighbour as yourself', the poet goes on to denounce a series of vices: wantonness, envy, greed, vainglory, lying, gluttony, and drunkenness. For those for whom these precepts are hard, he reminds them of the shortness of human life, the eternal punishment that the wicked will suffer, and the happy lot of the saved. MJR

PCBE IV/2, Orientius.

HLL, section 796.

CPL 1465:

ed. R. Ellis (CSEL 16, 1888).
ed. C. A. Rapisarda, Orienzio, *Carme Esortativo (Commonitorium)* (²1970).
ET (with commentary) M. D. Tobin (1946).
M. G. Bianco, 'Il Commonitorium di Orienzio', *AFLM* 20 (1987), 33–68.

Origen (184/5–253/5) Christian scholar, teacher, and writer who worked at *Alexandria and *Caesarea of *Palestine. Origen was born into a Christian family in *Egypt and received a broad education in classical and Christian literature before becoming a teacher. He may have studied with the Platonist Ammonius Saccas (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 19), and was certainly well acquainted with a range of *pagan *philosophy. When Origen was 17 in the reign of Septimius Severus, his father was martyred, and shortly afterwards Origen took on catechetical responsibilities against a background of *persecution. He was eventually recognized as Clement of Alexandria's successor as head of the catechetical school at Alexandria (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 54). There he taught a range of subjects, both secular and Christian, for almost three decades, and amassed large numbers of pupils. His encounters with rival groups and teachers, particularly *Gnostics such as the Valentinians, stimulated him to write a systematic and anti-heretical outline of Christian theology, *On First Principles*. In this period Origen apparently demonstrated his commitment to the *ascetic life by castrating himself, taking the injunction at Matthew 19:12 literally.

This, as well as differing ideas about authority to teach, generated tension with Demetrius, *Bishop of Alexandria (Eusebius, *HE* VI, 8). Origen made journeys from Caesarea to *Rome (*c.*215) and *Antioch (231); when en route to the latter via Palestine, he was ordained *priest at Caesarea by Bishop Theoctistus. However, he was excommunicated shortly afterwards by a synod called by Demetrius and removed from the priesthood, and the excommunication was reaffirmed by Heraclas, Demetrius' successor at Alexandria.

Origen moved to Caesarea in *c.*234, where the sentence of excommunication was ignored, and he founded a new school there whose curriculum shared much with that of Alexandria. At Caesarea he built up another large circle of followers including figures such as *Gregory the Wonderworker, whose *Eucharisticum* (*Thanksgiving to Origen*) is a detailed appreciation of the teaching he received over a period of several years. Origen made use of the city's learned *Jewish population to further his understanding of Hebrew and practice of biblical textual criticism. This enabled him to produce the **Hexapla*, which tabulated in six columns the Hebrew text, Greek transliteration, and four Greek translations of the Old Testament. Towards the end of his life (*c.*248), Origen produced a blow-by-blow refutation of a much earlier anti-Christian treatise in his apologetic *Against Celsus*.

Having lost his father to martyrdom when young, Origen suffered imprisonment at the end of his life during the *persecution of *Decius, but survived it, only to die shortly afterwards. His zeal for martyrdom is visible in many of his works, and especially in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*. Some of Origen's works and teachings attracted considerable controversy, among them the notion of the pre-existence of souls, and the doctrine of universal salvation. After his death, theologians disputed his legacy for almost two centuries before a local council at *Constantinople in 543, summoned by *Justinian I, condemned a number of '*Origenist' doctrines. Origen was a formidable scholar and a prolific writer but, partly because of the controversial reputation which attached to his theology, only a small number of his thousands of works survive, and many of these are in a fragmentary state: only a portion of a large number of exegetical homilies and biblical commentaries remains, and only two of a great body of *letters survive. More of his works are preserved in *Latin translations by the likes of *Rufinus than in their original *Greek. The patchy transmission of Origen's works makes it hard to reconstruct some of his teaching, and to assess how authentically 'Origenist' were those doctrines later condemned as such. SJL-R

ODCC, Origen.
CPG 1410–1525:
PG 11–17, reprinting C. de la Rue (1733–59).
ed. P. Koetschau, E. Klostermann, et al. (*GCS* 2–3, 6, 10, 22, 29–30, 33, 35, 38, 40, 41, 1899–1955).
ET (annotated) G. Butterworth, *On First Principles* (1936).
H. Chadwick, *Contra Celsum* (1953).
J. J. O'Meara, *On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom* (ACW 19, 1955).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Gregory the Wonderworker (*CPG* 1763), *Thanksgiving to Origen*, PG 10, 983–1104.
ed. (annotated with FT) H. Crouzel (SC 148, 1969).
ET M. Slusser (FC 98, 1998).

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E. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (1992).
H. Crouzel, *Origen*, tr. A. S. Worrall (2000; French original 1985).
H. Crouzel, *Bibliographie critique d'Origène* and supplements 1 and 2 (1971, 1982, 1996).
R. Heine, *Origen: Scholarship in Service of the Church* (2010).
R. Lyman, 'Origen', in Foster, *Early Christian Thinkers*, 111–26.
J. McGuckin, *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* (2004).
P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son œuvre* (1977).
J. W. Trigg, *Origen* (1998).

Origen, Ps.- (5th cent.) Author of a Latin *Arian Commentary on Job transmitted under *Origen's name. SJL-R

PG 17.371–522, reprinting C. de la Rue (1733).

L. Dossey, 'The Last Days of Vandal Africa: An Arian Commentary on Job and its Historical Context', *JTS* NS 54/1 (2003), 60–138.

Origenism and Origenist controversies There were two major Origenist controversies in Late Antiquity, one in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, and one in the mid-6th century. 'Origenism', in this context, refers primarily to ideas suggested by *Origen's doctrine of the *apokatastasis*, in which an immaterial supreme God created numerous immaterial rational beings in a state of intellectual unity with Him; these beings then fell away from union and descended into material bodies, leading to the creation of the material world but ultimately all rational beings will reunite with God. Origenists held, or were accused of holding, one or more of the following ideas (and variants of these) suggested by this doctrine: that anthropomorphic language cannot properly be used to describe an immaterial God; that the supremacy of God the Father implies that the Son is inferior to him; that at the Resurrection humans will return to a bodiless state; and that all rational beings, including the Devil, will become equal in rank in the final reunification. Modern scholars question the extent to which Origen held these views.

The history of the first Origenist controversy is complex. Origen's ideas appear in Egyptian ascetic texts in the mid-4th century, and *Evagrius Ponticus developed them into a comprehensive spiritual programme during his ascetic career in *Egypt, beginning in the mid-380s. Many monks found troubling Evagrius' suggestion that anthropomorphic imagery hindered contemplation of an immaterial God (Evagrius, *De Oratione*, 66, 67, 72; *John Cassian, *Conlationes*, X, 1–3). Negative reactions to this idea led *Theophilus, *Patriarch of *Alexandria, to condemn Origen's writings in 400, after Evagrius had died, and to expel Origenists from the *monasteries of *Nitria. Four Origenists known as the 'Tall Brothers' left Nitria and were welcomed in *Constantinople by *John Chrysostom. At Theophilus' urging, Chrysostom was condemned at the Synod of the *Oak in 403, although many considered the condemnation to be politically motivated.

In the mid-390s, as controversy unfolded in Egypt, *Epiphanius of *Salamis travelled to *Palestine to encourage the condemnation of Origenist ideas, particularly the subordination of the Son to the Father, the pre-existence of souls, bodiless resurrection, and the salvation of the Devil. Epiphanius clashed with *Bishop *John II of *Jerusalem (*Jerome, *Contra Ioannem*, 4), and ascetic communities in Palestine were divided. Jerome renounced Origenism, although he had previously used and translated Origen's works; he nonetheless maintained that Origen's writings contained much that was useful (Jerome, *ep.* 85). *Rufinus of *Aquileia refused to condemn Origen, claiming that apparent divergences from orthodoxy in Origen's writings were due to corrupt manuscripts (Rufinus, *De Adulteratione Librorum Origenis*); Rufinus began to translate Origen's works into *Latin in 397. The quarrel between Jerome and Rufinus brought the controversy to *Italy, and in 400, Pope Anastasius condemned Origen's writings. After Epiphanius' death in 403 and the deposition of Chrysostom in the same year, the controversy waned.

Sources for the 6th-century controversy are scant, and it is unclear to what extent those accused of Origenism, such as *Leontius of Byzantium, actually held Origenist ideas. *Cyril of *Scythopolis claims (*VSab* 188–198, 5) that in the mid-530s several monks from the New Laura in *Palestine, including Leontius, began to promote Origenism aggressively and sometimes violently, temporarily taking over leadership of the New Laura and the nearby Great Laura. In 543, the *Emperor *Justinian I publicized ten anathemas against Origen and Origenism, and in 553, the Second *Council of *Constantinople added fifteen similar anathemas to its condemnations of non-Chalcedonian Christology. According to Cyril (*VSab* 199–200), Origenist monks were then expelled from the New Laura, and orthodox monks replaced them in 555; this ended the second Origenist controversy. CMC

ANCIENT SOURCES (FIRST CONTROVERSY)

Evagrius Ponticus, *Kephalaia Gnostica*, ed. (annotated with FT) A. Guillaumont (PO 28).

Jerome, *Apologia contra Rufinum*, ed. (annotated with FT) P. Lardet (SC 303).

Rufinus, *Apologia contra Hieronymum*, ed. M. Simonetti (CCSL 20, 1961).

ET of Jerome and Rufinus by W. H. Fremantle (NPNF series 2 vol. 3, 1892).

ANCIENT SOURCES (SECOND CONTROVERSY)

Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*; *Vita Cyriaci* (*BHG* 463 and 1608); ed. E. Schwartz (TU 49/2, 1939); ET (annotated) R. M. Price and J. Binns, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (CSS 114, 1991).

ET (annotated) R. M. Price, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553: With Related Texts on the Three Chapters Controversy* (TTH 51, 2009).

E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (1992).

B. Daley, SJ, 'The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium', *JTS* NS 27 (1976), 333–69.

F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil* (1899).

A. Guillaumont, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens* (1962).

D. Hombergen, *The Second Origenist Controversy: A New Perspective on Cyril of Scythopolis' Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources for Sixth-Century Origenism* (2001).

Origo Constantini Imperatoris Alternative name for the first part of the **Anonymus Valesianus* (or *Excerpta Valesiana*), itself named after its first editor. The text survives in a single 9th-century manuscript (Berolinensis 1885). It is a short, stylistically plain *Latin *biography of *Constantine I, from 305 to 337, and is generally dated *c.* AD 390. It is a broadly sympathetic treatment of Constantine and has a pro-Christian perspective; the narrative is dominated by military and political matters, with occasional indulgences in anecdote, and strong and direct portrayal of the leading characters. Nonetheless, and despite its silence on certain episodes, such as the deaths of *Crispus and *Fausta, it is deemed generally reliable, and is particularly informative about Constantine's dealings with *Licinius, where other sources are thinner. It does not disclose its sources. RDR

HLL 5, section 535.

ed. I. König (with comm.), *Anonymus Valesianus, Origo Constantini. Part I: Text und Kommentar* (Trierer Historische Förschungen 11, 1987).

ET J. Stevenson (annotated by S. Lieu) in Lieu and Montserrat, 39–62.

ed. (with ET) J. C. Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus III* (LCL 331, 1939).

Origo Gentis Langobardorum Primarily an extended genealogy of the *Lombard kings from legendary roots to the reign of *Perctarit (AD 670s), intended to record the prime ancient and contemporary families or clans to add authority to their past and present. The *Origo* also generates an abbreviated overview of Lombard expansion; its extended comments on *Rothari's conquests of the 640s suggest its likely date of first compilation (unless under *Grimoald). In the manuscript tradition, the *Origo* has long been associated with the Edict of Rothari. NJC

ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS rer. Lang, (1878), 1–6.

ed. (with introd. and comm.) A. Bracciotti (Biblioteca di cultura romanobarbarica 2, 1998).

C. Azzara and S. Gasparri, *Le leggi dei Longobardi: storia memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico* (1992).

P. Delogu, 'Kingship and the Shaping of the Lombard Body Politic', in G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, eds., *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2009), 251–88.

Orion (5th cent.) *Grammaticus. Two authors of this name, one from *Alexandria, the other from Egyptian *Thebes, are said in the **Suda* to have composed collections of *gnomai* (notable sayings drawn from classical authors), while a manuscript containing such a collection (Vindobonensis Philol. Gr. 321) describes the author as being from *Caesarea. A grammarian named Orion taught *Proclus in Alexandria (*Marinus, *VProcli* 8), and the name is also linked with that of *Eudocia, perhaps the *Empress Eudocia. It is possible that these authors are one and the same man. Other works ascribed to a person or persons of this name include an *Etymology* and *rhetorical works. RW

PLRE II, Orion 1.

ed. (with GT and comm.) M. Haffner (Palingenesia 75, 2001).

Kaster, *Guardians*, 322–5.

Orkhon inscriptions Old Turkic inscriptions (mainly funerary epitaphs) on stelae discovered along the Orkhon River (Mongolia), written in the runic alphabet used by the First *Türk (552–659), Second Türk (682–742), and *Uighur (744–840) empires. The inscriptions, including those commemorating the brothers *Köl Tegin (732) and Bilga *Khaghan (735) and their chamberlain Tonyuquq (*c.*720), provide important information on early Turkic religious and political ideology. Besides the Orkhon inscriptions, other examples of the Turkic runic script have been found in the Yenisei River (Mongolia, Russia) and Talas River (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan) valleys, including texts in Old Kirghiz and Old *Uighur, in all nearly 300 inscriptions (8th–10th centuries), not including nearly 40 manuscript fragments in runic script from *Turfan, Miran, and *Dunhuang. MLD

EI 2 vol. 8 *s.n.* Orkhon (1993) (C. E. Bosworth).

T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (1968).

W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (1899).

V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Déchiffrées* (1896).

Orléans (dép. Loiret, France; *civitas Aurelianorum*) *City located at a strategic road junction and river crossing on the Loire, which acquired a circuit of walls enclosing around 25 ha (*c.*61 acres) in the mid-4th century, and was relieved of a siege by *Attila and the *Huns in 451. Under the *Franks, it became the capital of the share of the kingdom ruled by *Chlodomer (511–24), and *Guntram (561–92), but the latter more often resided at *Chalon-sur-Saône, and the last king to use it as his base was *Theuderic II (587–613). A succession of important Frankish church *councils were also held there in the first half of the 6th century, beginning with that summoned by *Clovis I in 511. Its most prominent bishop was Anianus (*fl.* 451), renowned for organizing his city's resistance to the Huns; the *basilica that housed his *tomb was deemed an important church in the later 7th century. RVD; STL

CAGaule 45 (1988).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 8 (1992), 81–96.

Orosius Historian and polemicist (*fl.* 414–18). Orosius, sometimes referred to as Paulus Orosius (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 9), was a Spanish *priest (*Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.* 39). He travelled to *Africa 411/14, and was

dispatched as *Augustine's representative to *Jerome in 415 (Augustine, *ep*. 166). In the same year, Orosius attended the Synod of *Jerusalem, where he argued unsuccessfully against *Pelagius. Shortly afterwards, he composed the *Liber Apologeticus* as a reassertion of his own doctrinal position. Orosius settled in Africa in 416, after political upheaval in *Spain made a return to his homeland impossible.

Orosius is best known for his *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans (Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri Septem*), apparently written at the behest of Augustine and intended to serve as a historical appendix to the latter's *City of God*. (Orosius, *Hist*. praef.) Orosius states that he began his composition after the completion of the tenth book of *The City of God*, and the work was certainly finished by 418. The *History* was founded upon the contention that the sack of *Rome in 410 by the *Visigoths was relatively insignificant when set against the great tableau of human suffering. The final book presents a relatively positive image of the Visigoths as the new Christian allies of Rome, and exhibits an optimistic attitude towards the future. Orosius' misgivings at the magnitude of his task seem to have been justified: modern scholars have frequently condemned his eccentric emphases, and Augustine made no reference to his work in the later books of *City of God*.

Nevertheless, the *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* was an important work of Late Antique *historiography. It was at once the first universal Christian history, and the first narrative Christian history to be written in *Latin. In presenting the whole of secular history within a Christian eschatological framework, moreover, Orosius was attempting something unprecedented. Although Orosius clearly aspired towards a genuinely comprehensive history, and the geographical survey with which he opens the *History* covers the whole of the known world, the narrative itself was largely limited to the familiar world of the Mediterranean. The first book traces the history of the world from its origin to the war between Athens and Sparta; Book II opens with an account of the four great empires of history (identified here as Babylon, Macedonia, Carthage, and Rome), and describes Roman history from the foundation of the city to the Gallic Sack of Rome; Book III runs from the Peloponnesian War to the death of Alexander the Great, and discusses Roman expansion within Italy; Book IV is an account of Roman consolidation in Italy and the Punic Wars and ends with the destruction of Carthage; Books V and VI narrate the later history of the Republic, the Spartacan revolt, Civil War, and the rise of Augustus; the last book traces recent history from the Incarnation to the time of writing.

Orosius drew heavily upon secular sources in the composition of his *History*, particularly the works of Livy, Florus, *Eutropius, the **Historia Augusta*, and (in the epitome of Justin) the work of Pompeius Trogus. He also referred directly to Sallust, Tacitus, and Suetonius, and readily exploited these authors' condemnation of contemporary Roman *mores* in supporting his own polemical position. Predictably, Orosius also depended heavily upon the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius, through the translation and continuation of Jerome, but the continuous narrative of the *History* was no slavish reproduction of this work.

The *Seven Books of History* was very widely read in later centuries, as the large number of manuscript copies attests. Famously, the text was translated into Old English (with a substantially expanded geographical introduction) at the court of King Alfred. Elsewhere, Orosius' narrative historiography proved almost as influential as the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome, and *Jordanes, *Gregory of *Tours, Paul the Deacon, and *Bede all cited his work as an inspiration. AHM

PLRE II, Orosius.

HLL, section 682.

Histories (*CPL* 571): M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (annotated with FT, 1990).

ET (annotated) A. T. Fear, *Orosius: Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* (TTH, 2010).

Liber Apologeticus (*CPL* 572):

ed. K. Zangemeister (CSEL 5, 1882).

ET C. L Hanson, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 3 (FC 99, 1999), 97–174.

E. Corsini, *Introduzione alle Storie di Orosio* (1968).

H.-W. Goetz, *Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius* (1980).

J. Hillgarth, 'The *Historiae* of Orosius in the Early Middle Ages', in L Holtz and J.-C. Fredouille, eds., *De Tertullian aux Mozarabes II. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine* (1992), 157–70.

P. van Nuffelen, *Orosius and the Rhetoric of History* (2012).

Orovi (Oroboi, Orobe, Rovi, Romvi, Rhombe) Island off the coast of the Argolid opposite Tolon, identified with Rovi-Rhombe in the **Chronicle of Monemvasia*. A hoard of lead *seals points to it being an imperial administrative centre in the 8th and 9th centuries and the see of a *bishop (*PBE* Basilios 48; *PmbZ* 943). It may also be the location of the *monastery led by Theodosios (*Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, XII, 124), which was possibly one of the earliest attested monasteries in the Peloponnese and in the 9th century the see of a bishop (*PBE* Basilios 48). PA

V. Penna, in N. Oikonomides, ed., *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 4 (1995), 163–73.

E. Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia* (2001).

orphanage Many *children grew up without parents, but no actual institutions devoted to the care of orphans appeared before Late Antiquity. The first

orphanage, the Orphanotropheion, was established at *Constantinople in the mid-4th century. In 472 *Leo I confirmed the privileges of the institution 'under the care of Nikon … *priest and Orphanotrophos' (*CJust* I, 3, 34 [35]). *Theophanes records the building of a church of Ss. Peter and Paul 'at the Orphanotropheion' under *Justin II. *Andrew of Crete, the hymn-writer, was Orphanotrophos in the early 8th century.

Less specialized institutions devoted to the care of the indigent are attested in other regions of the Empire and **xenodocheia* frequently functioned as de facto orphanages. Basil's great hospital at *Caesarea of *Cappadocia cared for orphans (*Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Oration*, 43, 63, and 81), As *monasteries became common, they often brought children up; by the 6th century rules governed their care (*RegBen* 30, 37, 59, 70). GSN

S. Hubner and D. Ratzan, *Growing up Fatherless in Antiquity* (2009).
T. S. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire* (2003).
Janin, *EglisesCP* 567–9.

Orus (5th cent.) *Grammaticus from *Alexandria active in *Constantinople. The **Suda* attributes to him works on vowel length, enclitics, and orthography as well as treatises criticizing Phrynichus and Herodian. RW

PLRE II, Orus.
ed. K. Alpers, *Das attizistische Lexikon des Oros* (1981).
Kaster, *Guardians*, 325–7.

Osrhoene Roman *province bounded on the south-east by the Persian *frontier, on the north-east and north by the Roman province of *Mesopotamia, and on the north-west, west, and south by the River Euphrates and the province of *Euphratensis. It was taken under direct Roman rule during the 3rd century from the client kings of the Abgar dynasty ruling from Edessa. The *Verona List places Osrhoene in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, as does the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* II, 21; XXII, 12 and 28), which gives the *governor's title as *Praeses (*or.* I, 92) and lists considerable bodies of troops under the command of the *Dux Osrhoenae (*or.* I, 46; XXXV). *Hierocles (713, 12–714, 6) enumerates eight cities in Osrhoene, headed by *Edessa.

Edessa was the principal centre of *Syriac civilization in the Roman Empire and Christian from an early date. Osrhoene was on the invasion route of *Shapur I in 260 when *Valerian became one of a series of Roman commanders to be defeated in the *Harran region (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 24–6). The province's military dispositions are frequently mentioned by *Ammianus and by *Procopius and his continuators. *Joshua the Stylite gives a vivid account of the effect on the local population of the invasion of *Qobad I, and from then until the *Arab conquest the province was heavily garrisoned. Edessa was captured by the Arabs in 639, and under them Osrhoene became part of the province of Diyar Mudar in al-*Jazira. PWMF

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, ch. 11.
Millar, *RNE* 478–9.
Barnes, *NEDC* 221.
L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents: contribution à la géographie historique de la région, du Ves avant l'ère chrétienne au VIes de cette ère* (1962).
J. B. Segal, *Edessa the 'Blessed City'* (1970).

Ossius of Cordoba (d. 357/8) *Bishop of *Cordoba (*Spain) and, as religious adviser of *Constantine I, an important participant in church politics in the early 4th century. Little is known about his background in Spain; he emerged as Constantine's principal ecclesiastical adviser from the 310s. After Constantine defeated *Licinius in 324 and controlled the eastern half of the Empire, Ossius took a leading part in attempts to resolve the *Arian Controversy. He was Constantine's envoy to *Alexandria and *Antioch in 324/5, appointing a new *Patriarch of Antioch, calling the *Council of Antioch of 325, and drawing up the council's *letter. More significant was his contribution to the Council of *Nicaea (325), over which he presided. He and Constantine developed the doctrine that God the Son was *homoousios* (of one substance) with God the Father, the formulation ratified at the Council of Nicaea.

Ossius lived to over 100 and in later life came under pressure from *Homoeans (*Arians), who after the death of Constantine could count on the support of his son *Constantius II. He was summoned to the Council of *Sirmium (357) and forced to subscribe to the *Anomoean *creed. This was received negatively in the West and he retired back to Cordoba at the end of his life. JWo

HLL 5, 583.
Letter to Constantius (*CPL* 537), ed. H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke* II/1 (1940/1), 207–9.
Letter to Julius of Rome (*CPL* 538), ed. A. Feder (CSEL 65, 1916), 126–39.
Sententiae of Ossius or Canons of the Council of Serdica (*CPL* 539 and 539a), ed. Turner, *EcclOccMonJurAnt* I, 2, 3 (1930) 452–544 and 644.
V. C. De Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova: A Contribution to the History of the Constantinian Period* (1954).
R. M. Grant, 'Religion and Politics at the Council at Nicaea', *JnlRelig* 55 (1975), 1–12.
J. Ulrich, 'Nicaea and the West', *VigChrist* 51 (1997), 10–24.

Ostia The old *harbour *city of *Rome, located *c.*25.7 km (16 miles) from the capital. Thought to have declined during the Third Century *Crisis, Ostia

is known to have led a more vigorous life even as it was separated administratively from *Portus under *Constantine I. Earlier studies that characterized the town as exclusively one of grand *houses, for example, have been revised in light of the persistence of apartment-living into the 3rd century and beyond. Some bakeries and granaries continued to function into the 5th century, *baths and the city centre remained well kept, and traditional *paganism remained a visible part of city life. *Maxentius opened a *mint, probably employing personnel from *Carthage, which operated between AD 308/9 and 313. The first quarter of the 4th century produced the first visible Christian architecture, a *basilica located within the walls, though sources (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 28 and *AASS* Junii VII, 33–4) disagree about its dedication. Three other basilicas, none of which can be dated before the start of the 5th century, were later added to the territory outside the walls; and it was not until the 6th or early 7th century that a campaign was organized to erect *epitaphs for Ostia's 3rd-century *bishop Cyriacus, as well as for S. Monica (d. 387), the mother of *Augustine, whose death at Ostia is treated in the *Confessions* (IX, 8, 17).

DRB; RRD

D. R. Boin, *Ostia in Late Antiquity* (2013).

A. Gering, L. Kaumanns, and L. Lavan, 'Das Stadtzentrum von Ostia in der Spätantike. Vorbericht zu den Ausgrabungen 2008–2011', *MDAI(R)* 117 (2011), 409–509.

J. P. Descoeudres, ed., *Ostia: port et porte de la Rome antique* (2001).

G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia 6: edificio con 'opus sectile' fuori Porta Marina* (1969).

RIC VI.

ostraca Famously associated with voting ballots from classical Athens on which names of candidates for ostracism were scratched, ostraca were pottery sherds and also pieces of limestone widely employed as writing surfaces for a broad range of texts. While often no bigger than the palm of the hand, ostraca come in many different shapes and sizes, from very small tags that were lodged into the lids of jars to identify their contents to *amphora-sized pieces containing lengthy registers. They were best for brief, everyday texts, such as tax receipts, orders for payment, memoranda, lists, *letters, or school exercises. From later periods there also survive sometimes lengthy biblical writings and prayers, particularly in Coptic. Ostraca were freely available so, though cumbersome to transport, were a less costly alternative to *papyrus.

Ostraca were the dominant writing material in areas such as the Eastern Desert of Egypt, but have also been found alongside *papyri throughout the *Nile Valley, Fayyum, and Western Desert, as well as in other parts of the ancient world including Afghanistan, North *Africa, and Europe. They are not associated with any particular language: from Late Antiquity there are texts in *Greek, *Latin, Coptic, and *Arabic, though the latter is less well represented in the published record. Recent discoveries at *Elephantine of Arabic ostraca may provide new perspectives on the use of the medium in the Islamic period. RA

A. Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Writing Materials in the Ancient World', in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009), 14–17.

Ostrogoths A group of Germanic people, traditionally viewed, on the basis of *Jordanes' *Getica*, as one of two groups created when the originally unified *Goths split as they rose to prominence north of the Black Sea in the 3rd century. The name is first recorded in the Vienna palimpsest fragments of *Dexippus' *Scythica*. There were, however, probably several independent Gothic groups on the north side of the Black Sea in the 4th century, and if, as is customary, the term 'Ostrogoth' is reserved for the group which *Theoderic the *Amal led to *Italy in 489, then the Ostrogoths were in fact a new political unit of Goths whose *ethnogenesis occurred in several phases in the course of two political generations from *c.* AD 450.

Early history

First, Valamer and his two younger brothers—Thiudimer and Vidimer—eliminated a series of rivals to unify a number of previously separate Gothic warbands (at least three male dynastic lines are briefly documented). These had all been subject to the overlordship of the *Huns, and the unification process certainly contributed to the new-found ability of the Amal-led Goths to throw off Hunnic dominion and reassert independence, as many other former Hunnic subjects were also doing, in the years after *Attila's death in 453. According to Jordanes, it was also at this time that the group first took possession of part of the old Roman *province of *Pannonia beside Lake Balaton in the Middle Danube basin. From there, in the later 450s and 460s, the group found itself periodically at war not only with different sons of Attila who were seeking to restore their domination, but also with a series of former Hunnic subjects (*Sciri, *Rugians, *Gepids, and *Suebes amongst others) who had also asserted their independence and were now struggling with one another both for regional domination and for profitable alliances with *Constantinople. Even in the latter context, the Amal-led Pannonian Goths were not shy of using force, and a first intrusion into East Roman *Illyricum in 462 led to the negotiation of a treaty which saw Valamer's Goths receive 200 pounds of *gold per annum and Theodemer's son *Theoderic sent off to Constantinople for a decade as a *hostage.

Jordanes reports that the Pannonian Goths were always victorious in their wars, but Valamer was killed in one conflict with the Sciri, and, in 473, their new overall leader Theodemer reunited with his son, led the Goths decisively out of the Middle Danube and into the East Roman *Balkans. At that point a second large body of Goths (both of these groups could field at least 10,000 warriors) already established in *Thrace as long-standing Roman allies (perhaps since the 420s) had risen in revolt because their political position was threatened by the *Emperor *Leo I's elimination of their *patron *Aspar. Conceivably, it was Theoderic the Amal himself who brought news of the revolt back with him on his return to his father from Constantinople in 471/2, but it was certainly the revolt of the Thracian Goths which prompted the Pannonian leadership to move south. Over the subsequent decade, Theoderic (after his father's death in *c.*474) consistently presented his Goths as a more effective set of allies for Constantinople, attempting to supplant the position of the Thracian Goths, no doubt with his eyes on the 2,000 pounds of gold per annum (ten times the *subsidy Valamer had extracted) which they customarily received for their services.

Constantinople itself was in turmoil in these years. The *Isaurian Emperor *Zeno had levered himself into power and faced stiff opposition not only from within the old extended imperial *family, but also periodically from a rival Isaurian general, *Illus, and from the Thracian Goths, whose influence had been undermined by the removal of *Aspar. The result was a kaleidoscopic series of short-term political manoeuvrings which took until the mid-480s to work themselves out, by which time Zeno had eliminated a series of imperial challengers, including Illus, and the leaders of the Thracian Goths. Zeno's success came at the price, however, of a new problem: Zeno had been forced to allow Theoderic to absorb the bulk of the Thracian Goths into his following—after Theoderic had assassinated the last of their leaders; Theoderic was thus transformed into a classic overmighty subject. By the later 480s, the united Goths were in revolt and any semblance of trust in the *emperor (who habitually followed political deals with assassination attempts) had completely broken down. In late 488, it was agreed therefore that emperor and Goth would solve their problems at the expense of *Odoacer, the post-Roman ruler of Italy and *Dalmatia, and the newly united Goths (reinforced by some Rugians) left the East Roman Balkans forever.

Theoderic in Italy

Theoderic duly arrived in *Italy and in 493, to secure his victory, eventually assassinated Odoacer in person at a banquet. At this point he began to renegotiate the terms he had agreed with Zeno (now safely dead), for a series of agreements was required before Constantinople would acknowledge the greater independence which he now arrogated to himself.

Older scholarship was much concerned with these negotiations. More recently, two different questions have attracted attention. First, exactly how did Theoderic pay off the forces which, by 493, had been following him for twenty years and, after numerous battles, had put him in control of Italy? W. Goffart has argued that he did so by reallocating existing tax revenues, rather than by granting his soldiers actual land. Discussion continues, but consensus now seems to be coalescing around a compromise position that original land grants (in strategic positions covering the Alpine passes, around the political capital at *Ravenna, and along the Via Flaminia between Ravenna and *Rome) were supplemented by the payment to registered male 'Goths' who were of militarily active age of *donatives amounting to a third of normal tax revenues.

Second, to what extent did Theoderic lead to Italy a culturally distinct population group—a 'people' or *tribe in traditional terms—and did the group retain any cultural coherence after the settlement process was complete? Attempts to argue that the Ostrogoths did not consist of a population group mixed in age and gender—the minimalist position on group identity—are unconvincing. And, while none of these characteristics is exclusively 'Gothic' (but then no feature of identity ever is), military service allied to a privileged landholding status, a non-Latinate culture, and *Homoean ('*Arian') Christianity provided enough identifiable elements common to the group to hold many of Theoderic's followers together as a distinct unit in the Italian landscape until the 530s.

At that point, when the *Byzantine invasion of Italy occurred, a minority was ready to surrender (e.g. half the Goths of *Samnium) to the forces of the Emperor *Justinian I. But the majority was ready to fight to retain its privileges and it continued to do so for the next twenty years. This would not have occurred if an Ostrogothic identity, fed by the benefits that had arisen from the conquest of Italy, had not created at least a strong political loyalty on the part of most of the Ostrogoths, even though Theoderic's followers certainly included some (how many is unclear) population elements which were not Gothic (such as, among others, the Rugians) at the point when they joined the group. Group consciousness was maintained by distributions of donatives, by the appointment of local leaders for each region of settlement, and by the social ties which operated between the important second-rank leaders and a broader rank and file of freemen which was itself a minority (perhaps around a quarter) of the total population which had moved into Italy in 489.

Collapse of power

Some accounts blame the eventual collapse of Ostrogothic power in Italy on longstanding fissures between the Goths and key elements of the Roman senatorial *aristocracy who retained a yearning for direct rule from Constantinople. This is based on a traditional view of the fall of *Boethius and *Symmachus at the end of Theoderic's reign, a view which now looks mistaken. The issue was not direct Constantinopolitan rule, but that when the king's chosen heir predeceased him Boethius and his father-in-law had backed the succession to the Ostrogothic kingship of Theoderic's nephew *Theodahad rather than that of his grandson *Athalaric. There were, of course, tensions within the Ostrogothic kingdom, as there are within any state, but none of sufficient substance to have undermined its functioning in any fundamental way. What actually destroyed it was Byzantine armed intervention from 535 onwards (when *Belisarius' forces occupied *Sicily) and especially from 536 when Belisarius' army moved into Italy proper. The Roman population in the struggles which followed was basically neutral. Both sides attempted to constrain its loyalty, and, as the violence became more pronounced towards the war's climax, much collateral damage was inflicted on Italo-Roman interests by both parties. In the end, Justinian's (eventually) implacable determination to end the war by *victory rather than through negotiation generated a series of punishing campaigns which, after the Byzantine victories at *Busta Gallorum and Mons Lactarius in 552, certainly destroyed the political will of most of the remaining Goths to continue the fight and possibly even their actual ability to do so. *Procopius' detailed narrative in the *Gothic War* brings out the political and military importance of the elite freeman class among the Goths, and one key effect of the war was to inflict such losses on this element of the population that they could no longer sustain their group identity in the face of overwhelming force. PHe

P. J. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).
P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (1997).
W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans AD 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (1980).
P. J. Heather, '*Gens* and *Regnum* among the Ostrogoths', in H.-W. Goetz et al., eds., *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (2003), 85–133.

Oswald, S. (*c.*603/4–642) King of Northumbria, 633/4–42. Son of Æthelfrith, King of Bernicia, north Northumbria (*Bede, *HE* I, 34). When Æthelfrith died (616), Oswald was exiled to *Ireland, where he became a Christian. In 634 he returned, defeated Cadwallon at Heavenfield on *Hadrian's Wall (*HE* III, 2; *Adamnan, *VColumbae* 1), assumed control of both Bernicia and Deira for eight years, and exercised extensive influence: Bede (*HE* II, 5) names him as one of seven lords with 'imperium' (*Bretwalda). He requested missionaries from *Iona to convert Northumbria, and gave *Bishop *Aidan *Lindisfarne as a *monastery. Oswald sponsored Cynegils of Wessex for *baptism (*c.*635). He was killed 5 August 642, at Maserfeld (perhaps Oswestry, Cheshire) by *Penda of Mercia; his brother *Oswy retrieved his dismembered body in 643. Bede records numerous posthumous *miracles. Oswald was venerated as a saint as far afield as Ireland and *Frisia (*HE* III, 13). HFF

ODNB s.n. Oswald (Craig).
C. E. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge, eds., *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (1995).

Oswy (Oswiu) (611/12–670) King of Northumbria 642–70. Son of Æthelfrith of Bernicia (northern Northumbria), brother of *Oswald, he shared Oswald's exile in *Ireland, where they became Christian and Oswy had a son. He became King of Bernicia on Oswald's death (642), retrieved Oswald's *relics the following year, and married *Edwin's daughter Eanflæd, having been previously married to a British princess, Rhiainfellt. In 651 Oswy had Oswine, King of Deira (southern Northumbria), murdered at Ingetlingum, perhaps *Gilling (*Bede, *HE* III, 14). Deira was thereafter ruled as a sub-kingdom by Oswy's nephew and then his sons, one of whom persuaded Peada, son of *Penda of Mercia, to become Christian (*HE* III, 21). In 655 Oswy killed Penda in battle at the River Winwæd, perhaps near Leeds (*HE* III, 24). Oswy is seventh in Bede's list of overlords ['*Bretwaldas']. He convened the Synod of *Whitby (664), which determined Northumbrian practice for dating *Easter (*HE* III, 25). HFF

ODNB s.n. Oswiu (Craig).
B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (1991).

otium *Latin term (Gk. σχολή) conventionally translated as 'leisure', but more accurately denoting private life, as opposed to *negotium*, the business of public and civic life. Romans were keen to disavow an Epicurean idleness; Cicero quoted Scipio Africanus as saying that he was never busier than when he was *in otio* (*De Officiis*, III, 1; *Republic*, I, 17, 27; cf. Pliny, *ep*. I, 9). For the poet *Nemesianus, *hunting was *hilaris labor*, delightful exertion which could promote the innocent love of virtue, and even have a divine dimension (lines 1, 188, and 86–98). The philosophical *senator *Praetextatus teased *Symmachus by telling him he spent his time in the country in hunting and idleness; Symmachus wrote back saying that he knew that

actually Praetextatus was busy polishing his literary talents (*ep*. I, 53; cf. I, 47).

The life of the mind blended with the practical management of rural estates. When *Ausonius appealed to his former pupil *Paulinus of Nola for a shipment of *grain to feed his household, his letter was sealed with iambics casting witty aspersions on the business ethics of his bailiff and evoking the great famines of ancient history (*ep*. 20a Green= 26 Evelyn White). In the case of Paulinus, rural *otium* slowly became something more purposeful, the practice of Christian *philosophia* away from the allurements of the world. It was in this spirit that *Augustine immediately after his *conversion went to spend the winter of 386–7 in a borrowed *villa at *Cassiciacum near *Milan, engaging in strenuous philosophical discussion, living *Christianae vitae otium*. OPN

M. Kahlos, *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus: A Senatorial Life in between* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 26, 2002), ch. 3. 1.
D. E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (1999).
D. E. Trout, 'Augustine at Cassiciacum: Otium Honestum and the Social Dimensions of Conversion', *VigChrist* 42 (1988), 132–46.
Brown, *Augustine*, ch. 11.

Otranto (Gk. Hydrous, Lat. Hydruntum) Port on the extreme south-east coast of *Apulia, *Italy, the closest *harbour in *Italy to *Greece and the south *Balkans. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim (p. 609, 5) passed through in 333, proceeding along the extension of the Via Appia to *Rome.

After the *Byzantine invasion of Italy, Otranto (referred to by *Procopius as Dryus; cf. *Gothic*, V, 15, 20) became an important base and bridgehead, particularly in the 540s when the Byzantines were fighting *Totila and *Teias (e.g. *Gothic*, VII, 30 in AD 548; VIII, 26, 4; VIII, 34, 10). *Ostrogothic armies besieged it in 544 (Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 9, 22–10, 9) and in 546 (*Gothic*, VII, 18, 4–6). Sometimes it was the only port left to the Byzantines south of Ravenna (*Gothic*, VIII, 23, 17 for 551; cf. VII, 22, 22 and VII, 23, 13 for 546/7).

The Frankish invasion of 554 reached as far south as the Terra d'Otranto (*Agathias, II, 1, 5). Eventually, after 710, the *city fell to the *Lombards, but returned to the Byzantines in 758. GK; OPN

T. S. Brown, 'Otranto in Medieval History', in D. Michaelides and D. Wilkinson, eds., *Excavations at Otranto*, vol. 1 (1992).

ounce (Latin *uncia*) One-twelfth of a Roman pound, and the metrological basis for Late Roman *coinage. Fractions of an ounce were used as the basis for denominating both precious- and base-metal coinage in the Roman Empire; thus the *gold *solidus* was struck to 1/72 of a pound, while the copper *terunciani* weighed one-third of an ounce. RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*.
RIC V/1; V/2; VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.

Oxus, River (Amu Darya, Jayhun) River marking the traditional border between Iran and Turan (non-Iranian lands), mentioned by Strabo (XI, 7, 3–4; XI, 8, 8; XI, 11, 2–5) and *Ptolemy (VI, 9, 1–2; VI, 10, 1–2; VI, 11, 1–2; VI, 12, 1, 3). From its headwaters in the Pamirs, it flows north-west to the Aral Sea, dividing ancient *Tukharistan, *Bactria, and *Khorasan to the south from *Transoxiana and *Khwarezm to the north. The *Arabic name Jayhun refers to the biblical name Gihon. The lower course has shifted over time, possibly flowing into the Caspian Sea in antiquity. Arab geographers to give accounts include Ibn Khurdadhbih (135, 138–40), Ibn al-Faqih (385), Ibn Rusta (102–4), and al-*Muqaddasi (23, 252–9). MLD

EI 2, vol. 1 (1960) *s.n.* Āmū Daryā (B. Spuler).
EncIran I/9 *s.n.* Āmū Daryā, 996–7 (B. Spuler).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 433–45.
J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang. Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran* (1938).

Oxyrhynchus The *city of Oxyrhynchus (Gk. 'city of the sharp-nosed fish', and mod. al-Behnesa, in Middle *Egypt), known in *Coptic as Pemje, was located to the west of the main course of the *Nile, on the Bahr Yusuf (Canal of Joseph), at the point where an ancient trade route from the Bahariya Oasis reached the *Nile Valley. It is first attested under its Egyptian name of Per-Mejed in the 7th century BC serving as a regional or *nome capital, and the settlement continued to prosper in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The city arguably reached its apogee in the 6th century AD, by which point it was capital of the *province of *Arcadia and served as the seat of a *bishop who according to a calendar of 535/6 (P.Oxy. XI, 1357) performed a Christian *stational liturgy encompassing nearly 40 churches. The city survived both the *Persian invasion and the *Arab conquest in the 7th century, remaining an important centre for economic activity (especially *textile production) into the Mamluk period.

The ecclesiastical and monastic communities of Oxyrhynchus were strong and prosperous; the author of the **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (5) counted twelve churches and said that 'the very walls resound with the voices of monks'. In other ways the city would appear to have been broadly similar to other Late Antique provincial capitals of Egypt. It possessed, for example, the same types of public monument, including several public *baths and a *circus which seated *c.*13,000 people. The architectural remains are now fragmentary.

The city's main historical significance, however, lies not so much in the scale or splendour of its buildings, but rather in the huge number of literary and documentary *papyri that the ancient rubbish tips of the city have bequeathed to posterity. The papyrological deposits were first systematically excavated by the British classicists Grenfell and Hunt between 1897 and 1907. These and subsequent excavations included fragments of classical poetry by Pindar, Sappho, and Callimachus and of plays by Euripides, Sophocles, and Menander, early examples of both canonical and non-canonical Gospels (including a piece of the *Vetus Latina), a 3rd-century *hymn with musical notation (P.Oxy. XV, 1786), *letters, and theological writings.

At the same time, amongst the documentary papyri uncovered by Grenfell and Hunt were **libelli* from the *persecution of *Decius, documents giving details of the city's *grain dole, and part of the private *estate *archive of the *Apion *family, which had come to acquire extensive landed interests in and around the city by the 6th century, and whose members also held high office in *Constantinople. The discovery of this archive arguably established the Oxyrhynchus papyri as the single most important source yet identified for the agrarian history of any part of the Late Roman or Early Byzantine world. As a result, they have been the focus of much study and debate, especially concerning the nature and role of aristocratic landownership in Late Antiquity. PS

CoptEnc 6 *s.n.* Oxyrhynchus Papyri, cols. 1857b–1858b (G. Poethke).

P. Parsons, *The City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (2007).

Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt.*

Sarris, *Economy and Society.*

T. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012).

L. H. Blumell and T. A. Wayment, eds., *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources* (2015).

Oxyrhynchus Hymn Fragmentary (five lines) *Greek Christian Trinitarian *hymn (P.Oxy. 1786) in anapaestic metre, dated to the late 3rd century; the earliest notated example of Christian music. Notated in *Greek alphabetic notation of the vocal type well attested elsewhere (e.g. the tables of *Alypius), both text and music are now considered broadly consistent with contemporary Greek musical practice, against an earlier view that it was modelled on Jewish or *Syriac hymnody. AJH

C. Cosgrove, *An Ancient Christian Hymn with Musical Notation, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1769* (2011).

M. L. West and E. Pöhlmann, eds., *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (2001), no. 59.

P

Pacatus Drepanius Poet from *Gaul, probably Agen (*Ausonius, *Praefatio*, 4.10–14 Green; *Technopaegnion*, 1; *Ludus Septem Sapientium*, 1–18; *Sidonius, *ep.* VIII, 11, 1–2). His two surviving texts are the Christian poem *De Cereo Paschali* and a prose *panegyric to *Theodosius I (*PanLat* II (XII) of AD 389), delivered after the emperor's victory over the *usurper *Magnus Maximus. Pacatus may have been a professor of *rhetoric at *Bordeaux. He may also have been the editor of the *XII *Panegyrici Latini*. *Symmachus wrote him three extant *letters (*epp.* VIII, 12; IX, 61 and 64). He was *Proconsul of *Africa in 390 (*CTh* IX, 2, 4) and *Comes Rei Privatae to Theodosius in 393 (*CTh* IX, 42, 13), a post he would have held in *Constantinople. RDR

PLRE I, Drepanius.

Panegyric, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, in Rodgers and Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 647–74 (with ET, introd., and notes, 437–516).

De Cereo Paschali, ed. (annotated with FT) in the general study, A.-M Turcan-Verkerk, *Un poète latin chrétien redécouvert: Latinius Pacatus Drepanius, panégyriste de Théodose* (2003).

R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (1906).

R. D. Rees, 'Pacatus the Poet Doing Plinian Prose', *Arethusa* 46 (2013), 241–59.

Pachomius (*c.*292–346) One of the pioneers of Christian *monasticism. Pachomius was brought up as a *pagan, but was converted to Christianity after being discharged from the Roman *army in 313. He became a monk around 316 and was an apprentice for seven years under an anchorite named Palamon. Pachomius eventually settled in *Tabennese in Upper *Egypt and, between 330 and 346, gradually organized and governed a confederation of huge *monasteries, known as the *Koinonia* (Gk. for 'fellowship'). He also composed the first known set of monastic rules. He is sometimes described as the 'founder of coenobitic monasticism'; this now seems imprecise given that there is evidence for sizeable *Meletian monastic confederations somewhat prior to those of Pachomius. Pachomius' career was celebrated in a series of biographies composed in the 390s and preserved both in *Greek and in dialects of *Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic). Scholars have also discovered *letters and catecheses attributed to Pachomius and his immediate successors, Theodore and *Horsiesios. JWH

Rules (*CPG* 2353):

ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana latina: règle et épîtres de s. Pachôme. Texte latine de s. Jerôme* (1932).

Letters, Instructions (*CPG* 2354–6):

ed. L.-T. Lefort (with FT), *Œuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples* (CSCO 159–60, Scr. copt. 30–7; 1956).

Lives (*BHG* 1396–401, *BHO* 824–9):

ed. F. Halkin (annotated), *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* (SubsHag 19, 1932).

ed. L.-T. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Sahidice Scriptae*, CSCO 99–100; Scr. copt. ser. 3, t. 8 [= t. 9–10]; 1933–4).

ed. L.-T. Lefort (with LT), *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Bohairice Scriptae* (CSCO 89 and 107, Scr. copt ser. 3, t. 7 [= t. 7, 11], 1953).

ET A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia: The Lives, Rules, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius* (CSS 45–7, 1980).

D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (2006).

J. E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (1999).

Harmless, *Desert Christians*.

P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth Century Egypt* (rev. edn., 1999).

Pacianus (d. 379/93) *Bishop of Barcelona. Three *letters to the *Novatianist Sympronianus survive, also two addresses on penitents and *baptism (*CPL* 561–3). *Jerome dedicated his *De Viris Illustribus* to Pacianus' son, the *Praefectus Praetorio, Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, who wrote a (lost) history (132, cf. 106). OPN

ed. L. Rubio Fernandez (1958).

ET C. L. Hanson, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 3 (FC 99, 1999).

pack animals These included *camels, donkeys, and mules, and occasionally *horses. The absence of *roads,

or their poor condition, made them necessary. Linking animals in caravans increased freight capacity and security. Donkey and mule caravans were commonly used to move goods around *Egypt, the Levant, and *Mesopotamia and are noted frequently in the rabbinic literature (*Babylonian Talmud, Baba Mesi'a*, 7.1). Donkey caravans could move about 25 km (15 miles) in a ten-hour day, while camel caravans, also commonplace throughout the Late Antique East and North *Africa, could shift heavier burdens up to 40 km (25 miles) in the same time. The ubiquity of pack animals throughout the East means we should give no credence to the theory that their use led to alterations in the form of the classical *city (Kennedy). MD

C. Adams, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt: A Study of Economics and Administration in a Roman Province* (2007).

H. Kennedy, 'From Polis to Medina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past & Present* 106 (1985), 3–27.

Pactus* and *Lex Alamannorum The *Pactus Alamannorum* is a fragmentarily preserved law code of the earlier 7th century. The *Lex Alamannorum* is more elaborate by comparison, and deals with the affairs of the dukes and the Church, as well as with common law. Recently, however, it has been argued that the *Lex* is a forgery, compiled at the *Monastery of Reichenau during the 740s. HF

ed. (with GT) C. Schott, *Lex Alamannorum. Faksimile—Text—Übersetzung—Kommentar zum Faksimile aus der Wandalgarius-Handschrift, Codex Sangallensis 731* (1993).

ET T. J. Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians* (1977), 47–58, 61–105.

C. Schott, 'Lex und Skriptorium—eine Studie zu den süddeutschen Stammesrechten', in G. Dilcher and E.-M. Distler, eds., *Leges—Gentes—Regna. Zur Rolle von germanischen Rechtsgewohnheiten und lateinischer Schriftradition bei der Ausbildung der frühmittelalterlichen Rechtskultur* (2006), 257–90.

Pactus Legis Salicae *See* LEX SALICA.

paedagogiani Palace functionaries (not necessarily *eunuchs) under the *Castrensis Sacri Palatii (*Not. Dig.* 17, 3 [*or.*]), probably pages or general servants organized in *paedagogia*. *Valentinian I is alleged to have ordered a *paedagogus* to be beaten to death for having lost control of a *hound used for *hunting (*Ammianus, XXIX, 3, 3). CMK

Delmaire, *Institutions*, 162.

Dunlap, *Grand Chamberlain*, 211.

Paese and Thecla, Ss. Brother and sister from Pousire near Shmun (*Egypt), venerated as having been *martyrs of the Great *Persecution at the hands of Eutychianus, alleged *Dux of the Thebaid, on 8 Choiak; their one complete surviving martyr *passion is attributed to *Julius of Aqfahs. According to this legendary tale, the siblings came from an affluent *family, Paese being a large landowner, Thecla a rich *widow with a small son. They cared for imprisoned Christians and travelled to *Alexandria where they witnessed trials and tortures of Christian martyrs and were themselves tried by Armenius, a frequently occurring villain in Coptic *martyr passions; eventually being handed over themselves to Eutychianus for execution. GS

CoptEnc vol. 6 *s.nn.* Paese and Tecla, Saints, col. 1865 (T. Orlandi).

Passio: ed. (with ET) Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms.*

paganism A widely understood term used to describe collectively the full varied range of Graeco-Roman religion outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The construction of paganism as a unified and monolithic religious opponent was in part the polemical creation of Late Antique Christians. It is therefore necessary to recognize that the terms 'pagan' and 'paganism' are shorthand for a considerable variety of cults, beliefs, and ritual practices, many of them unconnected with each other.

Terminology

The term 'pagan' entered the English language in the late Middle Ages, replacing the earlier Middle English 'paynem'. Both derive from late *Latin *paganus*. This was an ancient label which Christians applied collectively to adherents of a wide variety of polytheistic and henotheistic religions and philosophical cults, whose common characteristic was simply that they were not Christian or Jewish. In secular parlance, 'paganus' denoted a non-adept individual excluded from professional practice, and had an association with the rustic ('country bumpkin', American 'hick'); its use as a religious label was thus both pejorative and polemical. Christians also applied other terms such as 'Gentile' (*ethnikos* in Greek) to their opponents; anti-pagan tracts are sometimes entitled *Adversus Gentes*. Pagans understandably preferred other terms of self-description, with the *Emperor *Julian adopting 'Hellenism' and 'Hellene' as labels for his revived 'neo-pagan' religion and its adherents; Christian contemporaries reacted angrily to this appropriation of broad terms of language and culture (*Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Oration*, IV, 5, 79). Pagans and Christians alike stigmatized each other as atheists, those without their god(s).

Polytheism and monotheism

Rome had a long history of incorporating the cults of newly conquered peoples into its religious framework and many pagans in Late Antiquity put their trust in or

worshipped multiple gods, whether Olympian, chthonic, extra-Roman, or other. However, this pantheon was also relatively fixed by Late Antiquity, and new cults thus often incorporated elements familiar from the cults of established gods; the promotion of the cult of the *Sun by the Emperor *Aurelian thus recalled Apollo. Late antique pagans could choose to favour particular gods, or to practise different cults in different settings, whether the *lares* and *penates* of the domestic sphere or the Olympians who were central to civic religious observance, or gods such as *Mithras or *Isis who offered a more personal protection. Civic polytheism was intended to placate the gods and also to promote concord and a balance of power between them, the *pax deorum*; *Homer's *Iliad* describes what happens when gods get angry with each other.

Although many pagans subscribed to a polytheistic world-view, it was also possible to cultivate the observance of one god above others, and some scholars have characterized Late Antiquity as a period of monotheistic preoccupation which in part enabled the Abrahamic faiths to flourish. Some pagans adopted the henotheistic view that the multiple gods worshipped by humans were in fact manifestations of a single supreme deity. Most Graeco-Roman philosophical traditions were firmly grounded in a view of the cosmos which assumed the existence of gods, a supreme god, or a disembodied divine mind or reason, and in Late Antiquity some philosophical traditions developed rich theological dimensions and sets of ritual practices. *Neoplatonists built on Platonic cosmology to construct an account of the human soul as alienated from the divine, and *philosophers such as *Plotinus, *Porphyry, and *Iamblichus refined and promulgated techniques for facilitating the ascent of the soul to reunion with the divine. They differed among themselves as to the relative efficacy of mental contemplative exercises, and of ritual practices such as purificatory *asceticism, *sacrifice, and *theurgy. From the point of view of their Christian opponents, pagans were defined and unified by their failure to acknowledge the Christian God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Resurrection; and by their over-investment in sacrifice, *temples, and statues of divine beings (themselves redefined as demonic idols).

Paganism and politics

The choice of emperors to associate themselves with particular gods had a long history. It was further affirmed under the *Tetrarchy when *Diocletian was associated with Jupiter, *Maximian with Hercules, and their *Caesars with a variety of other gods, and individual emperors were deemed to have the same effect on their surroundings as their divine *patrons. The worship and honouring of emperors as the highest of men and the lowest of gods was also an established part of Roman political and religious culture, and acknowledged that political power was in some sense a force of Nature. However, the ancient connections between the health of the Roman Empire, the welfare of its rulers, and the peace or happiness of the gods assumed a new urgency in the period from the mid-3rd to the early 4th century, when Roman emperors from *Decius to Diocletian commanded, under severe penalty, that their citizens sacrifice to the gods for their health. This demand was deemed by Christians to be *persecution, and those who refused to sacrifice were variously sent into *exile or killed as *martyrs, until persecution was relaxed by emperors (notably by *Gallienus in 260, briefly by *Galerius on his deathbed in 311, and by the *Letter of *Licinius in 313).

The sense, which had its roots deep in normal *city paganism, that contemporary misfortunes could be connected to the anger of neglected gods was revived by pagans in the 4th century, in the face of growing Christianization. The Emperor Julian's attempt (361–3) to restore paganism, indeed to renew it in a consolidated institutional and practical form which borrowed from the example of the Christian Church, was as short-lived as his reign. However, after his death pagans continued to campaign on behalf of pagan cult, for public funding for priesthoods, and for the return of the *Altar of Victory to the Roman *Senate House—their argument being that the benefits which flowed from pagan worship were public prosperity and victory, so that the public cult should be sustained from its traditional public endowments.

Some kinds of pagan pursuits had always been somewhat marginal and murky. In particular, divination and magical practices had always operated on the margins of what was tolerable in the Roman world. The Christianization of the Empire in the 4th century saw the entrenchment of such critiques, based in particular on the association of such practices with the work of *demons. Divination of the future had a dubious reputation given the dangerous desire of some practitioners to forecast the futures of emperors, and in a series of high-profile trials at *Rome and *Antioch in the 370s, individuals were prosecuted on the intertwined grounds of *magic and *treason.

The end of paganism

There is considerable debate about what happened to paganism in the Later Roman Empire. According to some, pagan culture never decisively ended. There is evidence for the persistence of paganism, especially in rural areas, well into *Justinian I's reign. From the 4th century onwards, many elements of pagan culture (broadly conceived) were adopted into and transformed by Christian usage, from the incorporation of practices like incubation and oracular enquiry into the cult of saints to the employment of classical literary forms. It

was sometimes possible for educated men to pursue ecclesiastical careers with minimal adjustments to their philosophical beliefs, as in the case of the Neoplatonist *Synesius of *Cyrene, who continued to maintain serious reservations about central items of Christian doctrine after his elevation to episcopal orders. It is also unclear whether paganism was afflicted by violent attacks and forcible conversions in Late Antiquity, or whether it rather slid of its own accord into a decline visible in the abandonment of cult and temples. Literary and archaeological evidence for both are patchy, and the former unreliably partisan. The truth may lie somewhere between the two.

There is plenty of evidence for logistical and material attacks on the apparatus of pagan cult. From *Constantine I onwards, Christian emperors made repeated legislative attempts to ban sacrifice and close temples. *Gratian confiscated the funding of pagan sacrifices and ceremonies, abolished the exemption of religious officials from compulsory public duties, and refused to replace the Altar of Victory in the Roman Senate House. The hostility of many Christian clerics and ascetics, not to speak of the laity, was exercised against pagan temples and worshippers in incidents such as the destruction of the *Serapeum at *Alexandria in 390. However, in some accounts pagans are held responsible for their own abandonment of sacrifices and temples (Julian, *Misopogon*). Archaeological evidence can testify to the abandonment of sanctuaries, and *inscriptions to the passive neglect of temples, but both phenomena are notoriously hard to identify and date.

SJL-R; OPN

P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede, eds., *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (2002).

T. D. Barnes, *From Eusebius to Augustine* (1994), x–xi (on the term 'pagan').

G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (1990).

Cameron, *Pagans.*

P. Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens: la disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin a celui de Justinien*, tr. B. A. Archer (1990).

H. Drivjers, 'The Persistence of Pagan Cults and Practices in Christian Syria', in *East of Antioch: Studies in Early Syriac Christianity* (1984), 35–43.

J. Finamore, *Mystery Cults in Late Antiquity* (1995).

G. Fowden, 'Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire AD 320–435', *JTS* 29 NS (1978), 53–78.

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M. Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures c. 360–430* (2007).

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A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (1963).

E. Sauer, *The Archaeology of Religious Hatred in the Roman and Early Medieval World* (2003).

F. Trombley, 'Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece', *HTR* 78 (1985), 327–52.

F. Trombley, *Hellenistic Religion and Christianization c.370–529*, 2 vols. (1993–4).

paganism, Celtic The diverse group of peoples commonly known as the Celts shared a common inheritance that affected such aspects of society as hierarchical structure and art, and before their *conversion to Christianity they engaged in generically similar polytheistic religious practices. They transmitted their traditions and beliefs orally, so ancient literary evidence for their religion comes entirely from classical authors (mostly of the Roman period), whose writings must be read in light of their attitudes towards people they regarded as geographically marginal. Archaeological evidence is also important, and the presence and excavation of sacred sites, as well as the testimony of memorial inscriptions and images from Celtic regions provide insight into the number of deities worshipped. Extended written sources from Celtic regions only emerge in the Christian period, and while not contemporary, they offer an appreciation of the workings and mythology of pre-Christian worship.

The written sources show that Celtic society and religion was governed by a structured hierarchical order. According to classical writers, the religious orders were divided into three classes: *druids, bards, and *vates*. This hierarchy is also attested in later *Irish vernacular writings which highlight the cognate role of the druid and the *filid* (bardic class). Julius Caesar writes that the druid was the most important of these grades and central to all things sacred. A learned class, they were the custodians and purveyors of religious knowledge (e.g. Caesar says the druids taught the people about their common descent from Dis Pater), fulfilled the role of judge, and practised *divination. They were also pivotal in the observance of sacrificial ceremonies.

Of the classical writers, Julius Caesar is the most informative about the gods of the Celts. As a Roman, he applies to these deities the technique of *interpretatio Romana*. For instance, he identifies the most popular Celtic deity, Lug or Lugus, as the Roman god Mercury.

Inscriptions found in Celtic regions also point to the number of deities worshipped and are often the only record for their local names. Indeed, of the approximately 400 gods recorded, 300 names appear only once. Nonetheless, many of these deities share the same origin and are comparable in function rather than in name. Common aspects of Celtic paganism include the worship of nature and the landscape, the tendency to venerate certain deities as part of a triad (especially goddesses), and a proclivity for semi-zoomorphic gods.

By the 7th century the Celtic regions were predominantly Christian. Aspects of this transformation remain elusive, but elements of pagan culture, such as worship at holy wells, were adapted by the new religion, while others, such as the role and status of the druid, were discouraged and stamped out. ED

M. Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids: Story of an Ancient Priesthood* (2010).

Koch, *Celtic Culture*, vol. 4, 1488–90 *s.v.* religious beliefs; ancient Celtic.

M. Green, *The Gods of the Celts* (1986).

P. MacCana, *Celtic Mythology* (1983).

M. Dillon, ed., *Irish Sagas* (1959; repr. 1997).

paganism, Germanic A vast literature on this matter has been generated since the 19th century, but it is unlikely that anything like a common Germanic paganism ever existed. Older scholarship was inclined to build upon the assumption that Germanic culture and beliefs enjoyed temporal and spatial continuity. This made it possible to link, for instance, Tacitus' observations on the religion of the Germani with Icelandic sagas of the 13th century. An additional problem arises from the fact that there are nearly no written sources about Germanic paganism by a Germanic pagan author; all written information comes from Roman, Greek, or Christian authors, and writers such as *Bede were inclined to assimilate Germanic realities to classical and biblical phenomena familiar to them from reading. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the term 'paganism' embraces a great variety of different religious phenomena, which are not necessarily connected to each other.

Few Late Antique authors provide detailed information on religious practice among Germanic groups. *Agathias describes *Alaman worship of trees, rivers, and hills, and their sacrifices of *horses, *cattle, and other animals by beheading them (*Histories*, VII, 1). S. *Boniface famously set about felling a sacred oak in Hesse (*Willibald, *Life of S. Boniface*, 6). Other authors record the presence of Germanic gods in the genealogies of contemporary royal families; Bede, for instance, mentions that 'Uoden' was an ancestor of both *Hengest and Horsa and many other royal families (*HE* I, 15).

The names of the days of the week in Germanic languages are derived from the names of obviously important gods: Tiw/Tyr (Tuesday), Woden (Wednesday), Thor (Thursday), and Freya/Frige (Friday). Since the Germanic day names are translations from *Latin, Germanic gods may be associated with parallel divinities in the Roman pantheon, so that Woden/Odin recalls Mercury, because *dies Mercurii* = Wednesday = Old Norse *Oðinsdagr*. The full complement of Germanic gods is attested only in some Germanic areas, but never in all; from the 7th century onwards, for example, Woden is known among western continental Germans and *Anglo-Saxons, but not in Scandinavia, where his functions are performed by Odin.

Archaeological sources for Germanic paganism are often ambiguous. It is not clear, for example, whether or not the great halls excavated in some *Migration Period settlements in Scandinavia such as *Gudme (Funen, Denmark) actually served for ritual assemblies, as some scholars assume. In southern Scandinavia and northern Germany, bog offerings, especially *weapon deposits, are quite common. However, apart from the problematic site of *Oberdorla (Thuringia, Germany), there is a lack of similar sites with repeated offerings verified by archaeology in other parts of the Germanic sphere.

According to some scholars, a few artefact types do depict Germanic gods or mythological scenes, in particular some types of *gold *bracteates (which are found mainly in Scandinavia, much less frequently in England and Germany), and the *gold foil figures (Danish *Guldgubber*), which are found frequently in Denmark, especially on Bornholm. Some written sources mention images of gods, such as the *idola* which Bede says were destroyed by the pagan priest Coifi at the conversion of King *Edwin in Northumbria (*HE* II, 13). It is not clear, however, what these might have looked like, or if the wooden idols found in northern Germany and Scandinavia really depict gods. Furthermore, many of these wooden idols are too old to be 'Germanic', as they date from the Pre-Roman Iron Age or even the Bronze Age.

Several sources also mention *temples among Germanic peoples; the *idola* of Bede, *HE* II, 13, were at a *fanum* near *York. No such temple, however, has been verified archaeologically. HF

K. Dowden, *European Paganism: The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (2000).

H. Beck, D. Ellmers, and K. Schier, eds., *Germanische Religionsgeschichte. Quellen und Quellenprobleme* (RGA Ergänzungsbd. 5, 1992).

W. van der Sanden and T. Capelle, eds., *Götter, Götzen, Holzmenschen* (2002).

W. Heizmann and M. Axboe, eds., *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Auswertung und Neufunde* (RGA Erganzungsbd. 40, 2011).

B. Maier, *Die Religion der Germanen. Götter, Mythen, Weltbild* (2003).

M. Carver, A. Sanmark, and S. Semple, eds., *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited* (2010).
R. Simek, *Götter und Kulte der Germanen* (rev. 3rd edn., 2009).
R. Simek, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, tr. A. Hall (1993).
D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (1992).
S. Church, 'Paganism in Conversion Age Anglo Saxon England: The Evidence of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* Reconsidered', *History* 93/310 (2008), 162–80.

Paǧnik Öreni (north of Keban, Elâzıǧ Vilayet, Turkey) Late Roman fortress at or near ancient Dascusa, located on the left bank of the Kara Su, north of the confluence of the two branches of the Euphrates, now lying under the Keban Lake. It was constructed probably late in the reign of *Constantius II, largely from *spolia including material from the 1st century AD, later rebuilt and occupied into the early 5th cenury. The defences were polygonal, followed the contours of the hill, and had eleven towers. The site was excavated in 1972–4 in advance of its flooding. SGB; OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 93–4.
R. P. Harper, 'Two Excavations on the Euphrates Frontier 1968–74: Pagnik Öreni (Eastern Turkey 1968–71 and Dibsi Faraj (Northern Syria 1972–74', in D. Haupt and H. G. Horn, eds., *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, II, Vorträge des 10, internationalen Limeskongresses* 10 (1977), 453–60.
R. P. Harper, 'Paǧnik Öreni Roman Fort, 1971' *AnatSt* 22 (1972), 27–28.

***pagus* and pagarch** The *pagus* was an administrative unit within the Roman Empire and the pagarch was the official responsible for tax collection within it. From the *Tetrarchy onwards a *pagus* denoted the smallest administrative unit within a *province. Pagarchy indicates both the office and the district under the control of a pagarch, who collected taxes, including from *villages, hamlets, and minor settlements. The office was a liturgical patrimonial burden, an inherited duty (Lat. *munus*), and could be performed by individuals or collegially. Pagarchs were personally responsible to the state. In the 6th century, they came mainly from large landowning families, such as the *Apions in *Egypt, and often performed their duties through local representatives, being themselves resident in *Constantinople or elsewhere. Women holding the pagarchy through representatives are attested. In Egypt, where the *pagi* corresponded roughly with the *nomes, pagarchs are attested from the late 5th century to after the *Arab conquest. RM

CoptEnc 6 *s.v.* Pagarch, 1871a–1872a (B. Verbeeck).
J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (Bilans de recherche 4, 2008).
R. Mazza, 'Ricerche sul pagarca nell'Egitto tardoantico e bizantino', *Aegyptus* 75 (1995), 169–242.

Pahlavi *See* PERSIAN LANGUAGES.

paideia *See* EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS, GREEK.

Paikuli Pass on the road between Baghdad and Kurdestan. At its southern access is the ruin of a *Sasanian square tower faced with stone blocks, with a *bilingual *inscription in Middle *Persian and Parthian on opposite sides, erected to celebrate and explain the accession to the throne of *Narseh (r. 293–303), the youngest son of *Shapur I (r. 242–72) after the removal of Narseh's grand-nephew *Bahram (Wahram) III (r. 293), son of *Bahram II (r. 276–93). The location was probably chosen as the place where Narseh, at the time viceroy of *Armenia, met the *Sasanian dignitaries to accept the throne. Caesar and the Romans are mentioned among the congratulants. The monument was first described by E. Herzfeld, who also provided the first edition of the inscriptions carved on the blocks, many of them now missing. Herzfeld later found several more blocks, and the inscription on them was re-edited by H. Humbach and P. O. Skjærvø. POS

EncIran XII/3 (2003) *s.v.* Herzfeld, Ernst, iv. Herzfeld and the Paikuli Inscription, 298–300 (P. O. Skjærvø).
H. Humbach and P. O. Skjærvø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 3 parts (1978–83).

palaces, Arab Elite residences in the *Arabian Peninsula and the Syrian Desert long pre-date the rise of *Islam. Archaeologically extant examples from pre-Islamic Late Antiquity include the palace and other large residences of the *Kinda at their centre of *Qaryat al-Faw on the north-western edge of the Empty Quarter, and palaces at Tamna', the capital of Qataban in south *Arabia. The *Ghassanid and Lakhimid allies of the Romans and Persians respectively also had palatial residences on the fringes of the Syrian Desert. The *Nasrid leadership of the Lakhimid federation resided at al-*Hira, near *Kufa in Iraq. The Ghassanids were more peripatetic, with a number of permanent centres in the Roman *province of *Arabia. Ghassanid-era palatial architecture is extant at al-Rusafa (*Sergiopolis) and *Qasr ibn Wardan, among other locations.

With the coming of Islam, the Arabian conquerors of Roman and Persian territories established new administrative and government centres in the conquered territories. Traces of the foundations of palaces have been excavated at Kufa and *Wasit in Iraq. *Amman and *Jerusalem are examples in *Umayyad *Syria of existing urban centres that were adopted by the conquerors, and archaeological traces of Umayyad palaces are extant there. In Amman, the ancient acropolis was made into a palace around 720 and is thought to have remained the regional administrative centre until the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 750. In Jerusalem, al-*Walid I (705–15)

constructed a terraced palace complex to house himself and his entourage to the south of the al-Aqsa Mosque and the *Dome of the Rock. As with the residence in Amman, this was also intended to act as an administrative building, and the presence of a number of pillared courtyards and hypostyle halls suggests that it was used for meetings and housed a significant permanent bureaucracy. It was destroyed in an *earthquake in 749, so that much of the archaeological record was preserved beneath the destruction level. At al-*Rusafa in northern Syria, the remains of the Umayyad palace complex and associated buildings and settlements have been excavated adjacent to the old Roman and Ghassanid town. The development of al-Rusafa is particulary associated with the *Caliph *Hisham (r. 724–43), who made it one of his capitals.

Elsewhere, there are sites sometimes described as 'new towns' where new urban centres which included palatial residences and governmental buildings were constructed, either almost from scratch as at *'Anjar in the Beq'a Valley in modern Lebanon, or adjacent to existing settlements, as at al-*'Aqaba, on the Red Sea coast. The settlements at *Madinat al-Far in northern Syria, which is associated with the Umayyad commander *Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik (d. 738), and at *Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, associated with the Caliph Hisham (r. 724–43), are also both extensive enough to be considered 'new towns' by some scholars.

The Umayyad period of Islam (644 or 661–750) also witnessed extensive rural palace building by the Umayyads and their allies across the former Roman provinces in the Levant. These so-called 'desert castles' had diverse purposes, but the fact that many of the sites were first developed in the Umayyad period and then abandoned shortly afterwards indicates that the specific needs of the Syrian imperial elite prompted their construction. Many were associated with the peripatetic form of Umayyad rule. For example, *Huwwarin and al-Qaryatayn, both en route between *Damascus and *Palmyra, are associated with *Yazid I b. Mu'awiya (r. 680–3) and al-*Walid I (r. 705–15), respectively; al-Sinnabra (identified with Khirbat al-Karak), on the western shore of Lake Tiberias, was used by Mu'awiya (r. 661–80), Yazid I, *Marwan (684–5), and *'Abd al-Malik (685–705), and perhaps others, too. Some of these sites are particularly well known because of the extensive preservation of Umayyad-era palace decoration in carved stone, wall painting, *stucco, and *mosaic. *Qusayr 'Amra in Jordan,* Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jericho, and *Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in Syria are among the best-preserved and best-known examples, all three from the last decades of Umayyad rule. Qusayr 'Amra is famous for its wall paintings, the latter two sites for carved stone, stucco, and mosaic. More recent scholarship has also focused on the social, political, and economic functions of these sites, notably those with associated agricultural developments, some of which appear to be simply *hunting enclosures, but others of which were designed for profitable exploitation of the land.

Many of these Umayyad 'castles' used a square floor plan with only one monumental entry in a plan that later became common in *khan*s, both those used as way-stations on *trade routes and those in city souks. This was adapted from the Roman *castellum* plan and in several cases we know that the Umayyads annexed and renovated existing Roman or Ghassanid foundations for their use, as at *Qasr al-Hallabat and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi. Whilst this square layout with crenellations and perimeter towers became standard for Umayyad palace architecture, not all complexes followed the same rules. In Qusayr 'Amra, the 'palace' comprised only a *bathhouse with attached audience hall and only two auxiliary chambers off the main chamber.

There are also various examples of early Islamic-period elite residences in the towns and countryside of the conquered lands that are less closely associated with the Umayyads themselves. At *Humayma, in modern Jordan, the residence of the *Abbasid family has been discovered and excavated. More modest aristocratic dwellings that may date from before or after the *Arab conquest, or were perhaps in use across the period, can be seen at locations such as Umm al-Jimal in north Jordan. AM; EL

I. Arce, 'Romans, Ghassanids and Umayyads and the Transformation of the *Limes Arabicus*', in G. Vannini and M. Nucciotti, eds., *La Transgiordiana nei secoli xii-xiii e le 'frontiere' dell Mediterraneo medieval* (2012), 55–74.

A. R. Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau* (1982).

K. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (rev. edn., J. Allan, 1989).

G. Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (2004).

D. Genequand, *Les Établissements des élites Omeyyades en Palmyrène at au Proche-Orient* (2012).

R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* (rev. edn., 2000).

W. Seipel, ed., *Jemen. Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba': eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* (1998).

A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria* (2007).

palaces, Persian (MP *dar, šāhīgān*) The palace architecture of the *Sasanian dynasty developed from late Parthian palatial traditions. As seen at the Parthian palace of Assur, early Sasanian palatial façades were decorated with surface ornament such as engaged columns and blind *windows. Carved *stucco and, in the late period, *mosaic decorated the interiors. Palaces shared their architectural vocabulary with *fire temples and regularly featured a large barrel-vaulted **ayvan* and domed central chamber.

*Ardashir I's two palaces in *Firuzabad are the best-preserved Sasanian palaces and both of them are built with rough stone and gypsum mortar decorated with stucco. The earliest palace, the Qal'a-ye Dokhtar, consists of a domed, central hall preceded by a barrel-vaulted *ayvan*. Its square central chamber supports a *dome on squinches, and communicates with three rooms on the north, east, and west. In Ardashir I's Great Palace, an *ayvan* leads to a square domed chamber, flanked on either side by domed chambers of similar size. Both palaces integrate an upper storey with private chambers. Windows allowed the ruler to view proceedings in the public spaces below from the upper storey.

The massive 6th-century palace at *Ctesiphon, the *Taq-e Kesra, preserves similar forms, though carried out on a colossal scale in baked brick. At *Qasr-e Shirin and Kangavar, two late Sasanian palaces associated with *Khosrow II, the palatial structures are placed on platforms accessible by Achaemenid-inspired, addorsed stairways. Persian palatial architecture deeply influenced *mosques and palaces in the Islamic period.

MPC

EncIran (2008) *s.v.* palace architecture (D. Huff).

M.-I. Hoffmann, 'Sasanidische Palastarchitektur' (Ph.D. thesis, Munich, 2008).

D. Huff, 'Traditionen iranischer Palastarchitektur in vorislamischer und islamischer Zeit', in B. Finster, C. Fragner, and H. Hafenrichter, eds., *Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst. Bamberger Symposium vom 26.6. –28.6.1992* (Beiruter Texte und Studien 61, 1999), 141–60.

palaces, Roman and post-Roman The *Latin word *Palatium denoted the *emperor's *court as well as his place of residence. For that sense, *see* ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN CENTRAL CIVIL.

The Tetrarchy and Maxentius

From the early 3rd century until the death of *Theodosius I (395), emperors were regularly on the move. Under the *Tetrarchy a series of *cities situated close to *frontiers was provided with residences appropriate, to a lesser or greater extent, to the imperial dignity. These stretched from *York, *Trier, and *Arles north of the Alps, through *Milan and northern *Italy to *Aquileia, and then by way of the *Via Militaris through the north *Balkans (e.g. *Sirmium, *Serdica, and *Niš), or along the *Via Egnatia through *Thessalonica, to *Nicomedia of *Bithynia and *Antioch in *Syria. The Tetrarchs also built residences for themselves in their native *Balkans, *Diocletian's retirement home at *Split, *Galerius' eventual burial place at *Gamzigrad, and *Šarkamen, which has been associated with *Maximinus Daza. During the years he ruled (perforce) from *Rome (306–12), *Maxentius also built a residence, together with a *circus and mausoleum, south of the city on the Via Appia.

In the urban palaces, the *circus is the feature that formed the pivot between people and government. The palace at Thessalonica is in many ways the most thoroughly studied of those in these imperial cities. It was laid out alongside the existing city and the circus could be entered directly from the city by the people and directly from the palace by the emperor and his entourage. Maxentius similarly sited his villa alongside his circus; the model was the Circus Maximus juxtaposed to the imperial residence on the Palatine Hill in Rome. As well as monuments celebrating imperial glory, such as the *Arch of *Galerius at Thessalonica, and audience halls with imposing *façades, such as the Trier Basilica, such cities also often boasted an imperial mausoleum.

Constantinople

When *Constantine I came to control the eastern half of the Empire in 324 and founded *Constantinople, he clearly had the Tetrarchic capitals in mind. There are obvious differences; the area he added to the small city of Byzantium is very many times larger than the addition made to cities like Thessalonica. Further, Byzantium was not possessed of a broad fertile plain, and it was necessary to feed Constantinople on tax *grain from *Egypt (thereby giving the *emperor complete control of the *food supply).

But there are similarities in the layout. There are great processional routes, particularly that leading from the *Hebdomon through the Forum of Constantine, down the Mese to the *Senate House, the *Great Palace, and (after its consecration in 360) the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. The Church of the *Holy Apostles formed the imperial mausoleum, albeit a mausoleum equipped for Christian *prayer. The Great Palace was situated next to the circus, so that the emperor could climb the Cochlias Stair to enter the imperial box without having to go outside into the street. The Chalke Gate with the image of the Saviour over it, the principal entrance from the Augustaeum where the *Senate House stood, provided a fine frame for ceremonial appearances. Reimagining the layout of the peristlyle courts and halls of the palace itself, a working administrative network of buildings as well as a residence, presents large problems; the relevant texts come mainly from the Middle Byzantine period and the archaeology is difficult to date.

The Great Palace was not the only imperial residence in the Constantinople area, especially once the court came to rest on the shores of the *Bosporus at the end of the 4th century. On the road along the *Marmara shore, at the *Hebdomon, the site of the ceremonial parade ground where imperial *accessions often occurred, was the palace of the Magnaura, and later also that of

Jucundianae or Secundianae, built by *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed*. I, 11, 16). In 469, following a fire in the city, *Leo I built on the European shore of the Bosporus an imperial palace with a circus and a *harbour named after *S. Mamas at *Sykae (mod. Dolmabahçe) across the Golden Horn from the city.

On the Asiatic shore, the palace of *Rufinianae near *Chalcedon became imperial property when *Rufinus, *Praefectus Praetorio (392–5) was disgraced and died; being near a *monastery, it was a favourite of the sisters of *Theodosius II, and Justinian gave it to *Belisarius. Nearby at *Chalcedon, a small palace of Theodosius II was replaced by a larger one in the 7th century. Further up the Bosporus, a palace was turned into the Monastery of *Metanoia by the *Empress *Theodora to provide for reformed *prostitutes. Theodora's favourite place to escape the summer heat in the city, though, was the palace of *Hieria with its own harbour, on a promontory south of Chalcedon (*Aed*. I, 11, 16–22); *Heraclius liked it too. In 568, *Justin II built the Sophiane for his powerful empress *Sophia in the suburb where he had lived before he became emperor; he also built a palace on one of the Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmara.

The West

The palace at *Milan, the principal imperial residence in the West from *Valentinian II to *Honorius, has proved difficult to locate. When Honorius moved to *Ravenna for safety in 402 he seems to have expanded a peristyle *villa on the south-east side of the city to accommodate himself and his administration, and to have expanded the city walls to surround and protect it. Theoderic the *Ostrogoth inherited the palace at Ravenna, and the *mosaic depicting the Palatium in the church known as S. Apollinare Nuovo, his palace church, shows that the palace was endowed with a fine façade, which, so *Agnellus notes, was called Ad Calchi, like that at Constantinople. Theoderic was probably responsible for a triclinium added to the palace. He built his own substantial mausoleum and a further palace on an offshore island. The Ravenna palace remained a centre of power until the exarchate of *Ravenna ended in 751.

The palace of *Attila was not in one of the cities he had conquered, but was a series of well-crafted wooden buildings of some luxury set in a courtyard surrounded by a high wall. *Priscus, who accompanied a Roman delegation visiting the *Hun in 449, was impressed by the way Attila settled disputes standing before the gate of his residence, and by the ceremoniousness of his feasts (frs. 11, 2 and 13, 1 Blockley = 8 Müller *FHG*). The *Vandals in *Africa inherited the palace of the *Proconsul of Africa at *Carthage. The *Visigoths, when in *Gaul, established themselves at *Toulouse; *Sidonius Apollinaris describes Theoderic the Visigoth sitting in state behind a *curtain there (*ep*. I, 2). In *Spain they resided at Barcino (*Barcelona), and finally, after they had left Gaul, at Toletum (*Toledo), though also they had residences in other cities.

The urban and rural residences of the *Merovingians are equally difficult to visualize. A story told by *Gregory of *Tours suggests that even an urban palace such as that at *Metz was surrounded by a park large enough for *hunting (*HF* VIII, 36). The extent to which such palaces were on the sites of Roman *governors' residences is problematic. The typical rural *villa regia* seem to have been placed, like the palace of Berny-Rivière on the Aisne near *Soissons, on a slope near a river, or near a Roman *road, rather than, say, reoccupying a pre-Roman hillfort site; the *villa regia* clearly accommodated many functions, from episcopal *councils to judicial executions. The residences of *Anglo-Saxon kings, if we may judge from the excavated example at *Yeavering, had more in common with the mead-hall of **Beowulf* than with the stately *ceremony of Justinian's Constantinople. OPN

S. Ćurčic, 'Late Antique Palaces, the Meaning of their Urban Context', *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 67–90.

C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople* (1959).

Janin, *CPByz*, 106–53.

A. Augenti, 'The Palace of Theoderic at Ravenna: A New Analyisis of the Complex', in Lavan et al., *Housing*, 425–53.

R. Samson, *The Residences of Potentiores in Gaul and Germania in the Fifth to Mid-Ninth Centuries* (Glasgow doctoral thesis, 1991).

M. Featherstone, J.-M. Spieser, G. Tanman, and U. Wulf-Rheidt, eds., *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism* (2015).

Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia (Salutaris) *Provinces in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* as Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Salutaris (*or*. II, 9, 16 and 17; XLIII).

Palaestina Prima stretched from the northern *Negev northwards up the coast to Dora, and included Samaria, the bulk of Judaea, and southern Peraea east of the Jordan, with a *Consularis at its capital *Caesarea Maritima. Palaestina Secunda, under a *Praeses, incorporated the Jezreel Valley and Lower Galilee west of the Jordan, and to the east the Golan Heights (*Gaulanitis), the region of *Pella in the eastern Jordan Valley, and *Gadara south of the Yarmuk River, with its capital at *Scythopolis. Palaestina Tertia was known more commonly as Palaestina Salutaris until this name was superseded by Tertia in the 5th century; it covered the *Sinai Peninsula, the *Negev, and southern Transjordan up to the Wadi al-Hasa and later (between 451 and 453) the River Arnon/Wadi Mujib, under a Praeses at *Petra. Military authority in all three provinces was exercised

by the *Dux Palaestinae (*Not. Dig. or.* XXXIV). *Hierocles and *Justinian I list the same provinces and *governors except that Justinian lists the governor of Palaestina Secunda as a Consularis (*NovJust* VIII).

These arrangements dated from the later 4th century. The *Verona List of the early 4th century lists one province of Palaestina, along with two provinces called *Arabia. The more southerly of the latter (Arabia Petraea) became Palaestina Salutaris in 357/8 and was further divided by the time of the *Notitia*. PWMF

TIR: *Iudaea. Palaestina* (1994) (Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green).

J. Spilia, *The Reorganisation of Provincial Territories in Light of the Imperial Decision-Making Process: Late Roman Arabia and Tres Palaestinae as Case Studies* (2009).

W. D. Ward, *From Provincia Arabia to Palaestina Tertia: The Impact of Geography, Economy and Religion on Sedentary and Nomadic Communities in the Late Roman Province of Third Palestine* (2008).

Millar, *RNE* 374–86.

NEDC 213–15.

palatini (civil) Officials of the *Comitatus (the imperial *court). There were several important palatine ministries, each forming a distinctive branch of service. These included the **notarii* and **referendarii*, **silentiarii*, officials of the Sacra *Scrinia, and **agentes in rebus*. They also included staff in the **officium* of the *Comes Rei Privatae and that of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.

Civil *palatini* were required to be highly literate, and were therefore recruited from among those who had an *education in *rhetoric. Appointments to these posts were highly sought after by civic *aristocrats. Palatine careers could be lucrative, and senior *palatini* received high honours, if not in service at least when they retired and became **honorati*. Senatorial rank became a normal reward in the late 4th and early 5th centuries—at various dates across the different branches of the civil *administration. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 547–8, 572–86.

palatini (military) A category of crack military units in the *field army. The term is first attested in a law of 365 (*CTh* VIII, 1, 10), where *palatini* are differentiated from **comitatenses*. As the term implies, they were associated with the palace (**palatium*), albeit not in the sense of acting as guards. Rather, as the **Notitia Dignitatum* makes clear, *palatini* were under the command of the *Magistri Militum Praesentales—senior commanders 'in the imperial presence', whose forces were based near *Constantinople or in *Italy. All units of **auxilia* were assigned to this prestigious category, together with selected *legions and **vexillationes*. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 125–6.

***palatium* (Gk. *palation*)** Both an institution and a place (for architecture, *see* PALACES, ROMAN). Derived from the name of the Palatine Hill in *Rome, *palatium* came to denote any imperial residence. These proliferated under the mobile *emperors of the 3rd century. Some were simply lodgings (cf. *CTh* VII, 10, 1); the *Tetrarchy erected elaborate complexes in *cities near *frontiers. After emperors settled at the end of the 4th century, *Constantinople housed the principal palace in the East, and *Ravenna that in the West. *Palatium* also denoted the officials of the central *administration (**palatini*). JND

Jones, *LRE* 104, 572–86.

CAH XII (2005), 242–5, 249–52.

CAH XIV (2000), 136–42.

Palazzo Pignano Site of a *villa complex 29 km (18 miles) east of *Milan. Initial excavations in 1963 focused on a nearby parish church and expanded to the surrounding area. Subsequent excavations (1969–99) revealed a villa complex and adjacent rotunda-style chapel with *baptistery. The villa dates from the 4th century and was preceded by a 3rd-century rural settlement. The western sector (closest to the chapel) includes a number of circular, semicircular, and hexagonal rooms adorned with *mosaic floors and arranged around a massive octagonal peristyle. The portico of the peristyle was paved in *marble. Rooms of the eastern sector are more rectilinear, although this area includes a large *apsidal reception hall. A hypocaust system heated the villa in colder months. During the first half of the 5th century, the villa underwent modification, primarily involving the compartmentalization of certain spaces. Construction of the baptistery and chapel is contemporaneous with the 5th-century phase. MSB

G. Massari et al., 'La villa tardoromana di Palazzo Pignano (Cremona)', in G. Pontiroli, ed., *Cremona Romana: Atti del Congresso Storico-Archeologico per il 2200 Anno di Fondazione di Cremona* (1985), 185–259.

E. Roffia, 'Il complesso di Palazzo Pignano: la villa', in *Milano Capitale dell'Impero Romano 286–402 d.C.* (1990), 266–7.

Palestine Term deriving from the Assyrian term *Palashtu* denoting the southern coasts of the Levant inhabited by the Philistines, also known in biblical texts as the Land of the Philistines. The Roman *Emperor Hadrian renamed the *province *Palaestina after the defeat of the Jewish revolt in AD 135.

Under *Constantine I Palestine became an important destination for *pilgrimages with the building of shrines, *monasteries, and *hostels. The most important sites include the Holy Sepulchre in *Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity in *Bethlehem, the Eleona on the Mount of Olives, Gethsemane, and Bethany.

Population and settlement growth reached its peak in the early 6th century, and the stability and prosperity of the region was reflected in the quality of the church building and decoration. The area was populated by various religious communities: Christians, *Jews, *Samaritans, and in *Gaza into the 5th century, pagans. The Christian community gradually became dominant, and was represented by 50 *bishops at the church *councils of the 6th century. The main centres were Jerusalem and the metropolitan sees in *Caesarea, *Scythopolis (Beth Shean), and *Petra. During the 5th and 6th centuries, *paganism continued to recede as *temples were demolished, and urban centres expanded beyond former Roman limits. Imperial endowment played a crucial role: *Justinian I rebuilt the Church of the Nativity in *Bethlehem, founded the Nea Ecclesia in Jerusalem, and built the Catholicon of the Monastery on Mount *Sinai. An increasing number of *synagogues with *mosaic decoration were built, and several large suburban *villas have been discovered near *Caesarea and Ascalon. Numerous farmsteads and *villages were established, several cities and large settlements developed in the *Negev Desert, and monasteries flourished in the *Judaean Wilderness and in the southern *Sinai Peninsula.

The Persians captured Jerusalem and devastated Palestine in 614. The Romans recovered it, but the city then fell to the Arabs in 637. After the *Arab conquest, Palestine was divided into two military districts (**junds*). The Jund al-Urdun encompassed *Phoenicia Paralia and part of Palaestina Secunda, including the plain of Esdrelon and Mount Carmel, with its main centre at *Tiberias on the Lake of *Galilee. The coastal, central, and southern areas became Jund Filastin, with the capital first at *Lydda and then in the *Abbasid period at Ramla. BH

D. Bar, 'Rural Monasticism as a Key Element in the Christianization of Byzantine Palestine', *HTR* 98/1 (2005), 49–65.

C. Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine: peuplement et population*, 3 vols. (1998).

Y. Hirschfeld, 'Farms and Villages in Byzantine Palestine', *DOP* 51 (1997), 33–71.

J. Patrich, *Studies in Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima, Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palaestina* (2011).

A. Walmsley, 'Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: Urban Prosperity in Late Antiquity', in N. Christie and S. T. Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (1996), 126–58.

Palestine, churches and monasteries of The earliest archaeological evidence for the ecclesiastical history of Palestine is from the time of *Constantine I with his endowment of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Eleona (the Mount of Olives) in *Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity at *Bethlehem, and the church at *Mamre. Of these churches, only two are extant and both of them are subject to conjecture on their original appearance. Three of these commemorate the birth, preaching, and death and resurrection of Christ, the fourth commemorated the hospitality of Abraham at the oak at Mamre indicating the early Christian veneration for Old Testament sites in the *Holy Land as well as New Testament sites. Because many of the churches in the region were built at sites with unique biblical significance, they utilized a wide variety of architectural types to accommodate those visiting on *pilgrimage.

A varied spectrum of religious practice and the presence of Christians in the Holy Land from many places both account for the wide variety of early types of Christian architecture found in Palestine. Crowfoot records that *basilicas, cruciform churches, and churches built on centralized plans were all built in the region between the 4th and the 7th centuries, and it may be argued that this reflects the wide variety of influences arriving from *Egypt, *Syria, and *Constantinople as well as from the West. An example of this is the pilgrim Arculf's description (preserved in *Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*) of the church at Shechem (*Nablus) around Jacob's Well; its cruciform plan with doors on each arm of the cross and the well in the centre is an exact replica of the martyrium of S. Babylas at Qausiyeh east of *Antioch where the relics of the saint were displayed on the centrally placed **bema* in a location analogous to that of the well.

This diversity can also be seen in the monastic archaeology of Palestine. Notable *monasteries were built in the *Judaean Wilderness. Research by P. Figueras on the monastic foundations of the *Negev has revealed that alongside the expected Greek- and Egyptian-influenced **coenobia*, the monastic population of Late Antique Palestine was remarkably diverse and included communities living alongside the secular population in towns and *villages or running agricultural establishments, as well as evidence for the more widely studied coenobitic and eremitic monastic traditions. These archaeological traces range from annexes attached to urban churches to cells and chapels carved from caves. This underlines that, as the place where Christianity was born, Palestine was a cultural melting pot that absorbed the architectural and ritual practices of the faithful from across the Christian world. EL

J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631* (1996).

J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches of Palestine* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1941).

P. Figueras, 'Monks and Monasteries in the Negev Desert', *Liber Annuus* 45 (1995), 401–50.

Krautheimer, *ECBArchitecture*.

A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land*, tr. R. Kirson (Theophaneia 22, 1970).

Palestine, Jews in After the Bar Kokhba war, AD 132–5, *Jews no longer dwelled in *Jerusalem, now renamed Aelia Capitolina, nor in ancient Judaea, the heartland of the ancient 'Land of Israel', but their numbers increased in the north—in the Jezreel Valley, central and eastern *Galilee, and the *Gaulanitis (Golan). Communities also flourished in coastal *cities such as *Caesarea, and in a belt of *villages south of Judaea called Daromas ('the South'). Sources considered *Sepphoris, *Tiberias, and *Lydda to be 'Jewish', but this may mean only that they contained large and prosperous Jewish communities which coalesced around *synagogues on the fringes of these cities, or in their suburbs and *villages. By contrast, many *villages often were mostly Jewish, as Katzrin in the Golan, but sometimes Jews shared village space with Christians, apparently peaceably, as in *Capernaum on the Sea of Galilee. The wealthier Jewish landowners served on the *city councils. Emerging among them, synagogue 'rulers' (*archisynagogoi*, more generally *primates*) led the communities, and from *c.*200 the *Patriarch (*nasi*), a member of a dynasty allegedly descended from the 1st-century BC sage Hillel, headed the Jews of Palestine. The Patriarch collected taxes from Jews and instituted local leaders and councils of elders (*synhedria*). In 429 the last scion of the dynasty died, and the patriarchate fell into abeyance.

Imperial legislation remained hostile, but Jews in Palestine flourished nevertheless in their areas of settlement. Destruction after uprisings in 351 (the revolt of *Patricius against *Gallus) and 421 appears not to have been widespread. Recent archaeological survey indicates demographic decline in eastern Galilee in the later 4th century, but elsewhere Jewish numbers stabilized or increased. Construction of new synagogues blossomed in the 4th century and continued in the 5th and 6th, despite an imperial law of 438 prohibiting such building. Monumental synagogues were 'long houses' or *basilicas, featuring austere exteriors but interiors ornamented with classical architectural motifs and colourful *mosaic pavements, often displaying images of the temple cult—soon to be renewed, it was hoped—along with signs of the *Zodiac circling the *Sun or an abstract image for the Jewish God. *Inscriptions in *Greek or Aramaic recorded numerous donors, and thus a broad distribution of wealth.

By 200 the *rabbis had coalesced as a movement. Scholars now think of them as well-to-do landowners or tradesmen who gathered circles of disciples about them in 'study houses', mainly in cities, for learned discussions of (e.g.) rules for women, for ritual purity, or for tithing the produce of Jewish land. Increasingly, they arbitrated disputes and stepped forth as community leaders. Redacted in the written Mishnah, the Palestinian *Talmud, and the *Midrash (commentaries on biblical books), the oral discourses of the rabbis represent them as Jewish sages in a Roman *province who 'organized to express their non-Romanness' (H. Lapin). KGH

H. Lapin, *Rabbis and Romans: The Rabbinic Movement in Palestine, 100–400 CE* (2012).

U. Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee: An Archaeological Survey of Eastern Galilee* (2009).

L. I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2000).

S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (2001).

Palestine, synagogues of The earliest archaeological evidence for *synagogues in *Palestine dates from the 1st century BC (e.g. Gamla) and 1st century AD (e.g. Masada). Flavius Josephus, the New Testament, and rabbinic literature corroborate the existence of numerous synagogues at this time, e.g. in *Jerusalem, *Caesarea, Dor, *Tiberias, *Capernaum, and *Nazareth. Following the destruction of the Temple at *Jerusalem and up to the end of Antiquity, archaeology and rabbinic literature are our primary sources of information.

No synagogues dating from the century or more following the Bar-Kokhba revolt of the early 2nd century have been discovered in *Palestine (apart perhaps from that at Nabratein), although their existence is well attested in the tannaitic literature of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Physical evidence of synagogues reappears only from the second half of the 3rd century. Over 100 sites have been identified as synagogues from the 4th to 7th centuries, primarily in *Galilee and *Gaulanitis (some 50 and 25, respectively), but also in virtually every part of the country.

The dating of synagogues has been revolutionized over the past generation. Until recently it was assumed that synagogue architecture throughout Israel evolved in three stages (early Galilean-type, intermediary broadhouse-type, and late *basilica-type), beginning in the late 2nd to early 3rd centuries. However, this neat coupling of typology with chronology has been called seriously into question by numerous archaeological discoveries (e.g. at *Capernaum), which indicate that these sites date from no earlier than the late 3rd century; in fact most date from the 4th and 5th centuries. It is now assumed that diversity reigned in synagogue architecture, as it did in other aspects of the synagogue and in Jewish life generally.

Finds from synagogues reveal a delicate balance between similarity and uniqueness. Common features include orientation toward *Jerusalem, the presence of the Torah shrine in the main hall, and the enhanced religious status of the synagogue. Each building, however, exhibits a unique architecture and layout, the varied

use of *inscriptions, and a range of languages (*Aramaic, *Greek, Hebrew). An instructive example of this balance and diversity can be found in the five synagogues discovered in the Beth She'an (*Scythopolis) region, all dating from the 5th and 6th centuries and all sharing the particularities and differences noted above.

A new phenomenon in Byzantine synagogues was the central role assumed by art, most apparent in the *mosaic decoration of floors. Synagogues in more remote areas often followed a conservative line, utilizing almost exclusively geometric and *foliage designs as well as religious symbols. Others used figural art and displayed such biblical scenes and figures as the 'Aqedah (the Sacrifice of Abraham), Noah and the Flood, David, Daniel, or Samson. Still others, some half a dozen altogether, placed the *Zodiac and the *Sun in the centre of their mosaic pavements. Such pronounced use of figural art of pagan origin is a far cry from the strictly aniconic stance that prevailed in the late Second Temple period. LL

R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (1988).

L. I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2005), 45–80, 135–249, 313–453.

Palladas (d. after 331) Author of *c.*150 *epigrams in the **Greek Anthology*. Several of these allude to conditions during *Constantine I's sole rule (324–37), including the recent reversal of fortunes suffered by *pagans, with whom Palladas identifies. The latest securely datable allusion is to Constantine's edict restricting unilateral divorce (*CTh* III, 16, 1). He was a native of *Alexandria but may have visited *Constantinople near the time of its foundation (330). His epigrams are almost exclusively epideictic, protreptic, or scoptic (*Anth. Pal.* 9–11) and frequently employ caustic humour. Palladas projects a consistent authorial persona: an impoverished and victimized old **grammaticus*, a misogynist, and a misanthrope. KWW

ed. P. Waltz et al. (annotated with FT), *Anthologie grecque* (1928–2011), vols. 2–3, 7–10, 13.

Partial ET T. Harrison, *Palladas: Poems* (1975).

A. Franke, *De Pallada Epigrammatographo* (1899).

K. Wilkinson, 'Palladas and the Age of Constantine', *JRS* 99 (2009), 36–60.

K. Wilkinson, 'Palladas and the Foundation of Constantinople', *JRS* 100 (2010), 179–94.

Cameron, *Wandering Poets*, ch. 4.

Palladius (*c.*375–*c.*450) *Latin agricultural writer of uncertain date. Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus used the work of Vindonius *Anatolius, and his *title *uir inlustris* must post-date *c.*375. His *Opus Agriculturae* comprises thirteen books: the first treats general matters (e.g. location, building, *beekeeping), while Books 2–13 address tasks appropriate for each calendar month. A fourteenth book treats *veterinary medicine. Appended are elegiac verses on grafting addressed to an unknown Pasiphilus. Sources are primarily literary: Columella, *Gargilius Martialis, supplemented by Anatolius ('Graeci') and *Faventinus' epitome of *Vitruvius (unnamed). Occasionally—often enough to be revealing of his world—there are desultory personal views and descriptions of contemporary practices. The work of 'Aemilianus' was recommended by *Cassiodorus (*Inst.* I, 28, 6). Books 1–13 formed a convenient and practical text widely circulated in the Middle Ages. RR

PLRE I Aemilianus 7.

ed. R. H. Rodgers (Teubner, 1975).

ET J. G. Fitch, *Palladius: Opus Agriculturae: The Work of Farming* (2013).

M. J. Bartoldus, *Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. Welt und Wert spätrömischer Landwirtschaft* (2012).

Palladius *Bishop sent to Christians in *Ireland (*Scotti) by Pope Celestine in AD 431 (*Prosper, *Chron.* 1307). In later Irish accounts his mission is said to have failed, so that S. *Patrick could be portrayed as the apostle of the Irish. NJE

BHL 6417.

ODNB s.n. Palladius (Charles-Edwards).

D. N. Dumville, *St Patrick, A.D. 493–1993* (1993).

Palladius and the *Lausiac History* (d. *c.*431) *Bishop, monastic biographer. A native of *Galatia, Palladius went to *Egypt *c.*388, studying initially with *Didymus the Blind in *Alexandria, then becoming a monk in the desert *monasteries of *Nitria and *Kellia where he spent nine years as a disciple of *Evagrius Ponticus. He left Egypt around 400, probably because of the *Origenist controversy. He was ordained Bishop of *Helenopolis in *Bithynia by *John Chrysostom. After John's downfall, he went to *Rome and lobbied on John's behalf. In 406 he was arrested and sent into *exile in Upper Egypt. There he composed his *Dialogue on the Life of S. John Chrysostom*. Around 412, he was allowed to return to Galatia.

In the 420s, Palladius composed the *Lausiac History* or *Paradise*, a memoir of his years in Egypt, dedicated to the imperial chamberlain *Lausus. The work contains 70 brief portraits of holy figures Palladius had met or heard about on his travels. These include colourful morality tales shaped by Evagrian theological perspectives. The work, originally written in *Greek, was eventually translated into *Latin, *Coptic, *Syriac, *Armenian, and Ethiopic. Recent scholarship has focused on the Coptic version, which preserves longer biographies of four monastic leaders: Pambo, *Macarius the Great of Egypt, *Macarius of Alexandria, and Evagrius Ponticus. It has been argued that these were originally independent

biographies Palladius had written years before the *Lausiac History*, while he was still a monk. JWH

Dialogus (*CPG* 6037):

ed. A.-M. Malingrey (annotated with FT), *Pallade: Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome* (SC 341–2, 1988).

ET R. T. Meyer, *Palladius: Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* (ACW 45, 1985).

Lausiac History (*CPG* 6036) (Gk.).

ed. (annotated with study) C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, 2 vols. (Texts and Studies 6, 1898–1904).

ET R. T. Meyer, *Palladius: The Lausiac History* (ACW 34, 1964).

Lausiac History (Copt):

ed. É. Amélineau (with LT), *De Historia Lausiaca, Quaenam Sit Huius ad Monachorum Aegyptiorum Historiam Scribendam Utilitas* (1887).

ET Vivian, *Four Desert Fathers* (2004).

D. S. Katos, *Palladius of Helenopolis: The Origenist Advocate* (OECS, 2011).

Frank, *Memory of the Eyes*.

Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 275–308.

A. de Vogüé and G. Bunge, *Quatre Érmites Égyptiens: d'après les fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque* (Spiritualité orientale 60, 1994).

***pallium* (Gk. *himation*)** A draped mantle in the form of a large rectangular cloth wound around the body in such a manner as to leave the right hand free, worn by both men and women over their tunics, especially in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. The term apparently was also used as a generic designation for a mantle (cf. *CTh* X, 21, 3 of 424).

The *pallium* was also considered as the identifying garb of the professional man of learning. Far less cumbersome than the Roman *toga, it was promoted in the 2nd century AD by Tertullian as a symbol of the simple Christian life dedicated to spiritual matters, as opposed to the toga, which symbolized involvement in mundane civic preoccupations and spiritual decline (*De Pallio*). In art, the *pallium* (together with a full beard) was the distinguishing attire of a *philosopher, the 'philosopher's cloak'; a law of 369 (*CTh* XIII, 3, 7) stigmatized those who adopted philosophical dress illegitimately in order to avoid their civic duties. The holy figures of Christianity, such as Christ and the Apostles, also wear the *pallium* when depicted as dressed in the antique manner.

By the late 5th century the term *pallium* was employed to designate an ecclesiastical *vestment of an entirely different appearance, namely the narrow white woollen scarf adorned with crosses worn draped over the shoulders by the *Bishop of *Rome and by bishops upon whom he chose to bestow this honour (cf. *VCaesarii* 1, 42, *Gregory I the Great, *epp.* III, 54–7 and V, 11 and 15 re *Ravenna; Gregory I the Great *apud* *Bede, *HE* I, 27, *quaestio* VII, with Plummer's note). MGP

S. A. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (2016).

M. Harlow, 'Clothes Maketh the Man: Power Dressing and Elite Masculinity in the Later Roman World', in Brubaker and Smith, *Gender*, 44–69, at 62–3.

Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 362–3, 380–95.

A. Serfass, 'Unravelling the Pallium Dispute between Gregory the Great and John of Ravenna". in Upson-Sala et al., *Dressing Judeans and Christians*, 75–98.

Palmyra (Aramaic Palmyrene; Arabic Tadmur) Oasis *city between *Damascus and the Euphrates. After *Aurelian had quelled the usurpation of Vaballathus and *Zenobia and the Empire of *Palmyra in 272, the city rebelled again in the following year and was destroyed by Roman troops.

Although Palmyra undoubtedly faced a period of decline compared to the grandeur it had enjoyed during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, its distinctive non-classical art continued to thrive, particularly in the field of funerary *sculpture (commonly misnamed 'Parthian style'). The city was rebuilt on a smaller scale under the *Tetrarchy. Palmyra was walled and its existing legionary fortress expanded and integrated it into the fortifications along the Limes Arabicus, the *Strata Diocletiana.

After 527, *Justinian I ordered the repair of Palmyra's walls, securing them with artillery towers, and providing funds for restoration of the churches of the Palmyrene bishopric. There is no archaeological evidence for a Persian occupation between 611 and 629, but the military camp was certainly abandoned during this period.

Palmyra surrendered to the Muslim army of *Khalid b. al-Walid in 634. While Christianity remained an important part of Palmyra's religious life, the Muslim community gathered for *prayer within the spacious ruins of the Bel Temple, which had previously been used as a church. Three *basilicas have been excavated, and the last Bishop of Tadmur was consecrated in 818. Recent archaeological work has revealed the existence of an *Umayyad market built into the city's Great Colonnade. This evidence points to a regional importance and a certain economic prosperity until the city was gradually abandoned during the political turmoil towards the end of the Umayyad era. After Tadmur unsuccessfully rebelled against *Marwan II, its walls were dismantled. There is then little archaeological evidence until the Burid emirs transformed the Bel Temple into a citadel in the 1130s. KMK

Isaac, *Limits of Empire*.

M. A. R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (1976).

S. Kowalski, 'The *Praetorium* of the Camp of Diocletian in Palmyra', *Studia palmyrenskie* 9 (1994), 39–70.

M. Gawlikowski, 'Palmyra in Early Islamic Times', in Bartl and Moaz, *Residences, Castles, Settlements*, 89–95.

K. As'ad and F. Stepniowski, 'The Umayyad Suq in Palmyra', *DamasMitt* 4 (1989), 205–23.
A. M. Smith II, *Roman Palmyra: Identity, Community, and State Formation* (2013).

Palmyra, Empire of (ended 273) Short-lived, expansive empire that sprang from the wealthy Syrian desert *city of *Palmyra on the Roman–Persian *frontier. Its origins have been variously traced to personal ambition, assertion of ethnic sovereignty, and a self-help initiative by its inhabitants wishing for security for their wealthy trading city in the era of *Shapur I's attacks on Roman territory.

*Palmyra had grown to prominence as a vital frontier station for the Roman Empire. It also lay on an important merchant route linking the Far East to the Mediterranean world. In the mid-3rd century, exploiting its strategic importance, Septimius *Odaenathus (r. *c.*260–6/7) skilfully nurtured a semi-independent kingdom. It may have been Roman suspicions about his intentions or the greater ambition of his wife, *Zenobia, that led to his killing in 266/7. Following his death she became regent for their son, Vaballathus, and moved to place her own stamp on the kingdom. The impetus for outright rebellion against the Roman Empire was probably weakness at the centre of Roman affairs. In 269 Zenobia invaded *Egypt and in the following year organized a successful campaign into *Anatolia. The eastern third of the Empire was now under the control of Palmyra, whose strategy appears to have been to try to placate the Roman authorities by presenting itself as their junior partner; coins minted by Zenobia at *Antioch, for instance, show her son on one side and *Aurelian on the other with the singular title of *Augustus (*RIC* V/1, 308, no. 381). Complementing this approach, Zenobia strengthened the physical boundaries of the domain, building or improving fortresses, including, according to *Procopius, the one named after her on the Euphrates (*Aed.* II, 5; *Persian*, II, 8, 8), and she developed relations with the *Persian Empire.

The Roman response, when it came, was uncompromising. Once he had secured the western provinces Aurelian (270–5) marched east, defeating Palmyrene forces near Antioch and then at *Emesa in 272. Palmyra itself was besieged and Zenobia and many of her inner circle, including *Longinus the Athenian scholar, were captured near the Euphrates as they sought to escape. Despite these setbacks the city did not abandon its imperial ambition and a second revolt in 273 declared as emperor one Antiochus, possibly another son (or a pretender) of Zenobia. Aurelian hastened back and this time razed the city (*Zosimus, I, 60–1). SGB

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 252, 255–7; 262–4; 266–8.
R. Stoneman, *Palmyra and its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome* (1992).
A. M. Smyth, *Roman Palmyra: Identity, Community, and State Formation* (2013).

paludamentum Military cloak (Gk. *chlamys), worn by the *emperor and Roman *army officers. On *coinage, the emperor wears it over the *cuirass, fastened at the right shoulder with the characteristic imperial circular *fibula with three pendants. MGP

DOC 2/1 (1968), 71–5.
RByzKunst 3 (1978) *s.v.* Insignien 424–6 (K. Wessell).
Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins*, 75.

Palut (*fl.* AD 200) A leading figure (perhaps *bishop) in the Church of *Edessa, after whom those Christians later recognized as orthodox were called 'Palutians'. This nomenclature was still used in the 4th century, but *Ephrem rejected it. UP

EAC s.v. Palut, vol. 3, 31 (di Berardino).
Ephrem, *Hymns on Heresies*, 22, ed. (with GT) E. Beck (CSCO 169–70, Scr. syr. 67–77; 1957).
Teaching of Addai, ed. (with ET) G. Howard (1981), 81.
Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 62 (text), 71 (tr.).
W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (ET ed. R. Kraft and G. Krodel 1971, German original 1934), 22–4.

Pammachius *Proconsul (perhaps of *Africa) before 396, Roman *senator, *friend and former fellow student of *Jerome, prominent *ascetic. A member of the Gens Furia, Pammachius was married to Paulina, daughter of *Paula, a close associate of Jerome. Upon Paulina's death (*c.*396) he embraced the ascetic life, established a *hostel for *pilgrims at *Portus Romae, and devoted himself to charitable works. Jerome dedicated several commentaries on the *Bible to Pammachius. *Augustine mentions his efforts to convert the *Donatist tenants on his estates in *Numidia (*ep.* 58). He died at *Rome in 410. DGH

PLRE I, Pammachius.
PCBE II/2, Pammachius.
J. M. Peterson, 'Pammachius and his Houses', *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975), 443–8.
S. Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (1992).

Pamphilus of Caesarea (*c.*240–310) Christian *priest who managed *Origen's *library and school at *Caesarea of *Palestine. *Eusebius, his most celebrated student, wrote his life in almost three (lost) volumes (*Jerome, *ep.* 34, 1). Pamphilus was imprisoned in 307 during the Great *Persecution. Just before his *martyrdom (movingly described in Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine*) he wrote the *Apology for Origen*, which survives in a partial *Latin translation made by *Rufinus. RJM

CPG 1715–16:

ed. (with FT) R. Amacker and É. Junod (*SC* 464 and 465, 2002).
ET T. Scheck (FC 120, 2010).
É. Junod, 'L'Apologie pour Origène de Pamphile', *SP* 26 (1993), 267–86.

Pamphylia *Province in south *Anatolia north of the Bay of Antalya (*Attaleia), including the major *cities of *Perge and *Side. It was the most south-easterly province of *Dioecesis *Asiana, still attached to *Lycia in 313 (*CTh* XIII, 10, 2), but subsequently placed separately under the administration of a *Consularis. Troops under a *Comes were stationed in the province by the *Emperor *Leo to counter the *Isaurian threat. Perge was initially the main administrative and ecclesiastical centre but its status was challenged in the 5th century by Side. There were other major cities at Attaleia and *Aspendus, and the province flourished between the 4th and 6th centuries thanks especially to *olive oil production, which was exported to *Constantinople and elsewhere. Eastern Pamphylia was a centre of the *Messalian heresy (Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 80), condemned at a council in Side in 383. SM

NEDC 219.
TIB 8*: Lykien und Pamphylien* (2004).
J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum*, 2 vols. (1994, 2002).

Pamprepius of Panopolis (29 September 440–November 484) Poet, astrologer, and political agitator. The account of his life given by *Damascius and a horoscope by Rhetorius allow us to reconstruct Pamprepius' life story in unusual detail. A poverty-stricken poet and **grammaticus* in his native *Egypt, he made his way at the age of 32 first to *Athens and then to *Constantinople, where he made an impression on *Illus, who rewarded him with offices including that of *Quaestor Sacri Palatii. He joined Illus' revolt against *Zeno in 484, attempting to win the support of his fellow *pagans in *Alexandria and elsewhere, but was accused of treachery and executed. Fragments survive of a verse encomium of the Athenian *Theagenes, plausibly attributable to Pamprepius by date, and of a sophisticated poem evoking the natural world and its activities, including allusions to the cult of Demeter. RW

PLRE II, Pampreius.
ed. E. Livrea, *Pamprepii Panopolitani Carmina (P. Gr. Vindob. 29788 A–C)* (1979).
Two Poems, in *Select Papyri*, ed. (with ET) D. L. Page, *Select Papyri*, III (LCL 360, 1941), 560–87.
P. Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens* (2004), 100–3.
Kaster, *Guardians,* 329–33.

Pan, Caves of Two caves on Mount Parnes and Hymettus in Attica contained shrines to Pan. The large number of later Roman *inscriptions and *lamps found there suggests they were visited by pious *pagans to at least the late 5th century. The Hymettus cave in particular may have been frequented by later Platonists. EW

G. Fowden, 'City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica', *JHS* 108 (1988), 48–59.

panegyric The two branches of epideictic oratory were panegyric and *invective. Educational material, such as *Menander Rhetor's *Basilikos Logos*, suggests that instruction in, and demand for, panegyric was widespread. Our best evidence is for panegyric performed in *praise of, or in the presence of *emperors, but other dignitaries, such as provincial *governors or *consuls, could also be their subject. The occasions and contexts for panegyric were many and various: they included imperial *accession, imperial **adventus* to cities, birthdays, weddings, *victories, *anniversaries, consulships. Panegyrics could be performed in *courts or *cities, in *palaces, *basilicas, and council chambers, where they were an important component of public *ceremony. On such occasions, the addressee would be the focus of attention of the assembled crowd, comprised of courtiers, local aristocrats, office-holders from the imperial *administration, delegates from other cities, and **honorati*; sometimes several speeches (from different speakers) would be delivered in succession.

Panegyrics must have been delivered in their thousands, and have varied enormously in quality, interest, and veracity (*Augustine, *Conf.* VI, 6, 9). Most have perished. The majority of surviving examples are quite short, but not all. Moot points in considering prose panegyrics include the extent to which speeches were extemporized, and the degree of revision they may have received before publication—extant examples often indicate attempts, characteristic of the genre, at literary sophistication, abounding in rhetorical flourishes and references to canonical literature, including poetry. Panegyrics imparted news of recent events and engaged with the conventions of contemporary imperial ideology. They could also be a vehicle for personal and local representation, as in the case of the two panegyrics from *Autun (*PanLat* IX [4] and VIII [5]). The orators were often independent of the imperial *administration and could therefore express the consent of the governed to being ruled. Because it appears to have had a tendency to exaggeration and flattery, panegyric is rightly deemed unreliable by historians, but its political function was more nuanced than that of 'propaganda'. Panegyric thrived in both *Greek and *Latin, and in both prose and verse. Traces of it can also be detected in other genres, such as *historiography, *biography, *saints' Lives, *letters, and *funeral orations. RDR

R. C. Burgess, 'Epideictic Literature', *Chicago Studies in Classical Philosophy* 3 (1902), 89–261 (repr. 1980).

MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*.
Mary Whitby, ed., *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 183, 1998).

panegyric, Greek The most traditional form of *Greek panegyric was a prose oration composed along the lines commended by *Menander Rhetor. In that form, Greek panegyric survived into the 6th century. Whereas most preserved texts date from the 4th century (*Themistius, the *Emperor *Julian, *Libanius, *Himerius), the *genre remained popular: imperial panegyric is exemplified by *Procopius of *Gaza (for *Anastasius I), whilst his pupil *Choricius also wrote *praises for *bishops and officials. Panegyric also assumed more indirect guises, most obviously in the 6th century: *Justinian I was praised in an *ecphrasis of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom by *Paul the *Silentiary and by an account of his building works by *Procopius of *Caesarea (*Aed.*).

Another form is the verse panegyric. Some were shorter pieces, such as those by *Dioscorus of *Aphrodito. From the 5th century onwards panegyrical *epics are attested in Greek, mostly with a focus on military successes, for instance Eusebius Scholasticus (*PLRE* II, Eusebius 8) on *Gainas, and *George of *Pisidia on *Heraclius.

Other genres were influenced by panegyric. Contemporary *biographies of *Constantine I are clearly indebted to panegyric (e.g. *Praxagoras), as are, for example, the histories of *Socrates and *Sozomen when discussing *Theodosius II. It was not only professional orators and poets who practised panegyric; high- and medium-ranking officials, such as *Tribonian and *John Lydus, are attested as authors of panegyrics of the emperor and high officials. At the same time, panegyric remained a standard element of local *festivals and celebrations in *cities, as demonstrated by Libanius, Procopius of Gaza, and Dioscorus of Aphrodito. The genre could also be subverted as satire, as in Julian's *Misopogon*. LVH

E. Amato, ed., *Rose di Gaza: Gli Scritti Retorico-Sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza* (2010).
J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle: la bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (1999).
T. Hägg and P. Rousseau, eds., *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (2000).
T. Nissen, 'Historisches Epos und Panegyrikos in der Spätantike', *Hermes* 75 (1940), 298–325.
R. J. Penella, *Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius* (2007).

panegyric, Latin Although panegyric had its origins in *Greek civic culture, and was occasionally identified and denounced as unRoman by *Latin authors (e.g. Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 341 cf. *Lactantius, *Inst.* I, 15, 13; *Isidore, *Etymologies*, VI, 8, 7), for some provincial orators, competent panegyric was a badge of Roman civilization. Despite suspicions about its reliability, value, and motivation, Latin panegyric was widespread in prose and verse form in Late Antiquity. Most surviving works are addressed to *emperors and seem to have been deliberately preserved for posterity. Prose panegyric tended to restrict itself to a relatively narrow canon of subject matter, such as details of the addressee's biography, ethics, and achievements; some verse panegyrics more readily adopt commonplaces of the Latin poetic tradition, such as *ecphrasis, *myth, and prosopopoeia. In prose and verse, Cicero and *Vergil are regular cultural reference points from the classical period, and a rich intertextual character exists across the various panegyrics themselves. In addition to the *XII *Panegyrici Latini*, which are headed by the Younger Pliny's *Panegyricus* but otherwise date from the *Tetrarchy and the 4th century, prose panegyrics survive (some in fragmentary form) from *Symmachus, *Ausonius, the general Flavius *Merobaudes, the cleric *Ennodius, and *Cassiodorus. In verse, panegyrics survive from Optatianus *Porfyrius, *Claudian, *Sidonius Apollinaris, *Priscian, *Corippus, and *Venantius Fortunatus. Among these names there is a strong Gallic and Italian presence. Most of the surviving texts tend to be high in literary ambition and inventiveness; it is notable, for example, that the prose panegyrics by Ausonius and *Pacatus are by men generally celebrated as poets. Without being as reliable as documentary evidence, Latin panegyric is a valuable source for Late Antique cultural history, illuminating, for example, courtly protocol, aristocratic politics, and the relationships between literature and power and between the imperial centre and wider Roman society. Latin panegyric was notably slow to accommodate Christianity and continued to present addressee-emperors as quasi-divine long after the changes wrought by *Constantine I. RDR

R. D. Rees, ed., *Latin Panegyric: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies* (2012).
C. Ware, *Claudian and the Roman Epic Tradition* (2012).
S. MacCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics: Tradition and Discontinuity in the Later Roman Empire', *REAug* 22 (1976), 29–77.

panegyric, Arabic Panegyric, or *madih*, featured less prominently in pre-Islamic *Arabic *poetry than *fakhr*, boasting of one's own kin, due to Arabia's tribal social structure. However, many famous poets praised the 6th-century *Ghassanids and *Lakhimids, Arab vassal-kings of the Romans and *Sasanians respectively. *Praise revolved around generosity in times of need, bravery in battle, noble lineage, and *hilm*, a mixture of clemency, resolve, and leadership. Poems written in *praise of the Prophet *Muhammad during his lifetime, such as the famous *Burda* ode by Ka'b b. Zuhayr, do not depart significantly from conventional topoi.

Under the *Umayyads (661–750), not only the *caliphs, but nearly every significant political or military figure patronized the composition of panegyric poetry. Praiseworthy qualities expanded to include beneficent and just Islamic rule as well as religious piety and zeal. Panegyric for the caliphs in particular served a strong legitimizing function, and included inflated claims to religious guidance.

The work of the prominent poets of this period, *Jarir, al-*Farazdaq, and al-*Akhtal, consists mostly of panegyric. They standardized the pre-Islamic conventions of a panegyric ode, which described in sensuous detail the departure of a beloved and her tribe, then an arduous desert journey, before concluding with praise. *Patrons rewarded dazzling poems with robes of honour, *gold, *horses, and slaves. Prose, which emerged in government *letters and letter writing at this time, did not enjoy comparable prestige. NAM

P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* (1986).

J. Montgomery, 'Dichotomy in Jahili Poetry', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 17 (1986), 1–20.

S. Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy* (2002).

Panegyrici Latini XII A collection of twelve Latin prose *panegyrics in *praise of various *emperors, from Trajan in AD 100 to *Theodosius I in 389, including *Maximian, *Constantine I, and *Julian. It is the largest antique collection of Latin oratory to survive after Cicero's *oeuvre*, and the best example of Roman epideictic *rhetoric. With the exception of the earliest speech (the so-called *Panegyricus* to Trajan by Pliny the Younger), the speeches originated in *Gaul (*Trier and *Autun) and/or were given by Gallic orators. The collection, discovered in 1433 in Mainz, does not preserve the speeches in chronological order. Scholarly citation systems combine manuscript and chronological sequence; in ODLA the manuscript number is cited first, followed by the chronological number in brackets.

The collection seems to have been put together in Antiquity, perhaps by the author of the latest speech, Drepanius *Pacatus. Some of the speeches, which vary considerably in length, are anonymous. Other named authors are *Eumenius, *Nazarius, and Claudius *Mamertinus; some scholars have attributed speeches of AD 289 and 291 to another *Mamertinus. The speeches were delivered on a variety of occasions, such as imperial *anniversaries, birthdays, weddings, and military triumphs, for instance to celebrate *Constantius I's recovery of *Britain (*PanLat* (VIII [V], 4), Constantine's victory over *Maxentius (XII [IX], 9 and IV [X], 19), and Theodosius' defeat of *Magnus Maximus (II [XII], 12). They constitute important evidence for contemporary affairs, the workings of provincial government, imperial *ceremonial, religion, politics, and oratory.

The orators generally seem to have been graduates of and teachers in Gallic Schools of Rhetoric, such as those at Autun and *Bordeaux. Their Latin is polished, generally classical but with a few Late Latin characteristics and some neologisms; there are no overt Gallicisms. Allusions to Cicero and Pliny are common, and also to poets, notably *Vergil. Although they conform largely to the recommendations of epideictic handbooks, the speeches display individual characteristics and preferences. The 15th-century MS Harleianus 2480 is generally recognized as a reliable guide to the original texts. RDR

HLL 5, section 528.

ed. (with FT) E. Galletier, *Panégyriques Latins*, 3 vols. (1949–55)—chronological numbering.

ed. D. Lassandro, *XII Panegyrici Latini* (CorpParav, 1992).

ed. R. A. B. Mynors, *XII Panegyrici Latini* (OCT, 1964)—manuscript numbering.

C. E. V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors* (1994).

R. D. Rees, ed., *Latin Panegyric* (2012).

Panjikent (Penjikent) *Sogdian city in modern Tajikistan, 60 km (38 miles) south-east of *Samarkand (in mod. Uzbekistan), excavated by Russians since the 1930s. *Dewashtich, the last Sogdian ruler of Panjikent, fled to Mount *Mugh, where he was captured and then executed by the *Arabs in 722. Like Sogdian cities of the time, Panjikent had a fortified citadel and a walled city. Nearby were Dewashtich's palace and a necropolis. Two temples in the city centre promoted a local variant of *Zoroastrianism, incorporating the worship of various deities; architecture and iconography exhibit Hellenistic, Mesopotamian, and Hindu elements. Both the temples and larger houses contained elaborate wall paintings and statues of the gods; artistic styles and subject matter demonstrate Sogdian knowledge of *Greek, *Persian, and Indian literature. In the wake of Dewashtich's defeat, Panjikent was reconstructed *c.*738 and continued to exist for several more decades, but was abandoned in the 770s. The conversion of Dewashtich's former palace to Arab barracks, and the destruction of *fire altars and defacing of religious murals in local homes, are evidence of Arab–Sogdian conflict during the transition from *Umayyad to *'Abassid rule. MLD

EncIran (2002) *s.n.* Panjikant (B. I. Marshak).

F. Grenet and É. de la Vaissière, 'The Last Days of Panjikent', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8 (2002), 155–96.

B. I. Marshak, *Legends, Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (2002).

G. L. Semenov, *Studien zur sogdischen Kultur an der Seidenstrasse* (1996).

Pannoniae **Dioecesis* in the north-west *Balkans, comprising, according to the *Verona List, the seven *provinces of *Pannonia Superior and Inferior, *Savia, *Valeria, *Noricum Ripense and Mediterraneum, and *Dalmatia. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists all these provinces except Valeria as forming the Dioecesis of *Illyricum (II, 28–34) and indicates no *Vicarius, presumably because the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Italy administered Pannoniae directly when resident in *Sirmium (e.g. *Ammianus, XXIX, 9). *Justinian I in 547/8 bestowed on the *Lombards the 'fortresses of Pannonia' (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 33). *Hierocles (657, 7–9) lists only two *cities of Pannonia (*Sirmium and Bassianae). OPN

Barrington Atlas, 101.
Jones, *LRE* 373.
Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia.*

Pannonian emperors Term used (especially by the Hungarian scholar A. Alföldi) to denote *Valentinian I, *Valens, *Gratian, and *Valentinian II, whose family originated in the *Balkan *frontier *provinces of *Pannonia. OPN

Pannonia Prima (Superior) **and Pannonia Secunda** (Inferior) Two *provinces in the *Balkans, both assigned in the *Verona List to the *Dioecesis *Pannoniae. The **Notitia Dignitatum* assigns them to the Dioecesis of *Illyricum, where Pannonia Prima is governed by a *Praeses (*occ.* II, 32) and Secunda by a *Consularis (*occ.* II, 29).

Pannonia Prima, on the Danube *frontier, was that part of the pre-*Tetrarchic Pannonia Superior lying north of the River Drava and was governed from *Savaria. Pannonia Secunda was the part of the pre-Tetrarchic Pannonia Inferior south of the River Drava and was governed from *Sirmium. *Ostrogoths settled in Pannonia in the 5th century, and then *Gepids. *Justinian I handed the territory to the *Lombards but by the mid-8th century it was dominated by *Avars and *Slavs. ABA; OPN

NEDC 223.
TIR L-33 (1961) and L-34 (1968).
Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia.*

Panopolis (mod. Akhmîm) *City of the *Thebaid on the east bank of the *Nile, in Upper *Egypt, *c.*600 km (*c.*375 miles) south of *Alexandria. The history of this religious and cultural centre covers almost 1,000 years from Alexander the Great to the *Arab conquest and reflects the use of various languages (late classical Egyptian, Demotic, *Greek, and *Coptic).

In Late Antiquity Panopolis (Gk. for City of Pan) was a centre of Hellenic culture and the locus of a *pagan intellectual resistance to Christianity, a reaction intensified by the proximity, across the Nile, of the *White Monastery, founded around the middle of the 4th century. Its first father was a disciple of *Pachomius; in 385 *Shenoute of Atripe became head of the White Monastery.

In the Panopolite *nome considerable literary activity in the indigenous languages accompanied openness towards Greek learning. *Zosimus of Panopolis (*c.*300) was an important writer on Greek *alchemy. The town was the birthplace of the pagan *aristocrats *Ammon Scholasticus and his brother, the imperial panegyrist *Harpocration, in the 4th century. It also produced such literary figures as *Cyrus, *Nonnus, *Pamprepius, and *Triphiodorus, all active in the 5th century. From the surrounding territory came the writers Andronicus of Hermopolis, *Christodorus of *Coptos, *Horapollon of Phenebith, and *Olympiodorus of Thebes.

Sources for Graeco-Roman Panopolis are numerous and diverse. The *Panopolis *papyri include the *archive of *Ammon scholasticus as well as documents and literature in several genres and languages. Architectural remains of *temples and churches, and artefacts including *textiles have also been found. IA

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Akhmim, cols. 78–80 (R.-G. Coquin, S. J. McNally).
Egberts et al., *Perspectives on Panopolis*.
K. P. Kuhlmann, *Materialen zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (*Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 11, 1983).
K. Geens, *Panopolis, a Nome Capital in Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine Period (ca. AD 200–600)* (2014).
Cameron, *Wandering Poets*, ch. 1.

Panopolis Papyri A wide range of documentary and literary *papyri in Egyptian, Demotic, *Greek, and *Coptic has been recovered from *Panopolis (mod. Akhmîm) in Upper *Egypt.

Most of the material has survived thanks to its reuse for different purposes. The sheets of P.Panop.Beatty I and II were two rolls of official correspondence which were cut up and bound together as a codex, so that the blank backs of the *letters could be reused for tax receipts (dated 340–5). Roll 1 contains the outgoing correspondence from the *Strategos in September 298 and is much concerned with arrangements for a personal visit by the *Emperor *Diocletian. Roll 2 consists of *letters from Aurelius Isidorus, Procurator of the Lower *Thebaid, to the Strategos of the *Nome in February 300. The documents provide copious detail about how Roman provincial *administration worked (or failed to work) in matters as various as *water transport, *taxation, paying soldiers, and collecting *animals for *sacrifice.

The *archive of *Ammon Scholasticus (3rd–4th century) is collected as P.Amm. I and II. Greek codices

from Panopolis include classical and Christian authors, such as the *Homer in P.Amm. II, 1 and P.Köln 9, 362; 12, 468. The Homer of P. Bodmer I has a land register (after 213–14) written on the front of it. P.Berl. Bork. is a register of houses of *c.*315–30.

The library of Panopolis was probably the source of the biblical P. Beatty, and of the *Bodmer manuscripts which include Homer, Menander, and Old and New Testament books. The Coptic P.Achm. 6–9; 41a, b, often said to be from the *White Monastery, contain documents reused for codices of Exodus and of Greek *sermons. IA

P.Panop.Beatty I and II = ed. T. C. Skeat, *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library* (1964).

P.Köln = Kölner Papyri, 11 vols. to date (1976–).

P.Berl.Bork. = ed. Z. Borkowski, *Une description topographique des immeubles à Panopolis* (1975).

P.Beatty = ed. F. G. Kenyon et al., *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, 8 vols. (1933–41).

P.Panop. = ed. L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn, and H. C. Youtie, *Urkunden aus Panopolis* (1980).

P.Achm. = ed. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus grecs d'Achmîm à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (BIFAO 3, 1930).

R. S. Bagnall, 'Public Administration and the Documentation of Roman Panopolis', in Egberts et al., *Perspectives on Panopolis*, 1–12.

C. E. P. Adams, *Administration and Bureaucracy in Later Roman Egypt: The Chester Beatty Papyri from Panopolis* (forthcoming).

Pap (Papa) Son of *Arshak II of the *Arshakuni dynasty and Queen Paṛadzem, Pap became King of *Armenia Magna after his father's death *c.* AD 368. Most of our information about Pap comes from the *'*Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, from *Movses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, and from *Ammianus Marcellinus whose testimony is often hard to reconcile with the Armenian sources.

Although at first viewed with kindness by the Roman sources, relations between the king and the Roman Empire worsened; some scholars have attributed this to his following the *Arian heresy, and to the accusation against him of the murder of the Armenian Patriarch *Nerses the Great. These events also account for his demonization and the characterization of his 'perversions' in the Armenian sources. Ammianus reports his murder by the Romans *c.* AD 374. LA

PLRE I, 665 Papa.

N. Garsoian, 'Politique ou orthodoxie? L'Arménie au quatrième siècle', *REArm* NS 4 (1967), 297–320.

G. B. Greatrex, 'The Background and Aftermath of the Partition of Armenia in A.D. 387', *Ancient History Bulletin* 14/1–2 (2000), 35–48.

Papa (d. 327/35) First *Bishop of *Ctesiphon (*c.*280–329). Papa bar 'Aggai attempted to centralize the authority of the nascent *Church of the East, but was opposed by fellow bishops at a *council in Seleucia-Ctesiphon (**Synodicon Orientale*, 46–8 [text], 289–92 [FT]). The *letters attributed to him are spurious. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Para bar 'Aggai, 320 (Van Rompay).

M.-L. Chaumont, *La Christianisation de l'empire iranien* (CSCO 499, Subs. 80, 1988), 137–47.

Papag Father of *Ardashir I. In 205, Papag was a *Zoroastrian priest of the *fire temple of *Anahid at the city of *Istakhr in the province of *Fars. He dethroned the local ruler of Istakhr, Gozihr from the Bazrangid family (*Tabari, V, 816). Ardashir I, son of Papag, came to power after him and established the *Sasanian dynasty. Papag is mentioned in Sasanian *inscriptions, but he is mythologized in texts stemming from the dynasty's official epic history, for instance in the **Karnamag-e Ardashir-e Pabagan*. TD

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*

Papas *Pagarch of Apollonos Anō (mod. *Edfū) in Upper *Egypt from 649 to 688. A group of *Greek and *Coptic *papyri discovered in a large ceramic jar in 1921–2 form the private and official *archive of the landholder and local governor Flavius Papas. Before Papas succeeded his father Liberios as pagarch in 649, he was *Dioiketes of Apollonos Anō where he also possessed lands. The official *letters that Papas received from the *Arab *governor from *Fustat, from the *Dux, *amīr*, or his representative the Topoteretes in *Antinoe, from his fellow pagarchs and other local officials demand regular taxes, services, and materials for the fleet or building projects in Fustat. They illustrate the way the fiscal system was organized, with Arab officials travelling south to collect revenue and Papas being summoned to Fustat. Accounts and other documents relate to the management of Papas' estate, which produced wheat, barley, *vegetables, *wine, and *meat, and where donkeys, *camels, and *horses were kept. PMS

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.n.* Archive of Papas, cols. 228a–229b (P. M. Fraser).

P.Apoll. = ed. R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô* (1953).

C. Foss, 'Egypt under Mu'āwiya. Part I: Flavius Papas and Upper Egypt', *BSOAS* 72 (2009), 1–24.

J. Gascou and K. A. Worp, 'Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite', *ZPE* 49 (1982), 83–95.

J. Gascou, 'Papyrus grecs inédits d'Apollônos Anô', in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927–1976* (1979), vol. 2, 25–33.

L. S. MacCoull, 'The Coptic Papyri from Apollonos Ano', in B. Mandilaras, ed., *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* (1988), vol. 2, 141–7.

Paphlagonia *Province of north central *Anatolia governed by a *Praeses, and part of the *Dioecesis *Pontica. It extended from Gangra, the capital, across the high range of Mount Olgassys and the broad valley of the River Amnias to the *Black Sea coast at Amastris and Abonuteichos/Ionopolis. The western city of Hadrianopolis was attached to *Honorias after 387, but *Justinian I in 535/6 ruled that Paphlagonia and Honorias should be reunited into a single province under a *Praetor (*NovJust* 29). The preface to this ruling contains the ingenious fancy that the Paphlagonians, who were linked in *Homer's *Iliad* with a tribe known as the Eneti, were kinsfolk of the Veneti of the Adriatic region of *Italy. It appears that Honorias was again separate by *c.*560.

Paphlagonia was a poor province, overshadowed by its neighbours, and noted in the 4th and 5th century for *asceticism (*Socrates, IV, 28). A *council was held at Gangra in the mid-4th century which tried to control excessive rigorism in Christian conduct. In the mid-5th century its *bishop was nominated, against normal practice, by the *metropolitan of Ancyra (*Ankara) in *Galatia (Council of Chalcedon *canon* 28). The writer and imperial adviser *Themistius probably came from Abonuteichos. SM

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, index *s.v.* Paphlagonia.

Paphos Important all-weather *harbour on the south coast of *Cyprus, with close ties to *Egypt. Palaepaphos, a classical sanctuary of Aphrodite, was abandoned after the 4th century. Nea Paphos, proclaimed by Severan *milestones as Sebaste Claudia Flavia Paphos, 'sacred metropolis of all the cities in Cyprus', was probably, but not certainly, the seat of the Roman *governor of the *province of Cyprus. It lost prestige in the 4th century when the capital moved to *Salamis, but still supported massive *basilicas and wealthy private *houses.

The south-west area of the *city has been uncovered in 50 years of Polish-led excavations. The main street drain was used continuously over at least eight centuries. The House of Theseus, one of the largest residences in the Mediterranean basin, stretched over six *insulae*, was built in the 2nd century, and enlarged in the 4th. It had a peristyle with apsidal hall, public and private wings, and lavish decoration and furnishings; it was possibly the governor's official residence. Two surviving figural *mosaics survive. One, with later patching, shows Theseus and the Labyrinth. The 4th/5th-century Birth of Achilles, with three more scenes, is badly damaged.

The House of Orpheus, of the late 2nd/early 3rd century, has a mosaic of Orpheus and the *Animals with a *Greek *inscription naming Titus or Gaius Pinius Restitus, presumably the *patron. The House of Aion, of the mid-4th century, had five spectacular mythological mosaics.

Four Christian *basilicas have been identified. Two date from the 4th century, the massive seven-aisled Chrysopolitissa, on the supposed site of the flogging of S. Paul, and the Toumaballos, perhaps a *martyrium for S. Hilarion. Two are from the 5th/6th centuries, Limeniotissa and Shryvallos. RKL

W. A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides, *A Guide to the Paphos Mosaics* (1988).

A. Papageorghiou, 'L'Architecture paléochretienne de Chypre', *Corsi di cultura* 32 (1985), 229–324.

Papirius of Isauria Fortress in the Taurus Mountains at an unknown site in *Isauria. It was the base of the bandit Indacus in 469, and was later used by *Illus to imprison *Verina, Flavius *Marcianus, and *Leontia. Following *Leontius' seizure of power in 484, the site was besieged for four years by *Zeno's troops, finally falling to treachery. HE

TIB 5 (1990) *s.n.* Papirion, 374–5.

Papnouthis, archive of Papnouthis, son of Aphynchis and Maria (*fl. c.*330–90) left behind a group of 53 *Greek *papyri which were found in the *city of *Oxyrhynchus where he lived. The *archive consists primarily of *letters between Papnouthis and his brother Dorotheos. The two men acted as assistants (*boethoi*) to the Praepositus Pagi Horion, and also to Eulogios and Diogenes, other tax-collecting liturgists. It was the brothers' responsibility to collect taxes, and their letters display both *literacy and high-level accounting skills. Papnouthis was sometimes required to travel to Alexandria as part of his duties. Their papers indicate their professional responsibilities as well as illustrating the practice of managing large *estates through trustworthy employees. GS; JSM

http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/172.

P.Oxy. XLVIII (1981), 3384–429.

R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1996), 158–60.

Pappus (*fl. c.*320) Author of a commentary in thirteen books on *Ptolemy's *Almagest* (Books V–VI still extant), a commentary in two books on *Euclid's *Elements* X (extant in *Arabic), and the *Collectio*, a miscellany in eight books, published as a whole after Pappus' death, of short monothematic writings, polemical tracts, antiquarian digressions, and lemmas filling up gaps in works belonging to well-defined *corpora*, such as the elementary astronomical treatises transmitted in the 'little astronomy' (Book VI). A lost *Chorographia* (mentioned in the **Suda*) is the acknowledged source of the **Armenian Geography*.

Pappus' *Collectio* is our unique source for 'marginal' domains of Greek *mathematics such as special curves and foundational issues (Book IV), and for the contents and aims of the so-called 'analytical *corpus*', a set of

twelve advanced treatises by Aristaeus, *Euclid, Eratosthenes, and Apollonius, most of them now lost (Book VII). Book I of the *Collectio* is lost. Subjects covered in other books include: Apollonius' contribution to setting up a notation for expressing large numbers (Book II, whose beginning is missing), solutions of the problem of doubling the cube, a classification of numerical means, a series of 'surprising' results about figures having arbitrarily large perimeters but containing arbitrarily small surfaces, constructions of the five regular polyhedra alternative to those in *Elements* XIII (Book III), isoperimetric and isoepiphanic results, and mechanics (Book VIII). FA

PLRE I, Pappus.
Collectio: ed. F. Hultsch (with LT, 1876–9).
Collectio, VII: ed. A. Jones (annotated with ET), 2 vols. (1986).
In Elementa X, ed. G. Junge and W. Thomson (annotated with ET, Harvard Semitic series 8, 1930).
In Almagestum, ed. A. Rome (annotated, ST 54, 1931).
Armenian Geography, ed. R. H. Hewsen (with comm. and ET), *The Geography of Ananias of Sirak: Aïxarhac'oyc', the Long and the Short Recensions* (1992).
S. Cuomo, *Pappus of Alexandria and the Mathematics of Late Antiquity* (2000).

papyri, Pahlavi Documents on *papyrus in Middle *Persian (P. Pehl.) have been found in *Egypt, dating from the decade of *Sasanian occupation between 619 and 628. They are principally letters and most of the personal names in them are Persian; they give evidence of titles, military ranks, and lists of food used as rations by the Persian army.

There are also *letters on parchment and *leather from the Iranian Plateau, dealing with economic and legal matters between the 7th and the 9th centuries AD. The script used in these letters is cursive, and provides evidence for the character of Middle Persian handwriting in Late Antiquity. TD

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Pehlevi Papyri (D. Weber), with list of papyri.
CII Part III *Pahlavi inscriptions*, vols. 4–5: *Ostraca and Papyri*.
Portfolio I, ed. J. de Menasce, *Ostraca and Papyri* (1957).
Texts 1, ed. D. Weber, *Ostraca, Papyri und Pergamente*. Textband 1 (1992).
Texts 2, ed. D. Weber, *Berliner Papyri, Pergamente und Leinenfragmente in mittelpersischer Sprache* (2003).

papyrus and papyrology Papyrus is a writing surface derived from the plant *Cyperus papyrus*, and papyrology the discipline which studies texts preserved on papyrus artefacts. The term 'papyrus' conventionally refers to all writing materials constituting the object of study of papyrology, including parchments, potsherds, wooden *tablets and labels, *leather, metal, bone, or linen. The term papyrology is not primarily applied to *inscriptions on stones or coin legends, which constitute the area of research of epigraphy and numismatics.

Papyrus, commodity and formats

The aquatic papyrus plant, still present in several Mediterranean locations and in tropical Africa, grew abundantly in the region of the *Nile delta and the *Fayyum, serving a variety of uses. The plant's lower part was edible, while its root could be used as fuel in the extraction of *iron and *copper; papyrus fibres could be interwoven, to create baskets and plaited products, as well as rope, coverlets, and boat caulks.

The writing material itself underwent a peculiar manufacturing process (*Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XIII, 74–82). According to H. Ragab's reconstruction, the triangular stem was cut along its length into five or six strips, which were subsequently laid crossways in two layers on a flat surface. The plant's own natural juices, serving as an efficient glue between the layers, guaranteed the solidity of the artefact. Sheets (Gk. κολλήματα) were glued together horizontally, forming a roll (χάρτης).

For brief texts, such as *letters, payment receipts, **libelli*, or school exercises, a small section could be cut off the original scroll. Standard rolls normally consisted of no more than twenty sheets (*Historia Naturalis*, XIII, 77), the number of exceptions decreasing in the Late Antique period (cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67151, from the *archive of *Dioscorus of *Aphrodito). Short documents could be joined together and numbered in sequence for archival purposes (τόμος συγκολλήσιμος).

The *Latin term for 'scroll', *volumen* (from *volvere* = to roll), expresses the perspective of a reader '(un)rolling' the papyrus with his right hand while holding the left extremity with the other hand. Because the text on a scroll was written only on one side (the *recto*) the reverse side of old scrolls (the *verso*) was frequently reused for other writing. The scroll was not the only format for papyrus *books. Papyrus was also used to make codices, books which consisted of multiple sheets folded, bound, or stitched together, like a modern book, and normally preserving a single text copied on both sides. The origins of the codex as a book form is probably not connected with the spread of Christianity, and may go back to the Roman codex of writing *tablets, i.e. a book composed of a group of wooden panels strung together (a *pugillar*), the surface of the wood either being written on directly or coated with wax which might be written on using a stylus.

Papyri and ancient history

Papyri are important not only for what they say about the individuals associated with them, but also for the reconstruction of the historical milieu of Late Roman

*Egypt. For instance, the archive of the landholder and farm tenant Aurelius *Isidorus (AD 267–324) not only sheds light on Isidorus' possessions, but provides evidence about the fiscal administration in Egypt after *Diocletian's tax reform of 297 (P.Cair.Isid. 9, 95).

Papyri tell us about individuals and also about the inner workings of specific Egyptian communities. They illuminate, for instance, the extent to which women communicated in writing; their use of *petitions and private letters drastically decreased after the end of the 3rd century. The extent of Christian *naming practices on papyri from Aphrodito at the turn of the 8th century reflects the extent of Egyptian Christianity.

The peculiarities of individual areas of life in Egypt at particular times are often known only from papyri. The recently published P.Lond.Herm. documents the use of copper *coinage for tax payments in the Hermopolite *Nome in the 6th century rather than the *gold **solidi* used to pay taxes elsewhere.

Other languages

Papyri survive in Egypt in languages other than *Greek. The disappearance of *Latin from private correspondence from the 4th century onwards indicates the decline of Greek–Latin *bilingualism in Egypt. After Diocletian, Latin survived as a juridical language used by the highest officials of the military and civil *administrations, such as the chief financial officer Vitalis (*ChLA* IV 253 and XIX 687, of AD 317–24), and the *Dux Aegypti Valacius (P.Abinn. 2 of AD 344), and remained in use in *reports of proceedings of *courts of law alongside Greek, introducing the speeches of such presiding officials as the Dux Aegypti (e.g. P.Oxy. LXIII, 4381 of AD 375) and the *Praeses *Arcadiae (XVI 1878–9, of AD 461 and 434).

Papyri indicate also the various uses of *Coptic. There are *Coptic literary texts. In addition, the *archive of the *Melitian *monastery of Hathor (P.Lond. VI and P.Neph.), the archive of the anchorite Apa John (P.Ryl. Copt. 268–74, 276), and the *Kellis private and business accounts (*c.* AD 355–80, P.Kellis V) all show Coptic being used in everyday documents. The archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito (AD 506–85, P.Aphrod.Lit.) is the first to attest the use of Coptic in judicial settings (AD 569, P.Cair.Masp. III 67353; *c.*AD 570, P.Lond. V 1709).

From the decade of Persian rule (619–29) and the brief period following the Roman reconquest, there survives a total of 199 ostraca and 124 *Pahlavi papyri (*CII* III, IV–V 1).

Late Antique papyri discovered outside Egypt include the *Petra Papyri and the *Nessana Papyri, groups of 228 Greek documents of the 6th and 7th centuries from the province of *Palaestina Tertia (P.Petra; *Sammelbuch* III 7011, V 8073–6; P.Ness. III 14, 16–44, 46–54, 79, 85, 89–91, 95, 97–157, 160–95). MPe

R. S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (1995).
R. S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (2009).
R. S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Græco-Roman East* (2011), 75–94.
A. Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Writing Materials in the Ancient World', 3–29, and J.-L. Fournet, 'The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation', 418–51, both in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009).
N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (1974).
S. J. Clackson and A. Papaconstantinou, 'Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri', in A. Papaconstantinou, ed., *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbāsids* (2010), 73–104.

Parabiago Plate *Silver plate, 39 cm (15.3 inches) in diameter, second half of the 4th century, found north-west of *Milan, now in the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan. In the centre, three Corybantes leap around Cybele and Attis in a cart drawn by four lions. The surrounding imagery evokes the cyclical renewal of life. JB

Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 146–56.

paracharactae Forgers of *coinage, legislated against in 389. A law of *Valentinian II, *Theodosius I, and *Arcadius (*CTh* IX, 21, 9) refers to *paracharactae* as the common name for makers of false money and declares them to be guilty of *treason. RRD

Hendy, *Studies.*

paradeisos *See* DASTGIRD.

Paradise *See* EARTHLY PARADISE.

parasang Unit for measuring distance, used in Persia, corresponding to 5.4 kms. (c. 3.3 miles). DTP

EncIran (2010) *s.v.* weights and measures i. Pre-Islamic period (A. D. H. Bivar).
W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (1955).
A. Houtum-Schindler, 'On the Length of the Persian Farsakh', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 10 (1888), 584–8.

Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai *See* *PATRIA* OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

parazonium A short sword or dagger, conventionally identified as one of the attributes of the *emperor in military *dress on certain Late Roman coin issues. Its assumed use in actual ceremonial contexts is not supported by any textual evidence. MGP

RIC VII (1966), 580 n. 67.
D. L. Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire, c.82 B. C.–A.D. 480. II. Coinage* (1999), 51.

Parenzo *See* POREČ.

Paris (dép. Paris, France, *civitas Parisiorum*) The *city developed during the Early Roman Empire into a bipolar settlement, on the Île de la Cité and the left bank of the Seine, and acquired the classical monumental landscape, with **forum*, *bath complexes (those of Cluny are preserved), a theatre and an odeon, and an amphitheatre (of which traces survive). Though never the capital of a *province, it became increasingly important in the 4th century; both *Julian and *Valentinian I stayed in Paris when campaigning in *Gaul, and Julian was acclaimed as *emperor there by his troops in 360.

The 9 ha (over 22 acres) of the Île de la Cité had been walled earlier in the century, and the cathedral came to be established in its eastern part. As the distribution of *cemeteries shows, occupation on the left bank, still laid out in relation to a *cardo* (now the rue S. Jacques), contracted significantly, and was left undefended except for the forum at the top of what became the 'Montagne S. Geneviève'. Two other cult sites of Late Antique origin are those of S. Denis (d. *c.*350), to the north of the city at the future *S. Denis, and S. Marcellus (d. *c.*435) in a suburb to the south-east.

The fate of the city in the 5th century is known largely from the life of the *virgin S. *Genovefa (d. 502), who reputedly saved Paris from the *Huns in 451 by her *prayers, and negotiated with the *Frankish kings *Childeric I and *Clovis I. In 508, Clovis chose the city as his capital, less for its strategic situation than because of the presence of Genovefa's tomb in a cemetery near the forum, over which he and his wife *Chlothild built the *Basilica of the Holy Apostles, intended as a dynastic mausoleum. After Clovis' death in 511, Paris became the capital of *Childebert I's share of the kingdom, and the church he built there in honour of S. Vincent became a preferred site for royal burials. S. *Germanus of Paris was also buried there, and eventually the church came to be known as S.-Germain-des-Prés. In 561, a similar division among the sons of *Chlothar I saw *Charibert I, the eldest of them, inherit the kingdom of Paris; on his death, his three brothers swore an agreement not to enter the city without mutual consent, and *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* VII, 6) has *Guntram claim that *Sigibert I and *Chilperic I died for breaking it. The city's primacy continued under the unified rule of *Chlothar II and *Dagobert I, a great patron of the Church of *S. Denis, where he and his son *Clovis II were buried, but its political importance diminished after the mid-7th century.

The Merovingian city retained the bipolarity of its Roman predecessor, and several churches emerged on the left bank, both in the peripheral cemeteries, and in due course all along the *cardo*. A little further to the west, one of the most prestigious of these foundations was sponsored by Childebert I in honour of S. Vincent, and consecrated in 558; the king was the first of various *Merovingians to be buried there. On the right bank of the Seine, meanwhile, funerary basilicas such as S. Gervais and S. Germain-l'Auxerrois began to emerge in the same period. Textual references to urban houses and jewellery shops offer further hints of the relative prosperity of the Merovingian city as a focus for the landowning aristocracy of the Paris basin. PPé; STL

CAGaule 75 (1998).

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 8 (1992), 97–129; 16/1 (2014), 203–15.

*RGA*2 22 (2002) *s.n.* Paris, 488–96 (P. Périn).

P. Périn and A. Dierkens, in G. Ripoll and J.-M. Gurt, eds., *Sedes Regiae (ann. 400–800)* (2000), 267–304.

P. Périn, P. Velay, and L. Renou, *Collections mérovingiennes* (*Catalogues d'Art et d'Histoire du Musée Carnavalet*, vol. 2, 1985).

Paris, Edict of (AD 614) A body of legislation issued by a *council of *bishops and lay magnates assembled by the Frankish King *Chlothar II in *Paris in October 614, following his victory over the regime of *Brunhild and her great-grandson *Sigibert II. The Edict needs to be read in combination with the canons of the church council (Paris V) which had met a week earlier, with which it has some overlap, even if also a modest discrepancy in perspective.

The Edict has often been seen as Chlothar's concession to the nobles who put him in power. While this perspective can be exaggerated, the Edict does appear to correct abuses from previous regimes and remained an occasional touchstone in politics throughout the 7th century. It is merely accidental that the Edict is the last surviving example of legislation of the *Merovingian kings (along with the so-called *Praeceptio* of *Chlothar II), because we know that the Merovingian kings continued to issued edicts, though none of these has survived. ACM

A. C. Murray, 'Immunity, Nobility and the *Edict of Paris*', *Speculum* 69/1 (1994), 18–39.

Paris Cameo Tricolour oval sardonyx *cameo of the 3rd century, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (inv. 1893). It portrays *Shapur I's victory over *Valerian of AD 260 as an equestrian duel. It is of Roman craftsmanship and measures 10.3 cm wide, 6.8 cm high, and 0.9 cm thick (4 × 2.7 × 0.35 inches). MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*.

R. Göbl, *Der Triumph des Sasaniden Sahpuhr über die Kaiser Gordianus, Philippus und Valerianus. Die ikonographische Interpretation d. Felsreliefs* (Denkschr. Wien 116, 1974).

Paris Syriac Bible Illuminated *Syriac manuscript, of the *Peshitta text of the *Bible of the 8th century. It came from the Episcopal Library of Siirt in south-east Turkey, where it was perhaps written, and is now in Paris (BNF ms. Syr. 341, 8al). The illustrations resemble those of the *Rabbula Gospels. OPN; NAS

R. Sörries, *Die Syrische Bibel von Paris. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syr. 341: eine frühchristliche Bilderhandschrift aus dem 6. Jahrhundert* (1991).

G. Kiraz and D. Ojala, *Digital Enhancements of Jules Leroy's Album of Illuminated Syriac Manuscripts, including a Facsimile Edition of Les Manuscrits Syriaques a peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient: contribution a l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue Syriaque* (Gorgias Manuscript Studies 4, forthcoming).

parrhesia The 'freedom of speech' traditionally cultivated by *philosophers, and adopted in Late Antiquity by Christian *bishops and monks, who justified their frankness with religious principle. *See also* PATRONAGE. JND

Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 61–70.

H. Leppin, 'Power from Humility: Justinian and the Religious Authority of Monks', in Cain and Lenski, eds., *Power of Religion*, 155–64.

parricide (Lat. *parricidium*) According to the *Lex Pompeia de parricidiis* (52 BC), parricide was the wrongful and deliberate killing of close relatives or *patrons, to be punished by an aggravated form of death penalty. The culprit was put in a sack, usually with live animals (the sources mention *dogs, cocks, vipers, and apes) and thrown into the sea or a river or, lacking these, to wild beasts (**Digest*, 48, 9; *CTh* IX. 15, 1). Most of the time, this punishment (known as the *poena cullei*) applied only to persons who had killed their parent or grandparent, though there is a record of a Christian being subjected to it during the Great *Persecution (*Eusebius, *MartPal* [S] 5, 1).

The murder of other close relatives, up to cousins and the children's spouses, although called parricide and covered by the same statute, was punished by simple death. Also, a father (as **paterfamilias*) had an ancient right to slay those who were in his legal power, like sons and daughters, but this remained theoretical and did not occur in practice. *Infanticide and exposure of children were not identified as parricide. AAr

Partav (mod. Barda) Political and ecclesiastical capital of Caucasian *Albania. The city was founded by the Albanian King Vache II (AD 460) and replaced the former capital *Gabala. From the mid-6th century, Partav became the seat of the Catholicus of *Albania, who was also known as the Archbishop of Partav. According to *Movses Kaghankatvatsi, in the mid-7th century the Prince *Juansher made Partav his capital once more. NA

M. Bais, *Albania caucasica: ethnos, storia, territorio attraverso le fonti greche, latine e armene* (2001).

Parthenius (*c.*480/5–548) Grandson of *Ruricius, and possibly of the *Emperor *Avitus. He was in *Arles by *c.*506, and served as ambassador at the *Ostrogothic *court in *Ravenna, where he studied with *Arator, who praised his learning, as (posthumously) did *Gogo. He was *vir illustrissimus* and **patricius* in Arles prior to 542 (*VCaesarii* I, 49), and *Magister Officiorum and *patricius* in the service of *Theudebert I in 544 (Arator, *ep. ad Parthenium*). He may have brokered the transfer of *Provence from Ostrogothic to Frankish rule. On Theudebert's death, he was lynched in *Trier by *Franks hostile to his fiscal policies, and ungenerously remembered by *Gregory of *Tours as a flatulent uxoricide (*HF* III, 36). STL

PLRE II, Parthenius.

PCBE IV/2, Parthenius 1.

Paschale Campanum (6th cent.) Modern title for an anonymous work continuing from 464 the *Easter table of *Victor of Aquitaine. It was probably composed in *Campania not long after the two eruptions of the nearby Mount Vesuvius, which it records for the years 505 and 512. It was later continued in various phases as far as 613. BC

ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 744–51.

R. W. Burgess, 'Paschale Campanum', in G. Dunphy, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (2012).

Paschasius of Dumium, S. (6th cent.) Monk of Dumium (*Spain) under S. *Martin of *Braga who translated from *Greek to *Latin the **Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (*CPL* 1079c) at the request of S. Martin, who taught him Greek. The collection was probably used in Dumium as a monastic Rule. The work introduced eastern *asceticism to *Gallaecia. Since Paschasius addressed Martin as *presbyter et abbas*, the date of translation is between 550 and 556, before S. Martin was *Bishop of Braga. AF

ed. C. W. Barlow (1950), 30–51.

ET C. W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 1: *Writings of Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, and Leander of Seville* (FC 62, 1969), 111–72.

J. G. Freire, *A versão latina por Pascásio de Dume dos Apophthegmata Patrum*, 2 vols. (1971).

Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Constantinopolitanorum Composed in 869, this iconophile confection derived from *Theophanes and the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* narrates the supposed destruction of the image of Christ

at the Chalke Gate in *Constantinople, an incident now considered mythical. It relates how the orthodox, headed by the aristocratic lady Mary, accompanied by ten other martyrs, killed a soldier who was trying to destroy this *icon. Incensed, the *Emperor *Leo III had the resisters arrested, tortured, and executed. MTGH

BHG 1195.
AASS August II, 428–48.
M.-F. Auzépy, 'La Destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III: propaganda ou réalité?', *Byzantion* 60 (1990), 445–92.

pastophoria *See* DIACONICON; PROTHESIS.

pastoralism Extensive livestock husbandry, whether or not involving the seasonal movement of herds to exploit grazing opportunities which is known as transhumance. Pastoralism became a more pronounced feature of Late Antique Mediterranean and European rural production than it had been in the earlier Roman imperial period. Late Antiquity was inaugurated by the incursions into the Roman world of one nomadic pastoral culture, the *horse-rearing *Huns from the *Central Asian steppe, and was brought to a close following invasion by another, the *camel-herding tribes of the *Arabian Peninsula. In addition to these incursions, growing hostility between herders and agriculturalists seems to have characterized the southern edges of the post-Roman world in North *Africa. Nevertheless, pastoralism is a form of production that can survive only in symbiosis with *farming, and helps to spread the risks inherent in rural economies. It can thus be seen as a response to the tensions of the Late Antique political situation as well as a component of it. A renewed emphasis on pasture for *cattle, *sheep, and *goats is most evident in the former western *provinces of the Roman Empire from the 5th century, for example, after the collapse of state demands for extensive cereal cultivation, and the loss of large integrated markets for specialist producers. PHo

F. L. Cheyette, 'The Disappearance of the Ancient Landscape and the Climatic Anomaly of the Early Middle Ages: A Question to be Pursued', *EME* 16 (2008), 127–65.
T. Lewit, 'Pigs, Presses and Pastoralism: Farming in the Fifth to Sixth Centuries AD', *EME* 17 (2009), 77–91.
C. Wickham, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400–1200* (1994).

pastoral scenes Representations of typical events from village life in the countryside, including scenes of the *vintage, the harvest, and *hunting, continued to decorate *houses, public buildings, and churches from the 4th to the 6th centuries.

Cycles of the Labours of the Months were a subject chosen for floor *mosaics in many parts of the Empire, for instance in the House of the Months (Maison des Mois) at *Thysdrus (mod. El Djem, Tunisia), where figures perform the activities of each month. Other depictions of the Labours of the Months feature *personifications of the months or of the seasons holding attributes related to their place in the yearly cycle, as in the *Villa of the Falconer at *Argos. Personifications of the Months were popular in art in other media as well, including in the *Codex-Calendar of 354. These depictions appear to have ceased in the mid-6th century in the East, with the latest securely dated representations at Jerash (531) and *Scythopolis (538).

The natural world might be evoked in other ways also, ranging from *foliage in *architectural sculpture to the standard Roman pastoral imagery apparent on the *silver plates of the *Perm Treasure. Some familiar images such as the *Good Shepherd, the *inhabited scroll, and the *Seasons (Gk. *Horai*) continued to be used and acquired fresh meanings for Christian observers. SVL

G. Akerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos: A Study in Early Byzantine Iconography* (1976).
D. M. Levi, 'The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art', *ArtBull* 23 (1941), 251–92.
J. C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (1938).
H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (1987).
G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sacrophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 vols. (DOS 2, 1951).

Patara of Lycia Ancient *harbour *city with a five-aisled *basilica of the 6th century and numerous other churches. They stand outside the city walls, which may have been erected as defence against *Arab raids in the 7th/8th century. S. *Willibald spent a cold winter at Patara in 724 en route to the *Holy Land. PhN

S.-G. Bruer and M. Kunze, *Der Stadtplan von Patara und Beobachtungen zu den Stadtmauern* (2010).
V. Ruggieri, 'Patara', *OrChristPer* 75 (2009), 319–41.
C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, at 14–16.
U. Peschlow, 'Patara', in P. Niewöhner (ed.), *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia* (2017), 280–90. 50.

Pater Civitatis *See* CURATOR REI PUBLICAE.

paterfamilias Male head of a *household (Lat. **familia*), possessing legal power (*patria potestas*) over its members. This could include legally sanctioned power over a wife, dependants (natural and adoptive children, in addition to the wives of those sons who remained *in potestate*, under his authority, and their children), and slaves. The *paterfamilias* was responsible for protecting the *familia*, for enhancing its wealth, and

for assuring orderly transfers of property after his death. In Late Antiquity, the notion of paternal power (*patria potestas*) continued to function as a legal concept. The Late Antique *paterfamilias* still enjoyed considerable legal rights, moral authority, and social power, although there was some diminution of *patria potestas* in specific areas. A *paterfamilias* could still legally flog his wife for immoral behaviour, but with the intention of correcting her rather than punishing her. According to *Justinian I, anyone who became a Christian *bishop or who obtained a high-ranking post in the imperial *administration was thereby freed from paternal power. GSN; CHu

A. Arjava, 'Paternal Power in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 88 (1998), 147–65.

***Patericon*, Armenian** (Arm. *Vark' haranc'*, *Lives of the Fathers*) Armenians translated the *Lives* and **Apophtegmata Patrum* of the Egyptian desert fathers from *Greek and *Syriac from the 5th century onwards. In 747 Solomon of Makenots' *Monastery composed a homiliary containing 70 items translated by Symeon the Hermit. Gagik, Abbot of H. Atomavank' added translations in the 9th–10th centuries. *Catholicos Grigor II Vkayasēr (Martyrophilos, r. 1066–1105) had many lives translated as well. A first full collection was compiled at Skewṙa monastery under Nersēs Lambronats'i (1192). A second, expanded redaction, containing new texts and retranslated ones, was compiled in the 14th century, also in *Cilicia. N. Sarkissian's edition (1855), followed by Leloir (1974–9), gives both translations where available. *Vark' Haranc'* contains some 100 items. *Florilegia* from *Vark' Haranc'* were used in monastic schools. *Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate no. 285 (1430) is a richly illuminated manuscript copy from Crimea. TMvL

ed. N. Sarkissian, *Vark' srboc' Haranc' ew K'ałakavarut'iwnk' noc'in ĕst krkin t'argmanut'ean naxneac'*, 2 vols. (1855).

LT (annotated): L. Leloir, *Paterica armeniaca a P.P. Mechitaristis edita (1855) nunc latine reddita*, 4 vols. (1974–9).

M. van Esbroeck, 'Les Apophtegmes dans les version orientales', *AnBol* 93 (1975), 381–9.

N. Stone, *The Kaffa Lives of the Desert Fathers* (1997).

Patermouthis, archive of Bilingual *family *archive centred on Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas, consisting of 32 *Greek and at least six *Coptic *papyri, together with several fragments, ranging in date from 493 to 613, and now divided between London and Munich. The archive was found at Aswan and mostly concerns the financial and legal matters of the family of Patermouthis, a boatman from *Syene, who later also acted as a soldier in the regiment of *Elephantine. Together these documents provide detailed glimpses of life in Late Antique Syene. JHFD

http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/37.

J. J. Farber and B. Porten, 'The Patermouthis Archive, a Third Look', *BASP* 23 (1986), 81–98.

J. H. F. Dijkstra, 'New Light on the Patermouthis Archive from Excavations at Aswan: When Archaeology and Papyrology Meet', *BASP* 44 (2007), 179–209.

Dijkstra, *Philae*, 65–78.

Patiens of Lyons *Bishop of *Lyons (449/50–after 475). Admired by *Sidonius Apollinaris as ascetic, preacher, church builder, and administrator, and in particular for sending *grain to relieve *famine in the *cities of the Rhône corridor in 471/2. In 469 Patiens commissioned a poem from Sidonius for a church he had completed (probably the new cathedral), and he was also the *patron of the *priest of Lyons, *Constantius, who dedicated his *Life* of S. *Germanus of Auxerre to Patiens. JDH; STL

PCBE IV/2, Patiens.

Patras *City of the north-west Peloponnese, in the *province of *Achaea, renowned for the martyrdom of the Apostle Andrew (*Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen*, 27, 410; cf. *Carmen*, 19, 78 and 356); the *relics of S. Andrew taken to *Constantinople came from Patras, and *Gregory of *Tours knew of his *martyrium and *miracles (*Gloria Martyrum*, 30). Badly damaged by an *earthquake in 539/40 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, IV, 25), the citizens of Patras subsequently fled from the *Slavs to Reggio di *Calabria (according to the **Chronicle of Monemvasia*). PA

***Patria* of Constantinople** A 10th-century compilation of texts on the history and monuments of *Constantinople. It includes the *Patria* of *Hesychius of *Miletus from the 6th century, the *Diegesis* about the construction of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom written *c.*900, materials also found in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (itself a compilation of mostly 8th-century material), and extracts from numerous other sources no longer identifiable. The *Patria* constitutes the most detailed and comprehensive source for the topography of Constantinople, but its various components were written for widely divergent purposes, and many may be characterized as legendary. For example, the 8th–10th-century material displays a consistent tendency to backdate buildings to the city's founder, *Constantine I. Substantial portions may have been composed with subversive intent, and the *Diegesis* has been interpreted as a veiled attack on the emperors of the later 9th century. Isolated statements must be evaluated, when possible, with reference to the agenda and reflexes of the source text. An 11th-century recension in which the entries are ordered topographically has proven invaluable for reconstructing the relative positions of lost landmarks. BWA

ed. (with ET) A. Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria* (2013).
ed. (with ET and comm.) Averil Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (1984).
ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols. (1901–7).
E. Vitti, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel. Kritische Edition mehrerer Versionen* (1986).
A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (1988).
G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: études sur le recueil des patria* (1984).

patriarch Designation for the episcopal sees of *Alexandria, *Jerusalem, *Antioch, *Constantinople, and *Rome. Canon 6 of the Council of *Nicaea (325) confirmed the broader jurisdiction of the *bishops of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, while the First Council of *Constantinople (381) elevated Constantinople to a patriarchate, and the Council of *Chalcedon (451) elevated *Jerusalem.

During the 4th and 5th centuries, the patriarchate system was informally recognized but contested: each patriarch oversaw a vast area and had the right to consecrate *metropolitan *bishops in it and to hear appeals from the decisions of metropolitans (generally the bishop of the principal city of each administrative *province). There was competition for primacy, jurisdictional boundaries were violated (consciously and unconsciously), and other sees, e.g. *Aquileia, *Carthage, *Milan, *Arles, *Thessalonica, and *Ephesus, frequently claimed patriarchal status. The *Emperor Justinian I formalized the 'pentarchy' (*NovJust* 131) and applied the title Œcumenical to the Patriarch of Constantinople. BKS

Jones, *LRE* 883–94.
Bingham, *Antiquities*, vol. 1 (1875), II, 17.

patriarch, Jewish The Jewish patriarch (Hebr. *Nasi*) was the leading Jewish communal official in the Late Roman and early Byzantine empires in both *Palestine and the diaspora. The office, which seems to have emerged around the turn of the 3rd century under the leadership of *Rabbi Judah I, had the support of the Severan dynasty (AD 193–235). The testimony of *Origen, who lived in *Caesarea *c.*230, reveals that the 'Jewish ethnarch' (another term for patriarch) functioned virtually as a king, enjoying, *inter alia*, the power of capital punishment (*Letter to Africanus*, 14).

Non-Jewish sources from the 4th century attest that the patriarchate enjoyed extensive prestige and recognition. The **Theodosian Code* is particularly revealing in this regard. One decree issued by the *Emperors *Arcadius and *Honorius in 397 spells out the dominance of the patriarch in a wide range of *synagogue affairs; he stood at the head of a network of officials, including archisynagogues, presbyters, and others in charge of this institution's religious dimension—all of whom had privileges on a par with the Christian clergy. Together with other realms of patriarchal authority noted in earlier rabbinic literature, such as calendrical decisions, declaring public fast days, and issuing bans, the prominence of this office in Jewish communal and religious life had now become quite pronounced. LL

L. I. Levine, 'The Nature and Origin of the Palestinian Synagogue Reconsidered', *JBL* 115 (1996), 425–48.
L. I. Levine, 'The Emergence of the Patriarchate in the Third Century', in R. Boustan et al., eds., *Peter Schäfer Festschrift* (2013).

Patricius A Jewish revolt in 351–2 against the *Caesar *Gallus, centred on *Sepphoris/Diocaesarea (*Jerome, *Chron.* 238f), 'wickedly promoted Patricius to a semblance of rule' (Aurelius *Victor XLII, 11). According to *Socrates (II, 33) and *Sozomen (IV, 7), Sepphoris was destroyed. While earlier scholars considered this revolt a major incident, recent scholarship views it as having been marginal in scope and consequences. LL; OPN

PLRE I, Patricius 2.
M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine* (1976), 176–81.
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 316 n. 55.

patricius Roman *title of honour, used throughout Late Antiquity. In the Republic and early Empire, *patricius* was a hereditary title, held only by the oldest noble families. *Constantine I revived the title as a personal rather than a hereditary designation. The first of these new *patricii* was Flavius Optatus (*Consul 334). The title remained rare through the mid-5th century; even under *Zeno a *patricius* had to be a former consul, *Praefectus Praetorio, or *Praefectus Urbi. Later, the title was granted more frequently and therefore lost some value. In the West, it had been a title of *Stilicho, and during the 5th century, starting with *Constantius III, became the normal distinction of the emperor's principal *Magister Militum (e.g. *Aëtius and *Ricimer) and then a title of *de facto* independent rulers such as *Odoacer and *Theoderic in Italy and the *Burgundian kings *Gundobad and *Sigismund. Both *Odoacer and *Theoderic I also gave the title, along with administrative posts, to *senatorial aristocrats such as *Boethius. In the East, *Justinian I opened the honour to all **illustres*. The title *patricius* continued to be granted in the East to the highest *governors and generals until the 10th century before disappearing entirely in the 12th century. EMB

Jones, *LRE* 106, 176–7, 245, 247, 343–4, 534.
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 275–7.

Patricius, Flavius As *Magister Militum Praesentalis (500–18), he invaded *Arzanene and enjoyed success at *Amida, eventually killing the Persian commander. He was involved in the religious disputes at *Constantinople in 510/11, and tried to calm the 512 riot. In 513, he was sent as an envoy to his friend, the *usurper *Vitalian. After *Anastasius I's death, the **scholares* made him their candidate for the *purple. FKH

PLRE II, Patricius 14.
Greatrex, *RPW*.
Haarer, *Anastasius*.
Meier, *Anastasios*.

Patricius, Julius Son of the powerful general *Aspar, and brother of *Ardabur. In order to secure Aspar's loyalty, in 470–1 Patricius was earmarked by the *Emperor Leo I to succeed as emperor by being promoted to *Caesar and by marrying Leo's daughter *Leontia, though only after promising to renounce his *Homoean ('Arian') theological convictions. He was deposed when Aspar was murdered in 471. Leontia then married Flavius *Marcianus. ADL

PLRE II, Patricius 15.

Patrick, S. (*fl.* 5th cent.) Missionary, patron saint of *Ireland, and author of the *Epistola ad Coroticum* and *Confessio*. All information for Patrick comes from these writings. They do not contain exact dates and he was possibly born as early as the late 4th century and died as late as the end of the 5th.

A Romano-Briton, Patrick's father Calpornicus was a *deacon and *decurio, while his grandfather Potitus was a *priest. At 16 he was captured near his township, Bannaventa Berniae (unidentified), and brought to Ireland as a slave. After six years he escaped and returned to his family. It is possibly at this stage that he received his religious education and became a deacon. He writes that following a vision he returned to Ireland (identifying an area near the Forest of Foclut on the west coast) in order to convert the non-Christian population. Patrick produced both of his writings during his mission and they provide unrivalled accounts of the 5th century in both *Britain and Ireland. He declares himself a *bishop in both, but the legitimacy of this claim has been questioned by some scholars.

Patrick is credited with Ireland's *conversion and is commemorated in two important 7th-century *Lives* by the Irish clerics, Tírechán and Muirchú. His cult is associated with *Armagh; according to tradition he died on 17 March and is buried at Downpatrick. ED

ODNB s.v. Patrick [St Patrick, Pádraig] (Stancliffe).
BHL 6492–518.
CPL 1099–106.
ed. L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (1979; repr. 2000).
Saint Patrick's Confessio Hyperstack, Royal Irish Academy (2011): http://www.confessio.ie.
ET P. and P. McCarthy, *My Name is Patrick: S. Patrick's* Confessio (2011).
ET P. Freeman, *World of S. Patrick* (2014).

Patrimonium Si. Petri Property owned by the Church of *Rome, for which the main sources of information are the **Liber Pontificalis* and the *letters in *Gregory the Great's *Registrum Epistularum*. The Patrimonium experienced dramatic growth under *Constantine I. Under Pope Silverius (536–7), the Patrimonium collected rents from 160 properties. The geographic range of patrimonial properties was not limited to *Italy, but included areas across the western Mediterranean. The redefinition of political boundaries during the 5th century had limited effect. By the end of the 6th century, the Church of Rome was the largest landowner in Italy and the Patrimonium included estates in *Sicily, North *Africa, *Gaul, and *Dalmatia. Byzantine conquests in the West during the 6th century increased some holdings, although Pope Pelagius (556–61) claimed that the *Gothic War had crippled rent collection in Italy. Outside Italy, the papacy's cultivation of ties to local rulers and bishops probably played an important role in maintaining the Patrimonium. The regular dispatch of patrimonial administrators outside Italy renewed diplomatic ties between the papacy and regional secular and ecclesiastical powers. Properties administered by papal officials outside Italy provided nodes for communication across the West. The systematic reorganization of the patrimonial administration by Gregory the Great (sed. 590-604) represents a response to changing secular institutions in Italy and across the West. The letters of Gregory the Great reveal a complex administrative system in which *defensores* and *rectores* governed various estates with assistance from locally appointed *actionarii*. In Gaul, these appointments may have been made by the Bishop of *Arles. In Sicily alone, *actionarii* managed 100,000 **coloni* and slaves on 400 *estates. These resources were a substitute for the former imperial **annona* for the populace of Rome; they supported the clergy, funded *almsgiving, and supplied papal gifts. MSB

R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (1997), 112–24.
K. Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy* (2012), 113–24.

patrocinium Formalized *patronage relationship establishing dependence between large landowners or powerful office-holders (civil, military, or ecclesiastical) and peasants (hence the expression *patrocinium vicorum*). Such patrons offered protection against tax collection in return for payment or (less commonly) the

ceding of property. *Emperors condemned the practice (*CTh* XI, 24). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 775–8.

J.-U. Krause, *Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (Vestigia 38, 1987).

Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 527–9.

patronage A form of dependency normally between powerful patrons and clients who needed or wished for protection or support. Emancipated slaves (freedmen) were always subject to the patronage of their former owners.

The relationship between clients and patrons was characterized by duties and obligations on both sides. The client expected from his patron security and protection, especially against state intervention. Clients of comparable social status to that of their patron normally expected support for their careers. Many patrons helped their clients towards appointments they could not otherwise have attained. The *letters of *Symmachus in particular provide broad insight into the working of networks of patronage (e.g. III, 50; III, 87; VII, 107). The easiest way to reach a higher office was to be a client (*see* SUFFRAGIUM) even though in Late Antiquity the sale of public offices (*suffragium emptum*) became more common and was prosecuted (*CTh* VI, 22, 1). Most clients could expect smaller privileges such as defence in *court or protection against the exertion of influence by other aristocrats or the state (Symmachus, *ep.* II, 41). Clients could also expect the presents known as **sportulae* or invitations to *convivia* (*Ammianus, XIV, 6, 14).

The relationship between patron and client was, however, reciprocal. Patrons as well as clients expected to profit by it. First, the size of a patron's *clientela* was a sign of his importance and *potentia*. Secondly, the terms in which patronage was defined guaranteed a patron certain services. The client was expected to provide *obsequium* and *reverentia*—terms which mean respect and honourable treatment (*Eusebius Gallicanus, *Sermon*, 41, 3 = CCSL 101A, 488). These rather vague obligations included, for example, the *salutatio*—the greeting of the patron each morning (Ammianus, XIV, 6, 12). According to *Augustine clients mainly rendered services or favours (Sermon, 2, 14 = CCSL 39, 1244). Rich men were therefore often patrons of artists, as those with such talents could repay *beneficia* with *music or poetry (Ammianus, XIV, 6, 18).

A free-born man could leave his patron at any time. A freedman, however, was tied to his patron for his entire life. Patronage over freedmen was constituted in the same manner as it was for the free-born, but during the course of Late Antiquity patronage over freedmen became hereditary but bound on the patron not on the children of the patron (*CJust* VI, 7, 4). Therefore institutions or entities which could also be patrons remained so over generations of free-born who descended from freedmen (Council of Toledo, 4, 70 = Vives, *Concilios Visigoticos*, 215).

It was possible to be a patron not only of a person but also of *cities and even *provinces (e.g. Symmachus, *ep.* IX, 58). The *euergetism of patrons helped to provide infrastructure, entertainment, and other public *beneficia*. However, *Libanius complained that patronage of *villages by soldiers stationed locally could lead to serious abuses (*Oration*, 47, 4).

Forms of patronage existed everywhere in Late Antiquity. The *tribes which entered the Roman Empire adapted the Roman system of patronage. The *Persian Empire also knew forms of dependency between different classes. JUB

J.-U. Krause, *Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (Vestigia 38, 1987).

A. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *Patronage in Ancient Society* (1989).

C. F. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds., *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (2007).

P. D. A. Garnsey, 'Roman Patronage', in McGill et al., *Tetrarchs to Theodosians*, 33–54.

J. D. Harries, 'Favor Populi: Pagans, Christians and Public Entertainment in Late Antique Italy', in K. Lomas and T. Cornell, eds., *Bread and Circuses: Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy* (2003), 125–41.

patronage, artistic Support for artistic or architectural commissions was essential for the creation of works of *art and monuments. Patronage allowed individuals to discharge social duties of *euergetism; to broadcast their wealth, rank, and *education (*paideia*); to express their religious faith; and to create dwellings and family tombs for public and private enjoyment.

The patron's involvement depended on the project. Some patrons personalized prefabricated works (such as *sarcophagi), while others worked intimately with artists, including *Symmachus, the *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome, who wrote of his desire to use a new form of *mosaic to decorate the ceilings of his *villa (*ep.* VIII, 42, 10–13). *Emperors, *empresses, and civic officials were expected to construct and decorate public buildings and churches. They included *Justinian I, whose architectural commissions were recorded in *Procopius' *Buildings* (*Aed.*). Other high- and middle-ranking patrons also recorded and commemorated their involvement through *inscriptions or in *donor portraits, as in the *mosaics of many churches in Jordan. Patronage was not limited to the *aristocracies, as well-off people of the middling sort also commissioned art, for example the 6th- and 7th-century *liturgical *silver vessels donated to churches such as *Kaper Koraon in *Syria. SVL

P. Baumann, *Spätantike Stifter im heiligen Land. Darstellungen und Inschriften auf Bodenmosaiken in Kirchen, Synagogen und Privathäusern* (1999).

S. Birk and B. Poulsen eds., *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity* (2012).
E. Kitzinger, 'Artistic Patronage in Early Byzantium', in *Settimane di studio del CISAM* (1992), vol. 1, 3–55 (repr. in his *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art* (2002), vol. 1, 573–98).

patronage, imperial Artistic patronage was both an important expression and an essential tool of imperial policy. As such it was celebrated by contemporary writers like *Paul the *Silentiary, author of a *panegyric *ecphrasis in *praise of *Justinian I's *Church of the Holy Wisdom (563). The imperial administration furnished funds, materials, and manpower, even if it remains difficult to gauge how involved the imperial patron was in determining the form of the envisioned work.

Emperors funded building activity related to defence and the provision of public amenities in the spirit of traditional *euergetism. As the Empire became more Christian, such patronage became increasingly informed by Christian notions of charity. Such public works were also statements of imperial power, as were triumphal *arches (such as the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome), historiated columns (such as the Column of *Arcadius at *Constantinople), and imperial statues. Such commemorative monuments followed a well-established Roman imperial tradition, glorifying the emperor as the ever-victorious ruler of the world, while the gradual infiltration of Christian symbols and themes into their iconography resulted in qualifying the nature of imperial triumph and authority as ultimately deriving from God.

Imperial piety was above all displayed in the construction of churches, their adornment with expensive *marble revetment and *mosaics, and the provision of precious liturgical vessels, *textile furnishings, and *lighting devices, such as those listed in the **Liber Pontificalis* (34) as being given by Constantine I to churches in Rome and elsewhere in *Italy. Female members of the imperial family could also found churches and other charitable works, as did the *Empress *Eudocia (*c.*400–460) in *Jerusalem.

On significant *anniversaries emperors gave medallions (such as those in the *Arras Hoard) and *silver plate (such as the *Missorium of *Theodosius I of 388) to those serving in the *army and civil *administration, so promoting the patronage of *metalwork. This practice of **largitio* was a manifestation of imperial munificence, a means by which the emperor cultivated the loyalties of his officials, and a way of disseminating imperial iconography. Imperial artistic commissions, such as the *gold *reliquary *cross of *Justin II (r. 565–78) and *Sophia (now in the Vatican), could also be given to other rulers or to ecclesiastical hierarchs in the service of *diplomacy. MGP

J. Eisner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire, AD 100–450* (1998).
Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*.
Leader-Newby, *Silver*, 11–59.
Averil Cameron, 'The Artistic Patronage of Justin II', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 62–84.

Patti Marina *Villa near Tyndaris, *Sicily. An *apsidal and a tri-apsidal hall open off a central peristyle; the peristyle corridors and several rooms are decorated with *mosaic floors, primarily displaying geometric patterns. A thermal *bath and other outbuildings are part of the same complex. Built over a previous building in the first half of the 4th century AD, it was destroyed by an *earthquake at the end of that century. CS

G. Voza, 'L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale', *Kokalos* 32–3 (1976–7), 574–9.
G. Voza, 'Attività nel territorio della Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Siracusa nel quadriennio 1980–84', *Kokalos* 30–1 (1984–5), 659–61.

Paul Usurper, 673. A *Dux sent by the *Visigothic King *Wamba to suppress a revolt in *Narbonensis, Paul joined the sedition and usurped the *crown. Wamba defeated him after a few months. CMG

L. A. García Moreno, ed., *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo* (1974), 65–8.
ET (annotated) J. Martínez Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba: Julian of Toledo's 'Historia Wambae Regis'* (2005).

Paul, *Sententiae* of A pseudonymous Roman legal compilation in *Latin, probably put together in North *Africa, *c.*300. The *Sententiae* (opinions) do not survive intact, but only as reused in later works, particularly the **Breviarium of Alaric*. Reconstructions are generally similar to one another, the most different being that of D. Liebs (1996).

Debate has focused on whether the text was stable or updated over time, and whether it reflects late classical as opposed to 'vulgar' *law. It comprises an edited and augmented miscellany of material from Paulus, the early 3rd-century jurist, arranged under titles in five books, providing comprehensive and concise coverage of all aspects of Roman law. Its clear summary style made it accessible and popular. Accepted as authoritative by *Constantine I (*CTh* I, 4, 2 of AD 328), it became obsolete in the 6th century on the publication of the *Breviarium of Alaric* and *Justinian I's **Digest*. SJJC

ed. in *FIRA* II, 321–417.
D. Liebs, 'Die pseudopaulinischen Sentenzen. II: Versuch einer neuen Palingenesie', *ZRG* (RA) 113 (1996), 132–242.
D. Liebs, *Römische Jurisprudenz in Africa. Mit Studien zu den pseudopaulinischen Sentenzen* (²2005).

Paul, Vision of S. An influential description of S. Paul's journey through Heaven and Hell (inspired by 2 Cor. 12:2), written originally in *Greek, surviving

in multiple *Latin recensions and in *Syriac and many other translations. Towards the end of the tour, S. Paul and the Archangel Michael secure from Christ a respite on *Sundays for the sufferings of the wicked. A prologue recounts how the text (and the Apostle's shoes) were found in 388 at *Tarsus in a *marble box in S. Paul's former house, and how it was presented to the *emperor. A *priest of Tarsus told *Sozomen (VII, 19) that no such discovery had ever been made.

This text is distinct from a *Coptic Apocalypse of Paul (*CPG* 1191) discovered at *Nag Hammadi which makes reincarnation the fate of those who do not attain complete *gnosis*. OPN

ABD vol. 5, 203–4 *s.v. Paul, Apocalypse of* (Ph. Perkins).

Greek text ed. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (1886), 34–69.

Latin text ed. T. Silverstein and A. Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul: A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions* (Cahiers d'orientalisme 21, 1997).

Syriac text ed. G. Ricciotti in *Orientalia*, 2 (1933), 1–25, 120–49.

ET in Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 616–44.

M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (1985).

Paula (347–404) **and Eustochium** (d. 419) Paula was a Roman noblewoman who, as a *widow, pursued the religious life, first at *Rome and then, after 385/6, in *Palestine, where she established *monasteries in *Bethlehem. Her five children included Paulina, who was married to *Pammachius, Blesilla, who converted to extreme *asceticism after being widowed and died soon afterwards, causing consternation at *Rome, and Eustochium, who adopted the ascetic life while still a child. Both women were close friends of *Jerome, who wrote a number of *letters to them, including the controversial *ep.* 22 on virginity, to Eustochium. They were biblical scholars and also the dedicatees of several of Jerome's commentaries on the *Bible. After Paula's death Jerome wrote Eustochium a letter of *consolation (*ep.* 108). Eustochium took over direction of the monasteries. LHCG

PLRE I, Paula 1; *PCBE* II/2, Paula 1.

PLRE I, Eustochium; *PCBE* II/1 Eustochium.

BHL 6548:

ed. (with ET and comm.) A. Cain, *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula* (OECT, 2013).

ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen and J. W. Smit (annotated, with introd. by C. Mohrmann, and IT), *Vita di Martino; Vita di Ilarione; In memoria di Paola* (*Vite dei Santi* 4, ²1983).

Paulicians Heretical sect of Christianity with a following primarily in *Armenia. In calling themselves Paulicians, the sectarians claimed a monopoly on the pure doctrines of the Apostle S. Paul; others associated them with the 3rd-century heretic Paul of Samosata, while others consider their name to derive from the Armenian Paul of Kallinike. In Armenian sources the name Paulician is first listed in the Oath of Union taken at the Second *Council of *Dvin summoned by *Catholicus Nerses II Bagrewandats'i (548–57). This attestation comes one century before the supposed organization of the sect by Constantine-Silvanus, during the reign of the *Emperor *Constans II (641–68). The Catholicus Yovhannes Odznets'i, in his discourse *Against the Paulicians*, refers to them as 'the remnant of the old Messalianism *Paylakenut'ean* reprimanded by Catholicos Nerses'. According to Peter of Sicily they 'call themselves Christians and they call us Romans'. Although they were long presumed (based on the report of this same Peter) to be Manichaeans, they were not dualist but Adoptionist. Their teaching was based on a primitive *gnosticism, rejecting *Mani and Manichaeism and the teaching of Paul of Samosata. They rejected all the sacraments of the Christian Church, the Old Testament, and the saving grace of Christ's *Cross. VN

N. G. Garsoian, 'Byzantine Heresy: A Reinterpretation', *DOP* 25 (1971), 87–113; repr. in her *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (Variorum Reprints, 1985).

V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement: Religious Movement in the Armenian Church from the Fourth to the Tenth Centuries* (1987).

Paulinus (*fl.* 407/410) Author of *Epigramma Paulini*, a 110-line hexameter poem describing the corruption of contemporary *Gaul, set against recent barbarian invasions. It is in *dialogue form, with a pastoral frame and monastic setting. MJR

PLRE II, Paulinus 5.

HLL, section 628.

CPL 1464:

ed. C. Schenkl (CSEL 16, 1888, 499–510).

Paulinus of Milan *Deacon of *Milan and biographer of *Ambrose of Milan. A close associate of Ambrose, Paulinus moved to *Africa after Ambrose's death (397) in order to administer the property there of the Church of Milan. He was active in the early opposition to *Pelagian teaching and, at *Augustine's request, composed the *Life of Ambrose* (*c.*422). Paulinus also composed the *Libellus Adversus Caelestium* (*CPL* 1600) sent to Pope Zosimus and preserved in the **Collectio Avellana*. DGH

PCBE II/2, Paulinus 2.

VAmbrosii (*CPL* 169; *BHL* 377):

ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen in *Vite dei Santi* 3 (1975).

ed. (annotated with IT) M. Pellegrino (Verba Seniorum 1, 1961).

ed. M. S. Kaniecka (annotated with ET, CUA Patristic Studies 16, 1928).

ed. O. Günther (CSEL 35, 1895), 108–11.
ET F. R. Hoare (1954), J. A. Lacy (FC 15, 1952), B. Ramsey in *Ambrose: Early Church Fathers*, III, 1997).
É. Lamirande, *Paulin de Milan et la 'Vita Ambrosii'* (1981).
M. L. Proulx, *Speculum Episcopis: History, Hagiography, and Episcopal Competition in the Works of Sulpicius Severus and Paulinus of Milan* (doctoral thesis, University of California Santa Barbara, 2007).

Paulinus of Nola (*c.*352–431) Gallo-Roman aristocrat, poet, ascetic, and *Bishop of Nola in *Campania (*c.*410–31). Meropius Pontius Paulinus was born in *Aquitaine, raised in a Christian milieu, and educated at *Bordeaux, where Decimus Magnus *Ausonius was among his teachers. Family connections and Ausonius' *patronage, enhanced by the latter's imperial offices, facilitated a *senatorial career (*c.*376–83) that included Paulinus' *governorship of Campania. Renewed residence in *Gaul and *Spain (*c.*383–95) was punctuated by marriage to Therasia, a meeting with S. *Martin of *Tours, *baptism, and Paulinus' declaration that he renounced the world. In 395, having been ordained to the *priesthood at *Barcelona, Paulinus returned to Campania to live as a *monachus* on the outskirts of Nola at the *memoria* of S. Felix. He resided there (mod. *Cimitile) until his death on 22 June 431.

Paulinus' conversion to *asceticism was controversial. Poems exchanged with Ausonius reveal him justifying himself before his mystified former teacher. Others, however, capitalized on the exemplary value of Paulinus' decision to offload his wealth and live simply beside the *tomb of a revered confessor. Nevertheless, Paulinus' story resists dichotomous reduction. He renounced his secular identity at a moment when asceticism was nascent, and not all saw wealth as a spiritual liability. He transformed his pre-conversion networks into pragmatic and affective relations with such leading Christian activists as *Sulpicius Severus, *Ambrose, *Jerome, *Augustine, *Rufinus, and the family of the ascetic doyenne S. *Melania the Elder. He used his wealth for *almsgiving but also to rebuild S. Felix's shrine into an up-to-date *basilica complex. He redefined classical *friendship by elevating the literary *letter and emphasizing the necessity of spiritual fellowship. While repudiating the Muses, Paulinus produced verse heavily indebted to *Latin poetic tradition. Having renounced the world in his 40s, he later emerged as an influential Italian bishop.

Paulinus' corpus consists of 51 letters, one *sermon, and 30 poems. Two groups of letters distinguish the correspondence: those sent to Sulpicius Severus, author of the *Life* of S. Martin of Tours, and those exchanged with Augustine. These expose both the social and spiritual dimensions of Christian *amicitia* and evolving modes of aristocratic self-expression and self-construction. Paulinus' letters frequently engage with ethical issues and interpret the *Bible, preferring associative enquiry and inviting dialogue while blending biblical and classical echoes with Paulinus' own voice. Similarly allusive gestures toward earlier poets parallel Paulinus' recasting of such traditional poetic forms as the wedding poem (*epithalamium*), the farewell poem (*propempticum*), and the birthday poem (*natalicium*). The extant *natalicia*, composed for the festival of S. Felix, both illustrate Paulinus' transformation of a classical *genre into a vehicle of Christian *panegyric and hagiography and, in conjunction with the remains of the basilica complex, provide insight into the development of the cult of the saints. As classicizing Christian poetry the *natalicia* are matched in interest by the poems (*carmina* 10 and 11) addressed to the incredulous Ausonius. Here readers often sense the turmoil wrought by aristocratic *conversion at the same time that they recognize the self-consciously Ovidian and *Vergilian matrix that mediated its expression. Indeed, this tension between literary formality and personal voice, complicated by the age's religious realignments, is a hallmark of Paulinus' writing. DET

PLRE I, Paulinus 21.
PCBE II/2, Paulinus 1.
HLL section 627.
CPL, 202–3:
ed. Guillelmus Hartel, rev. M. Kamptner (CSEL 29 and 30, 1999).
ET (annotated) P. G. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 2 vols. (ACW 35–6, 1966–7) and *Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola* (ACW 40, 1975).
C. Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbol in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (2000).
S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola. Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Hypomnemata 134, 2002).
D. E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (TCH 27, 1999).

Paulinus of Pella (376/7–after 459/60) Author of a verse autobiography, the *Eucharisticus (Thank-offering)*, and of a brief *Oratio Paulini*. A grandson of *Ausonius, Paulinus was born in Pella, where his father Thalassius was *Vicarius of the *Dioecesis of *Macedonia. The date of the *Eucharisticus* is contested, either 459, 460, or 455 with introduction and conclusion added later. In it Paulinus recounts the vicissitudes of a long life, interspersed with passages giving thanks to God for His providential care of the poet. The influence of *Augustine's *Confessions* is prominent throughout. The poet describes his childhood, education, and parental care, early sexual escapades (like Augustine he had an illegitimate son), and subsequent *marriage. His success in reviving his wife's *estate prompts him to an idyllic description of *villa life, before the coincidence of

his father's death and *barbarian invasion brings disruption. Although appointed as *Comes Privatarum Largitionum by the *Visigoth-backed *usurper Priscus *Attalus, he had to flee *Bordeaux, losing his ancestral home, and subsequently was lucky to escape from the siege of Bazas after attempting to negotiate free passage from the *Alan king. Finally, after suffering the loss of close members of his family, including two sons, Paulinus withdraws to *Marseilles, where he lives in reduced circumstances, though the poem ends with the unexpected receipt of funds from the sale of a small property in *Aquitaine. There is a certain tension in the poem between the protestations of gratitude for divine guidance and the sequence of misfortunes Paulinus suffers. Some have consequently seen the poem as an exercise in self-*consolation, but others have also detected an impulse to self-justification. MJR

PLRE I, Paulinus 10.

PCBE IV/2, Paulinus 2.

CPL 1472–3:

ed. (annotated with FT) C. Moussy (SC 209, 1974).

ed. and ET H. G. Evelyn White in *Ausonius*, II (LCL, 1921), 295–351.

N. B. McLynn, 'Paulinus the Impenitent', *JECS* 3 (1995), 461–86.

A. Coskun, 'The Eucharistichos of Paulinus of Pella', *Vig-Christ* 60 (2006), 285–315.

J. Osgood 'The Education of Paulinus of Pella: Learning in the Later Empire', in McGill et al., *Tetrarchs to Theodosians*, 135–52.

Paulinus of Périgueux (*fl.* 460s/470s) Author of a six-book hexameter *Life of S. Martin*, based largely on the *VMartini* and *Dialogues* 2 and 3 of *Sulpicius Severus, also of a short poem on the miraculous healing of his grandson, and of another addressing S. *Martin's devotees, intended for *inscription in his *basilica. The sixth book of his hagiographical epic versifies a dossier of posthumous *miracles composed and provided for him by Perpetuus, *Bishop of *Tours (458/9–488/9); Perpetuus may have commissioned some or all of the other books of the poem. MJR

PCBE IV/2, Paulinus 6.

ed. M. Petschenig (CSEL 16, 1888), 1–190.

S. Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé: deux métamorphoses poétiques de la Vie de saint Martin chez Paulin de Périgueux (Ve s.) et Venance Fortunat (VIe s.)* (1998).

Paulinus of York *Bishop of *York, 625–33, then of Rochester, 633–44. Roman monk and missionary, sent to Kent by *Gregory the Great in 601. In or after 619, he accompanied Æthelburh, daughter of *Ethelbert of Kent, to Northumbria to marry King *Edwin. He was consecrated Bishop at York in 625 (*Bede, *HE* II, 9), and in 627 baptized Edwin, the first Christian King of Northumbria, there (*HE* II, 14). When Edwin died in battle (633), he left Northumbria with Æthelburh, and became Bishop of Rochester until his death on 10 October 644 (*HE* II, 20). HFF

ODNB s.n. Paulinus (Costambeys).

C. B. Kendall in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 137–59.

Paul of Aegina (*fl.* 7th cent.) Physician active in *Alexandria. Little is know about Paul of Aegina's life, except that he lived and probably taught *medicine in Alexandria, and gained fame in the area of obstetrics. He wrote two works: a medical handbook (*Pragmateia*) in seven books (extant in *Greek); and a monograph on paediatrics and childcare (only extant in Greek and *Arabic quotations). Although he relied primarily on *Galen, *Oribasius, and *Aëtius of *Amida, he was quite innovative, especially in his treatment of *surgery (Book VI of the *Pragmateia*). His work was translated into *Syriac and Arabic, and had considerable influence on later medical authors writing in these languages. PEP

PLRE IIIB, Paulus 56.

Pragmateia, ed. J. L. Heiberg, 2 vols. (CMG IX, 1921–4).

P. E. Pormann, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina's 'Pragmateia'* (Studies in Ancient Medicine 29, 2004), with editions and further literature.

ET (annotated) F. Adams, *The Seven Books of Paulus Ægineta* (1844–7).

J. Scarborough, 'Teaching Surgery in Late Byzantine Alexandria', in M. Horstmanshoff, ed., *Hippocrates and Medical Education* (Studies in Ancient Medicine 35, 2010).

Paul of Callinicum *Bishop of *Callinicum until he was deposed in 518 for his *Miaphysite convictions. Paul was at *Edessa in 528. His *translation into *Syriac of works by *Severus of *Antioch, now mostly lost in their original *Greek, is probably the basis of the translation by *Jacob of Edessa. Severus' *Cathedral Homily* 77 survives in *Greek, in Paul's Syriac, and in the version of Jacob of Edessa (ed. M.-A. Kugener and E. Truffaux, PO 16/5, 1921), so is of importance for the history of Syriac translation. OPN

GEDSH s.n. Pawlos of Kallinikos, 323–4 (L. van Rompay).

D. King, 'Paul of Callinicum and his Place in Syriac Literature', *Le Museon* 120/3–4 (1997), 327–49.

Paul of Cyprus *See* PAUL OF EDESSA.

Paul of Edessa (d. 526) *Bishop in 510. He was exiled as part of *Justinian I's purge of *Miaphysites, first to *Seleucia Pieria (519), then to *Pontus (522). *Jacob of Sarug wrote him a *letter consoling him on his *exile. After reconciliation with the *Emperor *Justinian I, he returned to Edessa shortly before his death. CJ; OPN

J.-P. Martin, 'Lettres de Jacques de Saroug aux moines du Couvent de Mar Bassus, et à Paul d'Edesse', *ZDMG* 30 (1876), 217–75.
V. Menze, 'Jacob of Sarug, John of Tella and Paul of Edessa: Ecclesiastical Politics in Osrhoene 519–522', in Kiraz, *Malphono*, 421–38.

Paul of Edessa (d. after 623/4) *Bishop of Edessa in the early 7th century. He revised the *Syriac version of the *sermons of *Gregory of *Nazianzus in 623/4, and translated from *Greek into *Syriac 295 *hymns of *Severus of *Antioch and hymns of *John bar Aphtonia and others, which were later revised by *Jacob of Edessa in 675. The colophon to one of the London manuscripts of the hymns, composed by Jacob, states that Paul made these *translations after he had fled to *Cyprus at the time of the *Persian invasion, so after 602/3, when *Narses with Persian backing took over Edessa, and he is therefore sometimes called Paul of Cyprus. CJ; OPN

GEDSH p. 322 *s.n.* Pawla of Edessa (S. P. Brock).
DCB IV, 259 *s.n.* Paulus 25.
Hymns, ed. (with ET) E. W. Brooks, PO 6/1 (1911), 1–179; 7/5 (1911), 594–802.
Memra on Maccabees, ed. R. L. Bensly and W. E. Barnes (with ET), *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac* (1895; repr. 2014), 55–74 and ET, XXVII–XXXIV.
Syriac versions of Gregory of Nazianzus, ed. J.-C. Haelewyck, *Oratio* 40 (CCSG 49, 2001).
Orationes 27, 38, 39 (CCSG 53, 2005); *Orationes* 1, 2, and 3 (CCSG 65, 2008); *Orationes* 28, 29, 30, and 31 (CCSG 77, 2011), and ed. A. B. Schmidt, *Orationes* 13 and 41 (CCSG 47, 2002).

Paul of Nisibis (d. 573) East Syriac theologian and *metropolitan *Bishop of *Nisibis from 551, having been a pupil of the *Catholicus Mar *Aba. He probably took part in the Christological *dispute between Chalcedonians and *Nestorians in *Constantinople arranged by the *Emperor *Justinian I in 561, and wrote a report which survives. He was opposed to the controversial exegete *Henana of *Adiabene, and participated in the deposition of the Catholicus Joseph (Yawsep) and his replacement by Ezekiel in 567. According to *Evagrius Scholasticus (*HE* V, 9), Paul provided information to the Roman troops during their siege of Nisibis in 572. Paul wrote a biblical commentary, parts of which survive in later exegetical works. Some scholars identify him with *Paul the Persian, Paul of *Basra, or the Paul whose work formed the basis of the Latin *Instituta* of *Junilius. FJ

GEDSH s.v. Pawlos of Nisibis, 324 (Van Rompay).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 338.
A. Guillaumont, 'Justinien et l'Église de Perse', *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70), 39–66, with FT and photographs of ms. (London, BL Adds. 14535, folios 16v–20r).
ET J. MacDonald, 'St. Emperor Justinian: Dialogue with Paul of Nisibis': http://www.voskrese.info/spl/nisibtext.html/
Fiey, *Nisibe*, 51–5.
A. Guillaumont, 'Un colloque entre orthodoxes et théologiens nestoriens de Perse', *CRAIBL* (1970), 201–7.
A. D. Lee, 'Evagrius, Paul of Nisibis and the Problem of Loyalties in the Mid-Sixth Century', *JEH* 44 (1993), 569–85.

Paul of Tamma (*fl.* 4th cent.) Egyptian author of Coptic-language treatises on monastic spiritual topics: the cell, poverty, and humility. Other works were supposedly on the desert, faith, retirement from the world, and *accidie*, as well as on the Last Judgement (now lost). Paul thought monks should know the *Bible and its interpretation well, and should remain unordained rather than becoming too involved in worldly ecclesiastical politics. Later *Lives* portray him as visiting other ascetics and experiencing visions. LSBM

CoptEnc vol. 6 *s.n.* Paul of Tamma, Saint, cols. 1923b–1925a (R.-G. Coquin).
ed. (with IT) T. Orlandi, ed. and tr. *Paolo di Tamma: Opere* (1988).
L. MacCoull, 'Paul of Tamma and the Monastic Priesthood', *VigChrist* 53 (1999), 316–20.

Paul of Tella (*fl.* early 7th cent.) Paul's translation into *Syriac of the Septuagint version of the *Bible, done between 613 and 617 at the *Ennaton *Monastery near *Alexandria, is known as the Syro-Hexapla, and was based on the *Hexapla of *Origen. He is sometimes identified either with *Paul of Nisibis, or with a Paul originally from *Constantia (Tella de Mauzelat) who was *Bishop of Tella before 615. FJ

GEDSH s.v. Pawlos of Tella, 325–6 (Van Rompay).
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 186–8.
T. Law, 'La Version syro-hexaplaire et la transmission textuelle de la Bible grecque', in F. Briquel Chatonnet and Ph. Le Moigne, eds., *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque* (2008), 101–20.

Paul of Thebes and the Monastery of Paul of Thebes Paul is known solely through *Jerome's *Life of Paul*, written after *Athanasius' *Life of Antony* and modelled upon it. Jerome's fanciful narrative, filled with miraculous beasts and events, leaves in question the very existence of its hero. It describes Paul becoming a desert *ascetic, the first Christian hermit, during the Decian *persecution (AD 249–51). He was 113 years old when S. *Antony heard of him and undertook an incredible journey to meet him. The *Life* records their conversation, Paul's death and burial by Antony (aided by two lions), and Antony's inheritance of Paul's tunic.

Paul quickly assumed a place in Egyptian tradition. *Sulpicius Severus (*c.* AD 404; *Dialogues*, 1, 17) and the *Piacenza Pilgrim (*c.* AD 570) mention his cave on the Red

Sea near Antony's *monastery. While the origins of the important Monastery of Paul at this site remain obscure, it was long important in Coptic history. JEG

BHL 6596–8.
CoptEnc 6 (1991) *s.n.* Paul of Thebes, Saint, cols. 1925–6 (Guillaumont, Kuhn).
VPauli: ed. PL 23, cols. 17–30.
Barnes, *Hagiography* 176–84.
W. Lyster, ed., *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St. Paul, Egypt* (2008).

Paul the Chain Court *_notarius_ under *Constantius II, infamous for scheming and investigating *treason; *Ammianus says his nickname came from his skill at linking accusations against individuals (XV, 3, 4). Under *Julian he was amongst those tried at *Chalcedon, and was burnt to death. SFT

PLRE I, Paulus 'Catena' 4.
Matthews, *Ammianus*, 92–3.

Paul the Deacon (*c.*720–*c.*795) Important literary figure in the *Lombard kingdom in *Italy. Paul the Deacon was born in *Cividale. His main surviving writing, *The History of the Lombards* (*HL*), provides detail on the *Friuli duchy, which suggests he maintained contact with his home *city. From the 740s Paul studied in the capital, *Pavia, and built strong relations with Lombard royalty; he became tutor to Adelperga, daughter of King Desiderius, and composed for her his *Historia Romana* (a continuation of *Eutropius to the reign of *Justinian I). Up to 776, he seems to have divided his time between *Benevento and *Monte Cassino, but subsequently formed part of Charlemagne's cultural entourage at Aachen. In the early to mid-780s he composed both his *Historia Langobardorum* and the *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*. The latter framed the rise of the Carolingians. The former charted his people's roots and their occupation of Italy, alongside conflicts—military and religious—with Byzantium. Interestingly the text terminates a generation before Charlemagne's conquest of Italy. In the *History*'s later chapters Paul emphasizes especially those kings who were generous patrons of churches and *monasteries (notably *Cunincpert, *Perctarit, and *Liutprand). He also wrote *sermons, *saints' lives, poetry, and honorific texts. Paul returned to Italy probably in 787; he died in *Monte Cassino *c.*795. NJC

ed. L. K. Bethmann and G. Waitz (MGH SS rer. Lang. 1, 1878), 45–187.
ET W. D. Foulke, ed. E. Peters (1974, rev. edn. 2003).
C. Leonardi, 'Paolo Diacono e la civilità altomedievale', in ed. (with IT) R. Cassanelli, *Paolo Diacono: storia dei Longobardi* (1985), 9–26.
W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History, A.D. 550–800* (1988), 329–431.
P. Chiesa, ed., *Paolo Diacono: uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Cividale del Friuli-Udine, 6–9 Maggio, 1999* (2000).
Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI–X). Atti del XIV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (2001), 13–24.

Paul the Persian (*c.*520) *Philosopher from the *Persian Empire who commented on the philosophy of Aristotle in *Syriac. He dedicated his treatise on Aristotle's *Logic* to *Khosrow I. His works contributed to the dissemination of Greek philosophy among *Syriac authors and later to Islamic writers. *Bar 'Ebroyo (Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, III, 97) reports that Paul was converted to *Zoroastrianism, but this is uncertain.

Some scholars identify him with the *Paul who had studied at *Nisibis whose work forms the basis of *Junilius Africanus' *Latin compilation, the *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* (*CPL* 872). CJ

GEDSH s.nn. Pawlos the Philosopher and Pawlos the Persian 324–5 (Van Rompay).
ed. (with LT) J. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 4 (1875), 1–30; 99–113.
D. Gutas, 'Paul the Persian on the Classification of the Parts of Aristotle's Philosophy', *Der Islam* 60 (1983), 231–67.
G. Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica* (ST 5, 1901), 180–206.
J. Teixidor, *Aristote en syriaque: Paul le Perse, logicien du VIe siècle* (2003).
H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Du commentaire à la reconstruction: Paul le Perse interprète d'Aristote', in J. W. Watt and J. Lössl, eds., *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle* (2011), 207–24.
H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La Logique d'Aristote du grecque au syriaque: études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique* (2004), 234–73.

Paul the Silentiary A palace official (*_silentiarius_) at the court of *Justinian I and skilled versifier, best known for his description of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom and its decoration. His *panegyric (*ecphrasis) was probably commissioned by the *Emperor Justinian and delivered in stages on 6 January 563 on the occasion of the reopening of the church following its renovation after an *earthquake in 558 which had collapsed the *dome and caused other damage. Paul's hexameter poem of 1,029 verses begins with a trimeter preface eulogizing the emperor. It then details the design and decoration of the church. Separately, he described the new *ambo of the church. Paul was also part of the circle of the historian and lawyer *Agathias who selected about 80 of Paul's *epigrams (including some quite erotic ones) for the *Cycle*, an anthology of poems by himself, Paul, and other contemporaries. BC

Panegyric: ed. C. De Stefani, *Paulus Silentiarus: Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae; Descriptio Ambonis* (2009).
ed. (with IT, introd., and comm.) M. L. Fobelli, *Un tempio per Giustiniano: Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli e la descrizione di Paolo Silenziario* (2005).
Partial ET P. N. Bell, *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian* (TTH 52, 2010), 189–212.
Partial ET in Mango, *Art*, 80–96.
Poems: ed. (with IT and comm.) G. Viansino, *Paolo Silenziario: Epigrammi* (1963).
M. Whitby, 'The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of S. Sophia', *CQ* NS 35(1985), 215–28.
R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, 'The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 47–82.

Paulus (d. late 460s) *Comes in northern *Gaul who led Romans and *Franks against the *Visigoths, and was possibly in alliance with the Frankish King *Childeric I. He died near *Angers, probably fighting a band of *Saxons. JJA

PLRE II, Paulus 20.
D. Frye, 'Aegidius, Childeric, Odovacer and Paul', *NottMedSt* 36 (1992), 1–14.

Pavia (Roman Ticinum) *City 33 km (22 miles) south of *Milan, and beside the River Ticino on a navigable route to *Ravenna. Ticinum acquired the name Pavia only with the arrival of the Carolingians in *Italy in 774.

In Late Roman times, Pavia was an important garrison centre, and thus often a military staging point. The Milan mint was transferred to Pavia (mint mark usually T/ST) in 275, but was closed by *Constantine I in 326. Pavia was the scene of a rebellion which ultimately led to the downfall of *Stilicho in 408. It later saw the defeat and death of *Orestes by *Odoacer in 476.

Whilst Pavia was a centre of secondary importance for the *Ostrogoths and *Theoderic the Great (493–526), it was significant enough for Theoderic to build a *palatium, restore the amphitheatre and *baths, and strengthen the *fortifications of the city (the walls were described by both *Ennodius and *Procopius). *Boethius was executed here in 525. Subsequently Pavia formed the last stronghold of the Ostrogoths prior to their final defeat by the armies of *Justinian I.

It was not until the arrival of the *Lombards that Pavia became of prime importance. It withstood both *Alboin (560–72) and the Lombards for three years (569–72) but despite an early preference for *Verona and Monza, Pavia was to become the principal royal seat from the time of *Rothari (636–51). It attained significance in governance; Lombard kings promulgated their *laws at Pavia and Pavia was the centre of coin production from *Cuninc pert (688–700) onwards. In the cultural and ecclesiastical spheres Pavia reflected the high literary and orthodox culture of the Lombard kingdom of the 8th century. *Paul the Deacon referred to a *school attached to the palace, and ornate metrical *inscriptions on the extant monuments to Cuninc pert and his daughter Cuninc perga testify to this sophisticated milieu. Pavia was notably embellished with churches founded by Lombard kings; these include S. Salvatore Maggiore, which served as the sepulchre of Lombard kings from Aripert I (626–36). *Liutprand's foundation of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro marked the pre-eminence of Pavia, as the *relics of S. *Augustine (acquired from *Sardinia) were enshrined in its new sanctuary. CTH; RRD

E. Gabba, ed., *Storia di Pavia* (1987).
D. Bullough, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy: The Example of Pavia', *PBSR* 34 (1966), 82–130.
MEC 1.
RIC V/1; V/2; VI; VII.

pay *See* REMUNERATION.

pearls (Lat. *margaritae*) Pearls have been fished for in the Persian Gulf since the late Neolithic, and were traded westwards with the Roman world. The difficulties of pearl diving were legendary, and greatly increased the gem's value, as did myths of their creation—*Procopius recounts a rare pearl's history (*Persian*, I, 4). Imperial Roman writers criticized the extravagance of costly pearl jewellery, a moralizing view shared by S. Paul (1 Tim. 2:9). Pearls were dedicated in *pagan *temples and adorned divine *statues. References to pearls in the *Bible (such as Matt. 7:6) led to their Christian appropriation as symbols for God's Word, Christ, and the *Eucharist. Pearls were favoured as spiritual metaphors in *Syriac literature, most famously in the 'Hymn of the Pearl' in the *Acts of Thomas*, and in *Ephrem the Syrian's poetry. The *Empress *Theodora is famously depicted adorned with an elaborate pearl diadem and collar in S. Vitale, *Ravenna. HAHC

R. Carter, 'The History and Prehistory of Pearling in the Persian Gulf', *JESHO* 48 (2005), 139–209.
R. Donkin, *Beyond Price: Pearls and Pearl-Fishing. Origins to the Age of Discoveries* (1998).
Roberts, *Jeweled Style.*
Brock, *Luminous Eye.*

peculium In Roman *law, the personal fund or property permitted for sons who were within the legal power of their fathers (*Latin *in patria potestate*) and for slaves and **coloni* **adscripticii* who were within the legal power of their masters (*in domini potestate*). PS

Nicholas, *Introduction to Roman Law.*
B. Sirks, 'The Colonate in Justinian's Reign', *JRS* 90 (2008), 120–43.

Pednelissus Settlement on the borders of *Pamphylia and *Pisidia, just north of Aspendus in southwest *Anatolia. It minted coins in the 2nd and 3rd centuries; the *bishop attended the *Council of Constantinople in 381. The *city is remarkable for its Late Antique *houses preserved up to their upper floors. Farmsteads with residential and working quarters have been identified in its territory. Near the navigable River Eurymedon and its tributary were *pottery manufacturing centres, of Late Roman D or 'Cypriot'-style red-slipped wares, exported widely from the 3rd to 8th centuries. PA

L. Vandeput, 'Late Antiquity in the Taurus Mountains Remains in Pednelissos and its Territory', *Colloquium Anatolicum* 8 (2009), 1–22.

M. Jackson, M. Zelle, L. Vandeput, and V. Köse, 'Primary Evidence for "Cypriot Red Slip Ware", Late Roman D Ware Production in Southern Asia Minor', *AnatSt* 62 (2012), 89–114.

Pelagia, S. Name given to an actress said to have been converted in the 4th century by *Bishop Nonnus of *Edessa; she lived out her life secretly as a hermit on the Mount of Olives. Her story is vividly told in a *Greek *Life*, probably from 5th-century *Syria or *Palestine. Versions proliferated in *Syriac, *Armenian, *Georgian, *Arabic, *Slavonic, *Latin, and the Romance languages BW

BHG 1478–79.

BHL 6605–11.

ed. P. Petitmengin et al. (with extensive study), *Pélagie la Pénitente: métamorphoses d'une legende*, vol. 1: *Les Textes et leur histoire* (1981), vol. 2: *La Survie dans les littératures européennes* (1984).

P. Meyvaert, 'Pélagie la Pénitente: métamorphoses d'une légende', *Speculum* 60/4 (1985), 1013–16.

ET: Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, translates the Latin text from PL 73, cols. 663–72.

Pelagius I *Bishop of *Rome 556–61. Having been archdeacon under *Agapetus and *Vigilius, Pelagius' reign as pope was consumed by the *Three Chapters Controversy and the reconstruction of *Rome, facilitated by the *Pragmatic Sanction, after two decades of destruction during the Gothic wars following the *Byzantine invasion. Pelagius was the candidate favoured by the Byzantine general *Narses chosen to replace the recalcitrant Vigilius, and was seen as a traitor by the anti-Three Chapters party in Rome and northern *Italy. As a consequence, he was not accepted by the Roman clergy or the senatorial *aristocracy, and had trouble finding a *bishop to ordain him. He also had trouble with bishops in *Gaul, prompting him to send a confession of faith to the *Frankish *Childebert (*ep.* 7), asking him to obstruct those who were causing divisions in the Gallic Church. In an open *letter to 'all the people of God', he seeks to remove all suspicion about the orthodoxy of the see of *Rome by sending his profession of faith to all the faithful in the world, even accepting as orthodox *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus and *Ibas of *Edessa (*ep.* 11). He claims to have written from *Constantinople a refutation of Vigilius, who sought to condemn him, as well as six books in defence of the Three Chapters (*ep.* 80); the first does not survive. His life is summarized in the **Liber Pontificalis* (62). BN

PCBE II/2, Pelagius 3.

Letters (*CPL* 1698/1702), ed. P. M. Gassó and C. M. Batlle (Scripta et Documenta 8, 1956).

In Defensione Trium Capitulorum (*CPL* 1698/1703): ed. R. Devreese (ST 57, 1932).

EncPapi I (2000), *s.v.* Pelagio I, 529–36 (C. Sotinel).

N. Ertl, 'Diktatoren frühmittelalterlicher Papstbriefe', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* NF 1/1 (1937), 56–132 (68–70).

Pelagius II Bishop of *Rome 579–90. Pelagius II, son of Unigild, sent his Apocrisiarius (later his successor as Pope *Gregory I) to *Constantinople to seek aid when the *Lombard invasions of *Italy reached *Rome. He was forced to negotiate with the Lombards when no help was forthcoming from *Emperor *Maurice. He built the Church of *San S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. The flooding of the Tiber devastated Rome in his last year and he died of *plague. His life is recorded in **Liber Pontificalis*, 65. BN

PCBE II/2, Pelagius 4.

Epistulae, ed. L. Hartmann, MGH Ep. 2 (1899), 440–67 and ed. W. Gundlach (MGH Ep. 3, 1892), 448–50.

Enciclopedia dei Papi, 1, *s.v.* 'Pelagio II', 541–6 (C. Sotinel).

Pelagius, Pelagianism, and Semi-Pelagianism Pelagius (after 350–after 418) was an *ascetic reformer and theologian, committed to the Church, yet reviled as a heretic. Probably from *Britain, Pelagius arrived in *Rome in the early 380s, where he sought to reform the moral laxity of Christians and to oppose *Manichaeism. During his nearly three decades there he became a spiritual adviser to members of the senatorial *aristocracy, especially women. He also began to attract like-minded ascetics, some of whom would come to be known as Pelagians.

In contrast to Manichaean determinism, Pelagius emphasized freedom of the will as the divinely given capacity to avoid sin and fulfil God's commandments. He believed that, despite Adam's sin, human freedom remains intact. God's grace has also provided the law and the teaching and example of Christ, as well as the forgiveness of sin in *baptism with the attendant opportunity for a new start as led by the Holy Spirit in the Church.

Pelagianism

Although the term suggests an organized movement, the reality consisted of a collection of individuals and ideas associated, sometimes inappropriately, with Pelagius and ultimately rejected by the Church. These individuals, those located in Rome and *Sicily at least, were attracted by Pelagius' *asceticism and his view of the human condition as fundamentally sound. Their core conviction was the freedom of the will as a divine and enduring gift, but differences arose as to the implications of that conviction. Although there is limited scholarly agreement as to which the writings should be attributed Pelagius and which to individual followers, some ideas are firmly associated with particular individuals.

In Rome three figures were influential: a certain Rufinus 'the Syrian', a Sicilian Briton, and Caelestius. Rufinus, probably from *Syria, rejected the notion of original sin, i.e. that infants inherit the sin of Adam. Their baptism was thus not for forgiveness of sin but for admission to heaven. A second figure, sometimes designated by scholars as the Sicilian Briton, rejected the notion of original sin and held open the possibility of sinlessness. Caelestius challenged the notion of original sin with its deleterious consequences; he accepted the baptism of infants, although not for the remission of sin.

In the absence of an orthodox standard on the relationship of grace and free will, these views evoked no serious challenge in Rome. Pelagius and Caelestius in 409/10 fled to *Carthage in anticipation of *Alaric's attack on Rome. Rufinus probably died about this time, and the Sicilian Briton dropped from view. In Africa Pelagius and Caelestius encountered a Church convinced of the devastating consequences of original sin on the will of all people and the necessity of baptizing infants for the forgiveness of this inherited sin. The Africans believed their views to have the force of universal orthodoxy. Pelagius left for *Palestine, but when Caelestius sought ordination as a *priest, a synod in Carthage in 411 found him guilty of *heresy. He went to *Ephesus, where he was ordained.

Eastern Christians proved far more receptive. In 415 when *Orosius, who had been sent by *Augustine, and *Jerome charged Pelagius with heresy, the synod of *Jerusalem acquitted him, as did a synod at *Diospolis. In the following year the African synods of *Milevis and Carthage, defending what they believed to be orthodoxy, condemned Pelagius and Caelestius and sought support from Innocent I at Rome, who in 417 excommunicated them both. Although his successor Zosimus exonerated them, when in 418 the *Emperor *Honorius condemned both men for violent dissension arising in Rome, and the Council of Carthage rejected views attributed to them on original sin, baptism of infants, sinlessness, and grace, Zosimus reversed himself in the *Tractoria.* Pelagius dropped from view at this point.

*Julian, *Bishop of Eclanum, and eighteen other Italian bishops refused to sign the *Tractoria.* Zosimus condemned them, and in 419 the emperor exiled them from Italy. Julian rejected the notion of original sin as inconsistent with the goodness and justice of the Creator. He considered sin to be the wrongful exercise of the free will. Julian's challenges to Augustine led to the latter's voluminous clarification of his views. In 429 Julian, his associates, and Caelestius were exiled from *Constantinople, and in 431 Pelagius, Caelestius, and those holding views associated with them were condemned at the *Council of Ephesus.

Semi-Pelagianism

The designation is misleading. The persons referred to were respected monastic leaders in southern *Gaul, such as *John Cassian and *Faustus, Bishop of Riez. They rejected Pelagian teaching on grace, but over the course of a century raised sporadic challenges to Augustine's views on predestination and the sovereignty of grace. To these Gauls, Augustine's teaching called into question free will, the value of human effort, and the divine will for universal salvation. In 529 at the Second Council of Orange, led by *Caesarius, Bishop of *Arles, a modified Augustinianism prevailed. However, the decisions of this regional council had limited influence outside the sphere of Caesarius' authority.

See also JULIAN OF ECLANUM. RHW

PCBE II/2, Pelagius I; *PCBE* II/1 Caelestius.

Caelestius, *Libellus Fidei Zosimo Papae Oblates* (*CPL* 768): Fragment in Augustine, *The Grace of Christ and Original Sin*: ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha (CSEL 42, 1902). ET (annotated) R. J. Teske (WSA 1/23, 1997).

Pelagius *HLL*, section 651; *CPL* 728–31:

Pelagius, *De Natura.* Fragments in Augustine, *Nature and Grace* (*CPL* 753), ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha (CSEL 60, 1913); ET (annotated) R. J. Teske: WSA 1/23 (1998).

Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (*CPL* 728), ed. A. Souter (Texts and Studies 9, 1922–6); ET T. de Bruyn (1993).

Epistula ad Demetriadem (*CPL* 737): PL 30, cols. 15–45; ET in B. R. Rees, *The Letters of Pelagius and his Followers* (1991), 29–144.

Rufinus the Syrian, *Liber de Fide* (*CPL* 200): PL 48, cols. 451–88; ed. (with ET, introd., and comm.) M. W. Miller (Patristic Studies 96, 1964), 52–144.

'Sicilian Briton', *On the Possibility of Not Sinning* (*CPL* 735): ed. in PL Supplementum, I, 1457–64. ET in B. L. Rees, *The Letters of Pelagius and his Followers* (1991), 164–70.

STUDIES:

G. Bonner, *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition* (1996).

A. Y. Hwang, B. Matz, and A. Casiday, eds., *Grace for Grace: The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius: An Early Medieval Church Debate* (2014).

M. Lamberigts, 'Pelagius and Pelagians', in S. A. Harvey and D. G. Hunter, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (2008), 258–79.
B. R. Rees, *Pelagius: A Reluctant Heretic* (1988).
R. H. Weaver, *Divine Grace and Human Agency: A Study of the Semi-Pelagian Controversy* (1996).

Pelagius the Visigoth *See* PELAYO.

Pelagonius (late 4th cent. AD) Author of the first specialized veterinary handbook on *horse medicine in *Latin. The treatise draws widely on specialist literature in *Greek and Latin, especially *Apsyrtus and Columella. Individual chapters are addressed to various friends. It was used extensively in *Vegetius' *Mulomedicina*. MD

PLRE I, Pelagonius.
ed. K. D. Fischer (1980).
ed. (with FT and comm.) V. Gitton-Ripoll, *Pélagonius, Ars veterinaria* (doctoral thesis, Lyons II, 1999).
J. N. Adams, *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* (1995).

Pelayo (Pelagius) First king (718/22–37) of the Christian kingdom of Asturias, which he founded after defeating the *Arab rulers of al-*Andalus at Covadonga in 718 or 722. Asturian *chronicles identify Pelayo as *Visigothic royalty or nobility to legitimize the new realm. GDB

R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (1994).

Pella (Ar. Tabaqat Fahl or Fihl, Jordan) Ancient *city in the north of the Jordan Valley which became one of the Decapolis in the Roman provinces of Judaea and Syria in the 1st century AD. Much of the Roman city was covered by erosional deposits by the 6th century. During Late Antiquity churches (three have been discovered) were built into the urban fabric, often using *spolia from Roman-period structures such as the Odeon. *Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 7) traced the origins of the Jewish Christian Nazoreans near Pella back to the 1st century (cf. Eusebius, *HE* III, 5, 3). Pella was incorporated into the new Islamic state following the Battle of Fahl in 635. This had little impact upon the material record through the 7th and early 8th centuries. Pella was affected by a serious *earthquake, generally dated to 749, which caused extensive damage, but the continued viability of the settlement in the later 8th century is demonstrated by the construction of two substantial courtyard buildings fulfilling domestic, commercial, and industrial functions. MCM

A. McNicoll, R. Smith, and B. Hennessy, *Pella in Jordan 1: An Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1979–1981* (1982).
A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Assessment* (2007).

Pelusium (mod. Tell el-Farama) The largest Late Antique *city in the *Nile Delta, apart from *Alexandria. Located just east of the Pelusiac mouth of the *Nile, Pelusium had long guarded the eastern landward approach to *Egypt. Pilgrims who passed through included *Egeria (9, 6) and *Paula (*Jerome, *ep.* 108). Pelusium was the principal *harbour for the eastern Delta and from 341 onwards the principal city of the *province of *Augustamnica Prima.

With its attached fortress, Pelusium occupied over 600 ha (*c.*1,500 acres). Although excavations have uncovered only a fraction of the total site, archaeological remains indicate Pelusium's economic prosperity and cultural prominence. The city possessed at least two theatres, a bouleterion, several *bath complexes, an *aqueduct, a *circus (one of only three hippodromes known from Late Roman Egypt), and workshops for producing *glass, **garum* (fish sauce), and *purple-dyed *textiles.

Pelusium's church architecture shares features more common to the wider Mediterranean world than to Upper Egypt, as seen especially in a newly discovered tetraconch church similar in design to the *Church of the Holy Apostles at *Constantinople. A large *basilica in the town's eastern sector had two smaller attached chapels, and an unusual circular church in the northwest sector had columns adorned with imported *capitals of *marble from *Proconnesus.

Pelusium's strategic importance is reflected by its massive fortress with three gates and over 30 towers, built in the 6th century, and partly destroyed by the Persians in 619. The city features on the *Madaba *mosaic *map and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and its *cavalry garrison in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XXVIII, 16). CJH

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.n.* al-Farama cols. 1089a–1090a (R. Stewart).
J.-Y. Carrez-Maratray, *Péluse et l'angle oriental du delta égyptien aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine* (1999).
A. el-Taba'i, M. Abdal-Maqsoud, and P. Grossmann, 'The Great Theatre of Pelusium', in N. Grimal et al., eds., *Hommages à Fayza Haikal* (Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 99, 2003), 271–83.
Preliminary excavation reports by K. Jakubiak in *PolArchMedR 2003* XV (2004); *2004* XVI (2005); *2005*, XVII (2007); *2006* XVIII (2008); *2007* XIX (2010).

penance Christ gave to the Apostles the power to give or retain sins (John 20:22; Matthew 16:19). The Church exercised this power through *baptism and, for serious sins committed after baptism, through the ministry of penance. Lesser sins might be corrrected by fraternal exhortation (Matthew 18:15–20; James 5, 16). S. Paul laid down that those who committed serious sin after baptism should be excluded from Communion with a view to their ultimate rehabilitation (1 Corinthians 5:1–5; cf. 2 Corinthians 5:1–11;

1 Timothy 5:20). In the early 2nd century the *Shepherd of Hermas* envisaged penance as a unique opportunity for the believer who had fallen into grave sin to recover his baptismal state (*Mandate*, 4).

During the 2nd and 3rd centuries local *councils of the Church worked on developing a canonical discipline of public penance. They were particularly concerned with the three most serious sins, namely apostasy (most obviously expressed by participating in pagan *sacrifice), killing, and adultery and fornication. Particular problems were posed by *persecution, and these required pastoral finesse on the part of *bishops. The *letters written by *Cyprian of *Carthage (martyred 258) during the decade of the persecutions of *Decius and *Valerian and the *On the Lapsed* which he composed after the Decian Persecution show the bishop steering a canny middle course between rigorists (like *Novatianus), who wanted no more to do with those who had succumbed to the requirements of the pagan authorities, and those who hoped that the lapsed would turn from their wickedness and live. Cyprian emphasizes that forgiveness must be mediated through the Church as a whole; it could not, for instance, be granted by an individual Christian, despite the fact that those in *prison awaiting martyrdom for their faith had taken it upon themselves to issue documents forgiving fellow Christians who had lapsed. And the purpose of penance, Cyprian asserts, is restoration.

In a similar spirit, the *Canonical Letter* of *Peter of *Alexandria, issued at the fourth *Eastertide of the Great Persecution in 306, laid out a tariff of penances to be undergone by those who had to varying degrees failed to witness to the faith, penances deemed a great deal too lenient by *Meletius of *Lycopolis, who proceeded to set up a rigorist 'Church of the Martyrs' in competition with the see of Alexandria. *Lactantius, also writing during the Great Persecution, thought the true Church was that which made space for repentance (*Inst*. IV, 30, 13); 'there is always much greater strength in a faith restored by penitence' (*Inst*. V, 13, 7). The Council of *Nicaea made provision for the reconciliation of both rigorists and the lapsed (Canons 8, 11, and 14).

Practice in *Cappadocia in the latter part of the 4th century is reflected in the *letters of *Basil of *Caesarea to *Amphilochius of Iconium *On the Canons* (*epp*. 188, 199, 217). An enrolled penitent was effectively returned to the catechumenate for moral remediation before being admitted again to full Communion. These penitential periods could, at least in theory, be lengthy; an adulterer did penance for fifteen years. But the aim continued to be restoration. Just as the final outcome of baptism was participation in the *Eucharist, so the end of penance was readmission to Holy Communion in the context of the *liturgy. *Gregory of *Nyssa's letter to Letoius on penance advocates an approach that is medicinal, not punitive. The bishop might shorten the penance if he found a willing disposition in the patient-penitent. At first it was bishops who normally administered absolution and reconciliation, but by the late 4th century they were designating special *priests to assist in this office.

The rigours and publicity of the penitential system as it was practised through the 4th century made people, especially men in public life, reluctant to undertake the obligations of baptism until they were on their deathbeds. The *Emperor *Theodosius I is a case in point. He was baptized when seriously ill, but recovered; when he ordered a massacre at *Thessalonica, *Ambrose, Bishop of *Milan, humiliated him by repelling him from Holy Communion as a notorious evil liver. From the 5th century onwards, the old discipline began to yield to private confession made before a priest. Again, the beginnings of this process may be seen in the writings of Basil, who was already willing to permit an adulteress to make a private confession.

It is also possible to see monastic practice having an effect. Non-sacramental disclosure of thoughts (*logismoi*) and ascetical struggles to an elder was an important practice in *monasteries, and increasingly in many parts of the Roman Empire monastic superiors were themselves priests. Monastic confession to a priest therefore became common practice, so that a convergence occurred between private ascetical confession and ecclesiastical penance. The Western practice of indulgences began in the 10th century, at a time when there was still a memory of the practice of public penance. The old canonical periods of penance were remitted for far lesser penalties, and absolution and reconciliation were granted immediately after confession.

The administration of penance therefore underwent considerable modification over the course of Late Antiquity. But it was constantly seen as a concern of the entire Church and not only of the individual, because sin injured not only the sinner, but also the body of believers at large. AMS; OPN

DictSpir 12/1 (1984) *s.v.* pénitence, 943–1010 (P. Adnes).
A. D. Fitzgerald, 'Penance', in *OHECS*, ch. 38.
W. Telfer, *The Forgiveness of Sins: An Essay in the History of Christian Doctrine and Practice* (1959).
A. Torrance, *Repentance in Late Antiquity: Eastern Asceticism and the Framing of the Christian Life c.400–650 CE* (2013).
K. Uhalde, *Expectations of Justice in the Age of Augustine* (2007), ch. 4.
K. Uhalde, 'Juridical Administration in the Church and Pastoral Care in Late Antiquity', and C. Rapp, 'Spiritual Guarantors at Penance, Baptism, and Ordination in the Late Antique East', both in A. Firey, *A New History of Penance* (2008).

Penda King of the Mercians (*c*.632–655) and the last great *Anglo-Saxon *pagan ruler. During a long career,

marked by aggressive territorial enlargement, he killed two Christian Northumbrian kings, *Edwin at Hæthfelth in 633 (*Bede, *HE*, II, 20), and *Oswald at Maserfelth in 642 (III, 9), before falling to a third, *Oswiu, at the Winwæd on 15 November 655 (III, 24). NAS

ODNB s.n. Penda (Kelly).

Perbundus 7th-century *Slavic leader, 'King of the Rynchines', who established a strong polity in *Greece. In *c.*675/6, after a failed attack on *Thessalonica, Perbundus was imprisoned in *Constantinople. He managed to escape, but the Roman authorities recaptured him and, on the orders of *Constantine IV, executed him. In revenge, the Slavs attacked Thessalonica (25 July 677), besieging the *city for nearly two years. ABA

PBE, Perboundos 1.

PmbZ 5901.

Lemerle, *Miracles de saint Démétrius*, I, 209.

A. Laiou, 'Thessaloniki and Macedonia in the Byzantine Period', in Burke and Scott, *Byzantine Macedonia*, 1–11.

Perctarit (r. 661–2 and 671–88) Father of *Cuninc-pert and second king of the so-called 'Catholic' dynasty of *Lombard monarchs. Perctarit was ousted by *Grimoald in 662. The travails of Perctarit are described in some of *Paul the Deacon's liveliest passages. With Grimoald's death, Perctarit returned to *Italy and ruled the Lombards for the following seventeen years. CTH

PBE, Perctarit 1.

G. Ausenda et al., eds., *The Langobards: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2009).

perfectissimus *See* TITLES OF HONOUR, ROMAN.

Pergamum In Late Antiquity, the prosperous Roman *city of Pergamum (mod. Bergama in north-west Turkey) contracted to a smaller residential settlement at the foot of the old citadel. The acropolis was encircled by a late 3rd-century wall-circuit built of Roman *spolia, perhaps reflecting fear of *Gothic raids. In the mid-5th century, the enormous 'Red Hall' (a *temple to the Egyptian gods) was converted into a Christian *basilica, and a smaller basilica with atrium was constructed in the old Lower Agora. The Asclepium complex developed into a separate residential area. In the 7th century, an imposing fortification wall was built across the south flank of the upper citadel; the Great Altar of Zeus (perhaps the 'throne of Satan' in Revelation 2:13) seems to have been systematically demolished at the same time. PJT

K. Rheidt, *Altertümer von Pergamon 15.2. Die Byzantinische Wohnstadt* (1991).

F. Daim and J. Drauschke, eds., *Byzanz. Das Römerreich im Mittelalter* 2/2 (2010), 809–75.

Perge Little is known about Late Antique Perge, although it was the capital of *Pamphylia and an important ecclesiastical centre. There is evidence for building activity including improvements to the fortifications and church building within the city and on the acropolis. *Inscriptions show that the stadium and theatre continued in use, and another district east of the theatre was developed. Fragmentary verse inscriptions attest to the building activity of *governors, indicating the continuing prosperity of the city throughout the 6th century; it declined due to Arab attacks. About 840 marble fragments from a military *edict of *Anastasius I have been assembled. The decree sets out solutions for various abuses, and is unique for including exact numbers of soldiers and their salaries. S. *Matrona (*c.*430–510/15), who later became an abbess in *Constantinople and opposed the *Miaphysite *Emperor Anastasius, was born in Perge (*Vita S. Matrona*). FKH

Vita S. Matronae (*BHG* 1221): ed. in *AASS*, Novembris III, 790–813.

ET J. Featherstone (annotated with introd. by C. Mango), in Talbot, *Holy Women.*

S. E. Insley, 'Dressing up the Past: Fictional Narrative in the "Life of Matrona of Perge"', in P. Roilos, ed., *Medieval Greek Storytelling: Fictionality and Narrative in Byzantium* (2014), 55–86.

C. Foss, 'The Cities of Pamphylia in the Byzantine Age', in Foss, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages*, study IV.

F. Onur, 'The Military Edict of Anastasius I from Perge', in *Acts of the 13th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Oxford, 2–7 September 2007, Summary Papers*, (2007).

Perinthus *See* HERACLAEA OF THRACE.

Perm Treasures Collective term for several hoards of Roman and *Sasanian *silver discovered in the Perm province of Russia. The Klimova Treasure, named after the village where it was found in 1907, includes a dish depicting a goatherd with *silver stamps of *Justinian I, two 7th-century silver dishes with *crosses, a further four dishes (three Sasanian, including one depicting *Shapur III killing a leopard, another a tigress under a tree), and a bucket. A treasure discovered in the village of Kalginovka in 1878 includes a part-gilded dish with Silenus and a maenad dancing, and two dishes with wreathed crosses, all with control stamps of *Heraclius. A treasure discovered in the village of Sludka in *c.*1780 includes two 6th-century dishes (one depicting a grazing horse in a central medallion, another Athena adjudicating over the dispute between Ajax and Odysseus), and a 7th–8th-century lobed Sasanian dish with dancers. In 1925 a dish, depicting Briseis in Achilles' tent and dated *c.*550 by control stamps, was discovered in the village of Kopchiki, near Kungur. These and more

are held in the Stroganov Collection of the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. HAHC

A. V. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Russian original 1977) (1985).
Dodd, *Silver Stamps*.
Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 142–3, 149.
Matzulewitsch. *Byzantinische Antike.*

Peroz *Sasanian King (r. 459–84), son of *Yazdegerd II (r. 438–57), succeeded by *Balash (r. 484–8). Peroz seized the throne from his brother *Hormizd III (r. 457–9), successfully quelled a rebellion in Caucasian *Albania, and defeated the *Kidarites. He was less successful in controlling the *Hephthalites, who advancing from the east, captured the king, releasing him only after receipt of tributes. In 484, the Hephthalites defeated the Persian *army, killing the king and his family (*Joshua the Stylite, 9–11; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 3–4; *Agathias, IV, 27, 4). Peroz has been noted for religious persecution. AZ

PLRE II, Perozes.
EncIran IX/6 *s.n.* Fīrūz, 631–2 (K. Schippmann).

Peroz-Shapur Town on the eastern banks of the Middle Euphrates near modern *Fallujah, to the west of *Ctesiphon. The name ('victorious is Shapur', Lat. Pirisabora) was given to Mesiche (*Misiche) after *Shapur I's victory over Gordian III in AD 244. Later under the name al-Anbar ('the arsenal'), it was an important *Sasanian town and commercial centre. The town was destroyed by the Roman *Emperor *Julian in March 363, but later rebuilt by *Shapur II. During the *Arab conquest of *Mesopotamia, Anbar fell into the hands of Arab-Muslim forces in July 633 after a siege and fierce resistance. JWi

EncIran II/1 (1985) *s.v.* Anbar, 5 (M. Morony).
J. den Boeft et al., eds., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXIV* (2002), 48ff.

Perperikon Megalithic rock city and sanctuary in the eastern Rhodope mountains, (mod. Bulgaria). The Roman fortifications were probably destroyed by the *Visigoths in 378. The conversion of a *temple into a Christian *basilica is perhaps associated with *Bishop *Nicetas of *Remesiana's *conversion of the *Bessi in the late 4th century. The *synthronon in the *apse suggests it was probably an episcopal see. The tower-type *ambo is unique in the *Balkans. The *city remained prosperous until the early 7th century and has Proto-Bulgar **graffiti*. There is a later Byzantine–Bulgar town on the plain. RKL

N. Ovcharov, *Chronicle of the Holy City of Perperikon* (2005).

Perpetua, Felicitas, Satyrus, Ss., and companions Christians whose *martyrdom in an arena on 7 March 203/4, with their visions, is recorded in a near-contemporary *Passion, a Greek Passion, and later *Acta*. They were so popular that *Augustine had to remind readers that their Passion was not scripture (*an. et or*. I, 10, 12); he preached several sermons about them (280–2; Erfurt, 1). They were interred at *Carthage in the Basilica Majorum (*Victor of Vita, I, 3, 9). ETH; OPN

BHL 6633–6, *BHG* 1482.
Passio (Latin and Greek) and *Acta*: ed. (annotated with FT) J. Amat (SC 417, 1996).
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 66–74, 305–6.
J. Rives, 'The Piety of a Persecutor', *JECS* 4/1 (1996), 1–25.
C. Osiek, 'Perpetua's Husband', *JECS* 10/2 (2002), 287–90.
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs et réliques* (1980), 76–9, 202.
Duval, *Loca Sanctorum* (1982).

Persarmenia From a political viewpoint, Persarmenia refers to the whole Armenian territory under Persian rule (as opposed to Roman *Armenia). It should not be confused with the later geographical term *Parskahayk'* or *Persarmenia*, a province which lay north and west of Lake Urmia and bordered on *Adiabene and Atropatene. All of the major Armenian historians of this period (the **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, *Elishe Vardapet, *Lazar P'arpets'i, *Movses Khorenats'i) cover primarily the history of Persarmenia.

Persarmenia as a province of the *Persian Empire was governed by a *marzban (guardian of the frontier) commander of all the local Persian garrison—assisted by a *hazarbad (Arm. *hazarapet*), and *mowbed (Arm. *mogpet*) chief of the Magians. This structure was supplemented by offices held by the Armenian aristocracy—chief among them the *Sparapet from the *Mamikonean feudal family. The capital of Persarmenia and seat of the *Sasanian administration was *Dvin, founded by the Armenian King Khosrov III Kotak (330–9).

In 428, taking advantage of the abolition of the Armenian monarchy, the Sasanian kings were intent on extending Iranian cultural and religious influence. Open *persecution of Armenian Christians broke out under Persian King *Yazdegerd II (439–57). Matters came to a head in 449, when Yazdegerd promulgated an edict in Armenia and Caucasian *Albania requiring the immediate adoption by the entire population of official *Zoroastrianism. At the church Council of Ashtishat Zoroastrianism was condemned, and on 2 June 451 the armies of Muskan Niusalavurt and Sparapet *Vardan Mamikonean met in the plain of *Avarayr. The tension between Armenia and Persia ended when *Vahan Mamikonean became marzban in 510, and peace between Armenia and Persia was finally achieved. VN

N. G. Garsoïan, 'The Aršakuni Dynasty (A.D. 12–[180?]–428)', and N. G. Garsoïan, 'The Marzpanate (428–652)', in

R. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1 (2004), 63–94 and 95–115 respectively.
H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen* (1904).
T'. X. Hakobyan et al., *Haysatani ev harakic' srjanneri tela-nunneri bararan*, vols. 1–5 (1986–2001) (Dictionary of toponymy of Armenia and adjacent territories).

persecution of Christians *See* CHRISTIANS, PERSECUTION OF.

Persia, economic history of The economy of the *Persian Empire was based primarily on *farming, which archaeological evidence indicates reached a peak under the *Sasanian dynasty. This was made possible by improvements in *irrigation, especially in the fertile agricultural provinces of *Mesopotamia (*Asorestan), *Khuzestan, and *Khorasan. In parallel with its political reforms, the Sasanian *administration exerted ever greater control over the Empire's economic system, as is most noticeable in the *taxation reforms of *Khosrow I.

Like the late Parthian Empire, the Sasanian Empire was a patchwork of numerous aristocratic estates and independent *cities. The Sasanian kings simultaneously founded cities whose populations and hinterland could be taxed by them alone, and, as at Hatra and *Susa, took control of the last independent city states in their empire. Cities were also centres of industry and *trade, which the Sasanian crown was eager to promote as well as to tax and control. When Sasanian kings established new cities they regularly transferred populations from conquered territory, bringing an influx of skilled workers from Mesopotamia, *Syria, and *Armenia, as at *Weh-andīōg-husraw.

The Sasanians extracted *gold from the Eastern Roman Empire during various campaigns, but their monetary system was based on *silver *coinage (MP *drahm*). The *drahm* was produced in mints controlled by the King of Kings and, as a relatively pure and stable currency, it was in use in *trade along the *Silk Road. The Sasanian kings paid for *irrigation canals and the upkeep of water projects such as those in *Shushtar, and they raised taxes from their use.

*Ardashir I developed ports on the Persian side of the Gulf which promoted Sasanian control of the Indian Ocean *trade with the Far East. The Sasanians also acquired a near-monopoly on the *silk trade which passed through *Central Asia. Medieval terms associated with long-distance trade, such as 'bazaar' and 'caravan', originated from Middle *Persian, and later Islamic trading customs reflect the Persian institutions. MPC; TD

EncIran VIII/1 (1997) *s.v.* Economy. iv. In the Sasanian Period, 104–7 (R. Gyselen).
R. McC. Adam, *Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains* (1965).
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 133–49.
N. Schindel, 'Sasanian Coinage', in D. T. Potts, *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (2013), 814–39.

Persian Empire The Persian Empire ruled by the *Sasanian dynasty was the last Iranian-speaking empire to rule Western Asia before the coming of *Islam. While the dynasty came from the province of *Fars in south-western Iran, the same home province as the Achaemenid dynasty (650–333 BC), the Sasanians called their empire *Eranshahr, 'the Empire of the Iranians', and forged a new imperial, pan-Iranian identity. The Sasanian Empire was founded by *Ardashir I, who overthrew the Arsacid Empire. His son and successor *Shapur I pushed eastwards, leading to the reduction and eventual fall of the Kushan Empire. The Sasanians ruled an empire whose core consisted of *Mesopotamia and the Iranian Plateau and which eventually encompassed the Red Sea and *Arabia, as well as northern *India and Transoxiana. Sasanian *merchants plied the Indian Ocean and established trading networks that extended into South-East Asia. The Sasanians contested the *Caucasus with the Roman Empire, deeply imprinting the cultures of both *Georgia and *Armenia. Its height came under *Khosrow II, who briefly extended the empire's borders so that they almost matched those of the Achaemenid Empire, occupying *Egypt, the Levant, and *Anatolia, as well as besieging *Constantinople. Sasanian visual culture exerted a deep influence on late antique Eurasia. MPC

Sasanian dynasty

*Sasanian society was organized around the King of Kings. The Sasanians presented themselves as kings with divine qualities and as descendants and tools of the gods. Out of appreciation for the gods' favours, the Sasanian kings adopted *Zoroastrian cult, bestowed benefits on priests, founded '*fires', and thus multiplied places of worship. As in Parthian times, 'fires' were also established as 'Fires of Kings', for the spiritual welfare and salvation of living and dead members of the royal household. Individual rulers derived their legitimacy not only from their descent but also through the 'divine grace' (MP **xwarrah*, already known from the Achaemenids and the Parthians), and through their personal efforts in war and out *hunting. The dynasty in general derived its legitimacy from the invocation of earlier heads of the clan and even kings of Iran whom the Sasanians themselves no longer knew by name, but whom they described as their forebears or ancestors. Later they even associated themselves with the mythical kings of Iran, and with the Iranian National History, which they themselves decisively helped shape. They thus became the Iranian rulers par excellence, alongside the East Iranian Kayanids, who, like the mythical kings,

are also not verifiable historically. They lived on in *The Book of Kings* of Ferdowsi (d. AD 1020) and the epics of Nizami (d. 1209), and in Islamic chronicles and popular literature. The Sasanians created their own legend also at the expense of the Arsacids, whose legitimate share in the Iranian success story was deliberately downgraded.

Society and economy

Next to the *aristocracy in importance were religious dignitaries, *Zoroastrian priests (*mowbed*s, **herbed*s) who were not only experts in matters of religion (e.g. through the upholding of the religious tradition), but also in matters of *administration and the *law as judges (*dādwars*). Christians, for example, knew some of them as harsh judges in times of *persecution. A hierarchy of offices and functions, however, was only developed in the 4th century, in imitation of royal power. This hierarchy ranged from simple officials in the lower ranks to the Chief of the Mowbeds at the top. Lower state functionaries, craftsmen, city merchants, *doctors, astronomers, scientists, and minstrels (MP *gosan*), as well as the professional servants and staff of the *court and of the estates of the aristocracy, must be counted among the middle class of the empire. Peasants represented the great bulk of the Persian Empire's population. It was these tenants who for centuries had been the aristocracy's bondsmen, and who profited in particular from *Khosrow I's reforms, as they advanced to become free tillers of their own plots of land. Although legally defined as objects in the Sasanian Empire, slaves were also seen as human beings, which distinguished them from other property, and, at the same time, protected them from excessively cruel treatment. This did not save them from being sold, rented, or given as gifts, and the products of a slave's labour would also always belong to his or her owner.

As elsewhere in Late Antiquity, *farming was the fundamental economic activity in the Sasanian Empire too. In addition, many subjects of the 'King of Kings' earned their livelihoods in various crafts, in royal workshops, and in small private businesses. Many of the professionals employed by the king were men who had been deported from *Syria and other regions and resettled in the Persian Empire during the reigns of *Shapur I, *Khosrow I, or their descendants. Workers recruited by the state, or prisoners of war, worked in the *textile industry of *Khuzestan, in building, and as ironsmiths, goldsmiths, locksmiths, and dyers. The *bridges, dams, and *irrigation works built by Roman prisoners of war are still impressive. Like the Parthians, the Sasanians also traded domestic and foreign products from west to east and vice versa. Also like the Parthians, they made connections with *India by sea and to *China by land. Both the Romans and the Sasanians tried to find ways to further their own advantage in trade to the exclusion of the other side.

Warfare

In matters concerned with *warfare, the Sasanians also adhered to the Parthian model for a long time, especially in the use of heavily armoured *cavalry and mounted *archers. They also became experts in *siege warfare following the Roman model. Persian tactics usually involved a forceful attack of the cavalry coupled with a shower of arrows from the archers. The king or general would be situated in the centre, near the imperial *standard, and protected by a bodyguard. This line-up, alongside the Persians' alleged lack of stamina in close-contact fighting, was the reason for many Sasanian defeats. If the commander fled or fell, the soldiers would also give up the fight. And in the end during the *Arab invasion, their heavily armoured cavalry would be overcome by the lightly armoured and more flexible horsemen of the Muslim armies.

Religion

The Sasanian Empire was also characterized by the diversity of its religious groups and communities, particularly in Persian *Mesopotamia. The established religion was *Zoroastrianism; there were also Christians, *Jews, *Manichaeans, and *Mazdakites. Scholars have long juxtaposed the religiously tolerant Arsacids with the supposedly intolerant rule of the Sasanians. Under the latter, a Zoroastrian 'state church' is alleged to have joined forces with the king, rigid in religious matters, in a so-called covenant of 'throne and altar' to the detriment of the non-Zoroastrian communities. It is now clear that Sasanian Iran was indeed 'Zoroastrianized' to a greater extent than ever before in its history, and that the kings acted as sponsors of that faith. However, it is also clear that the religious and social identity of the kings and their subjects, as well as their relationships with each other, were characterized by features similar to those existent in the Roman Empire. That is to say, the personal faith of each individual ruler was a factor, but, more importantly, so was the general internal and external situation of the empire and the political reaction of the kings to it (including their reaction in terms of religious policy). Also decisive was the conflict between the Zoroastrian priesthood, for whom being Persian and being Zoroastrian were the same thing, and the Christians and Manichaeans, who were not only theoretically directed towards universalism, but in fact followed universal faiths. It was a conflict that can be described in the field of tradition as one between the 'People of the Book' on the one hand, and the followers of Zoroaster's message on the other. Up until the 5th century, this message was only transmitted orally, in its distinctly Sasanian form. JWi

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*
J. Howard-Johnston, 'State and Society in Late Antique Iran', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart, eds., *The Sasanian Era* (The Idea of Iran 3, 2008), 118–31.
J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (2010).
Z. Rubin, 'The Sasanid Monarchy', in *CAH* XIV (2006), 638–61.
J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD* (new edn. 2001), 151–221.

Persian Empire, Christians in Christian communities were established in the Arsacid and then the *Sasanian Empire from an early date. Tatian, who compiled the *Diatessaron* in the mid-2nd century, was a native of *Adiabene. Christian communities grew from ancient Jewish communities in *Mesopotamia and were augmented by proselytization, to some degree, by the presence of Christians among those deported from the Roman Empire, and by the conversion of *Armenia and Caucasian *Iberia to Christianity.

Evangelization and traditions

In the **Cave of Treasures*, an apocryphal text from the 5th–6th century, the Magi who came to Bethlehem are presented as the first missionaries for the area east of the Euphrates. Several *Syriac, *Greek, and *Latin traditions attribute the evangelization of the Christians in Persia to disciples of Christ such as S. Thomas, who crossed the *Silk Road regions (Parthia, Media, Bactriana) according to Greek apostolic lists which associate each disciple with an area of the *Oikoumene*. In the Syriac sources, he went to *India, as is related in the Acts of *Thomas from 3rd-century *Edessa, and also to Persia and Sind. In other traditions, mainly Latin, the apostles Ss. Simon and Jude had a common mission, and sometimes were said to have been put to death in Persia. Mar *Mari, considered to be one of the 70 disciples of Christ, is presented as the missionary of the Tigris Valley, from *Nisibis to the Persian Gulf. The 7th-century *Acts of Mar Mari* present him as the founder of the East Syrian Church.

Missions in these areas were pluralistic and originated from the principal Aramaic cities such as Edessa (*Sozomen, II, 8, 1, 2) and also from *Antioch and *Jerusalem, from the Jewish-Christian movement, and from heterodox trends such as Marcionism, baptizing groups such as the Elchaisites, and *Manichaeism. Earlier historical information about Christian communities in Persia is to be found in the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* attributed to the Edessan *philosopher *Bardaisan (of 196). This work highlights the influence of Christianity on pagan populations: Parthians, inhabitants of *Gilan and *Mesopotamia, Kushans, Medians, and Persians. During the same period, a Christian presence in Nisibis can be deduced from the epitaph of Abercius, *Bishop of *Hierapolis of *Phrygia. In Beth Garmai (around *Kirkuk) and *Adiabene (around *Arbela), the presence of a bishop during the 2nd century is mentioned in the Syriac *History of *Karka d-Bet-Slokh* and the unreliable **Chronicle of Arbela*. *Arbela, became a *metropolitan see under Bishop *Papa (310–17).

Settlements

Wars between the Roman and *Persian Empires deeply influenced the development of Christianity in Persian territory. A policy of mass deportations by the Persian *armies contributed to the establishment of *Greek- and *Syriac-speaking populations, sometimes Christianized, in several places in the *Persian Empire, especially after the military campaigns of *Shapur I in 252/3, 256, and 259/60. These exiled people came from Syrian lands where Christianity had been introduced much earlier. In 253, Demetrianus, the *Patriarch of *Antioch, was transferred to Susiana with all his clergy. Christianity was spread as early as the 4th century in Margiana (Central Asia), particularly in *Merv, which was important for *trade thanks to the semi-legendary evangelizer Bar Shaba (whose name means 'the deportee' in Syriac), who is said to have been the first bishop of the city. The acts of the *councils of the *Church of the East mention some 'captivities' (Syr. *shebite*) in Media and in *Gorgan, south of the Caspian Sea. There, ecclesiastical administration of natives and exiles was separated, as in 424 in the separate bishoprics of Belashphar and of the 'captivity' of Belashphar. Christian communities flourished at this time in such eastern areas as Abarshahr (modern *Nishapur), Tus, *Herat, and *Sagastan; the tribes of White *Huns were partially converted in 498. Deportees from the East Roman area were numerous in the cities around *Susa, particularly near the royal domains in which they were employed.

According to *Procopius and *Joshua the Stylite, many Roman captives from *Amida, Edessa, and *Martyropolis were settled on the boundaries of *Fars at the beginning of the 6th century. Between 540 and 573, according to *John of Ephesus, *Khosrow I refounded a city near *Ctesiphon he named *Weh-andiog-husraw, so as to transfer 30,000 people captured in Roman *Mesopotamia. This fortified camp (also called Rumagan—the name derives from '*rum*', 'Roman') was built on a Hellenistic model; there were several churches, some of them consecrated by the Patriarch Anastasius I of Antioch, in 590/1. Queens gave Christians their support: they included Shiraran, the sister-wife of *Shapur II, and the Emperor *Maurice's daughter who was married to *Khosrow II, as well as *Shirin, Khosrow II's

favourite wife who strongly protected the *Syriac Orthodox (*Miaphysite) communities. The *Catholicus of the *Church of the East, whose appointment was approved by the King of Kings who indeed often selected the successful candidate, became integrated into the Sasanian *court and *administration. By the late Empire, bishops regularly served as envoys for the Persian Kings of Kings. Christian nobles, especially those from Armenia and Iberia, could achieve high military command and royal favour, such as the Armenian Smbat *Bagratuni, who was honoured with the title '*Husraw-šād*' ('Joy of Khosrow') and led Persian forces to victory over the *Hephthalites.

The challenge of integration

A mixed culture characterized Christian communities in Persia: *Arabs on the *frontiers, Aramaeans in *Beth-Aramaye (the southern part of Persian Mesopotamia), and the descendants of Greek deportees from the East Roman Empire, Persians, Huzites in Susiana, and others. This mixed culture is made apparent by linguistic pluralism (Syriac, Greek, Middle *Persian), as shown by diglossia and *bilingualism. Sasanian *seals considered to be Christian, bearing *inscriptions in Syriac and/or Pahlavi, and a large number of mixed Middle Persian/Syriac family names in Syriac documents both illustrate the effective integration of Christians into official Iranian life. Some cases of mixed *marriage highlight Iranization: in the 4th century, for example, Pusiy, son of a deportee, married a Persian woman; he bore an Iranian name. Multilingualism had an impact on *liturgy and liturgical organization, as Syriac and Arabic sources underline: the **Chronicle of Seert* mentions a mixed community with Greeks and natives in *Fars, and in the 7th century, John of Dailam (d. 738) founded a double *monastery in Fars where two communities lived, one Syriac and the other Persian. Many fragments of bilingual manuscripts, Syriac/*Sogdian and Syriac/*Uighur *Nestorian liturgical texts, have been discovered in *Turfan and *Dunhuang in Central Asia. These undertakings illustrate the missionaries' flexibility in adapting to the religious landscape and dealing with the diverse regional ethnic and linguistic traditions they encountered. At the end of the 5th century, many texts were translated from Syriac into Middle Persian. Archaeological material also shows appropriations of Persian cultural motifs by the Christians: some seals or numismatic objects combine Mazdaean-style images, inscriptions, or titles with Christian symbols, such as a *cross above a *fire altar, or classical *Zoroastrian legends adapted to Christian faith. The large (possibly cathedral) church of Qasr Bint al-Qadi excavated by O. Reuther in the 20th century in Weh-Ardashir (*Kokhe) across from *Ctesiphon adapts aspects of Persian palace architecture.

Loyalties, political and religious

Syriac sources and Mazdaean epigraphy have transmitted two names for the Christians: *Kristyone*, which is an equivalent of the name *Mshihoyo* (from *Mshiho*, 'Messiah'), and *Nasraye*, 'Nazaraeans'. *Nasraye* is usually used by Mazdaean detractors, and also refers to native Aramaic Christians.

After the Roman *Emperor *Constantine I's espousal of Christianity in the early 4th century, Christians in Sasanian territories might be suspected of complicity with the Roman *Emperor. Relationships between Christians and Mazdaeans were affected by the political and cultural distinction between Iran and Aniran (the non-Iranian world). *Conversions of Mazdaeans to Christianity raised questions of loyalty because the new converts, subjects of the Persian King, had become non-Iranian because they had embraced a foreign faith and were consequently considered as disloyal.

After Shapur II's edict of *persecution, which was never repealed, Christians endured sporadic persecution. They had to prove their loyalty and guarantee their survival; this quest for cultural integration ultimately led, in 484, to a temporary abolition of celibacy for the clergy, as Mazdaeans condemned celibacy; these canons concerning celibacy were abolished half a century later. Christians were also called Tarsaqan, a Sogdian loanword which means '[God-]fearers'.

Christological diversity of the communities

East Syrian communities in Persia, separated from the Roman world, gradually became autonomous as the Church of the East, with a *Catholicus in *Seleucia-*Ctesiphon independent from the sees of the other patriarchs in the Roman Empire. This process was encouraged by the Sasanian court, which incrementally co-opted the Christian hierarchy, and was particularly reinforced by the *Councils of the Church in the 480s.

At the instigation of *Barsauma of Nisibis, the Church of the East officially adopted Dyophysite Christology, which emphasized the separation of the divine and human natures in the Person of Christ. In addition, as concessions to Zoroastrian sensibilities, clergy and hierarchy were encouraged to marry and burial of the *dead discouraged. The works of *Diodore of *Tarsus, *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, and *Nestorius were at the heart of the training given in *monasteries and schools of higher education in the Church of the East.

The Christological controversies of the 5th century redrew the pattern of Christianity in the Persian Empire. The *Miaphysite Syriac Orthodox (also called Jacobites after *Jacob Burd'oyo) were located on both sides of the international *frontier according to circumstances, and subject to the changes and chances of

Roman legislation. When they were persecuted, they fled to *Egypt and the Persian Empire where they spread Miaphysitism widely. Syriac histories, including *John of *Ephesus in the 6th century, and *Michael the Elder (Michael the Syrian) and Barhebraeus (*Bar 'Ebroyo) in the 12th and 13th centuries, describe several west Syrian (Jacobite) Christian areas: *Singara, *Tur 'Abdin (in Roman territory), and the region around *Nineveh and Mosul, where the convent of *Mar Mattai was a bridgehead for Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) missions to the Persian Empire, *Adiabene, *Khorasan, and especially *Takrit, which became the see of the principal Syriac Orthodox bishop in Persian territory, later termed the *Maphrian. Thanks to *Simeon, Bishop of Beth-Arsham (510–46/7), who wrote a letter on the dissemination of Miaphysitism in Persia, and later with the support of *Gabriel of Singara, doctor to Shirin, queen of Khosrow II, the Jacobites definitively settled in south Mesopotamia and Babylonia from the mid-6th century onwards.

Other Christian communities also came to establish themselves in the Sasanian Empire, particularly after the 6th-century Persian raids in *Syria and Roman Mesopotamia. The *Melkites in Rumagan, from the Greek-speaking Church which accepted the Christological formula of the *Council of *Chalcedon, created in 762 a see for their Catholicus at Romaguris in the country of *Chach (Tashkent). As archaeological remains of ecclesiastical and monastic structures testify, the *Arab conquest did not put an end to the dynamism of the Churches which reached in the 7th to the 9th century into *Transoxiana, the territories of the Turkish tribes, and Tibet. CJ

EncIran VII/3 *s.v.* deportations, ii. In the Parthian and Sasanian Periods, 297a–308b (Kettenhofen).

EncIran online (2005) *s.v.* Smbat Bagratuni (Garsoïan).

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Persian Empire, Jews in Following the Babylonian conquest of *Jerusalem in 597 BC and the subsequent destruction of the First Jewish Temple in 586 BC, captives from the kingdom of Judah established a significant Jewish presence east of the Euphrates River. However, an extreme paucity of information, both literary as well as material, precludes any attempt at a detailed history of the Jews of the *Persian Empire prior to the emergence of the *Sasanian dynasty (*c.* AD 226).

The rise of the Sasanians dovetails almost to the year with the emergence of the rabbinic Jewish community in Persian *Mesopotamia (Babylonia), often identified with the return to that land of the Babylonian sage *Rava, following years of learning in *Palestine (AD 219), and the gradual emergence of circles of disciples centred on *rabbis in Babylonia that ultimately evolve into the noted rabbinic academies (*yeshivot*). Two major concentrations of *Jews existed in the early Sasanian period. One of these, the more ancient, was situated in northern *Mesopotamia, with its principal centre at *Nisibis (mod. Nusaybin, Turkey), and additional Jewish settlements east of the Tigris River, in the areas of *Adiabene, *Beth 'Arabaye, Media, and Elymais (*Khuzestan). The other principal concentration where important communities and rabbinic centres flourished for centuries was situated along the Euphrates River, and to a lesser extent along the Tigris, just north and south of the convergence of the two rivers, near the Sasanian capital *Ctesiphon.

Our knowledge regarding this concentration of Jews derives primarily from the monumental literary corpus produced by the Jewish sages of Mesopotamia, namely the Babylonian *Talmud. Although finally redacted no earlier than the 7th century, the Talmud preserves traditions transmitted orally from at least as far back as the 3rd century. Added to this primary literary source are infrequent references to Jews in Iranian sources, literary and epigraphic, as well as in a few Christian works, such as the *Demonstrations* of the 4th-century 'Persian Sage' *Aphrahat (Aphraates) and Christian *martyr passions. In addition to literary sources, we possess some limited material evidence, such as *incantation bowls frequently produced by Jews for their Persian neighbours, as well as Jewish *seals.

Some rabbis believed the Sasanian dynasty to be more assertive than the previous, more pliant Parthian regime. This perception, coupled with the re-emergence of the *Zoroastrian 'Church' to an enhanced position under the new monarchy, found expression in Talmudic literature, and probably reflected the apprehension felt by Jews with the establishment of

Sasanian rule. One Talmudic anecdote attests to the fear that whatever legal autonomy existed under Parthian rule would now be compromised: this fear was accompanied by allusion to the possibility that the Zoroastrian priesthood would exert religious pressure on Jews.

For the most part, however, these fears did not materialize under most of the Sasanian rulers. While the aggressive military stance of the Sasanians vis-à-vis the Roman Empire at times had a negative effect on some Jewish communities, Jews and Persians frequently shared an animosity towards third parties such as the Roman Empire or the Empire of *Palmyra: the Palmyrine invasion of Babylonia (in *c.*259) caused the destruction of the Jewish centre at *Nehardea. The Talmud appears to reflect an amicable relationship between Jewish leaders and *Shapur I (AD 239–70). This relationship was maintained and possibly even enhanced under the rule of *Shapur II (AD 309–79). Shapur II's military confrontation with the Roman Empire, especially after Christianity had become its imperial religion, probably enhanced the Sasanian perception of Jews as loyal subjects, in contrast to the suspicion levelled at certain Christian groups who were seen as a potential fifth column. Similarly, there is no real evidence of outright persecution of Jews by the Zoroastrian clergy, although during the reign of *Bahram II (276–93) the Zoroastrian priest *Kerdir claimed in a number of monumental *inscriptions to have smitten almost all the minority religions of the realm, including Jews. Rabbinic literature, however, never suggests that any forced conversion or blanket persecution occurred under the Sasanians, but at the most implies that Zoroastrian clergy would take offence if certain Jewish practices, such as the lighting of candles (e.g. on Hannukah), burial of the *dead in the ground, or the use of water for ritual purification, were perceived as contravening basic Zoroastrian tenets. Such difficulties notwithstanding, rabbinic literature seemed comfortable with the principle that 'the law of the Kingdom is law', thereby recognizing the legitimacy of the Persian rulers and the concomitant requirement to comply with laws that gave expression to this sovereignty, such as those pertaining to *taxation and ownership of land.

By the 5th century, however, internal political tensions, as well as polemics concerned with the religious beliefs of both Christians and Zoroastrians, coupled with pressure from invading *Hephthalites, all contributed to a deterioration of Sasanian tolerance towards Jews as well as other minorities and perceived heresies. According to medieval Jewish and Arab chronicles, King *Yazdegerd II (439–57) and his son *Peroz (459–84) supported some degree of persecution, during which Jewish leaders were incarcerated and in certain cases executed. One 10th-century chronicle claims that Peroz had half the Jewish population of *Isfahan executed as punishment for the flaying of two Mazdaean priests, with their children forcibly placed in *fire temples. This report, however, has been met with some scholarly scepticism.

Under both the Sasanians and the *Arabs, the political and spiritual lives of Persian Jewry were heavily influenced by two distinct institutions. The recognized political leader of the community was the *Exilarch, who claimed a Davidic pedigree and probably enjoyed some degree of support and recognition from the Sasanian authorities. The Exilarch maintained some sort of judicial body at his *court, and was also influential in the recognition of Jewish judges as well as the appointment of certain economic officials. During Sasanian rule, however, there is no evidence of the Exilarch interfering within the other institution which exercised leadership in the Jewish community, that of the rabbis and their emerging circles of disciples. However, this division of Jewish authority between Exilarch and rabbis would become blurred under Muslim rule in Iraq.

The degree of rabbinic influence among the greater Jewish population is not clear, given that the rabbinic corpus is the main source of information. What is evident is that most Jews were involved in agriculture, whether *farming or trading in agricultural produce and its derivatives. While rabbinic Judaism appears to have gradually determined significant aspects of Jewish daily life, recent scholarship has pointed to significant influence from Iranian popular beliefs and at times even legal and religious norms on the sages of the Talmud and by extension upon wider segments of the Jewish population. IMG

Y. Elman, 'Middle Persian Culture and Babylonian Sages: Accommodation and Resistance in the Shaping of Rabbinic Legal Traditions', in C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (2007).

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G. Herman, *A Prince Without a Kingdom* (2012).

Neusner, *Babylonia*, II–V.

Oppenheimer, *Babylonia.*

Persian invasion of Asia Minor Shortly after *Heraclius' seizure of power in October 610, Persian armies broke through the Roman inner line of defence on the Euphrates *frontier and thereafter invaded the interior of *Anatolia at will. *Caesarea in *Cappadocia was captured and occupied in 611–12 (*Sebeos, 113). In 615, an army under *Shahin crossed the peninsula and reached *Chalcedon (**Chronicon Paschale*, AD 615; Sebeos, 122–3), and *Pisidia was targeted by two raiding armies in *c.*617. *Ankara was destroyed in 622/3 (*Theophanes, AM 6111), and a final incursion under

*Shahrwaraz in 626–7 seems once again to have reached the *Bosporus (*Chronicon Paschale*, AD 626).

The raids are vivid evidence for the weakness of the Roman *army in the first part of Heraclius' reign, but the short- and long-term impact of the Persian invasions remains controversial. At *Ankara, it is certain that the Persian sack of 622 led to the abandonment of much of the ancient *city, and the contraction of the settlement to a small fortified *kastron*, but the archaeological evidence is less clear elsewhere. Foss has argued that Persian raids were responsible both for widespread destruction at *Ephesus (on the Embolos and in the Upper Agora) in *c.*614, and for the destruction and abandonment of parts of *Sardis in *c.*616. However, the historical tradition records no Persian incursions into western Asia Minor, and the damage may have been caused by *earthquakes. Recent scholarship has tended to downplay the impact of the Persian invasions on urban culture in Asia Minor, instead emphasizing a longer process of de-urbanization extending across the 6th and 7th centuries. PJT

Greatrex and Lieu, 197–9.
C. Foss, 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity', *EHR* 90 (1975), 721–43.
J. Russell, in E. Kountoura-Galake, ed., *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium* (2001), 47–71.
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 436–45.

Persian invasion of Egypt The Persian Shahanshah *Khosrow II occupied *Egypt *c.*618 after defeating the forces of the *Emperor *Phocas at *Pelusium. There is literary and documentary evidence in *Coptic, *Greek, *Pahlavi, and *Arabic that the Persians controlled Upper Egypt by the mid-620s. They were expelled *c.*628 by armies loyal to the Emperor *Heraclius.

The *Life* of Abba *Pisentius the *Bishop of *Coptos in Upper Egypt records that he fled from the Persians to the hills on the west bank of the *Nile. One of the Coptic *letters to him indicates that the Persians took some but not all of the livestock of a widow. The period is not considered in the *Chronicle* of *John of *Nikiu, because there is a chronological lacuna in the surviving narrative at chapters 109–10.

The Greek texts from places such as *Oxyrhynchus mention a high-ranking official called Saralaneozan/Shahr-Alānyōzan (probably a personal name) responsible for transfer of taxes to the Persian king. Pahlavi texts provide information about Persian military stations and the issuing of 'passports' by Shahr-Alānyōzan. Pahlavi *papyri also provide evidence for the provisioning of the Persian *army.

The **History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* mentions the destruction caused by the Persians near *Alexandria and the **Synaxarium* implies that the Persians interfered in church matters by preventing the consecration of a new *bishop at *Esna. The Coptic Story of Cambyses may be a reference to this Persian interlude. AA1

Butler, Arab Conquest of Egypt, ch. VII.
R. Altheim-Stiehl, Egypt under Sasanian Iran: http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/History/Sasanian/egypt_sasanian.htm.

Persian invasion of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine The revival of warfare between the Eastern Roman Empire and *Sasanian *Persian Empires in the early 6th century brought the two superpowers into conflict across an arc of territory ranging from the principalities of the Caucasus to the north to the *Yemen to the south. Only in *Mesopotamia, however, did the two empires face each other directly, with the frontier between Roman *Syria and Persian Mesopotamia bisecting a region which formed a social, economic, and cultural whole. On this Mesopotamian frontier, neither empire possessed realistic aims of territorial expansion, which tended to be focused instead on Greater *Armenia and its neighbours.

This situation was destabilized, however, by the civil war into which the Eastern Roman Empire descended upon the overthrow and execution of the *Emperor *Maurice by *Phocas in 603. The Persian Shah *Khosrow II initially took advantage of this to claw back territory in Armenia and the Caucasus which he had ceded in 591. Faced with Roman infighting, however, between 603 and 610 he also began to target his forces on breaking down the dense networks of fortifications in Upper Mesopotamia in which *Anastasius, *Justin I, and *Justinian I had invested. *Heraclius' coup against Phocas in 610 led to a further deterioration in the Roman position, and Persian forces were able to strike across the Euphrates in a series of opportunistic land-grabs. In 611 the Persians struck into *Syria, seizing *Apamea and *Antioch. *Damascus soon fell, and the Persians were ready to initiate the conquest of *Palestine, which was facilitated by conflict between Christian and Jewish communities. Advancing through *Galilee, the Persians struck first at maritime *Caesarea, and in 614 the Persians negotiated the capitulation of *Jerusalem, as narrated by *Antiochus Strategos. The Persian occupation of the city further soured relations there between Jewish and Christian partisans, and after an outbreak of rioting the Persians sacked the city and seized the *Relic of the True *Cross, which was sent to Persia, an event that reverberated throughout the Christian world. It was restored when *Heraclius in turn overcame Khosrow II. PS

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses.*
P. Sarris, *Empires of Faith: The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700* (2011).

Persian languages More properly termed Iranian languages, of which Persian is one. The Iranian languages form a subgroup of Indo-Iranian, which in turn is a subgroup of the Indo-European family of languages. The present article deals with the two Western Middle Iranian languages Middle Persian and Parthian, with emphasis on Middle Persian, to the exclusion of eastern languages such as *Sogdian, *Bactrian, and *Khotanese.

Old Persian, Avestan, Parthian, and Middle Persian

The oldest attested Iranian languages are Old Persian, the language of the south-west region of Pārsa (*Fars, Gk. Persis) and of the Achaemenid court, and Avestan, the language of Zoroaster and of the oldest *Zoroastrian texts. Avestan belongs to the eastern group of Iranian languages, but cannot be located geographically with certainty. While Avestan has no clear successor among the Middle Iranian languages, Old Persian evolved into Middle Persian, the principal language of the *Sasanian *inscriptions, the *Manichaean scripture, and the writings preserved by Zoroastrians identified more precisely as Book Pahlavi. There is also a fragment of a Pahlavi Psalter translated from the *Syriac. Parthian is a north-western language, probably descended from Median, a language of which only a few words are preserved in the Achaemenid inscriptions. The main sources for Parthian are the Sasanian bilingual inscriptions and the *Manichaean texts. It should be noted that there is a possible cause for confusion over nomenclature: in reference to the inscriptions the Middle Persian is called *pārsīg* 'Persian'; the Parthian is called *pahlawīg* 'Parthian'. This is not to be confused with the Middle Persian dialect Pahlavi.

Apart from the inscriptions, which are securely dated, it is difficult to assign precise dates for the two languages and their dialects owing to the general fact that languages evolve over time. It seems that by the late Achaemenid period, popular speech was well into a transition from the old inflectional language to that of the Sasanian inscriptions. It is assumed that the Parthians, the *Parnoi* of the Greek geographers, originally spoke a *Scythian (Saka) dialect, but once they had established themselves in the old Median heartland adopted the language of the region descended from Median. The earliest written documents in Parthian are from 88 BC. Although the Manichaean texts obviously post-date *Mani (d. *c.* AD 274), they cannot be dated with certainty. Most of the texts containing Book Pahlavi, as they have come down to us in the Zoroastrian manuscript tradition, date from the 9th century AD; this literature, however, preserves much older sources, and works like the **Bundahishn* and the **Denkard* are editions and redactions of these sources.

Orthography and Aramaic ideograms

In order to gain a knowledge of Middle Persian and Parthian it is first necessary to understand the origins of writing and literacy in Iran. Although Old Persian is attested in the monumental inscriptions of the early Achaemenid kings, principally Darius and Xerxes, the Achaemenids themselves were non-literate, as were all Iranians regardless of dialect. For the business of their Empire, the Persian Kings of Kings relied on scribes who wrote in Aramaic, a language of the Semitic language group. Edicts and other governmental business were transmitted to the provinces of their far-flung empire in Aramaic, to be translated into local languages. Throughout the Iranian extent of the Empire, Aramaic had a near monopoly on literacy.

After the fall of the Empire signs began to appear that Aramaic had been used in a peculiar way; for common words and expressions scribes had clearly been writing down Aramaic words, using them to represent, as ideograms, Middle Persian words. For example, a coin legend might read *MLK'n MLK* to denote King of Kings. The letters MLK are the Aramaic word for 'king', but the presence of the ending *-ān* (the Middle Persian plural) betrays the fact that the Aramaic was actually being pronounced using the Persian words *šāhān šāh* (Shahanshah; King of Kings). In the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of *Shapur I the text is a mixture of Aramaic words (called ideograms and rendered in upper case letters in modern transliterated texts) and Persian/Parthian vocabulary, but the grammar is thoroughly Iranian. For example, the opening of the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* inscribed on the Ka'ba-ye Zardušt at *Naqsh-e Rostam reads in Parthian with Aramaic ideograms: *'NH mzdyzn 'LHʒ' šhʒpwh∀r MLKyn MLK'* which stands for Parthian *az mazdēzn baγ šābuhr šāhīn šāh*—and in English translation is 'I Shapur, Mazdaean lord, King of Kings'. Later in that inscription Shapur says, in Persian: *'Pm wly'lnwsy kysly BNPŠH PWN NPŠH [YDH] dstglwby krty = u-m Walēryanos kēsar xwad pad xwēš dast dastgraw kard*, 'And I myself made *Valerian Caesar captive with my own hand.'

These samples highlight the fact that in both Middle Persian and Parthian spellings of words are, for the most part, historical, and do not necessarily reflect the actual pronunciation in use at the time the texts were composed, a situation analogous to the spelling of modern English. The practice of writing in a mixture of ideograms and quasi-phonetic spelling was shunned by the Manichaeans, in whose texts ideograms do not appear and spellings adhere to contemporary pronunciation. Thus, Manichaean texts are often crucial in establishing the pronunciation of non-Manichaean spellings. Further, owing to the fact that Middle

Persian and Parthian scripts were derived from Aramaic, they follow the practice common to Semitic languages such as Aramaic of writing only the consonants of a word, with palatal and labial vowels possibly being indicated through the use of *yod* and *waw*. While short-*a* is normally not written, *alef* is sometimes used to avoid confusion; *alef* is always used for long-*ā* and word initial *a*.

The Parthian Inscriptions employ the full 22-consonant alphabet of Aramaic, while the Persian Inscriptions dropped the *qof*, and the Pahlavi Psalter dropped both *tet* and *qof*. Book Pahlavi, the script of the 9th-century Zoroastrian books, is an orthographic nightmare. Many letters have fallen together, so that there are only fourteen truly distinct signs, of which *he* and one form of *lamed* occur only in ideograms. Thus, *gimmel, dalet*, and *yod* are indistinguishable and by conjoining two of them one can form *samek* or any other combination. Conjoining three or more merely multiplies the confusion. *Alef* and *chet* share the same sign, as do *waw, nun, 'ayin*, and *reš*. *Lamed* usually represents *r* and occasionally *l*.

Grammar

In general, Middle Persian and Parthian show a great simplification of the inflectional systems of Old Iranian. The dual has disappeared, as has gender, leaving only singulars and plurals without distinction as to case or gender. The middle voice has also disappeared. The plural in *-ān* (*-īn* Parthian) derives from the old genitive plural in *-ānām* (*-īnām*). Similarly, the personal pronouns derive from old genitives, except that in the first person singular *az* (< *azam* nom.) is the older *casus rectus* beside *man* ('I, me'). In the inscriptions, Parthian also preserves the distinction reflected in the ideograms '*NT tō* (*casus rectus*) and *LK 'tō'* (*casus obliquus*).

The Old Iranian verbal system had been quite complex, with many tenses and moods. The present stem was formed in accordance with a number of classes or conjugations and was the stem for the present and imperfect tenses, and for the optative, subjunctive, and imperative moods. In Middle Persian and Parthian, the old present stem was retained for the present, optative, subjunctive, and imperative. However, an old strategy in common speech was to simplify the class system by simply forming a secondary stem in *-aya-* on any present stem. This became the common paradigm for the endings of the present: *-ēm* (Parthian *-ām*), *-ēh*, *-ēd*; *-ēm*, *-ēd*, *-ēnd*, the long-*ē* < *-aya-*. Outside the present system, both languages lost the stems of the perfect, pluperfect, and aorist. The future is expressed contextually, but the present and all past tenses were replaced by the past participle in *-ta-*. Accordingly, Old Persian *kunu-* 'does', *karta-* 'done' > Middle Persian *kun-*, *kard*; Old Persian *bawa-* 'becomes, is', **būta-* 'was' > Middle Persian *baw-*, *būd*; Old Persian *gauba-* 'says,' **gupta-* 'said' > Middle Persian *gōw-*, *guft*. Since the preterite in *-t*(*d*) derived from the adjectival participle, which had to agree in case, gender, and number with a noun or pronoun, the usage was continued. With intransitive verbs, the subject/verb construction follows the pattern [noun/pronoun] + preterite + auxiliary form of *h-* 'to be' (dropped in the third person singular). Thus, 'I came' (*man) āmad hēm*, 'he/she came' (*ōy*) *āmad*. However, with transitive verbs, a passive construction is required. Thus, in the example given above, 'I (Shapur) made Valerian captive,' must be expressed 'by me Valerian was made captive'. Conditional, perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect tenses could be formed using auxiliary verbs.

Syntax

The normal sentence word order is subject–predicate–verb. In the absence of nominal inflectional endings, word order and the use of prepositions became essential. One particular feature of Middle Persian which has carried over into New Persian is the widespread use of the *izafe* (*ī* derived from the old relative pronoun *ya-*) to mark genitive case relationship between nouns and to join adjectives to nouns, as in 'Naqsh-e Rostam'.

After the *Arab conquest, Pahlavi, which had been the language of the *Persian Empire under the Sasanians, fell into disuse among the general populace. It did continue to be used by the ever-dwindling Zoroastrian population, though even there it was mainly priest-scholars who kept it alive. WWM

C. J. Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian* (PSS 3, 1977).

W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 4/1 (1958), 20–130.

Persian literature Surviving literary texts in Middle *Persian are mainly the product of *Zoroastrian priests and so they are coloured by a religious outlook. Secular notions rarely appear, although some texts are less theological than others. There was certainly a larger amount of Middle Persian literature in various genres, but because of the disadvantages suffered by the Zoroastrian community in subsequent ages, only those books that were of importance for the religion and for communal solidarity were copied by the priests and the rest were lost. Personal choice and taste were also to preserve some of the rarer texts that do survive. The surviving texts are, however, diverse enough to give us an understanding of Persian mentalities, views of the Persian view of life, religion, and the cosmos according to

men. One can divide the Middle Persian corpus into eight categories.

Commentary on the Avesta

By far the largest group of corpus is commentaries and elaborations on the Zoroastrian holy text which were finally written down in the 6th century AD, probably during the reign of *Khosrow I and his high priest Weh-shabuhr. The *Avesta is said to have had 21 chapters (*nask*), of which most are now lost, but the **Zand* or Middle Persian commentaries give us information on the lost portion of the Avesta.

The text which is most important for the understanding of the Zoroastrian world-view is the **Bundahishn* (*The Book of Primal Creation*). In the preface of the text the scribe mentions that he is redacting Zoroastrian learning in a time of hardship, when the number of adherents to the Good Religion is dwindling because of increasing *conversion to *Islam. This text conveys a sense of urgency on the part of the priest to hand down what he thought was most important for the preservation of the Good Religion. The text indeed covers a medley of topics, including *cosmology and cosmogony, a good deal of information on deities and *demons, and an encyclopedia of botany, zoology, ethnography, geography, and *history.

The other encyclopedic work is the **Denkard* (Acts of Religion). The *Denkard* was originally composed in nine books, but Books 1 and 2 have been lost. Book 3 concerns itself with a host of issues, from the composition of the human body to opinions in regard to Church and state in the *Sasanian period. Book 4 has been called the Book of Manners or Customs (*ewennamag*) and is perhaps the most difficult book, since it deals not only with the history of the sacred texts, but also with *Greek and Indic science. Book 5 begins with a series of questions put forth by a non-believer to a Zoroastrian sage, and it covers a variety of issues, especially the idea of *xwedodah* or consanguineous *marriages. Book 6 may be called a Book of Counsel (**Andarz-namag*), while Book 7 particularly deals with the story of Zoroaster, from his birth to his death. Book 8 is important because it is a description of the contents of the sections (*nask*s) of the Avesta. Each section (*nask*) is named and its contents briefly mentioned. Book 9 concentrates on three interpretations or *nask*s on the Avesta.

Other encyclopedic works also survive, such as the *Wizidagiha i Zadsparam* (*The Selections of Zadsparam*), and **Menog-i Xrad* (*Spirit of Wisdom*). The *Pahlavi Rivayat*s are concerned with legal precepts and also with history, mythical creatures, and customs. These legal texts give us some understanding of Zoroastrian life in Late Antiquity, drawn from the Avesta, which can in turn be compared with Christian and Jewish legal texts such as that of the Syriac *Law Book of Yishoboxt* and the *Babylonian *Talmud*.

Philosophical and debate texts

These include several texts in Middle Persian which are mainly the product of the 8th–9th centuries AD and represent the end stage of the era of Middle Persian literature. The *Draxt-e Asurig* (*The Babylonian Tree*) is, however, an outstanding piece of *poetry, in both its content and its antiquity. The vocabulary of the text suggests its Parthian antecedents; its content its Mesopotamian ambience. This text presents a debate between a date tree and a goat, typical of the ancient Mesopotamian debate poetry recited during banquets. The debate is about which of these two (the date or the goat) is more useful, and their products are enumerated.

Other texts are from the early Islamic period, such as the important *Shkand i Gumanig Wizar* (*Doubt Dispelling Explanation*), that recount the supremacy of Zoroastrian theology and the deficiency of such religions as those of the Fatalists (*Dahris*), *Manichaeans, Christians, Jews, and Muslims. The author systematically tackles the tenets of these religions and sometimes quotes verbatim from their holy texts. The method of argumentation is also noteworthy as it resembles the analytical method of debate employed in Islamic theology (*Ilm al-Kalam*) and may have been influenced by that tradition of Islamic thought and literature, most probably as a result of contact with the Mu'tazila.

Gizistag Abalish (*The Accursed Abalish*) is a short text about the debate between Abalish, who appears to be a heretic or atheist, and the Zoroastrian high priest and the leader of the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim theologians at the court of the *Caliph Ma'mun in the 9th century AD. It has survived in Pazand form (i.e. Middle Persian written in the Avestan script). The text known as *Pus i Danesh Kamag* (*The Youth in Desire of Knowledge*) is written in the same vein as the *Shkand i Gumanig Wizar*, but there is little reference to the Islamic period and it is concerned with Zoroastrian matters such as the reason for the wearing of the sacred belt, the *kustig*.

Apocalyptic and visionary texts

This genre of Middle Persian literature is the most imaginative and interesting of the corpus. These texts predict the ways in which the world will come to an end and the fate of the people and that of *Eranshahr, the empire of the Sasanians. The **Arda Wiraz Namag* (*The Book of Righteous Wiraz*) is about the journey of a righteous man, Wiraz, to heaven and hell and may be compared with Dante's *Divina Commedia*. Not only is the journey itself interesting but so is the preparation for

the journey into paradise and hell which Wiraz is undertaking for the sake of the community. He is properly cleansed and laid on a bed, when he is given a concoction of hemp called *mang i wishtasp* 'hemp of Wishtasp', which enables him to make the journey. This practice of taking hallucinogens to travel to the netherworld betrays the ancient shamanistic tradition in the Iranian world which goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. By taking on these hallucinogenic drinks, be it the sacred Haoma/Soma, *mang*, or *bang*, the Indo-Iranian priests were able to have visions and compose hymns to various deities. We see that this tradition was alive and well in the Sasanian period and various means of achieving this travel are mentioned in several apocalyptic texts.

In the apocalyptic text of *Zand i Wahman Yasn* (*The Commentary on the Wahman Yasn*) Zoroaster is given the Wisdom of complete knowledge by means of *Ohrmazd pouring it in the form of water onto his hand to drink, which induces seven days and nights of *dreams, as in the cases of Wiraz. Then Zoroaster is able to see the future in a mysterious form (a tree with seven trunks) which is explained to him to be seven eras (in another part there are four eras which sound very much like Hesiod's division of ages in his *Theogony*). These eras start from the beginning of Zoroastrianism to the time of the Turkic conquest of Persia. The texts predict the fate of the Zoroastrians, who will eventually face hardships and will only achieve supremacy at the end of the world when sinners will be punished and those Zoroastrians who have endured hardship will go to heaven, the heaven which Wiraz had seen and which he had described to believers.

The *Jamasp Namag* is another one of these apocalyptic texts which was especially popular among the Parsis in the past century. Again, Jamasp is endowed with a vision of what is to come along with all of its calamities. This text along with that of the *Zand i Wahman Yasn* describes the natural and political disasters which precede the time when the saviours will appear, and men and women will arise from the dead and be judged. Finally, evil is destroyed and molten metal will extirpate all that is evil and send it into the womb of the earth. Those who have been good will walk in this molten metal as if walking through warm milk. Then the earth becomes flat, and everything returns to the way it was in the beginning.

Didactic texts

Andarz texts or wisdom literature are abundant and are usually attributed to sages or people of authority according to the Zoroastrian religion. There are, however, also anonymous *andarz* texts which are found in the sixth book of the *Denkard*. These texts give didactic ordinances about religion, social order, good and bad conduct, and proper rules. Priests, kings, important people, and wise men all are given credit for these *andarz* (wise sayings).

The importance of this genre of Middle Persian literature is that it was liberally used and translated into *Arabic and New Persian. Thus a major corpus of Arabic *andarz* texts is formed of translations of these works from the Sasanian period. The best example is the *Jawidan Kherad* (*The Eternity of Wisdom*) of Ibn Miskawayh; the title of the book suggests its Middle Persian origin. The author ascribes the origin of the text and its translation to another famous Muslim author al-Jahiz, who had found the original Middle Persian text in the possession of some Zoroastrian priests in the province of Persis/*Fars. Other Arabic texts relate the *andarz* of Sasanian kings such as *Ardashir I, *Qobad, *Khosrow I, and *Khosrow II. These texts discuss the effective means of ruling and how to keep the Empire in order. This was the reason that this genre found favour with the *caliphs at Baghdad in the *Abbasid period, as they drew on the example of the ancients to keep their caliphate in order and prosperity. The *andarz* genre therefore had a lasting importance in the Persian, Arab, and Turkish world.

Geographical and epic texts

Few complete texts survive which describe the geography of a region. However, chapters in the *Bundahishn* provide a detailed description of the Persian universe. These include an enumeration of the *climes of the earth, the people, lands, mountains, and rivers of Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. This would partly be in the tradition of the Avesta where the first chapter in the *Widewdad* gives us information on the different regions and people who inhabited them. After all, we must remember these Middle Persian texts were intended to be commentaries on the Avesta, but they took into account also the realities of Late Antiquity.

The *Bundahishn* takes notice of the geopolitical realities of the Sasanian period and for this reason it is worthy of study. A short text known as *Abdih ud Sahagiha i Sistan* is concerned with the province of Sistan (*Sagastan), which had special importance for Zoroastrianism in the Sasanian period as at that time it was thought to be the location of Zoroaster's activity and the homeland of the Kayanid king, Wishtasp. The text may be seen as a progenitor of later Islamic geographical texts and local histories such as the *Tarikh-e Sistan* (*History of Sistan*), which is related to this text, and other local histories and geographical texts.

The *Shahrestaniha i Eranshahr* (*The Provincial Capitals of Iranshahr*) discusses the different capital cities in the different regions. All the cities are mentioned as part of the Sasanian Empire, and include *Mecca, Yathrib (later *Medina), and parts of Africa. The author mentions the builder and rebuilder of each city and the

important events which took place there. The text is not an exact geographical-administrative history but it enshrines the imperial outlook on *Eranshahr which was promulgated by Zoroastrianism.

There are two texts which may be considered as epic texts. The older one is a Parthian epic entitled the **Ayadgar i Zareran* (*Memoir of Zarer*) which focuses on the court of King Wishtasp, the patron of Zoroaster, and the bloody war with their enemies, the Turanians. The epic is certainly tragic and victory comes to the Zoroastrians only after many heroes and princes have fallen. The epic is made more tragic because the minister of Wištasp, Jamasp, who is endowed with the knowledge of the future, again in the Indo-Iranian shamanistic style, tells the king what will happen. This story survived the Sasanian assumption of power in the 3rd century, was written in Middle Persian, and then translated into New Persian and incorporated into the medieval Persian epic, the *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi (Firdausi).

The other text which is pseudo-historical concerns the career of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, *Ardashir I Pabagan. The **Karnamag i Ardaxshr i Pabagan* (*The Book of the Deeds of Ardashir, the Son of Pabag*) is a 6th-century epic which describes Ardashir's origins, as a descendant of King Dara, that is to say the Achaemenid King Darius. His father's noble origin is discovered by Pabag and so begin Ardashir's turbulent adventures as a man who is good at all that he does, from *polo to board games to the challenging of the last Parthian king, Ardawan (Artabanus). This story has also found its way into the *Shahnameh* and so we may assume that most of the stories about the ancients in the medieval Persian epic derived from *translations from the Middle Persian.

Legal texts

The *Widewdad* part of the Avesta is mainly concerned with the laws of purity and pollution, and the Middle Persian translation of this text also adds commentaries as glosses in the text. There is an even more copious *Zand* of the *Widewdad* which has not been translated. If the contents of *Denkard* (Book 8) do indeed cover the topics of the lost portions of the Avesta, it follows that much of this text was concerned with legal matters as well.

The Middle Persian texts also include a prodigious output of legal commentaries. The most important legal text of the Sasanian period is the **Madyan i Hazar Dadestan* (*The Exposition of One Thousand Judgements*), also known as the *Sasanian Law Book*; this was written during the late Sasanian period and deals with legal cases brought to the court.

The **Sheyist ne Sheyist* (*Licit and Illicit*) is another important text dealing with judgements of Zoroastrian judges and theologians, who sometimes disagree with one another over legal decisions. Other legal texts are mainly the product of the early Islamic period where the Zoroastrian community was shrinking in numbers and there were particular needs to inform and protect its members. These texts still provide insights into the legal mentality of the Zoroastrian priests and their concern with purity and pollution, and the rights of men, women, and children.

Cultural texts

The texts which tell us most about the cultural life and social norms of the Sasanian period are mainly short. They include a variety of subjects such as different types of food, games, ideas of beauty, the way to give speeches, table manners, and how to write properly. The most interesting of these manuals is *Khusrow ud Redag* (*King Khosrow and the Page*), which describes fine food and wine and other courtly ideals of good living. The page recounts his religious formation, morality, and athletic prowess; his training not only as a chef, but also as a calligrapher, as a master *polo player and horseman, a series of accomplishments which suggests the ideal Zoroastrian man in Late Antiquity.

The *Khusrow ud Redag* also mentions Indian and other board games such as *chess, which is the subject of another small work in Middle Persian known as **Wizarishn Chatrang ud ew-ardaxshir* (*Explanation of the Game of Chess and Backgammon*). This gives the reason for the invention of these games and their rules, which are put into a Zoroastrian perspective and cosmological setting.

Sur i Suxwan (Banquet Speech) is another manual of correct behaviour. It sets out to describe the old Near Eastern banquet etiquette and the list of people who sit at the royal table, from the King of Kings (*shahan shah*), to the Grand Vizier (*wuzurg-framadar*), and lower ranks. There is also a manual outlining how to write properly, *Abar Ewenag i Namag-Nibesišnih* (*On the Manner of Book/Letter Writing*). These works suggest the sophistication of Persian culture and society, and the elaborate standards appropriate to noble behaviour which were established and maintained.

Frahang or dictionaries

There are two dictionaries that have survived which have different functions. The *Frahang i Pahlawig* is mainly concerned with the understanding of the difficult words in Middle Persian which were represented in writing by Aramaic ideograms. The authors took pains to show each Middle Persian word they were discussing in the Aramaic ideogram which commonly denoted it and the simple representation of it in Middle Persian script. The glossary also follows ancient Near Eastern tradition in the way the subjects are grouped together under such headings as *cosmology, waters, fruits, metals, etc. A more recent recension of this glossary orders

the words alphabetically. The other major dictionary or glossary is the *Frahang i Oim-ewag*, which is a dictionary of Avestan words. In the preface, the author states that the work is intended to aid understanding of the *Zand* (Middle Persian translation of the *Avesta*).

Christian and Manichaean texts

The Psalms were translated from *Syriac into Middle Persian in the late 4th/early 5th century. The prophet *Mani wrote one of his works in Middle Persian and other Manichaean texts survive dating from the 3rd century onwards. TD

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Persian–Roman Wars While warfare between the Roman and *Persian Empires was not unremitting throughout Late Antiquity, *Sasanian Persia nonetheless represented the Empire's most consistent military challenge. The Persians had particular strengths in *cavalry and *archery, and, unusually among the Empire's neighbours, *siege warfare. In the earlier phases, conflict focused on northern *Mesopotamia and *Armenia, but in the 6th century fighting expanded into the *Caucasus, together with increasing involvement by *Arab allies in the Syrian Desert. The most direct invasion route for both states was along the middle Euphrates which, for the Romans, took them to *Ctesiphon, and for the Persians, towards the cities of *Syria, above all *Antioch. However, Persian forces also sometimes advanced northwards to the east of the Tigris before turning westwards across the north Mesopotamian plain, where the Romans fortified settlements to impede enemy progress.

The 3rd century

The earlier part of this period saw significant Persian successes against a background of increasing military, political, and economic problems in the Roman Empire, but by the end of the century the Romans had more than redressed the balance. Detailed understanding of this period is handicapped by the lack of a reliable narrative history for much of it.

Although the speed with which the new Sasanian regime went onto the offensive against the Roman Empire is striking, it is also understandable given the way in which Roman forces had repeatedly advanced to Ctesiphon against the Parthian Arsacids during the 2nd century. Following *Ardashir I's incursion into northern Mesopotamia and Syria in 230, Alexander Severus launched a three-pronged invasion of Persia in 232 which met with only limited success. Ardashir captured *Nisibis and Carrhae (*Harran) in 238, and Hatra in 240. Gordian III sought to counter these gains by a major campaign in 243, and although Nisibis and Carrhae were recovered, the Roman army was defeated in early 244 by Ardashir's son *Shapur I at Misiche, which he renamed *Peroz-Shapur ('Victory of Shapur'). During the withdrawal, Gordian was murdered by his troops, with his successor Philip having to buy peace. In 252 Shapur invaded the Empire, defeating a Roman army at Barbalissos on the Euphrates and sacking many cities in *Cappadocia and Syria, including Antioch. Shapur invaded again in 260, defeating another Roman army between Carrhae and *Edessa, capturing the Emperor *Valerian, and once again plundering the cities of Syria and Cappadocia. Shapur had a keen appreciation of the significance of his successes, which he advertised in a famous trilingual account, the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*) carved at *Naqsh-e Rustam near Persepolis, together with pictorial *rock reliefs in a number of locations.

His death in 279 and increased stability in the Roman Empire allowed the balance to be redressed, first by *Carus who advanced down the Euphrates and may have captured Ctesiphon in 283, and then by *Galerius who, despite a defeat at Carrhae in 296, overcame *Narseh in two battles in 298 and captured his womenfolk. The peace imposed the following year extended Roman hegemony into five provinces to the east of the Tigris, the *Transtigritanae regiones*, consolidating Roman control of northern Mesopotamia and creating a salient in the Roman eastern *frontier which left Ctesiphon even more vulnerable.

The 4th century

The main theme of this period, parts of which are illuminated in detail by the surviving portion of *Ammianus Marcellinus' history (covering 354–78), was Persian attempts to undo the settlement of 299, which they eventually succeeded in doing. Concerted efforts to this end began only after the death of *Constantine I in 337. Prior to that, the tetrarch *Maximinus Daza appears to have undertaken a campaign against the Persians in *Armenia in 312, and Constantine was evidently preparing for an invasion of Persia in 337, ostensibly in defence of the substantial Christian communities in Persian territory. His death was the signal for renewed Persian

aggression, with *Shapur II besieging the important fortified city of Nisibis for two months in 337 or 338. *Ephrem the Syrian was among the besieged population. This was the first of three unsuccessful attempts by Shapur to capture Nisibis (the others were in 346 and 350), highlighting the strategic significance of its location in the north Mesopotamian plain, as well as the importance of Roman investment in fortifications in countering Persian invasions. Although *Constantius II encountered Persian forces in one inconclusive battle near *Singara in 344, his broad strategy was one of cautious defence. His approach attracted criticism from contemporary commentators, and did result in Persian capture of the fortresses of *Amida and *Singara in 359, but its overall success was vindicated by Shapur's failure to replicate the successes of his namesake in the mid-3rd century and by the unfavourable outcome of his successor *Julian's more aggressive approach.

In March 363 Julian launched a large-scale invasion of Persia with an army of at least 65,000 men. His objectives remain a matter for debate, but rather than conquering Persia, he probably envisaged installing the exiled Persian prince Hormizd (*Hormisdas) on the throne (*Libanius, *ep.* 1402). Julian divided his forces in two, with one army advancing east towards the Tigris and, it seems, drawing Shapur and his main army in this direction. Meanwhile, Julian led the main thrust down the Euphrates with the second and larger army, supported by a flotilla. Despite delays arising from resistance by forts along the river and from Persian destruction of *irrigation dykes to flood the land, Julian reached Ctesiphon where he defeated an enemy force before the walls, but decided against besieging the city, not least because of news that Shapur was returning with his army. Julian had evidently expected his first army to rejoin him (its whereabouts remain a mystery), and in its absence he began withdrawing northwards to the east of the Tigris, harried by Shapur's forces. Julian was mortally wounded during a skirmish on 26 June, and his hastily chosen successor, *Jovian, soon agreed to Shapur's terms in exchange for safe passage for imperial troops back to Roman territory. Those terms included the return of much of the Transtigritane territory yielded in 299, together with the surrender of the eastern half of northern Mesopotamia, including Nisibis, whose loss provoked dismay among contemporaries, not least Ephrem the Syrian, who was obliged to leave the city, along with all its other citizens.

During the reign of Jovian's successor *Valens, the focus of conflict shifted to Armenia, where Shapur intervened during the later 360s to remove the Roman *client King *Arshak. Although the 363 agreement had stipulated that the Romans would not aid Arshak, Valens responded with military force to reinstate Arshak's son *Pap in 370, in turn prompting a campaign by Shapur in 371 which ended in his defeat at *Bagavan. The following years saw protracted negotiations over Armenia, resulting in agreement between Valens' successor *Theodosius I and Shapur's son *Shapur III to partition the region between the two states, probably in 387, with the Persians controlling four-fifths and the Romans the remaining, western fifth.

The 5th century

Serious conflict between the two states was very limited during the 5th century, not least because both had to prioritize dealing with more pressing problems elsewhere. In the early decades relations were sufficiently amicable for Arcadius apparently to have explored the possibility of *Yazdegerd I acting as guardian for his infant son *Theodosius II. Yazdegerd is also reported to have been tolerant towards Christians in the *Persian Empire but his death in 420 triggered persecution of *Christians, which in turn prompted Roman intervention in 421, first through Armenia and then in Mesopotamia. Although Roman sources report military successes, the outcome seems to have been a stalemate, with the peace terms in 422 uncertain, beyond both sides agreeing not to construct new fortifications adjacent to the frontier. In 440 Yazdegerd II launched an incursion into Roman territory, apparently trying to exploit Roman preoccupation with the *Huns in the *Balkans; the Empire may have resorted to buying the Persians off on this occasion. In the second half of the century, the Persians regular requested financial aid from the Romans, to help with defence of the *Caucasus passes which, they argued, was a mutual concern; while *Leo I rejected such requests, *Zeno proved more amenable, but *Anastasius I was not.

The 6th century to the death of Justinian I (565)

After the relative quiet of the 5th century, the 6th saw a resumption of regular warfare between the two states. A succession of Roman historians writing in *Greek gave detailed attention to these conflicts, starting with *Procopius of *Caesarea (to 552), then *Agathias (552–8), *Menander *Protector (558–82), and finally *Theophylact Simocatta (582–602). Also important for events at the start of the century is the contemporary *Syriac chronicle attributed to *Joshua the *Stylite.

Anastasius I's refusal to contribute money for Caucasian defences was the *casus belli* in 502, but as important may have been *Qobad I's need to strengthen his domestic credibility through military success after his recent temporary ejection from the throne (496–8). He invaded Roman territory through Armenia, capturing *Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) before besieging Amida on the upper Tigris; after a three-month siege the city was captured in early 503. In spring 503 Anastasius sent an army of 52,000 men to northern Mesopotamia, with

part of this force directing its efforts towards capturing Nisibis, while the other laid siege to the Persian troops now occupying Amida, but lack of coordination between the two forces allowed Qobad to drive the first back. After further inconclusive exchanges in 504, Roman raids into Persian territory together with problems on Qobad's northern frontier induced him to agree a truce in 505, one of whose conditions was the return of Amida to the Romans. When his generals complained that their effectiveness had been handicapped by the lack of a fortified base near the frontier comparable to Nisibis, Anastasius provided funding for the construction of a new fortress at *Dara; the Persians protested vehemently, but to no avail.

Although Qobad continued to send intermittent requests for money to assist with the Caucasian defences, there was no open conflict for the next two decades. Roman attempts to improve frontier fortifications in the late 520s were thwarted by Persian forces and then in June 530 a major Persian army advanced to capture Dara. Its defence was undertaken by *Justinian I's general *Belisarius who confronted the enemy before the walls of the fortress, rather than undergoing a siege, and successfully turned the Persians back, despite their superior numbers. This success, and a similar Roman victory at *Satala on the upper Euphrates at about the same time, was offset the following summer when Roman forces under Belisarius' command were defeated at *Callinicum by a Persian army withdrawing down the Euphrates.

The death of Qobad in late 531 brought to the throne *Khosrow I who, keen to consolidate his position domestically, was willing to end conflict. In summer 532 the *Everlasting Peace was concluded, so called because it did not specify a time limit. Justinian agreed to pay a sum of 11,000 lb of *gold, officially as the Roman contribution to the Caucasian defences—a concession he was willing to make in order to focus on his expedition against the *Vandals in *Africa. However, the success of that venture and of the initial phase of Justinian's campaigning against the Goths in *Italy prompted Khosrow to reconsider his commitment to peace, and in summer 540 Khosrow invaded northern Mesopotamia and Syria, plundering some cities, including Antioch, and extorting money from others, with minimal Roman response because of commitments in the West. Although Roman forces in the East were reinforced by 541, Khosrow shifted his focus and invaded *Lazica at the eastern end of the Black Sea. His plans for further aggression in northern Mesopotamia in 542 were stymied by the impact of the *plague, while his attempt to capture *Edessa in 543 was unsuccessful. A truce for warfare in northern Mesopotamia was agreed in 545 and renewed in 551, but (inconclusive) fighting continued in Lazica until a general truce in 557. A *Fifty Years Peace was formalized in 562, with the Romans agreeing to annual payments of 30,000 **solidi* (detailed account of provisions in Menander Protector fr. VI, 1).

The later 6th century

Justinian's successor *Justin II appears to have been intent on making financial savings and, as a non-military man, may also have wanted to enhance his reputation through military success. Following an Armenian revolt against Persian rule in 571, Justin sent an army into northern Mesopotamia in 572, in contravention of the Fifty Years Peace. It only began besieging Nisibis in spring 573, by which time Khosrow had prepared a strong response. Persian forces drove the Roman army from Nisibis, then laid siege to Dara, which they captured in autumn 573. News of this disaster is said to have driven Justin mad.

Khosrow agreed to truces in northern Mesopotamia in the following years, but proved unable to make further decisive gains in Armenia where inconclusive fighting continued for the remainder of the decade. Justin's successor *Tiberius II stabilized affairs, particularly after Khosrow died in 579, and his general *Maurice went onto the offensive in the early 580s. Maurice then succeeded Tiberius as emperor, and his general *Philippicus turned back a Persian invasion of northern Mesopotamia with a victory at Solachon in 586. However, a mutiny by the Roman army in this sector over a substantial pay cut lasted twelve months from Easter 588 and left the frontier vulnerable, although in the event the Persians did not exploit this opportunity.

Events in Persia then took an unexpected turn when Khosrow's successor *Hormizd IV was overthrown in February 590 following a revolt by one of his generals *Bahram Chobin. Hormizd's son *Khosrow II fled to Roman territory, where he sought military aid from Maurice to restore him to the Persian throne, to which Maurice eventually agreed. In 591 a three-pronged invasion of Persia was launched and achieved rapid success. In recompense, Khosrow surrendered Dara and *Martyropolis to the Romans, together with territory in Armenia and the Caucasus, and there was no further conflict for the remainder of the decade.

The 7th century

This period of peaceful coexistence proved short-lived as the overthrow of Maurice in a military mutiny in 602 resulted in an intensive quarter-century of conflict between the two states. The sources for this period are much less satisfactory than for the 6th century, with considerable uncertainty about the precise chronology of many events.

Maurice's downfall gave Khosrow II an excuse to renew warfare against the Romans since he could

claim to be seeking revenge on behalf of his erstwhile ally. More importantly, it gave him an ideal opportunity to demonstrate to his subjects that he was not a Roman client. Since *Phocas, the emperor who had successfully overthrown Maurice, faced opposition from a number of quarters within the Empire, he was handicapped in his ability to respond to external threats, and Persian forces captured Dara in summer 604. Over the next few years, they proceeded to take every other city east of the Euphrates, while another army advanced through Armenia towards the upper Euphrates. With the Persians imposing *tribute on captured cities, it was already evident that, unlike his forebears, *Khosrow was intent on permanent annexation.

*Heraclius' rebellion and overthrow of Phocas in 610 gave opportunity for further Persian advances. Antioch and Cappadocian *Caesarea were captured in 611, *Jerusalem in 614, and by early 615 Persian forces had, alarmingly, advanced through *Anatolia to *Chalcedon on the *Bosporus, threatening *Constantinople itself. They did not control all of Anatolia, but in 619 they captured *Alexandria, key to *Egypt's wealth.

Despite the loss of so much territory, and significant pressure from the *Avars on the Danube *frontier, Heraclius' eventual response was the high-risk but ultimately successful strategy of leaving Constantinople largely to fend for itself, concentrating his forces in eastern Anatolia and then the Caucasus, before invading Persia from this unexpected and vulnerable direction. In 622, he slowed Persian momentum by defeating an army in Armenia, and then in 624 advanced through Armenia into the Caucasus, winning support there and defeating three Persian armies in 625. Hoping to end the war decisively, Persian forces acting in concert with the Avars launched an unsuccessful assault on Constantinople in 626. Meanwhile, with Persian forces stretched across many fronts, Heraclius and his *Türk allies advanced south from the Caucasus towards the Persian heartlands. In December 627 he won a decisive victory at *Nineveh on the Tigris and captured the *palace at *Dastgerd. The overthrow and death of Khosrow soon followed, and after prolonged peace negotiations against a background of coups and counter-coups in Ctesiphon (628–30), the *frontier was restored to its 591 disposition. The prospect of a new period of peace between the two states was, however, soon overtaken by the unexpected and devastating impact of the *Arab conquests effected by armies from the south, energized by *Islam. ADL

ET of sources for 226–363: Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*.
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J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'Heraclius' Persian Campaigns and the Revival of the East Roman Empire, 622–630', *War in History* 6 (1999), 1–44.
Kaegi, *Heraclius*.

Personalium Digest of legal cases (perhaps ordered by litigants' names) heard before the *Praefectus Praetorio. It was the responsibility of a senior official (*Adiutor) seconded to the *Scrinium of the *Ab Actis. In 6th-century *Constantinople, these abstracts were drafted in *Latin by *John Lydus early in his career (*Mag*. III, 20, 27). CMK

personifications (Lat. *conformatio*, Gk. προσωποποιία) The representation of civic virtues, natural features, geographic locations, institutions, ideals, or abstract concepts. Such representations as Fortuna and *Roma, often anthropomorphized, had roots in Hellenistic and Roman civic traditions and cult during Antiquity. In the Later Empire institutions such as Ecclesia or Synagogue were conceptualized, as were moral qualities such as Megalopsychia in a grand *Antioch *mosaic. Numerous media transmitted personifications, including wall paintings in the catacombs of *Rome and elsewhere, *sarcophagi, *coinage, *inscriptions, *lamps, glassware, *sculpture, *maps such as the Peutinger Map, poetry, prose, and even bureaucratic documents such as the **Notitia Dignitatum*. Personifications changed in meaning over time. They were often employed as part of a programme of *allegory in Late Antique literature and *philosophy, as in *Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (*Battle for the Soul*) and *Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. Although textual *literacy rates may have been relatively low in Antiquity, a visual

literacy was an important part of day-to-day life as well as a civic or religious consciousness—though the 'epigraphic habit' and labels on mosaics indicate audiences still had to be reminded. SEB

J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365', *JRS* 37 (1947), 135–44.
E. Stafford and J. Herrin, eds., *Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium* (2005), 77–98; 231–46; 285–324.
D. Turner, 'Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity' in R. Copeland and P. T. Struck, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory* (2010), 71–82.

personifications of cities *Cities continued to be represented in Late Antiquity as beautiful women. In addition to *Rome, personifications of *Constantinople, *Antioch, *Alexandria, and other cities became common (as on the 6th-century *gold goblet from the *Avar Treasure). Characteristic were images of the goddess Tyche, or Fortuna, as the tutelary deity of a city, and images of the *Genius of *cities. Representations were produced in several media—notably as *mosaics, as statuettes, and on *silver.

Christians might disapprove of such personifications, particularly if they were associated with pagan cult. Under *Julian, the Christian *Eupsychius destroyed the *Temple of the Fortune of the City, the last surviving temple at Caesarea of *Cappadocia in 362. Early in his ministry as a *bishop *Augustine had not expressed much concern about such matters, but in 399 at *Carthage he preached a *sermon reproving Christians who had attended a banquet and festival in honour of the tutelary genius of Carthage (consoling themselves with the thought that 'if it were Mars or Mercury, it would be a god'), reproving too other Christians who had caused public *disorder to express their disapproval (*Sermon*, 62, 10). However, although self-evidently pagan in origin, city personifications remained ubiquitous long after the rise to dominance of Christianity, still, for instance, being common at Constantinople in the 9th century. AGS

G. Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma. Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike* (1995).
S. G. MacCormack, 'Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor, and his Genius', *CQ* 25 (1975), 131–50.
Markus, *End of Ancient Christianity*, 110–15.
B. Poulsen, 'City Personifications in Late Antiquity', in S. Birk, T. M. Kristensen, and B. Poulsen, eds., *Using Images in Late Antiquity* (2014), 209–26.

perspective, systems of No single system of perspective existed in Late Antiquity. Various systems were employed to regulate the visual effects created by the space between seer and seen. These were intended to prevent the appearance of distortion, since the surface on which an image was painted was conceived of not in two dimensions but as a space having an opening beyond itself.

Representations in perspective were produced under the influence of *Euclid's *Optics,* which was included by *Pappus of *Alexandria in his *Little Astronomy* and remained current through a late 4th-century recension by *Theon of Alexandria, and also of the *Catoptrica* attributed to Euclid but almost certainly a compilation of *c.* AD 400. Thought about perspective formed a part of the science of scenography (Gk. *skenographia*) which was formulated by Geminus of Rhodes in the 1st century BC and which, according to Proclus *In Euclidem I*, formed the third branch of the science of optics.

A variety of systems may be identified. 'Reverse perspective' or 'inverted perspective', terms coined by Oscar Wulff in 1907, conveyed the appearance of depth in a picture painted on a two-dimensional surface; the viewpoint was conceived of as lying behind the picture so that figures and elements in the picture were shown as being smaller in proportion to their distance from the viewpoint, the smallest elements being those closest to the actual viewer of the picture. In 'diminishing perspective' the viewpoint could be higher up and the forms and shapes depicted were represented as if they were being seen from above. Both 'reverse perspective' and 'diminishing perspective' could coexist in a single image, as they do in the *mosaics in the Rotunda of S. George in *Thessalonica. In 'axial perspective' or 'perspective with a vanishing axis' the diminishing lines in the image meet at multiple vanishing points; this contrasts with Graeco-Roman linear perspective, where parallel lines usually converge at a single vanishing point. In 'aerial perspective' colours could be used to give the illusion of space, or of separate coexistent spaces in a single picture.

Multiple perspectives might coexist in a single composition. The implication of this fact is that the object portrayed by the image in some way transcends the image that is actually and immediately seen. Such a way of looking at reality could be consonant with *Neoplatonist *philosophy and with its interest in *allegory. In addition, it encourages the eye of the person seeing the image not to run simply along a single line of perception but to be constantly on the move. DK

P. A. Michelis, *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art* (1955).
G. Matthew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (1963).
E. Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, tr. Chr. S. Woods (1991).
Ch. Lock, 'What is Reverse Perspective and who was Oskar Wulff?', *Sobornost* 33/1(2011), 60–89.

Perugia Small *city in central *Italy, Roman Perusia of *Tuscia et Umbria. The Church of S. Angelo dates

from the 5th or 6th century and has an interior arrangement reminiscent of S. Stefano Rotondo in *Rome. *Totila conducted a protracted siege here during the *Gothic War in order to secure the Appenine route to *Rome for the *Ostrogoths. He finally sacked the city in 547 and executed the *Bishop Herculanus for his resistance (*Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, III, 13). *Procopius provides more detail about the event, including an extensive address given by Totila during the *siege (*Gothic*, VII, 25). *Narses later captured the city for the Byzantines and Perugia retained strategic importance for communications between Rome and the Byzantine *exarchate of Ravenna after the war. MSB

Perushtitsa Town in mod. Bulgaria, 22 km (14 miles) south of Plovdiv (ancient *Philippopolis of Thrace). It is known for the Red Church, a nearby *tetraconchal *brick church, originally built with a timber *roof in the 5th century, but rebuilt with a vault in the 6th, and in use into the 13th. Its 6th-century *wall paintings include a depiction of the Lamb of God. ER

TIB 6: *Thrakien* (1991), 390.
TIR K 35/2: *Philippopolis* (2012), 290.
Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 241–2.
Wendel, *Karasura* III (2005), 167, 337. JFU

Pervigilium Veneris ('Vigil of Venus'), a *Latin poem of much-disputed date and authorship. The poem, written in trochaic septenarii, celebrates the rejuvenating powers of Venus in spring. Then, in the startling and moving final lines, the speaker bewails his own silence and asks when his own spring would arrive. It has long been treasured for its ecstatic vision of the natural world and for the pathos of its close (modern admirers have included Walter Pater, Ezra Pound, and T. S. Eliot). But editors have differed widely in their reconstruction of the corrupt text, particularly in the arrangement and frequency of the poem's repeated refrain. Moreover, although an allusion in *Fulgentius (*Mitologiae*, I metrum 1, 11–14) provides a *terminus ante quem,* dates in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries have been variously proposed. The arguments of E. Baehrens and (more fully) Alan Cameron that the poem is by Tiberianus have gained substantial but not universal support. JFU

HLL 5, section 551:
ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Anthologia Latina*, 1 (1982), 191.
ed. C. Mandolfo (with IT and comm.), *Pervigilium Veneris* = *La veglia di Venere* (2008),
ET by G. Goold in ed. F. C. Warre et al., *Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris* ((LCL 6, ²1982).
Alan Cameron, 'The Pervigilium Veneris', in *La poesia tardoantica*, Atti del V Corso della Scuola Superiore di Archeologia e Civiltà Medievali (1984), 209–34.
A. D. Moody, '*Pervigilium Veneris* and the Modern Mind', in his *Tracing T. S. Eliot's Spirit* (1996), 85–111.
D. [R.] Shanzer, 'Once Again Tiberianus and the *Pervigilium Veneris*', *RivFil* 118 (1990) 306–18.

Peshitta An early medieval *Syriac term meaning 'straightforward', or 'widespread' referring to the translations of the Syriac Old and New Testaments. The term distinguishes these versions from other known translations and revisions. The Old Testament Peshitta was translated from the Hebrew in the 2nd century AD. The New Testament Peshitta is an early 5th-century revision of an Old Syriac version. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Peshitta, 326–31 (ter Haar Romeny and Morrison).
Editions:
Leiden Peshitta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version* (1966–).
P. E. Pusey and G. H. Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium Syriacum* (1901).
B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* (1986–).

Pesiqta de Rav Kahana This *Midrash collection consists of more than 30 homilies relating to *festival days and special Sabbaths. It was known only on the basis of citations in medieval commentaries but is now available in two distinct editions by S. Buber (1868) and B. Mandelbaum (1962). Scholars differ over the time of its redaction, which depends on its relationship to other Midrashim. Individual traditions may be amoraic (3rd to 5th cent.), but the entire collection would not have been edited before the 6th to 8th centuries. The text constitutes a later development of Midrash in comparison with the earlier amoraic collections (*Genesis Rabba, *Leviticus Rabba). It is possible that various versions circulated throughout the Middle Ages and that the text was not fixed until its first printing in the 19th century. CH

ed. B. Mandelbaum, *Pesikta de Rav Kahana*, 2 vols. [Hebr.] (²1987).
ed. W. G. Braude, *Pesikta De-Rab Kahana* (²2002).
H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to Talmud and Midrash* (1991).

Pessinus (mod. Ballıhisar) *City and metropolis of *Galatia Salutaris (*Ammianus, XXVI, 9, 1), later known as Justinianopolis. In 362 the *Emperor *Julian made a devotional detour to visit the famous *pagan *temple of Cybele (*Ammianus, XXII, 9, 5–8) and wrote his *hymn to the goddess there in a single night. The territory was densely settled. A drought ended when *Theodore of Sykeon led a *procession singing a *litany from the Church of the Holy Wisdom to the Church of the Archangels *extra muros* (101). An Early Byzantine castle occupies a neighbouring ridge. PhN

TIB 4 (1984), 214–15.
I. Claerhout and J. Devreker, *Pessinus: Sacred City of the Anatolian Mother Goddess* (2008).
J. Devreker, H. Thoen, and F. Vermeulen, *Excavations in Pessinus, the So-Called Acropolis: From Hellenistic and Roman Cemetery to Byzantine Castle* (2003).

Petasius Tiberius Petasius, usurper against *Leo III after 727. He was opposed by Pope *Gregory II and killed by *Eutychius, *Exarch of Ravenna. RCW
PBE, Tiberios 10.
PmbZ 8492.
Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 83.

Peter Roman general. Born in Persian *Arzanene, Peter was captured in 504 and made secretary to the future *Justin I. In 526/8 he served in *Lazica. The Persians defeated him in 541 near *Nisibis and again in 543 at the Battle of *Anglon. OPN
PLRE II Petrus 27.
Greatrex, *RPW* 140–2, 144–6.

Peter *Senator of *Constantinople, kinsman of both the Emperor *Anastasius I and *Peter the Patrician. His *Miaphysite loyalties kept him from office during the persecution of *Justin II, but in 576 he went on an embassy to Persia. OPN
PLRE III, Petrus 17.

Peter Brother and *Curopalates of the Emperor *Maurice. Under *Tiberius they visited *Theodore of *Sykeon together (*VTheodSyk* 54). His effectiveness as *Magister Militum in *Thrace in 594 is underestimated by *Theophylact Simocatta. In 602 a *dream warned him about the mutiny against Maurice of the army in Thrace. *Phocas executed him. OPN
PLRE III, Petrus 55.
Whitby, *Maurice.*

Peter I (d. 311) Patriarch of *Alexandria, traditionally reckoned seventeenth *bishop of the see. Because of his death towards the end of the Great *Persecution, he is commonly called 'the last of the *martyrs'. At Easter 306, Peter issued a *Canonical Letter*, fourteen canons on *penance, which expound neither a theology of martyrdom nor an eschatological exalting of it, but offer lenient regulations for the reconciliation to the Church of *lapsi*, those who had given way to official requirements during the Great Persecution of the *Christians. Peter himself, like *Dionysius before him, had gone into hiding during the persecution. The rigorist *Bishop *Meletius of *Lycopolis started a schism, ordaining clergy outside his own *diocese and adopting a hard line towards *lapsi*.

Church tradition considers Peter an anti-*Origenist but anti-Origenist passages attributed to him are most likely later interpolations. A *Martyrdom of Saint Peter*, largely hagiographical, may contain at least reminiscences of fact; there is also an *Encomium* about Peter attributed to Alexander I, his successor as *Patriarch of Alexandria. Writings attributed to Peter are extant in *Greek, *Latin, *Syriac, *Coptic, and *Armenian, including the *Canonical Letter*. Two didactic-homiletic discourses are attributed to Peter: *Discourse on Riches*, which is a composite work joined with an *Encomium on the Archangel Michael*, and *On the Epiphany*. The discourse *Address to the Rich* within the *Discourse on Riches* is the one most likely to be authentically Peter's. TV
CoptEnc (1991) *s.n.* Peter I, 1943–7 (D. B. Spanel, T. Vivian).

WORKS: *CPG* 1635–53:
Canonical Letter (*CPG 1639*): ed. M. J. Routh (annotated with LT), *Reliquiae Sacrae* IV, (²1846), 449–52 and PG 18, 467–8.
Letter (*CPG* 1652), ed. (with ET and study) J. W. B. Barns and H. Chadwick, *JTS* 24 NS (1973), 443–55.
ed. B. A. Pearson and T. Vivian (with ET and comm.), *Two Coptic Homilies Attributed to Saint Peter of Alexandria* (1993).
Passio: *BHG* 1502–3; *BHL* 6692–8; *BHO* 929–31.
P. Devos, 'Une passion grecque inédite de Saint Pierre d'Alexandrie et sa traduction par Anastase le Bibliothécaire', *AnBoll* 83 (1965), 157–87.
T. Vivian, *Saint Peter of Alexandria: Bishop and Martyr* (1988) with ET of *Canonical Letter* (183–95), Passion and fragments.

Peter Barsymes *Syrian holder of important public offices 542–62, possibly also earlier and probably beyond. He was **consularis* and **patricius* (542); twice *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum (542, 547/8), and still holding office when *Procopius was writing the *Anecdota*; twice *Praefectus Praetorio in *Oriens (543–6, 555–62), and honoured with a golden statue inscribed with a poem detailing his career (*AnthGr* XVI, 37). Procopius (*Anecd.* 22–3, 25) accuses him of corruption as an *argyromoibos* (*banker/money changer). His financial skill resulted in *Theodora promoting him and his promotion enabled him to defraud military pay, sell offices, exploit control of the *Constantinople *food supply, embezzle *taxes, reduce pensions, depreciate *gold *coins, and profit from his establishment of a state *silk monopoly (as well as being involved with sorcerers, *demons, and *Manichaeans). After his dismissal by *Justinian I, Theodora arranged his almost immediate reappointment. His palatial house was burned by *Blues in 562 but later given by the *Emperor *Maurice to Maurice's sister. RDS
PLRE III, Petrus 9.

Peter Chrysologus (*c.*400–450) *Bishop, in the second quarter of the 5th century, of Ravenna, then residence of the Western *emperors and of the *Empress *Gallia Placidia, who supported Peter's building projects. His numerous surviving *sermons indicate the

pattern and theology of Christian *feasts and seasons and of the liturgical *Bible lectionary. In 448 the Archimandrite *Eutyches wrote to influential bishops seeking support after a synod at *Constantinople condemned his Christology; Peter Chrysologus' reply survives (as *ep*. 25 among the *letters of *Leo the Great). MFC

Sermons (*CPL* 227–8):

PL 52, 9–680, reprinting Sebastian Pauli (1750).

ed. A. Olivar (CCSL 24, 24A, 24B; 1975, 1981, 1982).

ET G. E. Ganss (FC 17, 1953), 25–287 and W. B. Palardy (FC 109–10, 2004–5).

Letter to Eutyches (*CPL* 229):

PL 54, 739–94.

ET G. E. Ganss (FC 17, 1953).

Franco Sottocornola, *L'Anno Liturgico nei Sermoni di Pietro Crisologo: Ricerca Storico-Critica sulla Liturgia di Ravenna Antica* (Studia Ravennatensia 1, 1973).

Peter of Callinicum (d. 591) *Syriac Orthodox (*Miaphysite) *Patriarch of *Antioch from 577/8 or 581 to 591, elected at a synod at the *monastery of Mar Hanania (*Deir Zafaran) while his controversial predecessor, Paul of Bet Ukkame, was still alive in *Constantinople.

Paul's patriarchate had been contentious; *Jacob Burd'oyo had twice tried to replace Paul with Peter, but Peter had refused. Peter's own patriarchate was also stormy. On a visit to *Alexandria two of his learned companions defected to the Chalcedonians (*Melkites). Peter's conflict with Damian, Miaphysite Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 576–605), over Trinitarian theology, starting *c*.585, caused a schism lasting until 616.

Peter apparently wrote works in both *Greek and *Syriac; but extant writings attributed to him are preserved only in Syriac. They include a *sermon on the Crucifixion, a series of works written against Tritheists, the (partial) text of his refutation of Damian, a *letter to the *bishops of *Mesopotamia, fragments of a work written against John Barbur, and an anaphora. JT

GEDSH s.v. Peter of Kallinikos, 332 (Wickham).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 349.

Works (*CPG* 7250–5; *Supplement*, 7251–8):

ed. (with ET) R. Y. Ebied, A. van Roey, and L. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum, Anti-Tritheist Dossier* (OLA 10, 1981).

ed. (with ET) R. Y. Ebied et al., *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus contra Damianum* (CCSG 29, 32, 35, 54; 1994–2003).

On the Crucifixion, ed. R. Ebied and L. R. Wickham, *JTS* 26 NS (1975), 23–37.

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 177–8.

L. Wickham, 'Schism and Reconciliation in a Sixth-Century Trinitarian Dispute: Damian of Alexandria and Peter of Callinicus on "Properties, Rôles and Relations"', *IntJnlStChrCh* 8 (2008), 3–15.

Peter the Fuller (d. 489) *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Antioch (469, 470/1, 475–7, 485–9) who opposed the Christological doctrine of the *Council of *Chalcedon. General coverage of his career is provided by *Theodore Lector (390–445). Peter was formerly among the *Acoemeti, the Sleepless Monks, a Chalcedonian community in *Constantinople, until personal and doctrinal disagreements prompted his embrace of Miaphysitism. In 469, he ousted Martyrius as Patriarch of Antioch and secured his own election by raising suspicions of *Nestorianism (Theodore Lector, 390). To promote Miaphysitism, he inserted the phrase, 'Who was crucified for us', after the opening of the *prayer called the *Trisagion, 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us' (Theodore Lector, 427; *Evagrius, *HE* III, 44; *Life of *John the Almsgiver*, 5). Chalcedonians rejected the phrase as implying that God had suffered on the Cross. The *Emperor *Leo II restored Martyrius and deposed Peter, exiling him to *Egypt. Peter sought refuge with the Acoemeti in Constantinople until *Basiliscus restored him as Patriarch of Antioch in 475. He appointed anti-Chalcedonian bishops throughout *Syria until shortly after Basiliscus fell from power in 476. The Emperor *Zeno restored Peter as Patriarch of Antioch after he signed the **Henoticon* in 485 (Evagrius, *HE* III, 16; *Zacharias Rhetor, V, 9c). Despite condemnation and anathema by a Roman synod (485), he held the see until his death (489). SW

DCB IV, 338–40 *s.n.* Petrus 10 (E. Venables).

R. Kosinski, 'Peter the Fuller Patriarch of Antioch (471–488)', *Byzantinoslavica* 68/1 (2010), 49–73.

Peter the Iberian (*c*.417–491, *Bishop of *Maiuma from 451/2) A leading figure in monastic circles in *Palestine, a prominent anti-Chalcedonian, and the hero of a colourful and circumstantial *Life* by *John Rufus (*VPetrIber*; *BHO* 955). He was born, as Nabarnugius, probably in 417 (though possibly 412, and earlier thought to be 409) into a royal family in Caucasian *Iberia and sent as a hostage to *Constantinople at the age of 12, where he grew up in *court circles close to the family of *Theodosius II. He came to feel the pull of *asceticism, fled the court when he was about 20, and made his way to *Jerusalem, which he reached in 437 or 438, whereupon he took the monastic habit and was given the name Peter.

Peter is best known for the leading role he took in the opposition to the *Council of *Chalcedon. When *Juvenal, *Patriarch of Jerusalem, tried to return to Palestine after the end of the council, he faced widespread fury from the Palestinian monks. Peter was one of the monastic leaders who met him to voice their protests (John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 10 and 56). It appears that Peter was able to wield his authority as a former associate of the imperial family to protect the monk *Theodosius of Jerusalem, who was the effective leader

of the rebellion. Theodosius, installed as Patriarch by the rebellious monks in Jerusalem, consecrated Peter as Bishop of Maiuma. When the rebellion was crushed after twenty months (*Theophanes, AM 5945), he fled to *Egypt. After news of the death of the Emperor *Marcian reached Egypt, Peter became one of the two bishops who consecrated *Timothy II Aelurus as Patriarch of *Alexandria. He spent the latter years of his life in secure but discreet monastic retirement back in Palestine, where he died 'around 80 years of age' at the end of 491 (John Rufus, *VPetrIber*, 145 Raabe). PMP

PLRE I, Petrus 13.

Vita Petri Hiberi (*BHO* 955): ed. (with GT) R. Raabe (1895); ET (annotated): C. B. Horn and R. R. Phenix Jr (WGRW, 2008).

C. B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (2006).

D. M. Lang, 'Peter the Iberian and his Biographers', *JEH* 2 (1951), 158–68.

P. Parvis, 'How to Lynch a Patriarch without Really Trying: Peter the Iberian and the Consecration of Timothy the Weasel', *SP* 52 (2012), 305–17.

Peter the Patrician *Magister Officiorum 539–65, diplomat and historian. Born at *Thessalonica, Peter became an advocate before serving as an ambassador to the *Ostrogothic court in *Italy, where he was held hostage from 536 to 539. Upon his return to *Constantinople he was made Magister Officiorum, a post he held until his death in 565. He was active in *diplomacy with the *Persian Empire that continued through the 550s and bore fruit finally in the *Fifty Years Peace of 561–2; in the course of these talks he travelled several times to Persia. He is accused by *Procopius (*Anecd.* 24, 22–3) of venality, but *John Lydus (*Mag.* 3, 26) is more positive; both agree on his mildness.

Peter composed three works, of which fragments survive. One was an account of the negotiations with Persia that led to the peace of 561–2, which were in turn used by *Menander Protector for his *History* (fr. 6, 2). Another concerned administrative matters, including the bureau of the Magister Officiorum; it recounted the protocol of imperial *ceremony and was later cited extensively in the *De Caeremoniis* of *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (I, 84–95). The third was a Roman history that drew heavily on earlier sources, such as Dio Cassius, *Dexippus, and *Eunapius; only fragments remain. GBG

PLRE III, Petrus 6.

Müller, *FHG* IV, 181–91 (an incomplete selection, cf. Treadgold, 267 n. 126).

A. Laniado, 'Un fragment peu connu de Pierre le Patrice', *BZ* 90 (1997), 405–12.

Antonopoulos, *Petros Patrikios.*

Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 264–9.

Peter Valvomeres A Roman rioter, arrested and judicially tortured with claws (*ungulae*) after leading a protest against a *wine shortage in *Rome in 356. He was later accused of raping a maiden in *Picenum and executed (*Ammianus, XV, 7, 4–5). He was a big man with red *hair. DN

E. Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1953), 50–76.

Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 12–16.

petitions (Lat. *libelli*) Formal declarations, statements of intent or requests for help, usually on a legal matter, from a private individual or group or a civic, tribal, or community entity to a local, provincial, or ecclesiastical official or an *emperor, and occasionally from soldiers to a superior officer. Officials, embassies, or *cities sent *epistulae*, and the legislative proposals sent by officials to emperors were termed **suggestiones*. Extant petitions, preserved in *inscriptions and *papyri, often display considerable rhetorical skill and legal knowledge, suggesting professional composition, probably by *notaries. Officials and emperors received petitioners (or their representatives) both at *court and on the move; willingness to welcome them gave emperors a positive reputation. *Fees or connections (**gratia*) eased the processing of petitions, as did gifts (**sportulae*). Petitions were answered by *rescripts. Those from the imperial court, which were composed by emperors themselves or their *Magister Libellorum, were partially collected at least twice, in the *Gregorian and *Hermogenianic Codes, though the petitions which prompted them were omitted. SDC

D. Feissel and J. Gascou, eds., *La Pétition à Byzance* (2004).

T. Hauken, *Petition and Response: An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors, 181–249* (1998).

Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers*, especially 24–53.

C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (2005).

Petra An important strategic town and fort located on the eastern Black Sea coast, usually identified with the modern Tsikhisdziri 29 km (18 miles) north of Batumi; others believe it lay elsewhere. Petra was an important fort in the kingdom of *Lazica, but from the time of *Justinian I it was under Roman, and then Persian control. Combined Roman and Lazican forces won a series of victories against a large Persian *army and in 551 finally demolished its fortifications. The importance of Petra in these wars is made plain by *Procopius (*Persian*, II, 15, 9–13; II, 17, 13–28 and II, 29–30) and *Agathias (III, 2, 6–7). Later fortifications at Tsikhisdziri belong to the period of *Justinian II, and a *brickstamp bearing the fragmentary *inscription *Vexillatio Fasiana* was probably made at *Phasis.

Excavations at Tsikhisdziri have also produced a large cistern, a gate with a relief *cross, a small church and a *basilica with *mosaic floors, two Roman *baths, and more than 300 graves of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Most coins from Tsikhisdziri belong to the Late Roman period. The so-called Tsikhisdziri Hoard of the late 3rd century, now in the Hermitage, consists of *silver and *jewellery, including an intaglio portrait of Lucius Verus. MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 187–9, 290–1, 293–9.

N. Inaishvili, *Tsikhisdziris akh. ts. I-VI ss. arqeologiuri dzeglebi, Samkhret-dasavlet saqartvelos dzeglebi, 21* (Archaeological Monuments at Tsikhisdziri of the First to the Sixth Centuries AD, Monuments of South-West Georgia, 21) (1993).

Petra of Arabia An important ancient *city in southern Jordan, formerly capital of the Nabataean kingdom, incorporated into the province of *Arabia in AD 106, and later into Syria Palaestina and *Palaestina Tertia. The first attested* bishop is from the late 4th century, and Petra became a *metropolitan see sometime after 451.

More than 150 carbonized *papyrus scrolls, the *Petra papyri, have been recovered from a storeroom adjoining a 6th-century church. They preserve much information relating to private affairs, disputes within the Church in the 5th century, and tensions between Christians and pagans. The scrolls and archaeological excavations both reveal a gradual decline starting in the mid-4th century, which can be attributed to a number of *earthquakes that struck the region down to the mid-8th century. However, Petra did continue to function as a provincial capital into the 6th century, retaining its own functioning municipal magistrates, and a post-curial government dominated by local notables, clergy, and landlords. There is similarly no evidence of disruption during the periods of the *Persian invasion of the early 7th century or of the *Arab invaion, but in the mid-7th century Petra lost its standing as a regional capital and its rank as a metropolitan see, and the city is not named in the *Umayyad sources. PWMF

Z. T. Fiema, 'Late-Antique Petra and its Hinterland: Recent Research and New Interpretations', in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, vol. 2 (JRA Supplementary Series vol. 49, 2002), 191–252.

Petra Papyri A dossier of carbonized papyri (P. Petra) discovered in the ruins of a church in Petra (Jordan) in 1993. The documents published so far date from 537 to 593 and mainly relate to the family of a local clergyman, Theodoros, son of Obodianos. RM

Petra Papyri: ed. J. Frösén et al., *Petra Papyri* I (Amman, ACOR Publications 4, 2002), ed. L. Koenen et al., *Petra Papyri* II (ACOR Publications 7, 2013), ed. A. Arjava et al. III (ACOR Publications 5, 2007); IV (ACOR Publications 6, 2011).

A further volume is in the press.

Petronii Family of the senatorial *aristocracy. Its late antique origins date back to Petronius Annianus, *consul in 314. *Marriage alliances and the occupation of high office raised the family's standing, exemplified by the career of Sextus *Petronius Probus. The family achieved important secular honours in the late 4th/early 5th centuries, and women like *Demetrias were influential in Christian circles.

Petronii were also famous for their literary skills, most notably *Proba, her father, and her brother. The name of Valerius Faltonius Adelfius, *consul in 451, suggests a family link; the same is true of Anicius *Olybrius, proclaimed *emperor in *Rome in 472. The family remained influential in the *Ostrogothic period, reaching the consulship in 481 (Placidus) and 489 (Probinus). CARM

PLRE I (1971), 690–1; *PLRE* II (1980), 862–4.

A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (1962).

S. Orlandi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano, VI. Roma* (2004).

Petronius Maximus (*c.*393–455) Western *emperor 455. A leading senatorial *aristocrat, he held various senior administrative posts, including *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome and *Praefectus Praetorio, and was *consul in 433 and 443. He helped orchestrate the assassination of *Aëtius (454) and then that of *Valentinian III (16 March 455), after which he declared himself emperor. He died on 31 May while fleeing Rome during the *Vandal attack on the city, when a mob seized and dismembered him. ADL

PLRE II, Maximus 22.

Petronius Probus, Sextus (*c.*328–388) Roman *senator, *consul (371), and four times *Praefectus Praetorio of *Italy and *Illyricum (364, 368–75). During his prefecture, the future *Bishop *Ambrose of *Milan was one of his staff of advisers; when Probus made Ambrose a provincial *governor he said, 'Go, rule like a bishop, not a governor' (*VAmbrosii* 5 and 8). Although a member of the *family of the *Petronii, Probus was also considered one of the *Anicii after he married Anicia Faltonia Proba (*CIL* VI, 1753). The couple had four children, three of whom became consuls. Unlike most contemporary senatorial *aristocrats, Probus held numerous offices in the imperial service and became one of the most powerful senators of his time, attracting the animosity of *Ammianus (XXVII, 22), *Jerome, and *Symmachus, who had earlier been his correspondent (*epp.* I, 56–61). Probus was also a literary *patron, being praised by *Ausonius and *Avienus, who dedicated to him his *Ora Maritima*. He was a zealous Christian, and the virgin *Demetrias was his granddaughter. According to Maffeo Vegio, who,

*c.*1455–7, transcribed his lost *epitaph, he was buried at the Vatican (*CIL* VI, 1756b; *ILCV* 63). DN

PLRE I, Probus 5.

PCBE II/2, Probus 3.

A. Cameron, 'Polynomy in the Late Roman Aristocracy: The Case of Petronius Probus', *JRS* 75 (1985), 164–82.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies.*

Phaeno *Copper mines in the Wadi Faynan, between the southern end of the Dead Sea and the *city of *Petra. *Eusebius mentions Christians being condemned to labour there during the Great *Persecution in the early 4th century (*MartPal* 7, 8, 13); 40 of them were beheaded and two Egyptian *bishops burnt to death (*HE* VIII, 13, 5). *Valens exiled there Christians whose Nicene loyalties offended him (*Theodoret, *HE* IV, 22). Recent archaeological exploration has revealed evidence of extensive *mining and ore processing. Analysis of the human remains suggests that many of the labourers were local people. KETB

M. A. Perry et al., 'An Isotopic Perspective on the Transport of Byzantine Mining Camp Laborers into Southwestern Jordan', *AJPhysAnth* 140 (2009), 429–41.

Pharan (Faran) Name for a wilderness in the *Sinai Peninsula, with anchorites at the beginning of the 5th century, and an oasis *city, with a *bishop by the late 4th/early 5th century, visited by *Egeria (5–6), described by *Theodosius (27), and the *Piacenza Pilgrim (40). It should not be confused with the lavra of Pharan founded by S. Chariton in the *Judaean Wilderness *c.* AD 330. TV

CoptEnc vol. 6 (1991) *s.v.* 'Pharan', 1952b–1953a (Coquin).

Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries.*

pharmacy By the end of Antiquity, ancient pharmacy had become an extremely rich area of therapeutics. New remedies kept flowing in from the East, a movement that started in the Hellenistic period with Alexander's conquests. In *Gaul and further north locally sourced remedies were added to the common pharmacy, to substitute for expensive, rare ingredients from the Mediterranean basin. Late Antique pharmacy was thus rich and diverse, but also deeply rooted in local resources and customs.

The pharmacy of the Mediterranean world included several hundred 'simple' herbal, mineral, and animal remedies (a distinction followed by *Galen, among others). These could be combined, and therefore offered endless possibilities for mixtures ('compound' drugs). The knowledge and use of those remedies was essentially based on empirical experience, but was also supported by a long intellectual tradition.

The practical function of simple and compound remedies prevailed: and Late Antiquity saw the compilation of herbals (sometimes illustrated) and collections of *euporista* (easy-to-find remedies). At the same time, classics of ancient pharmacology were duly copied and translated, as demonstrated by the manuscript history of *Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* (and of the other works attributed to him). Galen's works *On Simple Drugs, On Compound Drugs* (*According to Kinds*; and *According to Places*), *On Antidotes*, and *On Theriac* never formed part of the 'Alexandrian Canon' but were partly translated into *Syriac in Late Antiquity. Galen's pharmacological works were widely used in the great medical compilations of *Oribasius, *Aëtius of *Amida, and *Paul of Aegina.

There is no conclusive evidence for a late antique transmission of Galen's pharmacological works in *Latin. Pharmacy was, however, widely available in the Latin language through translations from the *Greek, as well as through works by Cassius *Felix, *Marcellus, Caelius *Aurelianus, and many others.

Pharmacy was not a strictly medical field. Traditional herbal remedies were sometimes suspected of being the work of *demons. However, sources suggest a widespread knowledge of many of the most common simple medicines. Among the pharmaceutical authorities cited, including in Christian literature, were Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Galen, and also Democritus (also known as Bolos of Mendes), who combined pharmacy with *astrology and offered plant remedies on the basis of their alleged connections with planets and horoscopes (cf. e.g. *Sophronius, *Miracles of Ss. Cyrus and John*, 13, 2; 30, 4; 30, 12; 43, 3). Indeed, pharmacy was sometimes considered more effective when combined with rituals and incantations, or with divine prescription in healing shrines, both Christian and non-Christian. CP

A. Ferraces Rodríguez, ed., *Fito-zooterapia antigua y altomedieval: textos y doctrinas* (2009).

A. Ferraces Rodríguez, *Estudios sobre textos latinos de fitoterapia entre la Antigüedad Tardia y la Alta Edad Media* (1999).

J. Gascou (FT and comm.), *Sophrone de Jérusalem: miracles des saints Cyr et Jean* (EAHA, 2006).

C. Opsomer-Halleux, 'Un herbier médicinal du haut moyen-âge: l'Alfabetum Galieni', *HistPhilLifeSci* 4 (1982), 65–97.

J. Scarborough, ed., Dumbarton Oaks symposium on Byzantine Medicine, published in *DOP* 38 (1984).

Phaselis *City on the east coast of *Lycia. Originally a Rhodian colony largely rebuilt under the Roman Empire. The *Bishop of Phaselis was a suffragan of the *metropolitan at *Myra. It had several churches, including a *basilica on the former acropolis and another, perhaps of the 6th century, possibly a cathedral, on the Hadrianic agora. The Roman *aqueduct and *baths were maintained and new *fortifications erected towards the end of Late Antiquity. The city was finally abandoned in the 12th century. PTa

TIB 8 (2004), 798–802.
J. Schäfer, ed., *Phaselis. Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen* (MDAI (I) Beiheft 24, 1981).
C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, at 42–5.

Phasis Former Greek colony at the mouth of the River Phasis (Rioni) near modern Poti, *Georgia. Briefly described by Arrian (*Periplus*, 11), and attacked by *Scythians *c.*250 (*Zosimus, I, 31), it figured in *Justinian I's Lazic War of 542–62 (*Agathias, III, 19, 8). Alluvial river deposits have covered all traces. MO

G. Gamkrelidze, *K arkheologii doliny Fasisa* (The Archaeological Survey of the Phasis Valley) (1992).
O. Lordkipanidze, *Phasis: The River and City in Colchis* (2000).

Phbow *See* TABENNESE AND PHBOW.

Phela Treasure Seven items of 6th–7th-century liturgical *silver, including patens, chalices, *cross, *seal, and staff-fitting, which appeared on the antiquities market *c.*1955, and are mostly housed in Abegg-Stiftung, Bern. *Inscriptions on three items mention the *village of Phela, probably in northern *Syria. HAHC

E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Abegg-Stiftung Monographien 9, 1973).
Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*, 65.
Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, 231–7.

Philadelphia of Arabia *See* AMMAN.

Philae Situated on an island 4 km (2.5 miles) to the south of Aswan in the First *Nile Cataract, on the border between Ancient *Egypt and *Nubia, Philae possessed one of the most famous *temples of *Isis, which is also known as the last fully functioning major temple of Egypt. After the withdrawal of the southern Egyptian frontier to the Cataract in AD 298 (*Procopius, *Persian* I, 19, 27–37), a legion was garrisoned on the east bank of the Nile opposite Philae, the Legio I Maximiana (*Not. Dig.* [*or.*] 31, 37), which formed the largest military unit in the region. The 4th-and 5th-century *inscriptions from the island attest the continuity of the ancient Egyptian cults, supported by the *Blemmyes and *Nobades, until *c.*456/7.

Meanwhile Philae received its own episcopal see, probably in *c.*330 as at *Syene, and had churches by 425–50 (P.Leid. Z 10–11). The first *bishop, Macedonius, who is attested in 343 (*Athanasius, *Apologia Secunda*, 49, 3), also figures, together with his three successors, in the 6th-century *Coptic *Life of Aaron*, which tells legendary stories about the formative period of Christian Philae. Procopius (*Persian*, I, 19, 36–7) states that *Justinian I ordered the destruction of the temples of Philae in 535–7, but this cannot have been more than a symbolic closure. Slightly later, the temple of Isis was turned into a church of S. Stephen under Bishop Theodore (*Inscr. Philae*, II 200–4), who also played an important part in the first mission to Nubia in 536–48 (*John of *Ephesus, *HE* III, 4, 6–7). Philae became a Christian *pilgrimage site *c.*600. JHFD

Dijkstra, *Philae.*

Philagrius Senior administrator under *Constantine I and *Constantius II. He came from *Cappadocia, studied at *Athens, and was *Praefectus of *Egypt 334–6, and again in 338–40 when, *Athanasius averred, he was responsible for Athanasius' second exile. In 343 he was among the imperial officials whose presence affected deliberations at the *Council of *Serdica, and he was *Vicarius of *Pontica when Paul of *Constantinople, an exiled supporter of Athanasius, was strangled in *Cappadocia in 350/1. SFT; OPN

PLRE I, Philagrius 5.
NEDC 151–2.
Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 45–8, 72, 167.

Philaster of Brescia (355/74–after 387) *Bishop of *Brescia (from before 381) and heresiologist. An active opponent of *Homoean *Arianism, Philaster composed his *Diversarum Haereseon Liber* between 380 and 390. Dependent on Irenaeus and *Epiphanius, Philaster's handbook of *heresies was used by later authors, including *Augustine and *Gregory the Great. Augustine (*ep.* 222, 2), however, regarded Philaster as far less learned than Epiphanius. Philaster's handbook listed 156 'heresies' (28 from pre-Christian times and 128 from the Christian era); many, as Augustine noted, were not 'heresies' at all (*Haer.* 80). His life is known mostly through the *Sermo de Vita et Obitu Beati Filastrii* of *Gaudentius of Brescia (*Sermon*, 21). DGH

PCBE II/1, Filaster.
CPL 121: ed. F. Heylen (CCSL 9, 1957), ed. F. Marx (CSEL 38, 1898).
BHG 6796: Gaudentius of Brescia, *Sermon* 21, ed. A. Glueck (CSEL 68, 1936), 184–9.
J. D. McClure, 'Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries', *JTS* 30 NS (1979), 186–97.
J. Papsdorf, 'Filastrius of Brescia's "Diversarum Haereseon Liber": A Study in Patristic Mediocrity', *SP* 46 (2010), 131–6.

Phileas of Thmuis *Bishop of Thmuis in the *Nile Delta and *martyr under *Diocletian, condemned (after five trials) by Clodius *Culcianus in Alexandria on 4 February (10 Mecheir) 305. *Eusebius quotes at length from his *letter to his people (*HE* VIII, 10). His *martyr passion is attested in different versions in *Greek

(P.Bodmer XX, P.Chester Beatty XV, 4th century), *Latin (8 manuscripts, 9th–14th centuries), Ethiopic (11 manuscripts, 14th, 15th, and 18th centuries), and partly in *Coptic (P.Köln XII 492, 6th century). The discussion between bishop and prefect is unusually philosophical. GS

ed. (with introd., ET, and comm.) A. Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis (Including Fragments of the Greek Psalter), P.Chester Beatty XV (With a New Edition of P. Bodmer XX and Halkin's Latin Acta)* (Cahiers d'orientalisme VII, 1984).

G. Schenke, 'Ein koptischer Textzeuge der *Acta Phileae*', in H. Knuf, Chr. Leitz, and D. von Recklinghausen, eds., *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (OLA 194, 2010), 609–15.

Barnes *Hagiography*, 142–6.

Philip of Side (c.430) Presbyter in *Constantinople and thrice unsuccessful candidate for the *patriarchal see (425, 427, 431), Philip was a partisan of *John Chrysostom. He wrote a *Christian History* from the Creation to AD 426. Severely criticized by *Socrates (VII, 27) for its length and chaotic structure, fragments of the work can be identified in the **Religious Disputation at the Sasanian Court* (*De Gestis in Perside*) of the 5th/6th century and elsewhere. PVN

CPG 6026.

List of fragments and commentary: K. Heyden, 'Die Christliche Geschichte des Philippos von Side', in M. Wallraff, ed., *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik* (TU 157, 2006), 209–43.

ET by A. Eastbourne, commissioned by Roger Pearse (2011): https://archive.org/details/TheFragmentsOfPhilipOfSideTranslatedIntoEnglish/

E. Bradtke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden* (TU 19, 1899).

Philippi *City of *Macedonia Prima with a strong Roman tradition, where the memory of the Apostle Paul remained alive. The city preserved the *street grid of its Hippodamian town plan and its initial size and shape. The cardo maximus (*Via Egnatia) divided the city into an upper hilly and a lower plain section.

North of the Via Egnatia, the three-aisled *Basilica A with transept (5th cent.) and atrium with a splendid phiale incorporated a *cistern known from the 19th century as the 'Prison of St. Paul'. To the west lies the three-aisled Basilica C (5th cent.).

South of the Via Egnatia the Agora (2nd cent. AD.) continued to function with important 6th-century alterations. South of the Agora were the cardo 'Commercial Road' with shops and workshops on both sides, and a domed three-aisle basilica (6th cent.) on the site of the Gymnasium.

East of the Agora, a Christian assembly hall dedicated to S. Paul was built after 313 within the enclosure of a Hellenistic temple-shaped heröon which overlay an underground Macedonian tomb. Both sanctuaries were operating in the 4th century. At the site of the Christian assembly hall, an octagonal church with a *baptistery was built *c.*400 with a *hostel for pilgrims and a *bath-house. The Macedonian tomb was preserved at the centre of the annexes to the Octagon as a funerary cult site associated with S. Paul. Holy water welled up from a *marble *sarcophagus. East of the Octagon was the *bishop's residence. Further east a part of the city with houses and workshops has been excavated. The theatre (4th cent. BC) was in use until the 4th century AD. Christian *inscriptions have been found in sanctuaries of various deities in old quarry pits.

The large eastern necropolis with its cemetery basilicas was employed for Christian burials. In the western necropolis, where there was a *synagogue, only *pagan burial monuments have been excavated. In the 6th century AD, the *letters of the *Abgar legend were inscribed at the eastern gate of the city, together with an invocation to Christ to protect the city. Philippi was destroyed by *earthquakes in the early 7th century, and confined to a small fortified settlement in the western part of the lower city and the acropolis. ChB

P. Collart, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* (1937).

P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine* (BEFAR 148, 1945).

Ch. Bakirtzis and H. Koester, eds., *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after his Death* (1998; repr. 2009).

D. Kyrtatas, 'Early Christianity in Macedonia', in R. J. Lane Fox, ed., *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC–300 AD* (2011), 585–99.

S. Provost and M. Boyd, 'Philippes, Prospection géophysique', *BCH* 128–9 (2004–5), 2, 776–7.

Philippicus Brother-in-law of *Maurice. Campaigned round *Nisibis and *Arzanene in 584–9, failing to recapture *Martyropolis in 588–9. In 590 Maurice sent him to *Khosrow II promising Roman support for Khosrow's attempt to regain power in Persia. Under *Phocas, he joined a *monastery he had founded at *Chrysopolis, but in 610/11 supported *Heraclius and in 612/14 commanded in *Armenia and Persia, dying soon after. He was buried at *Chrysopolis. OPN

PLRE III, Philippicus 3.

Whitby, *Maurice.*

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 24–5.

Philippicus Bardanes (d. 20 January 714/15) *Emperor 711–13. Son of an *Armenian **patricius*, his rise to the throne was apparently foretold by a

monk, who claimed that if Bardanes overturned the Third *Council of *Constantinople (the Sixth Œcumenical Council) and returned to *Monotheletism his reign would be long and prosperous. He was exiled to Cephalonia in 702, recalled, and in 710 dispatched to *Cherson alongside the punitive expedition sent by *Justinian II. There in 711 he was proclaimed emperor, and, supported by rebellious troops and the *Khazars, in November seized *Constantinople. After deposing Cyrus, *Patriarch of Constantinople, he convened a council that endorsed Monotheletism. However, the *Bulgars were harassing *Thrace, while the *Arabs had captured *Antioch of *Pisidia in 713. These reverses probably precipitated the coup on 3 June 713, when Philippicus was deposed and *exiled. MTGH

PBE, Philippikos 1.
PmbZ 6150.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 78–80.
G. Sumner, 'Philippicus, Anastasius II and Theodosius III', *GRBS* 17 (1976), 287–94.

Philippopolis (mod. Plovdiv, Bulgaria) Capital of *Thracia and a crossing point of the *Via *Militaris with major *roads to the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Aegean. Sacked by Cniva and the *Goths in 250/1 under *Decius (*Dexippus, fr. 22; *Ammianus, XXXI, 5, 17; *Zosimus, I, 23, 1) and again by the *Huns in 441–2, it was later attacked by the *Avars in the 580s, but remained in Roman hands until its fall to the *Bulgars in 863. Its walls, originally built under Marcus Aurelius, were renewed after the Gothic and Hunnic sacks, and restored under *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 11, 19).

Archaeological remains include the Roman forum, stadium, theatre, buildings with *mosaics, *baths, a *synagogue, four churches, a polygonal mausoleum/*martyrium, and Christian tombs. A statue of the *usurper *Basiliscus was erected in the *city in the 460s or 470s (*LSA*-367). *Philoxenus of Mabbug was sent into exile at Philippopolis in 521. ER

TIB 6: *Thrakien* (1991), 399–404 (*s.v.* Philippupolis) and 509.
TIR K-35/2: Philippopolis (2012), 293–9.
I. Topalilov, '*Philippopolis*', in R. T. Ivanov, ed., *Roman Cities in Bulgaria* (2012), 2–76.
Wendel, *Karasura III* (2005), 116, 339.

Philocalus *See* FILOCALUS.

Philogelos A book of 265 jokes associated with the names Hierocles and Philagrius. The only datable reference is to *Rome's millennium in 248 (no. 62), but the compilation may belong to the 4th or 5th century. KWW

ed. A. Thierfelder (annotated with GT), *Philogelos der Lachfreund von Hierokles und Philagrios* (1968).
ed. R. Dawe (2000).
ET (annotated) B. Baldwin, *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover* (1983).
M. Beard, *Laughter in Ancient Rome: On Joking, Tickling, and Cracking Up* (2014), ch. 8.

Philo of Byzantium in Late Antiquity Greek mechanical engineer and scientist of the later 3rd century BC. A near contemporary of *Ctesibius who also worked in *Alexandria, Philo remained an important source for mechanical, civil, and military *engineering throughout Late Antiquity. His description of a chain-driven ballista (*polybolos*) is thought to be the earliest application of this mechanized technology. Philo's work on catapults is mentioned by *Vitruvius and *Hero of Alexandria, and *Eutocius discusses his mathematical solution to the problem of doubling the volume of a cube. Surviving sections of Philo's mechanical *syntaxis* include his *Belopoeica* (on *artillery) and *Poliorcetica* (on siegecraft), while his *Pneumatica* is known in *Arabic and *Latin translations. The brief *De Septem Mundi Miraculis* (enumerating the Seven Wonders of the World), while attributed to Philo, probably dates to the 6th century. MLR

Belopoeica, ed. (with ET) E. W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery* (1971).
Pneumatica, ed. F. D. Prager (1974).
A. G. Drachmann, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron: A Study in Ancient Pneumatics* (1948).

philosophers and philosophy Philosophy remained a vital element of educational and cultural life for the whole of Late Antiquity, but the use of the term and the social roles played by philosophers evolved significantly over the period. Many well-established philosophical traditions and social functions available to philosophers in the Roman world at the beginning of Late Antiquity had disappeared by the 6th century. Late Antiquity also saw the expansion of the philosophical curriculum to include a wide range of new materials and interpretations.

Nature of teaching

While Cynics, Stoics, and Peripatetics are still mentioned as late as the 6th century, the dominant form of Late Antique philosophical teaching was Platonism, which came to incorporate Aristotelian and Stoic elements as well as more esoteric traditions such as those represented by the *Chaldean Oracles. Philosophical *schools took two forms. In major cities like *Constantinople and *Alexandria, philosophers continued to hold public professorial teaching *chairs into the 6th century. In exchange for this public support, philosophers were expected to teach publicly and they agreed

to a level of supervision of their activities which restricted their ability to give private instruction. These restrictions could potentially extend to curricular matters. In the later 5th century, public teachers in Alexandria seem to have agreed to limit some elements of their teaching in response to public pressure. Other places (such as *Apamea in the 4th century and *Athens in the 5th and early 6th centuries) saw private philosophical circles thrive amidst a climate that invited less scrutiny and more curricular freedom.

Philosophy in practice

Members of Late Antique philosophical circles shared common religious concerns and doctrinal ties, but they also belonged to intellectual communities bound together by personal relationships. From the time of the Old Academy, Platonists had represented relationships between teachers and their students as resembling those within a *family. Teachers were their pupils' intellectual fathers. The best students were given standing invitations to dinner at their teacher's house and, on occasion, even asked to marry their teacher's daughter. *Proclus and his teacher *Syrianus even shared a tomb. These intense personal ties encouraged students to devote themselves to the school, learn its doctrines, and live according to its principles. Philosophers were expected to exemplify philosophical ideas in their actions and, if they did not, they could expect criticism from their teachers or fellow students. The word *philosophia* indicated a way of life (sometimes even the monastic way of life) as well as a body of learning.

Social roles

The unique combination of wisdom and principled action often thought characteristic of philosophers permitted them to claim a distinctive form of free speech (**parrhesia*). Such 4th-century philosophers as *Sopater and *Maximus of Ephesus translated this privilege into advisory roles at the courts of *Constantine I and *Julian respectively. The series of imperial *panegyrics of *emperors composed by *Themistius were predicated on the notion that their sincerity could not be questioned because the author's philosophical training ensured that he only spoke the truth. Philosophers continued to play advisory roles under 5th-century Roman political leaders as with Marcellinus of *Dalmatia and the Emperor *Anthemius, but their influence diminished over time. By the 6th century, *Simplicius suggested that philosophers should continue to advise those in power, but they ought to flee if the actions of tyrants imperilled their ability to live philosophically, a principle that he and six colleagues put into practice when they left the Roman Empire for the *court of the Persian Shah *Khosrow I (though they soon came back). Few other philosophers went to such extremes, but 5th- and 6th-century Platonists did have a tendency to withdraw from public activities in ways that troubled some contemporaries (e.g. *Damascius, *VIsidori*, 124).

Philosophy and Christianity

Christianity played a significant role in the social marginalization of pagan philosophers, but interest in philosophy itself did not diminish. Even as pagan teachers became less involved in public life, Christian students continued to study under them in large numbers. This posed no significant problem most of the time, but some Christians did object to certain philosophical doctrines and what they perceived as an uncongenial religious atmosphere. This is most apparent in authors from Alexandria and *Gaza from the late 5th and early 6th century such as *Zacharias Rhetor and *Aeneas of Gaza, whose dialogues the *Ammonius* and the *Theophrastus* both offer refutations of points commonly argued by 5th-century Platonists. Christian thinkers frequently developed philosophical teaching in a Christian direction. *Basil of *Caesarea and *John Philoponus merged Christian and philosophical *cosmology, while in the works of *Evagrius Ponticus and *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite philosophical psychology and metaphysics colaesced with Christian spiritual wisdom. Even more exotic blending could be found in *saints' lives, like the *Life of *Antony the Great* and *Theodoret's *Religious History*, two works that term Christian ascetics 'philosophers' and describe monks performing some of the social and political functions formerly associated with philosophers. It is not clear how much hagiography reflects wider contemporary ideas about the nature of philosophy. What it does indicate is less a decline in academic philosophy and more that the category of philosopher had come to include new types of people. EW

Watts, *City and School*.

P. Athanassiadi, 'Persecution and Response in Late Paganism', *JHS* 113 (1993), 1–29.

P. Athanassiadi, 'The Oecumenism of Iamblichus: Latent Knowledge and its Awakening', *JRS* 85 (1995), 244–50.

P. Chuvin, *Chronicle of the Last Pagans*, tr. B. A. Archer (1990).

G. L. Fowden, 'The Platonist Philosopher and his Circle in Late Antiquity', *Philosophia* (Athens) 7 (1977), 359–83.

G. L. Fowden, 'The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JHS* 102 (1982), 32–59.

A. Frantz, 'Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens', *PAPS* 119 (1975), 29–38.

P. Hadot, *La Philosophie comme manière de vivre* (2002).

R. Lamberton, 'The Schools of Platonic Philosophy of the Roman Empire: The Evidence of the Biographies', in Y. L. Too, ed., *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (2001), 433–58.

I. Perczel, 'Pseudo-Dionysius and the Platonic Theology: A Preliminary Study', in A. P. Segonds and C. Steel, eds., *Proclus et la Théologie Platonicienne* (2000), 491–530.
A. Smith, ed., *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Brown* (2005).

philosophical texts in Persia There are traces of Aristotelian philosophy and of other *Greek *philosophy in Middle *Persian literature, including the **Denkard*. Sometimes Greek terms and phrases are directly translated into Middle *Persian.

*Paul the Persian's book on logic, written in *Syriac, was dedicated to *Khosrow I. Priscianus Lydus was one of the *Neoplatonic philosophers who lived briefly in the *Persian Empire during the years between *Justinian I's disendowment of the Platonic Academy at *Athens and the *Everlasting Peace of 533 (cf. *Agathias, II, 28–32). His *Solutiones ad Chosroen* are concerned with Aristotelian physics, theory of the soul, and meteorology. TD

Priscianus Lydus, *Solutiones ad Chosroen*, ed. I. Bywater (Supplementum Aristotelicum I, 2, 1886).
H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in Ninth-Century Books* (1943).
D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (1998).
M. Shaki, 'A Few Philosophical and Cosmogonical Chapters of the Dēnkard', *Archív Orientální* 41/2 (1973), 133–64.

Philostorgius (*fl. c.*430) Author of a *Church History* in twelve books that covered the period 315–425 and was published shortly after the last events it recorded. The text is extant only in fragments (some of them substantial) and in a summary by *Photius (40). Byzantine historians and hagiographers used Philostorgius regularly, so we have a relatively good idea of the content of the *History*.

Philostorgius was originally from *Cappadocia but lived in *Constantinople. He was a follower of *Eunomius and presents history from this perspective. By the time Philostorgius wrote, imperial legislation and the sect's own theological strictness had reduced the Eunomians, who never had much popular backing, to a steadily diminishing hard core. As a consequence, Philostorgius' *History* is a story of the progressive isolation of the pure in an ocean of wickedness. It suggests that *Constantine I held the same views as the Eunomians and claims the entire early *Arian movement for Eunomianism. Moral and theological ineptitude among other people is highlighted as the cause for the progressive shrinking of the Eunomians, fully consumed by the reign of *Theodosius I. Eunomius himself and the *Anomoean Aetius of *Antioch are the obvious heroes of the narrative, but the activities of Theophilus the Indian, especially his missionary work in southern *Arabia, are also emphasized. The last three books strike a clearly apocalyptic note and implicitly identify the Eunomians with the diminishing group of the pure who still adhere to God's law, and whose ultimate salvation is depicted in the book of Daniel and the books of the Maccabees.

Philostorgius often gives unique versions of events, contrasting with those in the *Church Histories* of *Socrates, *Sozomen, and *Theodoret. His accounts should be considered with caution, but he did have access to numerous now lost sources, narrative, and documentary, especially those from a Eunomian background. Like the other church historians, he also used secular works of history: he is particularly important as a source for the *History* of *Olympiodorus of *Thebes, and he probably also used *Eunapius. Like historians in the classical tradition, Philostorgius displays, in various digressions, a remarkable interest in *medicine, *astronomy, and natural history. Although opposed to the Christology adopted under Theodosius I, Philostorgius did not develop a view of the relationship between Church and state different from those of the historians who supported it; he approved of imperial intervention in church affairs so long as it served Eunomian theology. PVN

ed. J. Bidez, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte; mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines arianischen Historiographen* (3rd edn., rev. F. Winkelmann, GCS 21, 1981).
ET (annotated) P. R. Amidon (2007).
A. I. Argov, 'Giving the Heretic a Voice: Philostorgius of Borissus and Greek Ecclesiastical Historiography', *Athenaeum* 89/2 (2001), 497–524.
H. Leppin, 'Heretical Historiography: Philostorgius', *SP* 34 (2001), 111–24.
G. Marasco, *Filostorgio: cultura, fede e politica in uno storico ecclesiastico del V secolo* (Studia Ephemeridis 'Augustinianum' 92, 2005).
D. Meyer, ed., *Philostorge et l'historiographie de l'Antiquité tardive* (2011).

Philostrati Family of Greek *sophists active in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries. Several works are attributed to an author named Philostratus: the *Life* of the *miracle-working *philosopher *Apollonius of *Tyana, the *Lives of the Sophists*, two sets of descriptions of paintings entitled *Eikones*, a set of *letters, a treatise on gymnastics, a *dialogue on Nero, and a fictional dialogue, the *Heroikos*, purporting to give the true story of the Trojan War. It is possible that all these works, apart from the second set of *Eikones*, are attributable to the same man. In the *Lives of the Sophists* Philostratus coined the term *Second Sophistic, and left sketches of the most prominent sophists for later

generations. The *Life of Apollonius* became an important source for anti-Christian polemicists such as *Porphyry in *Against the Christians*, and *Hierocles, who was in turn attacked by *Lactantius and in Eusebius *Adversus Hieroclem*. RW

Philostratus, *Opera*, ed. C. L. Kayser (1870–1971).
Life of Apollonius, ed. C. P. Jones (annotated with ET), *Philostratus*, 2 vols. (LCL 16–17, 2005).
Lives of the Sophists, ed. R. S. Stefec (OCT, 2016).
Lives of the Sophists, ed (with ET) W. C. Wright (LCL 134, 1922).
G. Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.* (1986).
E. L. Bowie and J. Elsner, eds., *Philostratus* (2009).

philotimia Literally, 'love of honour' (Gk. *time*), *philotimia* encompasses the political and social competition that drove the culture of Graeco-Roman *cities in Late Antiquity. Traditional forms of civic competition and *euergetism in *cities persisted—*Augustine saw 'love of being praised' as the principal characteristic of the 'city of this world'. Enthusiasm for civic office, however, declined in Late Antiquity as burdens on *city councillors rose and greater power emanated from private members of the senatorial *aristocracy, retired imperial officials (**honorati*), and high functionaries in the imperial *administration. The interpenetration of the senatorial and civic *aristocracies meant that there were more men whose privileges included exemption from duties and liturgies in local cities. *Patronage and power could be exercised by great men (*potentiores*) independently of civic institutions, and competition among the civic aristocracy at the highest level aimed at offices and honours beyond the city, whether in the imperial administration or in the Christian Church. Churches and private palaces succeeded civic amenities as the favoured objects of ostentatious building. JND

Brown, *Making*, 27–53.
CAH XII (2005), 293–312.
CAH XIII (1998), 373–82.
MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, 125.

Philoxenus of Mabbug (*c.*445–523) *Miaphysite *bishop, theologian, and spiritual writer. Born Joseph to Christian parents in Beth Garmai, he was educated at the School of *Edessa. He spent time in *Antioch and visited *Constantinople in 484. At ordination he took the *Syriac name of Aksenaya ('the stranger'), and then the *Greek name Philoxenus ('lover of strangers', 'hospitable one') upon consecration as Bishop of Mabbug (*Hierapolis, north-east of *Antioch) in 485. Philoxenus became a leader of the anti-Chalcedonian movement which flourished under the protection of the *Emperor *Anastasius I, and he collaborated with *Severus, *Patriarch of Antioch (r. 512–19). When *Justin I became emperor (518), Miaphysites lost imperial favour; Philoxenus was evicted from his see in 519 and died in *exile in 523.

Philoxenus wrote dogmatic and polemical treatises, commentaries on the Gospels, and numerous *letters. The ten *Memre against Habib* date from before his episcopate. He often addressed monastic audiences on aspects of the Christological controversies. In his last *letter, *To the Monks at Senun*, he gives the most comprehensive exposition of his anti-Chalcedonian position, which was influenced by the theology of *Cyril of *Alexandria. Philoxenus commissioned a new *translation of the New Testament into Syriac from Greek, from *chorepiscopus Polycarpus (507/8). This 'Philoxenian' version is now lost. His most widely read works were *sermons and treatises on the spiritual and monastic life. The *Discourses*, a large collection of thirteen **memre*, instruct novice monks on the fundamentals of the monastic and ascetical life, using an Evagrian perspective. The *Letter to Patricius of Edessa* further demonstrates his understanding and interpretation of the monastic theology of *Evagrius Ponticus.

Philoxenus was commemorated in the *Syrian Orthodox *monasteries of *Tur 'Abdin, especially at the Monastery of Mar *Gabriel at Qartmin, where in the 13th century the monk Eli wrote a verse *panegyric of Philoxenus. RAKi

GEDSH s.v. Philoxenos of Mabbug, 323–3 (Michelson).
EAC s.v. Philoxenus, 180–1 (Rilliet).
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 141–4.

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Memre against Habib, ed. (with LT) M. Brière and F. Graffin, *Sancti Philoxeni Episcopi Mabbugensis Dissertationes Decem de Uno e Sancta Trinitate Incorporato et Passo*, PO 15/4, 38/3, 39/4, 40/2, 41/1 (1920–82).
ed. (with FT) A. de Halleux, *Lettre aux moines de Senoun* (CSCO 231–2; Scr. syr. 98–9; 1963).
ed. (with FT) A. de Halleux, *Commentaire de prologue johannique* (CSCO 380–1; Scr. syr. 165–6; 1977).
ed. (with ET) J. W. Watt, *Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke* (CSCO 392–93, Scr. syr. 171–2; 1978).
ed. (with FT) R. Lavenant, *La Lettre à Patricius de Philoxène de Mabboug*, PO 30/5 (1963).
ed. (with LT) A. A. Vaschalde, *Tractatus tres de trinitate et incarnatione* (CSCO 9–10; Scr. syr. 9–10; 1907).
ed. (with ET) E. A. W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôgh*, 2 vols. (1894).
FT E. Lemoine and R. Lavenant, *Philoxène de Mabboug, Homélies* (SC 44 bis; 2007).
ET R. A. Kitchen, *The Discourses of Philoxenos of Mabbug* (CSS 235, 2013).

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A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog: sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (1963).
D. A. Michelson, *The Practical Christology of Philoxenos of Mabbug* (2014).
L. van Rompay, 'Bardaisan and Mani in Philoxenus of Mabbog's *Mēmrē Against Habbib*', in W. J. van Bekkum et al., eds., *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink* (OLA 170, 2007), 77–90.
L. van Rompay, 'Mallpânâ dilan Suryâyâ: Ephrem in the Works of Philoxenus of Mabbog: Respect and Distance', *Hugoye* 7/1 (2004).
T. Bou Mansour, in Grillmeier, 2/3, 500–69.

Phocaea (mod. Foça, Turkey) *City in the *province of *Asia, on the coast north of *Smyrna, with a *bishop suffragan to *Ephesus from at least the mid-4th century. From the 4th to the late 7th century, the city was the chief production site of *Phocean Red Slip Ware; a large workshop area (20–30 ha, *c.*50–75 acres) has been identified to the north-east of the urban centre. PJT

F. Mayet and M. Picon, 'Une sigillée phocéenne tardive ("Late Roman C ware") et sa diffusion en occident', *Figlina* 7 (1986), 129–42.
Ö. Özyığt, 'Die Jüngsten Ausgrabungen in Phokaia', in L. A. Scatozza Höricht, ed., *Kyme e l'Eolide da Augusto a Costantino* (2007), 21–44.

Phocas Former **silentiarius* sent to help rebuild *Antioch after the *earthquake of 526. He briefly replaced *John the Cappadocian as *Praefectus Praetorio after the *Nika Riot of 532. *John Lydus admired him (*Mag.* 3, 75). *Phocean praised his even-handedness (*Anecd.* 21, 6; *Persian*, I, 24, 18). He committed *suicide when *Justinian I persecuted *pagans in 545/6. His generosities included gifts to a church in *Pessinus. PNB

PLRE II, Phocas 5.
Maas, *John Lydus*, 78–82.
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 53–62.

Phocas (*c.*547–610) *Emperor 602–10. Phocas was a soldier serving in *Thrace during *Maurice's campaigns against the *Avars. When in 602 Maurice ordered the troops to winter north of the Danube, they mutinied, proclaimed Phocas their leader, and marched on *Constantinople. Maurice fled, and on 23 November Phocas was crowned *emperor. What exactly happened next is hard to ascertain given that our sources were written after Phocas' eventual defeat and are highly critical. It is certain that Maurice and most of his sons were quickly seized and executed, along with several high-ranking bureaucrats and generals. However, this bloodletting did not dampen opposition. In 603 the general *Narses revolted, establishing himself at *Edessa. More dangerously, a putative son of Maurice, *Theodosius, appeared at the court of *Khosrow II of Persia asking for his aid. Whatever the truth, Khosrow speedily took the opportunity to invade the divided Empire in 603, and by the time of Phocas' death had overrun Rome's eastern defences.

Phocas, however, was not without allies. He enjoyed significant support from elements in the *army, the *circus factions, in particular the *Blues, and the population of Constantinople. There was staunch support in *Rome, where he granted the Church permission to convert the *Pantheon into a church, and a column in the *Forum was rededicated to Phocas. Phocas' chief foes were in the *Senate. Successive plots were formulated, but were successfully crushed with accompanying purges, until eventually an alliance between the Senate and the Roman *exarch in *Africa, *Heraclius the Elder, overthrew the regime. Openly rebelling in 608, by 609–10 the rebels had seized *Egypt and cut Constantinople's supply lines. Then in 610 a *fleet commanded by *Heraclius the Younger sailed to the capital, landing on 3 October. Besieged, on 5 October Phocas was seized and delivered to Heraclius. He was immediately executed, his head was placed on a spike and paraded through the city, and Heraclius was proclaimed emperor. MTGH

PLRE III, Phocas 7.
J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (1987), 187–91.
D. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century* (1993), 1–21.
Ostrogorsky, *History*, 83–6.
Stratos, *Seventh Century*, vol. 1, 45–91.

Phocean Red Slip Ware (Late Roman C) Late Roman tableware. First classified as 'Late Roman C' at *Antioch in 1948, J. W. Hayes's *Late Roman Pottery* later offered a typology and the name 'Phocean Red Slip Ware' (PRS), due to the identification of the principal production site at *Phocaea (Foça, W. Turkey). Gryneon and probably *Çandarli were also producers. It was the direct successor to Çandarli Ware (cf. Çandarli form 4/PRS form 1).

Within its small repertoire of bowls and dishes (ten forms), the most common forms PRS 3 and 10 represent the gradual evolution of a single shape through the mid-5th to 7th centuries and are particularly useful as chronological indicators. Dish PRS 2 (late 4th to mid-5th cent.) bears stamps on its floor recalling those of *African Red Slip Ware (palmettes, geometric motifs). Dish PRS 3 (mid-5th–mid-6th cent.) was initially stamped with similar designs, combined with rouletting on the rim and floor, but these gave way to simpler patterns, then single stamps in a characteristic rendition of *animal and human figures, as well as *crosses.

One of the most common tablewares in the Roman East, it is also a regular but scarcer find in the West, especially on coastal sites. Exceptional quantities in Alicante and Vigo in *Spain mark stages of an Atlantic supply route that reached south-west *Britain, where it is notably common in the 'Arthurian', post-Roman sites of *Tintagel and *South Cadbury. PR

J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972).
J. W. Hayes *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (1980).
The Athenian Agora XXXII, Roman Pottery, Fine Ware Imports (2008).
P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700: Ceramics and Trade* (2010).

Phoenice, Phoenice Libani, and Augusta Libanensis *Provinces in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, formed from the former Syria Phoenice. The *Verona List names two provinces, Phoenice and Augusta Libanensis. The lists of *bishops at the *Council of *Nicaea and *Ammianus (XIV, 8, 9–10) have a single province called Phoenice, suggesting perhaps that the separate Augusta Libanensis was short-lived, or that its inclusion in the sole manuscript of the *Verona List* is an error. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists Phoenice governed by a *Consularis (*or.* 1, 60 and 2, 10) and Phoenice Libani under a *Praeses (*or.* 1, 89 and 2, 18). Phoenice Prima, also called Phoenice Paralia and Phoenice Maritima, extended along the Phoenician coast and had its metropolis at *Tyre, with *Beirut as joint metropolis from 448/50 (*CJust* XI, 22, 1). Phoenice Libani, also called Phoenice Secunda, was administered from *Damascus. PWMF

J. Sipilä, *The Reorganisation of Provincial Territories in Light of the Imperial Decision-Making Process: Late Roman Arabia and Tres Palaestinae as Case Studies* (2009).

Phoenix Title of a poem in 85 elegiac distichs recounting the death and resurrection of the fabulous bird of the same name. *Gregory of *Tours already names its author as *Lactantius and, although occasionally questioned, the attribution has usually been accepted as correct. The poem contains a large descriptive element—of the home of the Phoenix in the grove of the *Sun, the construction of its funeral pyre, and the brilliant appearance of the bird itself—and the author lingers particularly over the paradoxical emergence of life from death. Although the poem can be read in innocence of further levels of meaning, the language repeatedly suggests a Christian subtext. Most obviously the phoenix can represent the resurrected Christ or the salvation of redeemed humanity. MJR

ed. S. Brandt (CSEL 27, 1893), 135–47.
ET (annotated) M. Fitzpatrick (1933).
Comm. C. M. Sharp (diss. Oxford, 2 vols., 1986).
Fontaine, *Naissance*, 53–66.

Phoenix of Lycia (mod. Finike, Turkey) Port for Limyra in *Lycia and a convenient landfall for ships coming from the *Holy Land. In 655, at the Battle of the Masts, the *Arabs defeated the Roman fleet under *Constans II, so ending imperial control over the eastern Mediterranean sea routes. PTa OPN

TIB 8: Lykien und Pamphylien, 806–8.
C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, at 3 and 39.
H. Hellenkemper, 'Lykien und die Araber', in J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch, eds., *Akten des II Internationalen Lykien Symposiums* (Denkschr. Wien 231, 1993), 99–106.

Phoibammon, monasteries of Two *monasteries dedicated to one of the four saints called Phoibammon are known to have existed in the area of *Thebes in Upper *Egypt. The older one was established in a valley of the mountain, between *Jeme (Medinet Habu) and *Hermonthis (Armant). The second one was founded in the ruins of the Hatshepsut *Temple (Deir el-Bahri) by *Abraham, *Bishop of Hermonthis, in the late 6th/early 7th century. Abraham could have been *œconomus* (steward) of the first monastery before he founded the second one. The documents of the Deir el-Bahri monastery (*contracts, testaments, and donations, including child-donations) witness the many activities of the monastery in the 7th and 8th centuries. AFVD

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dayr Apa Phoibammon, cols. 779b–781b (M. Boutros Ghali and W. Godlewski).
W. Godlewski, *Le Monastère de St. Phoibammon: Deir al-Bahri* (1986).
M. Krause, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Phoibammon-Klöstern auf dem thebanischen Westufer', *BullSocArchCopte* 27 (1985), 31–44.

Phos hilaron (Gk. Joyous Light) One of the earliest extant post-biblical Christian *hymns. *Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto*, 29, 73) mentions it as already ancient in 4th-century *Cappadocia, sung at the lighting of the *lamps as part of the *liturgy of the hours, and, on his way to *martyrdom, by S. *Athenogenes of Pedachthoe. OPN; MFC

CPG 1355.
ed. M. J. Routh (annotated with LT), *Reliquiae Sacrae* (rev. edn., 1846), vol. 3, 515–20.
H. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. 5 (ST 215, 1966), 30.
A. Tripolitis, '*Phos hilaron:* Ancient Hymn and Modern Enigma', *VigChrist* 24 (1970), 189–96.

Photius Talented but sickly son of *Antonina, wife of *Belisarius. From 535 he accompanied Belisarius in *Italy and from 541 in *Mesopotamia. He disentangled himself from his mother and *Theodora by becoming a monk at *Jerusalem, but under *Justin II cruelly suppressed a

*Samaritan and Jewish revolt. He probably died in 587/8. *Procopius thought him spiteful (*Anecd.* 1). OPN

PLRE III, Photius 2.

Photius *Patriarch of *Constantinople twice (858–67 and 877–86). Author of *letters, *sermons, commentaries, and theological treatises. He enjoyed the best possible education and had been the leading imperial secretary (Protoasekretis) and guard captain (Protospatharios). As patriarch he was a major figure in ecclesiastical and imperial life. For Late Antiquity, his most significant work (850s) is the *Bibliotheca* (or Myrobiblion) written in the 850s. This consists of 280 notices of varying length on individual authors he had read, especially historians. Some contain extensive extracts from an otherwise lost original (e.g. *Olympiodorus). Most involve a summary account of an author taken from the biographical dictionary of *Hesychius of *Miletus, and comment on the scope and nature of the work and on the author's literary style and value. His *Lexicon* is also a valuable repository of information and texts. BC

PBE, Photios 1.

PmbZ 6253.

ed. (with FT) R. Henry, *Bibliothèque*, 8 vols. (1959–77; vol. 9 Index by J. Schamp, 1991).

ed. C. Theodoridis, *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, 3 vols.: A–φ (1982–2012). Volume IV (χ–ω) is being edited by S. Matthaios.

W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the* Bibliotheca *of Photius* (1980).

J. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres: la* Bibliothèque *et ses notices biographiques* (1987).

B. Croke, 'Tradition and Originality in Photius' Historical Reading', in Burke, *Byzantine Narrative*, 59–70.

Phrygia The ancient *Anatolian region of Phrygia formed part of several *provinces in Late Antiquity: Phrygia and Caria in the south, which was dissolved by the end of the 3rd century, Phrygia Prima, later known as Phrygia Salutaris, with its capital at *Hierapolis, and Phrygia Secunda, later Phrygia Pacatiana, with its capital at Synnada. The two provinces are attested in the *Verona List of 314. In the 4th century each province was governed by a *Praeses, but the rank was later raised to that of a *Consularis. In 535 *Justinian I abolished the post of *Vicarius of *Dioecesis *Asiana and combined it with that of a *Comes in Phrygia Pacatiana (*NovJust* 8, 2).

Although they contained many small *cities and bishoprics, the two Phrygias were characterized by agricultural and rural settlements. Christianity spread rapidly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and many towns and regions, including the *imperial estates of the Upper *Tembris Valley, may have had a majority of Christian inhabitants before *Constantine I. Many Phrygian Christians had beliefs and practices similar to those of *Jews. They included Montanists (followers of the so-called Phrygian heresy), whose centre was at Pepuza, their 'new Jerusalem', in remote western Phrygia, *Novatianists, and Quartodecimans, who celebrated *Easter on 14 Nisan, the day of the Passover. Phrygia was rich in *cattle, *horses, and *farming products, but disadvantaged by its landlocked location. *Docimium in Phrygia Pacatiana had famous *marble *quarries, which were administered from Synnada. SM

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, index *s.v.* Phrygia.

W. M. Ramsey, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2 vols. (1897–99).

P. Thonemann, ed., *Roman Phrygia* (2013).

phylarch (Gk. 'tribal ruler') Term which by the 4th century AD had become a title in East Roman administrative terminology given to Arabian chieftains (notably of the *Kinda and *Ghassanids) responsible for security and representing imperial interests in inner *Arabia. PAW

R. Hoyland, 'Arab Kings, Arab Tribes', in H. Cotton et al., ed., *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East* (2009), 374–400.

Shahid, *BAFIC*.

physiognomy and gait Late Antiquity inherited from the Roman past, and particularly from the *Second Sophistic, a sense that character could be discerned from a person's physical appearance, voice, and movements. *Plotinus could spot a thief simply from the man's appearance (*Porphyry, *VPlot* 11). *Gregory of *Nazianzus claimed a similar perspicacity; when he and the future *Emperor Julian were fellow students at *Athens, he already (so he claims) considered the young prince untrustworthy because he had shifty *eyes, fidgeted constantly, laughed immoderately, and wheezed and snuffled as he spoke (*Oration* V, 23).

Such judgements were not mere abuse, but were rooted in a specific set of ideas about physiognomy initiated by Aristotle, sustained by a treatise of the 2nd-century *Greek sophist Polemo (which survives, transmitted through *Syriac, only in a 14th-century *Arabic translation), and developed in the 3rd and 4th centuries in an epitome of Polemo by an otherwise unknown Adamantius the Sophist and an anonymous *Latin *Physiognomica*. Both Adamantius and the Latin *Physiognomica* are much concerned with eyes; they would concur, for instance, with Gregory that 'eyes which move quickly show a troubled, suspicious, faithless man' (Adamantius A 7; Latin, *Physiognomica*, 23).

Physiognomy could be integrated with the study of *medicine, and was integral to the practice of *rhetoric—voice training was a normal part of rhetorical education.

Further, physiognomical notions may be detected lying behind literary descriptions of individuals, especially of *emperors. *Constantius II entering *Rome in 357 was, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus, stiff and unbending 'keeping the gaze (*aciem*) of his eyes straight ahead … he did not spit, or wipe or rub his mouth or nose' (XVI, 10, 9–10). *Honorius, by contrast, is praised by *Claudian for his affable appearance when making his consular **adventus* to Rome in 404: 'the young women … wonder without ceasing at his blooming cheeks, his diademed hair, his limbs verdant with the jewelled covering of the consular robe, the strong shoulders …'(*On the Sixth Consulship of Honorius*, 560–4). OPN

S. Swain, ed., *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (2007), including edn. with ET and introd. of Adamantius and the *Physiognomica Latina* by I. Redpath.

Piacenza Pilgrim (*fl. c.*570) Anonymous Latin traveller from Piacenza, *Italy, to the *Holy Land by way of *Cyprus and *Syria. The descriptions of holy places he visited in *Palestine and *Egypt (following the footsteps of one 'Antoninus martyr') include healing springs, hospitable *monasteries, holy women enclosed in caves, exotic fruit, and other sacred souvenirs (*eulogiae*, lit. 'blessings'). He describes drinking from the skull of a *martyr to gain a blessing, reclining upon *couches used by Jesus, handling and *kissing wood from Christ's cross, where small *flasks of oil bubble over when they come in contact with the wood. Holy objects abound: from implements used in Christ's torture, *miracle-producing pieces of string once used to measure finger and palm impressions Christ left in the stone column of his scourging, footprints Christ left on a stone, and a portrait of Christ displayed nearby. This pilgrim is an important witness to the proliferation and portability of *relics from the Holy Land and the multisensory devotions they inspired. GAF

CPG 2330:

ed. P. Geyer CCSL 175 (1965), 127–74, reprinting CSEL 39 (1898), 157–91.

ET J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (²2002), 12–13, 129–51.

G. F. M. Vermeer, *Observations sur le vocabulaire du pélérinage chez Égérie et chez Antonin de Plaisance* (Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva 19, 1965).

G. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 5, ²2010).

Piazza Armerina *Villa in central *Sicily. The peristyle is the centre of the plan, composed of four main areas: (1) a triple-*arched entrance with a court beyond; (2) the living quarters arranged around the peristyle and to the east, on a higher level, a large *apsidal reception hall with an *opus sectile floor opening off the so-called Great Hunt corridor; (3) a large *bath complex; (4) a triapsidal hall and a courtyard of elliptical shape.

There are great halls and several reception rooms, the architectural plan is exceptionally complex, and the rich decoration comprises *marbles, wall paintings, columns, and above all 3,500 sq. m (37,660 sq. feet) of floors with polychrome *mosaics, depicting hunting, dancing girls, and many other scenes. All this has led many scholars to suggest that the Piazza Armerina Villa was imperial property. The discovery of two further peristyle villas in Sicily (*Tellaro and *Patti Marina), and recent research carried out on villas of similar magnificence throughout the Empire, substantiate the increasingly convincing hypothesis that the owner of Piazza Armerina villa was a member of the senatorial *aristocracy.

The villa was built, probably in the first half of the 4th century AD, over a previous building (the so-called Villa Rustica of the 1st–3rd century AD). Recent research suggests that the construction of the triapsidal hall and entrance archway, together with changes in the decoration of walls and floors and the building of buttresses, were carried out in the 4th century, perhaps in the Theodosian age. In Byzantine times it was perhaps turned into a fortified *villa with burial grounds. From the 8th century onwards, there is evidence of a progressive abandonment up to the Arab and Norman periods when settlement expanded north and south of the ancient villa. Recent excavations have revealed a Late Antique bath complex connected to the structures partially excavated in the 1980s in the south area of the courtyard entrance and now interpreted as stores for agricultural products. CS

A. Carandini et al., *Filosofiana: la villa di Piazza Armerina* (1982).

G. V. Gentili, *La villa romana di Piazza Armerina: Palazzo Erculio*, 3 vols. (1999).

C. Sfameni, *Ville residenziali nell'Italia tardo antica* (2006).

P. Pensabene, *Piazza Armerina: Villa del Casale e la Sicilia tra tardo antico ed alto medioevo* (2010).

P. Pensabene, 'Piazza Armerina: studi recenti sulla Villa del Casale: gli interventi della Sapienza-Università di Roma', *RendPontAccRomArch* 83 (2010–11), 141–226.

R. J. A. Wilson, *Piazza Armerina* (1983).

Picenum Suburbicarium *Province in the *Dioecesis Italiae divided from the larger province of *Flaminia et Picenum in the latter half of the 4th century. It is named in the**Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XIX, 5; cf. I, 58; II, 16) as being under the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae, so formed part of *Italia Suburbicaria. Comprising the area along the Adriatic coast between the Esino and Pescara Rivers and east of the province of Valeria, it was governed by a *Consularis, perhaps from Asculum. MMA

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).
R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Picts The barbarian peoples of northern *Britain. The emergence of the Latin ethnonym *Picti*, first attested in a *panegyric of 297/8 and apparently linked to *tattooing, probably reflects a need among Latin writers to begin distinguishing these barbarians from the Romano-British. Aggressive Pictish forces troubled 4th-century Roman Britain, but an apparent slackening of their reach and effectiveness from the 5th century hints at some level of military dependency on the Roman presence in Britain. The 5th and 6th centuries saw Christianity widely established among the Pictish peoples, who apparently comprised two major groupings by the 8th century, northern and southern, under the notional dominion of a single overlord, the *Rex Pictorum*. The Verturiones, a northern people, became dominant during the 7th century, and their kingdom ('Fortriu') appears to have been instrumental in the formation of this Pictish realm. Written records are sparse (e.g. *Bede, *HE* I, 1; III, 4) and so, as yet, is archaeological evidence, so Pictish history remains poorly understood. The distinctive, numerous, and as yet unintelligible 'symbols' attributed to them, found in caves, on sculpture, and on portable objects, give Pictishness an air of mysterious exoticism which can be unhelpful, complemented by the fact that their realm was so comprehensively reformed in the 9th and 10th centuries that hindsight could imagine its having been 'destroyed'. JEF

S. T. Driscoll, J. Geddes, and M. Hall, eds., *Pictish Progress: New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages* (2011).
S. M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots: Early Historic Scotland* (²2004).
J. E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (2009).
I. Henderson and G. Henderson, *The Art of the Picts: Sculpture and Metalwork in Early Medieval Scotland* (2004).
A. Woolf, 'Dún Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts', *SHR* 85/2 (2006), 182–201.
A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789–1070* (2007).

Pietroasa Treasure Discovered in 1837/8 near Pietroasa (mod. Pietroasele, Județul Buzău, Romania), this 4th-century *Gothic treasure (National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest) originally consisted of 22 *gold and gem-encrusted objects, of which only twelve survive. It includes several massive and unusual brooches that mix imperial and barbarian elements as well as a gold platter, ewer, and patera. A theft in 1875 caused damage, including cutting of the *runic *inscription on one neck-ring, which has fuelled continuing debate over its meaning. The treasure has been associated with the *Ostrogoth royal house or, recently, with *Gainas, a Roman general of Gothic descent. MH; SMa

M. Schmauder, *Oberschichtgräber und Verwahrfunde in Südosteuropa im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (2002), 49–56, plates 99–111.
A. Odobescu, *Le Trésor de Pietroasa (Roumanie) (début 5e siècle)*, new edn. by G. Depeyrot (Collection Moneta 75, 2008).
P. Pieper, 'Autopsie und Experimente zur Runeninschrift auf dem Goldreif von Pietroasa', in A. Van Nahl and W. Heizmann, eds., *Runica—Germanica—Mediaevalia* (RGA Ergänzungsbd. 37, 2003), 595–646.
G. Schwarz, 'Der Götterfries auf der spätantiken Goldschale von Pietroasa', *JbAC* 35 (1992), 168–84.
D. Quast, 'Der Schatz der Königin? Völkerwanderungszeitliche Schatzfunde und weibliche Eliten', in D. Quast, ed., *Weibliche Eliten in der Frühgeschichte* (RGZM Tagungen 10, 2011), 121–41.

pilgrimage Travel to sacred places was common in Mediterranean religions. The *Jewish pilgrimage festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles drew large crowds to *Jerusalem until the Temple's destruction in AD 70. (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVII, 149–67, 213–18; Acts 2:5–11). *Oracles and healing centres drew those seeking healing and other interventions by the pagan gods. GAF

S. Coleman and J. Elsner, eds., *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions* (1995), chs. 1 and 2.

pilgrimage, Christian Early Christians maintained many practices familiar from earlier religion, applying them to Christian purposes, seeking blessings as various as healing and holiness.

In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, Christian *bishops sought out biblical places in *Palestine (Melito of *Sardis: *Eusebius, *HE* IV, 26, 14; Alexander of *Cappadocia: *HE* VI, 11, 2). The reign of *Constantine I saw the emergence of a Christian *Holy Land. The *emperor's large-scale building programmes in Palestine resulted in *martyria and *basilicas at the sites of Jesus' Birth, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension. Soon a network of *hostels, churches, and *monasteries developed to serve pilgrims. Monastics played an important role in guiding pilgrims, promoting the cult of *relics, and linking biblical and local legends to specific holy places and objects.

Despite critics of pilgrimage (e.g. *Gregory of *Nyssa, *ep.* 2), a variety of literary and material traces testify to the widespread practice. Writings by and for pilgrims ranged from devotional guidebooks to first-hand travel accounts. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333 presents a schematic record of distances between staging posts and the biblical holy places. The journal of a pilgrim known as *Egeria gives a more elaborate and

personal description of holy places and holy people she visited in the Holy Land, *Syria, and *Egypt between 381 and 384, and also of various *liturgies she witnessed. *Jerome's *letters recount his journeys to holy places in Palestine with the Roman ladies *Paula and Eustochium (*epp.* 46 and 108). The *Piacenza Pilgrim visited the Holy Land in 570. Others are second-hand, such as *Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*, written on *Iona from information given by a shipwrecked Gallic bishop and indicating that Christian pilgrimage survived the *Arab conquest of *Jerusalem (638) and *Egypt (639–42). Yet others, such as the accounts of *Theodosius and *Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*, are more in the nature of guidebooks.

Egypt also drew large numbers of Christian pilgrims seeking to follow the Exodus of Moses and the Israelites through *Sinai and wishing to visit healing shrines and monastic cells associated with Egypt's renowned *martyrs and monks. They included Egeria, *Poemenia, and the author of the **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*. Both *Abu Mina and *Aboukir (Menouthis, once an Isis *temple) became important healing centres associated with wonder-working *relics of their local martyrs, S. *Menas and Ss. *Cyrus and John, respectively. Pilgrims brought back *pilgrimage flasks full of holy oil from Abu Mina, just as they did from the Holy Land. Monastic cells in *Nitria, *Kellis, and *Scetis (Wadi Natrun) also attracted large numbers of Egyptian and foreign pilgrims, many of whom were inspired by what they had heard of the *Desert Fathers.

It was not only the Holy Land and Egypt which attracted Christian pilgrims from the 4th century onwards. Other long-distance destinations included *Rome and *Ephesus, where Egeria visited a shrine of S. John the Evangelist (23, 10) and *Justinian I built a more elaborate one. In the West folk came miles to the shrine of S. *Martin at *Tours. S. *Thecla in *Cilicia was visited by *Gregory of *Nazianzus, by Egeria (23), and by the *Emperor *Zeno, who built her a considerable sanctuary.

Local holy places associated with local martyrs were also swift to emerge. Basil's *Caesarea was ringed with *martyria. There was a martyrium for the *Forty Martyrs at *Sebasteia already in the second half of the 4th century, and another in the *monastery built by the family of S. Basil on their family *estate. At about the same time Egeria visited the famous martyrium of S. Euphemia at *Chalcedon (23, 7). In *Campania *Paulinus of Nola encouraged visitors to the shrine of the martyr S. Felix. The uncle of *Gregory of Tours organized an annual pilgrimage to the church of the martyr S. *Julian at Brioude. The shrines of the martyrs S. *Theodore Tiro at *Euchaïta in *Anatolia and S. Sergius at *Sergiopolis-Rusafa in the Syrian Desert attracted contrasting sets of pilgrims.

*Holy men who had attracted visitors in their lifetime continued to draw them to their shrines even after their deaths. *Qalat Seman, the hilltop on the *Limestone Plateau of *Syria where S. *Symeon the *Stylite had drawn crowds to his pillar, expanded its pilgrim sanctuary with basilicas, a martyrium, a *baptistery, hostels, and a monastery, after his death in 459. An admirer of S. Symeon, keen to emulate the *holy man, was told to go not to the *Holy Land but to *Constantinople 'a second Jerusalem' where he could 'enjoy the martyrs' shrines and the great houses of prayer' (*VDanStyl* 10); in due course he too was visited by pilgrims coming to seek his counsel.

From the 4th century onwards there were holy places, and places associated with biblical events and holy men alive and dead throughout the Christian world. Though Christians continued to undertake long-distance pilgrimages, they could also find holy places closer to home; pilgrimage could be quite a local enterprise, it did not need to be a liminal experience.

GAF; OPN

TEXTS

Itineraria et Varia Geographica, ed. P. Geyer et al. CCSL 175–6 (1965); reprinting P. Geyer et al. CSEL 39 (1898).

ed. A.-J. Festugière (annotated with FT, SubsHag 53, ²1971) *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto.*

ET N. Russell, *Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (CSS 34; 1980).

ed. F. Winkelmann, *Eusebios. Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantins* (GCS Eusebius I/I, ²1992).

ET Averil Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius, Life of Constantine* (1999).

ET J. D. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (³1999).

ET (annotated) J. D. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (²2002).

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Brown, *Cult of the Saints.*

A. Cain *The Greek Historia Monachorum in Aegypto: Monastic Hagiography in the Late Fourth Century* (2016).

Caseau et al., *Mélanges Maraval.*

G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (2000).

D. Frankfurter, ed., *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (1998).

E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire (AD 312–460)* (1982).

P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pélérinages.*

R. A. Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', *JECS* 2 (1994), 257–71.

R. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (1990).

A.-M. Talbot, 'Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts', *DOP* 56 (2002), 153–73.

G. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (²2010).
R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (1992).

pilgrimage, Islamic In addition to the Hajj, or annual pilgrimage to *Mecca, other visits to shrines or graves of Muslim saints and holy figures were known as *ziyara*.

The Hajj became one of the 'five pillars', or fundamental tenets, of *Islam, incumbent on Muslims who are physically and financially able to perform it. Taking place in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja in the Islamic calendar, it is centred on the sanctuary in Mecca, which was also significant in the pre-Islamic period. A number of the rituals included in the Hajj pre-date *Islam, such as the ritual circumambulation of the *Ka'ba—the small building at the centre of the sanctuary. Other rituals commemorate biblical stories and events, such as the casting out of Hagar and Ishmael and the Sacrifice of Abraham. The Ka'ba itself has been rebuilt several times in its history, and houses an ancient Black Stone embedded in a corner of the building, which some pilgrims venerate by touching or rubbing it. While not a formal part of the prescribed Hajj, a trip to *Medina to visit the grave of *Muhammad often takes place at the conclusion of the formal pilgrimage. Shi'ism has long placed emphasis on pilgrimage to the tombs of its Imams, especially the tomb of *Husayn, in Qom.

Other locales were central to *ziyara* in the early Islamic period, including the *Dome of the Rock in *Jerusalem and the Great Mosque of *Damascus. Graves and shrines to mystics, prophets, and holy men and women could also be objects of *ziyara*. Relics formed an important function in medieval Islamic pilgrimage. As well as the Black Stone, the sanctuary in Mecca contained a small shrine dedicated to the Stepping Stone of Abraham, a contact relic. The Great Mosque of Damascus housed remains of S. John the Baptist, which had previously been preserved in the Christian cathedral that had stood on the site. Though occasionally controversial, pilgrimage was a constant in medieval Muslim praxis. NK

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* Ziyara, 524–9 (Meri).
A. Azad, *Sacred Landscape in Medieval Afghanistan* (2014).
A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (1995).
L. Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave* (2007).
M. McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011).

pilgrimage, Zoroastrian In the Sasanian era, among the primary *Zoroastrian pilgrim destinations could be counted the three Great *Fires of Iran (*Ādur Gušnasp, Ādur Farnbāg, and Ādur Burzēn Mihr) and *Kuh-e Khwaja.

Of the Great Fires, only the site of *Takht-e Solayman (Ādur Gušnasp) has been located and excavated and provides our only clear archaeological evidence of pilgrimage facilities at such sites. A royal complex occupied the south of the sanctuary, but the north of the sanctuary provided for pilgrims. Pilgrims entered the walls through an entrance different from that used by the king and then proceeded through a second gate into a courtyard. This led to an arcaded atrium, which gave access to the sanctuary proper through an **ayvan*. The west side of the courtyard preserved traces of mud-brick facilities for pilgrims including hostels and lavatories (Naumann, Huff, and Schnyder, 110–18). Excavation of this area produced *amulets and *gold, *silver, and *bronze *ex voto* votive plaques of the sort which are mentioned in Pahlavi sources and are paralleled by evidence of earlier Achaemenid-era offerings thought to be associated with a sanctuary dedicated to the *Oxus River in *Bactria. Zoroastrian pilgrimage to the *fire temple continued into the early Middle Ages. Medieval sources suggest that the *Sasanian sovereigns performed pilgrimages to the site upon their coronation and gave lavish gifts after victories. MPC

EncIran I/5 *s.v.* ādūr gušnasp, 475–6 (Boyce).
EncIran (2002) *s.v.* Taḵt-e Solaymān (Huff).
F. Grenet, 'Cosa sappiamo dei pellegrinaggi nel mondo iraniano preislamico?', in A. Balbeo and S. Piano, eds., *La bisaccia del pellegrino: fra evocazione e memoria* (2010), 167–82.
R. Naumann, D. Huff, and R. Schnyder, 'Takht-i Suleiman', *ArchAnz* (1975), 109–204.

pilgrimage flasks Small lead or terracotta flasks contained holy oil or water from sacred sites such as saints' shrines or places that commemorate Christ's life. The flasks are stamped on both obverse and reverse with narrative scenes, portraits, symbols, and *inscriptions. The narrative scenes often correlate with **loca sancta* such as the Crucifixion or the Maries at the Tomb with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem, or the Three Magi with the Church of the Nativity, *Bethlehem. *Icon portraits of Christ and saints were also popular, as were symbols such as the *Cross, ornamental *foliage, *animals, or *birds. Inscriptions often mention both the contents of the pilgrimage flask and the saint or Christ, typically requesting blessings for the pilgrim. Christians went on *pilgrimage to shrines of saints and to *loca sancta* out of piety or seeking healing through *miracles. Pilgrims brought the flasks back home, thereby disseminating the *iconography stamped on the flasks. Pilgrimage flasks might be regarded as *relics, used as *votive offerings or buried in tombs. Some have been discovered through archaeology; others survive in church treasuries (e.g. at Monza and *Bobbio). DHV

W. Anderson, 'Asia Minor Ampullae: Late Antique Pilgrim Flasks in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden', *ECA* 2 (2005), 9–17.
W. Anderson, 'An Archaeology of Late Antique Pilgrim Flasks', *AnatSt* 54 (2004), 79–93.

G. Frank, '"Loca Sancta", Souvenirs and the Art of Memory', in Caseau et al., *Mélanges Maraval*, 193–201.
A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)* (1958).
R. G. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (IllByzStud 1, 1990).
A. M. Talbot, 'Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts', *DOP* 56 (2002), 53–174.

Pilgrims' Road The principal land route from *Constantinople to the Levant, across the peninsula of *Anatolia, passing through *Nicomedia, *Nicaea, *Ankara, *Tyana, the *Cilician Gates, *Tarsus, and *Antioch. The modern name 'Pilgrims' Road' derives from the detailed list of the places passed through by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim (333). Although the *road was primarily for the use of the *Cursus Publicus, already in 362 the *Emperor *Julian remarked on the organized hospitality shown to Christian travellers (*ep.* 84, 430b), and S. *Melania the Younger lodged in a series of Christian *hostels on the road (*VMel* 56). The *Life* of S. *Theodore of *Sykeon (whose mother ran a roadside inn) gives a vivid account of life on 'the public highway of the imperial post' at the turn of the 7th century. PJT

French, *Pilgrims' Road.*
E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire* (1982), 50–82.

Pionius of Smyrna, S. Christian *priest, and *martyr under *Decius, arrested with four companions on 23 February (the Terminalia) and executed on 12 March 250. *Eusebius mentions him (*HE* IV, 15, 47; *Jerome, *Chron.* 205c Helm), but mistakes the date. The elaborate *martyr passion (*BHG* 1546) incorporates considerable circumstantial detail which coincides with known conditions at *Smyrna. Pionius' speech explaining his refusal to *sacrifice mentions a visit he had made to *Palestine. His formal interrogation by the *temple warden is recorded, as is his speech of encouragement to fellow Christians visiting him in *prison. Pionius and his fellow prisoners were told that their *Bishop Euctemon had sacrificed, so they were dragged to an *altar to make them do likewise. Eventually the *Proconsul of *Asia arrived, interrogated Pionius under *torture, and sentenced him to be burnt alive in the *city stadium, alongside a *Marcionite priest. Signs of liturgical commemoration are limited to listings in the **Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and the Greek **synaxaria* (Delehaye, *Origines*, 145). OPN

BHG 1546: ed (with comm. and FT) L. Robert, G. Bowersock, and C. P. Jones (1994).
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 74–6, 376–8.

Pippin I (d. 640) A leading member of the *Austrasian *aristocracy and the first of the Pippinids. Pippin married *Itta, and was the father of *Grimoald, Begga, and S. *Gertrude. With *Arnulf of *Metz he was instrumental in inviting *Chlothar II of *Neustria to reunite the Frankish kingdom in 613. When Chlothar established *Dagobert I as King of Austrasia, he became his *Mayor of the Palace, and was famed for his justice and piety, but faced some hostility from his own people when his influence over Dagobert waned in the 630s. After Dagobert's death he allied with Kunibert, *Bishop of *Cologne, to arrange a division of Dagobert's treasure between *Sigibert III and *Clovis II. JTP

PLRE IIIA, Pippinus.
LexMA 6, 2167 'Pippin I' (U. Nonn).

Pippin II *Mayor of the Palace in *Austrasia, 680–714. A grandson of *Pippin I and *Arnulf of *Metz, Pippin dominated Austrasia after the breakdown of *Dagobert II's regime in 679, and *Neustria after his defeat of *Theuderic III and *Berchar at *Tertry in 687. His military victories also included the conquest of *Frisia. He supported the missionary activities of S. *Willibrord, whose *Monastery of *Echternach he took under his protection. Drogo, *Dux of *Champagne, his son by *Plectrude, predeceased him in 708, leaving *Charles Martel, his illegitimate son, to fight to succeed him. JTP

LexMA 6, 2167–8 'Pippin II' (U. Nonn).
R. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1989).

Pippin III (d. 768) *Mayor of the Palace (741–51), King of the *Franks (751–68). Pippin was the first Carolingian King and the father of Charlemagne. He became Mayor on the death of his father *Charles Martel, initially alongside his brother *Carloman, although their half-brother Grifo fought them for power. He led military campaigns in *Aquitaine, Saxony, and *Bavaria, and oversaw some of the first church *councils in a generation in collaboration with S. *Boniface. Little changed with Carloman's retirement in 745, until in 749 Pippin obtained Pope *Zacharias' support to depose King *Childeric III and rule in his stead, which he did from 751. In 754 he received Pope Stephen II on the first papal visit north of the Alps. This led to closer Franco-papal ties, the conferment of the title **patricius*, and an invasion of *Lombard territory. Thereafter, Pippin's reign was dominated by protracted struggles with Waifer, *Dux of *Aquitaine, and *Tassilo, Dux of Bavaria. He died of oedema at *S. Denis after defeating Waifer. JTP

LexMA 6, 2168–70 'Pippin III' (J. Fleckenstein).
R. Collins, 'Pippin III as Mayor of the Palace: The Evidence', in M. Becher and J. Jarnut, *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751* (2004), 75–91.
P. Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe* (1993), 65–84.

pirates and piracy Seaborne plundering by armed groups acting separately from state initiative and naval forces underwent a significant change in Late Antiquity. Having been essentially a domestic activity, within the 'Roman sea' of the Mediterranean it came to cut across state boundaries and lines of interest, while piratical tactics also became part of military conflict between states.

The 3rd century is probably the period when pirates were most prevalent. Piracy sometimes originated outside the Empire and penetrated the Mediterranean, such as the barbarian raids which *Zosimus describes, in a somewhat confused narrative, as having occurred under *Valerian (I, 35) and *Gallienus (I, 43). The *Saxon Shore system was intended to prevent raiders from across the North Sea attacking *Britain and northern *Gaul; *Carausius was sent to Britain by *Diocletian and *Maximian to stave off such attacks, but according to the surviving accounts kept their booty for himself (*Eutropius, IX, 21; Aurelius *Victor, 39, 15); the forces which *Allectus, his successor as *usurper, took over from him were defeated only with difficulty because they were able to use the defences designed to save the coasts from pirate attack to protect themselves against the imperial navy. In the Red Sea, *Nubian and *Arabian pirates attacked the *India *trade.

In the Mediterranean itself, piratical tactics came to be used as an element of *naval warfare. In the 5th century the *Vandals from their bases in North *Africa and *Sardinia were able to mount raids on coastal cities, such as that on *Nicopolis of *Epirus in 474, and the Eastern Roman Empire also sent probing raids, both to ascertain whether an overseas invasion would be feasible, and possibly to garner resources from the enemy.

While pirates would use whatever *ships came to hand, the essential features of a pirate ship were sufficient space for cargo, a shallow enough draught to sail close to shore (or up rivers), and nimbleness to avoid pursuit. As such, they probably tended to resemble something between warships and merchant ships. The best pirate galleys, like the **lemboi* and **liburnae*, were models for the Roman navy. Pirates (and naval ships hunting pirates) would paint their hulls and sails blue as camouflage (cf. *Vegetius, 37); those called *kamarai* had the added advantage of being difficult to see.

While details of piratical raids may be difficult to find in Late Antique historical sources, piracy featured heavily in literature of the period. Pirates were staple antagonists in Greek novels, and various *saints' lives, including that of S. *Patrick, feature kidnapping by pirates. It is unclear whether such literary tropes derive from an increase in real piracy in Late Antiquity, from increased awareness of it by the literate, or from changes in literary preoccupations. The fact that S. Albinus, Bishop of Angers (d. 550), was often invoked to guard against pirates, suggests that such protection continued to be necessary. ALB

P. De Souza, *Piracy in the Greco-Roman World* (1999).
M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, A.D. 300–1450* (1985).
H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (1924).

Pirdop (Bulgaria) Site consisting of a 5th/6th-century Christian *basilica within a fortified enclosure. Two forts and remains of a settlement were nearby. ER

TIB 6: *Thrakien* (1991), 404–5.
Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 140, 233.
M. Wendel, *Karasura* III (2005), 78–9.

Pirenne Thesis Theory first proposed in 1916 by the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne (1862–1935) that it was the rise of *Islam in the 7th century which caused the disjuncture between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Though developed throughout Pirenne's career, the core text for the Pirenne Thesis is the posthumously published *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1937, in English translation 1938). The Pirenne Thesis posits a concept of Antiquity centred on long-distance *trade, urbanism, and Mediterranean unity. When the rise of Islam divided the Mediterranean, Western Europe turned increasingly to the cultural resources of the north and, without revenue from trade, to land grants given to underpin elite networks of *patronage. Consequently, Pirenne argued, Charlemagne and Western medieval *land tenure systems resulted directly from *Muhammad. Pirenne's work pre-dated the expansion of medieval archaeology, which has formed the basis for significant challenges to his thesis. As a focal point of critique and modification, the 'Pirenne Thesis' has become central to debates about the chronology and causation of economic change in Late Antiquity. RRD

H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, tr. B. Miall (1939).
P. Brown, 'Mohammed and Charlemagne by Henri Pirenne', *Daedalus* 103 (1974), 25–33.
A. Ehrenkreutz, 'Another Orientalist's Remarks Concerning the Pirenne Thesis', *JESHO* 15 (1972), 90–104.
R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe* (1983).
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, ch. 11.

Pirmin (d. 755) Missionary of disputed origin, who started his independent missionary career as a protégé of *Charles Martel. He operated in the regions of Allamania, *Raetia, and *Alsace (as far north as *Metz), and founded the *monasteries of Reichenau (724), Murbach (728), and Hornbach (742). His authorship of the *Dicta Pirmini*, or *Scarapsus*, a work of Christian instruction, is uncertain. YH; STL

Pirmin, *Scarapsus*, ed. E. Hauswald, in MGH, QQ zur Geistesgesch. 25 (2010).
Vita (*BHL* 6855), ed. O. Holder-Egger in MGH SS 15 (1887), 21–31.
A. Angenedt, *Monachi Peregrini. Studien zur Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters* (1974).
A. Angenedt, 'Pirmin und Bonifatius. Ihr Verhältnis zu Mönchtum, Bischofsamt und Adel', in A. Borst, ed., *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau* (1974), 251–304.
J. Semmler, 'Pirminius', *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 87 (1989), 91–113.
O. M. Phelan, 'Catechising the Wild: The Continuity and Innovation of Missionary Catechesis under the Carolingians', *JEH* 61 (2010), 455–74.

Pisa Roman *colonia* planted in the late Republic to exploit river and coastal *trade. Excavated *ship remains from the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD at S. Rossore give information on traders, and *landscape studies have charted the evolving coastal morphology. *Inscriptions are the principal source of information about Roman investment in the *city itself, still little traced through detailed archaeology.

There was a *bishop by AD 313. The *senator *Rutilius Namatianus' poetic account of his journey up the west coast of *Italy in the autumn of 417 remarks on Pisa's congested *harbour; he observed also *statues of city benefactors in the forum (lines 530–40). Pisa was probably an important port under the Byzantines. From *c.* 600 to 625 a Lombard elite presence is apparent from weapon tombs recorded from the Piazza del Duomo.

NJC

S. Bruni, ed., *Pisa. Piazza Dante: uno spaccato della storia pisana. La campagna di scavo 1991* (1993).
A. Alberti and M. Baldassari, 'Per la storia dell'insediamento longobardo a Pisa: nuovi materiali dall'area cimiteriale di piazza del Duomo', *Archeologia Medievale* 26 (1999) 369–76.
S. Bruni, ed., *Le navi antiche di Pisa ad un anno dall'inizio delle ricerche* (2000).
A. Camilli and E. Setari, eds., *Ancient Shipwrecks of Pisa: A Guide* (2005).

Pisentius of Coptos (568–632) Monk who in 598 became *Bishop of *Coptos, an important town in Upper *Egypt, about 30 km (*c.*18 miles) north of *Thebes (mod. Luxor) at the end of the road from the Red Sea into the *Nile Valley. During the *Persian invasion of 619 he fled before the Persians captured Coptos to the hills above *Jeme (a town of some importance that had grown up on the site of the 20th-dynasty mortuary temple of Ramesses III). Pisentius arranged for water to be carried there in large pots, which were subsequently replenished miraculously. There is a biographical text of an encomiastic character, composed by a companion called John the Elder, in *Coptic (two texts) and *Arabic (three texts, one with a total of 56 *miracles) and *letters in Coptic. Pisentius is described in his *Life* as the 'thirteenth apostle' and as a 'spiritual merchant' and it is clear from the *Life* and letters that he took an active pastoral role in his local community, helping individuals in distress, dealing with local suppliers, and even brokering matrimonial harmony in the community. Feast day 13 Epip. AAl

CoptEnc vol. 6 *s.n.* Pisentius, cols. 1978a–1978b (R.-G. Coquin).
BHO 920 (*s.n.* Pesunthius): Coptic *Life of Pisentius* by John the Elder, ed. (with ET) in E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (1913), 75–127.
R. Dekker, 'Reconstructing and Re-editing the Archive of Bishop Pesynthios of Koptos/Keft (7th Century)', in M. Horn, C. van den Hoven, et al. eds., *Current Research in Egyptology 2010* (2011), 33–41.

Pisidia Mountainous region of south *Anatolia north of *Pamphylia, west of *Isauria, east of *Lycia, and south of *Phrygia and *Galatia. Until the late 3rd century, the southern part was administered as part of *Lycia et Pamphylia, the northern part by *Galatia. The *Verona List (255 verso, 7) includes Pisidia in the *Dioecesis *Asiana, as does the **Notitia Dignitatum*, which gives the *governor's title as *Praeses (*or.* I, 96; II, 34; XXIV, 17). Although *Hierocles in the 6th century records 26 *cities, most were small mountain communities. The most important were *Antioch of Pisidia (the provincial metropolis and a Roman *colonia*), Selge, Termessus, *Sagalassos, and *Cremna. Despite their reputation for banditry, the valleys of Pisidia, watered by run-off from the Taurus, were fertile and by Late Antiquity the cities were thoroughly Hellenized.

The *Emperor *Probus laid siege to Cremna in AD 278, in a campaign against the *brigand Lydius. The provincial *governor Valerius Diogenes (308/11–311/13) improved the city of *Antioch of Pisidia, as well as persecuting the Christians of the province, whose presence is confirmed by the *inscription found at Colbasa recording the persecuting *rescript of Maximinus Daza of 312.

The reputation for banditry persisted, and by the time of *Leo I special military commands had been created in Pisidia, and also in *Pamphylia and *Lycaonia, presumably to contain it (*CJust* XII, 59, 10, 5 of 471/2). Under *Justinian I the post of the officer commanding these forces was combined with that of the civil *governor (*NovJust* 24 of AD 535). In 553 the people of Pisidia complained again about brigands, and Justinian reformed the system for their protection (*NovJust* 145).

The poet *George of Pisidia wrote sophisticated *panegyrics of the victories of *Heraclius. From the

mid-7th century onwards, Pisidia was persistently threatened by *Arab forces, from which it was protected by the *Anatolic and *Cibyrrhaeotic *Themes, who were, however, unable to prevent Al-Abbas b. al-Walid sacking Antioch of Pisidia comprehensively in 713. HE; OPN

TIB 7 Phrygien und Pisidien (1990).
H. Brandt, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidies im Altertum, Asia Minor Studien 7* (1992).
M. Christol and Th. Drew-Bear, 'Antioche de Pisidie capitale provinciale et l'œuvre de M. Valerius Diogenes', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 39–71.
G. Davies, 'Cremna in Pisidia: A Re-appraisal of the Siege Works', *AnatSt* 50 (2000), 151–8.
S. Mitchell, 'Maximinus and the Christians in A.D. 312: A New Latin Inscription', *JRS* 78 (1988), 105–24.
S. Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia: An Ancient City in Peace and in War* (1995).
S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and its Monuments* (1998).
T. H. Robinson, 'The Decline of Urban Settlement in Pisidia: From City to Village?', in Kr. Demoen, ed., *The Greek City from Antiquity to Present: Historical Reality, Ideological Construction, Literary Representation* (2001), 87–100.

Pispir (Dayr al-Maymūn) East of the *Nile, about 75 km (*c.*45 miles) south of Memphis, famous as the Outer Mountain, the site of a monastic settlement of S. *Antony the Great.

CoptEncyc vol. 3 *s.n.* Pharan, cols. 838a–839b (R.-G. Coquin and M. Martin).
Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 2, 742–8.

Pistis Sophia (Gk. Faith-Wisdom) Conventional title of a Gnostic text, also called *The Book of the Saviour*, surviving in *Coptic in a single parchment manuscript, the Codex Askewianus (London, BL Add. 5114), one of the few such documents known to scholars before the *Nag Hammadi discoveries. The manuscript and the text probably date from the 4th century. Its four books consist principally of a *dialogue, conducted on the Mount of Olives eleven years after the Resurrection, between Jesus and his disciples, who by this time are prepared to learn the higher mysteries. These involve the fall, repentance, and restoration of the spiritual figure of Pistis Sophia, all of which is presented in terms of an arcane *cosmology substantially based on earlier *Gnostic conceptions, while also adducing the Psalms and the *Odes of Solomon. OPN

ABD 5 *s.v.* Pistis Sophia, 375 (P. Perkins).
New Pauly s.v. Pistis Sophia (H.-M. Schenke).
ed. C. Schmidt, with ET and notes by V. MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* (Nag Hammadi Studies, Coptic-Gnostic Library 9, 1978).
ed. H.-M. Schenke, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, vol. 1: *Die Pistis Sophia. Die beiden Bücher des Jeû; Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk* (GCS 45, ^{4}1981).
ET J. M. Robinson and R. Smith, eds., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (4th rev. edn., 1996).

Pitiakhsh (Pahl. *Bitaxsh*, Gk. *Pitiaxes*) Title of the Marcher-Lords of Late Antique *Armenia and *Iberia. In Iberia, the Pitiakhsh (Pitiaxsh) was the ruler of Gugareti. This office is also attested in *Mtskheta, where it must have stood for 'general in chief'. NA

N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk)* (1989).

Pityus Northern town of *Lazica (medieval Bichvinta, mod. Pitsunda). It was attacked by the Scythian *Borani in AD 250 (*Zosimus, I, 31), but remained integral to Roman dispositions on the *Black Sea. By the time of *Justinian I, Pityus was more a fort than a *city (*NovJust* 28, cf. *Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 4, 4). Three superimposed churches have been excavated, dating from the 4th to the early 6th century. The second church had *mosaic floors with a Christogram, and other Christian symbols. Some civic buildings of the 3rd–5th centuries also had mosaic floors depicting tritons, an *elephant, and geometric patterns. Stratophilus, *Bishop of Pityus, attended the *Council of *Nicaea in AD 325. *John Chrysostom died on his way to *exile in Pityus (*Theodoret, *HE* V, 34). MO

A. Apakidze, *Didi pitiunti: ark'eologiuri gat'xrebi Bičvintaši* (Great Pityus), 3 vols. (1975, 1977, 1978).
M. Odisheli, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Mosaike in Georgien* (1995), 31–60.

piyyut *See* HYMNS, JEWISH.

place names, British and English Historians have long appreciated the potential of place names for *landscape and social history, since in their earliest forms they encompass aspects of past social life and individual action. The pioneering work of Margaret Gelling showed how early medieval perceptions of landscape were captured in names associated with topographical features. In the British Isles many place names have origins in the early Middle Ages, for example in *Germanic languages like Old English and Old Norse, or Celtic languages such as Gaelic, *Welsh, and Cornish. Although landscape historians have used place names keenly to illustrate historical conditions, there are potential pitfalls. For example, some place names relate to tenurial or legal status at particular times, but it is easy to create anachronistic interpretations because the chronological definition of names is generally poor. Similar difficulties can apply when place names are

used to map changing *settlement patterns: for example, scholars once accepted simple correlations between place names in a given language and the settlement of invaders speaking it, though now they realize that the adoption of new place names is governed by complex cultural interactions. SCT

M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (1984).
S. Taylor, *The Uses of Place-Names* (1998).
Journal of the English Place-Name Society (1969–)

Placidia Daughter of *Valentinian III and *Eudoxia, born 439/40 and named after Galla *Placidia, her father's mother. She married the *senator *Olybrius (*Augustus briefly in 472), probably in 454/5. After her father was murdered in 455, the *Vandals carried her off, with her mother Eudoxia and sister *Eudocia, to *Africa; her release (foretold to her husband by S. *Daniel the Stylite) took her *c.*461 to *Constantinople, where her daughter, *Anicia Juliana, was born. She was still there in 478. OPN

PLRE II, Placidia 1.

Placidia, Galla *See* GALLA PLACIDIA, AELIA.

***placitum* (plur. *placita*)** Term for a meeting or formal *court hearing held to settle disputes in *Francia and *Italy, and for the records of the outcome of such hearings. Extant *placita* documents, some of them originals, from the mid-7th century onwards show the importance of correct procedure in court hearings, typically held before judicial tribunals rather than before judges. *Placita* could take place at local level or in the *palace. PJF

P. Fouracre, '"Placita" and the Settlement of Disputes in Later Merovingian Francia', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in the Early Middle Ages* (1986), 23–43.

Pla de Nadal (Riba-roja del Túria) Residential *villa situated in the rural *territorium* of the Roman *city of Valentia (mod. Valencia), in eastern *Spain. Of the excavated archaeological remains all that is preserved is the central structure, which opens onto a front courtyard with projecting angle towers and another courtyard at the rear. It was built at the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th century and continued to be used into the 8th century.

Much decorative *sculpture has been found, including a circular stone fragment bearing a *monogram which may be read as *Teudemir, perhaps indicating that the proprietor was the *Visigothic **comes* who made a pact with the *Arabs at the beginning of the 8th century (713). The peculiarities of Pla de Nadal are the fact that it appears to be a very late example of a model characteristic of the 4th century and (despite the fragmentary character of the plan) its exceptional state of preservation. GR

E. Juan and I. Pastor, 'Los visigodos en Valencia. Pla de Nadal: ¿Una villa aúlica?', *Boletín de Arqueología Medieval* 3 (1989), 137–79.
A. Ribera, *Pla de Nadal (Riba-Roja del Turia): El Palacio de Tevdinir* (2015).

plague *See* EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

Plague, Decian (Plague of Cyprian) Conventional name given to an *epidemic that broke out in *Egypt around 251. The disease spread to *Rome in the same year, killing the *Emperor Hostilianus, son of the Emperor *Decius. In the following year it reached *Carthage; the same disease may be linked to an outbreak in *Neocaesarea in *Anatolia around 256 and to further outbreaks in *Syria (259), in *Italy, *Greece, and *Africa (262), and finally in 270 at *Sirmium (during which the Emperor *Claudius Gothicus died). The name of the epidemic derives either from the ruling emperor at the time of its first outbreak (Decius, 249–51) or *Cyprian, *Bishop of Carthage (*c.*248–58), whose writings, especially his *On Mortality*, are the main sources concerning this epidemic. Cyprian writes that *pagan populations treated the Christians as responsible for the outbreak of the disease. Some modern scholars identify the disease as measles, but the evidence is too limited to allow a secure retrospective diagnosis. DSt

Cyprianus, *De Mortalitate*, ed. M. Simonetti and C. Moreschini (CCSL 3A, 1976).
J. Drinkwater, 'Maximinus to Diocletian and the "Crisis"', in *CAH* XII (2005), 28–66.

Plague, Justinianic (Early Medieval Pandemic) Conventional name given to a series of outbreaks of bubonic plague that began in 541 and returned in some eighteen waves (approximately one every twelve years) until 750. We are best informed about the first outbreak (541–4 in the Mediterranean and up to 549 in northern Europe and *Yemen) as well as the last one (743/4–50). A variety of sources, such as *Procopius, *Evagrius, *John of *Ephesus, *Gregory of *Tours, *Paul the *Deacon, and *Theophanes, furnish ample evidence for the various outbreaks.

The disease was disseminated over Europe and the Near East, but the Mediterranean areas were hit most often and more severely. The symptoms recorded by the sources leave no doubt as to its identification with true plague. More recently, attempts have been made to identify the disease in the laboratory, based on human remains dated to the period, but both methods and results are still controversial. The disease is termed generically a pestilence in *Greek and *Latin texts (*loimos, plaga*), while only later *Arabic sources adopted a specific name exclusively for it (*ta'un*). The majority of

the sources reflect a perception of the plague as a divine chastisement brought about by human transgression.

The most important aspect of the pandemic is the magnitude of the mortality it caused and its effects on the political and economic history of the period. To arrive at even approximate numbers is impossible for Late Antiquity, but we may assume that large *cities such as *Constantinople suffered greatly: it is postulated that the city lost around 20 per cent of its *population during the first outbreak there in 542. Although the demographic impact of the plague was considerable, it would be wrong to ascribe to it alone a transformative effect on the history of the period. The plague disappeared suddenly in 750; no plausible reason has been put forward to explain it. DSt

P. Horden, 'Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian', in *Cambridge Companion Justinian*, 134–60.

L. K. Little, ed., *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* (2007).

D. Ch. Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics* (2004).

M. Meier, 'The "Justinianic Plague": The Economic Consequences of the Pandemic in the Eastern Roman Empire and its Cultural and Religious Effects', *EME* 24/3 (2016), 267–92.

plebs Term generally used of the urban populace. The *plebs* formally included only the lower orders of the *populus*, enjoying such civic rights and privileges as local food doles. As a politically organized group the *plebs* could vote honours and co-opt *patrons. CARM

Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, esp. 78–89.

R. J. Rowland, 'The "Very Poor" and the Grain Dole at Rome and Constantinople', *ZPE* 21 (1976), 69–72.

Plectrude Wife of *Pippin II. She led the Pippinid family after *Pippin's death in 714, imprisoning her stepson *Charles Martel. After his escape she was forced to hand over the family's treasure to Charles and was driven from power in 717. PJF

LexMA 7, 19 'Plectrud' (U. Nonn).

Fouracre, *Charles Martel*.

Pliny the Elder in Late Antiquity The *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny (AD 23/4–79) was an important source for geographical knowledge, natural history, and literary authority in Late Antiquity. Solinus (*fl. c.*200; *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*) contributed significantly to its transmission. *Symmachus sent a copy to *Ausonius (*ep.* 1, 24). Even after *Orosius became the principal source of geographical knowledge, *Martianus Capella (Book 6), *Isidore of Seville (*Laus Spaniae*), and *Bede (*HE* I, 1) continued to rely on Pliny for *geography. Similarly, the *Natural History* continued to influence the understanding of nature (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XII, 2, 11/20/28; XII, 4, 43; XII, 6, 45) and *astronomy (Bede, *De Rerum Natura*, 15, 16, 18). Exegetical literature also drew upon the *Historia Naturalis* (*Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 28, 118, 148; Bede, *Nomina Regionum*). Pliny's grammatical treatises were known into the 6th century (*Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum Praefatio*). MSB

N. Lozovsky, *'The Earth is our Book': Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca.400–1000* (2000).

A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (2005).

Pliska (Bulgaria) Ruling centre of the *Bulgar *khagans. The view that the site dates from Late Antiquity is contested. Finds include Late Roman *spolia, but no settlements earlier than the 9th century. ER

A. Aladzhov, 'The Byzantine Empire and the Establishment of the Early Medieval City in Bulgaria', in F. Daim and J. Drauschke, eds., *Byzanz. Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, vol. 3 (2011), 113–58.

Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 149–50; 174–8, reviewed by J. Crow in *JRA* 25 (2012), 972–3.

Henning, *Post-Roman Towns*, 2.

R. Rashev, *Българската езическа култура VII–IX век* (2008).

Plotinus (AD 205–70) *Philosopher, regarded as the founder of *Neoplatonism. Plotinus was born in *Egypt, possibly at *Lycopolis (mod. Assiut). What we know about his life and philosophy comes to us mainly through *Porphyry, his pupil and biographer. Plotinus was probably a Greek, or at least from a Hellenized Egyptian family, though his name is Roman. His language was *Greek. From Porphyry's biography (*VPlot*) we know that Plotinus, at the age of 27, felt the impulse to study philosophy. He went to *Alexandria, where he studied under Ammonius Saccas, which made him eager to gain knowledge of Persian and Indian philosophy. As a result he joined the campaign of the Roman *Emperor *Gordian III against the Persians in 242. When this ended in military failure, Plotinus returned to *Antioch before settling in *Rome at the age of 40, where he set up a *school. In this milieu he became acquainted not only with fellow philosophers, but also with *senators and men of influence in the political world at Rome, and if we are to believe Porphyry, he became friends with the Emperor *Gallienus and his wife Salonina. Towards the end of his life and in poor health, Plotinus left the city for *Campania, where he died aged 66. His final words are reported as: 'Try to bring back the god in us to the divine in the all' (*VPlot* 2, 26–7).

Works

Plotinus' writings were given the title the *Enneads* (nines), as a result of Porphyry's collection and division

of the material into six books of nine treatises each. This division is artificial in that it divides some treatises and does not follow the chronology of the writings but rather attempts to group the treatises in terms of their content, directing the reader sequentially from concerns relating to the human being, the compound of body and soul, to the highest principles. In general *Ennead* I treats of ethical matters, *Enneads* II and III of physics and *cosmology, *Ennead* IV of the soul, *Ennead* V of Intellect and the Intelligible World, while *Ennead* VI considers the highest principle of all, the One. Initially Plotinus was reluctant to divulge any of Ammonius Saccas' teachings and only did so after other former pupils had begun to pass them on. Even then, at first Plotinus committed nothing to writing. Porphyry suggests that Plotinus disliked writing and that the treatises, to some extent, reflect the period of his life in which they were written. Most of those from his middle period show Plotinus at his height; the final nine treatises reflect his failing power, noticeable especially in the last four (*VPlot* 6, 26–37).

Doctrine

Plotinus saw himself essentially as a Platonist. The term Neoplatonist was coined at a much later stage. It is clear, though, that Plotinus did not limit himself to a literal reading of Plato's *dialogues, but felt free to interpret their content. Plotinus was as much interested in the spirit of what Plato said as he was in the plain content of the dialogues. In addition, Plotinus' *Enneads* contain much more than Platonism; Porphyry admits that the *Enneads* are full of hidden Stoic and Peripatetic (Aristotelian) doctrines. In particular he notes that Aristotle's *Metaphysics* is concentrated in them (*VPlot* 14, 5–8). Plotinus felt free to borrow from other schools, exploiting what he found useful for his own philosophical construction, while at the same time criticizing them for what he considered flaws in their philosophical arguments and positions.

In terms of metaphysics Plotinus' ontology consists of a triad of principles. He was accused of plagiarizing this descending triad of divine powers from *Numenius, a *Middle Platonist of profoundly Pythagorean views (*VPlot* 17, 1–6). At the top, figuratively speaking, of Plotinus' metaphysical hierarchy is the One. It is transcendent, yet as absolute perfection its nature is to overflow and as such it becomes the source of everything else, without being diminished in any way. This overflow results in the second principle, Intellect (*Nous*). Intellect is the One in multiplicity. This is the world of real being. Here exist the archetypes of all that we have in our world of sense perception. The emanation of Intellect creates the third principle, World Soul. This is the source of individual souls. World Soul is Intellect in an inferior form. World Soul also produces, but now at an ontological level so inferior that its products are located in Space and Time. This is the world of Nature, our sense-world, home to individual souls. Nature, too, produces, but this is now the One in its weakest manifestation, and Nature produces only Matter, the last and weakest emanation of the One. Matter can produce nothing else; is in fact nothing, non-existence, and, as such, Matter is sometimes described as evil, the furthest point from the One. Deluded about what is truly real, individual souls choose to inhabit the world of Nature instead of the Intelligible World. However, a part of our soul never leaves the intelligible realm, even if a part of it also stretches to the sense-world. With philosophical training we may become conscious again on the level of Intellect. Indeed, it is possible to raise ourselves beyond Intellect to unification with the One, achieving ecstasy in Plotinian terms (*Enn*. VI, 9). Porphyry claims that Plotinus was actually accorded such a union on four occasions during the time that they were together, and Porphyry himself experienced it once (*VPlot* 23, 16–18). This non-Christian metaphysic was tremendously influential in the development of Christian philosophy and in articulating the whole notion of salvation.

KTMcG

PLRE I, Plotinus.
ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, *editio maior*, 3 vols. (1951–73), *editio minor* (OCT 1964–82).
ed. (with ET) A. H. Armstrong, 6 vols. (LCL 440–45, 1966–88).
ed. (with FT) E. Bréhier (1924–38).
ed. R. Harder (1930–7), rev. edn. with Gk. text and comm. by R. Beutler and W. Theiler (1956–67).
ET S. MacKenna and B. S. Page ([4]1969; abridged Penguin edn. with introd. by J. M. Dillon, 1991).
H. J. Blumenthal, *Plotinus' Psychology* (1971).
E. Emilsson, *Plotinus on Sense-Perception* (1988).
L. P. Gerson, *Plotinus* (1994).
L. P. Gerson, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Plotinus* (1996).
P. Hadot, *Plotin, ou la simplicitié du regard* (1963, [3]1989), ET by M. Chase, *Plotinus or the Simplicity of the Gaze* (1993).
G. P. O'Daly, *Plotinus' Philosophy of the Self* (1973).
D. O'Meara, *Plotinus: An Introduction to the Enneads* (1993).
J. M. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality* (1967).
J. Trouillard, *La Procession plotinienne* and *La Purification plotinienne*, 2 vols. (1955).

plough Large-scale arable farming, common on *estates and in peasant communities, was made possible by ploughs. Various types of ard—the scratch-plough that cut into the soil but did not turn it over nor break clods without multiple passes—were typical. The main components of the plough are the plough beam, sharebeam, share, and stilt. By the Roman era, the coulter (a heavy iron knife set vertically into the beam ahead of

the ploughshare) cut the soil ahead of the share. The ploughshare was often tilted to help turn the earth and sometimes had metal flanges to spread the plough soil over the seed. Mouldboards, which turned over the earth, are known from northern Europe and Roman *Gaul and *Britain. By the 4th century wheeled ploughs, presumably also heavier and able to till wetter and clay-based soils, were known in the Po Valley (*Servius, *Commentary on the Aeneid*, II, 37). MD

W. Manning, 'The Plough in Roman Britain', *JRS* 54 (1964) 54–65.

Plutarch of Athens (*c.*350–432) *Philosopher and son of the *Neoplatonist Nestorius (and possibly the grandson of a teacher named Nestorius as well). He was instrumental in institutionalizing in *Athens Platonism influenced by *Iamblichus, and *c.* AD 400 founded a *school there that would endure until 529. The school may have taught *grammar and *rhetoric in addition to philosophy, but higher-level instruction centred upon the Platonic curriculum, including texts like the **Chaldean Oracles*. Plutarch's teaching attracted students from all around the eastern Mediterranean and his success prompted *Synesius to snide observations about 'Plutarchan sophists' who attract students with Hymettan *honey instead of learning (*ep.* 136). Among Plutarch's students were *Syrianus, Hierocles of *Alexandria (who wrote a surviving commentary on *Pythagorean texts), *Proclus, and his own daughter Asclepigenia. He composed commentaries on Plato's *Gorgias, Phaedo*, and *Parmenides*, and Aristotle's *Categories*, all now lost. EW

Watts, *City and School*, 87–100.
É. Évrard, *L'Antiquité Classique* 29 (1960), 108–33.
D. Taormina, *Plutarco di Atene* (1989).

Poema Ultimum Anti-pagan poem in 255 hexameters addressed to one Antonius, and dating from 384/436. It survives in a 9th-century manuscript (Ambrosiana C 74 sup.) and a 10th-century manuscript (Monacensis Latin. 6412) containing works by various Christian *Latin poets including *Paulinus of *Nola (to whom it has been attributed). The author claims to have investigated all religions before finding a safe haven with the 'sure and single God' of Christianity; his criticisms cover both Roman public *paganism and *Mithraism and the cult of *Isis. The *Poema Ultimum* is echoed in an *epitaph of 389 (*ICUR* 13355: Maximilla) and an undatable *inscription (*ICUR* 11435), both from *Rome. OPN

CPL 206:
ed. Guilelmus Hartel (CSEL 30/2; 1894), 329–38 (as Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen*, 32).
ed. (with IT and comm.) M. Corsano and R. Palla (2003).
ET: B. Croke and J. Harries, *Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Rome* (1982), 85–9.
Review: J. den Boeft, *VigChrist* 58 (2004) 462–67.

Poemenia (*fl.* 385/95) Wealthy visitor to *Egypt's monks, in particular *John of *Lycopolis (*Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 35), and the *Holy Land; perhaps related to *Theodosius I. She built the Church of the Ascension atop the Mount of Olives at *Jerusalem (*John Rufus, *VPetrIber* 35). A tantalizing, but unprovable, hypothesis—often treated as fact—identifies her with an ostentatious pilgrim referred to caustically by *Jerome (*ep.* 54.13). MHW

PLRE II, Poemenia.
P. Devos, 'La "Servante de Dieu" Poemenia d'après Pallade, la tradition copte et Jean Rufus', *AnBoll* 87 (1969), 189–212.
Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*.

Poetovio (mod. Ptuj, Slovenia, formerly Pettau) *City on the border between *Noricum and *Pannonia Inferior (*Bordeaux Pilgrim, 561, 4–5), where the north–south *Amber Road from *Carnuntum crosses the River Drava and meets the west–east *road between *Aquileia in *Italy and *Sirmium on the *Via Militaris. It was an important military base and in the High Empire the headquarters of the internal customs service for the *Balkans, many of whose officials were devoted to *Mithraism. It manufactured *pottery, *bricks, and woollens. A 4th-century *bishop, *Victorinus, a prolific writer, died as a *martyr. The *usurpers *Magnentius, in 352, and *Magnus Maximus in 388, were both defeated at Poetovio. It was the base from which *Aëtius sent an embassy to *Attila in 449 (*Priscus fr. 11, 2), but was overrun by 579 by the westward expansion of *Avars and *Slavs. IDS; OPN

TIR L 33 (1961), 58.

poetry and poets, Arabic In pre- and early Islamic Arabic culture, oral poetry was the pre-eminent form of literary expression. It may have had distant ritual origins: inspiration by *jinn* is mentioned in passing, but extant pre-Islamic poetry is mostly devoid of assertions of spiritual belief or descriptions of pagan practice. The poetry is primarily nomadic, and its most famous representatives purportedly competed at market fairs such as 'Ukaz near *Mecca.

Poets were not an isolated social class, however, and most poets were also warriors and prominent members of their *tribes. *Panegyric poetry was exceptional, as professional poets like *Hassan b. Thabit could make a living praising the Christian *Ghassanid tribe which served as Roman *phylarchs near *Damascus, or at the sub-Sasanian *court of the *Lakhimid Arabs in *Hira near the Euphrates. Pre-Islamic poets, although

nomadic, in their contact with these courts interacted significantly with other Late Antique societies. They also occasionally use *Greek and Persian words, and make fairly frequent mention of non-nomadic cultural elements such as *monasticism, *writing, seafaring, Damascene *silks, or Indian steel.

The grandest form in Arabic poetry is the **qasida*. This is a polythematic, usually tripartite poem ranging from 30 to 100 lines in length, with a consistent metre and rhyme throughout. The poems following the tripartite schema (not all do) begin with weeping or reminiscence over the abandoned desert encampment of a departed tribe, often that of a beloved. Sometimes transitioning very abruptly, the poet will then usually describe his mount (usually a *camel mare or *horse), or, in extended similes, compare his mount to desert fauna such as oryx or onagers. Finally, the poem typically concludes with boasting over the achievements of the poet's tribe, often depicting extravagant displays of generosity. The principal collection of such *qasida*s is the **Mu'allaqat*. There is also an abundance of smaller pieces, including battle poetry, elegies (often by women), taunts directed at enemies, or descriptions of the night-time apparition of a beloved's spectre.

During the *Umayyad period, in addition to the panegyric odes of al-*Akhtal, al-*Farazdaq, and al-*Jarir, poets such as Sabiq al-Barbari produced simpler, pious Islamic poetry. This **zuhd* verse often dwells on *ubi sunt* motifs, unevenly merging pre-Islamic wisdom sayings and proverbs with monotheistic sentiment. Pre-Islamic Arab chieftains had mentioned wine while celebrating their generosity, but the Umayyad **khamriyya* genre specifically celebrates wine and singing girls (**qayna*). This genre perhaps emerged first in *Kufa, and further developed in the lyrical wine description of the purportedly debauched *Caliph al-*Walid II b. Yazid. *Hunting poetry drawing on pre-Islamic animal description was developed in courtly circles. Love poetry also appears, some of it featuring idealized *Bedouin pining for spiritualized loves (e.g. the legendary *Qays or Majnun Layla (d. before 699)), and some more worldly and urban (e.g. 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'a (d. 712/21)).

Arabic poets would often rely on an assistant transmitter (*rawi*) to memorize and disseminate their poetry orally. The motives for the written recording of Arabic poetry by poetry transmitters such as Hammad al-Rawiyya (*fl.* 725) or Khalaf al-Ahmar (d. *c.*796) were somewhat varied. They included: tribal rivalries in new urban centres such as Kufa and *Basra, the pedagogical and ideological needs of the Umayyad and *Abbasid courts, the formulation of *Arabic grammar for the first time, and eventually the use of poetic citations in the explication of the text of the *Qur'ān. Accurate knowledge of poetry became quite valuable and prestigious, and often self-interested accusations of forgery among the transmitters proliferated. In the 20th century T. Husayn and the English orientalist D. S. Margoliouth went so far as to call into question the authenticity of the entire pre-Islamic corpus, a thesis which has been largely jettisoned in the face of more refined accounts of the transition from oral to written culture.

The Arabic of pre-Islamic poetry is of an extraordinarily detailed, complex, and elevated register. As such, numerous commentaries were penned in the early Islamic period to explicate obscure meanings. The language was also uniform across the *Arabian Peninsula, almost entirely transcending tribal dialects. In their stylization of pre-Islamic motifs, Umayyad poets in many instances simplified poetic diction. NAM

R. Allen, *The Arabic Literary Heritage: The Development of its Genres and Criticism* (2005).
A. Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry: Select Poems* (2011).
G. Schoeler, *The Genesis of the Written in Islam: From the Aural to the Read* (2009).
M. Sells, *Desert Tracings* (1989).
F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, vol 2: *Poesie bis ca. 430 H* (1996).
S. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (1993).

poetry and poets, Germanic Little early Germanic poetry survives and much of it is anonymous. All surviving early Germanic poetry has in common the absence of end-rhyme (with few, late exceptions) and the structural principle of alliteration in pairs of half-lines, each consisting of at least two stressed syllables. Old Norse poetry, which is younger, developed more variation of verse types and stress patterns.

Since *literacy was dependent on Christianization, *pagan material is almost entirely lost. Apart from short poems inscribed on some Scandinavian *rune stones, pagan myths and legends survive best in the late and anonymous Icelandic *Poetic* or *Elder Edda* (13th cent.), and the fragmentary Old High German *Muspilli* (*c.*850), which is partially Christianized. Germanic verse also survives in a few heroic legends, most notably in the *Anglo-Saxon (Old English) **Beowulf* (between AD 850 and 1000) and the fragmentary Old High German *Hildebrandslied*. It was also widely employed in Christian poetry, such as the Old Saxon *Heliand* (9th cent.). The style was abandoned relatively early in Old High German, where the anonymous *Ludwigslied* (late 9th cent.) abandons alliteration in favour of rhyming half-lines.

In England, which has comparatively more surviving early poetry, alliterating verse survived into the 14th century. Noteworthy are the Anglo-Saxon *Battle of Maldon*, a heroic poem describing the tragic defeat of an Anglo-Saxon army by Vikings, and the Old English *riddles, which adapt a *Latin model.

See also ANGLO-SAXON LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. MVDH

B. Murdoch and M. Read, eds., *Early Germanic Literature and Culture* (2004).
P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne, eds., *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (2001).

poetry and poets, Middle Iranian In the *Sasanian period poems were sung by bards or minstrels (MP *gosan*) at the *court and among the people retelling the history of the Iranian king, of heroes and villains, of *hunting, war, and the virtues associated with *Zoroastrianism. Two texts, the epic **Ayadgar-e Zareran* (*Testament of Zarir*) and the debate poem *Draxt-e Asurig* (*The Babylonian Tree*), survive in the Middle *Persian language and script. The *apocalyptic section (16) of the *Jamasp-Namag* (*Ayadgar-e Jamaspig*) is also in verse. The *Manichaean hymns contain significant quantities of poetic utterance in Middle Persian. The epic themes of pre-Islamic poetry are visible in the legendary deeds of the Christian hero Mar *Qardagh, and were sustained in later poetry of the Islamic period. TD

EncIran XI/2 (2002) *s.n.* gōsān, 167–70 (M. Boyce).
EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.n. Ayādgār ī Zarērān,* 128–9 (M. Boyce).
EncIran VII/5 (1995) *s.v. Draxt ī āsūrīg,* 547–9 (A. Tafażżolī).
EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.v. Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg,* 126–7 (M. Boyce).
Draxt ī āsūrīg, ed. (with NP T) M. Nawwābī, *Manẓūma-ye Deraḵt-e āsūrīg* (1346 AH/AD 1967).
ET (with introd. and notes), C. J. Brunner, 'The Fable of the Babylonian Tree', *JNES* 30 (1980), 197–202, 291–302.
ed. (with FT and comm.) A. Domenico, *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg: un texte eschatologique zoroastrien* (2013).
M. Boyce, 'The Parthian *Gōsān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1957), 45–52.
W. B. Henning, 'A Pahlavi Poem', *BSOAS* 13 (1950), 641–8.
G. Lazard, 'Encore la versification pehlevie', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26 (2002), 130–9.
J. T. Walker, *The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Narrative and Christian Heroism in Late Antique Iraq* (TCH 40, 2006), 121–63.

Poggibonsi Poggio Imperiale is a promontory bounded by substantial Renaissance defences above the present town of Poggibonsi in central Tuscany. Extensive long-term excavations by Siena University have identified as a first phase a 6th/7th-century, *Lombard-period upland settlement of dwellings built with posts. These indicate a *village community emerging from the break-up of the Late Roman *villa *landscape. Other similar sites have been identified in Tuscany at Montarrenti and Scarlino. A subsequent 9th-century (Carolingian-period) phase saw a reordering of the site, much remodelling in stone, and the creation of what was probably a manor with stores and craft areas occupying the summit of the site as the focus of the community, the earliest such securely excavated example of a manor in *Italy. An archaeological park now frames the early medieval to modern settlements. NJC

M. Valenti, *Poggio Imperiale a Poggibonsi (Siena): Dal villaggio di capanne al castello di pietra* (1996).
M. Valenti, *L'insediamento altomedievale delle campagne toscane: Paesaggi, popolamento e villaggi tra VI e X secolo* (2004).
R. Francovich and M. Valenti, eds., *Poggio Imperiale a Poggibonsi: il territorio, lo scavo, il parco* (2007).

Poitiers (*civitas Pictavorum*: dép. Vienne, France) *City in* Aquitania Secunda, which acquired a wall-circuit enclosing some 42 ha (over 100 acres) in the decades around 300, excluding much of the pre-existing urban area.

*Hilary of Poitiers is the first- and best-known *bishop; his successors are obscure until the later 6th century, when the location of Poitiers on a fault line between rival *Frankish kingdoms made it in the time of Bishop Maroveus a recurrent focus of conflict. Maroveus also had to contend with S. *Radegund's foundation within the walls of Poitiers of a *monastery for women, which soon secured a fragment of the Holy *Cross and attracted numbers of royal and aristocratic ladies. The tensions over authority within the community that exploded after the deaths of Radegund and Agnes, its first abbess, led to a revolt described hyperbolically by *Gregory of *Tours. The accession to the see of *Venantius Fortunatus, for a long time a friend of the monastery, and biographer of both Ss. Hilary and Radegund, probably sealed a renewal of harmony.

Various archaeological remains of the monastic complex have been identified, but their chronology is imprecise. A *baptistery of Late Antique origin does survive in elevation, albeit much modified. The Hypogée des Dunes, a funerary chapel of peculiar plan and decoration, has been excavated in a *cemetery to the east of the city; it remains somewhat enigmatic, but it is dated to the decades around 700. Later 7th-century *charter references to the city's *council (*curia*), *Defensor Civitatis, and **gesta municipalia* suggest that the city's civic institutions survived in some form until a similar period. STL

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 10 (1998), 65–92; 16/1 (2014), 218–24.
B. Boissavit-Camus, *Le Baptistère Saint-Jean de Poitiers: de l'édifice à l'histoire urbaine* (2014).

Poitiers, Battle of Fight between Frankish Christians and Muslims from al-*Andalus in 732. Muslim armies carried out multiple raids into Frankish territory in the decades after the *Arab conquest of Spain in 711. In 732, a force under 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī, the *governor of al-Andalus (r. 730–2), was

defeated by *Charles Martel. The battle proved to be the high-water mark of early medieval Muslim expansion in Europe, although Gibbon's claim that the battle itself halted this expansion is dubious; the *Berber revolt (740–4), the *Abbāsid Revolution (750), and the subsequent focal shift of *Islam to the East would seem more likely causes. NC

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'Balāṭ al-Shuhadāʾ, 988–9 (H. Pérès).

ed. (with SpT) J. E. Lopez Pereira, *Crónica Mozarabe de 754* (1980).

ET K. B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Medieval Spain* (²1999), §80.

R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797* (1989).

D. Nicolle, *Poitiers A.D. 732* (2008).

Polemius Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius was a *senator who held the rank of *Comes under *Constantius II. He translated the **Alexander Romance* of Ps.-Callisthenes from *Greek into *Latin and was perhaps also responsible for the translation of the anonymous *Itinerary of Alexander*. He may be identical with Polemius, *consul in 338. RECS

PLRE I, Polemius 3 and 4.

HLL 5, section 540.1.

Polemius Silvius Author of a didactic *laterculus*, dedicated in AD 448/9 to *Eucherius, Bishop of *Lyons. He is usually identified with Silvius, friend of *Hilary, Bishop of *Arles, and with Silvius, mentally disturbed after a palatine career, who wrote a (lost) religious work in AD 438.

The *Laterculus* is primarily a Roman calendar, simplified (possibly for schoolchildren), listing traditional and Christian *festivals and holidays, with explanatory, meteorological, and antiquarian annotations. Interspersed between the months are seven of eleven promised lists: *emperors with *usurpers (from Julius Caesar to the present); Roman *provinces; *animal, *bird, and *fish names; features of the City of *Rome; brief world history (from the Flood); onomatopoeic animal sounds; *weights and measures. It often reflects local Gallic *Latin usage.

The emperor list perhaps used the lost **Kaisergeschichte* of Enman. The province list places provinces within regions, possibly **dioeceses*, in neither geographical nor status order. Neither a contemporary list of 448/9, nor generally regarded as chronologically homogeneous, its errors, interpolations, and ambiguities leave its base text and source(s) uncertain. The eastern lists include provinces created under *Theodosius I, but not all of them; it includes *Arcadia, but not the earlier-created *Cappadocia Secunda. The list for *Illyricum dates before its partition in the 390s. The list for *Britain is appended to the eastern provinces and was probably not in the basic source for the western provinces. The list for Italy post-dates Theodosius I, but more precise dating (to AD 399 or 413/17) remains controversial. PMB

PLRE II, Silvius.

Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2, 264–75 (calendar).

Chron. Min. I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 511–51 (interspersed lists).

Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 295–9.

R. W. Burgess, '*Principes cum Tyrannis*: Two Studies on the *Kaisergeschichte* and its Tradition', *CQ* 43 (1993), 491–500.

Rüpke, *Kalender*, 151–60.

G. Wesch-Klein, 'Der Laterculus des Polemius Silvius: Überlegungen zu Datierung, Zuverlässigkeit und historischem Aussagewert einer spätantiken Quelle', *Historia* 51 (2002), 57–88.

Pollentia, Battle of (6 April 402) On *Easter morning, at Pollentia (mod. Pollenzo, in north-west Italy), *Stilicho launched a surprise attack on the invading *Goths. This resulted in a draw. The battle was recorded in the works of *Claudian. RJM

J. B. Hall, 'Pollentia, Verona, and the Chronology of Alaric's First Invasion of Italy', *Philologus* 132 (1988), 245–57.

Pollio, Trebellius Alleged author of the lives in the **Historia Augusta* of *Valerian (fragmentary), *Gallienus, the so-called *Thirty Tyrants, and *Claudius Gothicus. OPN

polo (MP *čawgān* > Gk. *tzykanion*) Persian ball game played with sticks on horseback. Polo was an important pastime in the *Sasanian *court, and, like *chess and *hunting, part of a royal education (*Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr* 2, 11–12; 2, 21 and 18, 4–7; *Husraw ud Rēdag*, 12). The Roman imperial court began playing polo in the reign of *Theodosius II, who built the *Tzykanisterion,* the polo field of the Great *Palace at *Constantinople (Janin, *CPByz* 118–19). Contact with Islamic courts reintroduced and changed the game in the Middle Ages. Polo also became a popular royal pastime in Tang *China, bolstered, no doubt, by the presence of the Sasanian court in exile. MPC

V. L. Bower and C. MacKenzie, 'Polo: The Emperor of Games', in C. Mackenzie and I. Finkel, eds., *Asian Games* (2004), 223–303.

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 176–81.

J. C. Liu, 'Polo and Cultural Change', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45 (1985), 203–24.

polyandrium *Latin term from Gk. *poluandreion* ('full of men') for a communal grave (e.g. Ezekiel 39: 11). It might be used pejoratively, as by *Arnobius (V, 6) of *temples where pagan gods and heroes were thought to be buried. *Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 30 on Ebionites, 7–8) tells a story about unsavoury magical practices carried on by the local population in the tombs at the *polyandrium*, a place of caves cut in cliffs, near the

hot springs at *Gadara. *Lactantius (*Epitome*, 67, 7) says that Polyandrium will be the name of the place where the bodies of the dead will be piled after the Last Judgement. OPN; SEB

polycandelon *See* LAMPS.

polytheism *See* PAGANISM; MONOTHEISM, HENOTHEISM, AND POLYTHEISM.

Pontica *Diocesis, probably created in 313, which included the northern and east Anatolian *provinces of *Bithynia, *Honorias, and *Paphlagonia, *Galatia I and II (Salutaris), *Helenopontus, *Pontus Polemonianus, *Cappadocia I and II, and *Armenia I and II. It was administered by a *Vicarius whose headquarters were at Ancyra (*Ankara) in Galatia Prima. *Constantius II honoured his wife *Eusebia by renaming Pontica as Pietas (*Ammianus, XVII, 7, 6). A military command, the Comes Dioeceseos Ponticae, was created by 413 (*CTh* VI, 13, 1). The office of Vicarius was merged with that of the military *Comes of Galatia by *Justinian I (*NovJust* 8, 3). SM

Jones, *LRE*, index *s.v.* Pontica.

Pontifex Maximus Office held by successive Roman *emperors from Augustus onwards which authorized their general supervision of religious cults at *Rome and their function as religious mediators elsewhere in the Empire. For the Emperor *Julian it justified his promotion of various neo-pagan initiatives (e.g. *Letter to a Priest*, 298C). The credibility of the story told by *Zosimus (IV, 36) that *Gratian repudiated the robe of the Pontifex Maximus is vitiated by the facts that no distinctive robe was associated with the office, and that Gratian and his successors continued to use the style *pontifex*. The official titulature of *Anastasius I included Pontifex Inclytus.

Christian bishops were termed 'pontifex' from at least the mid-4th century, and the *Vetus Latina and *Vulgate use the term for the Jewish High Priest and (in the Epistle to the Hebrews) for Christ himself, but Pontifex Maximus did not become a papal title until 1453. OPN; DMG

Cameron, *Pagans*.

Alan Cameron, 'The Imperial Pontifex', *HSCP* 103 (2007), 341–87.

R. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, tr. J. Birrell (2003; French original 1996).

I. Kajanto, 'Pontifex Maximus as the Title of the Pope', *Arctos* 15 (1981), 37–52.

Pontifices Dei Solis In the autumn of AD 274, the *Emperor *Aurelian elevated the priesthoods of the *Sun to the rank of Pontifex to serve his vast new *Temple of the Sun at *Rome. Previously, the cult of the Sun had been served by lower-ranking *sacerdotes* and *kalatores*. The new Pontifices Solis were all prominent *senators of Rome, among whom the priesthood is attested well into the 4th century. The Temple and pontificate of the Sun had no connection with *Mithraism (*CIL* VI, 2151). SHi

S. Hijmans, 'Temples and Priests of Sol in Rome', *Mouseion* 10/3 (2010/2013), 383–435.

Rüpke, *Fasti Sacerdotum*.

Pontus Polemoniacus (Polemonianus) Part of the *Dioecesis *Pontica, the north-east *province of *Anatolia extending from *Neocaesarea, the capital, to Trapezus (*Trebizond). It is attested in the *Verona List of 314 and by ecclesiastical and administrative sources up to *Hierocles' *Synecdemus*, but in 535/6 it was assimilated into *Helenopontus (*NovJust* 28). In 528 a new military command, the *Magister Militum per Armeniam et Pontum Polemoniacum et Gentes was created to deal with the situation in *Lazica, where Rome faced the challenge of the *Persian Empire (*CJust* I, 29, 5). The eastern part of the province was a *frontier region, especially the territory of the *Tzani south-east of Trapezus, who had scarcely been subject to Roman control before the measures of *Justinian I, who constructed fortresses and *roads, installed garrisons, and built churches for the previously *pagan population (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 6). SM

Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 159.

D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (1994), 268–314.

poor, the A serious problem in understanding poverty in the Late Antique world is that little of the surviving written source material derives from the poor themselves. In considering the character of Late Antique poverty it is, however, helpful to distinguish between conjunctural poverty, which was short-term or sudden, and structural poverty, which was long-term or inevitable.

Conjunctural poverty could affect those whose limited access to resources made them vulnerable to bad harvests or family deaths. Such poverty would have fuelled urban migration ('subsistence migration') into Late Antique *cities, where the desperate might seek access to the *food supply. In times of acute crisis the state tried to prevent such movement. Conjunctural poverty may have affected women in particular as they had fewer economic opportunities. Stories describing women falling into *prostitution out of desperation should be approached with some caution as literary topoi, but probably also reflect real dangers faced at the time they were written.

Structural poverty is even more difficult to understand. Late Antique society was based on a pre-industrial, agrarian economy, which would have determined certain

features of structural poverty. In a world of mediocre nutrition, and virtually no social services, for example, physical disability must regularly have entailed increased poverty for individuals and their families. In such a society, however, access to land is the most important determinant of wealth and poverty, and it is clear that land was unevenly distributed, quite apart from issues of health.

The terminology used to describe poverty in Late Antiquity was malleable and imprecise. For example, the term for 'poor' (Gk. *penes*) could signify either the truly poor or those who were simply, in comparison to those better off than themselves, the not particularly wealthy; it is possible to find people who are termed poor who owned slaves, and were therefore middling householders without tremendous wealth. The 'destitute' (Gk. *ptochos*) was a term probably reserved for the genuinely poor.

It has been argued that the rise of the Christian Church in Late Antiquity promoted a revolutionary new concept of poverty. It is thought to have displaced an older, civic model of the social order and its systems of urban benefaction based on the entitlement of citizens. The Christian model, it is argued, promoted voluntary poverty in the form of *asceticism. More radically, it also envisioned society as the totality of humanity and emphasized the virtue of caring for the poor as a distinct activity (e.g. *Lactantius VI, 12); a Christian preacher such as *John Chrysostom *spoke up for the poor. The extent to which the Christian model caused change, and when this might have occurred, is, however, debated.

An increased understanding of Late Antique poverty is being provided by the bioarchaeological record. The Romans of the Early Empire were comparatively short, which suggests that there was structural pressure on the resource base. At some point in Late Antiquity mean stature in the West increased significantly. Research continues into the implications of this observation.

KH

M. Atkins and R. Osborne, eds., *Poverty in the Roman World* (2006).

P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (2002).

Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle.*

S. Holman, *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (2001).

Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale.*

population The study of population in pre-industrial societies is concerned with two distinct but connected elements: the absolute number of people and the way that changes occur over time. The first element is concerned with the size of the population and with its demographic distribution over the land. Size is an important indicator of the political organization's potential to extract the resources necessary to fund the public apparatus and *army. The extent of the people's distribution over the land, and in particular the urban to rural ratio, indicate the degree to which production has been developed. In other words, in pre-modern societies a relationship is thought to exist between agricultural productivity and the percentage of the population that could be removed from primary production and used in other remunerative activities for society as a whole, for the army, for civil *administration and the practice of religion, for commerce, and for craft production.

Estimates concerning the overall population of the Roman Empire, and the ratio of inhabitants of the towns and *cities in relation to the predominant rural population, albeit limited by the unavailability of statistical-type data, are able to provide a demographic picture of considerable internal consistency for the period leading up to the Third Century *Crisis. The overall population in the Early Empire (the 1st–2nd centuries AD) has been calculated at between 60 and 70 million inhabitants. The average proportion of the population living in cities oscillated between 10 and 20% of the overall population.

The crises in mortality rates prompted by the Antonine Plague (AD 169–94), and the consequent dislocation in healthcare and ways of providing food, brought to an end this lengthy phase of expansion seen in the Early Empire. Between the 2nd and 3rd centuries, these factors caused a reduction in the Empire's population, estimated in the range of around 20%. The *epidemic caused the population to alter over time, owing to the change in the ratio between the rates of births and deaths.

The decline caused by the 2nd-century epidemic in fact illustrates the principal demographic features of the imperial age. There was a high birth rate, with numerous births per couple—on average around 5–6 children—and a very high death rate among newborns and young children. Mortality within the first year was around 30% and the overall rate of mortality in the under-fives ranged between 40 and 50% of all children born. Life expectancy at birth was still between 20 and 30 years. This was typical of ancient demographic regimes. This was a high-pressure system which could be sustained only because there was also a very high general rate of mortality; rapid decreases in population were as a rule caused only by an epidemic or food crisis. Within a system regulated by these mechanisms, the end of a mortality crisis was generally followed by a strong demographic revival; production and reproduction, the entire demographic and economic system, restarted at full speed in order to fill the various voids created in the social fabric. In the period which followed there was normally a dip in the mortality rate

to lower levels than before the crisis. This was caused by better living conditions, favoured by the reduction in demographic-economic pressure, the physical immunity acquired by the survivors, and by a strong recovery in *marriage and birth rates, accompanied by a new intensification of migratory flows to replace the losses in the workforce. The population slowly began to grow again until the next *famine or epidemic, which prompted a new mortality crisis and the consequent rebalancing between the surviving population and the available resources.

However, from the 4th century onwards a new trend may be observed. The consistency within the imperial demographic structure was lost, and was replaced by two contrasting population dynamics. For the western *provinces, the 4th to 6th centuries formed a watershed in the alternation between phases of growth and decline which was typical of ancient population regimes. In these centuries, a period of population contraction began which does not, however, seem to have been prompted by a rise in the mortality rate or by a concomitant ongoing opposition between an unaltered high birth rate and growing death rate. The decline in population was instead the result of a drastic reduction in the birth rate, which took place above all in the countryside, in the context of a permanent low level of life expectancy and a high mortality rate, the mortality rate having deteriorated even more in the declining cities. The countryside therefore stopped supplying its human surplus to the cities, and the cities, no longer supported by immigration and thinned out by seasonal deaths, experienced a progressive depopulation. A typical example of this regressive trend is the demographic decline of the city of *Rome:

c. AD 350: 400,000/500,000;
c. AD 470–80: 80,000/100,000;
c. AD 530: 60,000;
c. AD 600: 45,000.

What triggered this alternative mechanism is still a matter of dispute. The main hypotheses put forward are that the population was unable to match the pre-crisis rate of reproduction, or, alternatively, that a new system of production came into force that affected the economic organization and *family structure of the rural populations in Western Europe.

In the eastern provinces, by contrast, a sizeable demographic growth can be seen between the 4th and 6th centuries, a growth which is directly reflected in the urban population: *Constantinople, 400,000–500,000; *Alexandria, 200,000; *Antioch, 150,000–200,000; *Jerusalem, 53,000; Hermopolis, 37,000; *Scythopolis, 30,000. However, this positive trend came to a halt between the 6th and 7th centuries. This decline may not have been caused directly by the epidemics of the Justinianic *Plague, which recurred at irregular intervals for over two centuries (AD 541–750), but these did nothing to improve the situation. However large it was, the population decline nevertheless does not seem to have caused a corresponding regression in production or commercial traffic. In the same way, it does not seem to have made a significant impact on price structures, at least not at the levels of impact experienced in Western Europe. It was only from the 7th century onwards that the demographic trends in eastern and western parts again fell back again into step, both experiencing a phase of decline followed by a prolonged stagnation. In the century in question, the population in the territory of the former Roman Empire numbered around 30 million. Even so, there was a notable imbalance between east and west—with *c.*10 million in Western Europe and *c.*20 million in the Byzantine Empire—in a picture that also displayed considerable regional differences. PT

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J. Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville Byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (1990).
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L. K. Little, ed., *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* (2007).
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A. Bowman and A. Wilson, eds., *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (2009).
W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (2001).

Poreč *City on the Adriatic coast in modern Croatia; Roman Parentium in the *province of *Venetia et Histria, a *colonia* under Augustus or Tiberius. Most of the ancient city plan survives, but visible architectural remains of the imperial era are few (fortifications, Capitolium).

The 6th-century cathedral complex is still standing. It is called Eufrasiana after its builder, the *Bishop Eufrasius appointed under the *Emperor *Justinian I. A *mosaic *inscription in the *apse of his new church records Eufrasius' monumental reconstruction of an older, ruinous *basilica. He refurbished it in *marble with splendid wall mosaics, of comparable quality to the contemporary mosaics of S. Vitale in *Ravenna (dedicated by *Maximian, another native of Histria appointed a bishop under Justinian). The mosaics in the apse and on the triumphal *arch have Christological and notably Marian themes, accompanied by saints, *martyrs, and local dignitaries. On the arch, Christ is seated on the orb with the Apostles, in the intrados of

the arch are eight female saints; *Mary is enthroned with Jesus in the centre of the vault, flanked by two *angels. On the left of Jesus are two martyrs flanking a saint carrying a book; on his right, all identified by name, are the local martyr-bishop S. Maurus, Bishop Eufrasius carrying a model of the basilica, the *deacon Claudius and his son Eufrasius holding candles. Eufrasius also rebuilt the octagonal *baptistery and erected a monumental bishop's palace.

Excavations in the 1960s clarified several pre-Eufrasian building phases. The earliest level revealed an oratory with mosaics and a baptismal *piscina* in a remodelled private residence. In the 4th century S. Maurus' *relics were transferred from a suburban cemetery to this site and the first church was built. An inscribed fragment of S. Maurus' *sarcophagus commemorates these events. The tripartite church had a *martyrium, a place of worship, and a place for the instruction of catechumens. Donors, named in mosaic inscriptions, furnished the floor decoration. Coins found in the mortar of walls and floors date the construction to the late 4th century. A new three-nave, pre-Eufrasian basilica was built around the mid-5th century. It was a rectangular building without apse. The raised sanctuary had a semicircular *synthronon. The middle and north hall of the first church were redesigned to accommodate some rooms and a large cistern in the middle, and a separate basilica, perhaps for martyr cult, on the north side. A new, octagonal baptistery was in the longitudinal axis of the basilica. Architectural remains and mosaics of all of the earlier buildings are today visible outside and under the Eufrasian basilica. Eufrasius placed the *relics of martyr-bishop S. Maurus in the altar of his basilica. IDS

TIR L 33 (1961) 56 *s.v.* Parentium.

I. Matejčić, 'The Episcopal Palace at Poreč: Results of Recent Exploration and Restoration', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 1 (1995), 84–9.

H. Delehaye, 'Saints d'Istrie et de Dalmatie', *AnBoll* 18 (1899), at 370–84.

Porfyrius (d. after 333) Poet and *senator. Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius was exiled under *Constantine I but subsequently recalled, perhaps in 325, and was later *Praefectus Urbi twice (329 and 333). Seeking to secure his return from *exile, he dedicated a collection of figure poems to Constantine, praising the *emperor's military victories and celebrating, in anticipation, his Vicennalia, the twentieth *anniversary of his accession. He is also the author of a smaller group of non-panegyric poems. In some cases, by varying line length he shapes poems to imitate objects: a water organ, altar, or Pan's pipes. More commonly he incorporates into his poems lines of verse that run at an angle to the normal horizontal ductus of the text (*versus intexti*). Sequences of letters can be read not only vertically, but also diagonally, tracing out geometrical patterns or images, which were picked out in red. In this way he weaves into his poems, for example, the chi-rho monogram, a palm tree, or a *ship. In some poems, the inserted text, though written in the *Latin alphabet, has to be read in *Greek. The manuscripts also preserve a prose dedicatory *letter to Constantine and the emperor's reply. Their authenticity has been questioned, but if genuine, they must relate to an earlier collection, since they make no mention of Porfyrius' exile. MJR

PLRE I, Optatianus 3.

NEDC 119, 121, 160.

HLL 5, section 544.

ed. G. Polara (annotated), 2 vols. (1973).

T. D. Barnes, 'Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius', *AJP* 96 (1975), 173–86.

W. Levitan, 'Dancing at the End of the Rope: Optatian Porfyry and the Field of Roman Verse', *TAPA* 115 (1985), 245–69.

Porphyrius Famous charioteer in the reign of *Anastasius I, when rioting by rival *factions (the Blues and Greens) became a major problem in *Constantinople and other *cities. Several *statues were erected to Porphyrius by the Blues and Greens, suggesting that he changed allegiance at Anastasius' command to maintain excitement in the *Hippodrome and contain the rivalry here. It is likely that Porphyrius with the Green faction helped with the defences of *Constantinople and the sea battle against *Vitalian. *Epigrams inscribed on statue bases attest his skill as both soldier and charioteer (*AnthGraec* XV, 50; XVI, 347; XVI, 348 and XVI, 350). FKH

Cameron, *Porphyrius*.

porphyry A hard stone from *Egypt, glossy and dark *purple flecked with white when polished, quarried at only one site, *Mons Porphyrites high in the Eastern Desert, from the time of its discovery in AD 18 by C. Cominius Leugas until the *quarries were abandoned in the 430s. Though difficult to carve, it was highly prized. Even after the quarries ceased production, porphyry drawn from stockpiles or reused as *spolia continued to be used for imperial portraits (e.g. LSA 454, 1026) and *sarcophagi (Grierson), and, in building, for columns, wall revetment, *opus sectile floors, and as *mosaic tesserae.

Porphyry statues were brought to Rome under Claudius (*Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVII, 57) and Nero was buried in a porphyry sarcophagus (Suetonius, 50). The *Tetrarchy favoured the stone for imperial *portraiture; porphyry groups of *Diocletian and his colleagues survive in Venice (LSA 4 and 439), the Vatican (LSA 840 and 841), and individual portraits are known from Athribis in *Egypt (LSA 836), *Gamzigrad (LSA 845), and elsewhere (LSA, 523, 1005,

1041). *Constantine I and members of his family were buried in porphyry sarcophagi, two of which are now in the Vatican Museum, and the centrepiece of the Forum of Constantine at *Constantinople was a porphyry column (Çemberlitaş). Fragments of porphyry were recovered in the excavations of *Anicia Juliana's Church of *S. Polyeuctus in Constantinople. *Paul the *Silentiary praised the porphyry 'sprinkled with small bright stars' which formed part of the polychrome 'meadows of marble' to be seen in the stonework of the Church of the Holy Wisdom (625–7; cf. *Procopius, *Aed.* I, 1, 59–60).

The term green porphyry is sometimes used to describe a green stone with large dark glassy inclusions, quarried near Sparta in *Greece and otherwise known as *opus Lacedaemonicum* (*Isidore of *Seville, *Etymologies*, XVI, 5, 2) and serpentine. Paul the Silentiary calls it the 'green stone of Laconia' (628), and distinguishes it from the green *marbles of Carystos (618–21) and Boeotian *Thebes (641–6). Porphyry and *Lacedaemonicum* are the most expensive stones listed in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (31, 1–2), both more than five times the price of marble from *Proconnesus. OPN; WLT

R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (1932).
P. Grierson, 'The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)', with an additional note by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *DOP* (1962), 3–63.
H. P. L'Orange, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen, 284–361 n. Chr. Das Römische Herrscherbild.* III. Abteilung, Band 4 (1984).
P. Niewöhner, 'Neues zu den Tetrarchenfiguren in Venedig und ihrer Aufstellung in Konstantinopel', *IstMitt* 62 (2012), 341–67.
Porphyre: la pierre pourpre des Ptolémées aux Bonaparte (Paris, Louvre exhibition catalogue, 2003).

Porphyry of Gaza (c.347–420) The details of Porphyry's biography are derived from a *Life* surviving in *Greek and *Georgian and purporting to be written by a close associate, Mark the *Deacon. However, the prologue to the *Life* in the form in which it survives (*BHG* 1570) reproduces the preface of *Theodoret's *Religious History*, written in the mid-5th century, and the *Life* incorporates other anachronisms.

The *Life* represents Porphyry as being born in *Thessalonica, as having lived as a monk in the Egyptian and Palestinian deserts, being ordained *priest in 392, and being consecrated *Bishop of *Gaza in 395. It focuses on Porphyry's campaigns against *paganism in Gaza, particularly the razing of the *Temple of Zeus Marnas, and its replacement by a church. For this the bishop is said to have obtained the support of *John Chrysostom and the *Empress *Eudoxia.

Two lists of bishops from *Palestine, of 400 and of 415, give the name Porphyry without prescribing an episcopal see. *Jerome mentions Marnas frequently in his *Life* of S. *Hilarion, predicts the destruction of the Temple of Marnas in a letter of 403 (*ep.* 107, 2), and some years later exults over its replacement by a church in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (Book 7, on Isaiah 17:1–3).

The topography presented in the *Life* is detailed and the events vivid, but its historicity is highly disputable. RD; OPN

Life (*BHG* 1570; *CPG* 6722):
Greek ed. (annotated with FT) H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (1930).
ed. (with comm. and FT) A. Lampadaridi, *La Conversion de Gaza au Christianisme: La Vie de S. Porphyre par Marc le Diacre (BHG 1570)* (SubsHag 95, 2016).
ET G. F. Hill (1913).
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Barnes, *Hagiography*, 260–83.
Claudia Rapp (with partial ET), Mark the Deacon, *Life of St. Porphyry of Gaza*, in T. Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (2001), 53–76.
J. L. Heiberg, *Den hellige Porphyrios, biskop af Gaza et tidsbillede fra hedenskabets sidste dage* (1922).

Porphyry of Tyre (Malkos; *c.*233–*c.*305) *Philosopher and polymath and a central figure in the continuation of *Middle Platonism and the early development of *Neoplatonism.

Life

Following youth in Phoenician *Tyre and early studies in *Athens under Cassius *Longinus, Porphyry became in his 30th year (AD 263) a student of *Plotinus at *Rome (*VPlot* 4). It is clear that he was already seriously committed to Platonic philosophy. After only five years at Rome, he was advised by Plotinus to retire to Lilybaeum in *Sicily as treatment for his suicidal tendencies (*VPlot* 6). At some point following Plotinus' death (in 270), he apparently returned to Rome and taught (though not in the school of Plotinus, which had died before its master). Porphyry's own *Life of Plotinus* states that when he wrote it he was in his 68th year (i.e. 301), while the **Suda* informs us that he died during the reign of *Diocletian, so sometime between 301 and 305.

Writings

Porphyry wrote copiously on a vast array of topics. Controversy surrounds the relative dating of most of his works (especially as the majority of these now survive in fragments preserved in sources of varying reliability) and hence of his intellectual, religious, and philosophical development. He dedicated several treatises to rhetorical and philological themes, many of which probably date to his time in Athens, especially the *Listening to Litterateurs* (*Philologos akroasis*), recording a dialogue on the detection of plagiarism in classical authors, and the

Homeric Questions, most of which are dedicated to difficulties of a philological nature. Fragments (in paraphrase more often than verbatim form) of numerous commentaries and exegetical treatments reveal persistent concerns about the theological, cosmological, and psychological issues raised in the texts of Plato and Aristotle (and some other authors, like *Ptolemy). Worthy of special note is the commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, which formulated a complex demonology and expounded the nature and providential activity of the Demiurge (which he assigns to the hypostasis of Soul, not the Mind as in Plotinus). The fragments on the Myth of Er from the last book of Plato's *Republic* derive probably not from a commentary on that dialogue but from Porphyry's treatise on the freedom of the will. We possess fragments from commentaries on Plato's *Cratylus, Sophist, Parmenides* (though the anonymous 3rd/4th-century commentary on the *Parmenides* is probably not by Porphyry), *Philebus*, and *Phaedo*; and commentaries on Aristotle's *On Interpretation, Categories*, and *Physics*. Exegetical works of a protreptic nature include the largely intact philosophical allegory on the embodied soul, *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*, and the *Sentences* comprising paraphrases of select passages from Plotinus' *Enneads*, which may have served an introductory function for students. Other introductions are the *Introduction* to the first five categories of Aristotle (which reconciled Aristotelian category theory to Platonism by treating the categories as predicables rather than ontological categories) and an *Introduction to Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos*. The *Philosophic History* (of which the segment on the 'Life of Pythagoras' is the lengthiest surviving portion) may have served as an introduction to the history of Greek philosophy and contains both frivolous anecdotes and serious doctrinal discussions. His *Life of Plotinus* was intended as an introduction to Porphyry's edition of the *Enneads* while legitimizing his role as the curator of Plotinus' heritage. He performed exegesis of religious texts (*oracles or cult images) in the fragmentary *Philosophy from Oracles* and *On Images* (and possibly a work *On the Chaldean Oracles*). The fragments of both works are probably not representative of their original scope and tendencies, due to their preservation by later authors hostile to them. Though disputed, the fragments collected under the title *On the Return of the Soul*, attested only in *Augustine, probably belong to the *Philosophy from Oracles*. Thematic explorations of key philosophical issues raised by *Homer and Plato survive in the fragments of the *On the Styx* and *On What is Up to Us* (a defence of free will based on *Rep.* 10). The *Letter to Marcella* and the fragments of the treatise *On the Inscription 'Know Thyself'* are both of a didactic-protreptic nature, the first dedicated to his wife Marcella, the second addressed to *Iamblichus. Several works attest to Porphyry's involvement in philosophical and religious debate. His *On Abstinence from Eating Meat* is the lengthiest defence of vegetarianism from Antiquity. The fragments of *Against Nemertius* defended a Platonic notion of Providence against an Epicurean contemporary; the *Letter to Anebo* raised critical questions about Egyptian theology and cult practices; and the *Against Boethus on the Soul* argued against Stoic and Peripatetic notions of the soul (further psychological explorations were pursued in the *To Gaurus on the Ensoulment of Embryos, On the Powers of the Soul*, and *Miscellaneous Questions*). The notorious *Against the Christians* was apparently the most thorough and wide-scale attack on Christianity in Antiquity. The nature, scope, principles, and even title of the latter work have been the subject of ongoing dispute; a reliable edition of the fragments remains a desideratum.

With his edition of Plotinus' *Enneads*, his incorporation of Aristotle into Platonism, and his wide-ranging and creative engagement with a broad spectrum of Greek and Roman knowledge, Porphyry stands as one of the greatest contributors to the growth of Late Antique Platonism. APJ

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ET: G. Clark (AncCommAristotle, 2000).

Against the Christians: eds. E. A. Ramos Jurado, J. Ritoré Ponce, A. Carmona Vázquez, et al. (with SpT, comm. and introd.), *Porfirio, Contra los Cristianos* (2006).

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Isagoge to Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos, ed. E. Boer and S. Weinstock (Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum, vol. 5, part 4; 1940), 187–228; ET: J. H. Holden (2009).

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A. Smith, 'Porphyrian Studies since 1913', *ANRW* II.36.2 (1987), 717–72.
M. Zambon, *Porphyre et le moyen-platonisme* (2002).

Porphyry the whale *Procopius describes a ferocious whale named Porphyry (perhaps after the charioteer) which terrorized *Bosporus shipping for half a century, till one calm day *c.*547/8, chasing some dolphins from the Mouth of the *Bosporus to the Sangarius estuary, it ran aground and was killed (*Gothic*, VII, 29, 9–20; *Anecd.* 15, 37). OPN

porter (doorkeeper, Lat. *ostiarius*) The lowest rank of church hierarchy, first attested in 251/3 at *Rome (Cornelius in *Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 11). A porter's duties included keeping order; it was the *ostiarius* at *Milan who prevented Monica from celebrating a **refrigerium* in the African manner at the *martyrs' tombs (*Augustine, *Conff.* VI, 2, 2). The 4th-century *Council of *Laodicea required porters to avoid theatres and taverns (Canon 24). There were 110 porters at *Justinian I's Church of the *Holy Wisdom in *Constantinople (*NovJust* 3, 1). MFC; OPN

DACL 14/2 (1948) *s.v.* 'portier', 1525–33 (Leclercq).

portraiture, civic The Graeco-Roman custom of erecting large-scale sculptured portraits (statues, busts) in the public spaces of *cities and in aristocratic *houses persisted in Late Antiquity, for instance at *Rome and *Aphrodisias. The main beneficiaries of public honours in Late Antiquity were provincial *governors. Portraits also appear on such luxuries used by Late Antique *aristocracy as *silver and *ivory *diptychs, and on some *sarcophagi.

In the late 3rd and earlier 4th century senatorial self-representation stressed the traditional magistracies and the giving of games connected with these. Educated *otium in rural *villas is another significant theme on *sarcophagi. Private individuals are shown in traditional civic *dress (*toga, *himation*). In the late 4th century, new ceremonial garments (the Late Antique toga and *chlamys), marking status and office within the new-formed senatorial elite, entered the representative arts in all media. Sculpture of this kind is mainly, but not exclusively, known from the Greek East (*Corinth, Aphrodisias, *Ephesus, *Constantinople) and also from Rome.

The style of civic and imperial portraits diverged during Late Antiquity: non-imperial portraits are marked by 'realistic' features such as wrinkles, beards, and varying *hairstyles, while imperial *portraiture was heavily idealized. UG

M. Bergmann, 'Il ritratto imperiale e il ritratto privato', in S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla cittá cristiana* (2000), 237–43.
P. Zanker, 'Herrscherbild und Beamtenporträt', in N. Bonacasa, and G. Rizza, eds., *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato: Atti della II conferenza internazionale sul ritratto romano, Roma 16–30 settembre 1984* (1988), 105–9.
H. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage Roms* (2001).
R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins eds. *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016).
Oxford Last Statues of Antiquity database: http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/

portraiture, episcopal Portraits of living *bishops are attested already in the 4th century for Meletius of *Antioch (360–81) and three *Patriarchs of *Constantinople. The first preserved portraits date to the 6th century: examples include Felix IV of *Rome (526–30) in the Church of Ss. Cosmas and Damian, and also Maximianus, Bishop of *Ravenna depicted in the *mosaics of S. Vitale and Bishop Eufrasius in the *apse mosaic of the church at *Poreč. A similar image in *Gerasa is epigraphically attested. The Patriarchs Timothy (511–17) and Eutychius (577–82) of Constantinople are said to have removed images of their predecessors from churches and replaced them with their own. BWA

Alan Cameron, 'A Quotation from S. Nilus of Ancyra in an Iconodule Tract', *JTS* 27 NS (1976), 128–31.
R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, eds., *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (1998–2004), vol. 4, 357.

portraiture, imperial Images of the *emperor were likenesses which also served as his surrogate where he was not present in person. Imperial statues were still charged with ideological and official significance in Christian times; *Severianus of *Gabala (d. after 408) asserts that an imperial portrait had to be present whenever a judge sat in judgement, as shown in the scene of Christ before Pilate in the *Rossano Gospels.

The imperial image was displayed in many different media. Imperial portraits appear on triumphal reliefs of the late 3rd to early 5th century, including the Arch of *Galerius at *Thessalonica of 298/303, the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome of 312/15, and the Columns of *Theodosius I (386/94) and of *Arcadius (dedicated 421), and the base of the *Obelisk of Theodosius (390/2), all at *Constantinople. On these, there is a tendency to place the emperor in representative scenes of timeless power.

Imperial statues were still numerous in the 4th century, but had lost their central role as representations of the emperor by the mid-5th century. Only in Constantinople did the custom of erecting imperial statues continue into the early 7th century, specifically to *Phocas (602–10), to whom a statue was also dedicated at Rome. Many Late Antique statues were made up of *spolia, earlier sculptures reused and lightly adapted. The decrease in numbers of three-dimensional sculpted portraits may have been partly balanced by an increase in numbers of two-dimensional images; before the *Antioch Statue Riots in 387, painted likenesses of the emperors were destroyed before their statues were overthrown.

Imperial images with official validation were painted or stamped onto the **codicilli*, the documents of appointment of high-ranking imperial office-holders, and carved on the ceremonial *theca used in *courts of law, as shown on the *Diptych of Probianus of *c.*400. Imperial portraits also featured on precious *metalwork (*missoria*), precious *stones, and *ivory *diptychs exchanged in *court *ceremony and within the senatorial *aristocracy. Non-imperial *consuls carried a sceptre tipped with imperial busts; the emperor's image sometimes appeared on the ceremonial garb of consuls or other officials (Diptych of *Stilicho of the late 4th century; *Ausonius, *Gratiarum Actio*, 51). Small imperial busts were mounted on military standards. *Weights were often decorated with imperial portraits, and the imperial image was used on coins into the 7th century.

Late Antique imperial portraits, unlike those of the earlier Empire, cannot be categorized as more or less careful versions of official types, which can in turn be securely identified by coins. Imperial portraits on Late Roman coins do not divide into clearly differentiated portrait types, and there is no series of closely related, sculptured copies to match with the coins.

Already in the 3rd century the emperor was portrayed as a military man with short cropped *hair and a beard. The *Tetrarchy adopted this concept, but enriched it with novelties. *Porphyry was extensively used; in two-dimensional media the emperors were given haloes and emperors wore the *chlamys, with jewelled *belt (*cingulum*), *fibula, and shoes (*campagi*). Tetrarchic imagery visualized the unanimity (*concordia*) of the emperors by showing them together and giving them similar features. For example, coin portraits of *Diocletian may look different at different mints but will look similar to the other Tetrarchs from the same mint. Statue groups, including a reworked group of cuirassed statues from *Side (now in Antalya museum) and the porphyry groups now in Venice and the Vatican also emphasize physical similarity and mutual protection.

Constantine I abandoned the military portrait for a youthful, clean-shaven image with forward-brushed *hair, similar to that favoured by Augustus; the diadem first appeared on coins in 325. Hairstyle and diadem then remained the defining elements of the imperial image over a long period, surviving changes of dynasties. Coin portraits also remained remarkably consistent after Constantine. Variations (omission of the diadem, individualizing features) appear primarily with *usurpers; *Eugenius wore a beard, other emperors (*Honorius, *Theodosius II) did so only occasionally. Under Theodosius II the symbol of the *cross entered the *coinage prominently.

A new statue type invented by the Tetrarchy was the *chlamydatus*, with long cloak (*chlamys) pinned on the shoulder by a jewelled *fibula (as in the Athribis bust). The traditional *toga continued in use for imperial statues during the 4th century (e.g. the *bronze statue from Pons Valentinianus, Rome), while two statues from Aphrodisias (of *Valentinian II and Arcadius of 388/92) are the earliest monuments showing the Late Antique toga with mappa and sceptre, a ceremonial garb which developed into the loros of the Byzantine emperor. The military *cuirass was used into the 5th and 6th centuries (*Barletta colossus; statue of *Justinian I in Constantinople). UG; OPN

Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts.*

L'Orange, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild*.

R. R. R. Smith, 'Roman Portraits: Honours, Empresses and Late Emperors', *JRS* 75 (1985), 209–21.

R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins eds. *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016).

O. Nicholson, 'Caelum potius intuemini: Lactantius and a Statue of Constantine', *SP* 34 (2001), 177–96.

Oxford Last Statues of Antiquity database: http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/.

portraiture, philosophers Numerous 3rd-century *sarcophagi show portraits of the dead dedicated to study and clad in the *himation*, the traditional garb of the *philosopher; this reflects the growing importance of the ideal of philosophical life and of philosophy as an ethical guide in this period. Such portraits show the deceased as an 'amateur' in contemporary headgear, while professional advisers surrounding him display 'philosophical' iconography: Greek *himation*, long *hair, and philosopher's beard.

Late Antique philosopher portraits are mainly known from domestic contexts. Groups of philosophers and other cultural heroes were popular in *mosaics and wall paintings. In the mid-4th century, philosopher portraits appeared also on *contorniate medallions. Traditional iconography guaranteed that cultural heroes like Socrates and Plato were readily recognizable, while recent or contemporary sages like *Apollonius of *Tyana were represented with long hair and beard. A large late 4th/5th-century *house in *Aphrodisias, probably a setting for *Neoplatonic higher learning,

yielded an impressive set of busts and *tondi*, including portraits of *Pythagoras, Socrates, Apollonius (perhaps Apollonius of Tyana), and of unnamed contemporaries. *Eunapius informs us that the mid-4th-century Neoplatonic sage Julian of *Cappadocia kept likenesses of his pupils in his house in *Athens.

The high veneration for Neoplatonic sages was not reflected by public honours; the rare surviving examples are exclusively from *Athens. Some long-haired portrait heads are possibly likenesses of such men; however, no firm identification has been possible so far. The statue in the Forum of Trajan at Rome accorded to the Christian philosopher *Marius Victorinus (*Jerome *Chron.*239e Helm, Augustine *Conff.* VIII, 2, 3) is long since lost. UG

R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins eds. *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016).
Oxford Last Statues of Antiquity database: http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/.
Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*.
R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80 (1990), 127–55.

Portus Artificial port of *Rome. The *Emperor Claudius constructed breakwaters on either side of a *lighthouse (*Pharos*) leading toward an inner harbour with dockyards (*Darsena*), and Trajan added the large hexagonal basin connected to the Tiber by canals. *Constantine I granted Portus the status of an independent *city. Christian structures include the fully excavated *Basilica Portuense, which was probably the town's cathedral, together with a 4th-century church honouring S. Hippolytus as well as a church dedicated to Ss. Eutropius, Zosima, and Benosa. In the 4th century, the monk-*senator *Pammachius established a *hostel for pilgrims. In the 5th century, following the *Visigothic attack of 408–9, walls were built to protect the city centre. The *Ostrogothic King *Vitigis seized Portus in 537, but the Byzantine general *Belisarius, unable to supply Rome with *grain, recaptured the *harbour with imperial *cavalry (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 26–7). *See also* OSTIA. GK

S. Keay, M. Miller, L. Paroli, and K. Strutt, eds., *Portus: An Archaeological Survey of the Port of Imperial Rome* (2005).

possessor In Roman *law, the *possessor* of a thing or piece of property was someone who held that property after the manner of an owner (i.e. who held it exclusively) and regarded it as his own, without being its actual owner (*dominus*), although he could become so if he held it for a sufficient length of time. In that sense, the *possessor* was to be distinguished from the *tenant, whose *lease was itself an acknowledgement of non-ownership (*see* LAND TENURE, ROMAN). PS

J. K. B. M. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (1972).

Possidius (*c.*370–after 437) Catholic *Bishop of *Calama in *Numidia from *c.*401, pupil and biographer of *Augustine of *Hippo, and compiler of the *Indiculus*, a list of Augustine's works written by the Bishop of Hippo. Having trained in Augustine's *monastery before becoming bishop, Possidius remained throughout his life one of Augustine's closest associates. He was a vital participant in Catholic efforts to convince the imperial government to declare *Donatism *heresy, as well as a strong opponent of *Pelagianism. Possidius travelled to the imperial *court twice, once in 408–9 to complain about *pagan *riots that had occurred in Calama (Augustine, *Ep.* 91), the second time in 410 to ask the *Emperor *Honorius to convene the Conference of 411 (*Concilia Africae, Registri Ecclesiae Carthaginensis Excerpta*, 107). He left Calama for Hippo when the *Vandals invaded and was with Augustine when the latter died in 430 (*Vita Augustini*, 31). King *Geiseric exiled Possidius in 437 (*Prosper, *Chron. Min.* I, 1327 [475]). ETH

PCBE I, Possidius 1.
Vita Augstini:
ed. (with comm. and IT) A. A. R. Bastiaensen (Vite dei santi 3, 1997).
ed. (with GT and notes) W. Geerlings (2005).
ET (annotated) H. T. Weiskotten (1919).
Indiculus:
ed. A. Wilmart (*MiscAgost* 2, 1931).
ed. (annotated) W. Geerlings (2005).
Hermanowicz, *Possidius.*

Postumus *Emperor in *Gaul 259/60–68/9. Marcus Cassianus Latinius Postumus was *governor of a Gallic *province when, *c.*258, the *frontiers on the Rhine and in *Raetia were under heavy pressure from *Franks and *Alamans. The Emperor *Gallienus ordered him to defeat the Franks, and Postumus' success was such that his *army acclaimed him *emperor. He seized *Cologne, base of the generals Saloninus and Silvanus, creating in effect a *Gallic Empire. An *inscription from Augsburg dates this important political event to *c.*260. With his rival Gallienus incapable of defending all his territories, Postumus now controlled *Britain, *Spain, and much of *Gaul.

Gallienus' efforts to recover Gaul were further hampered by the defection of his officer *Victorinus and another general, Caius Ulpius Cornelius *Laelianus, who became further competitors for regional power. Postumus' downfall came in the course of his move against Laelianus, after his troops mutinied and killed him when he refused to allow them to pillage *Mainz.

Postumus left a particularly rich record of *coinage, and the numerous coins struck at his Cologne and *Trier mints are superior in quality to those of Gallienus. He created a double sestertius, a new but short-lived issue. RBr

PLRE I, Postumus 2.
CAH XII (2005), 45–9 (J. F. Drinkwater).
Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire.*
J. Lafaurie, 'L'Empire gaulois: apport de la numismatique', *ANRW* II.2 (1975), 853–1012.
H.-J. Schulzki, *Die Antoninianenprägung der gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus (AGK): Typenkatalog der regulären und nachgeprägten Münzen* (Antiquitas 3, 35, 1996).

pottery, Aksumite Aksumite pottery was made exclusively by hand, without use of the wheel. Wheel-turned vessels found on Aksumite sites were imported. Distinctive vessels were produced to serve a variety of domestic functions; allied forms made with care but less well fired were used for interment with the *dead. Some imported forms were replicated but without the technology employed for the originals. Detailed knowledge of pottery typology and its chronological sequence is so far restricted to the area around *Aksum itself. In contrast with other crafts, there is little evidence for large-scale specialized production of pottery, although regional styles may be recognized. DWP

F. Anfray, 'La Poterie de Matara', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 23 (1966), 5–19.
J. S. Phillips, sections on pottery in Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97.*
R. Wilding, 'The Pottery', in Munro-Hay, *Excavations at Aksum*, 235–316.

pottery, barbarian, Germanic Most ceramic products were used for the storage, preparation, and consumption of food and drink, but spindle whorls and loom weights, important objects in *textile production, were also made of pottery. Manufacture of pottery in the lands that later came to be associated with Germanic peoples was active by the 4th millennium BC.

By the Roman period, regional pottery traditions reflecting specific forms, surface treatments, and ornamental techniques were well established. For example, the groups known as Elbe Germans, situlae along the River Elbe and in neighbouring lands, produced highly polished vessels, in forms known as *situlae* and turines (tureens), decorated with meander lines impressed into the vessels with toothed rollers. Pottery was commonly tempered with quartz sand and was hard-fired at a high temperature. Later, during the Late Roman period, large bowls and basins became characteristic forms. Among the Rhine–Weser Germans, on the other hand, a wider variety of pottery forms was produced; vessels tended to be more highly decorated than among the Elbe Germanic groups, a wider range of temper was used, and pottery was not fired as hard.

The specific forms and decorative elements in Germanic pottery can be traced to several different roots. These include the local traditions of earlier communities in the regions, such as forms and designs in La Tène-style pottery associated with the Celts or Gauls, and also stimuli from the Roman provinces. Scholars are especially concerned with the degree of Roman influence over pottery forms, and in particular with the extent to which Roman *dining practices affected the kinds of vessels produced by Germanic potters, especially the pottery produced in regions near the Roman *frontier.

Another important question being investigated concerns the introduction of the fast-turning potter's wheel. In some regions during the 3rd and 4th centuries, increasing proportions of pottery were wheel-made. This new technology had effects both on the efficiency of production and on the forms manufactured. PSW

S. Biegert, S. von Schnurbein, B. Steidl, and D. Walter, eds., *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald* (2000).
B. Krüger, ed., *Die Germanen. Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa*, vol. 2 (1983).

pottery, British Isles The Romano-British pottery of the 4th and early 5th centuries shares many similarities with that of the wider Western Roman Empire, but production was regionalized within *Britain and imports relatively rare compared to earlier in the Roman period. In the later 4th century, development in pottery styles seems to cease. This and the cessation of coin importation make the latest Romano-British ceramics extremely hard to date. For this reason, there has been a longstanding debate over when Romano-British ceramics ceased to be produced. Recent research suggests that production of some kilns continued into the 5th century, but for exactly how long remains uncertain. Recently identified handmade wares in a Romano-British tradition may belong in this final phase of production.

Whenever Romano-British pottery ceased to be produced, the east of Britain began to adopt Germanic styles of pottery ('Anglo-Saxon pottery') from the mid-5th century onward. Although some 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery, such as *cremation urns employed in *Anglo-Saxon mortuary practices, was probably used by migrant communities from across the North Sea, there is no reason to suppose that its use was exclusive to such groups, and it may have replaced Romano-British pottery among British communities for whom Romano-British pottery had become unavailable. Thus, it may be of little use as a cultural marker.

In western Britain, eastern Mediterranean and continental European pottery was imported (*see* BANTHAM; TINTAGEL). Byzantine material includes *Phocean Red Slip Ware and African Red Slip Ware, alongside *amphora types well known from eastern Mediterranean sites. Frankish imports include a series of colour-coated grey vessels (DSPA) dating to the 6th century,

and 'E-Ware' white coarse-ware vessels, dating to the late 6th and 7th centuries. KD

E. Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400–800* (2007).
K. R. Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (2001).
P. Tyers, *Roman Pottery in Britain* (2003).

pottery, Egyptian Imitations of red-slipped tablewares (especially *African Red Slip Ware from *Africa) were manufactured and used in *Egypt and *Nubia from the late 4th century into Early Islamic times. These derivatives, mainly footed bowls and dishes in a pinkish fabric, are known as Egyptian Red Slip Ware, Aswan Ware, or Coptic Red Slip Ware. They were manufactured most probably in the Aswan (*Syene) region, southern (Upper) Egypt, proven by a Coptic ink *inscription on a dish mentioning 'of Souan'.

Other production centres of similar fine wares existed from the 7th century onwards at al-*Fustat (established by excavations at Istabl 'Antar) and perhaps at *Alexandria, where eventually red-slipped tablewares were replaced by lead-glazed successors in the Islamic period.

The standard local *amphora types of Late Antique–Early Islamic times were the crudely made Late Roman Amphora 7 (Egloff 177) from Hermopolis in northern Egypt (made of dark-brown *Nile silt, with small straw-tempered handles), the Abu Mena (*Abu Mina) imitation of the bag-shaped Late Roman Amphora 5 (Egloff 187 in a buff fabric), and the north-eastern Egyptian version of the Aegean-Cypriot Late Roman Amphora 2/13 (Egloff 167).

Egypt was also the production area of S. *Menas *pilgrimage flasks, small mould-made containers for sanctified *oil or water, decorated with saints or simple Christian symbols in relief. They were widely distributed souvenirs for Christian pilgrims to be obtained at important shrines. JV

J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), 387–401.
M. Egloff, *Kellia: la poterie copte. Quatre siècles d'artisanat et d'échanges en Basse-Egypte (Recherches suisses d'archéologie copte, t. III)*, I–II (1977).
J. W. Hayes, *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery* (1997), 16.
M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie*, I–III (Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1976, 1984).

pottery, Persian Few comprehensive studies of pottery have been published from excavated Late Antique sites in the *Persian Empire. The largest excavated assemblages come from *Merv (Turkmenistan), Tureng Tepe (*Gorgan), *Qasr-e Abu Nasr (*Fars), *Susa (*Khuzestan), Tell Mahuz, and *Kokhe (*Mesopotamia). The distances separating these sites make it difficult to find close comparanda amongst them, although certain glazed wares and shapes (bottles, jugs) were widely distributed. Ceramic production in the *Sasanian period was not centralized, however. Pottery of the early Islamic era shows clear continuity with that of the later Sasanian period in its shapes as well as glazes. DTP

EncIran V/3 (1991) *s.v.* ceramics, xii. The Parthian and Sasanian Periods, 304–7 (R. Boucharlat and E. Haerinck).
R. Boucharlat, 'Les Niveaux post-achéménides à Suse, secteur nord: fouilles de l'Apadana-Est et de la Ville Royale-Ouest', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 15 (1987), 145–312.
R. Boucharlat and O. Lecomte, *Fouilles de Tureng Tepe 1: les périodes sassanides et islamiques* (1987).
P. de Miroschedji, 'Fouilles du chantier Ville Royale II à Suse (1975–1977: II.—Niveaux d'époques achéménide, parthe et islamique', *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 15 (1987), 11–143.
G. Puschnigg, *Ceramics of the Merv Oasis: Recycling the City* (PubInstArch UCL, 2006).
R. Venco Ricciardi, 'Pottery from Choche', *Mesopotamia* 2 (1967), 93–104.
R. Venco Ricciardi, 'Sasanian Pottery from Tell Mahuz (North Mesopotamia)', *Mesopotamia* 5 (1970–1), 427–82.

pottery, Roman and post-Roman Any ware made of clay and hardened by fire may be termed pottery, including fine tablewares, coarse wares, transport jars (*amphorae), ritual vessels, and modelled human or *animal forms (but excluding porcelain, unknown outside *China in Late Antiquity). Pottery may be either handmade, wheel-made (on a slow/fast wheel), or mould-made. Shapes derived from the manufacturing process sometimes imitate vessels made in other materials, such as *metalwork. Decorative treatment varies from incising, painting, and glazing to relief ornament (moulding, stamps, rouletting, slip applications).

Pottery is important to archaeologists in dating buildings and objects associated with it and as an indicator of *trade connections. It had various functions in Late Antiquity, some but not all largely unchanged since Hellenistic and Roman times. Earthenware vessels were cheap, everyday products mostly used to transport, store, cook, serve, eat, or drink food and liquids, as well in the case of *lamps, for lighting. In general, distinct combinations of shape, size, and manufacturing technique characterize pottery made for specific functions. Regional or site-specific clays help to identify the sources of the many types of pottery vessels.

The scale of pottery manufacture could range from the seasonal production of a single household (typical of handmade cooking wares in the West), to more complex facilities (Lat. *fabricae*) that were capable of mass-producing a wide range of specific vessel types (typically fine wares).

Late Roman serving and eating vessels, such as thin-walled dishes, bowls, or plates, were wheel-made, or in

some cases mould-made, in fine reddish-orange fabrics, with smooth red-slipped surfaces that made them liquid-proof (the generic *sigillata* family). The most widespread tableware traded across the Mediterranean and the surrounding regions, they were mass-produced in rural and urban workshops in *Africa (mod. Tunisia), *Anatolia (mod. Turkey), *Cyprus (production location not yet identified), and on a smaller scale in *Egypt, Jordan, *Gaul, and *Spain, the latter serving their regional markets. The most important traded wares were *African Red Slip Ware (ARS), *Phocean Red Slip Ware/Late Roman C (PRS), Cypriot Red Slip Ware (CRS), and Egyptian Red Slip Ware (ERS—*see* POTTERY, EGYPTIAN). These also provided models for local imitations. The workshops of *Bordeaux, *Narbonne, and *Provence in southern Gaul, on the other hand, specialized in the production of reduced, black-slipped vessels (Fr. *paléochrétienne grise*). The decoration of Late Antique slipped tableware ranged from mouldings to stamps and rouletting; much of this decoration and many of the forms imitated contemporary *silverware. Decorative designs included simple geometric and repetitive patterns, but also, more rarely, complex figural patterns sometimes influenced by Christianity (e.g. saints, *crosses, *fish, palm branches).

The size of serving and eating vessels saw a progressive shift from small, individual vessels that went together with large plates, common until the 3rd century, to larger vessels, possibly intended for communal meals, a trend that became more widespread from the 4th century onwards. Successive typological changes in style and shape occurred comparatively quickly, making tableware a useful tool for dating archaeological contexts.

Almost all forms of Late Roman tableware can be traced to more valuable metalware items with the same function, particularly those made in *gold, silver, and *bronze. The intrinsic value of ceramic vessels is generally assumed to have been very low: mass-produced pottery could often outcompete local products because of its lower market price, particularly where maritime trade facilitated the transport of ceramics as bulk tertiary cargoes. The simple vessel forms of the majority of these fine wares, with low or no feet, made stacking and packaging very efficient, though this did not impede manufacture or trade in forms with high ring feet (e.g. the ARS of the 5th and 6th cent.). Outside some major centres (especially *Rome and *Constantinople), these red-slipped tablewares became less common towards the end of the 7th century, and may have been replaced by wooden or metal alternatives.

Small table amphorae, jugs, flagons, and other domestic items for carrying, serving, and pouring liquids (also known as 'Plain Wares') were generally made in rather fine, porous fabrics in a buff colour. Some are ribbed and combed with wavy lines, others painted with a red/brownish slip, depending on regional traditions. Broad-line Painted Wares from southern *Italy and *Epirus (mod. Albania) show parallels in decorative style with contemporary painted wares from other regions, e.g. *Crete and mainland *Greece, the *Balkans, the southern coast of Anatolia, Cyprus, the Near East, Egypt, and North Africa, although unrelated painted vessels were also made further away, in Spain and in north-western Europe. Decorations mostly include geometric, *foliage, and animal motifs. A certain decorative uniformity was achieved in the Mediterranean, although these Painted Wares were manufactured in various unrelated workshops and in several different fabrics and shapes.

Lead- and alkaline-glazed tablewares appeared from time to time from the 1st century BC onwards, especially as cups and chalices with a mould-made or slip-applied relief decoration, produced in Italy, southern Gaul, Anatolia, Egypt, and *Mesopotamia, as cheaper alternatives to silver and gold vessels. Various Late Roman manufacturing centres arose in northern Italy (e.g. Carlino, the Lagoon of *Venice, *Ravenna) and in the Balkans along the Danube *frontier (e.g. in *Pannonia) during the 4th and 5th centuries. Mass production of glazed products also began in Constantinople in the 7th century, comprising initially utilitarian vessels (cooking pots) and later tablewares (dishes) made of a whitish kaolinitic clay and covered with a glaze rich in lead oxide (the so-called 'Glazed White Wares'). One can distinguish minimal decoration, such as incised scroll-work, wavy lines, crosses, fish, and *inscriptions on the Constantinopolitan vessels. Chemical analyses indicate some parts of Constantinople as the probable places of manufacture, among them the sites of Tekfur Sarayı on the Land Walls and of Arnavatköy (Arnavutköy) on the *Bosporus.

Coarse wares, especially cooking pots and casseroles, were frequently made with specifically chosen materials (quartz-rich, volcanic, calcitic, or kaolinitic clays) which were particularly heat-resistant and not prone to thermal shock. Handmade cooking pots, made on a slow potter's wheel (Fr. *tournette*), tended to have flat bases and horizontal 'tab' handles, but casseroles with sagging bases are also common. Some of these, particularly the products of the Mediterranean islands of Pantellaria and *Sardinia, were regularly traded.

Typical wheel-made cooking wares were frying pans (flat-bottomed, with a horizontal handle), open and closed-neck cooking pots with small 'strap' handles and indented omphalos or sagging rounded bases, and casseroles (shallow, with thinner walls and a rounded bottom and usually horizontal strap handles). Aegean and Levantine cooking pots, of which many were traded across the Mediterranean, are generally fairly globular with an open neck (for boiling liquids).

Pompeian Red Ware dishes of the 1st to 3rd centuries were not a part of the Late Roman repertoire. Palestinian-type 'sliced rim' casseroles with carinated bodies are a distinctive Late Antique type that replaced Hellenistic-Roman casseroles in the Levant in the 3rd century. These were still produced in *Umayyad Egypt and were exported in quantity to western ports such as *Marseilles and *Tarragona. Chemical analysis of cooking wares has enabled trace identification of specific types of food such as dairy products and animal or vegetable fats. It is becoming evident that cooking pots were sometimes lined or sealed with wax, pitched, or slipped.

Lids could be part of sets with their counterparts (e.g. the Palestinian 'sliced rim' lids). Tunisian lids often had a wide, ring foot that could equally serve as a handle. More common after the 4th century were lids with a simple knob handle at the top. Large flanged domed lids (Lat. *clibanus/testum*), common in Italy, Epirus, and the Dalmatian coast, were also used as portable ovens which functioned for everything from the baking of simple *bread to the roasting of *meat; coals were held in place by the flange and the bread or meat was placed on a flat surface underneath, then covered. Their presence may suggest a move towards bread production in the home rather than in public bakeries.

Storage jars, if small, tended to have flat bases and an everted rim for easy sealing. Large storage jars (Gk. *pithoi*, Lat. *dolia*) used for storing liquids or solids were specialized handmade products. Mortars (Lat. *mortaria*), heavy bowls or basins with gritted interiors for the preparation and grinding of food, were, with the exception of the products of Ras al Basit (*Syria), a characteristically Western phenomenon. Tunisian mortars of the 5th to 7th centuries, however, were smaller thin-walled flanged bowls. Many regions used stone alternatives.

Large two-handled transport vessels (*amphorae) were produced wherever agricultural products (liquid or dry goods) needed to be transported. The capacity of these containers ranged from less than 10 litres (17.6 imperial pints) to more than 80 litres (140 imperial pints), based on factors such as the value of the product, the scale of production, and the size of available *ships (often indicated by *dipinti* in red paint). The shape and features of amphorae were designed to make loading and unloading from ships swift and efficient. Amphorae had a potentially long life cycle, possibly being used several times as transport vessels and subsequently as storage containers, as water pipes or for burials. The most commonly traded amphorae originate from a few regions or centres that contributed to the supply of *wine, *olive oil, salted *fish, or fish sauce (Lat. **garum*) during Late Antiquity—primarily Spain, the Levant, the Aegean, and North Africa. The distribution of such ceramics is, therefore, more heavily determined by the trade networks of primary goods in the form of food and drink than by demand for amphorae per se. It is sometimes possible to associate a specific type of amphora with its content, as chemical analysis has confirmed.

The most distinctive and widely traded Late Antique amphora types were of Aegean and Levantine origin. These range, according to Riley's *Carthage/Benghazi classification, from the sandy Late Roman Amphora 1 (LRA 1) from *Cilicia and western Cyprus to the bag-shaped LRA 13 from the Aegean, supplemented by the large cylindrical North African products (in red fabrics with buff exterior surfaces) and their slender versions, the so-called *spatheia* (from Gk. *spathos*, sword). These standard amphora types may have been replaced in the late 7th–8th centuries by wooden barrels or superseded by so-called 'globular amphorae' or 'LRA 2/13 variants' produced in southern Italy, North Africa, the *Crimea, or the Aegean (e.g. Crete, *Cos, Paros, and Cyprus). These amphorae were often smaller and had less carrying capacity than their predecessors, and were handled easily during transport and during loading and unloading in small *harbours.

Late Roman *unguentaria* (Lat.) or *amphoriskoi* (Gk.) from Anatolia represent a further Late Antique innovation. These are small, elongated vessels, without handles and often stamped with a Christian *monogram, indicating their frequent association with *martyr cults: they contained sanctified oil or water that had passed through the tomb of a saint. Similarly, there were *pilgrimage flasks, small mould-made flasks with a disc-like body, the best known being the S. *Menas flasks from Egypt. Christian pilgrims brought these back from holy places; they were decorated with images of saints, scenes from the life of Christ, or simple Christian symbols in relief. SC; PR; JV

Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta (1958–) is an annual journal.

The series Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery (Archaeopress, 2012–) publishes conference proceedings and monographs, and also inludes the series LRFW (Late Roman Fine Wares, 2012–).

The triennial series of International Conferences on Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares, and Amphorae in the Mediterranean (I: Barcelona, 2002; II: Aix-en-Provence, 2005; III: Parma-Pisa, 2008; IV: Thessaloniki, 2011; and V: Alexandria, 2014, VI: Agrigento, 2017) publishes its proceedings as LRCW (Late Roman Coarse Wares; BAR IntSer, 2005–).

The University of Southampton maintains a website on Roman amphorae, *Roman Amphorae: A Digital Resource*: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/index.cfm/

M. Bonifay, *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique* (2004).

M. A. Cau Ontiveros, P. Reynolds, and M. Bonifay, eds., *Late Roman Fine Wares* 1: *Solving Problems of Typology and Chronology*, Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery 1 (2011).
J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery. A Catalogue of Roman Fine Wares* (1972).
J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, II: *The Pottery* (1992).
J. W. Hayes, *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery* (1997).
D. P. S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach* (1982).
J. T. Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (2007).
P. Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean, AD 400–700: The Ceramic Evidence* (1995).
P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100–700: Ceramics and Trade* (2010).
J. A. Riley, 'The Coarse Pottery from Berenice', in J. A. Lloyd, ed., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Bengahzi (Berenice) II* (1979), 91–467.
M. Sciallano and P. Sibella, *Amphores: comment les identifier?* (1991).
J. Vroom, *After Antiquity: Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century A.C.* (2003), 49–58, 137–45, 303–13.
J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean* (2005), 30–65.

praecones Criers and auctioneers. In the Later Roman Empire, the occupation ceased being legally stigmatized, with *praecones* becoming eligible to hold office on *city councils. Public criers also became more visible as an element of the enlarged imperial civil *administration. There were ten men in the Schola Praeconum of the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Africa under Justinian I, receiving only one **annona* each, but no doubt making money from **sportulae*. AGS

S. E. Bond, *Trade and Taboo: Disreputable Professions in the Roman Mediterranean* (2016), ch. 1.

Praedestinatus Anonymous work attributed to *Arnobius Junior, consisting of a descriptive list of *heresies, followed by a short tract ostensibly advocating an extreme form of predestination, which is then subjected to a hostile critique from a perspective resembling that of *Julian of Eclanum. While the tract and its critique are presented as being by different authors, internal evidence suggests that Arnobius wrote both, in an attempt to discredit *Augustine's ideas on predestination without attacking Augustine directly. DRL

CPL 243: ed. F. Gori (CCSL 25B, 2000).
F. Gori, *Il Praedestinatus di Arnobio il Giovane: l'eresiologia contro l'Agostinismo* (1999).
D. Lambert, 'Augustine and the *Praedestinatus*: Heresy, Authority and Reception', *Millennium* 5 (2008), 147–62.

praefectus Title of military commanders and of various civil officials, both relatively junior, such as the Praefectus *Annonae and *Praefectus Vigilum at *Rome and *Constantinople, or very senior, such as the *Praefectus Praetorio. Rank as *praefectus* was also accorded to other senior men, though they had precedence below those who had held substantive appointments (*CTh* VI, 22, 7). DSl

Praefectus Augustalis Since the *Emperor Augustus the senior administrator of *Egypt had been termed Praefectus. When the *Tetrarchy set *Thebais apart as a separate *province, the territorial responsibility of the Praefectus Aegypti was reduced. His authority at first mainly covered the Delta; for a short period, *c.*314/15 to 324, he was in effect governor of *Aegyptus Jovia only. However after the **dioecesis* of *Aegyptus was separated from the Dioecesis of *Oriens in *c.*381/2, the five, then six constitutive provinces and their *governors became subject to the Praefectus who therefore ranked as a *Vicarius. This left him with ultimate responsibility for Egypt's share of the annual **annona civica* destined to feed *Constantinople. It was at this time, or thereabout, that the position acquired Augustalis as an honorific title. With Edict XIII (539) of *Justinian I and the suppression of the Egyptian *dioecesis*, the prefect's authority was once again reduced to more modest, provincial proportions (Aegyptus Ia and IIa); he had an **officium* of 600 assistants and a salary of 400 **solidi*. JGK

Jones, *LRE* 281–2, 397, and 481 (before and after Justinian), 381 and 389 (prefects AD 328–73), 500 and 509–10 (court), 592–3 (*officium*).
Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 58–77.
B. Palme, 'The Imperial Presence: Government and Army', in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World 300–700* (2007), 244–70.

Praefectus Praetorio and Praetorian Prefecture (Gk. *ἔπαρχος/ὕπαρχος τῆς αὐλῆς*) Head of the most important civil administrative office in the later Roman Empire.

Emergence

Since Augustus, the traditionally equestrian Praefectus Praetorio (the office was collegial) had overseen the imperial military headquarters, including the *Praetorian Guard, and also exercised important administrative and (increasingly) judicial authority. In the early 4th century, the authority of prefects was restricted through the establishment of the *Vicarius or Agens Vices Praefecti Praetorio as their representatives in each **dioecesis* (grouping of *provinces). Under *Constantine I, the prefects became the most powerful civil officials in the Empire: having transferred the exercise of supreme

military command to the newly created *Magistri Militum, Constantine expanded the prefects' administrative and judicial duties, granting them appellate jurisdiction. In terms of protocol, the Praefecti (who now had senatorial rank) were placed first of all dignitaries, second in precedence only to the *emperor.

Prefects seem to have been permanently attached to the imperial *court under the Constantinian dynasty, probably also undertaking ministerial duties; at the same time, there were also independent Praefecti as heads of territorial prefectures. Constantine appears to have temporarily installed a 'proto-regional' Praefectus in *Africa (*c.*333), yet it was only in 340 that more permanent regional prefectures emerged (in *Gaul), later in *Italy (combined with Africa), and in *Illyricum where, however, the chronology is more complicated and administrative restructuring more frequent (e.g. under *Theodosius I in response to military pressures). By the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum*, the Empire was split between four Praefecti, with two praetorian prefectures in the East (*Oriens, Illyricum) and two in the West (Italy-and-Africa, Gaul). While these later Praefecti stood, at least in theory, outside the palatine system, each being attached to a particular administrative area, the *praefecti* with seats in *Constantinople (Oriens) and *Ravenna (Italy and Africa) were in effect members of the *Consistorium.

Competence

The Praefectus Praetorio had overall responsibility for the efficiency of the *administration and the enforcement of *law in the provinces and *cities of his prefecture. He oversaw the *Cursus Publicus, public building works and their financing (*CTh* XV, 1, 23 = *CJust* VIII, 11 7, 384), and supervised professional associations, including artisans (*CTh* XIII, 4, 2 = *CJust* X, 66, 1, 337), advocates (*NovTh* 10, 1, of 439), physicians, and teachers (e.g. *CTh* XIII, 3, 16, 414), and **collegia* as well as the curial order (*CTh* XII, 1). As head of the administration, he also exercised appellate judicial authority over provincial *governors (*CTh* I, 5, 9 = *CJust* I, 26, 3, 389), and could, as appellate judge, issue judgements (*Edicta Praefectorum Praetorio*, ed. Zachariae v. Lingenthal; *NovJust* 166 and 167), unless overruled by the emperor. The Praefectus also had considerable financial responsibilities: he had to assess, procure, and disburse sufficient resources to pay and supply the army (**annona*), to remunerate his officials, and to finance imperial building works in his prefecture (*CTh* XI, 5, 4 = *CJust* X, 17, 2, 436). As a result, the Praefectus oversaw the transport of *grain (and, hence, the **navicularii*, e.g. *CTh* XIII, 5), managed and reviewed *tax reductions, such as those granted to clergy (e.g. *CTh* XVI, 2, 6, 326/9), and supervised the leasing of public land (*CTh* X, 3, 1, 362) as well as prices (e.g. *bread: *CTh* XIV, 19, 1, 398). Finally, the Praefectus remained responsible for the *billeting of soldiers (*CTh* VII, 9, 2, 342).

Staff

*Cassiodorus' *Variae* (*Ostrogothic *Italy), *John Lydus' *De Magistratibus*, as well as a comprehensive ruling from *Justinian I (*CJust* I, 27, 1, 22–39, 534) furnish detailed information about the functioning of the Praetorian Prefectures in the early 6th century. They reveal that a Praefectus Praetorio supervised up to 4,000 officials, employed in two main branches. The first encompassed the financial officials who were divided into *Scrinia under one **numerarius* (two for Oriens) who, together with their assistants (**adiutores*) and secretaries (**chartularii*), supervised officials (**scrinarii)* of various ranks. Some *scrinarii* were sent out annually to supervise the collection of taxes (**canonicarii*), arrears (*compulsores*), or as auditors (*discussores*, *λογοθέται*). The second branch comprised the administrative and judicial departments, headed by the *Princeps Officii with his immediate subordinates (in rank-order), the **corniculariu*s, the *adiutor* or **primiscrinius*, the **commentariensis*, the **ab actis*, the *curae epistolarum*, and the **regendarius.* Their staff—the corps of *praefectiani*—was drawn from the **exceptores* divided into fifteen **scholae* headed by the *deputati*.

Disappearance

The last known Praefectus in the East is Alexander in 626, and while Praefecti Praetorio are documented in the West (e.g. under the Ostrogoths) and in Africa under Justinian (*CJust* I, 27, 1, 534), their duties (esp. financial) are less comprehensive, and the office disappears in the mid-7th century. MM

Jones, *LRE* 101–3, 353, 370–3, 587–92.
RE 22, 2 (1954) 2391–502 (Ensslin).
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*.
C. M. Kelly, 'John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD', *BZ* 98 (2005), 431–58.
J. Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter, Prätorianerpräfektur und Vikariat in der Regionalverwaltung des Römischen Reiches von Konstantin bis zur Valentinianischen Dynastie* (1994).
P. Porena, *Le origini della prefettura del pretorio tardoantica* (2003).
C. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Anekdota*, vol. 3 (1843, repr. 1969), 227–78.

Praefectus Urbi Constantinopolitanae (Gk. *ὕπαρχος/ἔπαρχος*) Head of *Constantinople's city administration from 359. The prefecture replaced the office of *Proconsul of Constantinople in order to sustain the city's growing status and place it on the same footing as *Rome. The city was divided into fourteen *regiones each under a *Curator who reported to the Praefectus, who had overall responsibility for *law and

the prevention of *disorder, the *food supply, fire control, and civic amenities. The Praefectus was responsible for organizing such imperial events as the celebration of *Justin II's *consulship in 566, described by *Corippus (*In Laudem Iustini*), and also took part in such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the translation of the *relics of the Prophet Samuel to the city in May 406 (**Chronicon Paschale ad ann.* 406).

The Praefectus Urbi was a senior member of the imperial *court, ranking alongside the *Praefectus Praetorio, with his own carriage, praetorium, and *prison. Those appointed had held senior positions in the imperial *administration, so were men of literary learning. The first (Honoratus, in office 359–61) was a former Praefectus Praetorio. *Themistius (Praefectus 384–5) was a renowned *rhetorician; the poet *Cyrus of *Panopolis actually held the offices of Praefectus Urbi and Praefectus Praetorio concurrently between 439 and 441.

With office came accountability. In 412 the praetorium was burned down by a crowd incensed at *bread shortages which it blamed on the Praefectus Monaxius (**ChronPasch. ad ann.* 409). In 419 a successor, Aetius, was stabbed through his *chlamys and *toga in the Church of the *Holy Wisdom; he had built a reservoir in the city. JPH

Dagron, *Naissance*, 213–94.
W. G. Sinnigen, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire* (1957).
Janin, *CPByz* 165–6.

Praefectus Urbi Romae The principal civilian authority in *Rome, *Ostia, and *Portus, responding directly to the imperial *court. The office was created by Augustus to maintain public order, but its powers were extended in Late Antiquity, incorporating different services and magistracies. The list of prefects is well attested, and the office is well documented through laws, *inscriptions, the **Calendar of 354*, and the **Notitia Dignitatum*.

Although the precise working of the Praefectus' department is not known, it was responsible for the overall administration of the city, the maintenance of its infrastructure and monuments, and for building works. The Praefectus presided over the *Senate and enforced imperial decisions, communicating with the *emperor through reports; the *Relationes* of Q. Aurelius *Symmachus, Praefectus in 384, survive. The Praefectus was the main judicial authority within a 160-km (100-mile) radius of Rome. He played an important part in *ceremony and religious observance, presiding at *festivals and intervening in conflicts within the Christian community.

An imperial appointment to the prefecture, usually lasting approximately one year, was one of the highest points in a political career; a second term was an unusual honour. During the 5th century the prefecture was progressively monopolized by the senatorial *aristocracy, with notable exceptions, such as *Sidonius Apollinaris (in 468). Praefecti remained important in the *Ostrogothic period, but lost power and prestige after the *Byzantine invasion in the 6th century. CARM

Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine*.
W. G. Sinningen, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire* (1957).

Praefectus Vigilum Commander of the *vigiles* (watchmen) at *Rome and *Constantinople, under the *Praefectus Urbi. The **collegiati* took over his fire-fighting functions in the 4th century. *Justinian I appointed a Praetor Plebis (*NovJust* 13 of 535) and Quaesitor (*NovJust* 80 of 539) to exercise policing powers at *Constantinople. CARM

Jones, *LRE* 692–5.
R. Sablayrolles, *Libertinus miles: les cohortes de vigiles* (1996).

Praejectus, S. *Bishop of *Clermont, murdered in 676 during a dispute over land, and subsequently venerated as a *martyr. His *Passio*, composed within a few years of his death, is a rich source for the interplay of local clerical and wider Frankish politics. PJF

Passio (*BHL* 6916), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. V, 225–48.
ET (and comm.) Fouracre and Gerberding, *LMF* 271–300.

praepositus Title associated with various posts in the imperial military and civil administration from the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi downwards.

Under the *Res Privata, there were Praepositi Gregum et Stabulorum, presumably managers of imperial stud farms (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*or.*] 14), and Praepositi of the Bastaga Privata, the Res Privata's dedicated transport corps (*occ.* 11). Under the *Largitiones, there were several Praepositi Thesaurorum in some **dioeceses* supervising finances (*or.* 13; *occ.* 11).

In the army, *praepositus* designated the commanders of seven units on the *Saxon Shore (*Not. Dig.* [*occ.*] 28), and of 36 units on the African *frontier (*occ.* 25 and 30 and 31).

In the East there was from the 4th century onwards a local official called the Praepositus Pagi (Gk. *Pagarches*) who was responsible for collecting taxes in his **pagus*. OPN

Jones, *LRE.*

Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Principal officer of the *Cubiculum, the department of the Roman imperial *court most intimately connected to the *emperor. He was chosen by the emperor from among the **cubicularii* (chamberlains), so was almost always a *eunuch. He and

his subordinate, the *Primicerius Sacri Cubiculi, controlled the *cubicularii*, though the **Notitia Dignitatum* gives no details of the organization the Praepositus headed, except that it says he had responsibility for the *Domus Divina per Cappadociam. By a law of 422 the Praepositus was assigned precedence equal to such high officials as the *Praefectus Praetorio (*CTh* VI, 8).

The Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi owed his power to his close relationship with the emperor. Powerful Praepositi included *Eusebius under *Constantius II, *Eutropius under *Arcadius, and *Narses under *Justinian I. *Lausus, dedicatee of the *Lausiac History*, was a Praepositus under *Theodosius II. He was not, however, invulnerable. *Valentinian I had his Praepositus Rhodanus burnt alive in public for cheating a *widow (*Eunapius, *History*, fr. 30; *John Malalas, XIII, 31) and the Praepositus might fall foul of changes in regime as did Eusebius under *Julian and *Amantius under *Justin I. SFT; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 566–70.
Dunlap, *Grand Chamberlain*, 162–324.
H. Scholten, *Der Eunuch in Kaisernähe. Zur politischen und sozialen Bedeutung des* praepositus sacri cubiculi *im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (1995).

Praescriptio Fori In Late Roman legal procedure, one of several different types of 'prescriptions' (*praescriptiones*) that could be pleaded in order to attempt to bar or restrict a legal suit from being heard in a particular judicial venue (*forum*). The fact that individuals did, in practice, plead prescriptions against specific *fora* is clearly demonstrated by several constitutions that attempt to regulate the practice (for example, *CTh* XI, 30, 65 and *CJust* VIII, 35, 13, AD 415). The reasons for attempting to plead *praescriptio fori* could be multiple: such a plea might be entered to cause inconvenience and expense to an opponent. Those rich in time, cash, and *patronage connections might deliberately seek judicial venues that suited them ('*forum* shopping'). Certain classes of litigants could plead *praescriptio fori* in order to have a specific case transferred from one jurisdiction to another, on the basis of special procedural rules. The concept of *privilegia fori* (choice between different courts) was established under the early Empire, but from the early 4th century onwards an increasingly complex mosaic of jurisdictional rules developed whereby groups of individuals, including some military and bureaucratic officials, members of the *guilds (*collegia*) in *Rome and *Constantinople, *senators (of Rome or Constantinople), *tenants on *imperial estates, Christian *bishops, and other ecclesiastics could appeal to specific 'privileged' jurisdictions, under certain circumstances (again variously defined by imperial legislation). The **Novels* of *Theodosius II give examples of the practice in action in the 5th century (*NovTh* 7). CHu

Jones, *LRE* 339–40, 484–94.
P. Garbarino, 'La *praescriptio fori* nei secoli V e VI: aspetti procedurali', in S. Puliatti and A. Sanguinetti, eds., *Legislazione, Cultura Giuridica, Prassi dell' Impero d'Oriente in Età Giustinianea tra Passato e Futuro* (2000), 1–41.

praesentalis Term for officers and regiments serving in the presence of the *emperor and part of his *Comitatus. There were two *Magistri Militum Praesentalis in the East, and the Magister Militum and Magister Equitum *in praesenti* in the West (**Notitia Dignitatum or.* 1, 5–6; *occ.* 1, 5–6). JCNC

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 9–19, 469–522, 516–19.

Praeses Title of *governors of certain Late Roman *provinces, originally ranked *perfectissimus* but by the early 5th century *clarissimus*. Praeses was also used as a general term for a governor. DSl

Jones, *LRE* 45, 379, 527–8.

Praetextatus Vettius Agorius (*c.*320–84), Roman *senator, *Praefectus Urbi (367–8) and *Praefectus Praetorio (384). Praetextatus was a zealous *pagan who held numerous *priesthoods and was attached to various private initiation cults. His policy of promoting *paganism while holding office turned him into a controversial figure in life and after his death, which occurred in 384 when he was *consul designate for 385 (*Symmachus, *Relatio*, 12, 4 and 10). On the one hand, he was praised by *Ammianus (XXVII, 27, 9, 10) and Symmachus, who was also his friend and correspondent (*ep.* I, 44–55). His funeral led to public demonstrations of grief in *Rome, where the *Vestal Virgins and the *Senate asked the *Emperor to erect *statues in his honour (Symmachus, *ep.* II, 36). On the other, Praetextatus was attacked by such Christians as Jerome, who described the senator lying naked in darkest Tartarus (Jerome, *ep.* 23). He was possibly the unnamed prefect who inspired the Christian **Carmen contra Paganos*. An erudite man, Praetextatus translated *Themistius' paraphrases of Aristotle's *Analytics* into *Latin (*Boethius, *De Interpretatione*, II, 3, 7). His poetic *epitaph, inscribed by his wife Paulina, stressed his literary interests and his knowledge of *philosophy (*CIL* VI, 1779), preoccupations that also characterize him in *Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, where he is compared to *Vergil (I, 24, 21). DN

PLRE I, Praetextatus 1.
Cameron, *Pagans*, esp. chs. 8 and 10.
M. Kahlos, *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus: A Senatorial Life in Between* (2002).
J. F. Matthews, 'Symmachus and Oriental Cults', *JRS* 63 (1973), 175–95.

Praetextatus (S. Prix) *Bishop of *Rouen (before 562–86). He became embroiled in *Merovingian

politics after marrying *Chilperic's rebellious son Merovech to Queen *Brunhild, the *widow of Chilperic's enemy *Sigibert. He was tried and exiled at Chilperic's instigation (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* V, 18), but returned at the king's death in 584, only to be assassinated at *Easter 586, allegedly on the orders of Chilperic's widow *Fredegund (VIII, 31). He wrote poetry during his *exile, which received a mixed reception on his return EJ

PCBE IV/2, Praetextatus 5.

praetor Title applied to several governors in *Justinian I's **Novels* (24, 25, 26, and 29). The term echoes Justinian's archaizing sentiments. He introduced praetors in 535–6 in the provinces of *Pisidia, *Lycaonia, *Thracia, and *Paphlagonia, where he merged the civil and military command. DSl

Jones, *LRE* 280.

praetor A prominent senatorial office, whose principal duty in Late Antiquity was to hold games. It survived at Rome into the 6th century; young men held the office in their early twenties and by 361 holders of the office were designated ten years in advance so that senatorial families could save the necessary funds. *Symmachus spent 2,000 lb of *gold on his son's praetorian games (*Olympiodorus fr. 44 Müller *FHG* = 41, 2 Blockley).

Numbers of praetors occasionally varied. By 340, possibly earlier, three praetorships had also been established at *Constantinople (*CTh* VI, 4, 5), rising to eight by 384 (*CTh* VI, 4, 25), thereby reducing the cost of the games. In the late 4th century, it became customary to commemorate these games by presenting *ivory *diptychs to friends and acquaintances. *Justinian I also replaced the *Praefectus Vigilum (police chief) with a Praetor Plebis (*NovJust* 13 of 535). AGS

Jones, *LRE* 537–42.

A. Cameron, 'The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 103 (2013), 174–207 at 181–4, 194–204.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 13, 18.

Praetorian Guard Bodyguard formation institutionalized by Augustus, and concentrated in the Castra Praetoria in *Rome by Tiberius. Initially divided into nine cohorts, the establishment settled down to ten from Domitian through to the early 4th century. Cohorts were probably *c.*500 strong, raised to *c.*1,000 or 1,500 under Septimius Severus, each with a detachment of *cavalry (*equites praetoriani*). One or two equestrian *Praefecti Praetorio commanded the Guard, with each cohort under a *Tribunus. The formation faithfully protected *emperors for most of its history, with some lapses, and was repeatedly deployed on campaign. Praetorians presumably escorted each of the *Tetrarchs, and they backed *Maxentius in Rome. After his victory at the *Milvian Bridge in AD 312, *Constantine I disbanded the Guard and demolished the Castra (Aurelius *Victor, *Caesars*, 40, 24–5; *Zosimus, II, 17, 2), although Praefecti Praetorio continued to be appointed and the Castra was mentioned subsequently (**Notitia Urbis Romae*, 6). JCNC

S. Bingham, *The Praetorian Guard: A History of Rome's Elite Special Forces* (2013).

Praevalitana *Province on the east coast of the Adriatic, formed from parts of the former *Dalmatia, *Pannonia Superior, and *Moesia Superior, by the time of the *Verona List, which places it in the *Dioecesis *Moesiae. Epirus Nova was the coastal province to the south. The **Notitia Dignitatum* places Praevalitana in the Dioecesis *Daciae (*or.* I, 123; III, 19). Its principal *cities were *Doclea, Scodra, and Lissus. ECD; OPN

TIR K-34, 103.

Barrington Atlas, 101.

Pragmatic Sanction (*Pragmaticum*) Term referring to a legal decision of the *emperor that applied to a specific *province, *city, or corporate body. In particular, it designates the settlement of 13 August 554 imposed by *Justinian I on *Italy after the *Byzantine invasion. GBG

ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll, *Corpus Juris Civilis* (1928), vol. 3, appendix VII (799–802).

praise In polities such as the Later Roman Empire where multiple hierarchies, rather than equality, are deemed both normal and natural, praise is the practical and active acknowledgement of the superiority of another being. *Augustine, a subtle theorist of praise, thought it axiomatic that being a part of God's creation should make one desire to praise one's Creator (*Conff.* I, 1, 1). He also saw, with a shrewdness sharpened by close reading of Sallust, that desire for glory, the love of being praised, was the engine behind the civic ethics of classical *cities, particularly the heroes of the Roman Republic (*City of God*, V, 12–21). **Philotimia*, love of honour: 'No word, understood to its depths, goes farther to explain the Greco-Roman achievement' (MacMullen, 125).

Sons of Romans who could afford it were taught the *rhetoric of praise and blame, the *stilus major*, alongside the rhetoric of argument and explanation, as part of their educational curriculum under a *rhetor.* This education would equip them to deliver rhetorical praise in a variety of social contexts; *Menander Rhetor's treatises recommend approaches for praising cities and *harbours, as well as the *emperor. Examples of this sort of application survive in both *Greek and *Latin in *Libanius, *Oration* 11, and *Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium.* This 'political' praise had a pronounced

literary turn in imperial prose and verse *panegyrics, which were often presented in the context of a *ceremony, such as the **adventus* of an emperor or *governor, which expressed the willingness of a community to accept authority.

Praise was not a standard motivating force in Roman education itself—rather, fear of corporal punishment motivated schoolboys, as is made by plain by Quintilian, Ausonius (*Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, 10), and Augustine (*Conff.* I, 9, 14), all three men former teachers. However, and despite occasional expressions of suspicion and even contempt for praise-giving as unRoman and venal, there were many outlets for praise in Roman life. Within the framework of *patronage, letters of recommendation, such as those by Libanius and *Symmachus, often praise their subject. Religious devotion expresses praise of the Divine (**Laudes Domini*); indeed, Augustine thought the central characteristic of a Christian was not to seek to be praised oneself but to give glory to God (*City of God*, XIV, 28). *Funeral orations, such as *Ambrose's discourses on the deaths of *Valentinian II and *Theodosius I and Ausonius' *Parentalia*, present the achievements and character of the deceased in terms of praise. The rhetoric of praise could also inform literary genres such as *historiography (*Ammianus, XVI, 1, 3; XXXI, 16, 9, *Eutropius, X, 18, 3), *biography (*Eusebius, *VCon*), *martyr passions, and *saints' lives. In the nature of things, fewer texts survive which express blame, but *Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (*Mort.*), from the early 4th century, and *Procopius, *Secret History* (*Anecd.*), from the 6th century, while denouncing their powerful victims often neatly and entertainingly invert commonplaces conventionally associated with praise. RDR; OPN

T. Hägg and P. Rousseau, eds., *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (2000).

MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations.*

R. D. Rees, 'Words of Praise in Roman Politics', *Millennium* 7 (2010), 9–28.

D. A. Russell, and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (1981).

Praxagoras of Athens (*fl. c.*330) Author, in his 22nd year, of a panegyrical history of *Constantine I in two books. A synopsis survives in the *Bibliotheca* of *Photius (62), emphasizing Constantine's successive victories over a *lion set upon him by *Galerius, over *Maxentius, and *Licinius. The most recent event mentioned is Constantine's *foundation of *Constantinople. A *pagan from an old Athenian family, Praxagoras earlier wrote two books on the ancient kings of *Athens, and in his 30th year a history of Alexander the Great. OPN

Text: *FGrHist* Jacoby, no. 219.

ET and discussion: Barnes, *Constantine*, 195–7.

Rowland Smith, 'A Lost Historian of Alexander "Descended from Alexander", and Read by Julian? Praxagoras of Athens Reviewed in the Light of Attic Epigraphy', *Historia* 56 (2007), 356–80.

prayer, Christian From Jewish literature (esp. the *Psalms) and experience (esp. in the *synagogue) the earliest Christians developed, alongside the *Eucharist, new forms of prayer, offered frequently, in straightforward language (Matt. 6:7, 1 Thess. 5:17). Although first addressed primarily to God as Father, prayers came to be directed to Jesus, the Holy Spirit, *Mary the Mother of God, the saints, and (especially among groups which had *gnostic notions) other divine beings, such as the *angels.

Communal prayer was essentially *liturgical, so had developed by the 4th century into daily, weekly, and yearly cycles. The genres of utterance included petitions (for both the living and the dead), intercession, penitence, and doxologies (*acclamations of *praise). Except for confession of sin, performed kneeling, worshippers generally stood to pray with their hands open at shoulder height in the 'orans' position; they faced east, the direction from which the Sign of the Son of Man was expected. *Music was involved; soon after AD 100, Pliny reported that Christians in *Bithynia gathered before dawn to sing a *hymn to Christ as God (*ep.* X, 96, 7); early surviving hymns include **Phos hilaron*. Candidates for *baptism were formally taught the 'Our Father' (e.g. *Augustine, *Sermons*, 56–9), whether before or after *Easter; expositions of it survive by Tertullian, *Cyprian, and *Origen.

For the prayer of individuals, Origen recommended a sequence, rooted in Scripture, which moved from praise through thanksgiving, confession, and petition to doxology (summarized in *On Prayer*, 33). Origen's sequence is representative but not universal. Christians who wrote on prayer included *Evagrius Ponticus and *John Cassian. Prayer formed the heart of new types of Christian community, including *monasticism, and controversial movements like the *Messalians. JDK

ed. C. del Grande, *Liturgiae Preces Hymni Christianorum e Papyris Collecti* (1934).

ed. Eugenio Moeller, J. M. Clément, and B. Coppierters 't Wallant, *Corpus Orationum* (CCSL 160–, 1992–).

A. Stewart-Sykes, *Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen: On the Lord's Prayer* (2004).

DictSpir 12/2 (2004) *s.v.* prière III A–B, cols. 2217–71 (Lebrun).

A.-G. Hamman, *La Prière dans l'église ancienne* (Traditio Christiana 7, 1989).

P. Allen et al., eds., *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church* (multiple volumes, 1998–).

prayer, Islamic Daily prayer (Ar. *salat*) is prescribed as an obligatory duty in *Islam. Most Muslim sects

observe five daily prayers spaced throughout the day and evening, beginning at dawn, with a midday, afternoon, sundown, and evening prayer. These vary in length and are comprised of units of prayer called *raka'at*. Other supererogatory prayers are not prescribed, but there are some traditional prayers that may be performed in thanksgiving upon completion of a journey, upon entering a *mosque, during the month of *Ramadan, at a funeral, or in observation of the practice of *Muhammad. These last are referred to as **sunna* prayers, connoting the customary practice of Muhammad.

While Islamic prayer generally follows a formulaic pattern of repeated motions, bowing, and prostration, the *Qur'ānic verses read during prayer are not prescribed and may consist of very short or very long verses. Ablution with water is required before prayer, in order to achieve ritual purification. If water is not available for ablution, ritual purification may be symbolically achieved by using sand dust instead, a practice called *tayammum*. Some variations in the methods of prayer and ablution indicate the different traditions held by adherents of a particular school of *law.

Another kind of supplication, called *du'a'*, is a more free-form prayer and may be said at any time or place. It is not formulaic or prescribed, but traditional *du'a'* exist, based largely on the customary practice of Muhammad. These supplications may be uttered for all kinds of daily activities, including before eating or drinking, before entering a home or mosque, for ritual slaughter, upon the birth of a child, when visiting the sick, or any other activity. Early Islamic prayer resembles in some respects the practices of other Late Antique Middle Eastern religious communities, and there is some evidence for the shared use of ritual space in very early Islam. NK

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Ṣalāt, 925–34 (Monnet).
B. Sulayman, 'Qibla musharriqa and Early Muslim Prayer in Churches', *The Muslim World* 81 (1991), 267–82.
M. Khaleel, 'The Foundation of Muslim Prayer', *Medieval Encounters* 1 (1999), 17–28.

prayer, Jewish Jewish prayer has its origins in Temple worship and sacrificial rituals in conjunction with the biblical calendar of festivals. The cycle of weekdays, Sabbath, and festivals was preserved in Jewish communal life after the destruction of the Second Temple, when the *synagogue gradually developed into the main communal centre. Regular services were held there and communal daily prayer stimulated the functioning of the synagogue as the central meeting place of *Jews in the Diaspora.

*Rabbinic sources testify to the adoption of fixed patterns in the structure and contents of prayer complexes. The basic element is the blessing formula (*berakhah*) with a standard introductory clause: 'Blessed are you, O Lord'. Blessings were incorporated in the conclusions of two standard public prayers, the reading of Deuteronomy 6:4 (*Shema*), and the 'Eighteen Benedictions' (*'Amidah* or *Tefillah*). These prayer structures were fixed but the wording seems to have been flexible until the time of *Islam.

*Talmudic utterances confirm the wish for spontaneity and improvisation in prayer: 'A man is bound to say one hundred blessings daily', but there is an underlying tension in the ambition to unify prayer texts for the sake of the universality of Jewish worship. In Late Antiquity, Jewish communities were still in the midst of this dilemma, as can be learned from the interrelations of synagogue prayer and poetry (*piyyut*): inserted *hymns are sometimes at variance with prayer texts. The third benediction of the *'Amidah* (*Qedushah*) represents the glorification of God by *angels, and its core is Isaiah 6:3: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the fullness of the whole earth is His glory.' The people of Israel essentially participate in angelic liturgy by reciting the *Qedushah*, but the sages stress that God prefers Israel's sanctification above that of angels. *Qedushah* prayers and hymns (*Qedushta'ot*) appeared in Late Antique synagogue liturgy on the mornings of Sabbath and holidays. Recent scholarship has learned that Hebrew and occasionally Aramaic were not the exclusive languages of Jewish prayer. The existence of *Greek prayer texts suggests new possibilities for understanding the nature of Jewish–Christian interactions and the adoption of Jewish prayer in a Christian context. WJvB

I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (1993).

prayer, pre-Christian Actions and verbal actions intended to align human hopes with the forces of nature took many forms among pagans. We know more about the actions than about the words. Words alone were not considered as effective as words accompanied by acts: 'prayers without *sacrifice are words, prayers with sacrifice are inspired words' (*Sallustius Neoplatonicus, *On the Gods and the World*, 16). The calendar customs of civic religion required *processions and sacrifice to ensure their effectiveness. At great *temples such as the healing shrines of Aesculapius at *Pergamon or *Epidaurus the morning began with the singing of *hymns and the offering of *incense, and *lamps were lit ritually at night; 'without incense', a pagan would complain, 'the performance of religion limps' (*Arnobius, VII, 26). Set forms of words were, however, required, and especially in the Latin-speaking West it was considered necessary for them to be composed as exactly as a chemical formula, otherwise they would not be effective. Even in the Greek world, an expert mystagogue might be called in to assist with particular rites (e.g. *SIG* 3, inscr. 900 = *Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, inscr. 310, lines 49–54). The consecration of statues which could utter *oracles was another particular skill (e.g. *Eusebius, *HE* IX, 3; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 26).

Managing relations with the gods required expertise; a *philosopher who admired Moses praised him for being 'skilled at praying' (Numenius, fr. 9). No doubt this technology contributed to the devleopment of *theurgy, the private religious practices of pagan intellectuals which persisted long after public sacrifice had been made illegal.

Philosophers might also practise more intimate forms of prayer to entities who ranked higher in the chain of being than the public gods of cities; 'the God of Gods is worshipped only through silence', said *Iamblichus (*On the Mysteries*, VIII, 3); 'the sage honours God in silence', *Porphyry wrote to his wife (*To Marcella*, 16). But such silence was not simply passive and receptive, but requires, *Plotinus advises, inner action: 'Call up all your confidence, strike forward yet a step—you need a guide no longer—strain, and see' (*Ennead*, I, 6, 9). Even at its most intimate and contemplative, where it passed beyond words, the spirituality of *Neoplatonism required action. OPN

M. Beard, J. North, and S. R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols. (1998).
M. P. Nilsson, 'Pagan Divine Service in Late Antiquity, *HTR* 38/1 (1945), 63–9.
P. W. van der Horst, 'Silent Prayer in Antiquity', *Numen* 41/1 (1994), 1–25.

preaching, Christian *Sermons reached maturity as an independent form of *rhetoric in the 4th century with such Christian preachers as *Ambrose, *Augustine, and *John Chrysostom, and the *Cappadocian Fathers, *Gregory of *Nyssa, *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and *Basil of *Caesarea. The relationship between Christian preaching and Jewish *synagogue and Greek philosophical teaching remains a matter of debate. Whatever the origins of Graeco-Roman Christian preaching, it is agreed that by the 3rd century it drew upon models of communication current in synagogues and various philosophical *schools. By the 4th century, exegesis of the *Bible and moral exhortation were normal elements. In the *Syriac-speaking East preaching emerged in a different cultural context, so the boundary between chanted and spoken instruction was blurred, as the works of *Ephrem indicate. Preaching everywhere occurred in the context of the *liturgy and in association with cycles of scriptural readings ordered, as is apparent, for instance, from sermons delivered by the Cappadocian Fathers (Bernardi *Prédication des Pères Cappadociens*) and by Augustine on the *festivals of *martyrs (Saxer *Morts, martyrs, réliques*), by *Bible lectionaries which varied from one locality to another.

Preaching practice and style varied. In some regions, only *priests and *bishops were permitted to preach, in others *deacons preached also. Some preachers adopted a simple style (**sermo humilis*), others employed openly ornate *rhetoric. Some preachers stood, others sat to preach, some on a platform in the middle of a church's nave, others in the *apse. At festivals a series of preachers might address the same congregation in succession. When country people came to *Antioch for festivals, John Chrysostom had a Syriac translator to interpret his sermons. Christian preaching was not immune from the expectations and behaviour associated with secular public oratory and thus its reception varied. Enthusiastic applause, the chanting of *acclamations, and calls for the preachers to cease and let someone else preach are all recorded. People wandered in and out of churches and *martyria during sermons, and preachers complained about distracting chatter and laughter. Congregations also waxed and waned according to the season, the day of the week, the perceived importance of the occasion, and the popularity of the preacher. WEM

OHECS 565–83.
J. Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity* (2006), 11–41.
A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua* (1991).
Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques*.
Bernardi, *Prédication des Pères Cappadociens.*

preaching, Islamic The *Qur'ān itself is a kind of preaching (*tabligh*), sometimes exhorting or enticing and sometimes admonishing or threatening in its effort to convey God's promise of reward and threat of punishment in the next world. Certain verses in the Qur'ān direct *Muhammad to proclaim and warn people to turn from polytheism. *Hadith collections report that preaching was integral to the communal *prayer on Fridays from the earliest period. Preaching preceded the prayer on Fridays but followed it on feast days.

Standard practice included set invocations to God prior to the sermon (*khutba*) and the custom of dividing the sermon into two parts (including recitation from the Qur'ān and pious reminders). Both parts were delivered standing on the pulpit, but the preacher sat down between the two parts; they might be legitimately accompanied by a display of emotion. Hadiths strongly insist on audience silence.

It was customary for the preacher to lean on a staff or sword, suggesting that the pulpit in *Islam developed from a pre-Islamic seat of judgeship. There may also have been influence from Jewish and Christian *liturgical practice. Preaching served religious and political purposes and was undoubtedly used to stir believers to take part in the conquests.

Sermons of Muhammad's *Companions became models of eloquence to emulate. Muhammad famously preached a sermon during his farewell (and only) *pilgrimage to *Mecca in 632, in which he set down certain social norms (e.g. on usury and treatment of wives) and exhorted his audience not to wrong one another but to view one another as brethren in Islam. PH

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Khuṭba, 74–5 (Wensinck).
A. Z. Safwat, *Jamharat khutab al-'arab fi 'usur al-'arabiya al-zahira* (1985).

precaria Term used, particularly in *Francia, for lands originally donated to the Church and then leased back in usufruct on easy terms. Giving and leasing land in this way became a strategy to avoid partible *inheritance. PJF

Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, 137–45.

Prefect of Aegyptus, Augustal *See* PRAEFECTUS AUGUSTALIS.

Prefect of the City of Constantinople *See* PRAEFECTUS URBI CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE.

Prefect of the City of Rome *See* PRAEFECTUS URBI ROMAE.

press, olive and other Presses were mostly used to produce *olive oil or wine. The most common type was the lever press, in which stone uprights anchored one end of a beam and the opposite end was lowered by means of a windlass or screw attached to a massive stone. Stacks of baskets containing milled olive paste, oleiferous seeds, or grapes were placed at the fulcrum point. As workers lowered the beam the mass of the machinery expressed oil or grape juice into a collecting vat.

Olive oil presses have been best studied in North *Africa, where large examples could have processed 10,000 kg (22,046 lb) of olives per harvest (Mattingly). The remains of these presses are among our best indicators for the commercial scale of many oil operations.

Many wine presses were also of the lever type, but the Romans adopted the direct screw press, developed in the Hellenistic period, in which wooden uprights were linked at the top by a heavy cross-beam cut in the centre and housing a wooden screw. Turning the screw moved the pressboard fixed below onto a stack of grapes and expressed the juice into a collecting vat. Wine can actually be produced by treading grapes underfoot without mechanical equipment, so the widespread use of wine presses within the Roman Empire indicates a desire to extract more juice than is possible by treading alone and a wish for speedier processing. MD

R. Frankel, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries* (1999).
D. J. Mattingly, 'Megalithic Madness and Measurement: Or How Many Olives could an Olive Press Press?', *OxJnlArch* 7/2 (1988), 177–95.

price and price regulation Reliable price data is extremely scarce for the later Roman Empire and even more obscure for other regions in Late Antiquity. Prices, moreover, probably fluctuated significantly seasonally, regionally, and as a result of political, climatic, and other changes. *Anastasius I's *coinage of 498, for example, caused *disorder among the urban *poor, for whom changes in the ratio of *gold to *bronze coinage caused a dramatic increase in real market prices (Sarris, 201). In the Roman Empire prices were usually expressed in monetary terms, and in many parts of the post-Roman world this continued to be the case even where barter played an increasing role in actual transactions.

Some of the best data for prices in fact come from documents connected to price regulation, though these are problematic as they usually reflect moments of crisis rather than stability, and are prescriptive rather than descriptive. Nevertheless, efforts by the state to fix prices highlight periods of intense instability in market exchange and suggest that most of the time the Roman Empire operated on the basis of comparative price stability.

Price regulation might be effected by state operations such as *taxation, compulsory purchases, *debasement of coinage (lowering the precious-metal content in coins), and altering the output of coinage. Perhaps the most notable example of price fixing was the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of 301, which gave mandatory maximum prices for a broad range of goods and services. While widely promulgated and frequently used in discussion of Late Antique prices, however, the edict does not seem to have affected market prices significantly.

The Prices Edict occurred during a period of serious *inflation: between *c.* AD 270 and *c.*370 prices in units of account multiplied by a factor of ten and went on to rise for another century. Despite government efforts to control these changes, it was not until *Constantine I's issue of the **solidus* as a reliable, high-purity *gold coin and unit of account that prices stabilized, apparently due to market forces. RRD; PT

R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (1994).
E. Lo Cascio, *Crescita e declino: studi di storia dell'economia romana* (2009), 235–57.
C. Morrisson, 'Monnaie et prix à Byzance du VIe au VII siècle', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, IVe–VIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (1989), 239–60.
D. Rathbone, 'Prices and Price Formation in Roman Egypt', in *Économie antique: prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques* (1997), 183–244.
Sarris, *Economy and Society*.

price of books In Late Antiquity books were produced in various forms (mainly rolls and codices), using different writing materials (mainly *papyrus and parchment). Books could vary greatly in terms of quality and

consequently price, ranging from expensive copies written by trained scribes and calligraphers in bookshops and *scriptoria* to books copied either by hired scribes or personally on recycled writing materials. There is scattered information on prices of books and book production in ancient sources. *Origen sold his library in return for an income of 4 obols a day (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 3, 9). The **Apophthegmata Patrum* mentions a complete Bible worth 18 **solidi* owned by Abba Gelasios (PG 65, 145); *John Moschus refers to a price of 3 *solidi* for a copy of the New Testament (*Pratum Spirituale*, 134, PG 87.3, 2997). A recent estimate of book production costs in *Egypt, combining the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict's data with literary and papyrological evidence, has concluded that a complete copy of the Bible would command prices ranging from 6.2 to 16 *solidi* if written on parchment, and from 4.3 to 14 *solidi* if written on papyrus (Bagnall, 57). RM

R. S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (2009).

A. F. Norman, 'The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch', *JHS* 80 (1960), 122–6.

Prices Edict, Tetrarchic A measure of 301 issued by *Diocletian and his colleagues, intended to stem *inflation by enacting price limits for goods and services. Its text is preserved substantially complete in *inscriptions from over 40 locations, everywhere in *Latin except for *Achaea, where the tariff list is in *Greek. Promulgation was probably confined to the East, although the contents reflect the entire Empire. Its relationship to the contemporaneous *Tetrarchic Currency Reform, which retariffed the *coinage from 1 September 301, remains unclear, since their relative chronology is disputed. The Edict consists of a lengthy rhetorical preamble, followed by a tariff list, organized under 69 separate headings, detailing some 1,500 items, each with a maximum price in *denarii*, covering staples and luxuries, skilled and unskilled wages, and transport costs. The preamble, emphasizing imperial foresight (*providentia*) and restraint, describes hard-won peace disturbed by avarice-driven inflation, with soldiers as typical victims. Contravention, including manipulating supply, was to be a capital offence. Attributing economic problems to Diocletian's misgovernment, *Lactantius (*Mort.* 7, 6–7) describes how, despite executions, the *Edict made shortages worse, so that enforcement was abandoned. *Papyri from *Egypt, however, suggest that some state transactions were pegged to the Edict's maximums for a decade afterwards. SJJC

ed. (with IT and comm.) M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium in integrum fere restitutum e latinis graecisque*, 2 vols. (1974).

ed. M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, 'The Aezani Copy of the Prices Edict', *ZPE* 26 (1977), 125–51, and 34 (1979), 163–210.

ed. (with comm.) J. M. Reynolds, 'Imperial Regulations', in C. Roueché, ed., *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989), 252–318.

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, ch. 8.

M. H. Crawford, 'Discovery, Autopsy and Progress: Diocletian's Jigsaw Puzzles', in T. P. Wiseman, ed., *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome* (2002), 145–63.

Priene *City and bishopric suffragan to *Ephesus, on the north flank of the *Maeander delta plain. A columned *basilica with a *mosaic floor and narthex, built largely of ancient *spolia, dates in its original form from the 5th or 6th century. PJT

S. Westphalen, 'Die Basilika von Priene, Istanbuler Mitteilungen', *MDAI(I)* 48 (1998), 279–340.

priest, Christian The second in rank among Christian ministers, between *deacon and *bishop. The NT refers, perhaps synonymously, to *episkopoi*, (Eng. 'bishop') and *presbyteroi*, (from which derives Eng. 'priests'). By the 2nd century, *episkopoi* and *presbyteroi* were distinct orders, both commissioned for ministry by ritual laying on of hands. While the bishop remained the ordinary minister of sacraments and the principal preacher, presbyters also could administer *baptism, celebrate the *Eucharist, and preach (only in the medieval period with the development of sacramental confession did presbyters also begin to absolve sins). Christians initially hesitated to apply Jewish or *pagan priestly terminology (Gk. *hiereus*, Lat. *sacerdos*) to their ministers. During the 3rd century, reflection on the OT priesthood and on the high-priestly typology of the NT Letter to the Hebrews, along with the further development of Christian *liturgy, particularly at the Eucharist, led to *hiereus* and *sacerdos* becoming synonyms for *presbyteros*. CAS

P. M. Gy, 'Notes on the Early Terminology of the Priesthood', in *The Sacrament of Holy Order: Some Papers and Discussions Concerning Holy Orders at a Session of the Centre de pastorale liturgique, 1955* (French original, 1957) (1962), 98–126.

DictSpir 12/2 *s.v.* Presbytérat, cols. 2069–87 (Lamarche, Solignac, Bifet).

priesthood, pagan The offices held by men and women in Roman *cities responsible for imperial, civic, or mystery cults were not full-time 'jobs', and the responsibilities associated with them were ritual not pastoral. The functions and status of pagan priests remained relatively unchanged from the Early Empire to the time of *Constantine I. Priests were responsible for the *temples, *festivals, and rituals that animated the relationship between human communities and the gods. As *Pontifex Maximus, the *emperor exercised religious authority at *Rome and the provincial *priesthood of the

*imperial cult conferred high *honour. Both *Maximinus Daza and *Julian tried to systematize pagan priesthoods. With the rise of Christianity during the 4th century, imperial policy towards public priesthoods varied; the Christian *Constantius II filled the priestly colleges of Rome, but later *Gratian disendowed the *Vestal Virgins. The evidence available shows a progressive decline in the number and involvement of priests in local life; apart from offices connected to the much secularized imperial cult (even in *Vandal *Africa), most priesthoods are not attested after the early 5th century. CARM

Rüpke, *Fasti Sacerdotum*, lists all priests and priesthoods from the City of Rome. The English translation of D. Richardson (2011) lacks some of the essays printed in vol. 3 of the original German edn. (2008).

M. Beard and J. North, eds., *Pagan Priests* (1990).

Cameron, *Pagans.*

A. Wardman, 'Pagan Priesthoods in the Later Empire', in M. Henig and A. King, eds., *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* (1986), 257–62.

priesthood, provincial The Sacerdos Provinciae was elected by and presided over the provincial council (*Conventus). He organized banquets (**epulae*) and public *entertainments in honour of the *emperor, and remained in office for one year, receiving the title *sacerdotalis* for life. Although formally still related to the maintenance of *temples and the celebration of *imperial cult (*CTh* XII, 1, 112; *CIL* XI, 5283), the office was largely secularized from the time of *Constantine I onwards. Its most important function became the organization of lavish and expensive games in the provincial capital, sometimes subsidized by the imperial *administration. The provincial priesthood was an honourable appointment held by the most important members of the local *aristocracy, and it could lead to a *title of honour, such as that of *vir clarissimus* in *Asia. During the 4th century, local titles like Asiarch and Syriarch were associated with this priesthood. Provincial priests are recorded well into the 5th century, in different parts of the Empire, and even in *Vandal *Africa. CARM

Jones, *LRE* 763–5.

A. Chastagnol and N. Duval, 'Les Survivances du culte impérial dans l'Afrique du Nord à l'époque vandale', in *Mélanges W. Seston* (1974), 87–118.

F. M. Clover 'Emperor Worship in Vandal Africa', in G. Wirth et al. *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia J.H. Waszink oblata* (1982), 663–74.

W. Liebeschuetz, 'The Syriarch in the Fourth Century', *Historia* 8 (1959), 113–26.

Primasius (*fl. c.*550) *Bishop of *Hadrumetum of *Byzacena (mod. Sousse, Tunisia). Author of an extant commentary on Revelation, influenced by *Tyconius and *Augustine, as well as a lost book on *heresy. A commentary on S. Paul's epistles has been erroneously ascribed to him. *Junillus, *Quaestor Sacri Palatii for *Justinian I, met Primasius in 541 or 542 at *Constantinople and subsequently dedicated his *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* to him. Primasius was in Constantinople again in 551 after having been summoned with Pope *Vigilius by Justinian to discuss the *Three Chapters, which Primasius and the pope supported, and the *emperor did not. According to *Victor Tonnennensis, when Primasius reversed his opinion in 552, Justinian rewarded him with the title of Primate of *Byzacena. ETH

RE 22/2 (1954) *s.v.* Primasius, cols. 1971–2 (W. Enßlin).

CPL 873 and 873a:

ed. A. W. Adams (CCSL 92, 1985).

PL 68, 793–936.

J. Haussleiter, *Leben und Werke des Bischofs Primasius von Hadrumetum* (1887).

M. Maas, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean* (2003).

primicerius Title of various officials. Primicerius was a rank in the *army, both in the *provinces and military **fabricae*, and also in the **scholae palatinae*, the **protectores* and **domestici*. In the civil *administration, the Primicerius Sacri *Cubiculi (a *eunuch) ranked second to the *Praepositus, Sacri Cubiculi. There was a *Primicerius Notariorum, and *primicerii* of the **exceptores*, of the Sacrae *Largitiones, of the *Res Privata, and in other departments. Churches had *primicerii* of their **notarii*. The word derives from the name of the holder of the office standing in first place on the wax tablet (*cera*) listing officials. HCT

Jones, *LRE* 634, 674–5 (army), 599 (military), 835 (*fabricae*), 639–40 (*domestici*), 567–9 (Cubiculum), 585 (financial), 911 (Church).

Primicerius Notariorum Head of the **notarii*. The title is first attested in 381 (*CTh* VI, 10, 2). The function must be older; *Ammianus (XXV, 8, 18) describes the murder in 363 of Iovianus, 'first among the *notarii*'. According to the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* 16.3–5, *or.* 18.2–4), the Primicerius maintained the *Laterculum Majus and issued (for substantial *fees, enumerated in *NovJust* 8 of 535) **codicilli* of appointment to senior officials. HCT

Jones, *LRE* 574–5.

Teitler, *Notarii*, 59–60.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 40–1, 163, 235.

Primiscrinius *See* RANKS IN CIVIL SERVICE.

Princeps Officii The chief officer of an **officium*, whether of a *Praefectus, *Vicarius, or provincial

*governor. He was often appointed from outside the *officium* he headed, from among the **agentes in rebus*, though this was less frequent at provincial level. AGS

B. Palme, 'Die Officia der Statthalter in der Spätantike. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven', *AntTard* 7 (1999), 85–133, esp. 103–10.

principales (civic) Management board typically of about ten men within each *city council (*curia*) and sometimes referred to in the **Theodosian Code* as the *decemprimi*. *Isidore of Seville defines them as the first among magistrates (*Etymologiae*, IX, 4, 25). The **Digest* (XLVIII, 19, 27) laid out specific procedures for considering the crimes of *principales* meriting *exile or capital punishment. *Principales* were natural candidates for membership of provincial *assemblies. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 731, 1300–1.

principalis A principal officer in various civil and military **officia* of the imperial *administration. The term, which had often referred to senior legionaries, had evolved to cover senior civil officials by the early 3rd century (*CJust* IX, 51, 1). AGS

Prisca *Diocletian's wife, so mother of *Valeria Galeria. She sacrificed at the start of the Great Persecution (*Lactantius, *Mort*. 15,1), and was beheaded by *Licinius in 314/15 (*Mort*. 51). OPN

PLRE I, Prisca.

NEDC 31.

Priscian (late 5th/early 6th cent.) A **grammaticus* from *Caesarea in (prob.) *Mauretania, Priscian was active in *Constantinople under the *Emperor *Anastasius I, whom he celebrated in a *panegyric perhaps datable to 503.

By 526 he had completed his great work, the *Principles of Grammar* (*Institutio Grammatica*) in eighteen books. In this work he attempted to apply the teachings of earlier *Greek grammarians, esp. Herodian and Apollonius Dyscolus, and correct his *Latin predecessors' errors. The *Institutio*, which alone of ancient Latin grammars extensively treats issues of syntax, ultimately supplanted the handbook of *Donatus and, from the 12th century on, was the foundation of Latin learning in Europe.

Beyond the panegyric of Anastasius already mentioned, Priscian's other works include: the *Principles of the Noun, Pronoun, and Verb* (*Institutio de Nomine, Pronomine et Verbo*), a compendium intended for school use drawn from the larger *Institutio*; grammatical analyses of the first verse of each of the twelve books of *Vergil's *Aeneid* (*Partitiones Duodecim Versuum Aeneidos Principalium*), also for the schools; a versified version of the geographical survey of Dionysius Periegetes; and several minor works dedicated to the Roman aristocrat Q. Aurelius Memmius *Symmachus (*De Figuris Numerorum, De Metris Fabularum Terentii, Praeexercitamina*). As is to be expected in view of his date, Priscian was a Christian (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* II, 238, 5f.). RAK

PLRE II, Priscianus 2.

HLL section 703.

Kaster, *Guardians*, 346–8.

Panegyric, ed. (with FT and comm.) A. Chauvot, *Procope de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée: Panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase Ier* (1986).

ed. (with ET, introd., and comm.) P. Coyne, *Priscian of Caesarea's De Laude Anastasii Imperatoris* (1991).

Periegesis, ed. P. van de Woestijne (1953).

Institutio and other grammatical works, ed. M. Hertz in H. Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini* II–III (1855–8).

Priscianus, Theodorus Physician thought to be from North *Africa and a pupil of *Vindicianus. He is credited with several medical works written around AD 400. His *Euporista* in three books deal respectively with external, internal, and gynaecological ailments. Additional short works dealing with medical topics are also attributed to Priscianus, such as the *Physica* and *De Simplici Medicina*. Priscianus' sources are essentially *Greek; he translated and adapted them into *Latin for a new audience, a popular approach among medical authors of this period. CP

PLRE I, Priscianus 8.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 14 (2009) *s.n.* Theodorus [II, 3] Priscianus, cols. 466–7 (A. Touwaide).

ed. V. Rose, *Theodori Prisciani Euporiston Libri III cum Physicorum Fragmento et Additamentis Pseudo-Theodoreis* (1894).

L. Zurli, 'Il pensiero medico di Theodoro Prisciano nelle prefazioni ai sui libri', in C. Santini, *Prefazioni, Prologhi, proemi di opere tecnico-scientifiche latine*, vol. 2 (1992), 463–97.

Priscillian A highly educated layman who began to promote a new, idiosyncratic form of Christianity in the 370s, and created in *Spain a new religious community including both laypeople and the clergy. The spreading of Priscillian's ideas and the increase of his followers alarmed Hyginus, *Bishop of *Cordoba, who informed *Hydatius, Bishop of *Merida, about Priscillian's threat to the Spanish Church. After Hyginus' denunciation, Priscillian became the object of constant opposition and persecution on the part of the Spanish Church. In October 380 Priscillian and his religious community were criticized and attacked at a *council held in Saragossa.

After the election of Priscillian as the new Bishop of Avila by his supporters in 381, Hydatius appealed to the *Emperor *Gratian and obtained a *rescript that banned all heretics, including Priscillian and his community, from churches, *cities, and every land. At this stage,

Priscillian decided to travel to *Italy to seek the support of the bishops *Damasus at *Rome and *Ambrose at *Milan, and plead his cause before the Emperor Gratian. After Priscillian was denied support from both Damasus and Ambrose, he appealed to Macedonius, Gratian's *Magister Officiorum, and the rescript banishing him was revoked, so that he could return to Spain and to his see.

In 383, Gratian while preparing to fight the *usurper *Magnus Maximus in *Gaul was assassinated in a conspiracy. Maximus entered *Trier as the new emperor and showed a stricter attitude to the defence of orthodoxy, and Priscillian's opponents took advantage of this new situation. In 384, Priscillian was charged with *heresy at a *council held in *Bordeaux, but instead of appearing at this trial, decided to appeal directly to the Magnus Maximus. His case was therefore transferred to Trier and handled by the secular authorities, who finally found Priscillian guilty of sorcery. As a consequence of these accusations of practising *magic, Priscillian was executed with several of his followers, being the first Christian heretic to be condemned to death together with members of his community.

Considering the opposition that Priscillian found as a religious leader, and the persecutions that led to his *execution, one might expect that he professed a clearly unorthodox form of Christianity, which the Church would find it necessary to reject. However, nothing of the sort appears from the works discovered in Würzburg by Schepss in the late 19th century, which were partly written by Priscillian and partly by his followers. This raises a question whether the Church accused Priscillian of being a *Manichaean or *gnostic, because he tried to introduce an *ascetic form of Christianity which threatened the contemporary Spanish Church. The answer is unclear. It is likely that Priscillian expressed certain heterodox theological ideas in his doctrine, of which only traces of a *Neoplatonist, Monarchian, and astrological character appear in the apologetic and festal writings of his corpus. At the same time, his religious community was seen to raise ecclesiological problems for the 4th-century Spanish Church. MC

CPL 785–87:

ed. G. Schepss, *Priscilliani quae supersunt* (CSEL 18, 1889).
ed. (with ET) M. Conti, *Priscillian of Avila: The Complete Works* (OECT, 2010).
H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (1976).
V. Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy* (1995).
J. G. S. Sylvain, *Priscillien: un chrétien non conformiste. Doctrine et pratique du priscillianisme du IVe au VIe siècle* (2009).

Priscus *Neoplatonic *philosopher, closely associated with the *Emperor *Julian. He was a pupil of *Aedesius, and probably met Julian in *Athens. Julian wrote to Priscus from *Gaul, inviting him to join him there. Priscus went on the *Persian expedition of 363, and was at Julian's deathbed. He was arrested under *Valens but returned to *Greece, where he died *c.*395. SFT

PLRE I, Priscus 5.

Priscus General under *Tiberius and *Maurice, admired by *Theophylact Simocatta's military sources. He served *Phocas as *Comes *Excubitorum and married his daughter, but invited *Heraclius to overthrow him. In 612 he recaptured *Caesarea of *Cappadocia from the Persians, but on returning to *Constantinople was forcibly ordained and confined to the Chora *monastery. OPN

PLRE III, Priscus 6.

Whitby, *Maurice*, 15–16, 98–105.

Priscus Attalus *See* ATTALUS.

Priscus of Panium (*c.*401–after 457) Historian and *rhetorician. A native of Panium of *Europa in *Thracia, Priscus was employed as an adviser first to the general *Maximinus and later to *Marcian's *Magister Officiorum, Euphemius. He accompanied Maximinus on a number of diplomatic missions, most famously in 449 to *Attila the *Hun, when Attila was threatening both parts of the Empire.

Priscus published *letters and rhetorical exercises, nothing of which has survived, and a history, title unknown, which covered the period *c.*434 to *c.*474. The history survives in a large number of passages, some quite extensive, preserved in the **Excerpta De Legationibus*, and was clearly popular in its time, since much material derived from it, directly or indirectly and sometimes by name, appears in various writers: *Jordanes' *Getica*; *John of Antioch; the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of *Evagrius Scholasticus and *Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopolus; *Procopius' *Vandalic War*; the **Chronicon Paschale*; the *Chronicles* of *Theophanes and *John Malalas; and the **Suda*.

The history is an important source for the reigns of *Theodosius II, Marcian, and *Leo I, including the barbarian attacks upon both parts of the Empire, and especially the relations between the Romans and the Huns. Priscus' best-known passage is his eyewitness account of the embassy of 449 to the court of Attila which, together with Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 2, is the most detailed literary account of the ethnography of the Huns.

Priscus' work is situated firmly within the tradition of classicizing *historiography, with its consistently secular approach, its emphasis upon the leading personalities of the period, its vague terminology and topography, lack

of numbers, and weak causation, but also its narrative strength and descriptive clarity. RCB

PLRE II, Priscus 1.
ed. (with LT) Müller, *FHG* IV, 69–110.
ed. (with ET and notes) Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 2, 222–377.
ET in Gordon, *Age of Attila*, 59–136.
Blockley, *FCHLRE* vol. 1, 48–70.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 96–102.
B. Baldwin, 'Priscus of Panium', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 18–61.
Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns.*

prisons In the Later Roman Empire, prisons were used predominantly for custody before trial and before execution of the penalty, or for coercive detention to restore public order. The Tullianum in *Rome, still in use in the 4th century (*Ammianus, XXVIII, I, 57), provides a rare case of archaeological evidence. Late imperial *law expected all prisons to follow a similar outline, with a subterranean prison for convicts in chains, and a vestibule for those awaiting trial (*CTh* IX, 3, 1). Defendants of higher rank could also be held in military custody or house arrest rather than in public prisons (*CTh* IX, 2, 3).

Late Roman laws rarely prescribe incarceration as a penalty in itself, although there are exceptions (e.g. *CJust* IX, 5, 2). The early 3rd-century jurist Ulpian seems to record a prohibition of prison as a penalty (**Digest*, XLVIII, 19, 8, 9), but Lovato has recently called into question this common interpretation of the *Digest* passage. Even if it was legally recognized, prison as a penalty played only a marginal role throughout Roman Antiquity.

Late Roman *emperors tried to ease prison conditions by ordering swift trials and exactions of penalties for those held in custody (*CTh* IX, 3). Many Late Antique authors also describe the negligence of *governors in observing correct criminal procedure, leading to illegal long-term detention (e.g. *Libanius, *Oration*, 33, 45). Possible reasons for overcrowding of prisons include an increase in Late Antiquity of criminal prosecution of such offences as *theft, and the reluctance of Christian judges to perform *executions.

Christian writers frequently called for charity for prisoners, as the Gospel commands (Matt. 25:36). Miraculous release from prison was an expected consequence of sanctity (Acts 12:5–17) and a way of differentiating religious and secular power, particularly in *saints' lives from 6th-century *Gaul (e.g. *Gregory of *Tours, *Miracles of S. Martin*, 4, 39). At the same time, Late Antique bishops, such as the 6th-century Bishop Paul of *Gerasa, increasingly kept prisons themselves, in accordance with the increase of their judicial responsibilities (*SEG* 35 (1985), 1571). JHi

C. Bertrand-Dagenbach, ed., *Carcer: prison et privation de liberté dans l'Empire romain et l'Occident médiéval* (2005).
J.-U. Krause, *Gefängnisse im Römischen Reich* (1996).
A. Lovato, *Il carcere nel diritto romano dai Severi a Giustiniano* (1994).
RAC 9 (1976) *s.v.* Gefangenschaft, 318–45 (S. Arbandt, W. Macheiner, and C. Colpe).

prisons, private Private *prisons were illegal under Roman *law, and were the subject of legislation contained in both the **Theodosian Code* and *Justinian's *Code*. It is clear from these laws that those who violated such provisions were primarily the owners of large *estates, who used such prisons to control and discipline their workforce. This impression is confirmed by documentary *papyri from *Egypt, which record **coloni* **adscripticii* on the *Apion estates, for example, being threatened with the estate prison if they attempted flight or failed to perform their duties satisfactorily. PS

O. Robinson, 'Private Prisons', *RIDA* 15 (1968), 389–98.

Proaeresius (274/5–*c.*366/7) Renowned Christian *rhetorician originally from *Armenia who taught in *Athens. He studied in *Antioch before coming to Athens, where he taught rhetoric after the death of Julian of *Cappadocia. His students number *Basil of *Caesarea, *Gregory of *Nazianzus, and *Eunapius, author of *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*. Proaeresius also had imperial connections. The *Emperor *Constans I summoned him to *Gaul where he won the *emperor's favour. He may have taught *Julian at Athens in 355. *Jerome reports that Julian exempted Proaeresius from the edict of 362 forbidding Christians to teach the liberal arts, but that Proaeresius resigned anyway (*Chron.* 242f Helm). SFT

PLRE I, Proaeresius.

Proba Author of a Christian *Vergilian *cento of 694 verses, usually identified as Faltonia Betitia Proba, wife to Clodius Celsinus Adelphius, *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome in 351 (*Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 39, 26; *Vir. Ill.* 18, 22), and mother of Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (*consul 379) and Faltonius Probus Alypius (Praefectus Urbi 391). The cento is usually dated to *c.*360. The poetess confesses that her earlier work had included an account of civil war (1–8, 47–51)—conventionally assumed to be an *epic poem about *Constantius II. The cento gives versions of the Old and New Testaments—from Creation to the Flood, then Christ's life, death, resurrection, and ascension. RDR

PLRE I, Proba 2.
PCBE II/2, Proba 1.
HLL 5, section 562.
CPL 1480: ed. K. Schenkl (CSEL 16/1, 1888), 568–609.
ed. (annotated with ET) E. A. Clark and D. F. Hatch, *The Golden Bough, the Oaken Cross: The Vergilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba* (1981).

R. P. H Green, 'Proba's Cento: Its Date, Purpose and Reception', *CQ* 45 NS (1995), 551–63.
S. McGill, 'Virgil, Christianity and the *Cento Probae*', in J. H. D. Scourfield, ed., *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity* (2007), 173–93.
V. Sineri, *Il centone di Proba* (2011).

probatoria Certificate of appointment to a permanent post (or honorary equivalent) in the imperial *civil service (cf. **codicilli*, the certificates presented to the highest-ranking officials). They were issued—on payment of *fees (*sportulae*)—by the Sacra *Scrinia: by the Scrinium Memoriae to **agentes in rebus*, *Largitiones, and *Res Privata; by the Scrinium Epistularum to the staff of a *Praefectus Praetorio, *Praefectus Urbi, proconsul, and a *Vicarius; by the Scrinium Libellorum to the staff of a *Magister Militum and *Dux (*John Lydus, *Mag*. III, 67; *CJust* XII, 59, 9–10; *CTh* VIII, 7, 21–2). The term is used also for enlistment papers issued to soldiers by a *Magister Militum or a *Dux (though in 472 *Zeno required that imperial approval also be obtained for soldiers recruited to serve on the *frontiers: *CJust* XII, 35, 17). CMK
Jones, *LRE* 378, 576.

Probus *Augustus 276–82. Knowledge of Probus' reign is clouded by the heavily fictional **Historia Augusta*. Marcus Aurelius Probus was a 3rd-century *Balkan soldier-*emperor, born at *Sirmium. He served under *Aurelian (270–5), and was proclaimed emperor by his troops after the death of *Tacitus. His rival, Tacitus' brother *Florian, was murdered by his own soldiers. Probus himself faced usurpations from the little-known figures of Bonosus, Proculus, and *Saturninus, while he campaigned actively on the Rhine and Danube *frontiers. He was killed by his troops in 282 at *Sirmium, and *Carus was acclaimed emperor. The *Historia Augusta* (*Probus*, 24, 1–3) claims that an omen promised greatness to his descendants, possibly alluding to the 4th-century aristocratic *family of *Petronius Probus. DMG
PLRE I, Probus 3.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 271–5.
CAH XII (2005), 54–7.

Probus Nephew of *Anastasius I. Probus introduced *Severus of *Antioch to Anastasius. Around 526 Probus was sent to hire *Huns to protect *Iberia, but instead gave funds to missionaries working among them. During the *Nika Riot, he hid from a crowd threatening to proclaim him *emperor; the crowd burnt his house instead. *Justinian I exiled him, but in 533 recalled him to *Constantinople, where from 540 to 542 he sheltered the *Miaphysite historian *John of Ephesus. OPN
PLRE II, Probus 8.
Greatrex, *RPW* 142–4.

processions, political and secular Throughout Antiquity public processions (Gk. *proeleusis, pompe*; Lat. *pompa*) were both a grand spectacle and an essential element in political life, civic, royal, and imperial. Politics was not only done, it was seen to be done.

Roman *emperors in the 3rd and 4th centuries were perpetually on the move, so it is no surprise that one of the most frequent *ceremonies in which they were involved was that of **adventus*. By receiving their ruler with *panegyrics, lights, flowers, sacrificial animals, and cheering crowds, a *city signified its consent to be governed. Individual arrivals might have specific significance. *Constantius I arriving in *London after repressing the rebellion of *Allectus in 297, as depicted on the largest *gold medallion from the *Arras Hoard, reasserted the sovereignty of the central government of the *Tetrarchy. The *adventus* to *Rome of his son *Constantine I after defeating *Maxentius at the Battle of the *Milvian Bridge also enacted a change of regime. Constantine used one of his three visits to Rome (312, 315, 326) to signify a religious change; he declined to ascend the Capitol and perform the customary *sacrifices. Much might be deduced from the demeanour of an emperor during such a procession. *Constantius II passing through Rome in 357 seemed to *Ammianus stiff—he looked rigidly straight ahead and did not pick his nose or face (XVI, 10), whereas *Honorius coming through the crowds from the Milvian Bridge to the Palatine in 403 seemed affable (*Claudian, *De Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, 494–522, 543–4). *Julian's *adventus* to *Antioch in 362 was marked by the ill omen of women ritually mourning for Adonis (Ammianus, XXII, 9, 15).

When the eastern emperors settled at Constantinople after 395, processions through the street became a regular feature of the *city's calendar. Annually on the birthday of the city, 11 May, a wooden statue of Constantine was brought by a guard of soldiers through the streets to the *Circus, where the emperor of the day did obeisance to it and to the *Fortuna (*Tyche*) of the City (*John Malalas, XIII, 8, 322). Imperial officials also had their place in the processions of the imperial city. It was said that when *Cyrus held the offices of *Prafectus Praetorio and *Praefectus Urbi concurrently between 439 and 441 he would go out in the carriage of one of his prefectures and return in the carriage of the other. Official processions were a familiar sight in 5th-century Constantinople; when a *Goth leant out of window to watch S. *Daniel the Stylite being carried shoulder-high by an enthusiastic mob, he said, 'Look here comes our new *consul'—and fell out of the window and died (*VDanStyl* 75). *Justinian I even revived the ancient triumph for *Belisarius after he had conquered *Africa in 534 (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, IV, 9).

Evidence is most plentiful for emperors and the cities where they lived, but processions featured also in the

regular life of provincial cities. *Governors were met with a ritual *adventus* on entering the cities of their *provinces. The *iconography of Christ's entry into *Jerusalem had points of similarity with this familiar ceremony. *Basil's description of S. Gordius going to his martyrdom evokes the excitement of a civic procession—'no woman showed herself absent from the spectacle, nor any man whether obscure or distinguished' (*Sermon on S. Gordius*, 6, = PG 31, 501 BC). When the *relics of S. *Symeon Stylites the Older were brought from his pillar at *Qalat Seman to the city of *Antioch they were accompanied by a procession lasting five days accompanied by the *Dux Syriae and 600 soldiers.

OPN; JW

F. A. Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual Constantinople in Late Antiquity', *ActaIRNorv* 15 (2001), 27–61.

A. Berger, 'Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople', in N. Necipoğlu, ed., *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (2001), 73–87.

S. Diefenbach, 'Zwischen Liturgie und Civilitas. Konstantinopel im 5. Jahrhundert und die Etablierung eines städtischen Kaisertums', in R. Warland, ed., *Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie. Schauplätze in Spätantike, Byzanz und Mittelalter* (2002), 21–49.

R. Guilland, 'Sur les itinéraires du Livre des Cérémonies', *Athena* 65 (1961), 74–100.

R. Janin, 'Les Processions religieuses à Byzance', *REB* 24 (1966), 69–88.

M. Jones and S. McFadden, *Art of Empire: The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple* (2015).

MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*.

processions, religious Religion in Antiquity was not primarily a private matter. Regular public parades through the *streets of a *city, to and from public games and *sacrifices, had always formed part of the *ceremonies through which Romans and Greeks had tried to assure the normal cooperation of the forces of nature with the needs of their communities. The beginning of the navigation season was marked in seaside places by a procession to the water's edge and the launching of the *Ship of *Isis (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 9–19). Such ceremonies were deemed to be prohibited by the provisions of a law of 407 (**Sirmondian Constitution*, 12, cf. *Augustine, *ep.* 91, 8), but in the autumn of 417 *Rutilius Namatianus found celebrations in honour of Osiris still occurring in a *village on the coast of *Italy (I, 371–6).

Christians also prayed and sang together in the public streets, particularly with the development of patterns of *stational liturgy when on certain stated days a *bishop would go across his city to celebrate a specific *festival at a particular church. At *Constantinople from the late 6th century onwards a procession in honour of the *Theotokos went from the Blachernae to the Chalcoprateia every Friday, and was modelled on a similar weekly observance at *Jerusalem which went from Mount Sion to Gethsemane. In addition to these calendar customs, processions also occurred as part of particular celebrations such as that illustrated on the *Translation of Relics *ivory, and with litanies to seek divine assistance during emergencies, as after an *earthquake in *Constantinople in 396 (*Orosius, III, 3, 2; *Sozomen, II, 4, 4).

OPN

processions, pagan An important element in religious celebrations, processions were normally organized and funded by *priests specific to individual cults, and occupied an integral place in the calendars of *city *festivals. There were two main types of processions, the ordered and scripted *pompe* and the more orgiastic *komoi*, which attracted the criticism of Christian and pagan writers alike. Some festivals were celebrated all over the Empire, like the *Kalends of January. Others had a local character, but could still attract crowds from other regions, like the Panathenaic procession in *Athens. Processions connected the secular and the sacred, blurring boundaries between the two spheres. In 384, the great pagan *Praetextatus held political office as *Praefectus Praetorio under Christian *emperors and had recently been designated *consul for the following year; *Jerome describes scornfully the popular applause as he went triumphantly up the Capitol in *Rome, preceded by the civic dignitaries (*ep.* 23, 3). Processions could also lead to religious violence: in 408, a procession celebrating the Kalends of June in *Calama (*Numidia) passed in front of a church, resulting in a riot between pagans and Christians (*Augustine, *ep.* 90–1). Dissociated from *sacrifices, pagan processions continued in some cities into the late 5th century.

CARM

E. Rebillard and C. Sotinel, eds., *Les Frontières du profane dans l'Antiquité Tardive* (2010).

M. Meslin, *La Fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain* (1970).

processions, Christian From at least the middle of the 4th century processions were a feature of Christian *liturgy, especially in the more important urban centres. The first extensive evidence for them can be found in the *pilgrimage account of *Egeria (381–4). She recounts daily processions within the Holy Sepulchre/Golgotha complex at *Jerusalem as well as processions to special sites, e.g. to *Bethlehem on the eve of *Epiphany (Jerusalem's Nativity celebration) and from the Mount of Olives on Palm Sunday.

Processions also figure importantly in the religious life of *Constantinople. *Socrates (VI, 8) and *Sozomen (VIII, 8), 5th-century church historians, describe rival processions of *Arians and Orthodox in the 4th century which ended in violence. *John Chrysostom describes a procession by land and sea carrying a saint's *relics to

a coastal suburban shrine which 'turned the sea into a church' (*Homilia in S. Phocam martyrem*, 1 = PG 50, 699–706 at col. 700). The remains of the prophet Samuel arrived in 406, and were conducted to their new home by an enthusiastic procession which stretched, says *Jerome (*Contra Vigilantium*, 5), all the way back to *Palestine; the *Praefectus Praetorio and the *Praefectus Urbi were present, and the *emperor led the way. There were numerous processions from the Church of the *Holy Wisdom to other churches in the city on *festival days throughout the year, forming part of the city's *stational liturgy.

There were also various processions in the Late Antique liturgy of the city of *Rome. *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, XII, 55–66) succinctly describes the episcopal procession from the *Vatican to the *Basilica of S. Paul's-outside-the-walls for the double celebration of the feast of Ss. Peter and Paul. The 'Great Litany' (25 April) was a procession that offered *prayers for a safe harvest. Pope Sergius I (687–701) instituted processions on four major feasts related to the Virgin *Mary, the Presentation (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Dormition (15 August), and Nativity (8 September). Processions from gathering points (*collecta*) within the city to churches where the liturgy was celebrated (*stationes*) also took place on the weekdays of Lent. JFB

Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*.

R. Janin, 'Les Processions religieuses de Byzance', *RÉB* 20 (1962), 68–89.

Proclus (410–85) One of the most prolific and influential *philosophers of Late Antiquity. Proclus was born in 410 to *pagan parents from *Lycia in *Constantinople. His father was a lawyer and, following grammatical studies in Lycia, Proclus studied *rhetoric at *Alexandria under the sophist Leonas and the grammarian Orion (*VProcli* 8) and also studied *Latin in order to prepare for a legal career. Leonas introduced Proclus to political figures in Alexandria and Constantinople and, while visiting Theodorus the *Praefectus Augustalis, Proclus became convinced that he should shift his focus to the full-time study of philosophy. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned the study of rhetoric, and began attending the Aristotelian seminars of the teachers *Olympiodorus and Hero. He developed so close a relationship with Olympiodorus that Proclus was offered his teacher's daughter in *marriage, an offer that Proclus declined (*VProcli* 9). He soon grew disenchanted with the type of teaching done in Alexandria and left the city to study in *Athens at the Platonic school headed by *Plutarch.

Athenian period

Proclus arrived in Athens in 429 or 430. Plutarch led Proclus through Plato's *Phaedo* and Aristotle's *On the Soul* (*VProcli* 12), but *Syrianus served as Proclus' primary teacher. In slightly more than two years, Proclus read with Syrianus nearly all of the works of Aristotle (*VProcli* 13). He progressed quickly through the standard Platonic curriculum as well and, by the age of 28, he had written commentaries on the *Phaedo* and the *Timaeus* (*VProcli* 13). Following the completion of the *Timaeus* commentary, Syrianus offered Proclus instruction on the Orphic hymns (*VProcli* 26). Proclus supplemented this formal study with study of Chaldean texts, instruction in *theurgy provided by Plutarch's daughter, and investigations into the practices of a range of traditional Mediterranean cults.

Proclus the scholarch

Proclus took over the leadership of the Athenian school following Syrianus' death in *c.*440. His first few years were difficult and he was compelled to spend one year in exile in *Lydia, probably after finding himself on the wrong side of some Athenian political conflict. Athens remained friendly to both traditional religion and the religiously tinged Platonism which Proclus taught. After returning from Lydia, Proclus allowed Plutarch's grandson Archiades to serve as the school's political advocate while he directed its teaching (*VProcli* 14). When the statue of Athena was removed from the Parthenon by 'the people who move that which should not be moved', a beautiful woman appeared to him in a *dream and told him to get his house ready 'because the Athenian Lady wishes to dwell with you' (*VProcli* 30). By the 460s, his school had become the most important centre for philosophical instruction in the eastern Mediterranean world. Students came from *Anatolia, *Syria, *Palestine, and *Egypt. Many of them then returned home and set up schools in which they taught according to the models they had learned under Proclus. By the 480s, teachers trained by Proclus seem to have dominated the philosophical *schools of Alexandria, *Aphrodisias, and Athens.

Works

Proclus' extensive writings included commentaries on at least ten Platonic texts, *Euclid's *Elements*, Nicomachus' *Arithmetic*, the *Tetrabiblos* of *Ptolemy, and the *Enneads* of *Plotinus. He wrote a number of polemical works including one directed against Aristotle's criticisms of the *Timaeus* and another aimed apparently at Christian objections to the Aristotelian notion of the world's eternity (later answered by *John Philoponus). He composed a series of original works (most notably his *Elements of Theology* and his *Platonic Theology*) that collectively outlined his metaphysical system. Other works also evince a particular concern with providence and the degree to which unchanging powers can influence the affairs of men. Proclus' commentaries show a

great dependence upon *Iamblichus, but the 6th-century Platonist *Damascius strongly criticized Proclus' particular use of Iamblichus.

Legacy

Proclus died in 485 after a long and debilitating illness. His successor, the sickly *Marinus, proved unable to maintain the prominence of the Athenian school, and its influence diminished until *Damascius revitalized the institution in the 510s. The intellectual legacy of Proclus was more secure. By the early 6th century, he was routinely called 'the great Proclus' (*Ammonius, *In Analytica Priora*, 4, 6; Philoponus, *De Aeternitate Mundi*, 59, 24–5) and his Platonic commentaries formed the basis of discussion in classes led by other Platonists (most notably Damascius). His theological works also probably influenced Christians, his ideas being present most notably in the writings of the shadowy *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. EW

PLRE II, Proclus 4.
ed. V. Cousin, *Opera Inedita* (1864).
ed. H. S. Lang, A. D. Macro, and J. McGinnis (with ET and comm.), *Proclus: On the Eternity of the World* (2001).
text (with FT) H. Saffrey, *Proclus: Hymnes et Prières* (1994).
ed. A. Ph. Segonds (with FT), *Sur le premier Alcibiade de Platon*, 2 vols. (1985–6).
ed. A. Pasquali, *In Platonis Cratylum* (1908).
ed. H. Boese, *De Decem Dubitationibus circa Providentiam* and *De Providentia et Fato*, in his *Tria Opuscula* (1960).
ed. E. R. Dodds (with ET), *Elements of Theology* (1933).
ed. V. Cousin, *Commentarius in Platonis Parmenidem* (1864).
ed. H. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink (with FT), *Théologie Platonnicienne*, 6 vols. (1968–97).
ed. W. Kroll, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, 2 vols. (1899, 1901).
ed. E. Diehl, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentarius*, 3 vols. (1903–6).
ed. (with GT) C. Manitius, *Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum* (1909).
ed. P. Athanassiadi (annotated with ET), *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (1999).
ET (annotated) M. Edwards, *Neoplatonic Saints: The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students* (TTH 35, 2000).
Watts, *City and School*, 96–128.
P. Chuvin, *Chronicle of the Last Pagans*, tr. B. A. Archer (1990).
I. Perczel, 'Pseudo-Dionysius and the Platonic Theology: A Preliminary Study', in A. P. Segonds and C. Steel, eds., *Proclus et la Théologie Platonicienne* (2000), 491–530.
L. Sirovanes, *Proclus: Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Science* (1996).
W. Beierwaltes, 'Pronoia und Freiheit in der Philosophie des Proklos', *Freiburg Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 24 (1977), 88–111.

Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople (*sed.* 434–47) Author in 435/6 of the *Tomus*, a *Letter to the Armenians* concerning *Nestorianism. Proclus was ordained by *Bishop Atticus and may have become patriarch through the influence of the *Empress *Pulcheria. Proclus had the *relics of *John Chrysostom transferred to Constantinople on 27 January 438, which reconciled John Chrysostom's followers with the patriarchate. Proclus mediated between the positions of *Antioch and *Alexandria on matters of Christology.

Over 30 *sermons, some of which may not be authentic, are preserved in *Greek, *Syriac, *Armenian, Ethiopic, *Georgian, Old Slavonic, *Arabic, and *Latin (Solignac). Many of them were delivered on *festivals of Christ.

Proclus' homilies on the *Theotokos were instrumental in the debate over the status of the Virgin *Mary. The first of these was possibly delivered in 430, on 26 December (Constas, 57–9) on the newly instituted festival of Mary, and in the presence of, and against, Nestorius, who attempted to quell her veneration; it was appended to the minutes of the *Council of *Ephesus of 431, thus receiving canonical status (*ACO* I, I, I, 103–7). Its importance in the development of Christology towards the Council of *Chalcedon is undisputed.

Eight *letters (*ACO* I, II, IV; CPG 4:5896–915) are preserved, mostly in Latin. Letter 2, known as the *Tomus ad Armenios* (435 or shortly after), is extant in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian, with fragments in Arabic and Ethiopic. Proclus addresses Armenian concerns about Nestorianism and the writings of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, thereby prompting a removal of Antiochene influence on the Armenian *translation of the *Bible and upholding the Armenian Church's western affiliation. The Armenian translation of the *Tomus* mentions Theodore of Mopsuestia. The *Tomus*' relevance stretches well beyond its immediate purpose; Proclus' Theopaschite formulation *Unus e Trinitate passus* ('One of the Trinity suffered') was accepted at *Rome only under John II (533–5). TMvL

WORKS (*CPG* 4, 5800–92):
Tomus ad Armenios: *ACO* IV, 2:187–95 (Greek, with two Syriac versions in apparatus), 197–205 (Latin); Cod Vat. 1431: see Van Rompay, 430 (third Syriac tr.).
A. Vardanean, 'Tułt' Prokleay episkoposi aṙ S. Sahak hayrapet Hayoc' ew aṙ S. Maštoc'', *Handes Amsorya* 35 (1921), 1–25 (Armenian).

STUDIES
N. Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Homilies 1–5, Texts and Translations* (2003).
N. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'orient* (1999), including FT of *Tomus ad Armenios* from Armenian, 420–31.
L. Van Rompay, 'Proclus of Constantinople's "Tomus ad Armenios" in the Post-Chalcedonian Tradition', in Laga et al., *After Chalcedon*, 425–49.

A. Solignac, 'Proclus (Saint)', *DictSpir* 12/2 (1986), 2374–81.
G. Winkler, 'An Obscure Chapter in Armenian Church History (428–439)', *REArm* 19 (1985), 85–180.

Proconnesus (*mod. Marmara Adası, Turkey) *Island in the Sea of *Marmara (Propontis), close to *Constantinople, which it supplied with white *marble. Proconnesian marble is typically coarse-grained with blue veins. Finished carvings were exported throughout the Mediterranean in Late Antiquity and they established a super-regional style that was imitated by various local workshops.

The formal repertoire of Late Antique architectural *sculpture initially derived from *Docimium. It developed further when *Theodosius I enlarged Constantinople, using considerable Proconnesian marble. The repertoire then absorbed Sasanian influences during the building of *Anicia Iuliana's Church of S. *Polyeuctus, and finally appeared soon afterwards fully matured in Justinian I's Church of the *Holy Wisdom.

Under the *Tetrarchy the *quarries had been used as a place of hard labour for those condemned under the *Manichaean Law. *Valens sent into *exile to labour on Proconnesus monks and others loyal to the theology of the *Council of *Nicaea (*Theodoret, *HE* IV, 22). Convicts were still working the quarries in 536 (*NovJust* 22, 9). Marble production at Proconnesus ceased in the middle of the 6th century. PhN

N. Asgari, 'The Proconnesian Production of Architectural Elements in Late Antiquity', in Mango and Dagron, 263–88.
P. Niewöhner, 'The Rotunda at the Myrelaion in Constantinople. Pilaster Capitals, Mosaics, and Brick Stamps', in E. Akyürek et al. (eds.), *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture* (2013), 41–52.
RAC 20 (2004) *s.v.* Kapitell, 58–123 (Peschlow).
C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (1984).

proconsul Title of the *governors of *Africa, *Asia, and *Achaea. Africa and Asia had long been the most prestigious public *provinces. The proconsulship of Achaea was created in the early 4th century (possibly under *Constantine I). Proconsuls of Achaea included the poet *Porfyrius and the pagan *senator *Praetextatus. Proconsuls were the highest-ranking governors, and by the late 4th century the only ones with the *title of *spectabilis*, whereas all other governors were ranked *clarissimi*. Unlike other governors, proconsuls came directly under the *emperor, and not under a *Vicarius or *Praefectus Praetorio. *Justinian I gave the governor of *Palaestina Prima the title Proconsul (*NovJust* 103). DSl

Proconsul of Carthage The *governor of Roman *Africa Proconsularis was *Proconsul Africae. After the *Vandals captured *Carthage in 439, their kings occupied the Proconsul's *residence on Byrsa Hill, but a judicial official bore the title Proconsul Carthaginis. Two are certainly attested, Victorianus of *Hadrumetum in 484 (*Victor of Vita, 3, 27) and Pacideius in 484/96 (*Dracontius, *Romulea*, 5 *explicit*). AHM

Proconsul of Constantinople Head of the *city's administration from 324 until 359, when his functions were taken up by the *Praefectus Urbi. Most of the ten known proconsuls held office in the course of a high-flying career in the imperial *administration. In 342, the Proconsul Alexander was forced to flee *Constantinople in a *riot. Libanius (*ep*. 480) congratulated Araxius on his appointment in 356 The last proconsul was the famous orator *Themistius. OPN; JPH

PLRE I, p. 1056 (*fasti*).
Dagron, *Naissance*, 215–26.

Procopius (c.326–366) *Usurper (365–6). Procopius came from *Cilicia (*Ammianus, XXVI, 9, 11; XXVI, 6, 1). Given a high military command by *Julian, and possibly intended as his successor (*Zosimus, IV.4–13), he gave way to *Jovian and retired. However, during the reign of the unpopular *Valens, Procopius was acclaimed as *emperor by the *army in *Constantinople in 365. He himself became unpopular when forced to raise taxes, and was defeated and killed by Valens (Ammianus, XXVI, 9, 8; *Socrates, IV, 5; *Sozomen, VI,8). SEB; FKH

PLRE I, Procopius 4.
Matthews, *Ammianus*, 192, 198–9.

Procopius of Caesarea (*c.*500–*c.*560) *Historian and Assessor (Consiliarius) of the general *Belisarius.

Life and career

Procopius came from *Caesarea in Palestine and trained as a lawyer. He obtained the post of assessor, i.e. legal adviser, to Belisarius when he became *Dux *Mesopotamiae in 527. He accompanied the general in his campaigns on the eastern *frontier from 527 to 531 and was present, like Belisarius, in *Constantinople during the *Nika Riot of January 532. He served Belisarius again in North *Africa during the war against the *Vandals (533–4), and likewise for the first part of the war against the *Goths in *Italy (535–40). During the *siege of *Rome he undertook a mission to resupply and reinforce Belisarius' besieged forces (*Gothic*, VI, 4). Having returned to Constantinople with Belisarius in 540, he devoted himself to writing up his histories; he was certainly present in the capital when the Justinianic *Plague struck in 542, and he provides a detailed description of it (*Persian*, II, 22–3). The first seven books of the *Wars* were published in 550 or 551 and enjoyed wide circulation (*Gothic*, VIII, 1, 1); he therefore added a final book to this work, which appeared in

late 552. At some point he considered producing a *Church History*, but none has survived. It is uncertain how long Procopius lived in Constantinople: the date of publication of his two other works is contested (see below). An identification with a homonymous *Praefectus Urbi of 562 is unlikely; he certainly died before the end of *Justinian I's reign in 565.

Works

Wars (*Persian, Vandalic,* and *Gothic*)

Procopius organized his account of the wars waged during Justinian's reign geographically: the first two books cover the Persian wars, Book I dealing with the period up to the *Everlasting Peace of 532 and a little beyond, while Book II concerns the hostilities that broke out in 540. Books III and IV treat the *Byzantine invasion of Africa, i.e. the Vandal Wars, and the struggles against the *Moorish tribes following the defeat of the Vandals. Books V–VII narrate the course of the war in Italy against the *Ostrogoths, with a particular emphasis on the year-long siege of Rome of 537–8. Book VIII, on the other hand, is divided between the eastern front, where the war with the *Persian Empire continued in *Lazica, and the Italian theatre. Procopius writes in the classicizing style, seeking to emulate Thucydides and Herodotus as far as possible; Christianity and its trappings are largely absent, but most scholars suppose that the author was nonetheless a conventional Christian. The geographical arrangement of material was an unusual choice that caused Procopius some difficulties in inserting certain episodes: in the *Persian Wars*, for instance, he reports the Nika Riot in Constantinople (*Persian*, I, 24) and intrigues against the *Praefectus Praetorio *John the Cappadocian (*Persian*, I, 25; II, 30 and 49–54), as well as an invasion of the *Balkans (*Persian*, II, 4). In his final book, however, he prefers a more chronological approach. The separation into areas allows Procopius to provide introductory material on the three foes in question, which he draws from earlier authors. These preliminary sections are far more superficial and patchy than his main narrative, which is detailed and vivid: he was an eyewitness to many of the events he describes, and evidently benefited from close contacts with the commanders of the time.

Secret history (*Anecd.*)

Initially lost for centuries, this work of *invective has become Procopius' most popular. It recounts at length all the failings of Justinian's administration, pinning the blame squarely on the *emperor himself, portrayed as a *demon incarnate, on his sexually voracious wife *Theodora, and on their entourage, including Belisarius, cuckolded by his wife *Antonina. The work breaks down into three parts, the first of which (chapters 1–5) targets the excessive influence of women in the state; the second (6–18) inveighs against the emperor and his wife, while the last (19–30) offers more general criticisms of imperial policies. The whole work represents a systematic attack on the interventionist and reforming nature of Justinian's regime: Procopius was a traditionalist who resented the emperor's intolerance and dogmatism. Despite the exaggerated tone of some of the criticism, he can be shown to be alluding to specific *laws of the emperor and no errors of fact have so far been detected. The work refers to the elapse of 32 years of Justinian's reign, which is generally taken to include that of Justinian's uncle *Justin I, which would imply a publication date of 550; no events securely dated to the following years have been detected, although some scholars still prefer 559, i.e. 32 years from Justinian's accession as sole ruler. It was never published in Procopius' lifetime: he explains the dangers he faced in writing it (*Anecd.* 1, 2–3).

Buildings (*Aed.*)

In this work Procopius surveys and *praises the numerous building projects of Justinian, starting in Constantinople (I), then moving to the East (II–III), the Balkans (IV), *Anatolia and *Palestine (V), and *Egypt and Africa (VI). The work exists in two recensions, a longer and a shorter, which may both go back to the author, who thus evidently revised and expanded his work as he gathered more information. The longer recension (the version generally cited) may date to 554 or 559: some think that *Theophanes' reference to construction work on the *Sangarius Bridge, reported also in Procopius' work (*Aed.* V, 3, 8–11), favours the later date, but the accuracy of Theophanes' date is doubtful.

He devotes most attention to church building, notably to the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in Constantinople, where he stresses the emperor's personal involvement, and to defensive works such as *Dara. In the latter case he tends to underplay work carried out by the Emperor *Anastasius I in order to amplify Justinian's achievements, but generally archaeological work has tended to confirm his descriptions. While some parts of the work are highly polished, others offer lengthy lists of forts strengthened by Justinian, notably in the Balkans. The tone of the work is *panegyrical, in contrast to the *Anecdota*, though some have detected ironic touches.

GBG

PLRE III, Procopius 2.

ALL WORKS

ed. J. Haury, rev. G. Wirth, *Opera omnia*, 3 vols. (1963).

Text with ET H. B. Dewing, in 7 vols.: *Persian*, I–II, vol. 1 (LCL 48, 1914), *Vandalic*, III–IV, vol. 2 (LCL 81, 1916), *Gothic*, V–VIII, vols. 3 (LCL 107, 1916), 4 (LCL 173, 1924) and 5 (LCL 217, 1928); *Anecd.* vol. 6 (LCL 290, 1935), *Aed.* vol. 7 (LCL 343, 1940).

SECRET HISTORY (ANECD.).
SpT (annotated) J. Signes Codoñer (2000).
GT (annotated) O. Veh, M. Meier, and H. Leppin (2005).
ET (annotated) G. Williamson and P. Sarris (rev. edn. 2007).
ET (with related texts and comm.) A. Kaldellis (2010).

STUDIES
Cameron, *Procopius.*
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 176–226.
Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea.*
M. Meier, ed., *A Companion to Procopius* (2016).
G. Greatrex, 'The Dates of Procopius' Works', *BMGS* 18 (1994), 101–14.
B. Croke, 'Procopius' *Secret History*: Rethinking the Date', *GRBS* 45 (2005), 405–32.
A. Kaldellis, 'The Date and Structure of Prokopios' *Secret History* and his Projected Work on Church History', *GRBS* 49 (2009), 585–616.
C. Roueché, 'Le *De Aedificiis* de Procope: le texte et les réalités documentaires', *AntTardive* 8 (2000), 7–180.
F. Montinaro, 'Byzantium and the Slavs in the Reign of Justinian: Comparing the Two Recensions of Procopius's *Buildings*', in V. Ivanišević and M. Kazanski, eds., *The Pontic Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration* (2011), 89–114.

Procopius of Gaza Greek orator and teacher of *rhetoric active in *Gaza in the late 5th and early 6th centuries. After studying rhetoric and possibly *philosophy in *Alexandria he returned to his native *city where he succeeded *Aeneas of Gaza as teacher of rhetoric, a position that may have been publicly funded. Among his pupils was *Choricius, who wrote his teacher's *funeral oration in 535/6. The major part of Procopius' extant output consists of commentaries on the Old Testament in the form of **catenae* or chains of quotations from the Church Fathers. His surviving rhetorical corpus consists of his *panegyric of *Anastasius I, a classic example of a *basilikos logos*, pronounced on the occasion of the erection of a statue of the *emperor in Gaza probably in 502; the opening of an encomium of the *Magister Militum, Asiaticus; an epithalamium for a former pupil named Meles; several short addresses (*dialexeis*) in the form of *ekphraseis* and *ethopoiiai*; and descriptions of two monuments in the city—a sophisticated clock and a painting of Hippolytus and Phaedra. *Photius also mentions a *metaphrasis* of *Homer, a monody for *Antioch (datable to 526 or 528), and further funeral speeches and declamations. Procopius' authorship of the encomium of Anastasius is an indication of his status in Gaza as representative of the city.

The *dialexeis*, in which the themes of spring, the rose, and the story of Aphrodite and Adonis figure prominently, were probably delivered on the occasion of a local Rose Festival, also celebrated by *John of Gaza.

A collection of over 150 *letters reveals Procopius' efforts to reconcile his activities as a public sophist and as a Christian teacher and philosopher. His combination of Christian scholarship, philosophical debate, and traditional rhetorical output, complete with rich mythological allusions, is indicative of the rich and complex culture of Late Antique Gaza. RW

PLRE II, Procopius 8.
ed. E. Amato, *Opuscula Rhetorica et Oratoria* (2009).
Letters ed. (with IT and extensive study) in E. Amato, *Rose di Gaza: gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le epistole di Procopio de Gaza* (2010).
G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (1983), 170–6.

Proculus Bishop of *Marseilles before 381 to after 418. Commended for his holiness by *Jerome (*ep.* 125.20), Proculus tenaciously defended his claim to anomalous *metropolitan rights against local and papal opposition. His personal involvement in the contemporary emergence of Marseilles as a hotbed of *asceticism remains enigmatic. STL

PCBE IV/2, Proculus 1.

Proculus *Quaestor Sacri Palatii under *Justin I. He gave crucial counsel in negotiations with *Persia *c.*524 and died before mid-527. *John Lydus and *Procopius deemed him 'most just'. OPN

PLRE II, Proculus 5.
Vasiliev, *Justin*, 121–2, 402–3.
Greatrex, *RPW* 135.

Procurator Monetae Mint official, first attested under Trajan. From the 4th century, possibly as part of the reforms under the *Tetrarchy, procurators are recorded at provincial mints (**Notitia Dignitatum [or.]* XIII, *[occ.] XI*), though earlier they may have been restricted only to the principal imperial mint. They were directly subordinate to *a rationibus* up to *c.*350 or to the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum thereafter, but their precise duties remain uncertain. *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, VII, 32) refers to guaranteeing the quality of *coinage carrying the imperial likeness. The office is last recorded in 401 (*CTh* XI, 28, 3). RRD

M. Peachin, 'The Procurator Monetae', *NumChron* 146 (1986), 94–106.

Progymnasmata (Gk. preliminary exercises) Collection of graded exercises that constituted the first stage in rhetorical training. Many different versions of the *Progymnasmata* were in circulation in Antiquity, some with different approaches and exercises. The surviving texts by Theon (1st century), Ps.-*Hermogenes (3rd century), *Aphthonius (4th century), and

*Nicolaus (5th century) are similar in content. The survival of this group reflects the selections and modifications made in Late Antique and Byzantine Schools. A *Latin translation of Ps.-Hermogenes was made by *Priscian in the 6th century, and the original state of Theon's text survives in an *Armenian version of the same period. The series of exercises usually begins with simple narratives, moving on to discussions of sayings, exercises in argumentation and in the presentation of characters and events. Some resemble miniature speeches, as in *praise (*encomium*) and blame (*psogos*) and *thesis* (a miniature deliberative speech). Model exercises by *Libanius and Severus of *Alexandria survive from Late Antiquity, as do further sets of examples attributed to Nicolaus. The influence of the *Progymnasmata* manifests itself in Late Antique literary and rhetorical productions, both in passages that resemble the exercises in form and in broader habits of organization and analysis. Some of the types of exercise, notably *ecphrasis, were used as independent works in their own right. RW

ET G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (2003).

Libanius, *Progymnasmata* in ed. R. Foerster, *Opera* (1915), vol. 8.

Libanius, *Progymnasmata*, ET C. Gibson, *Progymnasmata* (2008).

Severus of Alexandria, ed. E. Amato, *Progymnasmata* (2009).

For further editions of texts see under Aphthonius, Hermogenes, Nicolaus, and Priscian.

Projecta Casket *See* ESQUILINE TREASURE.

pronoetes* and *prostasia In *Egypt, the *pronoetes* was an estate steward who, under contract of hire (best specimen: P.Oxy. I 136), collected the landlord's rents and taxes. He kept accounts for the district, or *prostasia* (an abstract expression encompassing responsibility for a small group of settlements, i.e. *villages and hamlets), named in his *contract, based on existing 'rent rolls' (*apaitesima*). His service was called *pronoesia.* JGK

T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012).

prose rhythm, Greek In *Greek prose, as in *Latin, patterns of rhythmical cadence (or clausulae) can often be observed at the end of clauses or sentences. According to Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, 1408–9), prose should be rhythmical to a certain extent, but should avoid the excessive metricality that might tip it over into poetry. Thus certain metrical patterns were best avoided: the epic hemiepes (-uu-uu-) was too grand and lacked the intonations of spoken language, whilst the iambic metron (x-u-) was too much like the language of ordinary people. Greek clausulae exhibit more diversity than Latin ones, though many similarly tend towards variations on the cretic (- u -). These clausulae—generally between four and six syllables in length—were originally determined by quantity, i.e. the length of the syllables. Over time, however, as the accentuation of Greek changed from a pitch accent to a stress accent, and the length of vowels was no longer differentiated, clausulae changed from quantitative to accentual, i.e. the stress placed on individual syllables was now used to determine the metrical pattern. Before the transition was completed, writers such as Clement of *Alexandria in the late 2nd century AD can be observed operating under a mixed metrical economy, where stress accent affects some syllables, but other syllables still maintain a quantitative value. RECS

A. W. de Groot, *Der antike Prosarhythmus* (1921).

G. L. Hendrickson, 'Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries of our Era', *AJP* 29/3 (1908), 280–302.

W. H. Shewring, 'Prose-Rhythm and the Comparative Method', *CQ* 25/1 (1931), 12–22.

prose rhythm, Latin Rhythmic patterns were integral to good *prose style in both *Greek and *Latin, and as *rhetoric was at the heart of higher education in the Later Roman Empire, the ability to compose elegant prose was the mark of an author who knew what he was talking or writing about, and was the principal path to positions of influence in the civil *administration.

At the beginning of the 3rd century, the preferred mode of rhythm in *Latin prose was a canon of quantitative patterns drawn from the Asiatic school of *rhetoric and popularized by Cicero: cretic-trochee, dicretic, ditrochee, dicretic, cretic-tribrach, and paeon-trochee. By *c.* AD 250, however, the rhythms of the clausula (the end of a sentence or clause) had undergone change, as the word accent now coincided with the ictus (the beat) of the metrical units. Thus, the quantitative pattern cretic-trochee now fell under the accentual scheme ́ssś́s (as in *fata terrarum*); the dicretic or cretic-tribrach, under ́ssś́ss (as in *posse praescribere*; *legis imperio*); the ditrochee, under ́ssssś́s (as in *legibus vindicasse*); and the paeon-trochee, under ́sssś́s (as in *sola brevitatis*). This alignment of word stress and metrical ictus usually restricted the rhythm to the final two words, with an even number of syllables occurring between the two word accents. Thus, metrical word strings such as *quae tamen vera sint* (dicretic) disappeared and yielded to structured rhythms such as *tempus advenerit* (dicretic under ́sś́s).

This system (termed *cursus mixtus* in modern scholarship) pervades the texts of nearly all authors, pagan and Christian, from the mid-3rd century and was a

mark of elevated prose style. The metrical aspect initially was carefully observed, but by the late 4th century, the accentual scheme became so dominant that metre could be ignored. Accent-only clausulae, inspired by *Greek practice and called *cursus* in medieval handbooks, was used by *Ammianus Marcellinus, late church fathers (*Jerome and *Augustine), and the legal chanceries. The *cursus* system had four basic patterns: *planus* (ś́ssś́), *tardus* (ś́sssś́ss), *velox* (ś́ssssś́s), and *trispondaicus* (ś́ssś́s). After the *Fall of the Western Empire, both the *cursus mixtus* and the *cursus* survived in *Ostrogothic *Italy (*Cassiodorus), Frankish Gaul (*Gregory of *Tours), *Visigothic *Spain, the papal chancery and popes (*Gregory the Great), and *letter writers. SMO

H. Hagendahl, 'La Prose métrique d'Arnobe: contributions à la connaissance de la prose littéraire de l'empire', *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 42 (1937), 1–265.

G. Lindholm, *Studien zum mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus. Seine Entwicklung und sein Abklingen in der Briefliteratur Italiens* (1963).

M. G. Nicolau, *L'Origine du 'cursus' rythmique et les débuts de l'accent d'intensité en latin* (1930).

S. M. Oberhelman, *Prose Rhythm in Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (2003).

T. Jasiński, *Gall Anonim—poeta i mistrz prozy: Studia nad rytmiką prozy i poezji w okresie antycznym i średniowiecznym* (2016).

prose style *Greek and *Latin writers of Late Antiquity used a variety of prose styles in accordance with audience, purpose, theme, and exigencies of genre. Some authors sought a humbler style, inspired by the Bible (**sermo humilis*), while others used an elaborate, learned style marked by periodicity, *prose rhythm, ornate imagery and diction, and *rhetoric. SMO

prose style, Greek Formal *Greek prose in Late Antiquity was subject to classicizing norms of both language and style. Educated writers (and speakers) were expected to approximate the lexicon and *grammar of the classical Attic *Greek language, and to make effective use of stylistic techniques identified by *grammarians and *rhetoricians in canonical prose authors of the Classical period.

Training was accordingly founded on the study of classical models, and their imitation (in the sense of creative emulation, not passive reproduction). Elementary codification of stylistic techniques can be observed in the many handbooks that define and illustrate figures of diction and thought; the power of these devices is demonstrated in the fragmentary 'transformations' (*μεταποιήσεις*) attributed to *Sopater (which of several rhetoricians of the same name is uncertain), which subject sample passages to a series of paraphrases, each generated by the application of a different figure of thought.

Advanced stylistic training was based on the theory of types of style ('ideas'). This theory, found in a relatively simple form in Ps.-*Aelius Aristides' *Art of Rhetoric*, reached a peak of sophistication in *Hermogenes' *On Types of Style* (*περὶ ἰδεῶν*); his theory's complexity may explain why this work achieved canonical status later than *On Issues*. Hermogenes distinguishes seventeen different types of style (e.g. purity, solemnity, rapidity, sweetness, indignation), which can be produced by coordinated manipulation of eight aspects of discourse (thoughts, approach, diction, figures, clauses, word order, clausula, *prose rhythm). The blending of these types gives a text its distinctive overall stylistic profile. MFH

ed. S. Glöckner, 'Aus Sopatros *Μεταποιήσεις*', *RhMus* 65 (1910), 504–14.

ed. (annotated with FT) M. Patillon, *Pseudo-Aelius Aristide, Arts rhétoriques*, 2 vols. (2002).

ET (with introd.) C. W. Wooten, *Hermogenes: On Types of Style* (1987).

M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2006), 43–8, 217–54.

I. Rutherford, *Canons of Style in the Antonine Age: Idea-Theory and its Literary Context* (1998).

prose style, Latin What *Latin pagan authors of the late 2nd and 3rd centuries thought about prose style cannot be recovered because too few texts are extant. But Christian writers faced a conundrum. Stylistic ornamentation (*ornatus*) was the mark of an educated person and formed part of the cultural and literary heritage shared by both pagan and Christian. Furthermore, refuting *paganism, making the Christian message attractive to possible converts, and conveying the message to those already converted required an eloquent style. Christian writers were therefore initially uneasy at using the classical literary and rhetorical models in which they themselves had been trained and which they liked to use.

Christian authors, from *Lactantius to *Ambrose, *Jerome, and *Augustine, compromised by subjecting Cicero's levels of style (*genera dicendi*) to Christian revision in various ways. The flourish and adornments of secular prose style, with all the hallmarks of *Kunstprosa* (art prose) periodic hypotaxis and rhythm, was a style still used by pagan authors. It was deemed appropriate for Christians when directed toward religious and moral instruction and other Christian purposes—although a simple style, **sermo humilis*, imitative of the stylistic patterns of the *Bible, was best reserved for the pulpit. Style also varied among writers as they adapted traditional genres (*dialogue, encyclopedia, *biography) or developed new genres (travel literature, narratives of

*pilgrimage, vision literature, devotional works, and exegetical literature).

Christianity carried Latin into areas of the Western Empire where it had not previously penetrated and language remained an official medium of rule after the *Barbarian Migrations into Western Europe. Non-native speakers in areas of *Gaul, *Spain, and the British Isles learned Latin and wrote it, modelling their individual style on the Bible and such authors as Jerome, *Orosius, and Augustine. Some writers (many of them *bishops) were proficient in both prose and verse (*hymn writing), while others (*Martianus Capella, *Boethius) experimented with prosimetric narratives alternating prose and verse. The Carolingian Renaissance of the late 8th/early 9th centuries revived ancient learning, also influencing Latin prose style beyond scriptural and patristic texts. SMO

Alan Cameron and M. Fuhrmann, eds., *Christianisme et formes litteraires de l'Antiquite tardive en Occident* (Entretiens Hardt 23, 1977).

C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, 4 vols. (Edizioni di storia e letteratura 65, 87, 103, 143; 1958–71).

Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa.*

S. M. Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature Prose Rhythm, Oratorical Style, and Preaching in the Works of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine* (American Philological Association: American Classical Studies 26, 1991).

T. Reinhardt et al., eds., *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose* (*PBA* 129, 2005).

proskynesis *See* ADORATIO.

Prosper of Aquitaine (*c.*388–after 455) A lay Christian writer connected with *Augustine and Pope *Leo I (*Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.* 85). In *Marseilles, *c.*416, he became an ardent defender of Augustine's extreme positions on grace against the objections of *doctores Gallicani* or '*semi-Pelagians', a term first used by Prosper, who included *John Cassian and *Vincent of *Lérins in their number. Prosper later settled in *Rome to serve Leo I (r. 440–61) as an adviser or secretary, and shifted his attention and concern to the papacy.

Among his seventeen authentic works are summaries of Augustine's teachings. Composed in Rome, his *Liber Sententiarum*, a moderate version of Augustine's doctrine of grace, was a source for the canons of the Second *Council of Orange of 529, when the conflict initiated by Prosper was finally resolved. They were known by the Carolingians, and also translated into *Greek. *Epigrammata*, a shortened verse form of the *Liber Sententiarum*, became a popular medieval textbook for learning *Latin.

The *Epitoma Chronica* contains a summary version of world history to AD 377, drawn from *Eusebius and *Jerome, followed by Prosper's continuation. Four different editions were produced between 433 and 455, and arranged by Roman *consuls. Prosper's account of salvation history centred on the papacy, especially as represented by Leo. Its memorable retelling of Leo's meetings with *Attila (452) and *Geiseric (455) contributed to Leo's reputation. The chronicle was a valuable source for Western events, and was copied and even translated into *Greek.

An anonymous 7th-century Italian chronicler (Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek ms. 454) combined Prosper's chronicle with Jerome's, Isidore's, and an unknown source for the years up to 455, and continued it down to 625. The **Consularia Hafniensia* ('Copenhagen Continuator of Prosper') introduced more precise material into Prosper's additions, and provided information on and details of important events of the 4th–7th centuries not found in other sources. AYH

PLRE II, Prosper Tiro.

PCBE IV/2, Prosper 1.

WORKS (*CPL* 516–28; 2257):

ed. in PL 51 (1846), reprinting J. Le Brun and L. Mangeant (1711).

Pro Augustino Responsiones (*CPL* 520–2), ET (annotated) P. De Letter, *Prosper of Aquitaine: Defense of St. Augustine* (ACW 32, 1963).

Epistula ad Demetriadem de Vera Humilitate (*CPL* 529), ed. (with ET and comm.), M. K. C. Krabbe (PS 97, 1965).

Chronicle (*CPL* 2257), ed. T. Mommsen, Chron. Min. I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9, 1892).

ET (annotated) A. C. Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (2000), 62–76.

Expositio Psalmorum 100–150; Liber Sententiarum (*CPL* 524), ed. P. Callens and M. Gastaldo (CCSL 68A, 1972).

De Providentia Dei (*CPL* 532), ed. (with comm. and ET) M. Marcovich (VigChrist supplements 10, 1989).

De Vocatione Omnium Gentium (*CPL* 528), ed. R. Teske (CSEL 97, 2009).

ET P. de Letter, *St. Prosper of Aquitaine: The Call of All Nations* (ACW 14, 1952).

STUDIES

M. Cappuyns, 'Le Premier Représentant de l'augustinisme médiéval, Prosper d'Aquitaine' (RTAM 1, 1929), 309–37.

A. Hwang, *Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace: The Life and Thought of Prosper of Aquitaine* (2009).

S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (1990).

L. Valentin, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine: étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au cinquième siècle en Gaule* (1900).

prostitution The spread of Christianity between approximately AD 250 and 550 contributed to important changes in Roman moral ideology concerning prostitution. More unequivocal condemnation came to supplant earlier attitudes, which, though characterized

by a certain ambivalence, had been broadly tolerant. There arose instead a tendency to assimilate prostitution to adultery and other sexual transgressions (Lat. *stuprum*) by lumping them together as *fornication (Gk. *porneia*, Lat. *fornicatio*). Another change is that Christians generally assign equal moral responsibility to both the men and the women involved, at least in theory. In contrast to negative attitudes expressed towards the profession itself and towards other practitioners, greater sympathy is expressed for female prostitutes, though this is neither universal nor unqualified. There was, indeed, always the hope of repentance; the story of S. *Mary of *Egypt was popular in both *Greek and *Latin, and the *Empress *Theodora made appropriate provision for the reformed prostitutes of *Constantinople in the *Monastery of *Metanoia on the *Bosporus.

Female prostitution remained both legal and to all appearances highly profitable. Although some Christian *emperors were evidently uneasy that the long-standing tax on both male and female prostitutes might imply an official endorsement of the sale of sex, the imperial administration continued to collect it until *Anastasius I abolished it in 498. Christian views were certainly not monolithic; in the course of explaining the orderliness of the world, *Augustine concedes that prostitutes, like executioners, have their place (*De Ordine*, 2, 4, 12 = CCSL 29, 114).

Most Late Roman legal utterances regarding female prostitutes appear in the context of legislation on *marriage and adultery. Laws concerning marriage which seem to have modified the legal conception of prostitution in this period include an enactment of *Constantine I of 336 disinheriting illegitimate children fathered by high-born men with actresses, tavern-keepers, slaves, and the daughters of *gladiators and pimps (*CTh* IV, 6, 3 = [with changes] *CJust* V, 27 1), and a law of *Marcian of 454 forbidding the marriage of *senators to women of the same sort (*NovMarc* 4), a prohibition also expressed in the *Rules* attributed to Ulpian (Excerptum, 13). Legislation on adultery which affected the standing of prostitutes included a ruling by Constantine in 326 that a barmaid could not be accused of adultery, though the wife of a tavern-keeper could (*CTh* IX, 7, 1 = [with changes] *CJust* IX, 9, 28[29]); the *Sententiae* of *Paul expressed similar sentiments (II, 26, 11). Such developments may be explained as the expression in law of longstanding prejudice.

The repression of pimping can be traced through a series of imperial enactments preserved in the law codes, from the regulation of the sale of Christian slave-women by *Constantius II in 343 (*CTh* XV, 8, 1) through *Theodosius II and *Valentinian III in 428 removing *patria potestas* (the rights of a **paterfamilias*) from men who force their daughters or slaves unwillingly into prostitution (*CTh* XV, 8, 2 = [with a minor change] *CJust* XI, 41, 6 = [abbrev.] 1, 4, 12), Theodosius II in 439 freeing the slaves of procurers who defile *Constantinople (*NovTh* 18), and *Leo I allowing reluctant prostitutes to seek the protection of the *bishop (*CJust* I, 4, 14 = (?) XI, 41, 7 of 457–68) to *Justinian I's absolute, empire-wide ban in 535 (*NovJust* 14). There is little ground for optimism about the effectiveness of all this legislation—S. *Theodore of *Sykeon, after all, was the son of an innkeeper's daughter and a travelling acrobat (*VTheodSyk* 3–5). The same holds for repression of male prostitution, which could be harsh (Aurelius *Victor, *Caes*. 28, 6–7; Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah*, 1, 2, 5 = CCSL 73, 32; *Constantius II and *Constans in *CTh* IX, 7, 3 = *CJust* IX, 9, 30 [31] of 342; *Valentinian II, *Theodosius I, and *Arcadius in **Collat*. 5, 3 of 390). TAJM

K. Harper, *From Shame to Sin: The Christian Transformation of Sexual Morality in Late Antiquity* (2013).

T. A. J. McGinn, 'The Legal Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity', *MAAR* 42 (1997), 73–116.

T. A. J. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (1998).

T. A. J. McGinn, 'The Social Policy of Emperor Constantine in *Codex Theodosianus* 4.6.3', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 67 (1999), 57–73.

T. A. J. McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (2004).

T. A. J. McGinn, 'Late Antique Legislation on Prostitution—What Was the Point?', in F. Tuccillo and A. Polichetti, eds., *Diritto ed Economia in Età Tardoantica: atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli 30 novembre–Campobasso 1 dicembre 2006)* (2009), 91–147.

protectores Imperial bodyguards attested on *inscriptions from the mid-3rd century AD, and prominent under *Gallienus, *Aurelian, the *Tetrarchy, and thereafter. They were mounted and fulfilled a wide range of functions. Those present at *court were termed *protectores domestici*, serving in a *schola protectorum domesticorum*, under the *Comes Domesticorum (*Ammianus, XXVI, 5, 3; *CTh* VI, 24, 3). *Protectores* supplied officers for other formations, such as the **scholae palatinae*, acted as aides-de-camp, and were sent on special missions, rather in the same way as the earlier *beneficiarii*. *Diocletian was Comes Domesticorum before his elevation (Aurelius *Victor, *Caesars*, 39, 1). *Protectores* away from court served under the *Magistri Militum and more junior officers in the *provinces (e.g. Ammianus, XIX, 9, 2; *CTh* VII, 4, 27; VIII, 5, 49). Promotion to the rank of *protector* might open up a glittering career, but the best-known protector is the historian Ammianus Marcellinus. After AD 400 a new formation of *protectores* was perhaps created purely for *palace functions. JCNC

Frank, *Scholae Palatinae*, 34–45, 81–97, 121–6, 179–82.

Proterius Chalcedonian *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 451–7). Previously in the entourage of *Dioscorus, he assented to Dioscorus' condemnation at the *Council of *Chalcedon (451) and, with imperial backing, was himself appointed Patriarch. Local opposition to him coalesced around *Timothy Aelurus, as rival patriarch. After mounting factional violence, Proterius was murdered (possibly by his own guard) during Holy Week, 457 (*Evagrius, *HE* II, 8; Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 170; *Zacharias Rhetor, III, 2; IV, 2). CJH

prothesis (Gk. setting forth) **1.** Ritual mourning in the presence of the body of the deceased.

2. In Christian *liturgy, the preparation of the *bread and *wine of the *Eucharist, and the place where this is done, often north of the *apse, corresponding architecturally to the *diaconicon on the south side. SMS

(1) M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in the Greek Tradition* (2nd edn. by D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos, 2002).
(2) Brightman and Hammond, *Liturgies*, 71–4, 197–200, 249–52, 345, 356–62.
Mathews, *Early Churches*, 105–7.

Provence A fluid political territory in southern *Gaul. It effectively came into being after the *Frankish victory at the Battle of *Vouillé when *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth and his army intervened from *Italy to prevent the Franks and *Burgundians from expanding southwards. Theodoeric then took south-eastern *Gaul under his direct rule. The initial absorption of Provence into the Italian orbit was soon superseded by the restoration of the Gallic prefecture at *Arles with *Liberius as *Praefectus Praetorio. This Ostrogothic 'province' was handed over to the *Franks in 536 in an attempt to buy their neutrality during the impending *Byzantine invasion of Italy. Under Frankish rule, the region continued to be governed by a **patricius*, an Ostrogothic legacy, though it was intermittently divided into Burgundian and *Austrasian provinces, administered from *Arles and *Marseilles respectively, by magnates such as *Dynamius, drawn from a regional *aristocracy which maintained the trappings of Late Roman classical culture. By the 7th century Marseilles had become the dominant political and economic centre in the region, while Arles remained pre-eminent within the Church. STL

R. Buchner, *Die Provence in merowingischer Zeit* (1933).

province Unit of Roman provincial *administration overseen by a *governor, centrally appointed and holding office generally only for a year or two. Local notables met him annually at the provincial **conventus*. Under the *Tetrarchy provinces were subdivided and grouped in **dioeceses*, each supervised by a *Vicarius (cf. *Verona List). *Justinian I also reorganized provincial administration. DSl

provincial administration, Roman *See* ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN PROVINCIAL.

Proximus Highest-ranking official (ahead of the *Melloproximus) in each of the Sacra *Scrinia (*CTh* VI, 21, 2, 4, 17), and not to be confused with *proximi* (lit. 'those nearest') used as a descriptive term for influential courtiers surrounding an *emperor (*Ammianus, XIV, 11, 1; XV, 8, 2; XXX, 4, 1). CMK

Jones, *LRE* 577–8.

Prudentius (348–after 404/5) Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, a native of *Spain, probably Calahorra, enjoyed a successful secular career, holding two provincial *governorships and a high position in the imperial civil *administration, before retiring to devote himself to the service and celebration of God. That celebration took the form of a substantial body of poetry, produced apparently in the last years of the 4th century and the first of the 5th. His poems amount to a common project, giving expression to the mental, spiritual, devotional, and material world of late 4th-century Christianity. They include two works of anti-*heretical didactic, the *Apotheosis* and *Hamartigenia*; a single book *epic, the *Psychomachia*, recounting the battle of Virtues and Vices for the human soul in the form of *personification *allegory; a work of Christian apologetic in two books, the *Contra Symmachum*, completed in 402, that takes its impulse from the controversy surrounding the attempt to restore the *Altar of *Victory to the *Senate House in 384; a collection of paraliturgical *hymns for the hours of the day and the main *festivals of the Christian year, the *Cathemerinon*; and a somewhat heterogeneous collection of poems on the *martyrs, the *Peristephanon*. Prudentius also wrote a collection of 49 tetrastichs on subjects from the Old and New Testaments, the *Dittochaeon*. His poems, along with those of *Ambrose and *Paulinus of Nola, herald a remarkable flourishing of Christian Latin poetry in the late 4th and early 5th centuries. Of all late Latin Christian poets Prudentius exploits most fully the resources of Christian allegory and *typology to invest his narrative and descriptions with multiple levels of meaning, whether it is the individual Christian waking at cock-crow, a saint on the way to martyrdom, or the construction of the *temple of the soul at the end of the *Psychomachia*. In his poem collections, the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon*, he shows striking versatility with *metre, under the influence of classical (Horace, Seneca) and Late Antique models. His poetry, especially the *Psychomachia*, was much read and admired in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. MJR

PLRE I, Clemens 4.
HLL, section 629.
CPL 1437–45:
ed. J. Bergman (CSEL 61, 1926).
ed. M. Cunningham (CCSL 126, 1966).
ed. (with ET) H. J. Thomson, 2 vols. (LCL, 1949–53).
Fontaine, *Naissance*, 143–60 and 177–227.
R. Herzog, *Die allegorische Dichtkunst des Prudentius* (1966).
M. Mastrangelo, *The Roman Self in Late Antiquity: Prudentius and the Poetics of the Soul* (2008).
Anne-Marie Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (OCM, 1989).
M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (1993).

Psalms A collection of 150 hymns, originally in Hebrew, constituting a book of the OT and widely used by Christians in liturgical and private *prayer. The Psalms and the prophecy of Isaiah were the texts most frequently quoted by New Testament authors because of their messianic allusions. The major patristic authors from *Origen onwards wrote exegetical scholia or commentaries on the Psalms; for the monastic movement, chanting Psalms was a means of realizing ceaseless prayer and became a central ascetic practice. In his *Letter to Marcellinus* on the Psalms, *Athanasius claims that he learned about the richness of the Psalter from an 'old man' (*gerōn*), presumably a monk. The *Letter* describes the Psalter as an epitome of the whole *Bible, emphasizing its instructive value. It assigns each Psalm to a thematic category, explains the particularly intimate quality of the Psalms, and notes the calming effects of singing them. These points would be developed further in monastic writings. The centrality of the Psalter in monastic practice would have wider repercussions in the further development of the non-monastic *Liturgy of the Hours, and the *sermons of S. Augustine on the Psalms, the *Ennarationes in Psalmos*, illustrate their importance in non-monastic worship. CAS

Athanasius, *Letter to Marcellinus*: *PG* 27.12–45.
ET R. Gregg, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (CWS, 1980), 101–29.
J. McKinnon, 'Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-Century Psalmodic Movement', *Music and Letters* 75 (1994), 505–21.
J. Dyer, 'The Desert, the City and Psalmody in the Late Fourth Century', in S. Gallagher et al., eds., *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium* (2004), 11–43.

pseudo-imperial coins Term for the first *gold coins minted in the post-Roman Germanic kingdoms. These were indeed not minted in the name of the Germanic kings, but showed on the *recto* the portrait and name of the Roman *emperor. The rule that only Roman emperors should appear on gold coins was respected even in times of conflict with the Empire: in these cases the contemporary emperor was generally replaced by a previous emperor who had had a friendly relationship with the minting authority. In some cases the local kings were identified through a *monogram (e.g. with *Gundobad, *Sigismund, and *Godomar in *Burgundy) or with a letter (as for *Theoderic in *Italy). By the second half of the 6th century many Roman-Germanic *successor states started minting gold coins without the portrait and name of the Roman emperor and often with those of their kings (the first was *Theudebert I in *Merovingian *Gaul), thus abandoning pseudo-imperial coinage for 'national' coinage. Some regions, such as *Lombard Italy, went on minting pseudo-imperial gold coins into the 7th century. *Silver and *bronze had less symbolic value and the kings appeared on *silver and *bronze coins already in the time of *Odoacer. FC

E. A. Arslan, 'Tra romanità e altomedioevo: autorità delegante ed autorità delegata nella moneta', in P. Delogu, ed., *Le invasioni barbariche nel meridione dell'Impero: Visigoti, Vandali, Ostrogoti* (2001), 297–319.
F. Carlà, 'The End of Roman Gold Coinage and the Disintegration of a Monetary Area', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 56 (2010), 103–72.
S. Suchodolski, 'Les Débuts du monnayage dans le royaumes barbares', in P. Bastien et al., eds., *Mélanges de numismatique, d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Jean Lafaurie* (1980), 249–56.

psogos *See* INVECTIVE.

Ptolemais Principal *city of *Libya Superior from *Diocletian's reign until the later 5th century. See of *Synesius. Work on the *water supply and *baths dates to the 4th and 5th centuries. *Procopius claimed that Ptolemais was deserted by *Justinian I's time (*Aed.* VI, 2, 9) but intramural fortified buildings, including a fortress of *Anastasius I's reign or earlier, probably replaced the *city walls during the 5th century. Three churches are known. Occupation continued after the *Arab conquest. GMS

C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (1961).
J. B. Ward-Perkins, R. G. Goodchild, and J. Reynolds, *Christian Monuments of Cyrenaica* (SLS Monograph 4, 2003).

Ptolemy in Late Antiquity The *Almagest* and *Handy Tables* of the 2nd-century AD astronomer and geographer *Ptolemy were taught, commented upon, and used in Late Antiquity by professional astronomers and astrologers, in particular by *Pappus and *Theon of *Alexandria. A fragment pre-dating Theon's *Greater Commentary* points out a discrepancy between lunar data in the *Handy Tables* and their theoretical basis in the *Almagest*. The Ptolemaic tables were explained in the so-called *Preceptum Canonis Ptolomei*, redacted

about 528–34, and in a commentary written about 610–17 and ascribed to *Stephanus of Alexandria. The margins of the manuscript Parisinus Graecus 2394 preserve the redaction of a course on the *Handy Tables*, dating probably to the 5th century. *Porphyry the Neoplatonist wrote a commentary on Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, discussing the relationship between astronomical and musical intervals. FA

ed. A. Jones, *Ptolemy's First Commentator* (TAPS 80/7, 1990).
ed. D. Pingree (with ET), *Preceptum Canonis Ptolemei* (CorpAstrByz 8, 1997).
ed. I. Düring, *Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios* (1932) and *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik* (1934).
A. Jones, 'Uses and Users of Astronomical Commentaries in Antiquity', in G. W. Most, ed., *Commentaries—Kommentare* (Aporemata 4, 1999), 149–72.
D. Pingree, 'The Teaching of the Almagest in Late Antiquity', in T. D. Barnes, ed., *The Sciences in Greco-Roman Society* (1994), 75–98.
A. Tihon, 'Théon d'Alexandrie et les Tables Faciles de Ptolémée', *ArchIntHistSciences* 35 (1985), 106–23.
M. Raffa, 'The Debate on Logos and Diastēma in Porphyry's Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics', *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 1 (2013), 243–52.

Pulcheria *Aelia (399–453). Augusta in the East 414–53. Born to *Arcadius and *Eudoxia, she took charge after Arcadius' death in 408, persuading her younger siblings *Theodosius II, *Arcadia, and *Marina to adopt Christian *asceticism (*Sozomen, IX, 1). In 412 she and her sisters took vows as *virgins, and in 414 Theodosius elevated Pulcheria to imperial rank. Termed *epitropos*, 'guardian', by Sozomen, she lacked formal regency and thus exercised power by influencing her brother. Laws against pagans, *Jews, and heretics in subsequent years may be reflections of her policies. Herself a virgin, she came into conflict with *Nestorius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, who denied the Virgin *Mary the title *Theotokos, and Nestorius himself blamed her for his deposition after the First *Council of *Ephesus of 431. She promoted the cult of the Virgin in Constantinople, allegedly founding churches dedicated to her. After her brother's death in 450, she took *Marcian, the next emperor, as her nominal husband and with him engineered the calling of the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451 which annulled the decisions of the 'Robber' Council of *Ephesus of 449. She died in 453. KGH

PLRE II, Pulcheria.
Holum, *Empresses*.
James, *Empresses*.
R. W. Burgess, 'The Accession of Marcian in the Light of Chalcedonian Apologetic and Monophysite Polemic', *BZ* 86/7 (1993/4), 47–68.
C. Mango, *IntCongChrArch XIII—Split—Poreč 25.9.–1.10.1994* (1998), vol. 2, 61–76 at 62–7.

Pumbedita One of the two major rabbinic centres in Jewish Babylonia (alongside *Sura). Situated on the Euphrates in northern Babylonia (near mod. al-Fallujah) in Persian territory, it was founded by Rav Judah b. Yehezkel (d. 299) shortly after the destruction of its mother institution at *Nehardea in 259 by invaders from *Palmyra. IMG

Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica.*

Punic language The Semitic language introduced into North *Africa by the Phoenicians when they founded *Carthage, and more prevalent in the coastal areas than in the Libyan (*Berber)-speaking hinterland. By Late Antiquity, *Latin had been the dominant language in Africa for centuries, especially in the *cities, but Punic was still to be found. Latino-Punic *inscriptions (Punic text written in Roman characters) survive from *Tripolitania and Sirte, but are nothing like so common as Latin inscriptions, though they were employed openly on religious dedications and tombstones. This may be as much a reflection of the character of the 'epigraphic habit' as of the prevalence of the language; it is notable that the vast majority of stelae set up to honour *Saturn (the *interpretatio Romana* of Punic Baal-Hammon) bear images but no inscription in any language

*Letters of *Augustine (*epp.* 209 and 20* Divjak) indicate that it was thought desirable that a *bishop appointed for the small town of *Fussala, 40 Roman miles from *Hippo Regius, should be a Punic speaker. One fact which emerges from the ensuing scandal (unrelated to language) is that the Primate, the senior bishop of *Numidia, was able to address the country people in Punic. In other country places the *Donatist clergy might employ a Punic interpreter (*ep.* 108, 5, 14). Though Punic books were still valued by Augustine (e.g. *ep.* 17, 2) there is no evidence that they were still being written. *Procopius records that Punic was still used in his time in the mid-6th century (*Vandalic* IV, 10, 20). OPN

J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003).
R. M. Kerr, *Latino-Punic Epigraphy: A Descriptive Study of the Inscriptions* (2010).
F. Millar, 'Local Cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin Roman Africa', *JRS* 58 (1968), 126–34.

punishment and Roman theories of punishment Early imperial legal discourse expected the discretion of a judge to serve retributive justice that matched the quality of the crime and the disposition of the offender to the appropriate level of punishment. The punishment was also intended to deter others (Aulus Gellius,

Noctes Atticae, 7, 14). In practice, it was social class that usually determined the type of punishment, with corporal penalties (e.g. crucifixion) reserved for the lower classes (**humiliores*).

Late Roman laws on the one hand increased the focus on retribution and deterrence by prescribing severe penalties for severe crimes, at times regardless of rank. For example, *Constantine I restated the penalty of the sack (*poena cullei*) for *parricide (*CTh* IX, 15, 1), which had been used against at least one Christian in the Great Persecution (*Eusebius *MartPal* [S] 5,1). On the other hand, the rise of Christianity promoted discussion of the *emperor's role in Christian salvation. Debates on the legitimacy of *execution and clerical intercession ensued (*Ambrose, *ep.* 25, *Augustine, *ep.* 134). Late Roman emperors also instituted regular amnesties for minor crimes at *Easter and allowed some offenders to avoid punishment altogether through public confession and *penance (*CTh* XVI, 5, 41; *Nov-Just* 77).

The Church controversially embraced civil laws as a legitimate form of religious coercion (e.g. Augustine, *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, II, 83, 184). Despite this collaboration, church *councils also reminded clerics and laypeople not to bring criminal lawsuits to civil courts (e.g. the Third Council of *Carthage canon 9). This may show that not all victims of crime were interested in the retributive and expensive justice a civil court could offer. This must have contributed greatly to the rise of judicial powers of *bishops. The frequent repetition of canons discouraging recourse to civil courts may also mean, however, that some victims of crime preferred civil justice to ecclesiastical justice. In fact, ecclesiastical penalties increasingly mimicked those of public courts, adding more coercive methods such as flogging to the customary excommunication and clerical deposition. JHi

L. Dossey, 'Judicial Violence and the Ecclesiastical Courts in Late Antique North Africa', in R. Mathisen, ed., *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity* (2001), 98–114.

M. Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ* (2005), 133–4.

P. [D. A.] Garnsey, 'Why Penal Laws Became Harsher: the Roman Case', *Natural Law Forum* (1968), 141–62.

Harries, *Law and Empire*, 135–52.

R. MacMullen 'Judicial savagery in the Roman empire', Chiron 16 (1986): 147–166, repr. in his *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary* (1990), ch. 20.

punishments, Persian (MP *puhl*) *Zoroastrian *law was criminal law in the *Sasanian Empire. The aim of punishment in Zoroastrian law was to save the convict's soul from the crime's supernatural consequences. Individuals punished in this life were cleansed of impurities and spared divine retribution after *death. Since corrective punishment was considered salutary, *torture was justified and confessions could be exacted under torture. There are details in the **Madayan-i Hazar Datestan* or *Book of a Thousand Judgements.*

The most common punishment mentioned is the use of the lash, with crimes theoretically distinguished in severity by the number of lashes, even up to absurd levels. Amputation of the nose was recommended for *adultery. More spectacular punishments existed too, especially when connected to apostasy. An apostate's tongue could be torn out and his jaw broken in the course of a trial. Decapitation by sword was the most common method of capital punishment, often preceded by the amputation of the convict's fingers, arms, and legs. Crucifixion was reserved for thieves and sorcerers. Some were hung by their feet until dead. Thieves and Christians were trampled by *elephants, a fate which purportedly befell the entire city of *Susa under *Shapur II. More rarely applied techniques included the burning of convicts alive with naphtha, cutting them to pieces, stoning them, or gouging out their *eyes with hot nails. The **Letter of Tansar* (tr. Boyce, 23) refers to execution by the 'donkey' or the 'cow', animal-shaped cauldrons filled with molten lead. Because the *Sasanian king was considered inviolate, the spilling of royal blood was avoided. Suffocation in ashes or garrotting were the preferred methods of execution for princes, who could also be mutilated to preclude them from claiming or returning to the throne. MPC

Madayan-i Hazar Datestan, ed. (with ET) A. Perikhanian and N. Garsoïan, *The Book of a Thousand Judgements: A Sasanian Law-Book* (Persian Heritage Series 39, 1997).

J. Jany, 'Criminal Justice in Sasanian Persia', *IrAnt* 42 (2007), 347–86.

C. Jullien, 'Peines et supplices dans les *Actes des Martyrs Persans* et droit sassanide', *Studia Iranica* 33 (2004), 243–69.

Pupput (mod. Souk-el-Abiod) *City of Byzacena, 57 km (35 miles) south-east of *Carthage. Two Late Antique cemeteries are known: the northern contains graves dating to the 4th–6th centuries; the southern was centred on a funerary *basilica with 5th-century *epitaphs. Houses had new *mosaics of the 4th and 5th centuries and the Thermes de la Maison du Péristyle Figuré date to the 4th century. Two other *baths were reused during Late Antiquity, partly for industrial installations. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 302–4.

A. Ben Abed and M. Griesheimer, *La Necropole romaine de Pupput* (2004).

Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa.*

purity Traditional Greek, Roman, and Jewish cultus regulated purity for individuals and communities, whether pollution was incurred by moral transgression

or inadvertent violation of literal or figurative boundaries. Philosophical and prophetic critics questioned such approaches, but they remained central publicly and for most individuals. In later Antiquity the rise of traditions closer to 'religion' in the modern sense saw ritual and cultus de-emphasized but not expunged, and often a shift toward interiority.

For *Jews, the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in AD 70 encouraged a shift to priestly purity universalized in everyday life, reflected in the explorations of extinct cultus in Mishnah and *Talmuds. Additionally the *rabbis located the source of personal purity and order not in cosmic principles, but in personal moral agency.

Christianity also involved recasting images and ideas from local cultus via the person of Jesus into a notion of sin as cosmic and personal. *Baptism and *Eucharist as described by *Cyprian (d. 258) or the *Apostolic Tradition* functioned as new rituals of catharsis and maintenance of purity, while moral and particularly sexual order focused on an ideal of *virginity. *Monasticism saw these ideals concentrated in ascetic specialists, exemplified in the *Life of S. *Antony*. Growing emphasis on thought as well as action found expression in concern about doctrine, with *heresy understood as a form of pollution.

Early *Islam built on these prior traditions, emphasizing a nexus between purity of intention, physical cleanliness (by way of performance of ablution), and ethical action. The notion of ritual purity or *taḥāra* in the *Qur'ān included, as in much older traditions, concern for inadvertent pollution as well as for impurity acquired by improper thought or act. Purity could include a militant piety combining *asceticism and readiness for combat (Ibn Mubarak). AMcG

Brown, *Body and Society*.

H. K. Harrington, *Holiness: Rabbinic Judaism in the Graeco-Roman World* (2002).

T. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (2008).

purple The best purple resembled 'congealed blood, blackish at first glance but gleaming when held up to the light' (*Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IX, 62, 135). In the Roman Republic and Empire purple marked aristocratic rank (Livy, XXXIV, 1–8; XLV, 39, 2; Polybius, VI, 53). 'Sea purple' alone was resistant to fading, but purple from inferior *dyes was widely worn (Reinhold, 51–61).

Tertullian recorded the wearing of purple by gymnasium managers (*Ad Martyras*, III, 3) and denounced the use of purple for clothes and wall hangings by Christians (*De Cultu Feminarum*, 8). The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict mentions twelve qualities of purple *textile, ranging in price from 10,000 *denarii* for red wool to 150,000 *denarii* for purple *silk (Hall, 229–36).

Use of purple was restricted because it signified imperial power (*Ammianus, XIV, 7, 20; XV, 16; XVI, 8, 3–8; XVII, 11, 1; XX, 5, 3; Reinhold, 64–7; *CTh* X, 21, 3; X, 20, 18; XV, 7, 11). This applied to the purple granite called *porphyry as well as to purple cloth. The imperial dye-works at *Tyre produced the finest purple *textile dye from the marine mollusc called the *murex. The right to perform **adoratio purpurae*, to kiss the hem of the imperial purple robe, was the perquisite of certain imperial officials (*CTh* VI, 13, 1; Ammianus, XV, 5, 18).

In Christian *mosaics and paintings, saints and biblical characters were increasingly depicted with either purple striped garments like public officials or in triumphal purple robes (Elsner, 9, 101, 228–9), and books of the *Bible were copied into *purple codices. LJH

M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Coll. Latomus 116, 1970).

L. J. Hall, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity* (2004).

R. MacMullen, 'Some Pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus', *ArtBull* 46 (1964), 435–56.

Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*.

D. Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (2011).

purple codices *Jerome complained to Eustochium that, while Christ's *poor starve, rich women own *purple manuscripts of scripture written in *gold ink, with *book covers encrusted with precious *stones (*ep.* 22, 32; cf. *ep.* 107, 12 and his prologue to Job). Purple Old *Latin Gospels surviving from the 5th/6th centuries include Codices Veronensis (b), Palatinus (e), Brixianus (f), Sarzanensis (j), and Vindonensis 1235 (l); there are also psalters. The purple manuscript of *Ulfilas' Gothic version of the Gospels in the Codex Argenteus (Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek DG 1) has affinities with Codex Brixianus. Chemical analysis of the deeply dyed Codex Brixianus shows that *murex formed part, but not the largest part, of the colouring of the parchment. Among *Greek purple manuscripts of the NT surviving from the 6th century wholly or partly are Codices Petropolitanus (N, 022) and Beratinus (Φ, 043), and the *Sinope (O, 023) and *Rossano Gospels (Σ, 042). The latter two and the *Vienna Genesis are illuminated. NAS; OPN

Weitzmann, *Illumination*.

C. M. Booker, 'The Codex Purpureus and its Role as an *Imago Regis* in Late Antiquity', in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, VIII (Coll. Latomus 239, 1997), 441–77.

M. Aceto et al., *Spectrochimica Acta* Part A: *Molecular and Biomolecular Spectroscopy*, 117 (2014), 34–41.

***pusulatum* (PS)** Mark on *coinage indicating purified *silver. Following the coinage reform under *Valentinian I in 365–8, silver coins were marked PS (*pusulatum*), usually following the *mint mark. RRD

S. Moorhead, 'The Coinage of the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 364–498', in Metcalf, *OHGRC*, 601–32.
RIC IX, X.

Pydna *See* KITROS.

Pythagoras in Late Antiquity Pythagoras (6th cent. BC) was reputedly the inventor of *philosophy (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst*. III, 2, 6). Interest in his doctrines revived from the later years of the Roman Republic onwards. Following the rise of Christianity, pagan philosophers developed new accounts of the origins of their ideas, to counter Christian demonstrations of the antiquity of their own wisdom rooted in the Old Testament. Pythagoras thus came to play an unexpected part in reimagining the early history of pagan philosophy.

*Neoplatonism was crucial in associating Pythagorean elements with the legacy of Plato. *Porphyry and *Iamblichus in the early 4th century made significant contributions to this trend through their respective works on the history of philosophy, which included Porphyry's *Life* of *Pythagoras* (which opened his *History of Philosophy*) and a *Collection of Pythagorean Doctrines*, in which Iamblichus demonstrates ample Pythagorean knowledge and collects evidence. Such works were influential in transmitting Pythagorean doctrines (in a broad sense) to the East. Porphyry also promoted vegetarianism as an essential element of a philosophical life, following the path of Pythagoras. Indeed Pythagorean doctrines went beyond the realm of philosophy and included *mathematics, *music, and more. In particular, it is likely that the Pythagorean tradition was linked to the rise of *alchemy and the use of natural remedies, as hinted in Theodorus *Priscianus' *Physica*, where Pythagoras is quoted alongside Democritus as an authority in this field. CP

Ps.-Archytas, *On Ethical Education*, ed. (with IT and comm.) S. Giani, *Pseudo-Archita, L'educazione morale* (*περὶ παιδεύσεως ἠθικῆς*) (1993).
Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras*, ed. (with FT and comm.) E. des Places (1982).
ET in M. Hadas and M. Smith, *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity* (1965).
Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*, ed. L. Deubner (²1975).
Text (annotated with ET and index) J. Dillon and J. Hershbell (Scholars Press, 1991); ET (annotated): G. Clark (TTH 8, 1989).
J. M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists 80 B.C. –A.D. 220* (rev. edn., 1996).
C. Kahn, *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* (2001).
C. Macris, 'Jamblique et la littérature pseudo-pythagoricienne', in S. C. Mimouni, ed., *Apocryphité: histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre en hommage à Pierre Geoltrain* (2002), 77–129.
C. Macris, 'Porphyry *Life of Pythagoras*' and D. J. O'Meara, 'Iamblichus's *On the Pythagorean Life* in Context', in C. A. Huffman, ed., *A History of Pythagoreanism* (2014), 381–98 and 399–415.

Q

qadi In *Abbasid times (after 750), the *Arabic term for an official Islamic judge with the power of adjudication (*qada'*). In *Umayyad times the *qadi* was an assistant to the governor (*amir*), alongside the chief of the **shurta*, with which office that of *qadi* was sometimes combined. HBR; AM

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Kādi, 373–4 (Tyan).

P. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (2013).

M. Tillier, *Les Cadis d'Iraq et l'état Abbasside* (2009).

al-Qadisiyya Located in what is now south-west Iraq, al-Qadisiyya was the site of the decisive Muslim victory over the *Persian Empire in AD 636 (AH 14). This defeat, described by al-*Baladhuri (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 409–16), opened up a route for Muslim forces to the *Sasanian dynasty's winter capital of *Ctesiphon, leading eventually to the defeat and subjugation of Iraq and Iran, and the end of Sasanian rule. RHos

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* al-Ḳādisiyya, 384–7 (Lassner).

Qalat Seman *Martyrium complex at the site of the column of S. *Symeon Stylites (d. AD 459), on a hill above the village of Telanissus in the *Jebel Seman. The site became an important centre of *pilgrimage during the *holy man's own lifetime, and continued to be a significant focus of Christian cult after his death, although the saint's body was taken to *Antioch and later transferred to *Constantinople. The complex was a Christian counterweight to the *pagan sanctuary on top of Jebel Sheikh Barakat, which lies across the Valley of Telanissus, immediately to the south-west.

The main structure on the site was arranged in the shape of a *cross, with four basilical halls meeting in a central octagon that housed the remains of the saint's pillar. The easternmost of these basilicas served as a church and the other three were used as assembly halls for pilgrims. It is not clear whether the central *octagonal building was roofed or open to the sky; the *capitals of the columns supporting it represent leaves blown by the draught. The cruciform structure was constructed in the latter part of the 5th century, probably during the reign of *Zeno (474–91). Immediately south-east of the martyrium was a *monastery and cloister for visiting clergy (constructed *c.*490–500). The complex was approached from Telanissus by a series of monumental gateways, the last and innermost of which was surrounded by *hostels, stables, and a *baptistery. The buildings survive in a remarkably fine state of preservation; only the saint's column itself is poorly preserved. KETB

H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts: Part 2 of the Publications of an American Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900* (1903), 97–109.

Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, 97–105.

Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord*, vol. 1, 223–76.

Qalb Lozeh *Village in the Jebel Ala of the *Limestone Massif of northern *Syria, in which there is a magnificent and well-preserved *basilica, built between about 450 and 475 (the exact date is debated, but a date closer to 450 is generally favoured). It has a number of innovative or unusual features. The entrance is flanked on either side by a projecting *tower, recalling the *façades of certain earlier *pagan *temples in Syria. The *apse is in the form of a semi-dome, elaborately decorated, projecting from the east end of the church. The broad nave is separated from the aisles by arcades on piers, rather than columns. Arcades were used in this way in a number of later churches in the region. The aisles had flat *roofs composed of stone slabs, some of which survive in situ. KETB

H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts: Part II of the Publications of an American Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900* (1903), 221–5.

Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, 71–3.

J. Lassus. *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie. Essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage liturgique des édifices du culte chrétien, en Syrie, du IIIe siècle à la conquête musulmane* (1947).

G. Tchalenko and E. Baccache, *Églises de village de la Syrie du nord*, 2 vols. (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique tome 105, 1979–80), plates 418–25.

qanat Subterranean tunnel bringing water from a mountain aquifer to lower-lying fields or *gardens by gravity flow. They were integral to the *irrigation systems which supported *farming in much of the *Persian Empire. DTP

H. Goblot, 'Les Qanats: une technique d'acquisition de l'eau', *Industrie et artisanat* 9 (1979).
J. de Menasce, 'Textes pehlevis sur les qanats', *Acta Orientalia* 30 (1966), 167–75.
H. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* (1966).

Qarara (Gk. Hipponon) *Village in the *Heracleopolite *Nome of Upper *Egypt on the eastern bank of the *Nile with a Roman army camp until at least the 6th century. A community of monks loyal to *Meletius lived within the village in the early 4th century (P.Lond. VI, 1913–22). A large Christian cemetery, with chapels and individual tombs, has been found south-east of Qarara. MCDP

B. Huber, 'Mittelägypten in spätrömisch-byzantinischer Zeit. Neue Forschungen in Qarara', *BullSocArchCopte* 47 (2008), 53–71.

Qardagh (4th/6th cent.) Legendary Persian Christian venerated as a *martyr. His 6th-century *martyr passion presents its hero as *Marzban of the Mesopotamian border region, north of *Nisibis, at the time of *Shapur II, who was converted to Christianity and took the Roman *Emperor's side against the Persians. He was stoned, and buried in *Arbela. The presentation of the protagonist follows narrative conventions inherited from Iranian epic literature. CJ

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, n. 356.
Life (*BHO* 555–6):
ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, II, 442–507 (Syriac text).
LT J.-B. Abbeloos, 'Acta Mar Kardaghi', *AnBoll* 9 (1890), 5–106.
J. Walker, *The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Narrative and Christian Heroism in Late Antique Iraq* (TCH 40, 2006).

Qaryat al-Fāw Oasis in the south of modern Saudi *Arabia containing remains of settlements from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD. Al-Fāw straddles a strategic point on caravan routes passing through the southern Arabian Desert connecting south *Arabia (Arabia Felix, Yemen) with the Mediterranean basin and *Mesopotamian routes which formed the principal artery of the *incense trade.

Different groups occupied the site to control *trade. *Inscriptions of the 3rd century AD describe al-Fāw as ruled by '*Kinda and Qahtan' and/or 'Kinda and Madhhij' (al-Ghabban, 313). Kinda was a celebrated pre-Islamic Arabian kingdom. Although in its 5th-century heyday Kinda was based further south in *Ḥaḍramawt and this post-dates the abandonment of al-Fāw, al-Fāw may have been Kinda's first capital. Archaeological finds from al-Fāw reveal economic prosperity, extensive Hellenistic cultural influences, and funerary and religious material giving evidence of the polytheistic religion of the pre-Islamic *Arabian Peninsula. PAW

A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau* (1982).
A. I. al-Ghabban et al., eds., *Roads of Arabia* (2010).

Qaryatayn and Dayr Mar Elyan Located on the Roman *frontier, Qaryatayn had been the centre of a Middle Bronze Age kingdom, but by classical times was a minor settlement on the more northerly of the routes linking *Damascus and *Palmyra. A substantial tell and Roman remains lie south of the modern town.

West of Qaryatayn is the *Monastery of Mar Elian esh-Sharqi or esh-Sheikh (S. Julian of the East/the Old Man) which is a Late Antique foundation and held the *sarcophagus and shrine of the saint. The monastery was bulldozed by DAESH in 2015. EL

E. Loosley and N. Finneran, 'Monastic Archaeology in Syria: Excavations at Dayr Mar Elian al-Sharqi, Qaryatayn: A Preliminary Report on the 2001, 2002 and 2003 Field Seasons', *Levant* 37 (2005), 43–56.

qasida Arabic form of lyric poetry. Usually, this lengthy poetic type consists of three components: reflection on the past (e.g. loss of the beloved), description of a journey on a *camel or *horse symbolizing the turn towards the present, and *praise (or derision) of individuals. KMK

R. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣide* (1971).
A. el-Tayib, 'Pre-Islamic Poetry', in A. Beeston, ed., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983), 27–113.
J. Montgomery, *The Vagaries of the Qaṣīda* (1999).

Qasr al-Hallabat An *Umayyad-era 'desert castle' located approximately 60 km (36 miles) north-east of *Amman. It stands upon a 6th-century *Ghassanid *palace and *monastery that was in turn built upon a 2nd- or 3rd-century Roman fort. *Caliph *Hisham (r. 724–43) redeveloped the Roman site as a complex that included a *mosque, a *bathhouse, and an extensive *irrigation system, suggesting that *olives and vines may have been cultivated there. The central palace was of square construction in basalt and limestone and lavishly decorated with wall paintings, *stucco sculpture, and *mosaics. AM; EL

I. Arce, 'Qasr al-Hallabat Revisited', in H. Kennedy, ed., *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria* (2006), 26–44.

Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi Two *Umayyad *palace complexes developed

by the *Caliph *Hisham (r. 724–43) located on the *road between *Damascus and al-Rusafa/*Sergiopolis. The former is west of *Palmyra, and the latter east of it, hence their designation as 'western' (al-Gharbi) and 'eastern' (al-Sharqi). Al-Sharqi is a wholly *Umayyad construction with later additions; al-Gharbi was built on the remains of a *Ghassanid structure. Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi comprises a palace, small *bathhouse, reservoir, two further buildings constructed around courtyards, a water-*mill, dam, and agricultural enclosure of 46 ha (114 acres), irrigated by an *aqueduct. In contrast, Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi has been described as a 'new town'. It comprises a large palace and two very large agricultural enclosures of 746 and 160 ha (1,843 and 395 acres), irrigated by a number of aqueducts. Adjacent to the palace is a larger compound in two storeys. These monumental buildings are surrounded on three sides by a variety of others, covering more than 30 ha (74 acres). AM; EL

TIB 15/2 Syria (2015) *s.nn.* Qaṣr al-Ġarbī and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr aš-Šarqī, 1603–4.

D. Genequand, *Les Établissements des élites Omeyyades en Palmyrène at au Proche-Orient* (2012).

O. Grabar, R. Holod, J. Knutstad, and W. Trousdale, *A City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East* (1978).

D. Schlumberger, M. Le Berre, A. Schlumberger, O. Écochard, and N. Saliby, *Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi* (1986).

Qasr-e Abu Nasr Fortress and settlement of the *Sasanian period on a rocky outcrop 6 km (3.5 miles) south-east of Shiraz in *Fars, with evidence of Arsacid and *Umayyad occupation. DTP

R. N. Frye, ed., *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr: Seals, Sealings and Coins* (HIS 1, 1973).

D. S. Whitcomb, *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* (1985).

Qasr el Lebia (mod. Libya) *City in *Cyrenaica and the site of a *basilica built in 539–40 by *Bishop Macarius. According to an *inscription in the church, the town was renamed 'New Theodorias' after the *Empress *Theodora, wife of *Justinian I. The church is decorated with *allegorical and *cosmological *mosaics: square panels frame *Nilotic *birds and *fish, the *Lighthouse (*Pharos*) of *Alexandria, and *personifications of Creation (*Ktisis*), Adornment (*Kosmesis*), Renewal (*Ananeosis*), the four rivers of *Paradise, and a spring (*Castalia*) located either at *Delphi or *Antioch. SVL

E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches* (1980).

M. Guarducci, 'La più antica catechesi figurata: il grande musaico della basilica di Gasr Elbia in Cirenaica', in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 372, Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Memorie*, Series 8, XVIII, 7 (1975), 659–86.

H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (1987).

Qasr-e Serij 6th-century *monastery and church in northern *Mesopotamia dedicated to S. *Sergius. The site was located at a spring 5 km (3 miles) south-west of Tell Hugna, and 60 km (37 miles) north-west of *Mosul. The *basilica (*c.*23 by 14 m, 76 by 46 feet) was constructed of limestone ashlars. An arcade springing from pilasters divided its nave into three aisles. In place of a *prothesis, a rectangular *martyrium lay south of the *apse. It was accessible through a large *arch from the south side aisle and a small door that led to the church's south porch. Though located in the *Persian Empire, its design stemmed from churches at north *Syrian *pilgrimage centres in the Roman Empire such as *Sergiopolis (Resafa). The *metropolitan of the *Miaphysite Church in *Mesopotamia, Mar *Ahudemmeh (r. 559–75), founded Qasr Serij specifically to rival Sergiopolis-Rusafa (*History of Mar Ahudemmeh*, ed. Nau, 29–30). *Khosrow I reconstructed it after *Nestorians burned it. MPC

Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 121–8.

ed. F. Nau (with FT), *Histoires d'Ahoudemmeh et de Marouta, métropolitains jacobites de Tagrit et de l'Orient (VIe et VIIe siècles): suivies du traité d'Ahoudemmeh sur l'homme* (PO 3, 1909), 1–96.

D. Oates, 'Qasr Serij—a Sixth Century Basilica in Northern Iraq', *Iraq* 24 (1962), 78–89.

D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq* (1968), 106–17.

Qasr-e Shirin Archaeological site between Holwan and Khaniqin in western Iran where *Khosrow II built a *palace associated in early Islamic lore with his Christian wife *Shirin. Situated on an artificial terrace 8 m (*c.*26 feet) high, it measured 285 × 98 m (935 × 322 feet) and was reached by a double staircase leading to a massive courtyard or *garden. A tall entrance hall with **ayvan* led to a great hall area and apartments flanking successive courtyards or gardens. DTP

G. Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival* (1977), 131.

J. Schmidt, 'Qasr-i Shirin: Feuertempel oder Palast?', *Bagh-Mitt* 9 (1978), 39–47.

Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 687–93.

Qasr ibn Wardan A 6th-century complex of church, *palace, and military barracks, located in the Syrian Desert approximately 60 km (*c.*37 miles) north-east of *Epiphania (Hama). It is architecturally striking due to its unusual 'tiger-striped' construction in bands of black basalt and yellow brick. This lavish construction technique necessitated the transport of many of the building materials long distances to the site, and was helped by the fact that this was an imperial project financed by the *Emperor *Justinian I (527–65) who built a line of new fortifications and strengthened existing outposts across *Syria in an attempt to stave off Persian invasions.

Imperial *patronage therefore accounts for the design of the church at Qasr ibn Wardan, which was square, galleried on three sides, and surmounted by a *dome. These were all innovations from *Constantinople that would have appeared revolutionary to the Syrians who had yet to embrace the dome as an architectural form. This also means that the complex should be studied by comparison with Constantinople and Justinian's other imperial projects, rather than being viewed as an example of typical 6th-century Syrian architecture. EL

P. Grossman, 'Zu den Bogen und Gewölben in dem Wüstenpalast von Qasr ibn Wardan', *DamasMitt* 12 (2000), 291–302.

A. Perich Roca, 'El palacio de Qasr ibn Wardan (Siria) y la evolución de la tipología palacial bizantina (siglos vi–xv)', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 23 (2013), 45–74.

Qasr Ibrim (Roman In Primis) Long-inhabited crag strategically located overlooking the *Nile, *c.*200 km (120 miles) south of Aswan. An important centre of the Noubades in Lower *Nubia in the 5th century, it remained an important town under the Christian kings of Noubadia from the 6th century onwards. JHFD

CoptEnc 7 *s.v.* Qasr Ibrim, cols. 2036b–2038a (W. Y. Adams).
W. Y. Adams, *Qasr Ibrim: The Earlier Medieval Period* (2010).
Dijkstra, *Philae*, 164–8.

Qasr Kharana This rectangular early *Umayyad fortress is approximately 60 km (36 miles) south-east of *Amman and was occupied prior to 710, as a **graffito* found in the fortress says that it was abandoned before that year. Although there has been debate as to whether the site actually pre-dates *Islam and was initially built by the *Sasanians, most scholars now accept the findings of Urice that Qasr Kharana is one of the earliest of the network of *Umayyad palaces built in the Jordanian and Syrian deserts.

The evidence suggests that the site was only ever occupied for short periods of time and acted more as a permanent camp for nomadic travellers than a palace in the conventional sense. This observation is supported by the fact that the fortress had no permanent water supply and only a shallow *cistern in the central courtyard to conserve seasonal rainfall. It is this lack of water that probably caused the abandonment of the site. EL

D. Genequand, *Les Établissements des élites Omeyyades en Palmyrène at au Proche-Orient* (2012).
R. Hillenbrand, 'Qasr al-Kharana Re-examined', *Oriental Art* 28 (1991), 109–13.
S. K. Urice, *Qasr Kharana in the Transjordan* (1987).

Qatada b. Di'ama b. Qatada al-Sadusi (*c.*680–*c.*735) Blind traditionist from *Basra famous for his memory and extensive knowledge of Arab genealogy and Muslim traditions. He was a student of *Hasan al-Basri and was also considered a proponent of the doctrine of free will. HBR

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma, p. 748 (Pellat).

qayna Arabic female musical entertainers, rooted in pre-Islamic slavery traditions and widely attested after the *Arab conquests in the *Umayyad and *Abbasid *Caliphates. Their repertoire consisted of *ghina'* (song) in both 'heavy' (*sinad*) and 'light' (*hazaj*) styles, as well as *nawh* (lamentations), often self-accompanied on instruments. The tradition is most fully documented by al-Jahiẓ' and al-Isfahani. AJH

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* *ḳayna* (Ch. Pellat).
Shahid, *BASIC* II/2 (2010), 182–91.

Qays According to the Islamic-era genealogical sources, Qays, or Qays 'Aylan, was one of the two principal divisions of the north Arabian *tribes or *al-'arab al-musta'ribah* (the Arabized Arabs), descended from the eponym Mudar. Qays is not said to have functioned as a confederation prior to *Islam. Of its subdivisions, Hawazin and Thaqif were both powers near *Mecca just prior to the rise of Islam. The focal point of their interactions was the lucrative trade site of 'Ukaz, and the Meccan victory over the Hawazin and some branches of the Thaqif in the 590s AD ensured *Qurashi dominance in regional *trade. Following the Second *Arab Civil War (683–92), Qaysi tribes became a leading element in factional conflict within Islamic *Syria, opposing the 'southern' Quda'a. This competition for power between 'northern' and 'southern' tribes became a dominant aspect of politics across the Islamic empire, and eventually contributed to the collapse of *Umayyad power. RHos; AM

EI 2 vol. 4 (1978) *s.v.* Ḳays 'Aylān, 833–4 (Watt).
P. Crone, 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?', *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 1–57.
R. Hosein, 'Tribal Alliance Formations and Power Structures in the Jahilliya and Early Islamic Periods', Ph.D. thesis (Chicago, 2010).

Qays b. Salamah b. al-Harith (*fl. c.* AD 531) Grandson of al-*Harith b. 'Amr of *Kinda. He probably assumed the title of *phylarch over the Arab *tribes of Kinda and Ma'add upon the death of his grandfather in 528, holding it till his resignation in 531. After a dispute between Qays and a familial relation of Esimiphaeus (Sumyafa' Ashwa')—the Christian king of the *Himyar—resulted in the latter's death, Qays fled into the wilderness (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 20, 9–10). *Justinian, anxious to break the *trade monopoly of the Persians, tried to unite Qays with Esimiphaeus to form an Arab military contingent, but, despite promises from both sides, ultimately failed in his attempt. RHos

PLRE III, Caisus.
EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Kinda, 118–20 (Beeston).
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001).

Qenneshre, monastery of Located on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, facing *Europus (mod. Jirbās/Jarablus, near the Turkish–Syrian border), Qenneshre was the most important intellectual centre of the *Syriac Orthodox (*Miaphysite) Church from the 6th to the early 9th century.

Around 530, fleeing imperial persecution of Miaphysites, *John Bar Aphtonia led a group of monks from the *Monastery of S. Thomas near *Seleucia Pieria eastward towards the Euphrates to found Qenneshre, which means 'Eagles' Nest' in *Syriac. It seems that Qenneshre, like the Monastery of S. Thomas its founders came from, was dedicated to S. Thomas. John bar Aphthonia himself was *bilingual in *Greek and Syriac, and wrote in both languages. From the beginning, Qenneshre seems to have been associated with knowledge of Greek and bilingual *education in the Syriac Orthodox Church.

Qenneshre soon began to produce *bishops; from Julian I (sed. 591–*c.*596) to *Dionysius of Tel Mahre (sed. 818–45), six Miaphysite *Patriarchs of *Antioch had their origins there. The *Vita* of *Theodota of *Amida (d. 698) suggests that for at least part of the 7th century, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch resided in Qenneshre.

Most of the major intellectual figures of the Syriac Orthodox Church in the 7th and 8th centuries were trained at Qenneshre, including *Thomas of Harkel, *Paul of *Edessa, Athanasius of Balad, *Jacob of Edessa, and also possibly *Severus Sebokht and *George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes. These men were bilingual in Greek and Syriac and were responsible for the *translation and retranslation of a number of biblical, patristic, and secular texts (notably Aristotle) from Greek into Syriac. It can be argued, in fact, that behind the translation and retranslation of these texts lay a Miaphysite curriculum of study which had its origins at Qenneshre.

In this early medieval period, Qenneshre lay at the centre of a network of Miaphysite monasteries—including Tell ʿAdā and Mar Zakai, among others—which formed the intellectual backbone and leadership of the Syriac Orthodox Church. In its heyday, Qenneshre was the most important centre of Graeco–Syriac translation in the entire Near East. It remains an open question for scholarship whether there was a specific translation technique associated with and taught by and in the monastery.

Qenneshre was sacked and burned down by Arab Muslim marauders *c.*811 in the chaos that followed the death of Harūn al-Rashīd in 809. It was rebuilt in 820; bishops would come from Qenneshre as late as the 10th century, and Arabic Muslim sources suggest that it was a destination for visitors into the early 10th century. Archaeological work at the site suggests that the site of Qenneshre was inhabited until the first half of the 13th century. Nevertheless, after its destruction in the early 9th century, the monastery never returned to its previous prominence and importance.

The monastery of Qenneshre should not be confused with the Syrian city *Qinnasrin (*Chalcis). JT

GEDSH s.v. Qenneshre, Monastery of, 345–6 (Tannous).
A. Barsoum, 'Sīrat al-qiddis Yūḥannā ibn Aftūnīyā', *PatMagDam* 4/9 (1937), 265–78.
Excavations: Y. al-Dabte, 'Iktishāf Dayr Qinnisrīn (Monastery of Qinnisre)', *Mahd al-Ḥaḍarāt* 2 (April 2007), 83–99.
J. Tannous, *Syria between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak* (Ph.D. diss, Princeton, 2010).
J. Tannous 'You Are What You Read: Qenneshre and the Miaphysite Church in the Seventh Century', in Wood, ed., *History and Identity*, 83–102.

qibla The direction faced in Muslim *prayer, the orientating point of which is the *Ka'ba, the small approximately cubic building in the sanctuary at *Mecca.

Outside this sanctuary, *mosques indicate the direction of the *qibla* with the placement of a wall niche, called a **mihrab*. The *qibla* also serves as the orientation point for ritual acts besides *prayer, including ritual slaughter and the placement of bodies in burial.

According to the biography of *Muhammad and numerous *hadith, the *qibla* had originally been oriented toward *Jerusalem, but was changed to the Ka'ba in 624. Midway through the noon prayer, Muhammad turned from Jerusalem to the sanctuary, as described in *Qur'ān 2: 144. The change of the *qibla* took place while Muhammad and his followers were in *Medina, and the mosque there became known as 'Masjid al-Qiblatayn', the mosque of the two *qiblas*.

Across the Islamic empire, determining the proper direction of the *qibla* led to a flourishing of *mathematics and astronomical observation. Medieval cartographers also used the *qibla* in Mecca as an orientation, and *maps often depict the Ka'ba at their centre, with each corner of the building representing a cardinal direction. NK

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Ḳibla, 82–8 (Wensinck and King).
B. Sulayman, 'Qibla musharriqa and Early Muslim Prayer in Churches', *The Muslim World* 81 (1991), 267–82.

Qinnasrin *Arabic name of the Roman fortress-*city of *Chalcis ad Belum 25 km (15 miles) south-west of *Aleppo, and name of a **jund* of the *'Umayyad period. The *jund* was created out of that of *Homs by *'Ali or *Yazid I. Al-*Baladhuri notes the surrender of the city to Abu Ubaydah in AD 636/7 during the *Arab conquest of *Syria, and its subsequent resistance, siege, and

'reduction' (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 223–234). The site of Chalcis has few remains of the Islamic period.

Al-Baladhuri mentions also the Hadir Qinnasrin, an existing Arab watering-place and camp ground, some of whose people *Abu Ubaydah 'summoned to *Islam', though others preferred to remain Christians and pay the poll-tax (**jizya*). He also says that they later built *houses there. Qinnasrin was demolished by a Byzantine army in the mid-10th century.

C. P. Haase identified as Hadir Qinnasrin a tell and lower settlement called Hadir 4 km (2.5 miles) east of the site of Roman Chalcis. During subsequent sondages by D. Whitcomb, and then by M. Barrucand and M.-O. Rousset, a 3rd-century coin and 46 sherds of the 3rd/4th century AD were found, and a few coins of *Justinian I, *Heraclius, and *'Abd al-Malik, and also substantial evidence of housing, *irrigation works, *glass manufacture, and *pottery dating from the early Islamic period, but no pottery of the 5th/6th century. The relative paucity of walls and abundance of detritus is compatible with the presence of an encampment comparable to the settlement outside the walls of the Umayyad desert *palace at *Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.

Qinnasrin should not be confused with the important *Syrian Orthodox *monastery and intellectual centre of *Qenneshre near modern Jerablus. OPN

M.-O. Rousset, ed., *Al-Hadir: étude archéologique d'un hameau de Qinnasrin (Syrie du Nord, VIIe–XIIe siècles)* (2012).

Qobad I (MP Kawād) Persian King of Kings (r. AD 488–96 and 498–531). Qobad was the only surviving son of *Peroz, who had lost his life fighting the *Hepthathalites in the east.

Qobad I was responsible for beginning important administrative and financial reforms which his son *Khosrow I completed. During his rule the *Zoroastrian priest *Mazdak was used by Qobad to stage a social revolution where the power of the great noble houses was broken. Because of this the *aristocracy conspired to place Qobad I in the Prison of Oblivion in AD 496, thus interrupting his rule. In his place the nobility placed his brother *Jamasp (Zamasp) on the throne. However, with the help of his sister Qobad and some supporters fled to the lands of the *Hephthalites, where he then raised a force and came back to reclaim the throne in AD 498/9.

Impoverished by this interlude, Qobad sought financial subvention from the Roman *Emperor *Anastasius I. Such payments had previously been made on a voluntary basis, so Roman sources aver (*Joshua the Stylite, 8–10; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 7, 1–2), in order to sustain the defence of the *Caucasus Passes against the threat to both empires of steppe warriors from *Central Asia. Persians appear to have preferred to think of the money as a debt due to them. Anastasius' refusal to make a loan (*Theophanes, AM 5996) gave offence, so in 502 Qobad mounted a lightning invasion of Roman territory. First he captured *Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) and then, while his allies harried *Harran and *Constantia-Tella, he marched south to besiege *Amida, which he captured after a siege of three months (*Zacharias Rhetor, VII, 3–4). The account known as the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, apparently written by a resident of *Edessa, gives a graphic account of these hostilities which persisted until a seven-year peace was signed in 506 (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 9, 24), though attempts to obstruct the building of the Roman fortress at *Dara opposite *Nisibis persisted, as did a proxy war in southern *Arabia, while Roman *diplomacy secured serious advantages in *Iberia.

In 527 Qobad made a further demand for money; attempts at compromise failed and in 530 he made surprise attacks on *Satala and Dara, where the Romans defeated him in an open battle of which Procopius gives an eyewitness account (*Persian*, I, 14). The following year Qobad campaigned in the Euphrates Valley but died before his troops could capture the Roman *frontier town of *Martyropolis in *Armenia Quarta (*Persian*, I, 21, 19–20).

Throughout these external conflicts, Qobad persisted with his internal reforms. The Office of Protector of the Poor and Judge was created from the ranks of high *Zoroastrian priests who were in charge of pious foundations, to help the poor (MP *drayush*/NP *darwish*). In addition, four chanceries were created for the civil *administration of the Empire, matching those of the military division. A *council of the *Church of the East held in 524 asserted the autocephalous authority of its *catholicus. TD; OPN

EncIran XVI/2 (2013) *s.vv.* Kawād I: i reign and ii coinage 136–43 (Schindel).

Greatrex and Lieu, ch. 5.

P. Crone, 'Kavad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt', *Iran* 29 (1991), 21–42.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*.

Greatrex, *RPW*.

Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 75–82.

Qobad II (MP Kawād) *Sasanian King of Kings (r. 628) also known as Shiruye (Gk. Seiroe in *ChronPasch* AD 628, Shiroe in *Theophanes). His father was *Khosrow II (r. 590–628). He ascended the throne after murdering his father and committing extensive fratricide, leaving the *Persian Empire without other able heirs. He then made peace with the Romans; the despatch sent back to *Constantinople by *Heraclius, including a *letter to him from Qobad, was read aloud in the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom on 15 May 628, and survives as the final entry in the **Chronicon Paschale*.

Qobad's peace treaty with *Heraclius saw territories returned to the Romans along with the *relic of the

True *Cross. He died after complaining of abdominal pain, while taking part in the customary migration of the Sasanian *court from the hot plains of *Mesopotamia to the uplands of Media (**Chronicle of Khuzestan*). His young son *Ardashir III (r. 628–29) briefly succeeded him, followed in short order by the general *Shahrwaraz and by Qobad's sister (also his wife) *Boran (629–31). AZ; OPN

PLRE III, Cavades II qui et Siroes.

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*

Quadi Small Germanic tribe originally belonging to the Elbe Germanic cultural group. They acquired a martial reputation fighting alongside the *Marcomanni against Marcus Aurelius (*Ammianus, XXIX, 6, 1–2; cf. XXX, 5, 3), and were then settled immediately north of the Danube *frontier. Excavations in their territory have revealed Germanic-style structures but Roman small finds and *pottery.

The Quadi invaded *Pannonia in the time of *Gallienus (*Eutropius, IX, 8, 2; *Jerome, *Chron.* 220 *l* Helm; *Orosius, VII, 22, 8), were driven back from *Italy by *Aurelian, and defeated again by *Carinus. Along with *Suebes and *Sarmatians they invaded the *Balkans in 357–8 (Ammianus, XVI, 10, 20; XVII, 12), leading *Constantius II to mount a punitive expedition against them from *Brigetio, after which they swore fealty, 'drawing their swords, which they venerate as spiritual beings' (XVII, 12, 21).

In 374, infuriated because Roman fortresses had been built on their side of the Danube and because a Roman general had assassinated their king, they attacked once more, again in alliance with Sarmatians (XXIX, 6, 1–16). It was while ranting at an embassy of Quadi the following year that *Valentinian I suffered his final apoplexy (XXX, 6; *Zosimus, IV, 16, 4–17, 2).

In the 5th century the Quadi gave their name to a Roman *army unit stationed in *Egypt (**Notitia Dignitatum, or*. XXXI, 56). TF; OPN

TIR M-33 Praha (1986) *s.n.* Quadi, 69–71.

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Quaden, XXIII, (2003), 624–40 (Neumann, Hofeneder, Kolnik).

U. B. Dittrich, *Die Beziehungen Roms zu den Sarmaten und Quaden im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr. nach der Darstellung des Ammianus Marcellinus* (1984).

quadrant and graduated ring Astronomical instruments for measuring the altitude (angle above the horizon) of a celestial object, such as the *Sun or a star. *Ptolemy described a quadrant of stone or wood for taking solar altitudes (*Almagest*, I, 1) and a related instrument, the meridian ring. In the former, a quarter circle is divided into 90 degrees; in the latter, a complete circle is divided into 360 degrees. According to *Proclus (*Hypotyposis*, III, 5), a meridian ring should be at least half a cubit in diameter. A graduated quarter-circle, half-circle (*John Philoponus, *Traité de l'astrolabe*, Segonds, 144–5), or full circle was often engraved on *astrolabes for use with the instrument's rotatable sights to measure altitudes, a necessary step in telling time. A specialized hand-held quadrant (the horary quadrant), used for telling time at a particular latitude, was described by al-Kwārizimī, *c.* AD 820. Universal horary quadrants, for approximate time-telling at any latitude, were developed shortly afterwards. JCE

ed. (with GT) C. Manitius, *Procli Diadochi Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum* (1909).

ET (annotated) G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (1984).

H. Hase, ed., Jean Philopon, *Traité de l'astrolabe*, with ET and comm. by A. P. Segonds (1981).

D. A. King, 'A *Vetustissimus* Arabic Treatise on the *Quadrans Vetus*', *JnlHistAstron* 33 (2002), 237–55.

Quadriga Messii (Lat. 'Chariot of Messius') Metaphor used by *Cassiodorus (*Institutiones*, I, 15, 7) for the quartet of *Latin authors (*Vergil, Terence, Cicero, Sallust) used by the late 4th-century **grammaticus* Arusianus Messius. RDR

quaestor Public office in the Roman Empire, which derived originally from the most junior magistracy in the *cursus honorum* of the Roman Republic. In the Later Roman Empire the quaestorship was the first step in the career of a scion of the senatorial *aristocracy; some quaestors were younger than 16 (*CTh* VI, 4, 1). From the reign of *Constantine I onwards, the *Senate annually elected an unknown number of quaestors in *Rome. They could also be nominated by the *emperor as a *quaestor candidatus* (*HA Alexander Severus*, 43). Quaestors had no major public function except that they funded public games. They are rarely mentioned in *inscriptions, but are still attested in the 5th century. The office of quaestor is distinct from that of *Quaestor Sacri Palatii, the emperor's principal legal draughtsman. DN

Jones, *LRE* 530–2.

A. Chastagnol, *L'Évolution politique, sociale et économique du monde romain* (1982), 120–1.

Quaestor Sacri Palatii (imperial quaestor) Originally the *emperor's spokesman, a role he never lost, the imperial quaestor became, by the mid-4th century, the emperor's main legal adviser and draughtsman of imperial legislation. He was thus *ex officio* a member of the imperial *Consistorium. Holders of the office included Eupraxius, who advised *Valentinian I on the law of *treason, and the poet *Ausonius. The Quaestor had no office staff but instead made use of the various secretariats; when the office was vacant, the *Magister Memoriae may have acted as his deputy.

Under *Theodosius II, the imperial quaestors, notably *Antiochus Chuzon, were the driving force behind the compilation of the *Theodosian Code and, from 529 to 534, *Justinian I's Quaestor, *Tribonian, supervised the committees which produced *Justinian's *Code*, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. Many quaestors are known by name and others can be identified by their distinctive styles, which ranged from the floridly rhetorical to the austere simplicity of the professional jurist. JDH

J. D. Harries, 'The Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II', *JRS* 78 (1988), 148–72.

T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (1978).

Quaestura Exercitus New military, administrative, and judicial entity headed by a Quaestor of the *army established by *Justinian I to regulate and supply the *armies on the embattled Danube *frontier more effectively (*NovJust* 41, of 536). It comprised *Moesia Inferior, *Scythia (both on the Lower Danube), with *Caria, the *Insulae, and *Cyprus. This geographical diffuseness soon necessitated reorganization, so that after 540, legal appeals from Caria, Insulae, and Cyprus were directed to *Constantinople (*NovJust* 1). The quaestorship is still attested in 575 (*NovJustmin* 11; *Menander Protector, fr. 21), so the reform was presumably successful. PNB

Jones, *LRE* 280, 482–3.

Cambridge Companion Justinian, 50 and 120.

J. Wiewiorowski, 'Quaestor Ioustinianus Exercitus: A Late Roman Military Commander?', *Eos* 93 (2006), 319–42.

quarries and quarrying Our knowledge of the quarrying of *marble, and of its diffusion across the Roman Empire, is extensive, because the origin of many marbles can be identified by eye, and because they have been widely studied. The quarrying of marble had boomed in early imperial times, with *cities and the *aristocracy all over the Empire vying to erect lavishly decorated public and private buildings. In Late Antiquity there was no falling off in the appreciation of fine stone; indeed the 4th to 6th centuries were a high point in the production of sophisticated patterned marble flooring and wall veneer (known as *opus sectile); but much of the marble in use, including many of the columns of the new Christian churches, now consisted of *spolia, reused elements from older buildings. Consequently, several quarries closed in Late Antiquity, including the once-flourishing *Luna quarries (near modern Carrara) in *Italy. In the east Mediterranean, however, some quarries flourished, most notably those on the island of *Proconnesus (in the Sea of *Marmara) which provided much of the fine stone with which *Constantinople was built. Some large-scale quarrying of fine stone continued until at least the mid-6th century; but by the 7th century it appears to have ceased. Much less is known about the quarrying of humbler building stone, but the pattern detectable in marble—of a shift of activity eastwards in the 5th and 6th centuries, followed by generalized decline—probably also applied to less valuable building materials. The *Limestone Massif of Northern Syria, for instance, is covered in 5th- and 6th-century rural houses built of newly quarried stone, but there is no evidence that new houses were added into the 7th century. BW-P

H. Dodge and B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers of J. B. Ward-Perkins* (1992).

J.-P. Sodini, 'Le Commerce des marbres à l'époque protobyzantine', in J. Lefort and C. Morrison, eds., *Hommes et richesse dans l'empire byzantin*, I (*IVe–VIe siècle*) (1989), 163–86.

Quedlinburg Itala Six leaves bearing parts of the Books of Kings from an illustrated Vetus Latina *Bible manuscript, written in uncial *script at *Rome, in the early 5th century, now in Berlin (cod. theol. lat. fol. 485). Comparable in size and length to the *Cotton Genesis, the four surviving Quedlinburg miniatures exist in a large square frame, divided into four compartments, so that several images occupy a full page. Its style resembles that of the *Vatican Vergil; both books have been ascribed to the same scriptorium within two decades of 400. NAS

H. Degering and A. Boeckler, eds., *Die Quedlinburger Itala-fragmente* (1932).

J. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (1997), 57–9.

Quentovic (Cuentawich) (dép. Pas-de-Calais, France) 'The *wik* of the Cuent' was an early medieval port (*wik* or *emporium*) situated in the estuary of the *Cuent* (mod. Canche), a small river in the Ponthieu, 30 km (*c.*18 miles) south of Boulogne (Gesoriacum), formerly the base of the Roman *fleet called the Classis Britannica. From the early 7th century, when the first coins were struck from *Wic in Pontio*, to the end of the 9th century, Quentovic was the main continental port for relations between southern England and northern *Gaul, where many *Anglo-Saxon missionaries and pilgrims landed en route to *Rome. SL

S. Lebecq et al., *Quentovic: environnement, archéologie, histoire* (2010).

Querolus The only Latin comedy to survive since Terence, the *Querolus* ('Complainer') was dedicated by its anonymous author to a *vir illustris* named Rutilius, probably *Rutilius Namatianus, author, in 417, of *De Reditu Suo*. It thus dates to the early 5th century and is an example of the occasional literature written in Late Roman *aristocratic literary circles. Written in the style of Plautus, the *Querolus* says much about contemporary social practices. The legal vocabulary suggests an author with legal training. RWM

ed. C. Jacquemard-Le Saos, *Querolus (Aulularia) Le Grincheux (Comédie de la petite marmite)* (1994).
ET G. E. Duckworth, in *The Complete Roman Drama* (1942) 2, 896–949.
J. Küppers, 'Die spätantike Prosakomödie "Querolus sive Aulularia" und das Problem ihrer Vorlagen', *Philologus* 133 (1989), 82–103.

Quinisext Council Church *council of 220 *bishops, mostly from *Anatolia and the *Balkans, convened by *Justinian II sometime between 1 September 691 and 31 August 692. They met in the Trullan hall of the imperial *palace in *Constantinople (where the sixth Œcumenical Council was held), so this is also called the Council In Trullo. It claimed to be the continuation of the fifth and sixth Œcumenical Councils (the Second and Third Councils of *Constantinople), so is also known as the fifth-sixth (Quinisext) Council.

The Quinisext Council generated three documents: a long prologue called the *Logos Prosphonetikos* that contextualized the council, 102 canons, and a subscription list. The *Logos* shows that Justinian provided the principal initiative behind the council, and that its purpose was to purge the Empire of immorality and disorder, as causes of contemporary decay. The subscription list reveals that six places were left vacant for Western bishops, particularly that of *Rome, to sign. Uniquely, Justinian II signed before all the bishops.

The canons in some ways complete and codify early *canon law, and are a valuable source for social history. The canons are divided into sections covering clergy, monks, and laity. Alongside recurrent canonical bugbears such as clerical *marriage (canon 6) and ecclesiastical discipline are found more novel issues of lay morality, *liturgical practice, and religious art (canons 73, 82, 100). Several extant pre-Christian festivals, such as the Brumalia, are condemned (canon 62), while churches are not to be polluted through sexual intercourse (canon 97), or bibles destroyed (canon 68). A few canons critical of Roman practice (canons 13, 36, 55) have been posited as the cause of papal resistance to the Quinisext Council, but it is plausible that Justinian's pretensions and Constantinople's claim to jurisdiction over the sees of east *Illyricum were the primary causes of contention. MTGH

ed. H. Ohme, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Concilium Quinisextum). ACO*, series secunda, vol. 2: *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium*, pars 4 (2013).
ed. H. Ohme (with GT), *Concilium Quinisextum = Das Konzil Quinisextum* (FontChr 82, 2006).
ed. H. Ohme, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste. Studien zum Konstantinopeler Konzil von 692* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 56, 1990).
ET (with reprint of text of P. P. Jouannou and studies) G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone, *The Council in Trullo Revisited* (1995).
J. Herrin, 'The Quinisext Council as a Continuation of Chalcedon', in R. M. Price and Mary Whitby, eds., *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils 400–700* (TTH Contexts 1, 2009), 148–68.
H. Ohme, 'The Causes of Conflict about the Quinisext Council', *GOTR* 40 (1995), 17–43.

Quinquegentiani A large-scale alliance of *Moorish tribes (the 'five peoples') in the Grand Kabylie mountains south-east of modern Algiers, perhaps in the Babors. Under the *Tetrarchy, they and the Bavares caused serious disturbances, relying on 'inaccessible mountain ridges and natural protection' (*PanLat*. VII [VI], 8, 6). In 297/8 the Emperor *Maximian defeated them (*Jordanes, *Getica* 110); the campaign in *Mauretania Sitifensis was recalled, probably a hundred years later, by the author of the *martyr passion of S. Typasius (*BHL* 8354), drawing probably on *Eutropius (IX, 22–3). DAC

New Pauly s.n. Quinquegentiani (W. Huß).

quinquennalia *See* ANNIVERSARIES, IMPERIAL.

Quintillus *Augustus 270. Brother of *Claudius II Gothicus, acclaimed as *emperor on Claudius' death, but killed seventeen days later at *Aquileia (*Eutropius, IX, 12; *Jerome, *Chron*. 222b Helm, cf. *Zosimus, I, 47), either by his troops (*HA Claudius*, 12, 5–6) or by himself (*HA Aurelian* 37, 6). DMG

PLRE I, Quintillus 1.

Quintus Smyrnaeus (3rd cent. AD) Author of the *Post-Homerica* (*Ta meth'Omerou*), an epic poem in fourteen books that attempts to fill the 'gap' between the burial of Hector at the end of *Iliad* 24 and the story of the returns of the Greek heroes after the Sack of Troy. It is envisaged as a direct continuation of *Homer's *Iliad*, picking up the narrative without the traditional invocation to the Muse, from the last line of Homer's epic. In a moment of literary self-consciousness the poet-narrator identifies himself as a shepherd from *Smyrna (traditionally regarded as the birthplace of Homer) and the reader is given no reason to doubt that it is Homer himself who is continuing to narrate his own story. Recent critics have highlighted the poet's sophisticated use of earlier Greek texts (in particular Greek tragedy which was much occupied with the same point in the story of Troy) and creative engagement with Homer both in terms of language and of narrative patterning. Quintus' fondness for 'Stoic' *gnomai* (related by both primary narrator and epic characters) is a particularly notable feature of his style. Similarities with

Latin texts (e.g. *Vergil, *Aeneid*, II) have been noted and explored, but the argument for Quintus' familiarity with *Latin literature remains unproven. RECS

ed. (with comm. and FT) F. Vian (1963–9).

ET (annotated) A. James, *Quintus of Smyrna: The Trojan Epic. Posthomerica* (2004).

F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* (1959).

M. Baumbach and S. Bär, eds., *Quintus Smyrnaeus: Transforming Homer in Second Sophistic Epic* (2007).

Qune (*fl.* early 4th cent.) *Bishop of Edessa, mentioned by the **Chronicle of Edessa* (12) and *Joshua the Stylite (39). The *martyrdom of *Shmona and Guria is said to have occurred during his episcopate. In 313, Qune laid the foundation of a church building which was completed by his successor Sha'ad. A 'church of Mar Qune' (*bet Mar Qune*), which was not identical with the Great Church, was known in the 6th century. UP

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 362.

W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (German original 1934; ET, 1971), 14–15, 33–43.

Quodvultdeus *Bishop of *Carthage and polemicist (d. *c.*454). Quodvultdeus corresponded with *Augustine (*epp*. 221, 223). He was consecrated Bishop of Carthage in 423, but was driven into exile (allegedly naked and on a leaky *ship) shortly after the *Vandal occupation of the *city in 439 (*Victor of Vita, I, 15). Quodvultdeus lived the remainder of his life in *Campania, where he produced several treatises including the *Liber de Promissionibus*, on the need to reject secular concerns and prepare for the apocalypse. The best known of his extant sermons, *De Tempore Barbarico*, was apparently delivered shortly before the fall of Carthage to the Vandals. AHM

PCBE I, Quodvultdeus 5.

CPL 401–13A.

ed. R. Braun (*CCSL* 60, 1960).

ed. (with FT, annotated) R. Braun (*SC*, 1964).

ET (annotated) T. M. Finn, *The Creedal Homilies* (ACW 60, 2004).

A. Isola, *I cristiani dell'Africa vandalica nei sermones del tempo* (1990), 429–530.

D. van Slyke, *Quodvultdeus of Carthage* (2003).

Quqites The followers of Quq (*fl. c.*160), mentioned disparagingly by later authors including *Ephrem, *Jacob of *Edessa, and Theodore bar Konai. His teachings have been classified as '*gnostic'. UP

Theodore bar Konai, *Memra* 11, ed. (with FT) R. Hespel and R. Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni, Livre des Scolies (recension de Séert)*, II (CSCO 432, Scr. syr. 188; 1982).

H. J. W. Drijvers, 'Quq and the Quqites: An Unknown Sect in Edessa in the Second Century A.D.', *Numen* 14 (1967), 104–29.

E. Albrile, 'Zostriano e i Quqiti: fenomenologia di una setta gnostica', *Nicolaus: Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 20/2 (1993), 5–30.

Qura West Syrian historian of the 6th/7th centuries, and *priest from *Batnae (Sarug). He wrote an ecclesiastical history in *Syriac in fourteen books, which covered the reigns of *Justin II until *Tiberius II (565–82). The work is lost, but was excerpted by *Michael the Elder (p. 377; FT: II, 356), and the anonymous author of the Syriac *Chronicle up to the Year 1234*. *See also* CHRONICLES, SYRIAC. WW

Baumstark, 182.

Fragments in ed. J.-B. Chabot (with FT), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, [patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)]* (1899–1924).

and in ed. (with LT) J.-B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, 2 vols. in 4 (CSCO 81–2, 109; Scr. syr. ser. 3, vols. 14 and 15, 1920 and 1916, repr. as Scr. syr. 36–7, 1965 and LT: CSCO 109, Scr. syr. 56, 1937 and FT by A. Abouna, CSCO 354, Scr. syr. 154, 1974).

A. P. D'yakonov, 'Kir Batnskiy, siriyskiy tserkovnïy istorik VII v'eka', *Khristiyanskoye Chteniye* 236 (1911), 1294–320, 1450–67, 237 (1912), 88–117.

van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus*, 81–2.

Qur'ān The Qur'ān is divided into 114 suras, i.e. literary units of diverse literary genre and undetermined length. Whereas the unit 'sura' was the medium of the earliest proclamation of the Qur'ān, their somewhat mechanical arrangement in the corpus according to their length betrays the absence of any particular historical or theological interest on the part of the redactors who—according to tradition—were active during the reign of the third *caliph *'Uthman b. 'Affan (r. 644–56). The term sura, which goes back to the Qur'ān itself (see e.g. Q. 10: 38), seems to denote a recited text, more precisely, the quantity that is presented in public on a single occasion.

Early Meccan suras

The earliest suras are probably those that make use of the particular style related to the pre-Islamic soothsayer or seer, who claimed superhuman origin for his enunciations. This literary form, known as rhymed prose, *saj'*, consists of short syntactical units marked by an expressive rhyme, often ultima-stressed. This pattern of phonetic correspondence between the verse endings is more flexible than the poetic rhyme used in the corpus of ancient Arabic *poetry, allowing semantically

related verses to be bracketed by a rhyme of their own and thus form clearly distinct verse-groups. Among these earliest suras are the following (cited in a roughly chronological order): Q. 111, 99–108, 77–97, 73–5, 68–70, 55–6, 51–3. As against those suras that remain close to the soothsayer speech model attesting the speaker's ecstatic disposition (e.g. Q. 111, 101, 100, 99, 84, 82, 81, 79, 77, etc.), there are other early suras that in their quiet and solemn mood (Q. 95, 94, 93, 87, 74, 73, etc.) remind one of Christian *hymns or adaptations of psalms rather than of a pagan ritual such as the performance of the soothsayer. What they still have in common is the shortness of the verses, which do not exceed one syntactically complete sentence. In the suras reflecting the pagan model the expression itself is often enigmatic, thus stressing the strangeness that adheres to a superhuman communication. A striking characteristic of this style is the use of *oaths and oath-clusters, conjuring heavenly bodies, thunderstorms, and bands of inimical raiders, all of which are phenomena pertaining to the imagination of desert dwellers rather than to the stock of images in the monotheistic tradition. There are equally less menacing oaths that conjure sacred places—including monotheistic shrines—and sacred times, that have been known as times of prayer in pre-Islamic times. These texts document a merger between a 'pagan' form and a biblically inspired content. Moreover, many early suras are replete with hymnal elements that are standard expressions in Christian and Jewish worship.

Whereas the imperative to worship is always there (e.g. Q. 96: 1: 'recite in the name of your lord who created' (*iqra' bi-smi rabbika lladhi khalaq*)), and God is always mentioned, many texts do not seem to be, first and foremost, addressed to the Prophet *Muhammad, but could equally be addressed to the believer. Most imperatives are however unequivocal addresses to the Prophet, like Q. 74: 2f.: 'Arise and warn and magnify your lord' (*qum fa-andhir warabbaka fa-kabbir*), and his figure gradually becomes prominent in the suras. It appears that the early recitation took place in the framework of already existing rituals. There is, then, an obvious convergence of the early Qur'ānic text to liturgy. The event of the day of judgement is the topic of a number of suras and is extensively elaborated: the catastrophic events that precede the judgement fill large sections of the early suras, and so do the scenes of retribution—either in punishment by fire or in the admittance to lofty gardens. Indeed, the entire corpus of early texts pursues one task: to convince the listeners of the omnipresence of God and thus of the moral responsibility to which they will be held on the last day.

Several Qur'ānic motifs and structures are not known from earlier *Arabic literature: beside the eschatological prophecies the so-called *ayat*, 'signs', are prominent which incorporate descriptions of the 'biosphere', of copious vegetation, fauna, an agreeable habitat for humans, the natural resources at their disposal, into paraenetic appeals to recognize divine providence and accept divine omnipotence. Properly decoded, these benefits will evoke gratitude and submission to the divine will. The perception of nature, which in pre-Islamic poetry appears alien and threatening, provoking the poet's heroic defiance of its roughness, has crystallized in the Qur'ān into the image of a meaningfully organized habitat ensuring human welfare and arousing the awareness of belonging.

'Signs' (*ayat*) of divine omnipotence may also manifest themselves in history. Very short narratives—an invasion of *Mecca (Q. 105) repelled by divine intervention, the Thamud myth about a divine punishment of disbelievers (Q. 91: 11–15), the story of Pharaoh and Moses (Q. 79: 15–26)—or ensembles of narratives like that in Q. 51 including Abraham and Lot, Moses and Pharaoh, the 'Ad, the Thamud, and Noah—or evocations of stories (Q. 52, 53, 69), occur from the earliest suras onward. Narratives then develop into retribution legends or punishment stories, serving to prove that divine justice is at work in history, the harassed just being rewarded with salvation, the transgressors and the unbelievers punished by annihilation. At the same time, legends that are located in the *Arabian Peninsula may be read as reinterpretations of ancient Arabian representations of deserted space. Sites no longer lie in ruins due to preordained natural processes, but because of an equilibrium, maintained by divine providence, that balances between human actions and human welfare.

Later Meccan suras

Later suras become more complex and polythematic. The references to the Meccan sanctuary as the central warrant for the social coherence of the community have been replaced by new symbols: evocations of scripture, be they clad in an oath (Q. 36: 2; 37: 3; 38: 1; 43: 2; 44: 2; 50:1) or in a deictic affirmation of its presence (Q. 2: 2; 10: 1; 12: 1; 13: 1, etc.). Moreover, later Meccan suras broaden the scope of space for the listeners, who are transported from their local surroundings to a distant landscape, the *Holy Land, the setting where the history of the community's spiritual forebears, the Israelites, took place. The introduction of the direction of prayer (the *qibla) towards *Jerusalem, reflected in Q. 17, is an unequivocal testimony of this change in orientation. Ritual coherence has thus given way to scriptural coherence. For the bulk of the middle and late Meccan suras, the claim of a tripartite composition focusing biblical stories in their centre is sustainable.

The focus is thus shifted from the deserted sites of the real homeland to the orbit of the messengers of the People of the Book. The phenomenon of recurring narratives in the Qur'ān, retold in slightly diverging fashions, deserves attention as a testimony of a progressively changing narrative pact, to a continuing education of the listeners, and to the gradual development of a moral consensus that is reflected in the texts.

On the formal level the early densely structured verse forms in later Meccan times have given way to a more loose flow of prose, with verses often exceeding one complete sentence, the rhyme end taking the form of a simple *-un* or *-in* pattern, easily achieved through a morpheme denoting masculine plural. The listeners' anticipation of an end marker of the verse is fulfilled by a new device: the verse concludes with an entire syntactically stereotypical rhymed phrase, a 'cadenza' which reiterates a linguistic pattern charged with a meta-discourse. Many cadenza-phrases are semantically distinguished from their context adding a moral comment to it, such as 'truly, you were one of the sinners' (*innaki kunti min al-khitai'in*, Q. 12: 29). They thus transcend the main narrative or argumentative flow of the sura, introducing a spiritual dimension: divine approval or disapproval. These metanarrative insertions into the narrative or argumentative fabric which in a written text would appear disturbing, delaying the information process, in an oral text add fundamentally to the impact of the recitation. The Qur'ān thus styles itself as a text evolving on different, yet closely intertwined, levels of discourse and mediality.

Types of Medinan suras

In *Medina, suras not only give up their tripartite scheme, but they also display much less sophistication in the patterns of their composition. One type may be aptly termed the 'oratory' sura or sermon (Q. 22, 24, 33, 47, 48, 49, 57–66); they consist of an address to the community whose members are called upon directly by formulae such as *ya ayyuha l-nas* (Q 22: 1, 'Oh people'). In these suras, which in some cases (Q. 59, 61, 62, 64) are stereotypically introduced by initial hymnal formulae strongly reminiscent of the biblical Psalms, the Prophet (*al-nabi*) appears as one personally addressed by God (Q. 33: 28, 'Oh Prophet' (*ya ayyuha l-nabi*)) or as an agent acting synergistically with the divine persona (Q. 33: 22, 'God and his Prophet' (*allahu wa-rasuluhu*)). As against these 'monolithic' addresses, the bulk of the Medinan suras are the most complex of the entire Qur'ān. Most of the so-called 'long suras' (*tiwal al-suwar*, e.g. Q. 2–10) cease to be neatly structured compositions, but appear to be the result of a process of collection. Though their structure may be secondary, their message sheds important light on particular ritual changes whose symbolic value cannot be underestimated. The Medinan regulations, whose binding force is sometimes underlined by a reference to the transcendent source, do not display any structured composition, nor do they form part of neatly composed units.

A new element appearing in Medinan suras is accounts of contemporary events experienced or enacted by the community, such as the Battle of *Badr (Q. 3: 123), Uhud (Q. 3: 155–74), the expulsion of the Banu l- Nadir (Q. 59: 2–5), the siege of Khaybar (Q. 48: 15), the expedition to Tabuk (Q. 9: 29–35;) or the farewell sermon of the Prophet in Q. 5: 1–3. It is noteworthy that these reports do not display a special artistic literary shaping, nor do they betray any particular pathos. It comes as no surprise, then, that, unlike the situation in Judaism and Christianity, where biblical history has been fused to form a mythical drama of salvation, no such great narrative has arisen from the Qur'ān itself. A metahistorical blueprint of the genesis of *Islam was constructed only later, through the *sira*. AN

M. Mir, 'The Sura as a Unity: A Twentieth Century Development in Qur'an Exegesis', in G. Hawting and A. K. A. Shareef, eds., *Approaches to the Qur'an* (1993), 211–24.

A. Neuwirth, 'Referentiality and Textuality in *Surat al-Hijr*: Some Observations on the Qur'ānic "Canonical Process" and the Emergence of a Community', in I. Boullata, ed., *Literary Structures of Religious Meaning in the Qur'an* (2000), 143–7.

M. Sells, *Approaching the Qur'an* (1999).

N. Sinai, 'The Qur'an as Process', in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai, and M. Marx, eds., *The Qur'an in Context* (2009), 407–40.

Quraysh The *tribe of the prophet *Muhammad, inhabitants of *Mecca. Apparently since the 5th century AD, Quraysh established an economic and religious system based on a network of agreements with other Arabian tribes, and perhaps also with powers outside the *Arabian Peninsula. Their system encompassed *trade, management of the *pilgrimage to the *Ka'ba, and succour for the Qurayshite poor. Elders ran the town jointly, always trying to avoid external and internal *feuds. Being pagan, or henotheists, and having their own customs, Quraysh actively opposed *Muhammad and his monotheistic beliefs and laws (*Ibn Ishaq, *Tabari VI). They were reconciled to *Islam in AD 630, and their former high status was restored and enhanced by the Prophet's policy. They became the ruling elite of the Islamic empire. The *caliphs in *Medina and the subsequent two dynasties (*Umayyads and *Abbasids, based in *Damascus and Baghdad respectively) were Qurashis. However, many Qurashis remained in the *Hijaz and opposition movements were often led by Qurashis too. The caliphal office, if not real power, remained with Quraysh until its extinction by the Mongols (1258). Local power in the *Hijaz remained Qurashi. ELT

EQ s.v. Quraysh (Rubin).
Ibn Qudama al-Maqdisi, *Al-Tabyin fi- ansa-b al-qurashiyyin*: ed. Muhammad Nayif al-Dulaymi (1988).
M. J. Kister, 'Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia', in M. Sharon, ed., *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon* (1986), 33–57.
M. J. Kister, 'Some Reports Concerning Mecca', *JESHO* 15 (1972), 61–93.
E. Landau-Tasseron, 'Arabia', in *NCHIslam*, 398–413.

qurra' A term applied to groups active in political and military events of early *Islam. Its meaning and their identity are disputed. Most commonly it is read as the plural of *qari'* (reader or reciter) and interpreted as referring to those skilled in reading or reciting the *Qur'ān. In later Islam that is the usual sense of the word, but there are problems about applying it to the *qurra'* who are reported as fighting for the *caliphs against the *Ridda tribes (632–3), supporting and then opposing *'Ali in the First *Arab Civil War (656–61), and taking part in the anti-*Umayyad rising of Ibn al-Ash'ath (*c.*703). M. A. Shaban and G. Juynboll, deriving *qurra'* from the Arabic for 'village' (*qarya*), identified them with certain Arab settlers in *Mesopotamia. N. Calder linked *qurra'* with Arabic *qar'* ('period of time') and identified them as temporary fighters. GRH

EQ s.v. Reciters of the Qur'an (Asfaruddin and Melchert).
EI 2 vol. 5 (1978) *s.v.* Ḳurra, 499–500 (Nagel).

Qurra b. Sharik *Arab governor of *Egypt from 709 to 714. Originating in the *Syrian town of *Qinnasrin, Qurra had served the *Caliph al-*Walid I (r. 705–15) as one of his secretaries before being appointed head of the wealthy and important province of Egypt. While narrative *Arabic sources describe Qurra as one of the dynasty's ruthless and oppressive governors in keeping with their general anti-*Umayyad sentiments, the *papyri show another side. While Qurra's letters in *Greek and Arabic to the *pagarch of Ishquh/*Aphrodito contain countless warnings to pay taxes in time, they also show the governor insisting on the fair treatment of Egyptian subjects concerning tax payments and legal justice. Qurra organized a tax census, supervised the registration of fugitives, and drained land to have it planted with sugar cane, all leading to an increase of Egypt's tax returns. He also enlarged the main *mosque of *Fustat. Qurra's brother Marthad was governor of Qinnasrin for al-*Walid I. PMS

al-Kindi, *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed. with introd. R. Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt* (1912).
*Michael the Elder, *Chronicle*, ed. with FT, J. B. Chabot, *Chronique du Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche 1166–1199* (4 vols., 1899–1924).
N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (1938).

Qusayr 'Amra Small *Umayyad audience hall and *bathhouse complex, with associated well and *cisterns, shielded from flash floods by a protective wall, and associated with a *mosque and other building works. The complex lies approximately 85 km (52 miles) east of *Amman in the limestone desert. The interior of the audience hall and bathhouse carries the most extensive surviving wall paintings from Late Antiquity. Inscriptions show that the site was developed by al-Walid b. Yazid (later *Caliph al-*Walid II, r. 743–4) during the reign of his uncle, Caliph *Hisham (r. 724–43).

The wall paintings include diverse subjects associated with royal power in the Late Antique world, among them artisans at work, the signs of the *Zodiac, *hunting scenes, and explicitly erotic images of naked women bathing and dancing, indicating that Islamic injunctions against figural representations were relaxed in the private and secular sphere. The choice of imagery, not least the complexity of the astronomical information, suggests that the artists and/or *patron had a significant knowledge of Greek science and literature. The *caldarium* *dome represents the signs of the Zodiac and a number of constellations from the northern hemisphere in the earliest known astronomical representation on a curved surface. The image of an enthroned prince in the audience hall and the so-called 'six kings' image in the western aisle have attracted particular attention as visual representations of Umayyad power and authority. AM; EL

G. Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (TCH 36, 2004).
D. Genequand, *Les Établissements des élites Omeyyades en Palmyrène et au Proche-Orient* (2012).
C. Vibert-Guige and G. Bisheh, *Les Peintures de Qusayr 'Amra* (2007).

Qutayba b. Muslim (d. 715) Governor of *Khorasan 705–15. Qutayba's military campaigns in *Central Asia brought cities including *Samarkand and *Bukhara under Muslim control, but he fell from favour after his patron al-*Hajjaj b. Yusuf and the *Caliph al-*Walid I died. The new caliph, *Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik, sent a replacement to remove him; this proved unnecessary since, according to tradition, Qutayba managed to rile his army into doing the job themselves. NC

EI 2 vol. 5 (1986) *s.v.* Kutayba b. Muslim, 541–2 (Bosworth).
*Tabari, XXIII.
Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 8 vols. (71968–75).
H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923).
N. Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia* (2011).

R

rabbis and rabbinate Rabbis were self-proclaimed Jewish religious leaders in Roman *Palestine after the destruction of the Temple in AD 70 and in Babylonia from the 3rd century onwards. There is no evidence of the existence of a rabbinic movement outside the Near and Middle East in Late Roman and early Byzantine times. Rabbis, who had ordinary professions and families, devoted their lives to Torah study and discussion, the instruction of small circles of students, and halakhic advice (i.e. advice in matters of Jewish religious law) to lay people. They were not leaders of local communities in Antiquity, although individual rabbis could be appointed to local offices (e.g. as judge or teacher) by the *Patriarch and/or the communities themselves. Their interest in communal matters seems to have varied. Communal involvement seems to have increased from the 3rd century onwards, after R. Yehudah ha-Nasi was *Patriarch, when relatively more rabbis were present in the major *cities of Judaea (*Lydda), the Galilee (*Sepphoris and *Tiberias), and the coastal plain of *Palestine (*Caesarea).

The main function of rabbis was to interpret the Torah and to apply it to the various circumstances of their own times. The Torah was the most important body of Jewish religious law and Torah study and observance the main marker of Jewish identity. Rabbis developed halakhic rules for all circumstances of daily life, from family matters to damage to one's neighbours' property. Their halakhic worldview was all-encompassing and linked to the notion that one's relationship to God should be enacted in everyday life with its social and economic practices.

Men could become rabbis themselves after many years of study with one or more rabbinic masters. Observation of a master's practices was as important as memorization of his opinions. Once a teacher considered his disciple sufficiently learned and others asked him for advice, a student would be called 'Rabbi' (lit. 'my master'), but the allocation of the title remained disputed. Rabbis 'agreed to disagree' (Shaye J. D. Cohen) on almost all issues they discussed but, at the same time, considered each other's views part of the so-called Oral Torah which was traced back to Moses at *Sinai, that is, it was believed to possess divine legitimacy.

In Babylonia a rabbinic movement developed from the 3rd century AD onwards which was modelled after the Palestinian rabbinic movement. In the 3rd century, Babylonian scholars travelled to Palestine to study with Palestinian masters. Upon their return they set themselves up as rabbis in Babylonia (Persian *Mesopotamia) and maintained relations with Palestinian colleagues. In both Palestine and Babylonia rabbinic legal and exegetical traditions and stories about rabbis' practices were transmitted by successive generations of students and eventually collected in the Palestinian *Talmud (Yerushalmi), edited in the 4th–5th centuries, and the Babylonian Talmud (Bavli), edited in the 6th–8th centuries. CH

C. Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (1997).

S. S. Miller, *Sages and Commoners in Late Antique 'Erez Israel* (2006).

R. Kalmin, *Jewish Babylonia Between Persia and Roman Palestine* (2006).

J. L. Rubenstein, *The Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (2005).

H. Lapin, *Rabbis as Romans: The Rabbinic Movement in Palestine, 100–400 CE* (2012).

Rabbula *Bishop of *Edessa 411/12–35. Born in *Chalcis ad Bellum (nr. mod. *Qinnasrin) to a prominent family, Rabbula received a *bilingual education in *Greek and *Syriac. After his *conversion, he left *family and career to become a monk. As *Bishop of Edessa, Rabbula zealously promoted reform and opposed heterodox groups such as the *Audians, *Jews, and *pagans, demolishing *temples and a *synagogue. Rabbula distinguished himself by extensive care for the *poor and construction of *hospitals. He rejected a Dyophysite Christology and conducted vigorous controversy concerning the Nature of Christ with *Ibas, a member of the School of Edessa, who succeeded him as bishop. Extant writings include fragments of a *sermon and

*letters, as well as *canons. An extensive Syriac *saint's life (*BHO* 1023) survives. WW

GEDSH s.v. Rabbula of Edessa, 348 (Harvey).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 363.

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 71–3.

Works (*CPG* 6490–7):

ed. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 24–50, 78–86.

Fragments and *Life* (*BHO* 1023), ed. J. J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei, Aliorumque Opera Selecta* (1865; repr. 2007), 157–248.

Life (*BHO* 1023):

ed. in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, IV (1894, 1968), 396–450.

ET R. Doran, *Stewards of the Poor: The Man of God, Rabbula, and Hiba in Fifth-Century Edessa* (CSS 208, 2006) (ET of *vita*).

G. G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa. Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe* (CSCO 300; Subs. 34, 1969).

Grillmeier.

L. Abramowski, 'Zum Brief des Andreas von Samosata an Rabbula von Edessa', *OrChrist* 41 (1957), 51–64.

H. J. W. Drijvers, 'The Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Urban Poor: Church and Society in the Fifth Century', *JECS* 4 (1996), 235–48.

H. J. W. Drijvers, in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority* (1999), 139–54.

F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, and J. Mourkazel, 'Découverte d'une inscription syriaque mentionnant l'évêque Rabbula', in Kiraz, *Malphono*, 19–28.

G. W. Bowersock, 'The Syriac Life of Rabbula and Syrian Hellenism', in T. Hägg, P. Rousseau, and C. Høgel, eds., *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (2000), 255–71.

Rabbula Gospels Illustrated *Syriac Gospel manuscript, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence (ms. Plut. I. 56), written, according to the lengthy colophon, in AD 586 at the *monastery of S. John of Zagba, by the monk Rabbula. The text is the *Peshitta version of the four Gospels, including prefaces and canon tables. The relationship between the text and the illustrations, which are all grouped together on the first fourteen folios of the manuscript, is a matter of discussion among scholars. OPN; NAS

C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, eds., *The Rabbula Gospels: Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac ms. Plut. 1, 56* (1959).

Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, 139–97.

D. H. Wright, 'The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels', *DOP* 27 (1973), 197–208.

Marlia Mundell Mango, 'Where was Beth Zagba?', in *Okeanos* Fs Ševčenko (HarvUkrSt 7, 1983), 405–30.

M. Bernabo, ed., *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula: Firenze Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. I,56. L'illistrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo* (2008).

Rabi'a Islamic-era genealogical sources count the Rabi'a tribal group among *al-'arab al-musta'riba* (the Arabized *Arabs), and ascribe common descent from Nizar to them and to Mudar. Rabi'a supported the *Kindite ruler al-*Harith b. 'Amr (*fl.* late 5th/early 6th cent. AD). In Islamic times, elements of Rabi'a are found allied both with the 'northern' and 'southern' factions of the Arabian elite, in different times and places. AM; RHos

EI 2 vol. 8 (1998) *s.v.* Rabī'a and Muḍar, 352–4 (Kindermann).

P. Crone, 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?', *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 1–57.

R. Hosein, *Tribal Alliance Formations and Power Structures in the Jāhiliyah and Early Islamic Periods: Quraysh and Thaqīf (530–750 CE)* (Ph.D. Thesis, 2010).

rachinburgi Term for *court *assessors and local repositories of legal knowledge who appear in Frankish sources attesting *law and legal procedure. The term is sometimes translated as 'law-speakers' because of their role in declaring the law in **Lex Salica*. Their resemblance to Roman-law *boni homines* has sometimes confused scholars, and also, it seems, the writers of the early Frankish legal *formulae, where both terms appear. ACM

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Rachinburgen, XXIV (2003), 47–9 (R. Schmidt-Wiegand).

Karin Nehlsen-von Stryk, *Die boni homines des frühen Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der fränkischen Quellen* (Freiburger Rechtsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen NF 2, 1981).

Radagausius *Gothic King who in 405/6 led a large, ethnically diverse force into *Italy from the Middle Danube basin. Before the onset of the Hunnic crisis in 376, no Goths had lived so far west. Radagausius' force reportedly ran to hundreds of thousands, but it certainly comprised men, women, and children, and *Stilicho had to mobilize 30 regiments as well as barbarian auxiliaries (including the *Huns of Uldin) to counter it. Eventually, a substantial elite component of Radagausius' army (several thousand strong) transferred its allegiance to the Empire, leaving Radagausius to be executed and many of his lower-status followers to be sold into *slavery. Only two years later much of this elite group probably transferred its allegiance again to *Alaric's new *Visigothic alliance, when many of their wives and children, quartered in Italian cities, were killed in the pogroms which followed the fall of Stilicho. PHe

PLRE II, Radagaisus.

P. J. Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: Migration, Development and the Birth of Europe* (2009), ch. 4.

J. W. P. Wijnedaele, 'Stilicho, Radagaisus, and the So-Called Battle of Faesulae (406 CE)', *JLA* 9/1 (2016), 267–84.

Radbod King of the *Frisians (d. 719). He first appears *c.*689 as *Dux (in Frankish sources) or *rex* (in *Anglo-Saxon sources) of the Frisians. His power was contested by the *Franks in the Rhine delta area, and, after a battle near *Dorestad, *Pippin II took over Frisia south of the Rhine. A long period of latent conflict between Pippin and Radbod followed, during which Frankish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries tried to convert Radbod to Christianity, and eventually contributed to a reconciliation which saw *Grimoald, the son of Pippin, marry Theudesind, the daughter of Radbod. On Pippin's death in 714, however, Radbod rose up against the Franks and recovered Rhenish Frisia. His death in 718 was celebrated as the victory of Christianity over *paganism. SL

H. Halbertsma, *Frieslands Oudheid*, 2 vols. (1982).
W. S. van Egmond, 'Radbod van de Friezen, een aristocrat in de periferie', *Millenium* 19 (2005), 24–44.
S. Lebecq, *Hommes, mers et terres du Nord au début du Moyen Âge*, 2 vols. (2011).

Radegund (d. 587) Saint and queen of *Chlothar I, later founder of the *Monastery of the Holy Cross at *Poitiers. When the *Franks overthrew the *Thuringian kingdom (*c.*531), Radegund, a member of their royal family, was carried off to Chlothar's kingdom and eventually became his wife. She persisted in her religious devotions as queen, however, and when her brother was murdered on Chlothar's orders, she obtained permission to leave the *court, and had herself consecrated a *deaconess by Bishop *Medard. She lived ascetically at the royal *villa of Saix, before she founded (with Chlothar's support) a monastery for women at *Poitiers in the late 550s, and obtained a monastic Rule from *Caesaria the Younger at *Arles. At the Monastery of the Holy Cross she is said to have lived a strictly ascetic, self-mortifying life as a humble nun under the authority of the abbesses Richilda and Agnes, while using her political influence to obtain *relics for her monastery from the East, most notably a fragment of the True *Cross from the *Emperor *Justin II and the *Empress *Sophia, and to mediate in the recurrent conflicts within the *Merovingian royal family. One regular conduit to the outside world was her close friend and admirer *Venantius Fortunatus, who wrote numerous poems to her and Agnes. A lengthy *letter of Radegund to the bishops on the safeguarding of her monastery is quoted in full by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* IX, 42) in the context of the scandal that broke out in the community shortly after her death. Gregory gives a vivid account of Radegund's obsequies, at which he officiated (*Glory of the Confessors*, 104). Fortunatus wrote the first of her two *Lives* shortly afterwards (*BHL* 7048). This was complemented *c.*600 by a second *Life* (*BHL* 7049), written by the nun *Baudonivia, who had been brought up by Radegund. ADi; STL

PCBE IV/2, Radegundis.
PLRE IIIB, Radegundis.
Life (*BHL* 7048), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2 (1888), 364–77.
ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 70–86.
Life (*BHL* 7049), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 2 (1888), 377–95.
ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 86–105.
Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 120–39.
R. Aigrain, *Sainte Radegonde (vers 520–587)* ([3]1924).
G. Scheibelreiter, 'Königstöchter im Kloster: Radegund (+587) und der Nonnenaufstand in Poitiers (589)', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979), 1–37.
S. Gäbe, 'Radegundis: sancta, regina, ancilla. Zum Heiligkeitsideal der Radegundisviten von Fortunat und Baudonivia', *Francia* 16/1 (1989), 1–30.
I. Moreira, 'Provisatrix Optima: St. Radegund of Poitiers' Relic Petitions to the East', *JMHist* 19 (1993), 285–305.
S. Coates, 'Regendering Radegund? Fortunatus, Baudonivia and the Problem of Female Sanctity in Merovingian Gaul', in R. N. Swanson, ed., *Gender and Christian Religion* (SCH 34, 1998), 37–50.

Radulf King of *Thuringians, *fl.* 639. Appointed *Dux in Thuringia by the Frankish King *Dagobert I *c.*633, and led successful military campaigns against the Wends. He revolted against *Sigibert III in 639 and, after defeating the *Austrasians in battle, declared himself king. RVD

PLRE IIIB, Radulfus.
Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CCLXI.

Raetia Prima and Raetia Secunda Two Alpine *provinces resulting from the division of the former single province of Raetia. Raetia Secunda lay north of Raetia Prima and had *Noricum to the east and barbarian territory to the north and west; its principal city was Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg, Germany). Raetia Prima was bounded on the south by the provinces of northern *Italy and on the west by *Maxima Sequanorum; its principal city was Curia Raetorum (Chur, Switzerland).

The *Verona List has only one Raetia, possibly in error, but *Ammianus Marcellinus names them in the plural when describing *Constantius II leading resistance to the *Alamanni in 355 (XV, 4, 1). The **Notitia Dignitatum* records Raetia Prima and Secunda, each governed by a *Praeses (*occ.* 1, 43) in the *Dioecesis Italiae (II, 22–3), but with a single military command (*occ.* XXXV).

Although not rich provinces, they were strategically important for control of important routes between

*Italy, the *Balkans, and barbarian lands beyond the Danube *frontier. Raetia was a key military zone during the Marcomannic Wars in the late 2nd century; the area was overrun by Alamanni in the 5th century. ECD

TIR L-32; M-32.

New Pauly: Antiquity s.n. Raeti, Raetia.

Ragamfred *Mayor of the Palace in *Neustria-*Burgundy, 715–17. After the expulsion of the *Pippinids from Neustria in 714, he allied with the *Frisian *Radbod and attacked *Austrasia, but was defeated together with King *Chilperic II by *Charles Martel at *Vinchy in 717. He retreated to his base in Angers and after attempting to regain power in 724, remained there until his death in 731. Ragamfred was the last independent leader of Neustria. PJF

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CCLXV.

Ragnachar *Frankish King at *Cambrai, *fl.* late 5th–early 6th century and a kinsman of *Clovis I, whom he assisted against *Syagrius. He was subsequently defeated by Clovis and executed with his brothers. RVD

PLRE II, Ragnacharius.

M. Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie 260–527', *Francia* 10 (1982), 678.

Raithu Monastic area at a *harbour oasis on the south-west coast of the *Sinai Peninsula (Wadi al-Tur/Ras Raya), active from at least the 5th to the 11th century. Late antique sources blame barbarian raids for the *martyrdom of 40 monks from Raithu (on the same day as another 40 perished at the Monastery of Mount *Sinai, according to the *Report* written by the monk Ammonius (*BHG* 1300). *Cosmas Indicopleustes identified the site with biblical Elim, and *John Moschus visited in the late 6th/early 7th century. At about the same time, the monk Daniel of Raithu wrote the *Life* of *John Climacus (*BHG* 882). AY

BHG 1300: ed. in D. Tsames and K. A. Katsanes, *To Martyrologion tou Sina* (1989).

D. F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* (TTH 53, 2010), with translations of texts.

Raja' b. Haywa al-Kindi (d. 730) Influential adviser at the *court of the *Umayyad *caliphs under the Marwanids beginning in the reign of *'Abd al-Malik. ARH

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Radjaʾ b. Ḥaywa (Bosworth)

Ibn Khallikan, *Kitab Wafiyat al-A'yan*, tr. B. M. de Slane (1842–71).

C. E. Bosworth, 'Rajāʾ ibn Ḥaywa al-Kindī and the Umayyad Caliphs', in F. M. Donner, ed., *The Articulation of Early Islamic State Structures* (2012), 89–135.

Rakote *See* ALEXANDRIA.

Ramadan The ninth month in the *Islamic calendar, and the only month named in the *Qur'ān (2: 183–7), which prescribes *fasting (Ar. *sawm*) every day from sunrise to sunset. In the classical legal tradition, this is described as abstention from the ingestion of food, drink, and any other substances, as well as from sexual intercourse, during these hours. The month is viewed as a period of purification of religious practice, and the Qur'ān is traditionally read in its entirety at nightly superogatory prayers over the course of the month. The end of the fast is commemorated by Eid al-Fitr, the Feast of the Fast-Breaking. NK

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Ramaḍān, 417–19 (Plessner).

ranks in civil service Ranking structures in the imperial *administration of the Later Roman Empire varied between branches of the civil service. It happens that the best-documented **officium* in the central administration is that of the Sacrae *Largitiones, as the structure of the *largitionales* is summarized in a law of 384 (*CJust* XII, 23, 7; cf. *CTh* VI, 30, 7) and in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XIII, 21–35 and *occ.* XI—the latter including provincial offices). See table. Senior *largitionales* received equestrian *titles of honour at the grades of *perfectissimus*, *ducenarius*, **centenarius*. The *epistulares* were probably also of equestrian rank. The senior *perfectissimus* within the Scrinium Exceptorum was *Primiscrinius for the entire Officium Largitionum. More junior *largitionales* were graded in *formae I–III. Privatiani* were perhaps graded similarly. The *castrensiani* were graded in *formae I–III*. There were waiting lists of supernumeraries, also graded, and progression was regulated. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists the titles of officials in many other *officia*, both palatine and provincial, though it gives much less detail concerning ranks. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 571, 583–5.

rape In Late Roman *law rape was among the most heinous offences, and was punished by death without amnesty. A harsh statute of *Constantine I on *raptus* (*CTh* IX, 24, 1) was concerned with abduction *marriage rather than rape, and also penalized the girl regardless of her consent. Rape and violent abduction were common in the post-Roman West and are handled as serious crimes in all Germanic codes. In Persian law, rape was punished by a fine. AAr

Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme à Byzance*, vol. 1, 107–21.

J. Evans Grubbs, 'Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (CTh ix.24.1) and its Social Context', *JRS* 79 (1989), 59–83.

Raqqa *See* CALLINICUM.

Ratchis *Lombard king 744–56. As *Dux of *Friuli (737–44), Ratchis oversaw much renewal and

Table of *largitionales*

	Perfectissimi	*ducenarii*	*centenarii*	*epistulares*	*forma I*	*forma II*	*forma III*	Total
scrinium exceptorum	2	2	1	2	36	4	3	50
scrinium numerorum	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	12
scrinium tabulariorum	1	1	1	1	3	5	–	12
scrinum canonum	1	1	1	2	4	4	–	13
scrinium mittendariorum	–	1	5	9	7	33	–	55
scrinium aureae massae	2	2	6	4	–	–	–	14
aurifices specierum	1	3	6	8	18	4	–	40
aurifices solidorum	–	1	7	6	9	30	–	53
sculptores et ceteri artifices	–	–	1	5	6	18	–	30
scrinium auri ad responsum	3	1	2	3	4	2	1	16
scrinium ad miliarensia	1	1	–	–	1	2	3	8
scrinium sacrae vestis	2	1	1	2	7	10	4	27
officiales sacrarum vestium	–	3	2	2	7	10	9	33
deputati sacrae vestis	2	2	2	2	3	–	–	11
scrinium ab argento	1	–	1	1	4	3	1	11
scrinium ad pecunias	1	–	–	–	2	2	5	10
argentarii	–	1	2	3	8	25	–	39
barbaricarii	–	–	1	2	8	1	–	12
Total	18	21	41	54	130	154	28	446

A.H.M. Jones, Table of *largitionales, The Later Roman Empire 284–602*, John Wiley & Sons Ltd. © Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1964. Reproduced with permission.

enhancement of the capital, *Cividale. His embellishments included the 'Altar of Ratchis'. He destroyed large *Slav forces in the Carniola, and, with his brother *Aistulf, joined King *Liutprand's army to counter *Dux Thrasamund of *Spoleto in 740. Elected king in 744, Ratchis issued *laws in 746, which in part curbed the power of the Dux. He abdicated in 749, and took monastic vows first in *Rome, then in *Monte Cassino (**Liber Pontificalis*, 93) He was probably forced out, following a *court coup led by Aistulf reacting against Ratchis' pro-Roman tendencies—other Friulian nobles likewise retired into *monasteries at the same time. Ratchis died *c.*759. NJC

PBE, Ratchis 1.

*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, VI, 52, 56.

M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (1981), 21, 46–8.

Ratiaria (mod. Archar, Bulgaria) Capital of *Dacia Ripensis and military base on the Danube *frontier. Its fortified area (*c.*30 ha, 74 acres) probably includes an early 4th-century extension. The *Huns sacked it in 440–1, but an *inscription and *tile stamps (*IGLRomania* 112 and 1113) indicate restoration by *Anastasius I, and *Procopius records similar work by *Justinian I (*Aed.* IV, 6, 24). The *Avars took it in 586. Excavations have revealed the west gate and a large 4th-century hall with *mosaics, rebuilt in the late 5th/6th centuries. ER

TIR K 34 (1976), 107.

R. T. Ivanov, ed., *Ratiaria Semper Floreat I: Ratiaria and its Territory* (2014).

V. Dinchev, 'Ratiaria', in R. T. Ivanov, ed., *Roman and Early Byzantine Cities in Bulgaria* (2002), 13–28.

G. Kuzmanov, 'A Residence from the Late Antiquity in Ratiaria', *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 4/1 (2000), 27–43.

M. Wendel, *Karasura III* (2005), 24, 265.

***rationales* (Gk. *katholikoi*)** Roman financial officials. The most important *rationales* were those with general responsibility for *taxation, mints, and mines under the *Rationalis Rei Privatae (later known as the *Comes Rei Privatae), who was a member of the *emperor's inner circle (*Comitatus). He was in charge of revenues derived from and affairs pertaining to crown properties and those of the state (the *Res Privata), and of local *rationales* who oversaw such affairs at the level of the **dioecesis* and the *province. *See also* TAXATION, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN. PS

Jones, *LRE* 48–50, 376, 412–14, 427–8, 485–6, 492.

Rationalis Rei Summae High-ranking officer with responsibility for the collection of *taxation, minting, and *mining. From the late 3rd century, however, his office was eclipsed by that of the *Praefectus Praetorio, whose initial responsibility for the collection of supplies for the *army in kind burgeoned into a more wide-ranging fiscal jurisdiction (mirroring growing military domination of affairs of state and the progressive re-monetization of taxation in kind). The Rationalis Rei Summae nevertheless remained responsible for mines and mints, certain money taxes, and levies of bullion. The term was also used for the chief financial officer (Gk. *Katholikos) of a **dioecesis*. *See also* COMES REI PRIVATAE; COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. PS

Jones, *LRE* 412–14; 427.

rations, military Roman troops received a regular ration allowance (**annona militaris*), usually paid in cash; troops therefore often provided their own food. However, for campaigns the state provided rations. A law of *Constantius II from 359 (*CTh* VII, 4, 5) ordered that troops be issued with twenty days' rations (*expeditionalis annona*) for campaigning purposes. These included double baked biscuit (**bucellatum*), or *bread, *wine (either regular wine or *acetum*), and *meat (pork or mutton). The dried goods could be supplemented by locally foraged *fruit and *vegetables. Persian *armies had similar systems, but most barbarian *armies did not, so their operations were limited logistically, and they were frequently forced to retreat or disperse because of lack of food and fodder. HE

Rauching Frankish *Dux (576–87). A leading magnate who, according to *Gregory of *Tours, apprehended clerics sent by Queen *Fredegund to assassinate *Childebert II in 585, only then to plan a coup against the king in 587. The plot was revealed to Childebert by his uncle *Guntram, and Rauching was brutally executed. RVD

PLRE IIIB, Rauchingus.

PCBE IV/2, Rauchingus.

Rava (Rav Abba bar Rav Joseph bar Hamma) (d. 352) Head of the *Rabbinic academy at *Mahoze, a suburb of the *Sasanian winter capital of *Ctesiphon. Rava is known for his numerous legal disputes with *Abbayei, the head of the *Pumbedita academy until his death in 338. Save for six cases, all these disputes were resolved in favour of Rava. Whereas Abbayei considered transmitted knowledge to possess ultimate legal authority, Rava apparently maintained that independent reasoning trumps tradition. Rava considered devotion to the study of Torah to be the highest form of Jewish commitment, and thus one who studies the laws of sacrifices no longer requires the actual rituals. In a similar vein, one who studies Torah is greater even than the High Priest who enters the Holy of Holies.

Rava played a central role in the development of *aggadah* and *midrash* in rabbinic Babylonia, and appears to have been deeply influenced by Palestinian systems of *halakhic* exegesis. Ctesiphon was at times the seat of the *Exilarch as well as the local Christian *bishop, and Rava's proximity to the Sasanian capital brought him into contact with a broad range of non-rabbinic *Jews as well as prominent Gentiles. One of these, the Talmud reports, was the mother of King *Shapur II. The Talmud is also aware of numerous converts to Judaism residing in Mahoze, some of whom maintained ties with Rava. IMG

Neusner, *Babylonia* vol. 4; Elman, Rava.

Ravenna, churches of After *Ravenna became the normal residence of the Western *emperors in 402, the city experienced an architectural boom. Its rulers, *bishops, and wealthy citizens built churches, chapels, *baptisteries, and an episcopal palace to suit the needs of the growing population and to express their faith and wealth. Architecturally, the buildings situate Ravenna between East and West: while their *domes are constructed in the Italian mode with hollow ceramic vaulting tubes (*tubi fittili*), the centralized plan of S. Vitale reveals the influence of *Constantinople. These buildings were decorated lavishly with some of the finest wall *mosaics to survive from the period; although heavily restored, details of the original decoration are preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* of the *priest *Agnellus (*c.*805–after 846). The buildings are described in chronological order of their construction:

S. Giovanni Evangelista

Built by the *Empress *Galla Placidia after 425, the *basilica was dedicated to S. John the Evangelist in return for his act of saving Placidia and her children from a storm at sea. The church featured portraits of Placidia and her Theodosian relatives and forefathers, but was destroyed in the Second World War.

Mausoleum of Galla Placidia

Also built by Galla Placidia between 425 and 450 and originally thought to be her mausoleum, this cruciform chapel, probably dedicated to S. *Lawrence, was connected to the south end of the *narthex of the Church of S. Croce. The interior is adorned with high-quality glass wall mosaics. Above the entrance, Christ is represented as the *Good Shepherd tending His sheep. On the lunette of the south arm, S. Lawrence carries a processional *cross and strides towards the instrument of his *martyrdom, a fiery gridiron; opposite, an open cabinet contains the Four Gospels. The barrel-vaulted arms of the chapel are decorated with *foliage mosaics

of acanthus and grapevine scrolls, while the end of the west arm of the chapel features a lunette of *deer approaching a spring (Ps. 42 (41): 2). In the central dome, a golden *cross appears in a starry *sky against a dark blue background, and the four symbols of the Evangelists (also the 'living creatures' of Rev. 4: 7) appear at the corners; the lunettes below depict eight Apostles who raise their right arms in gestures of *acclamation.

Baptistery of the Orthodox and Cathedral

Associated with the large cathedral built by Bishop Ursus *c.*405, the *octagonal baptistery was built by Ursus and redecorated by his successor, Bishop Neon (*c.*450–73), in the 450s. The building has four projecting apsidioles, a central octagonal font, and *marble, mosaic, and *stucco decoration. In the dome, S. John the Baptist baptizes Christ in the River Jordan. The Twelve Apostles, each named, process around the dome; empty *thrones prepared for Christ at the Last Judgement (*Hetoimasia*) and the Four Gospels encircle the procession. Below, the *stuccoes of prophets and evangelists standing within architectural niches were originally painted. The lower zone is decorated with mosaic *inscriptions which paraphrase or quote verses from the *Bible related to *baptism.

Baptistery of the Arians

Constructed to the south-west of the *'Arian' Cathedral (now the Church of S. Spirito), the octagonal baptistery was built of reused Roman *bricks in the early 6th century and originally featured a covered ambulatory. Only the dome mosaics survive; these were inspired by those of the Baptistery of the Orthodox and were executed between 500 and 550. The Twelve Apostles surround the central scene, the Baptism of Christ, and process towards a throne which has been prepared for Christ (*Hetoimasia*).

Archbishop's Chapel (Capella arcivescovile)

Connected to the episcopal palace, this functioned as a private chapel for the archbishop. The cruciform structure, built by Archbishop Peter II (494–520) during the reign of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth (493–526), includes a mosaic in the narthex of Christ dressed as a victorious *emperor trampling a *lion and a serpent: he holds an open *book inscribed 'I am the Way the Truth and the life' (John 14: 6), a key text used in arguments against Arians and *Homoeans. The chapel vault is decorated with mosaics of four *angels elevating a gold chrismon, the symbols of the Four Evangelists, and medallions of twenty-four apostles and martyrs.

S. Apollinare Nuovo

Built by Theoderic as his *palace church *c.*500, originally dedicated to Christ, rededicated to S. *Martin by Archbishop *Agnellus in the 560s. The church was paved with *opus sectile and featured a set of columns, bases, *capitals, and liturgical *furniture of *marble imported from *Proconnesus, probably carved in Constantinople. The wall mosaics of the west end of the lower zone depicted the city of Ravenna, with the colonnaded *façade of his *palace (labelled Palatium), male and female figures (probably Theoderic and his relatives or officials) standing in front, and the *harbour of Classis (Classe) opposite. At the east end are mosaics of Christ enthroned (on the south side) and the Virgin *Mary and Child (on the north). In the second upper zone, haloed prophets or evangelists appear against a gold ground. The top zone depicts a Christological cycle, with *miracle scenes on the north wall and scenes of the Passion on the south wall. After the *Byzantine invasion and occupation, Archbishop Agnellus replaced the figures of Theoderic and his court with images of *curtains and replaced the original lower-zone mosaics with images of *processions of female saints and the Magi (on the north side) and male saints (on the south) moving toward the *apse.

S. Apollinare in Classe

Basilica constructed by Bishop Ursicinus between 533 and 536 in the suburb of Classe, featuring a wooden *roof, floor mosaics, and massive columns of *Proconnesian marble carved on site. The church served as the burial church for the archbishops of Ravenna from the late 6th century. The only mosaics to survive are those of the apse and triumphal arch. In the apse conch is a unique image of the Transfiguration: a monumental jewelled cross with Christ's face in the centre appears in a blue medallion dotted with stars, flanked by the prophets Moses and Elijah. The lower half of the mosaic depicts an *Earthly Paradise in which S. Apollinaris, the patron saint and first Bishop of Ravenna, stands and extends his hands in *prayer. Twelve lambs signifying the Apostles approach the saint from either side. Below, the bishops of Ravenna—Ecclesius, S. Severus, S. Ursus, and Ursicinus—stand between the apse *windows. Mosaics of the archangels Michael and Gabriel dating to the mid-6th century decorate the base of the triumphal arch. The north and south apse walls display 7th-century mosaics of the Emperor *Constantine IV giving privileges to the Church of Ravenna, and Abel, Melchisedek, and Abraham and Isaac presenting offerings.

S. Michele in Africisco

This small church, built *c.*545 by the *banker *Julianus Argentarius and Bacauda, was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, but has been put to commercial uses since the early 19th century. Reproductions of the apse and triumphal arch mosaics of the church, which depict

Christ flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel, were executed by the restorer Giovanni Moro in the 19th century; they are now in Berlin, though fragments of the 6th-century heads of Christ and an angel survive in Torcello and London.

S. Vitale

Founded by the Bishop Ecclesius in the 520s to replace a small 5th-century chapel, the building was finally consecrated by the Archbishop *Maximian in 547. The project was funded by Julianus Argentarius, who contributed 26,000 **solidi* to fund the elaborate decoration, including large amounts of Proconnesian marble. The centrally planned church is laid out as a double-shelled octagon, with an ambulatory around the domed central core, influenced by buildings in Constantinople and *Milan. The wall mosaics of the sanctuary are substantially original. Christ sits enthroned on a globe in the apse conch, flanked by archangels, the patron saint Vitalis, and Bishop Ecclesius, who presents a model of the church. The heavenly cities of *Bethlehem and *Jerusalem appear on the triumphal arch above. The sanctuary vault is adorned with an *inhabited scroll populated with *birds, *animals, and *fish; at its apex, four angels elevate a wreath framing the Lamb of God. On the apse walls, *Justinian I and *Theodora appear with their retinues; Justinian holds a *paten, while Maximian stands behind him (replacing a portrait of his predecessor, Victor), and Theodora offers a chalice. On the upper sanctuary walls, the Four Evangelists are juxtaposed with the Old Testament prophets Jeremiah and Moses. Below, the south lunette depicts Abel and Melchisedek presenting offerings—instances of *Old Testament *typology for the offering of the *Eucharist; scenes from the story of Abraham, including the sacrifice of Isaac, decorate the north lunette. Portrait medallions of saints decorate the soffit of the arch in front of the sanctuary. SVL

Andreas Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (2006).

I. Andreescu-Treadgold, 'The Wall Mosaics of San Michele in Africisco, Ravenna, Rediscovered', in *XXXVII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina: Seminario internazionale di studi sul tema 'L'Italia meridionale fra Goti e Longobardi'* (1990), 13–57.

I. Andreescu-Treadgold and W. Treadgold, 'Procopius and the Imperial Panels of San Vitale', *ArtBull* 79 (1997), 708–23.

Deichmann, *Ravenna.*

Deliyannis, *Ravenna*.

E. Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (1964).

P. Grossmann, *S. Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna* (1973).

S. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (1965).

E. Russo, *L'architettura di Ravenna paleocristiana* (2003).

O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (1948; repr. 1987).

Ravenna, city topography and secular buildings

After the *Emperor *Honorius relocated the principal imperial residence in the West from *Milan to Ravenna in 402, the *city experienced an intense period of development within the earlier Roman settlement (*oppidum*). New city walls were built in the late 4th or early 5th century, and the imperial administration reorganized Roman watercourses and dug new canals, surrounding the city with water. Honorius or his successors built an imperial *palace (Palatium, known as the 'Palace of *Theoderic') on the foundations of an earlier *villa, which featured a large colonnaded courtyard and apsidal reception hall paved with *opus sectile; only a small portion of the complex has been excavated. The imperial *mint (Moneta Aurea) was constructed near the palace. Other imperial and civic buildings remain undiscovered. Theoderic, King of the *Ostrogoths, who took control of the city in 493, renovated the palace, adding a *triconch dining room (**triclinium*) and new *mosaic pavements; repaired the Roman *aqueduct; and reorganized the warehouses and workshops at Classe, the port of Ravenna. His two-storey tomb, the Mausoleum of Theoderic, built of large blocks of imported Istrian limestone, is unique in its ten-sided ground plan and its restrained decoration. After the Byzantine reconquest of the city, repairs were made to some monuments, including the *aqueduct (in the early 7th cent.), and new buildings such as public *baths were built. The *exarchate of Ravenna used the Palace of Theoderic as its administrative centre. SVL

Deliyannis, *Ravenna.*

L. Pani Ermini, 'Lo spazio urbano delle città capitali', in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale. Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo, Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004* (2005), vol. 2, 1003–58.

A. Augenti, 'Archeologia e topografia a Ravenna: il Palazzo di Teodorico e la Moneta Aurea', *Archeologia Medievale* 31 (2005), 7–34.

G. Bovini, *Il mausoleo di Teodorico* (1977).

N. Christie and S. Gibson, 'The City Walls of Ravenna', *PBSR* 56 (1988), 156–97.

Ravenna, exarchate of Term applied to the territory or province governed by the Byzantine governor-general or *exarch based at *Ravenna from the 570s, although the actual word *exarchatus* was not used (first in the **Liber Pontificalis* of *Rome) until after the death of *Eutychius the last exarch and the final conquest of the territory of the exarchate by the *Lombards in the mid-8th century. The exarchate was subdivided into half a dozen individual areas, each under a *Dux. Initially it encompassed lands extending north of the Po River, but *Lombard expansion and rebellious imperial *duces* gave rise to progressive losses, and its boundaries were stabilized only after the early 7th century.

It was perhaps at this point that a separate southern jurisdiction, known as the Pentapolis, was created: this district extended from *Ariminum (Rimini) to Ancona, and defended both the Adriatic coast and the Via Flaminia, the key *road to *Rome across the Apennines. Additional reductions in territory occurred following Lombard military operations under *Rothari and *Liutprand in particular, shrinking the exarchate's western boundaries back towards Bologna.

Defence of the exarchate will have been arduous given its extended frontier along the Po, in the western Po plain, and in the Apennines in *Aemilia and Tuscany. The Po frontier will have been partly overseen by naval riverine units and reinforced by defended *cities and *castra* containing troops, such units, for example, as are documented for Brescello, Ferrara, and Argenta. Important *castra* also lay along the Via Aemilia, which formed the main land route across the territory, to the rear of the Apennines. These *castra* were supported by lesser fortresses like Montebellium, Verabulum, and Persiceta, sites documented by *Paul the *Deacon and in *George of *Cyprus, *Descriptio Italiae*. Little is known of the way in which defence along these lines was actually articulated, but it was presumably maintained by the observation and control of routes, under the local authority of **comites* and tribunes. NJC

Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy.*

L. M. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien (540–750)* (1889).

Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 48–55.

E. Zanini, *Le Italie byzantine: territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)* (1998), 59–63, 100–4, 244–56.

S. Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo): da Giustiniano ai Normani* (2008).

Ravenna, See of The *bishops of *Ravenna gained particular authority through the increase of Ravenna's importance as an imperial *city. *Agnellus in his *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* claimed that the Apostle Peter made S. Apollinaris the first Bishop of Ravenna, but the first firmly attested bishop is Severus, who attended the Council of *Serdica in 343. During the 5th century, with *emperors residing in Ravenna, the Church enjoyed imperial benefaction. *Peter Chrysologus (bp. 432–50) secured Ravenna's *metropolitan authority over the *province of *Aemilia. Under Eastern imperial control (540–751), emperors enhanced the Church's authority as a means to strengthen political control in *Italy. *Justinian I in 546 appointed as bishop *Maximian, who is depicted in the sanctuary *mosaic of the Church of S. Vitale and whose *ivory throne survives; Justinian increased Maximian's metropolitan authority with the **pallium* in order to advance imperial interests in the *Three Chapters Controversy. The *Pragmatic Sanction of 554 transferred to the See of Ravenna properties of the former *Homoean (*Arian) Church patronized by the *Ostrogoths. Probably from this time, the Bishop of Ravenna obtained *metropolitan authority over all of *Flaminia, *Liguria, and Istria. The Church also controlled scattered properties from *Ariminum (Rimini) to *Perugia and in *Sicily. In 666, *Constans II granted Ravenna autonomy (*autocephalia*) from the Church of *Rome, signalling the continued importance of the See in forwarding Eastern imperial ambitions in Italy. Ravenna's bishop worked closely with the *exarch in the appointment of provincial governors in northern Italy, in judicial administration, and in the management of public works and the *food supply at Ravenna. MSB

Deliyannis, *Ravenna.*

T. S. Brown, 'The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century', *EHR* 94 (1979), 1–28.

Ravenna and Classe Ravenna is a *city in northeast *Italy, formerly a major Adriatic *port but now *c.*10 km (c.6 miles) distant from the coast. The port city of Classe (Lat. Classis = fleet) grew up to the south of its *harbour channel. Between Ravenna and the sea was the suburb of Caesarea 'full of luxury' (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 151).

Architecture and infrastructure

Ravenna is justifiably famous for its remarkable collection of architectural and artistic survivals from the late 4th to 7th centuries AD. Promoted to principal residence of the Western Roman *emperors in the early 5th century at a period of substantial military upheaval (incursions by *Visigoths in *Dalmatia and subsequently *Italy, covering over a decade; invasions and raids into *Gaul and *Germania across the Rhine *frontier), the residence in the city of emperor, *court, and *metropolitan *bishop conditioned monumental investment comprising *palaces (imperial and episcopal), cathedral and *baptistery, churches, *monasteries, *circus, and defences, together with expansion of the harbour complex of Classe. Sizeable urban growth is thus attested—a rarity in the Late Roman West.

Little is known of the deeply buried Roman, earlier imperial *colonia*, whose outline is incorporated in the Late Antique city's south-western corner; there was probably much suburban development in the form of *villas and workshops. This was all sacrificed when the new capital was laid out. The new defences were probably composed of *brick *spolia from demolished villas and monuments, with other material drawn from further afield. The walls are fairly well preserved (in places to 3 m, nearly 10 feet, in height), but follow a somewhat irregular course, reflecting perhaps the marshy ground conditions described by *Sidonius (*ep.* I, 5, 5–6 of 467)

and *Procopius. Deep *timber piles are known to have been used to reinforce the circuit's foundations.

The Late Roman town plan is fairly well understood, with the *city gates recorded, *street lines attested, as well as water courses and probable canals. However, few secular *houses are known yet in detail. The first *palace complex is presumed to have lain in the north-west sector; however, the later *Ostrogothic palace was more centrally placed, towards the zone of the presumed circus in the south-east quarter, and it might be argued that this was the area where the later imperial palace also stood. To the south of the city lay the suburb of Caesarea which may have been where the garrison was stationed. Just south of that zone lay the port of Classe (Classis).

Ravenna as capital city

Ravenna became a capital under *Honorius and *Stilicho, who was assassinated in the city (*Zosimus, V, 34). Ravenna maintained that status under the Germanic rule of *Odoacer (from 476) and, after Odoacer had suffered a three-year siege in Ravenna (Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 1, 7–26), under the Ostrogothic King *Theoderic (from 493). It then remained the seat of power after the *Byzantine invasion and occupation of Italy, up until its capture by the *Lombards in 751. The mint of Ravenna opened in 402 and struck Roman and Ostrogothic *coinage and again, after *Belisarius' capture of Ravenna in 540 and the susbsequent exarchate of *Ravenna, Roman coinage until 751. In the late 8th century Charlemagne treated Ravenna with significant respect and struck some coins there even if he denuded its palaces of prized *marbles and *mosaics for his own capital of Aachen. Carolingian and Ottonian kings of Italy did not revive Ravenna as their capital, and although it retained some economic significance, it was not important in the Middle Ages, its port silted up, and the coastline shifted.

Churches

Medieval stagnation provided the fortunate circumstances for the survival of Ravenna's treasures, which range from nearly intact 5th- and 6th-century *basilicas and 10th-century belltowers, to magnificent Late Antique wall and floor mosaics, *sarcophagi, and a remarkable collection of *papyri, and texts such as the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* written by *Agnellus in the 9th century, which provides details of lost *inscriptions and insights into contemporary society. The churches did see such changes as the remodelling of *façades, chapel additions, etc., but not the wholesale rebuildings seen in more flourishing medieval settlements. However, floor levels were constantly raised to avoid the high water-table, and in some churches this meant a sacrifice of some of the ancient fabric, e.g. reduced columns and entablatures. The extensive restorations of the churches since the 19th century has made possible full sight of the Late Roman architecture, and appreciation of its imperial and royal *patronage, and of artistic and iconographic evolution across the 5th to 8th centuries.

The churches of S. Apollinare Nuovo and S. Apollinare in Classe, both belonging to the early 6th century, are magnificent expressions of Ostrogothic power, piety, and cultural assimilation. Both were employed for Gothic *Homoean (*'Arian') use but rededicated for the Catholic rite by the Byzantines after they captured Ravenna in 540. S. Apollinare Nuovo was the palace church of Theoderic—this palace complex was partly excavated in the early 20th century. It is famous for the mosaic friezes above the nave *colonnades, one side depicting a procession of 22 female *virgin saints and the three Magi paying homage to the Virgin and Child flanked by *angels, the other side a procession of 26 male *martyr saints approaching the enthroned Christ. Between the *windows of the clerestory are figures of saints and prophets, and above these are panels depicting Christ's *Miracles and Parables, and his Passion and Resurrection. Prominent at the entrance end of the long friezes are images of the city-port of Classe and of the palace and cityscape of Ravenna.

The architecturally distinctive Church of S. Vitale in the city's north-west quarter of the capital, partly financed by the local *banker *Julianus Argentarius, is best known for two sizeable mosaic panels of the 540s, depicting the Emperor *Justinian I and his entourage (including *Maximian, Bishop of Ravenna), and the Empress *Theodora. The high-quality *marble work (used extensively also in floors and as veneer) at S. Vitale and the Ostrogothic examples reflect Eastern imports of both materials and craftsmen from Constantinople. King Theoderic also drew on skilled masons and artists for his distinctive *tomb outside the city's north-east perimeter, with stone imported from across the Adriatic, from Istria; the mausoleum is surmounted by a massive, monolithic *dome.

Classe and trade

Much wealth derived from the fact that Ravenna was an imperial and royal residence and this favoured networks of *trade; Sidonius describes how the harbour offered 'every opportunity for commerce' . Excavations at the port of Classe since the 1980s have helped provide information about the commodities of Late Antique life and about the supply systems of Ravenna. The vast numbers of finds recovered attest to imports from all around the Mediterranean and further afield, as well as to the vitality of local production, active well into the 7th century. Workshops, stores, and canals have been excavated, and a striking feature is the reuse of

*amphorae for drains, *burials, or, broken up, as bedding for floors or even for *roads. Classe grew substantially in the 5th and 6th centuries, as is reflected in written references to up to twenty churches and *monasteries, some suburban. Subsequently, coinciding with *Arab expansion and Byzantine decay in the eastern Mediterranean, serious decline occurred at Classe, matched by a dramatic reduction in building and maintenance work within Ravenna. Excavations at Classe have shown simple housing in former warehouses, shrinkage of activity zones, burials, etc. The port-city's fate is reflected in the fact that almost no above-ground remains survive, apart from the Church of S. Apollinare and the partly excavated S. Severo complex; plough land and some modern housing now shroud the rest of the ancient site. NJC; RRD

Felix Ravenna – Rivista di antichità ravennati, cristiane, bizantine (1911–2004).
Deichmann, *Ravenna.*
Deliyannis, *Ravenna.*
G. Bermond Montanari, ed., *Ravenna e il porto di Classe: venti anni di ricerche archeologiche tra Ravenna e Classe* (1983).
S. Gelichi, ed., *Storia di Ravenna.* Vol. 1: *L'evo antico* (1990); A. Carile, ed., *Storia di Ravenna*; vol. 2.1: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana: territorio, economia e società* (1991); vol. 2.2: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana: ecclesiologia, cultura e arte* (1992).
E. Cirelli, *Ravenna: archeologia di una città* (Contributi di Archeologia Medievale 2, 2008).
M. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory* (2011).
A. Augenti, ed., *Classe: indagini sul potenziale archeologico di una città scomparsa* (Studi e Scavi, nuova serie 27, 2011).
A. Augenti, 'Classe: Archaeologies of a Lost City', in Augenti and Christie, *Urbes Extinctae*, ch. 2.

COINS

RIC X.
DOC 1, II.1, II.2, III.1.
Grierson and Mays, *Late Roman Coins.*
M. Crusafont i Sabatier, 'An Unpublished Ravenna Tremissis of Charlemagne', *NumChron* 164 (2004), 241–4.

Ravenna Annals *See* CONSULARIA MARSIBURGENSIA.

Ravenna Cosmographer *See* ANONYMI COSMOGRAPHIA.

Ravenna papyri Collection of 59 documents, known by the abbreviation P. Ital., preserved in the ecclesiastical *archive of *Ravenna, dated 443/4–700/5. They pertain to a wide range of legal matters (*estate records, donations of property, *wills, *manumission), making them valuable for the social, economic, and legal history of *Italy. Tjäder's edition is superior, although Gaetano Marini (1805) included documents later unavailable to Tjäder. Most of the P.Ital. originated at Ravenna, being drafted for private individuals or members of the clergy; only a few (P.Ital. 2, 10, 11) relate to affairs of the government. There is a notable contrast in style between the P.Ital. and the rhetorical manner and content of documents from the *Ostrogothic chancery, such as *Cassiodorus' *Variae*. Several stable features (inclusion of protocols, signatory witnesses, case narratives, transcription from previous legal documents, and inventories of goods and properties) make the P.Ital. particularly valuable as witnesses to the continuity of legal and administrative habits. Two documents (P.Ital. 8, 34) preserve writing in Gothic. MSB

ed. J. O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 3 vols. (1954–82).
Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers.*
L. Casson, 'Review of Tjäder', *AJP* 78 (1957), 103–8.

Rayy Biblical Rages (e.g. Tobit 1: 14) and ancient Rhaga, 'the greatest of the cities in Media' (*Parthian Stations*, §7), 8 km (5 miles) south-south-east of Tehran on the *Khorasan *road which linked *Mesopotamia and *Central Asia. Nearby sites include Cheshme 'Ali, with Parthian remains; Tepe Mil, where a *Sasanian *palace stood; and *Chal Tarkhan, where an elite residence with Sasanian *stucco has been excavated. According to *Tabari, Rayy had an important *fire temple. In 642, *Yazdegerd III took the fire with him when he fled from the *Arab conquest after the Battle of *Nihawand. DTP

EncIran (2010) *s.v.* Ray i. Archaeology (R. Rante).
R. Rante, *Rayy: From its Origins to the Mongol Invasion* (2014).
Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*, 399–402.
Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 740–81.
D. Thompson, *Stucco from Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad, near Rayy* (1976).

razzia European corruption of Arabic *ghazw/ghazwa* (raid), a common form of pre-Islamic Arabian *warfare where a small band raided a rival clan's or tribe's *camels or caravans, often as part of an ongoing *feud. Many campaigns waged by the first Muslims (*maghazi*) were razzias. PAW

EI 2 vol. 2 (1965) *s.v. ghazw* (T. M. Johnston).
L. Conrad, 'Arabia', *CAH* XII (2005), 678–700.
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).

reader (Gk. *anagnostes*; Lat. *lector*) Minor order in the Church. The Epistle to the Colossians (4: 16), Revelation (1: 3), and Justin Martyr (*1Apol.* 67, 3–4) mention public reading in church. *Cyprian treated readers as a distinct order (*epp.* 23 as witness; 29 as

messenger; 32 supervising copying text). *Church orders indicate that a reader's ministry was initiated by various *ceremonies. In 303 the seven readers at *Constantine of *Numidia (Cirta) had care of the Scriptures (**Optatan Appendix*, 1). MFC; OPN

DACL 8/2 (1929) *s.v.* 'lecteur', cols. 2241–69 (Leclercq).

J. G. Davies, 'Deacons, Deaconesses and the Minor Orders in the Patristic Period', *JEH* 14 (1963), 1–15.

Reccared (d. 601) *Visigothic king (586–601), responsible for *conversion of the *Visigoths from *Homoeanism ('Arianism') to the Nicene faith and its announcement at the Third *Council of *Toledo (589). Reccared worked closely with *Leander, *Bishop of *Seville, to achieve this goal but faced substantial opposition from elements in the Arian Church and Visigothic nobility, putting down at least three rebellions after deciding to convert in 587. The *Franks used this instability as an excuse to invade Visigothic territory twice (*John of Biclar, *Chron. s.a.* 587 and 589); they were repelled by Reccared's forces. The Byzantines may also have made some inroads into Visigothic territory in the south during this period. Reccared corresponded about the conversion of his people and *diplomacy, and ecclesiastical governance with Pope *Gregory I in the 590s. JWo

PLRE IIIB, Reccaredus 1.

R. Collins, 'King Leovigild and the Conversion of the Visigoths', in his *Law, Culture and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (1992), vol. 2.

J. N. Hillgarth, 'Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain and the Byzantine Background', *Historia* 15 (1966), 483–508.

S. Castellanos, *Los godos y la cruz: Recaredo y la unidad de Spania* (2007).

Reccesuinth *Visigothic king (r. 653–72). He first reigned jointly with his father *Chindasuinth from 649 and then succeeded him in 653. He summoned two *Councils of *Toledo (653 and 656) and promulgated a code of *laws, the **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum*), in 654. Nothing is known of his long reign after he suppressed the short-lived revolt of Froia in late 653. He died at the *villa of Gerticos in 672. The *Treasure of Guarrazar (discovered in 1858) includes a votive *crown bearing his name. CMG

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004), 84–91.

P. C. Díaz, C. Martínez Maza, and F. J. Sanz Huesma, *Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda: historia de España*, vol. 5 (2007), 426ff.

C. Martin, 'Les Années Recceswinth', in *Derecho y justicia: el poder en la Europa medieval* (2008), 37–57.

A. Perea, ed., *El tesoro visigodo de Guarrazar* (2011), esp. 38.

Reccopolis *City in central *Spain founded by the *Visigothic King *Leovigild in 578, probably intended as a residence for his son, *Reccared. It was well planned, with a *palace, a *basilica, workshops, homes, walls, and an *aqueduct. Reccopolis mirrored *Toledo, the Visigothic capital, in its situation on an outcrop above the River Tagus, and *Constantinople in its role as a co-capital providing a base for central royal power from a second location. It was abandoned during the Muslim period and briefly resettled after the Christian reconquest. EMB

L. Olmo, ed., *Recópolis y la ciudad en época visigoda* (2008).

J. Arce, 'The So-Called Visigothic "Palatium" of Recópolis: An Archaeological and Historical Analysis', in M. Featherstone, J.-M. Spieser, G. Tanman, and U. Wulf-Rheidt, eds., *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism* (2015), 63–70.

Rechiarius *Suebic king (448–56). The first Germanic ruler to be converted to the Catholic faith from *paganism after the *Barbarian Migrations (*Hydatius, 137). His attempts to establish hegemony over *Spain involved campaigning in places as far apart as *Tarragona and *Cartagena. In 456 the *Visigothic King *Theoderic I defeated and mortally wounded Rechiarius in a battle near Astorga. AF

PLRE II, Rechiarius.

P. C. Díaz, *El Reino Suevo (411–585)* (2011).

E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (1982).

re-coinage Re-coinage of divisional coins occurred when reform of the monetary stocks required the withdrawal of the existing currency and the minting of new coins. Particularly evident cases are the reform of AD 348, and the second reform of *Anastasius I in AD 512.

*Valentinian I ordered in AD 366–7 (*CTh* XII, 6, 12; XII, 7, 3) that all *gold cashed by the state should be immediately melted and transported in the form of ingots, to make new coins; a similar law was probably issued also for *silver. It is from this point onwards that coins bear the marks OB (for **obryzum)* for gold and PS (for **pusulatum*) for silver guaranteeing their purity. FC

Reconquest, Justinianic *See* BYZANTINE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF AFRICA; BYZANTINE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF ITALY; BYZANTINE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF SPAIN.

recruiting, military The Roman authorities exploited sources of military manpower both within and outside the Empire in Late Antiquity. Inhabitants of the Empire were recruited as both conscripts and volunteers, although the mechanisms in place for compulsion suggest this was usually the more important

source. As part of the Late Roman *taxation system, landowners were required to provide either a number of recruits proportional to the size of their landholdings or the monetary equivalent (*aurum tironicum*), with the government specifying which was to be provided, according to context. It has been suggested that conscription became less important by the 6th century, but the evidence is inconclusive. Hereditary obligation to undertake military service was another feature of Late Roman practices within the Empire. Certain regions of the Empire were recognized as particularly good sources of suitable recruits in Late Antiquity, especially the *Balkans and *Isauria. The authorities were also willing to draw significantly on manpower from outside the Empire because of the martial qualities of many of its neighbours. Defeated enemies were often resettled on imperial territory with an obligation to provide recruits (cf. **laeti*), while others sought service in the Roman army voluntarily, attracted by career prospects which, in some cases, led to senior commands. This aspect of Late Roman recruiting has sometimes resulted in charges of 'barbarization' weakening the effectiveness of the army, but the extent of the phenomenon has been exaggerated, as also its consequences, and there is little reason to doubt the loyalties of such recruits to the empire. ADL

Jones, *LRE* 614–23, 668–70.

M. Whitby, 'Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius', in Cameron, *BEINE* III: *States, Resources and Armies*, 61–124.

H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (1996), 128–54.

A. D. Lee, *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007), 79–84.

reda Word of Gallic origin (Quintillian 1, 5, 57; *Venantius, *Carmen* III, 17, 1) for a four-wheeled carriage used mainly for travel (e.g. Cicero writing letters *sedens in raeda*; *Epistulae ad Atticum*, V, 17, 1) and used by the *Cursus Publicus to transport a maximum weight of 1,000 pounds, drawn by up to ten mules (*CTh* VIII, 5, 8). AKo

RE IA/1 (1914) *s.v. raeda*, cols. 41–2 (A. Hug).

A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (2000), 216–19.

Red Monastery *Monastery near the city of Sohag in Upper *Egypt, which began as an ascetic community founded by a monastic leader named Pshoi in *c.* AD 350. By the late 4th century, it had become part of a large monastic federation centred on the nearby *White Monastery. The federation is best known for its charismatic and powerful leader, *Shenoute of Atripe (d. 465), who built a monumental *basilica at the White Monastery *c.* AD 450. Approximately 50 years later, the monks of the Red Monastery erected their own church, modelled on that of Shenoute. The *triconch sanctuary contains the best-preserved ensemble of Late Antique *sculpture still *in situ* in Egypt, as well as the most extensive surviving example of painted architectural polychromy anywhere in the Late Roman world. Three principal phases of painting were undertaken between about AD 500 and 700. They included monumental depictions in the sanctuary's three semi-domes of the Ascension of Christ (east; first phase), Christ in Majesty (south; third phase), and the nursing Virgin *Mary (north; third phase). While these subjects belong to an Empire-wide repertoire, other smaller paintings of *Patriarchs of *Alexandria, and of monastic leaders of the federation, create an Egyptian and local monastic identity. A major conservation project, completed at the beginning of the 21st century, made it possible to see the previously soot-blackened paintings clearly for the first time in centuries. ESB

E. S. Bolman, 'Late Antique Aesthetics, Chromophobia, and the Red Monastery, Sohag, Egypt', *Eastern Christian Art* 3 (2006), 1–24.

Redwald (Rædwald) (d. 616/27) King of the East Angles (the first recorded). Almost all information about Redwald comes from *Bede, *HE*, whose list of overkings [*Bretwaldas] includes him (II, 5), though it is not clear why. He sheltered the exiled *Edwin of Northumbria, and aided Edwin against Æthelfrith (II, 12). He had received Christian instruction in Kent, but Bede knew someone who had seen the Christian and *pagan altars which, persuaded by his wife, he maintained in the same fane (II, 15). He was probably not buried in Mound One at *Sutton Hoo. HFF

ODNB s.n. Rædwald (Campbell).

S. Keynes, 'Rædwald the Bretwalda', in Kendall and Wells, *Voyage to the Other World*, 103–23.

referendarii Judicial clerks and messengers on the imperial staff in the 5th and 6th centuries. They presented the ruler with *petitions and conveyed and certified his replies and commands. Some might be confidential advisers. They are first mentioned in 427, under *Theodosius II (*CJust* I, 50, 2), and also appeared in the West, continuing under the *Ostrogoths (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 6, 17). Under *Justinian I, there were three official posts but as many as fourteen who carried out the relevant functions, though a reduction to eight was ordered (*NovJust* 10; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Caeremoniis*, 1, 86).

In the Frankish *courts of the 6th and 7th centuries *referendarii* appear, in the plural, charged with drawing up documents and certifying royal commands. One

(or more) was entrusted with a royal signet *ring. A substantial number of Frankish *referendarii* appear to have ended their careers as *bishops. ACM; AGS

Jones, *LRE* 575, 261.
J. B. Bury, 'Magistri Scriniorum, ἀντιγραφης and ρεφερενδαριοι', *HarvStClassPhilol* 21 (1910), 23–9.

refrigerium Graveside meals which were a central element in commemorative rites for the *dead. Christians naturally continued the practice. From the mid-4th century, however, *bishops such as *Ambrose of *Milan in north *Italy (e.g. *Augustine, *Conff.* VI, 2, 2) and Augustine in *Africa (e.g. Augustine, *epp.* 22 and 29) objected to meals at the *tombs of *martyrs. In the East meals do not seem to have been condemned as long as they were moderate. Meals at the tombs of the ordinary dead were permitted and are attested until at least the 8th century. ERe

R. MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (1997).
H. Lindsay, 'Eating with the Dead: The Roman Funerary Banquet', in I. Nielsen and H. S. Nielsen, eds., *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (1998), 67–80.
É. Rebillard, '*Nec Deserere Memorias Suorum*: Augustine and the Family-Based Commemoration of the Dead' *AugSt* 36 (2005), 99–111.

regalia, Persian While princes and nobles wore small diadems, only the Sasanian King of Kings could wear a diadem with superlatively long, streaming ties. This was worn around the base of his unique regnal *crown. Early diadems were cloth, but by the time of *Khosrow II, the kings had adopted a diadem composed of jewelled plaques like the Roman diadem, though retaining the streaming ties. Each king's clothing and crown was distinguished by colour, though all wore red footwear (**tzangia*). As depicted on *rock reliefs and *coins, the kings wear jewelled *belts, chest harnesses, and cloaks clasped at the chest. In state, the king always appears seated on a throne or standing on a daïs holding his sword vertically between his knees (as on the Cup of *Khosrow). The heroic bull-headed mace (MP *warz*, NP *gorz*) was an important emblem though it was not often portrayed. Precious *stones and *pearls proliferated on late Sasanian royal *dress, which was made of richly ornamented *silk *textiles. The king's crown worn in audiences became so heavy that it was suspended from the ceiling on a *gold chain. The early Sasanian kings crowned themselves or were crowned by their predecessors, until the reign of *Bahram V (420–38) when the chief priest (*mowbedān *mowbed*) began crowning the king. MPC

EncIran VI/3 *s.v.* coronation 277–9 (A. Sh. Shabazi).
Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 189ff.

regalia, Roman and post-Roman The term regalia is not used in the sense of *insignia imperatoris* until the 12th century AD. *Emperors wore their regalia particularly on occasions of *ceremony, such as their **accessio*, **adventus*, appearances at public *entertainments, events marking their *anniversaries, and *victory celebrations. Numerous depictions survive on the *coinage, and on monuments as various as the *Obelisk-Base of *Theodosius I in the *Constantinople *Circus and the sanctuary of the Church of S. Vitale in *Ravenna, but until recently, only dubious or fragmentary remains of original regalia were known. In 2006, items unearthed near the Palatine Hill in *Rome, three lances, four javelins, three orbs, a sceptre, and a standard base, have been (controversially) identified as the imperial *insignia of *Maxentius (306–12).

The most immediately identifiable mark of an emperor was the *Purple, which was kissed in **adoratio* by those admitted to high office. It might be a civilian *chlamys, as worn by *Justinian I at S. Vitale or a military cloak or **paludamentum*, worn over a metal breastplate (*cuirass) and fastened at the shoulder with the distinctive circular *fibula with three pendants peculiar to emperors. To this *Constantine I added the diadem, a *crown characteristic of Hellenistic kings, and his body continued to wear it during his lying-in-state (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 66, 2). The diadem was already by 361 considered so characteristic of an *Augustus that when *Julian was proclaimed by his troops at *Paris a search was made for a suitable substitute, and the *gold torc of a standard-bearer was used in its place.

Other imperial or royal emblems included the laurel wreath (from the *Tetrarchy onwards the particular headdress of a *Caesar), sceptres whether short or long, tipped by an eagle (the **scipio*), by imperial images, an orb, or a *cross, orbs surmounted by the statuette of *Victory or by a cross, and ceremonial *arms and armour. Late Roman insignia evolved from Republican emblems of a magistrate's regular military, civilian, or religious functions, or from extraordinary distinctions awarded to particularly successful office-holders. Their clothing and attributes were embellished by ever more elaborate decorations and finally monopolized by the emperor. The most outstanding civil garment of Republican times was the purple *vestis triumphalis* (**toga picta* and *tunica palmata*) of the *triumphator*; eastern *consuls of the 6th century were depicted on their ivory presentation *diptychs wearing the *toga picta*. Under the Empire, the purple toga became the regular dress of a consul until it was reserved exclusively for the emperor. In Late Antique regalia,

military and civilian connotations slowly merged, while the objects' meaning was increasingly infused with Christian significance.

The emperor from time to time granted to other rulers the right to specific regalia. In the reign of *Justin I, *Tsathes (Ztath), King of *Lazica, broke off his alliance with the *Persian Empire, and in 522 went to Constantinople, was baptized, and then presented with regalia described in detail by the **Chronicon Paschale* (AD 522) and *John Malalas (XVII, 9; cf. *Theophanes, AM 6015). He was given a crown, a *belt of office decorated with *pearls; his chlamys had imperial gold embroidery and a portrait of the emperor in purple, but the garment itself was white, like that of a high-ranking official, not purple like that of an emperor. His red shoes, 'studded with pearls in the Persian fashion', came from his own country and were like the **tzangia* by long tradition granted by the emperor to the satraps of the *frontier area which became under Justinian the *province of *Armenia Quarta (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 1, 23).

Increasingly in the post-Roman West, barbarian kings developed their own regalia, while remaining aware of the Roman past. Royal insignia are known from the treasures of Guarrazar (votive crown of *Reccesuinth, never designed to be worn) and the *Sutton Hoo *ship burial (the ceremonial helmet and the stag-topped whetstone sceptre). The long *hair of the *Merovingian kings is no longer thought to have had ritual significance. JW; OPN

A. Alföldi, 'Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser', *MDAI(R)* 50 (1935), 1–171.
G. Galavaris, 'The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 8 (1958), 99–117.
C. Panella, ed., *I segni del potere: realta e immaginario della sovranita nella Roma imperiale* (2011).
A. Pertusi, 'Symbolisme des insignes byzantines du pouvoir', *EtBalk* 14/3 (1978), 44–50.
M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (1970).
P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (1954–6).
P. E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elisabeth II.* (1958).
G. Steigerwald, 'Das kaiserliche Purpurprivileg in spätrömischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit', *JbAC* 33 (1990), 209–39.

Regalianus General in the *Balkans, and, as one of the *Thirty Tyrants of the **Historia Augusta* (10), *usurper after the defeat of *Ingenuus at *Mursa in 260. He was swiftly suppressed by trooops loyal to *Gallienus (Aurelius *Victor, 33, 2). DMG

PLRE I, Regalianus.
CAH XII (2005), 43.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 256.

regendarius Member of the **officium* of various departments of the *central administration, military and civil. In both East (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3, 4; 21) and West (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 11, 29) the Regendarius of the *Praefectus Praetorio issued *evectiones* (i.e. travel permits for the *Cursus Publicus), probably as one of his controlling functions. AKo

RE, I A.1 (1914), 464–5 (Eger) *s.v.* regendarius.
Kolb, *Transport*, 171–3.

regiones Administrative subdivisions of *Rome (where the **Regionary Catalogues* count fourteen) and *Constantinople (where the **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* enumerates fourteen). Each was headed by a **curator* (two at Rome, apparently *senators) and subdivided into **vici*, headed by **vicomagistri*. CARM

Jones, *LRE* 694.
Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine.*
Janin, *CPByz* 43–58.

Rehovot (Ar. Ruheibeh) Modern name given to a remote archaeological site in the *Negev. No written or inscribed source has preserved the ancient name of this Nabataean town. Two of the four Christian *basilicas discovered have been partially excavated. The northern one has a large crypt under its presbytery, attesting to large-scale *pilgrimage probably to a famous *relic, but none of the *inscriptions found in the church mentions a specific saint. Rooms along the walls of the atrium have been interpreted as belonging to a *monastery. PFi

Y. Tsafrir, *Excavations at Rehovot in the Negev*, vol. 1: *The Northern Church* (1988).

Reims (Roman Metropolis Civitas Remorum: dép. Marne, France) Important Roman *city, with a vast wall-circuit enclosing around 500 ha (*c.*1,235 acres), which in Late Antiquity became the capital of the *province of *Belgica Secunda, and had acquired a *bishop by the time of the *Council of *Arles in 314.

The settlement had begun to contract by the second half of the 3rd century, and soon (perhaps early in the 4th cent.) it was equipped with a reduced *enceinte* defending around 55 ha (*c.*135 acres). In 407, the region was very probably affected by the barbarian crossing of the Rhine, but the supposed passage of the *Huns and martyrdom of Bishop Nicasius in 451 is more hypothetical. By 481, Reims had fallen under *Frankish control, and *Clovis I was probably baptized

there by its Bishop *Remigius. The cathedral complex as a whole is poorly known, but four phases of its *baptistery, beginning from the late 4th century, were identified in excavations in the 1990s.

In the 6th century the city became the main seat of *Theuderic I and his descendants, and then of *Sigibert I. Under Sigibert the main focus of the *Austrasian kingdom shifted to *Metz, although Reims remained a significant and at times disputed centre. Its numerous churches included a cluster established in a Late Antique *cemetery south of the city. The most important of these housed the tomb of S. Remigius and a number of his episcopal successors; the area gradually developed into the **vicus* of S. Remigius. *Flodoard, writing in the mid-10th century, provides much valuable information about the earlier history of the Church of Reims, including the *wills of several of its 7th-century bishops. MG; STL

CAGaule 51/2 (2010).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 14 Reims (2006), 21–45 (L. Pietri et R. Neiss).

relics and shrines Relics and shrines played an important role in the Late Antique cult of the saints. The phenomenon of paying concern to the bodies of the 'special' *dead is not unique to Christianity and can be linked to both Graeco-Roman hero cult and Jewish practices, as well as to traditional piety paid to the bodies of the deceased.

Nonetheless, distinctive practices venerating the relics of Christian saints can be traced to the pre-Constantinian period, for instance in several of the most famous *martyr passions in both East and West. The *Passion of S. Polycarp* depicts the Christian community collecting for burial the remains of *martyrs 'that were dearer to us than precious stones, and finer than gold'. The veneration of secondary or 'contact' relics also goes back to the pre-Constantinian period, as in the *Passion of *Perpetua, Felicity Saturus and their Companions* which recounts how the martyr Saturus dipped the ring of the soldier guarding him into the blood of his wound, returning it to him as a record of his bloodshed.

Relics were of many sorts. As well as the whole body of the saint they included fragments, ashes, and even dust. Relics might also be non-bodily: the discovery of the Relic of the True *Cross and the Holy Nails, allegedly by *Helena, was influential. Secondary relics were multiplied by the devotional practices of the cult of the saints, as oil, cloth, and water were brought into contact with the bodies of saints at their shrines, and then became treasured relics in their own right. *Pilgrimage flasks were sometimes placed on the tombs of saints.

A law of 386 (*CTh* IX, 17, 7) sought to control what was already a burgeoning trade in martyr relics, but this attempt clearly failed. In the West, *Augustine attacked corrupt monks trading in dubious relics, but his ecclesiastical father figure *Ambrose of *Milan set up a whole network which distributed relics to his fellow bishops for the edification of their faithful. After Ambrose's famous *inventio* or discovery at *Milan of the bodies of the hitherto unrecorded *martyrs Ss. *Gervasius and Protasius in 386 (as well as his promotion of Ss. *Vitalis and Agricola, discovered in 392/3 in Bologna) relics were both brought publicly and prominently within the city walls and also became an important element in ecclesiastical *patronage and relationships.

In the case of one particularly prominent *inventio*, the miraculous discovery of the relics of S. Stephen the Protomartyr in 415, the relics of the saint travelled across the Mediterranean world. The arrival of these relics at Uzalis in North *Africa brought about a great change of heart in Augustine, who preached about the *miracles performed by these relics (*Sermons*, 320–4) and wrote about them in the closing chapters of the *City of God*, making use of a pamphlet recounting the miracles at Uzalis. Collections of miracles performed at particular shrines (such as the famous collection of *Gregory of *Tours) would become important in promoting local shrines, their saints, and their bishops.

Shrines to saints were erected all across the Late Antique world. They ranged from simple commemorative installations (as evidenced by many *inscriptions from North Africa) to elaborate monuments; they were built both independently as separate *martyria and within existing churches and other ecclesiastical complexes. Martyria were built in *Cappadocia by *Basil at *Caesarea and by *Gregory at *Nyssa; these are no longer extant, but we can compare the surviving remains of the martyrium of S. Philip at *Hierapolis in *Phrygia. Relics and shrines provided an important impetus to *pilgrimage, most famously in the *Holy Land, as is apparent from the pilgrim *Egeria. *Damasus provided a monumental setting for the cult of saints in the Roman *catacombs by installing a series of inscribed shrines (**Liber Pontificalis*, 39).

*Constantinople also became notable for shrines of saints. It was dedicated to the God of the martyrs, and had started out with its own local martyr, S. *Mocius. During the 4th and 5th centuries, it acquired many and various relics of saints. In 356/7 S. Andrew the Apostle, S. Luke the Evangelist, and S. Timothy, the companion of S. Paul, came to the city, and in 406 the Old Testament patriarch Samuel. In 438 the body of S. John Chrysostom returned to the city from which in life he had been banished. As time went on, Constantinople gathered to itself relics from the provinces, such

as in 574 the *Camuliana *icon of Christ and in 944 a cloth which purported to be the *Mandylion of *Edessa.

As well as ecclesiastical distribution of relics, private possession was also significant. Wealthy and influential families, including that of Gregory of Nyssa, sometimes had their own relics and built private martyria to house them. Literary sources persistently link the custodianship of relics to women in particular, though we might suspect that this became a literary cliché, rather than a historical fact. Anxiety regarding the proper veneration of genuine relics is a recurring concern amongst the ecclesiastical establishment. The *Emperor *Julian mocked Christian relic cult. There was also criticism from within the Christian Church. The *priest Vigilantius of *Aquitaine attacked such practices as *kissing relics and carrying them about encased in precious materials; he claimed that the veneration paid them at shrines had pagan antecedents. Nonetheless, veneration became a dominant feature of Late Antique Christianity. For those who believed seriously in the resurrection of the body, the bodies of the saints were not simply a sloughed-off skin, they were the physical containers to which the close friends of God would one day return. LHCG

Brown, *Cult of the Saints.*

C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (1995), chs. 1–2.

B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebaüde* (1965).

Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, réliques.*

Religious Disputation at the Court of the Sasanids In this anonymous *Greek disputation of the late 5th/mid-6th century AD, King Arrhinatus of Persia commands an examination of the testimonies of Christ in the writings of *Philip (of *Side) and Dionysarus. Five disputations follow, between the *pagan Aphroditianus and the *bishops (§5), between Oricatus the magician and the bishops (§34), between the *Jews Jacob and Pharas and Aphroditianus (§44), between Jacob and Pharas and between the bishops (§55) and Jacob and Pharas and the Jews Simon, Barnaes, and Scillas (§67). In the end Jacob, Pharas, and 'sixty souls' are baptized. The narrator concludes that Aphroditianus has surpassed Philip 'in saying great things about Christ' (§85). JZP

CPG 6968:

ed. E. Bratke, 'Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden', *TU* 19 (1899), 1–305.

ed (with FT and history of the text) P. Bringel, *Une polémique religieuse à la cour perse: le de gestis in Perside* (Ph.D. thesis, Sorbonne, 2007).

ET (annotated) A. Eastbourne (2010) at <https://archive.org/details/ReligiousDiscussionAtTheCourtOfTheSassanids.religionsgesprchAmHof>.

reliquaries Containers securing *relics—fragments of sacred material, usually bone or other bodily remains of a holy figure, or an object or substance sanctified through contact with such a person. Reliquaries regularly identified and authenticated the remains by naming the holy person or place of origin in *inscriptions either outside or inside. Some famous reliquaries, such as the 5th-century *ivory Samagher Casket from *Histria or the 5th- or 6th-century *silver 'Capsella Africana' from *Numidia, were made of precious materials and adorned with figural decoration. However, most surviving Late Antique examples are more modest and include unadorned stone chests, sometimes in the shape of miniature sarcophagi, or even simple terracotta pots. Though earlier examples exist, by the 6th century reliquaries become increasingly common and were regularly associated with *altar foundations. A single reliquary could contain numerous relics, and additional relics could be added to the collection over the course of a church or *monastery's history. AY

M. Bagnoli et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (2010).

H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* (Wiener byzantinistische Studien 9, 1971).

Duval, *Loca Sanctorum*.

C. Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (2012).

K. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979), 115–33.

G. Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries* (2008).

Remaclus (d. *c.*680) Abbot of Stablo-Malmedy. Remaclus was born in *Aquitaine and became the first abbot of S. *Eligius' foundation at Solignac in 638 before pursing his religious vocation in the Ardennes, initially as Abbot of Cugnon. With the support of *Sigibert III and the *Austrasian *Mayor of the Palace *Grimoald, he then founded a double *monastery at Stavelot in the *diocese of Maastricht and Malmedy in the diocese of *Cologne in 647/8. He is described as *abbas episcopus*, though it is unclear if he ever became *Bishop of Maastricht (651/2–670), or was merely Abbot-bishop of Stavelot-Malmedy. His various *Lives* (*BHL* 7113–41) are late and unreliable. ADier

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Remaclus, XXIV (2003), 485–504 (C. Bayer).

P. George, 'St Remacle, évangélisateur en Ardenne (ca. 650): mythe et réalité', in J.-P. Massaut and M.-E. Henneau, eds., *La Christianisation des campagnes* (1996), vol. 1, 47–70.

Remesiana (mod. Bela Palanka, Serbia) *City of *Dacia Mediterranea on the *Via Militaris between *Niš and *Serdica (*Bordeaux Pilgrim, 566, 6, as Romansiana).

The writer *Nicetas (d. after 414) was *Bishop of Remesiana. Remains include a 4th-century fortification enclosing 4.5 ha (11 acres) with a monumental complex with portico and apsidal hall. A necropolis with Christian *basilica was located nearby. *Justinian I rebuilt the fort (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 1, 32). ER

TIR K-34 (1976), 108.
Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 50–1.
D. Mladenović, *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior* (2012), 63.

Remigius of Reims (*c.*438–*c.*533/5) *Bishop of *Reims from *c.*460. Born into a local aristocratic family, Remigius became *metropolitan of *Belgica Secunda, probably with the assent of the *Frankish King *Childeric I and the *Magister Militum *Aegidius.

According to *Gregory of *Tours (*Glory of the Confessors*, 78; *BHL* 7151), who had access to a lost *Vita*, and the much later *Vita* by Hincmar of Reims of *c.*870 (*BHL* 7152–9), he played a pivotal role in the *baptism of *Clovis I.

Two of his four surviving *letters (**Epistulae Austrasicae*, 1–4) are addressed to the king, the first, of 481, giving the young king advice, the second, written after his baptism, consoling him on the death of his sister. A third responds to episcopal criticism of a *priest he had ordained at Clovis' behest. His *will (*BHL* 7160), of which only the short version is authentic, written in Roman form after 511, is a rich source of information about his *family and his landed wealth, as well as for the churches of *Reims and its province.

He was buried in Reims in a church which was then dedicated to him. His cult developed rapidly at Reims and more widely in *Austrasia. A third, short *Vita* of the 7th/8th century, misattributed to *Venantius Fortunatus, gives further biographical details. MG

PLRE II, Remigius 2.
PCBE IV/2, Remigius 2.
Life (*BHL* 7160), ed. B. Krusch, in MGH, Auct. Ant. IV/2 (1885), 64–7.
M.-C. Isaïa, *Remi de Reims: mémoire d'un saint, histoire d'une Église* (2010).

Remiremont (ancient *Habendum*, dép. Vosges, France, ancient Habendum) Double *monastery founded between 613 and 626 by Romaric (d. 653), a wealthy *Austrasian *aristocrat linked to the Pippinids, and Amatus, a monk of *Luxeuil trained at *Agaune, who opposed *Eusthasius in the *Agrestius affair. Wrongly seen as 'Columbanian', it was initially a rival of Luxeuil and of *Faremoutiers-en-Brie, and welcomed *Arnulf of *Metz towards the close of his life. Its liturgical practice involved *laus perennis* (perpetual *praise) on the model of Agaune. ADier

N. Gauthier, *L'Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle: la province romaine de Première Belgique entre Antiquité et Moyen âge: IIIe–VIIIe siècles* (1980), 274–91.
A.-M. Helvetius and M. Gaillard, in J. F. Hamburger et al., eds., *Frauen-Kloster-Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung 'Krone und Schleier'* (2007), 383–93.

remuneration Payment for services and for *wage-labour might be rendered in cash, kind, or a combination of both. Pay was frequently in the form of cash and food allowances, which were usually destined for daily consumption. Some workers received daily pay or other forms of salary, while others were paid according to work completed. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (AD 301) set the wage for a variety of unskilled workers at 25 **denarii* plus maintenance.

Such food allowances, usually consisting in Late Antiquity of *grain, *olive oil, and *wine and in rare instances *meat, entitled workers to various food items otherwise precluded or in limited supply. The Prices Edict fixed wheat rations around five Italic **modii* per month at 100 *denarii* for each modius castrensis (= 66.67 *denarii* per Italic *modius*). Wheat alone therefore added an increase in income equivalent to 11.1 *denarii* per day to the mandated minimum of 25 *denarii* cited above.

The *papyri from *Egypt suggest daily wages were usually proportionally higher than monthly and yearly wages, which were thus not a multiplication of daily pay, but were based on a different and probably lower standard. The annual average wage was probably around 5 or 6 **solidi*. The actual value of this wage naturally varied with the price of consumer goods, which ranged during the 4th to 6th centuries, according to Egyptian data, from *c.*4.33 *solidi* to *c.*2.9 *solidi* per head, the equivalent of 36 annual *modii* of wheat).

In the Late Roman *army, which constituted the single largest employer in the Late Roman world with perhaps 350,000–400,000 men, the average soldier was remunerated through ration allowances commuted into cash at fixed rates of 4 and 5 *solidi* in 445 (*NovVal* 13, 4) and in 534 (*CJust* I, 27, 1) respectively. Along with these commuted **annonae* a *donative of 5 *solidi* was distributed every five years beginning from the *emperor's *accession and usually connected with the *indiction of other taxes collected in precious metals (**aurum coronarium*, *aurum oblaticium*, and **collatio lustralis* or *chrysargyron*—though the last was usually gathered every four years). The yearly wage was therefore *c.*5 or 6 *solidi* plus occasional gifts, and probably left soldiers better off than other workers.

In early Islamic Egypt and the Near East real wages appear to have increased while nominal wages did not.

In the post-Roman West the scanty evidence seems to suggest increasing remuneration in kind, even where wages and rental payments were still expressed in terms of *gold and later *silver coins. PT

R. C. Allen, 'How Prosperous were the Romans?', in A. Bowman and A. Wilson, eds., *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (2009), 327–45.

J.-M. Carrié, 'L'Arithmétique sociale de l'économie agrarie: prix de la terre, rente foncière et prix des céréales dans l'Égypte romano-byzantine', in J. Andreau, P. Briant, and R. Descat, eds., *Économie antique: prix et formation de prix dans l'économie antiques* (1997), 121–46.

F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo* (1996).

reports of proceedings The papyrological record of *papyri, alongside 'paraliterary' texts such as *martyr passions and the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, provide evidence for interactions between litigating parties and their trial judge. The idea of a judge's general obligation to justify his sentence is modern. However, Roman magistrates kept records of their administration (*commentarii*). These records could include the sentence and its basis; the hearing's course; the parties' pleadings, and the taking of evidence; all of which were inserted into a public *archive where copies could be made. From the late 3rd century onwards scholars speak of a new 'case transcript style': 'The written transcripts as excerpts from the *commentarii* disappear; the latest example is of AD 274 (P.Mert. I, 26 *Oxyrhynchus), and appearing in their place is the individual transcript regarding a specific *causa*' (Palme). The standard form shows a *Latin 'frame' while direct speech is reported in the original language (Latin or *Greek). Around 55 *bilingual court proceedings survive from the later 4th and 5th centuries. JP; CH

B. Palme, 'Roman Litigation: Reports of Court Proceedings', *Imperium and Officium Working Papers*. Version 02 (May 2011). <http://iowp.univie.ac.at/sites/default/files/IOWP_palme_litigation02.pdf> (accessed 12/09/2016).

R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 4, 1966).

R. Haensch, 'Typisch römisch? Die Gerichtsprotokolle der in Aegyptus und den übrigen östlichen Provinzen tätigen Vertreter Roms. Das Zeugnis von Papyri und Inschriften', in H. Börn et al., eds., *Monumentum et Instrumentum Inscriptum* (2008), 117–26.

L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (1953), 419–24.

Resaina (Syr. Resh'aina, mod. Ras el-Ain on the Syrian–Turkish border) An important *city in the Roman *province of *Mesopotamia, near the Roman–Persian *frontier, often on the Persian invasion route. *Shapur I was defeated here in 263. *Theodosius I made it a city in 383 and renamed it Theodosiopolis (not to be confused with the Armenian *Theodosiopolis, mod. Erzerum). According to the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XXXVI, 1 and 20) it was a *castellum* under the *Dux of *Mesopotamia, housing a detachment of the Equites Promoti Illyricani. *Justinian I refortified the fortresses around it (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 6, 13), but the Persians sacked it several times in the late 6th century.

Peter of Resaina was one of the Mesopotamian *bishops banished from their sees by *Ephrem of *Amida, Patriarch of *Antioch, in 519 on account of their *Miaphysite convictions (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* VIII, 5, b). *Sergius of Resaina, a doctor (d. 536), was a prolific author and translator of medical and philosophical texts from *Greek into *Syriac. *George of Resaina wrote in Syriac a *Life* of *Maximus the Confessor. Resaina remained important in later conflicts between Byzantines and Arabs.

Ruins of possible Late Roman fortifications were seen by Consul Taylor in the 1860s and by an American team in the 1940s. The site has been the subject of various archaeological investigations and excavations since the 1860s, focusing principally on the Ancient Near Eastern remains at Tell Fakhariya (Fecheriye). AMC
<http://www.fecheriye.de/>.

J. G. Taylor, 'Journal of a Tour in Armenia, Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia', *JnlRoyalGeogSoc* 38 (1868), 349–52.

D. Bonatz and P. Bartl, 'Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell Fekheriye in 2006 and 2007', *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* (2007), 175–85.

rescripts (*rescripta*, sometimes *subscriptiones*) Answers from local, provincial, or ecclesiastical officials or *emperors to *petitions, sent by private individuals or groups or civic entities; cf. *letters, which describe requests and responses between officials. According to T. Honoré, stylistic analysis reveals that imperial rescripts were composed by the *Magister Libellorum, though not all scholars agree. Rescripts had authority only over those circumstances outlined in their petitions, but acquired a wider force of precedent later confirmed by codification. Imperial rescripts from the reigns of Hadrian to the *Tetrarchy were collected in the **Gregorian* and **Hermogenianic Codes* and subsequently in *Justinian's *Code*. SDC

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 43–58.

Honoré, *Emperors*, esp. 24–53.

***Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ*)** Monumental trilingual *inscription in Middle *Persian, Parthian, and *Greek carved at the Ka'be-ye Zardosht in front of the great *rock reliefs of *Naqsh-e Rostam in the province of Persis (*Fars, Pars) by *Shapur I (AD 240–70), after his victories over the Romans. The inscriptions provide the genealogy of the king, followed by an enumeration of the *provinces that he ruled over. Here he is called the 'Mazda-worshipping Majesty Shapur, King of kings of

the Iranians and non-Iranians, whose lineage is from the gods'. The territories listed in the inscription are as follows: Persis, Parthia, *Khuzestan, Mesene, Assyria, *Adiabene, *Arabia, Azerbaijan, *Armenia, *Georgia, Segan [Makhelonia = Mingrelia], Arran [Caucasian *Albania], Balasakan, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all of the mountain chain of Pareshwar, Media, Gurgan, *Merv, *Herat and all of Aparshahr, Kerman (*Kirman), Seistan (*Sagastan), Turan, Makuran, Paradene, Hindustan [*India = Sind], the Kushanshahr up to Peshawar, and up to *Kashgar, *Sogdiana and to the mountains of Tashkent (*Chach), and on the other side of the sea, *Oman.

Shapur I then relates his victories over Gordian III, Philip the Arab, and *Valerian in some detail. The first battle with Rome took place in AD 242/4. Gordian is said to have moved out from *Antioch and been killed in a *pitched battle on the border of Persian *Mesopotamia at Misiche, so that the site of the battle was renamed (in MP) Misiche-*Peroz-Shapur, 'Misiche-(where)-Shapur-is-victorious'. Negotiations with Philip the Arab in AD 244 resulted in the payment of 500,000 *denarii* and a promise to relinquish control over *Armenia. The inscription then states that the Caesar lied and again did wrong to Armenia. In 252/6 a second battle was fought at Barbalissos, upstream from *Callinicum on the Euphrates, against a Roman force 60,000 strong. Shapur relates that 36 Roman *cities were taken as a result of his victories. In AD 260 a battle was fought beyond *Harran and *Edessa in which Valerian was captured, along with the *Praefectus Praetorio, *senators, and chiefs of the army; captives were then taken and settled in the province of Persis.

This part of the inscription is very much in the manner of the Persian epic tradition, where the king captures the Roman emperor by his own hands. The deeds of the king and notions of valour and single combat loom large. It is followed by an enumeration of *Zoroastrian sacred *fires established for each member of the royal family, and details of *sacrifices and ceremonies. The last section provides important information on the *administration and the courtiers and nobles who comprised it during the time of *Papag, *Ardashir, and Shapur I. TD

ed. P. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. An der Ka'ba-i Žardušt (ŠKZ)*, 2 vols. (*CII* Part III, vol. 1, Texts 1; 1999).

ET (partial) in Dodgeon and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 34–6, 50, 57.

responsory (Lat. *responsorium*) Chant sung after the lessons at the night Office, first attested as an independent genre in the *Rule of S. *Benedict* (*RegBen* 9 and 11: *lectiones cum suis responsoriis*) and described by *Isidore of *Seville (*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 1.8) as an ancient Italian practice. Although sung responsorially, in the form choral respond–solo *psalm verse(s)–choral *repetendum* (the respond abbreviated), the precise connection, if any, between the ancient practice of responsorial psalmody and the liturgical genre of the *responsorium* remains unclear. AJH

H. Hucke, 'Das Responsorium', in W. Arlt, E. Lechtenhahn, and H. Oesch, eds., *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen* (1973), 144–91.

Res Privata A financial department of the Roman state which administered the private property of the *emperor (known as his Patrimonium) and crown lands belonging to the imperial office. The main revenues of the Res Privata were derived from rents and income derived from *estates and urban properties (such as *houses, *shops, and warehouses) certain of which had come into imperial control by confiscation or forfeiture. The Res Privata also handled the sale or grants of land to imperial favourites, meaning that it had something of the character of 'a clearing house' for estates as they passed in and out of imperial ownership. Rural properties owned by the Res Privata were partly administered by agents specifically employed for the task, or alternatively were leased out on long-term or perpetual leases (*see* EMPHYTEUSIS), which members of the Late Roman imperial *aristocracy of service appear to have been especially eager to acquire. The Res Privata was administered by the Magister or *Rationalis Rei Privatae (later known as the *Comes Rei Privatae) who was a member of the imperial inner circle or entourage (*Comitatus). Beneath him served a staff of bureaucrats (**officium*) comprising officials known as *privatiani* or **palatini*. There existed one *officium* for the Western and one for the Eastern part of the Empire, each divided, according to the **Notitia Dignitatum* into five sections (*scrinia*), although the differences between these various bureaux and their differing responsibilities are not entirely clear. The Res Privata also had a strong regional presence, with a lower-level Rationalis Rei Privatae appointed to each **dioecesis* possessing judicial powers and his own staffs (known as *Caesariani*). At the provincial level, the Res Privata was represented by officials styled *procuratores* and **actores Rei Privatae* who administered and oversaw imperial interests on the ground. In addition to its extensive body of personnel, the Res Privata possessed its own transport service (*bastaga privata*) under the charge of officials known as *praepositi*, who had charge of stables on which the imperial service depended for its mounts. PS

Jones, *LRE* 411–27.

Reticius of Autun (d. *c.*334) *Bishop of *Autun in *Gaul under *Constantine I. He was one of the bishops appointed by the *emperor to resolve the Donatist question at the *Lateran Council of 313 (*Letter of

Constantine in *Eusebius, *HE* X, 15, 9). He wrote a *Commentary on the Song of Songs* and a work *Against Novatian*, neither of which survives. He was noted by *Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 82), quoted as an authority by *Augustine (*Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, I, 3, 7 and I, 7, 32–3; *Contra Julianum opus imperfectum*, I, 55), and remembered by *Gregory of *Tours (*Glory of the Confessors*, 74). SJL-R

Bardenhewer, 2, Reticius von Autun.

PCBE IV/2 (2013) *s.v.* 'Reticius', 1608–9.

revaluation The opposite of *devaluation of *money. It indicates a deliberate raising in the nominal value of a currency which is in fixed exchange ratio to other currencies. The Late Antique world did not witness the revaluation of Roman imperial coinage in respect to foreign coinage. What is attested is a raising of the value of coin denominations within the imperial system of coinage itself. The best-known case is the revaluation (in this case an exact doubling of value) of *silver and (maybe all) divisional coins in AD 301, brought about by the *Tetrarchic Currency Reform. The known cases do not represent a true revaluation, since every denomination of coin was raised in value so they all appreciated only in respect to *gold and in respect to the wares with which they were in a floating exchange rate. FC

Rev-Ardashir (Rishahr) Archaeological site near modern Bushehr on the Persian coast of the Gulf. Possibly identical to the Seleucid foundation of Antiochia-in-Persis, it was refounded by *Ardashir I (*Tabari), and was the seat of the *Church of the East *metropolitan of *Fars, from at least the later 5th century, when a *bishop of Rev-Ardashir translated *Syriac *hymns into Persian. DTP

J. B. Chabot, '*Synodicon Orientale* ou Recueil de Synodes nestoriens', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 37 (1902), 681.

C. and F. Jullien, *Apôtres des confins: processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'Empire iranien* (Res Orientales 15, 2002), 178.

ed. A. Rücker, *Die Canones des Simeon von Rêvârdešîr* (doctoral thesis, Breslau, 1908).

E. Sachau, 'Vom Christentum in der Persis' (Sb. Berlin 39, 1916), 3–10.

Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 120–1.

D. Whitehouse, 'Sasanian Maritime Activity', in J. Reade, ed., *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity* (1996), 339–49.

Rhabdion *See* TUR 'ABDIN.

rhetoric and rhetoricians Throughout the ancient world, rhetoric was a practical skill. Much public business, in *cities, in *courts of law, and in the imperial *administration, was conducted orally and the spoken word was a vital means of mass communication. Formal instruction in rhetoric (the art of public speaking) was common wherever *Greek and *Latin were spoken and spread into areas where other languages, such as *Syriac, were the *lingua franca*, so that language, rather than, for instance, *mathematics, was at the core of ancient education and the correct deployment of words was the mark of an educated man (*Augustine, *Conff.* I, 16–18, 26–30).

Inherited from models fashioned in classical Greece, adopted by Rome, particularly through the influence of Cicero, in the Republican period, and gradually adapted to suit the needs of Empire, rhetoric continued to flourish in Late Antiquity. Taught by a *rhetor*, rhetoric remained the principal subject of study in the third and final stage of Greek and Roman education, following on from the study of letters and *grammar. It continued to distinguish between three forms of rhetoric identified by classical Greek practitioners, the deliberative, the forensic, and the demonstrative. Rhetoricians in the West and the East taught in Latin and Greek respectively, though until at least the 5th century both languages formed part of the normal curriculum in both parts of the Empire. *Latin was of particular value to those intending to study *law, and Greek was the language of *philosophy and intellectual enquiry. Teaching generally took place in dedicated schools, some of which, such as *Bordeaux (where *Ausonius and much of his *family taught), *Milan (where Augustine taught), and *Antioch (where *Libanius taught), were highly respected; such schools could have a very wide geographical catchment area. Special legislation governed the behaviour of those who came from the *provinces to *Rome and *Constantinople to pursue their studies (*CTh* XIV, 9, 1).

There was not a universal or consistent system of funding for rhetoricians. Those who were more successful drew a salary from the state or city treasury, as Augustine did at *Carthage, but not when he spent a year teaching in Rome. Students would also pay to attend (Augustine, *Conff.* II, 3, 5 and V, 12, 22; *Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 591). Appointees to publicly funded positions were well paid (e.g. *CTh* XIII, 3, 11 of 376). Some rhetoricians held other, non-educational positions as well. In some cases, the avocation of rhetorician became a family tradition. Typically, a student attended classes with only one rhetorician; teachers formed long-lasting and loyal bonds with those who studied under them. Rhetoricians were respected and influential figures in their community, and could often speak for the community in relevant oratorical form, as when Aelius Aristides made the *Emperor Marcus Aurelius weep with his plea to rebuild *Smyrna, devastated by an *earthquake

(*Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 9, 582). They also often acted as representatives or *patrons for their students.

The Later Roman Empire, unlike democratic Athens or the Roman Republic, did not promote political dissent expressed in oratorical form. Rather, *panegyrics of emperors, governors, and other potentates articulated consent to be ruled, often on occasions of formal *ceremony, such as an **adventus*. The imperial administration valued the traditions of rhetorical education inherited from earlier centuries and these were adapted to suit new conditions. Just as rhetorical schools sought state funding for their services, so the imperial government wanted graduates from such schools as the Maeaniae at *Autun to serve in the administration, which expanded hugely from the time of the *Tetrarchy onwards. The technical rhetorical skills and the values they enshrined were prized in government, so that a mutually beneficial relationship grew up between schools and government. Rhetoricians were powerful agents in securing positions in the administrative services for their students (e.g. *Libanius, *epp.* 805, 810, 832, 1119). Greeks and Romans conceived of education and character as being closely linked (e.g. *CTh* XIII, 3, 5). Rhetorical training was therefore essential in the education of a young man (in Greek, *paideia*), not simply so that he would know how to speak and write in an elevated manner, but also so that he would know how to behave, judge, and advise in the whole range of professional and private contexts, including religion, so that he could be, in the words of Cato, *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, a good man skilled in speaking (Quintillian, *Inst.* XII, 1).

Schools of rhetoric often turned out to be a training ground for church leaders. The canonical authors for rhetorical study and emulation had been *pagans—Cicero in Latin and Demosthenes in Greek—but in order to convince their contemporaries that Christianity was a faith which could be taken seriously by educated men, Christian apologists such as *Eusebius and *Lactantius (the 'Christian Cicero') harnessed the erudition and eloquence of the rhetorical schools. Some Christians found troubling such marriages of Christian faith and secular rhetoric (e.g. *Jerome, *ep.* 22, 29–31). But it was possible to adapt what was seen as the best of rhetorical learning to Christian purposes (e.g. *Basil of *Caesarea, *Address to Young Men on Greek Literature*). The career change from *rhetor* to Christian *bishop was not unusual; rhetoric could be useful in the composition of *sermons, and it continued to be at the centre of Christian education, especially in the post-Roman West into the time of *Bede and beyond. RDR

Brown, *Power and Persuasion.*

Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire.*

W. Dominik and J. Hall, eds., *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric* (2007).

T. Habinek, *Ancient Rhetoric and Oratory* (2005).

H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (1998).

Watts, *City and School.*

I. Worthington, ed., *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* (2007).

rhetoric and rhetoricians, Greek Late Antique Greek rhetoricians inherited from 2nd- and 3rd-century predecessors a curriculum structure and theoretical resources significantly different from those of Hellenistic and early imperial rhetoric. Training began with a series of preliminary exercises in composition (*progymnasmata). Epideictic oratory was taught by adapting the general principles of progymnasmatic encomia to specific ceremonial contexts (e.g. wedding, *panegyric for **adventus* of a visiting dignitary); the treatises attributed to *Menander Rhetor illustrate this approach. The foundations of forensic and deliberative oratory were laid in the theory of issues (*staseis*), which distinguished thirteen kinds of dispute and specified appropriate heads of argument for each; by the end of the 3rd century, *Hermogenes' *On Issues* was the standard teaching text. It should be noted that the undeniable importance of epideictic oratory in Late Antiquity did not marginalize forensic and deliberative rhetoric: Menander, known to modern scholarship as an expert on epideictic, was celebrated primarily for the detailed application of issue-theory in his commentary on Demosthenes.

Having mastered the fundamental techniques for analysing disputes, students learned to embody their argumentative strategies in the structure of a complete speech: the relevant tactical resources were theorized in treatises on the parts of a speech, such as [Ps.-Hermogenes] *On Invention*. The theory of stylistic types ('ideas', Gk. *ideai*) was developed in its most sophisticated form by Hermogenes; although his *On Types of Style* did not rapidly become a standard text, it was included in the comprehensive rhetorical corpus that was formed by the early 6th century. The separation of preliminary analysis from invention produced a curriculum with multiple exit-points: students could abbreviate their studies if they expected to practise in low-level courts, where elaborately structured or expressed speeches were not required although a tool-kit of resources for both prepared and impromptu argument was essential. Theoretical instruction accompanied close study of classical and modern models, and practical exercises. At advanced levels, these took the form of declamation, in which students took the role of one party to a forensic or deliberative dispute. Declamation also provided sophists with an opportunity to display their expertise. Rhetoric faced competition as a means of career advancement from *law and *shorthand, but the true impact of this trend is hard to estimate: despite

*Libanius' tendentious complaints, there was a continuing demand for rhetorical training at all levels. MFH

R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (2007).
G. A. Gibson, *Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (2008).
M. Heath, *Hermogenes On Issues: Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric* (1995).
M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2006).
M. Heath, 'Platonists and the Teaching of Rhetoric in Late Antiquity', in P. Vassilopoulou and S. R .L. Clark, eds., *Late Antique Epistemology* (2009), 143–59.
R. J. Penella, ed., *Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity: A Translation of Choricius of Gaza's Preliminary Talks and Declamations* (2009).
D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (1983).
D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (1981).

rhetoric and rhetoricians, Latin Rhetoric continued to be taught in the Latin-speaking West of the Later Roman Empire much along the lines that had evolved during the Early Empire. For example, Julius Victor (probably dating to the 4th century AD) wrote an *Ars Rhetorica*, which essentially reprised Cicero and Quintilian. For the educated classes, schools of rhetoric, with their influential and often inspiring professors, were popular destinations, especially as part of preparation for careers in *law, *education, and imperial *administration (*PanLat* VI (VII), 23; *Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, 1, 9–10; *Augustine, *Conff.* VIII, 2). In fact. some *rhetores* themselves went on to hold posts in the imperial service. And so, there developed a close and mutually advantageous relationship between rhetorical schools and the imperial government.

Celebrated Latin schools of rhetoric included the *Maenianae* (*Autun), *Bordeaux, and *Toulouse in *Gaul (for which our evidence is strongest), but there were many others in *Spain, *Italy, and *Africa. Some schools, such as the *Maenianae* refounded under the *Tetrarchy with *Eumenius as director, benefited from imperial funding. Eumenius even quotes his letter of appointment to the school in his surviving speech (*PanLat* IX(5), 14). Other professorships were funded by individual *cities, including *Rome and *Carthage.

The names of rhetoricians come down to us as authors of surviving treatises (in addition to Julius Victor, for example, Aquila Romanus, Julius Rufinianus, Chirius Fortunatianus, whose works share a taste for technical taxonomy, definition, and exemplification) or as references in other contexts and genres (notably, Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*). Many of the Latin church fathers (such as *Arnobius, *Lactantius, Augustine) had taught rhetoric, and so too did Ausonius. Authors of *panegyrics (Ausonius, the XII **Panegyrici Latini*) as well as of *sermons (Augustine) testify that *rhetores* were well placed to deliver oratory as well as teach its precepts. It is true that some Christians found rhetoric incompatible with Christian humility and its study unnecessary for effective preaching; such doubts contributed to the fact that it took Augustine about 30 years to complete his *De Doctrina Christiana*, a work intended to provide rhetorical guidance to Christians. Despite such disquiet, *Gregory of *Tours and *Aldhelm of Malmesbury still considered a mastery of rhetoric (and metrics) an essential quality in a Christian cleric, and *Bede's *Ars Rhetorica* indicates that it was an integral part of the education provided at the double *monastery of *Wearmouth-Jarrow.

As it had done from the Greek classical period, rhetorical theory recognized three forms of rhetoric—deliberative, forensic, and epideictic (demonstrative)—each with its own traditions and arguments. The curriculum under a rhetorician (*rhetor*) would be in incremental stages: although all surviving examples are *Greek, it seems likely the first stage even in the Latin West would have been the equivalents of **progymnasmata*, short preliminary exercises designed to equip the student with the repertoire necessary for the more sustained construction demanded by the subsequent challenge of *declamation. The scenarios presented in surviving Latin *controversiae* suggest that forensic rhetoric received more attention than the other two branches. On the other hand, the richest body of secular Latin oratory surviving from Late Antiquity is the panegyrical material of the *XII *Panegyrici Latini*, *Symmachus, Ausonius, *Ennodius, *Merobaudes, and *Cassiodorus. The evidence of these speeches and fragments suggests that although they conform to recognizable types and their rhetoric was consistently elevated, there was scope for stylistic variety. RDR

C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (1863).
M. L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome: A Historical Survey* (3rd edn. rev. D. H. Berry, 1996).
T. J. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul* (1920; repr. 1958).
Kaster, *Guardians.*
C. E. V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (TCH 21, 1994).
R. MacMullen, 'A Note on Sermo Humilis', *JTS* 17 NS (1966), 108–12.

rhetoric and rhetoricians, Syriac Artistic use of language for persuasive purposes is apparent in the earliest significant *Syriac author, *Ephrem Syrus, and has usually been understood to reflect a native Mesopotamian rhetoric. Employment, however, of devices such as parallelism and chiastic structures, by both Ephrem and *Greek theologians, and the identification of

Greek philosophical concepts in Ephrem's writings, have suggested the possibility that a Graeco-Roman *education including rhetoric may also have had an influence upon him.

Other early Syriac writers possibly influenced by classical rhetoric include the author of the **Liber Graduum* (deliberative rhetoric), *Balai, and *Narsai (judicial rhetoric). Epideictic rhetoric is evident in a *panegyrical 6th-century *Life* of *John bar Aphtonia, born in *Edessa. Its author was a monk of *Qenneshre, the *monastery founded by John which became the leading centre of Greek studies in the Syriac language area. He reports that John's father was imbued with secular wisdom, which, he says, culminated in the art of rhetoric.

The only extant treatise on rhetoric in Syriac is that by Antony of *Takrit, probably of the 9th century, but it contains many concepts of Greek origin and can best be understood as the result of a tradition of rhetorical teaching going back to Late Antiquity. JWW

GEDSH s.v. rhetoric, 352–3 (Watt).

R. R. Phenix, *The Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin* (STAC 50, 2008).

U. Possekel, *Evidence of Greek Philosophical Concepts in the Writings of Ephrem the Syrian* (CSCO 580, Subs. 102; 1999).

J. W. Watt, *Rhetoric and Philosophy from Greek into Syriac* (2010).

***Rhodian Sea Law* (*Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός*)** A collection of maritime law comprising three parts, the first being a disputed prologue, the second containing 19 chapters, and the third 47 chapters. The date of the *Rhodian Sea Law* is uncertain: the 7th, 8th, or even 9th centuries have all been considered. The regulations it contains—which do not stem from *Justinian's *Code*—concern issues of liability (e.g. in case of jettison), contribution, profit-sharing, behaviour on board *ship, and so on. The text survives in many manuscripts and is part of Book 53 of the later Byzantine legal compilation called the *Basilica*. ThEvB

ed. (with ET) W. Ashburner, *Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός: The Rhodian Sea-Law* (1909; repr. 1976).

ODB s.v. Rhodian Sea Law (L. Burgmann).

L. Burgmann, 'Die Nomoi Stratiotikos, Georgikos und Nautikos', *ZRVI* 46 (2009), 43–64.

D. G. Letsios, *Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός. Das Seegesetz der Rhodier. Untersuchungen zu Seerecht und Handelsschiffahrt in Byzanz* (Veröffentlichungen zum Schiffahrtsrecht, Band I; 1996).

*Γ. Ε. Ροδολάκης, Από το Νόμο Ροδίων στο 530 βιβλίο των Βασιλικών. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βυζαντινού ναυτικού δικαίου (Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἱστορίας Ἑλληνικού Δικαίου, Τόμος 40, Παράρτημα 8; 2007), 45–174.

A. Schminck, 'Probleme des sog. "*Νόμος Ῥοδίων ναυτικός*"', in E. Chrysos, D. G. Letsios, H. Richter, and R. Stupperich, eds., *Griechenland und das Meer. Beiträge eines Symposions in Frankfurt im Dezember 1996* (1999), 171–8.

Rhodopa Late Roman *province occupying the southern portion of the former province of Thracia, along the Aegean coast, bordering *Thracia (north), *Macedonia (west), and *Europa (east). The *Via Egnatia ran through it (between *Constantinople and Thessalonica).

The *Verona List places it in the *Dioecesis *Thraciae, as does the **Notitia Dignitatum*, which says that it was governed by a *Praeses (*or.* I, 114; II, 56; XXVI, 13). The 6th-century geographer *Hierocles (634, 4–635, 2) lists seven *cities in Rhodopa. ABA

Barrington Atlas, maps 101 and 102.

TIB 6 *Thrakien* (1991).

Rhodopolis (mod. Vardsikhe, *Georgia) City in the Imereti plain, on a trade route between Artaxata and *Sebastopolis. A necropolis indicates occupation from Hellenistic times, but the first record appears in the 4th–5th centuries. In the 6th century it was 'a very large and ancient fort' (*NovJust* 28, cf. *Procopius, *Persian*, II, 29, 18); later, it changed hands between Romans and Persians (*Agathias, IV, 15, 1–3). Remains of Late Roman buildings had traces of fire. MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 303.

V. Japaridze, *Egrisis axkh. ts. 1–7 ss. materialuri kulturis dzeglebi* (The material culture of Egrisi in the 1st–7th cents. AD) (2006), 103–5.

ribat Islamic military institution. A precise definition of *ribat* is difficult, since its meaning changed over the course of the medieval period. In early *Islam, a *ribat* seems to have been a basic staging-post for military campaigns: simply a place to tie up *horses. By the 10th century—as attested by al-*Muqaddasi—if not before, the term had come to be applied to fortified coastal watchtowers. A century or so after that, it had come to signify a spiritual retreat, sometimes but not always with a military dimension. NC

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Ribāṭ, 493–506 (Rabbat).

H. S. Khalilieh, 'The Ribat of Arsuf and the Coastal Defence System in Early Islamic Palestine', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19 (2008), 159–77.

C. E. Bosworth, 'The City of Tarsus and the Arab–Byzantine Frontiers', *Oriens* 33 (1992), 284–6.

C. Rhoné, 'Les Ribāt-s dans l'Orient du monde musulman des origines au XIII^{e} siècle', *Bulletin d'études orientales* 55 (2003), 61–75.

Richarius (*fl.* 630s) Founder of a *monastery at Centula (Somme) which went on to become one of

the most significant in northern *Gaul, also known as S. Riquier. His earliest *Life* suggests he was also active 'across the sea in *Saxonia*'. EJ; STL

LexMA s.n. Riquier, vol. 7, 828–9 (J.-C. Poulin).
Life (*BHL* 7245), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 7, 438–53.

Ricimer (*c.*405–72) Roman general of royal *Suebic and *Gothic parentage whose military power enabled him in effect to rule the remaining territory of the Western Roman Empire from 456 until his death in 472. Coming to notice as a soldier under the **patricius* *Aëtius, he was appointed **comes* by the *Emperor *Avitus in 456. His subsequent successes in defeating *Vandal forces in *Corsica and *Sicily earned him acclaim, the *title of *patricius*, and the post of *Magister Militum. Deriving his power from this position, Ricimer exercised political control, first deposing Avitus and then appointing *Majorian as emperor in 457. In August 461 he had Majorian executed and in November nominated *Libius Severus who reigned until Ricimer facilitated his death in 465. He then accepted *Anthemius as the imperial nominee of the Eastern Emperor *Leo I and married Anthemius' daughter Alypia. By 470 he was in public opposition to the Emperor Leo. Opposition became open war by 472; as a result Anthemius was captured and killed at *Rome. Ricimer then appointed *Olybrius as emperor, but died shortly after. His authority passed to his nephew, the *Burgundian *Gundobad. He was an *Homoean ('Arian') and built at Rome the Church of S. Agatha of the Goths. BC

PLRE II, Ricimer 2.
PCBE II/2, Ricimer.
F. Anders, *Flavius Ricimer. Macht und Ohnmacht des weströmischen Heermeisters in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts* (2010).
MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, 167–267.
O'Flynn, *Generalissimos*, 104–28.

Ricomer Prominent general of the late 4th century. A *Frank and a *pagan, he fought at the Battle of *Adrianople in 378 as *Comes Domesticorum of *Gratian. In the early 380s, he became *Magister Militum per Orientem, befriending *Libanius, and was *consul for 384. In 388 *Theodosius I sent him against *Magnus Maximus, but Ricomer died just before the launch of Theodosius I's campaign in 393 against the *usurper *Eugenius and the general *Arbogast (Ricomer's own nephew). SFT

PLRE I, Richomeres.

Ridda Wars (Ar. *hurub al-ridda*, 'Wars of Apostasy') Collective term for the conflicts on the *Arabian Peninsula that began shortly before the death of the Prophet *Muhammad in 632 and ended in 634 as the new west Arabian polity extended its influence beyond the Peninsula into the territories of the Roman and *Persian Empires. Despite their name, the Ridda Wars consisted of conflicts not just against *tribes which had broken allegiance at the death of Muhammad, but also against others that had never had previous involvement with *Islam. The conflicts were characterized by the appearance of rival prophets among some tribes, such as *Sajah (*Tamim), *Musaylima (*Hanifa), and Tulayha (Asad). Muhammad's successor, *Abu Bakr (r. 632–4), presided over the Ridda Wars (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 143–62). The wars greatly assisted in the formation of central authority for the Islamic state, successfully uniting fractured tribes into a unified force. AM; JL

EI 2 vol. 8 suppl. (1993) *s.v.* al-Ridda, 692–5 (Lecker).
*Tabari, X.
F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).
W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad* (1997).

riddles Ancient literary theorists (e.g. Aristotle) saw the riddle as an essentially metaphorical procedure. The *Greek word *ainigma* (riddle) is etymologically related to the Greek word *ainos* (saying, proverb). To interpret both riddles and *ainoi* it is necessary to make inference by way of analogy. In the case of riddles this involves surprise and poses a challenge—a stock situation in riddle-tales is that the addressee's life is at stake if he fails to solve it, as, for instance, in the story of the Gymnosophists in the **Alexander Romance*.

The competitive dimension is apparent in the traditional setting of the drinking party (*symposium*), as in Aulus Gellius' reminiscences about problem-solving during a *Saturnalia spent with friends in *Athens (*Attic Nights*, 18, 3) and a discourse about riddles by Larensis in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. The preface of a collection of 100 *Latin riddles attributed to *Symphosius, each consisting of three hexameters, envisages a light-hearted Saturnalian setting. Yet the essential problem-solving element might emphasize intelligence, wit, even *paideia*; in the *Romance of *Apollonius King of Tyre* the hero uses his native wit (shored up by books) to solve Antiochus' riddle, and in turn rises to the challenge to his *prudentia* to solve a series of riddles, several taken from Symphosius.

There are riddles among the poems of *Ausonius (e.g. *Technopaegnion*, 13), some (epigrams 85 and 87) of a rare indecency. Another, specialized, form is the number riddle, or *gematria*, in which letters receive a numerical value; the method is ascribed to Pythagoras, but was especially popular in late Judaism as well as *Gnosticism, Hermetism, and *magic.

In later Latin collections, many of them (such as those of *Aldhelm and the *Aenigmata Eusebii* of Hwaetberth, Abbot of *Wearmouth-Jarrow *c.*716/17–

after *c.*747) influenced by Symphosius, there is a movement away from the tangible to the spiritual worlds. Tatwine (Archbishop of *Canterbury 731–4) included items on the cardinal virtues and Christian theology among his riddles, and *Boniface chose ten virtues and ten vices for his theme.

A vernacular Germanic tradition is represented by over 90 riddles preserved in the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501) of the mid-10th cent.

JLL; OPN

Symphosius: ed. (with ET, introd., and comm.) T. J. Leary (2014).
Exeter Book: ed. G. P. Krapp and E. van K. Dobbie (1936) and (differently numbered).
ed. (annotated with ET) C. Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (1977).
Z. Pavlovskis, 'The Riddler's Microcosm: From Symphosius to St. Boniface', *ClassMed* 39 (1988), 219–51.

Riha Treasure One of four dealers' assemblages of Christian liturgical *silver that comprised the *Kaper Koraon Treasure. Initially the Riha group consisted of three objects: a paten, fan, and chalice. Scholars later assigned two ewers to the Riha treasure on the basis of their identical *inscriptions. MH

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium.*

rings The distinctive ring form of the Byzantine period has a flat hoop and a raised bezel. Signets set with engraved precious *stones become increasingly rare after the 3rd century, though some are cut with early Christian themes (3rd–5th cent.) and a significant group of garnet intaglio-set rings of the late 5th century was influenced by *Sasanian examples and displays a variety of subjects—*monograms, *crosses, *birds, dolphins, as well as *lions and scorpions (probably signs of the *Zodiac) .

There are also some splendid imperial portraits depicting *Constantine I, *Theodosius II, and his successors down to the time of *Justinian I, as well as intaglios depicting contemporary barbarian rulers, *Alaric II, *Ricimer, and, cut on the metal of a *gold ring, *Childeric I. These were almost certainly *insignia of office employed by high officers of state.

Other rings belong to the sphere of ornament, particularly female ornament, frequently in openwork. In many, especially from the 5th century, the bezel is particularly prominent. Some are inscribed on the metal bezel for *marriage and not infrequently such gold rings bear male and female *portraits. Others are engraved with religious motifs or with *monograms. Episcopal rings are attested in the 7th century.

MEH

R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, eds., *Byzantium 330–1453* (Royal Academy, 2008), 415–17, nos. 146–52.
J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (2007).
J. Spier, 'Some Unconventional Early Byzantine Rings', in C. Entwistle and N. Adams, eds., *'Intelligible Beauty': Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery* (Research publication British Museum 178, 2010), 13–19.
A. Yeroulanou, *Diatrita: Gold Pierced-Work Jewellery from the 3rd to the 7th Century* (Benaki Museum, Athens, 1999), 66–8.

Riothamus (*fl. c.*471) British King allied to the *Emperor *Anthemius. He fought against the *Goths on the Loire, was defeated, and fled to *Burgundian-controlled territory. His connection with the origins of *Brittany is much debated. He was not King *Arthur.

AW

PLRE II, Riothamus.
PCBE IV/2, Riothamus.
G. Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages* (2013), 255–7.

riots *See* DISORDER, PUBLIC, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN.

Ripon Mid-7th-century Northumbrian *minster granted to *Wilfrid *c.*660 (*Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Wilfridi*, 8, 17). The Anglo-Saxon crypt is similar in form to that at *Hexham. SCT

R. Hall and M. Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, from the 7th to the 11th Centuries AD', *MedArch* 40 (1996), 62–150.

Ripuarii *See* FRANKS.

roadhouses *See* HOSTELS.

roads, Persian Minimal archaeological investigations have been undertaken on the road system of the *Persian Empire in the *Sasanian period. What can be deduced derives from the work of Islamic geographers such as Ibn Khurdadhbih's *al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik*. The itineraries of these medieval travellers followed those used by *merchants. They all start from *Mesopotamia, on roads taking a northern route via Hatra and *Nihawand to *Khorasan, Tokharistan, and *Transoxiana. A southern route via Deh Luran and Susangird went towards *Khuzestan and took a coastal road along the Persian Gulf to Persis (*Fars) and beyond. A northern road went through Azerbaijan to *Armenia and *Lazica. All roads were served by toll-stations to tax commercial goods, and services were offered to travellers, although the extent of these is not apparent archaeologically. However archaeological evidence of *bridges, way stations, and *rock reliefs provides clues to important routes. KR

EncIran VI/1 (1992) *s.v.* commerce, iii. In the Parthian and Sasanian periods, 61–4 (R. N. Frye).

roads, Roman and post-Roman Late Antiquity inherited an extensive network of public roads designed and maintained, largely at local expense, in the interests not of private or commercial travellers but of the state. The public roads, punctuated by *milestones, underpinned the state transport and communication system, the *Cursus Publicus. Although they are compilations of routes rather than catalogues of public roads, the Antonine Itinerary, from the *Tetrarchic period, and the diagram on the Peutinger Map give an impression of the comprehensiveness of the network.

The last major new projects were the militarily significant *Strata Diocletiana on the desert fringe in *Syria and the Via Herculia in central southern *Italy, both undertaken by the Tetrarchy. The foundation of *Constantinople took advantage of a key nodal point where European and Asian routes converged. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim provides a detailed itinerary across the Alps and northern *Italy along the *Via Militaris in the north *Balkans to the new capital, on to the *Holy Land by the *Pilgrims' Road, and back by way of the *Via Egnatia and up *Italy through Rome to *Milan. *Inscriptions record repair and upgrading at state expense in *Baetica and *Germania Secunda under *Valentinian I (*CIL* II, 4733 and XVII/2, 565), with the last such investment known from the Western Empire being replacement of the milestones along the Via Aurelia in Gallia *Viennensis in 435 (*ILS* 806).

Roman *law codes give an insight into the mechanisms for the maintenance of the transport system (*CTh* VIII, 5 = *CJ* XII, 50) and its physical infrastructure (*CTh* XV, 3), and reiteration of some regulations by the *Burgundians (**Lex Romana Burgundiorum*, 17, 1) and *Visigoths (*Breviarium of *Alaric*, 8, 2) shows that the system did not entirely vanish with the Roman state. In *Ostrogothic Italy, a nineteen-mile stretch of the Via Appia through the Pontine marshes was renovated by *Theoderic *c.*510 (*ILS* 827; *Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 2, 32–3). In the East, repairs to the coast road in *Cilicia Prima by a Roman military commander are recorded in 519 (*AE* 1973, 542) and, after the *Byzantine invasion of Italy, inscribed verses celebrated *bridge repair on the Via Salaria north of *Rome by the general *Narses in 565 (*ILS* 832). RWBS

R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads* (1976).

P. Basso, 'La vita tardoantica delle strade romane', in R. Frei-Stolba, ed., *Siedlung und Verkehr im römischen Reich* (2004), 283–315.

R. J. Buck, 'The Via Herculia', *PBSR* 39 (1971), 66–87.

rock reliefs, Persian The Sasanians continued a long tradition of ancient western Asian monumental relief carving and were some of its most prolific patrons. Together with *inscriptions, *coins, and *seals, rock reliefs are among the few unquestionably authentic primary sources for the study of Sasanian Iran (Canepa, *Two Eyes*, xvii–xx).

Thirty-four *Sasanian rock reliefs are known on the Iranian plateau (39 if one counts multiple panels within reliefs). Given their shape, wear, and location, nine or ten unfinished reliefs could be also Sasanian. The Sasanians carved the majority of the reliefs in their home province of *Fars (MP Pārs). The majority cluster around Persepolis. Six reliefs survive along trade routes on the northern Iranian plateau as far west as the Sasanian province of Azerbaijan (MP Ādurbāyagān) and as far east as the modern province of Baghlan in Afghanistan (Grenet et al.). As attested by a damaged relief of *Shapur I, it is likely that other reliefs carved outside Pars were destroyed after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty. First documented by Early Modern explorers, scholarship identifies rock reliefs by their New Persian site name and a number that corresponds to their relative locations, and not by their dates (Errington and Curtis, 3–16, Vanden Berghe).

Most Sasanian reliefs are flat rectangular panels with low *relief sculpture. The last two Sasanian reliefs (*Taq-e Bostan, 2 and 3) replicate rock-cut **ayvan* architecture. Many reliefs received a high polish and all were probably painted. Some have suggested that later reliefs had details added in *stucco, to which the forms of the relief sculptures often relate (Herrmann and Curtis). The two most frequent subjects of Sasanian reliefs were triumph and divine investiture (de Waele). *Hunting occurs frequently too.

Almost all Sasanian reliefs were carved between the reigns of *Ardashir I (224–40) and *Shapur III (383–99), with a final reinvigoration in the early 7th century under *Khosrow II. In addition to claiming sacred sites, the Sasanians carved reliefs to create tangible connections between themselves and the sites and traditions of their predecessors, be they the half-remembered Achaemenid dynasty or their Sasanian forebears (Canepa 2010). Multiple rock reliefs accumulated at ancient sites important for the Persian identity, such as *Naqsh-e Rostam, or at new sites near cities (such as *Sar Mashhad), sources of water (such as Salmas, Barm-e Delak, Tang-e Qandil, Sarab-e Bahram, *Darabgerd, *Naqsh-e Rajab, or *Taq-e Bostan), or both (such as *Firuzabad and *Bishapur). The only non-Sasanian to usurp the royal prerogative was *Kerdir, the chief priest of the Empire under *Bahram II (276–93), who carved three profile busts with *inscriptions. MPC

EncIran s.v. 'Sasanian Rock Reliefs' (G. Herrmann and V. S. Curtis).

M. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran', *AJA* 114 (2010), 563–96.

M. Canepa, 'Sasanian Rock Reliefs', in D. T. Potts, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (2013), 856–67.

É. de Waele, 'L'Investiture et le triomphe dans la thématique de la sculpture ruprestre sassanide', in L. D. Meyer and E. Haerinck, eds., *Archaeologia iranica et orientalis*, 2 vols. (1989), 811–29.
E. Errington and V. S. Curtis, eds., with J. Cribb, *From Persepolis to the Punjab: Exploring Ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan* (2007).
F. Grenet et al., 'The Sasanian Relief at Rag-i Bibi (Northern Afghanistan)', in J. Cribb and G. Herrmann, eds., *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam* (*PBA* 113, 2007), 243–67.
L. Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Irân ancien: Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 26 octobre 1983–29 janvier 1984* (1983).

Roderic Last *Visigothic king in *Spain (710–11), killed in battle by Muslim forces under *Tariq b. Ziyad at the Guadalete in 711. Latin *chronicles blame the defeat on traitorous partisans of his predecessor *Wittiza, or on Roderic himself for usurping the throne, while *Arabic narratives claim that Roderic raped the daughter of the *Comes Julian of Ceuta, who in revenge invited Tariq to invade. He is one of six kings in a wall painting at the 8th-century *Umayyad *desert *palace of *Qusayr 'Amra, symbolizing the world inherited by the *Arabs. GDB

R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (²1994).

Rogation Term applied to two originally distinct Christian liturgical observances, also known as the Greater and Lesser Litaniae (or Letaniae). The *processions called the Greater Rogation held at Rome annually on 25 April are first attested in a *letter of *Gregory the Great.

What is sometimes termed the Lesser Rogation, the public practice of strenuous communal *prayer, penitence, psalmody, and *fasting performed by all classes on the three days immediately preceding Ascension Day (40 days after *Easter), was introduced by *Mamertus, *Bishop of *Vienne in *Gaul (*c.*451/2–after 474). The deliverance from natural disasters which prompted its introduction is described by *Avitus of Vienne (*Homily* 6, cf. *Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 34), and by *Sidonius Apollinaris, who ascribes the robust spirit of his own people at *Clermont in the face of barbarian invasion to his introduction of Rogation in 473 (*epp.* 7, 1). Earlier public supplications, Sidonius claims, had been poorly supported and simply requested fair weather (*ep.* 5, 4). *Caesarius of *Arles promoted the observance of Rogation (*Sermons*, 143, 148, 157, 160A, 207–9), as did the first *Council of Orléans of 511 (canon 27). MFC; OPN

M. M. Andrews, 'The Laetaniae Septiformes of Gregory I, S. Maria Maggiore and Early Marian Cult in Rome', in I. Östenberg, S. Malmberg, and J, Bjørnebye eds. *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome* (2015) 155–64.
G. Nathan, 'The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul: Creation, Transmission and the Rôle of the Bishop', *ClassMed* 49 (1998), 275–303.
J. Hill, 'The Litaniae Maiores et Minores in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions', *EME* 9 (2000), 211–46, esp. 223 and 227–30.

Roma and Constantinopolis *See* PERSONIFICATIONS OF CITIES.

Romanus *See* JURA FATHERS.

Romanus the Melodist (466/93–after 555) Under *Justinian I highly dramatic sung-*sermons were immensely popular in *Constantinople. Their innovative metrical patterns and rhetorical finesse are the product of Romanus, the premier poet of the *Greek-speaking Church.

According to tradition Romanus, born in *Syria, served as a *deacon in *Beirut before settling in Constantinople. There the Virgin *Mary appeared in a *dream and instructed him to swallow a scrap of *papyrus; after awakening he recited his famous *Christmas *hymn. Subsequently he wrote many similar poems (called **kontakia*) for major *festivals and to commemorate saints. Although approximately 85 surviving works bear the name of Romanus, scholars judge that fewer than 60 of these attributions are valid. Most works deal with Christ's life; others treat episodes in the Old or New Testaments; a handful focus on the demands of Christian life. Of the extant hagiographical poems, only that on the *Forty Martyrs of *Sebasteia seems authentic. (The authorship of the *Akathistos Hymn, sung in Orthodox churches on the feast of the Annunciation, remains controversial.)

His honorific title suggests that Romanus also created—and probably performed from a pulpit—the melodies to which his works were sung. After a brief introduction, every *kontakion* contains 18–30 stanzas, of half a dozen or more lines, composed in identical metrical patterns based on word-accent, not the *metres of classical Greek poetry which were based on syllable-length. The first letter in each stanza creates an *acrostic phrase typically featuring the poet's name: 'Song of the humble Romanus.' The last verse in each stanza is a refrain, inviting the congregation to make its repeated contribution to the presentation.

A *kontakion* was sung after the recitation of the scriptural passage during morning *prayers; in this liturgical setting it discharges the functions of a conventional prose homily: interpretation of the biblical reading, clarification of doctrinal points, application of a moral message. The exploitation of snatches of dialogue or potential drama lying beneath the surface of the original text is a prime characteristic of Romanus'

re-creation of his scriptural material. For example, Joseph and Potiphar's wife sharply debate his passionate chastity; *Mary's laments at the Crucifixion prompt Jesus to justify his apparent lack of pity; counterpoint panic by the infernal powers mirrors their losses during the Harrowing of Hell. Frequent examples of *typology (vibrant intertestamental parallels) punctuate the *kontakia*. The opening stanzas of a Resurrection hymn echo several key elements of the official, *Chalcedonian theological stance. Another work describes the havoc caused by *earthquakes and the *Nika Riot (532), followed by the magnanimous response of the *Emperor Justinian and *Theodora his wife. Jonah's fervid mission to *Nineveh triggers an exhortation to Christian repentance—even for the 'stiff-necked' prophet himself. Five stanzas of dialogue between Christ and Simon the Pharisee pivot around a parable on generosity and forgiveness. Although the musical dimension of the *kontakia* has been totally lost, intricate rhetorical flashes, ingenious wordplay, and mastery of biblical allusion gleam throughout the texts.

The Melodist was surely familiar with Syrian literature, but the precise impact of the extensive works by *Ephrem, the illustrious *Syriac-language poet, on his masterpieces is difficult to gauge. Rampant pseudepigraphy and tangled manuscript traditions also cloud the extent of Romanus' borrowings from patristic homilies, but some close imitations of shape and content have been detected. Several *papyrus fragments from known *kontakia* have been found. The numerous variant readings in these 6th/7th-century Egyptian documents support a judgement of 'contaminated' transmission for the collected manuscripts—they lack definitive lines of priority and dependence. Moreover, the papyri might have been recorded directly from an oral, liturgical presentation, thereby increasing the probability of incidental lexical and metrical divergence. Eastern churches celebrate the feast of S. Romanus on 1 October. RJS

CPG 7570:

ed. (annotated with FT) J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes 1* (SC 99, 1964), *2* (SC 110, 1965), *3* (SC 114, 1965), *4* (SC 128, 1967), *5* (SC 283, 1981).

ed. P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* (1963), *Cantica Dubia* (1970).

Selected ET (with introd. and appendices) E. Lash, *On the Life of Christ: Chanted Sermons by the Great Sixth Century Poet and Singer St. Romanos* (2010).

Selected ET (with comm.: R. J. Schork, *Sacred Song from the Byzantine Pulpit: Romanos the Melodist* (1995).

J. Grosdider de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse á Byzance* (1977).

J. Koder, 'Romanos der Melode. Der Dichter himmliche Bibelpredigten in Dokumenten seiner Zeit', in J. Schefzyk, ed., *Alles Echt. Älteste Belege zur Bibel aus Ägypten* (2006), 75–82, 129–31.

Roman Vergil Illustrated manuscript of *Vergil's canonical works, written in the late 5th century, now in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867). It originally consisted of 410 folios, written in rustic capitals, with a large miniature cycle whose style of illustration marks a movement away from painterly classical traditions. NAS

CLA I, 19.

Vergilius Romanus: Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3867, 3 vols. (Belser Faksimile Editionen aus der Biblioteca apostolica vaticana; Codices e Vaticanis selecti 66, 1985–6).

D. H. Wright, *The Roman Vergil and the Origins of Medieval Book Design* (2001).

Cameron, *Pagans*.

Rome, catacombs of Underground tombs cut into the tuff bedrock around the *City of *Rome ('catacombs' from Gk. *kata kymbas*, 'near the hollows'). They were in regular use for burials from the 1st to 5th centuries and later for veneration of Roman saints and *martyrs. The term *ad catacumbas* was used initially for the tombs beneath the Via Appia associated with the soldier martyr S. Sebastian who was venerated there, and then applied more generally.

Extensive networks of burials were excavated in existing pozzolana *quarries, taking advantage of the easy-to-cut tuff to create new cemeteries which sometimes replicated conventional tomb formats with vaulted chambers housing *sarcophagi in large niches. High-status tombs were often located in large chambers, while the walls of passages permitted the burial of many individuals in *loculi*, long horizontal niches cut for each tomb, sometimes stacked several niches high. Individual tombs were often sealed with *inscriptions on *marble or markers, while group complexes were sometimes decorated with wall paintings or *mosaic scenes and ornament. From the 4th century, tomb walls were increasingly decorated with biblical scenes, images of saints, and symbols of piety, often painted in vibrant colours and bold shapes to be legible in the dark underground rooms. Paintings from the catacombs constitute the most significant repertoire of popular imagery from Late Antique Rome, preserving commemorative and devotional decoration from various periods and of differing qualities.

As the cult of Roman saints developed in the 4th and later centuries, shrines, oratories and *basilicas in honour of Roman martyrs and saints were built near their presumed resting places in catacombs, sometimes administered by *monasteries. These enjoyed active *patronage and *pilgrimage in Late Antiquity, as large spaces within catacombs were sometimes used for liturgical services in honour of saints, and benefactors such as *Constantina and *bishops such as *Damasus encouraged veneration at saints' tombs. Many saints' *relics were moved into the

city of Rome in the 8th and 9th centuries causing the catacombs to be less visited. From the Renaissance onwards, they were the subject of much fascination and research by antiquarians such as Antonio Bosio (d. 1629) and Giovanni Battista de Rossi (d. 1894). CJG

V. Fiocchi Nicolai, F. Bisconti, and D. Mazzoleni, eds., *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions* (2002).
J. Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Life and Death in Early Christianity* (1978).
G. B. De Rossi, *La Roma Cristiana sotteranea*, 3 vols. (1864–77).
A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di via Latina* (1960).
A. G. Martimort, 'L'Iconographie des catacombes et la catéchèse antique', *RivArcCrist* 25 (1949), 105–14.

Rome, churches of Before *Constantine I, private houses or *domus ecclesiae* (such as the one in the city block, the *insula*, discovered under the Church of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelian Hill) served the Christian community in *Rome for the celebration of the *liturgy and other gatherings. Some of these **tituli* bore the name of the owner of the property, for example, Titulus Anastasiae. The titular churches constitute one of the earliest strata of ecclesiastical architecture in Rome.

Superimposed on this network were the monumental buildings sponsored by Constantine and others in the early 4th century, whose grand scale and luxurious materials marked a decisive break with the past. Constantine built the *Lateran for the *Bishop of *Rome as a *basilica in the imperial mould (cf. the Basilica Ulpia), with red and green columns in the nave and aisles, *silver statues of Christ and the Apostles, and gold *mosaics. The *emperor commissioned other churches to honour the graves of *martyrs. With the erection of S. *Maria Maggiore by Sixtus III (432–40) on the Esquiline the papacy emerged as an important provider of church buildings in Rome. The basilica plan was employed also for parish churches, which filled the interstices between the magnificent imperial and papal establishments. WLT

Corpus Basilicarum.
M. Andaloro and S. Romano, eds., *La pittura medievale a Rome: Corpus e atlante* (2006–).
R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308* (1980).
Barnes, *Constantine*, 85–9.

Rome, churches of, Castel Sant'Angelo The ancient mausoleum of the *Emperor Hadrian (d. AD 138), fortified and incorporated into the Aurelianic Walls in 403 (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 5, 3–5). In the 7th century a chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael was probably built here (Ado, *Martyrologium*, 29 Sept.). DN

Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*, 249.

Rome, churches of, Lateran (Constantinian) Basilica The church now known as the Basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano, in Late Antiquity the Basilica Constantiniana, or (first in 649/53) Basilica S. Salvatoris, is the episcopal seat of the *Bishop of *Rome, and apparently the first church endowed by the *Emperor *Constantine I (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34). The complex, located on the Caelian Hill in *Regio II near the *city walls, included the first *baptistery as an independent building, as well as *baths and the Lateran Palace, principal residence of the popes until the 14th century.

The present building (100 × 55 m/330 × 181 feet) is mostly the result of a rebuilding by Borromini (1646–50). Constantine's construction, possibly a *votive offering following his victory over *Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, superimposed an *apsed *basilica—its typological origins still debated—on the demolished site of the Castra of the *Equites Singulares, a corps suppressed probably for its support of *Maxentius, and on several other *domus*. One of these, the Lateran Domus, gave the neighbourhood its name; another, the Domus Faustae, was the site of the *Lateran Council of 313.

Constantine's church (built after 312) was oriented in reverse, with a porticoed atrium and triple-*door entrance at the east, and its *apse to the west. As reconstructed from Krautheimer's excavations and 17th-century *veduti*, the church was 333.3 Roman feet long and comprised an apse and a central nave (15 m (50 feet) high) lit by *windows in the clerestory walls, which rested on an entablature with a colonnade of red granite columns, set with *spolia bases and *capitals. Two aisles flanked the nave on each side (9 m each), lit by windows above the intercolumniations. The ends of the outer aisles terminated in rectangular chambers, whose connection to the aisles—whether closed as sacristies or open as a transept—cannot be determined from the surviving foundations. A lean-to *roof covered the aisles, while a truss roof covered the nave—whether this roof was open or coffered, or the trusses gilded, remains debated. The exterior was simple with *brick and plaster.

Little remains of the ancient interior decoration apart from written testimony. The *Liber Pontificalis* (34) records that Constantine donated *lamps and lighting fixtures, a *golden apse *mosaic, and a two-sided *fastigium* with life-sized *silver *statues of Christ enthroned among the Apostles, supported by four *bronze columns that survive now over an *altar in the transept. The *fastigium* (which consisted of 2,025 Roman pounds of silver) was carried off by *barbarians in the *Sack of 410, but replaced by the Emperor *Valentinian III (*Liber Pontificalis*, 46). Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*fl.* under Hadrian I, 772–95) indicates the presence of Old and New Testament scenes on the high walls of the nave, whose *typological arrangement is redolent of the early 5th century (cf. *S. Maria Maggiore).

The *Liber Pontificalis* also attributes to Constantine the foundation of the Lateran Baptistery on the site of a

private *bath, 50 m (165 feet) to the north-west, which was remodelled by Sixtus III (432–40, *Liber Pontificalis*, 46) and Hilarius (461–8, *Liber Pontificalis*, 48), who added three cruciform, mosaic-decorated oratories, of which two are partially preserved. A bath complex existed before *Constans II's visit in 661 (*Liber Pontificalis*, 78). Later Pope Hadrian I restored its water supply, the *aqueduct called the Aqua Claudia. JTPi

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 5, 1–92.
H. Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century* (2005), 20–54.
O. Brandt, 'Il Battistero lateranense dell'imperatore Costantino . . .', *Acta Hyperborea* 8 (2001), 117–44.

Rome, churches of, Pantheon Converted to church use by Boniface IV with the approval of the *Emperor *Phocas in 608 as Sa. Maria ad Martyras, the Pantheon was the first *pagan *temple in *Rome to be dedicated as a church (**Liber Pontificialis*, 69, 2). Its interior is very largely preserved. LHCG

S. De Blaauw, 'Das Pantheon als christlicher Tempel', *Boreas* 17 (1994), 13–26.

Rome, churches of, Quattro Coronati Church (the Titulus Aemilianae) standing on the north side of the Caelian Hill between the Colosseum and the *Lateran *Basilica. It is now embedded in a larger complex of buildings, mostly monastic, and consists essentially of a nave flanked by aisles and terminating in a large *apse. This clearly represents successive medieval reworkings of the church built in the 4th century. The *relics of the *martyrs by whose title it is now known were probably brought to the church from the *catacomb of Ss. *Marcellinus and Peter *ad duos lauros* by Leo IV (847–55). They should be identified either with four (or five) sculptors from *Dalmatia allegedly *martyred in the Great *Persecution or with four police officers from *Rome. WLT

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 4, 1–36.
Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti, *I Ss. Quattro Coronati* (1964).
Lia Barelli, *The Monumental Complex of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome*, tr. C. McDowall (2009).

Rome, churches of, S. Agnese fuori le mura Church on the Via Nomentana most likely founded by *Constantina (*ILCV* 1768), though her father *Constantine I is also credited with its endowment (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34). The *martyr S. Agnes is mentioned as early as the *Codex-Calendar of 354; she was admired by *Ambrose (*De Virginibus*, I) and romanticized by *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, 14). The ruins of the church form part of a complex including *S. Costanza, the *catacomb of S. Agnes, and the present *basilica, built by Pope *Honorius I in the early 7th century, replacing a 5th-century foundation. The first church was a large ambulatory basilica used for burials, as well as for celebrating the *Eucharist and *martyr cult. The adjoining *triconch building was probably originally intended as Constantina's mausoleum. LHCG

La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*, vol. 1, 33–6.
M. Magnani Cianetti and C. Pavolini, *La Basilica costantiniana di Sant'Agnese: lavori archeologici e di restauro* (2004).
Delahaye, *Origines*, 276.

Rome, churches of, S. Clemente The Late Antique *Titulus Clementis, near the Colosseum, survives as part of the later Church of S. Clemente. According to legend its origin goes back to the 1st century as the home of S. Clement; and the ancient church was dedicated to the saint by Siricius (bp. 384–99). The building converted for this purpose had already experienced a range of uses, including the installation of a Mithraeum in the early 3rd century and a (probably public) hall in the 4th century. The 4th-century church, based on this hall, was a three-aisled *basilica, with *narthex and colonnaded atrium. Most of what can be seen in the church of today corresponds to later restorations and remodellings. Various elements surviving from the 6th-century church, including columns, *capitals and *marble furnishings which are preserved in the medieval church, while recent excavations have also uncovered a *baptismal font from the same period. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 1, 118–36.
F. Guidobaldi, *San Clemente: gli edifici romani, la basilica paleocristiana e le fasi altmomedievale* (1992).

Rome, churches of, S. Costanza Part of the larger complex associated with the 4th-century church of *S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana, though the difference in masonry technique indicates that S. Agnese and S. Costanza were erected in different building campaigns. S. Costanza was a church by at least AD 865, but was built as an imperial mausoleum (almost certainly for *Constantina, daughter of *Constantine I); two *porphyry *sarcophagi were found here. Like other contemporary mausolea, it is a centralized circular structure, with an outer ambulatory separated from the domed central space by twelve pairs of columns. Much of the building's rich decoration of *marble and *mosaics survives, though often heavily restored. The ambulatory mosaics include traditional funerary decorative motifs, including fruit trees, birds, and vintaging *putti*. The surviving mosaics in the central area depict Christian subjects, including Christ handing the law to S. Peter, with S. Paul in attendance. LHCG

D. J. Stanley, 'New Discoveries at Santa Costanza', *DOP* 48 (1994), 257–61.
D. J. Stanley, 'Santa Costanza: History, Archaeology, Function, Patronage', *Arte medioevale* 3 NS (2004), 119–40.
R. Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (2004), 93–104.
La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*, vol. 2, 140–7.

Rome, churches of, S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Basilica Hierusalem, Basilica Heleniana) Urban church, built in the 4th century out of a late 2nd-century vestibule of the Sessorian *Palace, which became a large *palace chapel next to the imperial residence on the eastern edge of *Rome. The arcades along the side walls of the hall were blocked, and an *apse and an atrium were added to the short sides, forming a *basilica. According to the **Liber Pontificalis* (34), this conversion was undertaken by *Constantine I. The apartments formerly occupied by the emperor's mother, *Helena, at the palace held a *relic of the True *Cross, which the *Liber Pontificalis* claims was brought from *Jerusalem to *Rome (34, 22). Helena's involvement in the creation of the church is plausible. CJG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 1, 165–95.

Barnes, *Constantine*, 87.

S. De Blaauw, 'Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross', in R. Colella, M. Gill, L. Jenkins, and P. Lamers, eds., *In Pratum Romanum. Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag* (1997), 55–73.

Rome, churches of, S. Lorenzo in agro Verano The last of the ambulatory *basilicas from the Constantinian period, built on the Via Tiburtina, in communication with the *Catacomb of S. *Lawrence, and handsomely endowed (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 24–5). The cult of S. Lawrence was important, and his *confessio* was embellished further by *Damasus (*Liber Pontificalis*, 39, 2) and again by Xystus (Sixtus) III (*Liber Pontificalis*, 46, 5). Mausolea abutted onto the luxuriously fitted basilica, but only part of its foundations have been excavated. In the late 6th century Pelagius II built a new church directly above the *martyr's shrine (*ILCV* 1770; *Liber Pontificalis*, 65, 2), part of the present S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. The triumphal arch retains its original *mosaic, though much restored.

A basilica dedicated to S. Lawrence was built by Xystus (Sixtus) III with the permission of *Valentinian III (*Liber Pontificalis*, 46, 6). This may be the church of which 4th/5th-century foundations and masonry survive built into the present Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina on the Campus Martius. LHCG; OPN

La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*,vol. 3, 203–11.

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 2, 1–144 (San Lorenzo in agro Verano) and 161–86 (San Lorenzo in Lucina).

H. Brandenburg, *Le prime chiese di Roma IV–VII secolo* (2004), 87–9.

O. Brant, 'The Early Christian Basilica of San Lorenzo in Lucina', in O. Brandt, ed., *San Lorenzo in Lucina*: *The Transformations of a Roman Quarter* (2012), 123–54.

Rome, churches of, S. Maria Antiqua The second church (after Ss. *Cosmas and Damian) to be installed in an imperial building, in this case part of the Palatine complex, in the Forum Romanum. The Church of S. Maria Antiqua was first referred to as such in *c.*635, the title probably referring to an *icon of the Blessed Virgin *Mary. Elsewhere it is designated as a *diaconia*. It is notable for its profusion of wall paintings, dating from various periods from the 6th to the 8th century; often painted one on top of another. The earliest, of the 6th century, depict Maria Regina and the Annunciation. A second phase of paintings, done under the Greek Pope John VII (705–7), employ a mixture of Western and Eastern *iconography. After *earthquake damage in 847 the main body of the church was abandoned. LHCG

Steinby, *Lexicon*, vol. 3, 214–16.

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 2, 251–70.

J. Osborne, J. R. Brandt, and G. Morganti, eds., *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano cento anni dopo* (2004).

Rome, churches of, S. Maria in Cosmedin Located near the Tiber in the area of the Forum Boarium, the present church, a three-*apsed *basilica with a nave flanked by aisles and entered through a narthex, is largely the result of rebuilding in the 8th and 12th centuries. Modern restorations have revealed two prior structures embedded in its walls, a loggia of the 4th or early 5th century, which has been interpreted as part of the Statio of the *Annona, the food distribution system of ancient and Late Antique *Rome, and a *diaconia* hall, possibly of the 6th century. Some features associate the *diaconia* hall to *Naples and *Sicily; it has therefore been linked to the arrival of a Greek community from south *Italy following the *Byzantine invasion under *Justinian I. WLT

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 2, 279–310.

G. Fusciello, *Santa Maria in Cosmedin a Roma: saggio introduttivo di Piero Cimbolli Spagnesi* (2011).

G. B. Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin* (1927).

Rome, Churches of, S. Maria Maggiore The *Basilica Sanctae Mariae on the Esquiline was founded by Sixtus III (bp. 432–40; **Liber Pontificalis*, 46). While this church has been associated with the earlier *titulus of *Liberius (bp. 352–66), it is clear from the archaeological evidence that the new church did not directly replace the earlier titular foundation but was built over a secular building from the imperial period. The new church was dedicated to the *Genetrix Dei*, the *Theotokos proclaimed by the *Council of *Ephesus of 431.

This three-aisled basilica was the largest early papal foundation in *Rome; it is generously proportioned, with large clerestory windows and a *baptistery, which has not survived. Nevertheless, the church is one of the best-preserved early Christian sites in Rome, particularly notable for its *mosaics. Those surviving today adorn the triumphal arch and the clerestory, where 27

out of an original 42 remain. The mosaics on the left and right of the triumphal arch depict scenes from the infancy of Christ, from the Annunciation to the Presentation in the Temple. These scenes are complex, and identification of key figures has been debated. In the centre of the arch is the 'empty throne' or Hetoimasia, complete with jewelled *Cross and diadem; on either side are Ss. Peter and Paul and the symbols of the Four Evangelists. Underneath is a mosaic *inscription proclaiming *Xystus episcopus plebi Dei* (Sixtus the bishop to the people of God), a striking claim for religious primacy in the *city of *Rome. The *apse mosaics, featuring scenes from the life of *Mary, date from the 13th century, but they may follow at least in part the original 5th-century decoration, which focuses on Mary, *Genetrix Dei*, as well as on Christ, the ruler of the world. The panels under the clerestory windows constitute a unique narrative cycle from the Old Testament. The south-west panels feature scenes from the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the north-west panels deal with Moses and Joshua. The mosaics are of particularly high quality, featuring a wide range of colours, against a gold background, adding to the striking impression of *light and richness in the basilica. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 3, 1–60.

S. De Blaauw, *Cultus et décor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (1994), 235–443.

M. R. Miles, 'Santa Maria Maggiore's Fifth-Century Mosaics: Triumphal Christianity and the Jews', *HTR* 86 (1993), 155–75.

S. Spain, '"The Promised Blessing": The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore', *ArtBull* 61 (1979), 518–40.

Rome, churches of, S. Paolo fuori le mura Christian *basilica and place of *pilgrimage, south of the *city walls on the Via Ostiensis near the Tiber. Its present form is a nearly total reconstruction of the basilica, which was completely destroyed by fire in 1823. The **Liber Pontificalis* (34) attributes to the *Emperor *Constantine I the considerable endowment of a church commemorating the Apostle Paul on this site. The church was located near the traditional place of S. Paul's *martyrdom where *Eusebius (*HE* II, 25) reports the presence of a small shrine.

Constantine's church, with its *apse in the west, was reoriented and enlarged by the emperors *Theodosius I, *Valentinian II, and *Arcadius, starting in 384, in order to accommodate increasing numbers of pilgrims. The remains of the Apostle were placed in a *sarcophagus with libation holes and the *inscription *Paolo/apostolo mart*[*yri*], located beneath the main altar.

The enlarged basilica of the late 4th century used newly carved granite columns to separate the main hall into a nave and four aisles with a large atrium and forecourt. Like the *Vatican Basilica, S. Paolo was given a transept at the *apse end, where the *altar was located. At S. Paolo, this transept was much taller and wider than that at the *Vatican, and its triumphal arch was supported by a pair of giant columns and decorated with a *mosaic depicting the Elders of the Apocalypse handing their crowns to Christ, unusual *iconography apparently selected by Pope *Leo I and executed in the mid-5th century. *Prudentius noted the beauty of the renovated imperial basilica and the significance of the paired *stational liturgies of Ss. Peter and Paul at their respective basilicas (*Peristephanon*, XII). Imagery in the church included the depiction of the Concordia Apostolorum, scenes from the life of S. Paul, and other biblical narratives. A series of portraits of popes also lined the walls of the nave, and these were brought up to date during the Middle Ages. CJG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 5, 93–164.

L. De Bruyne, *L'antica serie di ritratti papali della Basilica di S. Paolo fuori le mura* (1934).

G. Filippi and S. de Blaauw, 'San Paolo fuori le mura: la disposizione liturgica fino a Gregorio Magno', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Historical Studies* 59 (2000), 5–25.

C. Pietri, 'Concordia apostolorum et renovatio urbis (culte des martyrs et propaganda pontificale)', *MÉFR* 73 (1961), 275–322.

Rome, churches of, S. Pietro in Vincoli Church (possibly the *Titulus Apostolorum or Basilica Eudoxiae) built in the 5th century, incorporating part of a private *garden and hall. At the time of Sixtus III (432–40) it was rebuilt as a *basilica with nave colonnades using *spolia. It housed the *relic of the chains of S. Peter, purportedly sent from *Jerusalem to the *Empress *Eudoxia (438–55). In the left aisle of the church a *mosaic depicts S. Sebastian holding a *crown of *martyrdom; the mosaic may date from the *plague outbreak of 680 in *Rome and *Pavia, when Romans and *Lombards alike invoked S. Sebastian for healing. CJG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 3, 178–231.

G. Bartolozzi Casti and M. T. Mazzilli Savini, 'Il culto parallelo a S. Sebastiano nelle chiese di S. Pietro in Vincoli di Roma e di Pavia', *RendPontAccRomArch* 76 (2003/4), 345–448.

Rome, churches of, S. Prisca The *Titulus Priscae, on the southern slope of the Aventine is first recorded in funerary *inscriptions of the 5th century, commemorating presbyters associated with the Tit[ulus] Priscae. In 499 the Titulus sent a single presbyter to the Roman synod suggesting it was only a minor church. The first church was built over earlier structures, including a Mithraeum. The present church was built around 1100. The titular S. Prisca has been identified traditionally with the wife of Aquila, known from the

Pauline epistles, whose legend is recorded in the *Passio Sanctae Priscae* (*BHL* 6926), perhaps of the 6th century. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 3, 260–79.

La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*, 162–3.

Rome, churches of, S. Pudenziana The ancient *Titulus Pudentis, situated on the modern Via Urbana, in the ancient Subura, is first attested in 384 and was founded as a Titulus, probably under *Damasus (bp. 366–84), by the presbyters Leopardus and Ilicius, presumably in cooperation with a lay donor from the Pudens family, present in *brickstamps at the site. Its early history is known through epigraphic evidence; early medieval hagiographic sources are unreliable. The church was installed in an apartment block, seemingly without visible external changes. The impressive *apse *mosaic is one of the earliest to have survived. At its centre Christ sits on a jewelled throne, holding an open book which calls him 'Dominus Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae', surrounded by apostles and other figures. This is set against an *apocalyptic background, which features the buildings of the heavenly Jerusalem, and a gem-studded *cross, as well as the symbols of the Evangelists. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 3, 280–305.

Rome, churches of, S. Sabina The Titulus Sabinae on the Aventine was founded by Peter, a presbyter, under Celestine I (422–32). Excavations under the church have revealed a luxurious private *house, the walls of which were integrated into the church. The best-preserved early church building in *Rome, it was also one of the most lavishly appointed and well proportioned, and is notable for its decoration, including its panelled wooden *doors, carved with biblical scenes, from the Old and New Testaments, eighteen of which remain. The most famous scene is one of the earliest representations of the Crucifixion. The original dedicatory *inscription is preserved on the western wall: it depicts personifications of the 'Church of the Gentiles' and the 'Church of the Circumcision', accompanied by a six-line hexameter dedicatory inscription (*ILCV*, 1778a). While the nave *mosaics are lost, the arcades are decorated with *opus sectile, including the depiction of liturgical vessels on the spandrels. LHCG

Steinby, *Lexicon*, vol. 4, 221–3.

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 4, 72.

Rome, churches of, Ss. Cosmas e Damiano Founded in 527 under Felix IV, the first church to be situated in the Forum Romanum, Ss. Cosmas and Damian was converted from an *apsed hall, once part of Vespasian's Forum Pacis complex. The dedication to the Eastern twin doctor saints has been associated with medical presence in this area, as well as providing a potential counterpoint to the nearby cult of the Dioscuri. The apse *mosaic depicts the Second Coming of Christ, greeted by apostles and *martyrs, including the titular saints, and also a dedicatory *inscription. The triumphal arch mosaic depicts further *apocalyptic scenes. LHCG

Steinby, *Lexicon*, vol. 1, 324–5.

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 1, 137–43.

Rome, churches of, Ss. Giovanni e Paolo In the late 4th century a three-aisled titular *basilica, first associated with *Pammachius, was installed in a building on the Caelian Hill. The complex includes a luxurious *domus* built on the site of an abandoned *insula*, both visible in the modern excavations. Earlier excavations uncovered a small Christian household shrine with late 4th-century paintings depicting the martyrdoms of three figures. This does not appear to be part of a tomb and the identification of the *martyrs remains unclear; the association with Ss. John and Paul (*BHL* 338–44) is much later. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 1/4, 267–303.

B. Brenk, 'Microstoria sotto la Chiesa di SS. Giovanni e Paolo', *Rivista dell'Istituo nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte Serie III* 18 (1995), 169–206.

Rome, churches of, Ss. Marcellino e Pietro Church on the Via Labicana endowed by the *Emperor *Constantine I *c.*320, in close connection with the *catacomb where the eponymous *martyrs were buried. It was built on imperial territory, close to the cemetery of the disbanded *Equites Singulares. The importance of the church is demonstrated by the large number of properties donated for its upkeep (*Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 26). Only the foundation walls remain, revealing a three-aisled ambulatory *basilica, adjoined by a number of mausolea including that of the *Empress *Helena herself. The tomb of Ss. Marcellinus and Peter was marked above ground with another mausoleum. LHCG

La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*, vol. 4, 19–25.

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 2, 191–204.

Rome, churches of, S. Stefano Rotondo S. Stephanus on the Caelian Hill was consecrated by Simplicius (*bishop 468–83; **Liber Pontificalis*, 49). A memorial, rather than a parish church, its dedication to S. Stephen demonstrates the popularity of the cult of the first Christian *martyr. The church is notable for both its size and its architecture. A perfectly circular building, its nave is surrounded by an ambulatory with four transept arms. The decoration is lavish, featuring coloured *marbles on the walls and floor and *Proconnesian marble in its columns and *capitals. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 4, 204–32.

H. Brandenburg, 'S. Stefano Rotondo in Roma', *Mededelingen, Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 59 (2000), 27–54.
B. Z. Szakács, 'Santo Stefano Rotondo through the Glasses of the Renaissance—and without them', in M. Rogic, *Art History—the Future is Now: Studies in Honor of Professor Vladimir P. Goss* (2012), 216–56.

Rome, churches of, S. Vitale Church on the vicus Longus, founded during the episcopate of Innocent I (401/2–17), under the patronage of the *Milanese *martyrs Ss. *Gervasius and Protasius, and funded by a woman *illustris*, Vestina, hence its designation as the *titulus Vestinae* (**Liber Pontificalis*, 42, 3–6). The dedication to S. Vitalis became established during the 6th century. LHCG

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 4, 299–316.

Rome, churches of, Vatican Basilica The present Church of S. Peter in the Vatican, New S. Peter's, is the product of the Renaissance and Baroque rebuilding of the Late Antique and medieval edifice, Old S. Peter's, which according to the **Liber Pontificalis* (34) was endowed by the *Emperor *Constantine I. G. Bowersock and others attribute the building to the sons of Constantine.

Old S. Peter's was a monumental structure, with a nave flanked by two aisles on either side, an *apse at the west end separated from the nave by a transept, and at the east, a *narthex preceded by an atrium. The colonnades of nave and aisles were composed of columns, *capitals, and bases reused as *spolia. The walls were covered with *marble revetment and the apse with *mosaic.

The church was built with the apse at the west so that it would be positioned in relationship to the grave of S. Peter, the first of the Apostles, revered by the Roman Church as its founder, who the Church believed was martyred in the Circus of Nero in the Vatican and buried in an adjacent necropolis. The transverse space of the transept between apse and nave accommodated pilgrims who wanted to visit the shrine of the Apostle sited on the chord of the apse. The shrine incorporated the 2nd-century tropaion, whose top part stood above the level of the floor of the apse, surrounded by a baldacchino composed of six vine-encrusted twisted columns (four surrounding the tropaion and two to the sides), as depicted on an *ivory plaque on the 5th-century Capsella of Samagher (Pola Casket).

In large part because of the pre-eminence of the Apostle to whom the church is dedicated, the architectural form of Old S. Peter's became a model to be emulated in Rome (as, for example, at the Church of S. Prassede) and elsewhere. The effort to outfit the church with a figural decorative programme was probably carried into effect in stages in the 4th and 5th centuries, and continued with additions throughout the Middle Ages. The apse contained a monumental figure of Christ with Ss. Peter and Paul, the *Traditio Legis*, and the nave had an Old Testament cycle on the right wall (north) and a New Testament cycle on the left wall (south).

The nave also accommodated the graves of pious Christians who wanted to be buried in proximity to the saint (*ad sanctos*), including a *Praefectus Urbi, *Junius Bassus, whose massive *marble *sarcophagus of 359 was discovered when Old S. Peter's was being demolished. Papal burials in the church were initiated by *John VII (705–7), who had an oratory with an image of the Virgin *Mary above the altar constructed at the east end of the south aisle, where he was buried. Throughout the Middle Ages, altars, shrines, images, and *relics were added to the church. WLT

Corpus Basilicarum, vol. 5, 165–279.
W. Tronzo, ed., *St. Peter's in the Vatican* (2005).
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 397–406.
R. McKitterick, J. Osborne, C. M. Richardson, and J. Story, eds., *Old Saint Peter's, Rome* (2013).
R. Westall, 'Constantius II and the Basilica of St. Peter in the Vatican', *Historia* 64/2 (2015), 205–42.

Rome, food supply of The *food supply of *Rome was largely left to private enterprise. However, the state intervened in the supply of certain essential products. The *Praefectus Urbi and the Praefectus *Annonae were in charge of this system, which was run by organizations of traders (*corpora*) hired by the state. Different *corpora* collected fiscal *grain and *olive oil in *Africa, and transported them to *Ostia and Rome, where the grain was milled and baked. Free *bread and olive oil were distributed every day at special establishments called *gradus* and *mensae oleariae* (*Symmachus, *Relatio*, 35). Fiscal *wine and *meat came largely from *Italy. The wine was sold for a low price at the *Temple of the *Sun (*CTh* XI, 2, 2; *CIL* VI, 1785), while the meat (largely pork) was freely distributed for five months a year (*CTh* XIV, 4, 10, 1–5). From the 5th century onwards, the Church also intervened in the public supply of food for the Roman **plebs* (*Gregory, I *ep.* 10, 8). Despite the *Vandal conquest of Africa, the system continued into the 6th century under *Ostrogothic rule (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 11–12). DN

Sirks, *Food for Rome*.
P. D. A. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (1989).

Rome, history and politics of No longer the sole imperial capital, Late Antique Rome was still an important political centre, the *communis patria* of all Roman citizens. The *city did not have the same status or influence over policy-making that it had held in

previous centuries, but its history and prestige guaranteed its place as a symbol of the empire.

Scholarship and sources

The focus of earlier generations of scholars on imperial politics resulted in Late Antique Rome being represented as a city in decline, and its political and social privileges as anachronisms. More recently, interest in the city, its secular *aristocracy, and its religious leaders has led to a revision of this picture. Scholars now show more interest in the city's social and cultural history, without overlooking either its relationship with the imperial *court or the part played by the Church in daily life.

The history of the city of Rome is better documented in Late Antiquity than in earlier or later periods. The **Theodosian Code*, *Cassiodorus' *Variae*, the *Relationes* of *Symmachus written when he was *Praefectus Urbi, and the *letters in the **Collectio Avellana* document different aspects of the city's political life. Further evidence is provided by other literary sources, such as letters, histories (ecclesiastical and secular), and *panegyrics, such as that of *Pacatus. Renewed interest from archaeologists and epigraphers has also contributed to a more subtle understanding of the city, its history and institutions.

Emperors and Rome

With the exception of *Maxentius (306–12), 4th-century *emperors spent little time in Rome. After *Diocletian and *Maximian's short visit in 303, the only securely established visits were those of *Constantine I (in 312, 315, and 326), *Constantius II (357), *Valentinian II (388), and *Theodosius I (in 389, possibly also in 394). This situation changed in the 5th century, when *Honorius visited the city a number of times and *Valentinian III and most of his short-lived successors resided there. *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth visited Rome in 500, but following the *Byzantine invasion, Rome would have to wait until *Constans II (667) to see an emperor again.

Even when residing elsewhere, emperors continued to bestow benefits and privileges on Rome. Diocletian, Maxentius, and Constantine rebuilt the monumental centre, also constructing two *bathhouses. The largest project carried out was the wall started by *Aurelian (in 271), which was doubled in height and reinforced by Honorius in the early 5th century (*CIL* VI, 1188–90). However, most public works carried out after the Constantinian dynasty consisted of embellishment and restoration. Constantine began the building of a series of Christian *basilicas, and the **Liber Pontificalis* records continued imperial *patronage of these buildings.

The interest of the central government was also expressed through legislation regulating the administrative and financial life of the city. The **annona* was preserved, and different imperial officials were responsible for its management. Visiting emperors like Constantius II were celebrated through impressive parades (*Ammianus, XVI, 10), and, as the **Codex-calendar of 354* indicates, even in the absence of the emperors the city's festive calendar was punctuated throughout the year by imperial *festivals. Theoderic continued to show interest in the city, sponsoring public works and celebrations and maintaining close contact with leading members of the *Senate. Later, *Justinian I's *Pragmatic Sanction of 554 (*NovJust* App. VII) reorganized the administration of the city. By the Byzantine period, however, Rome was markedly provincial.

Local government and politics

Rome was one of the largest cities in the Empire, and as such its government required constant imperial attention. The highest-ranking civil authority was the *Praefectus Urbi, who was directly appointed by the emperor. Emperors had a certain degree of control over the city administration, and it is possible to identify in the *fasti* which list them the names of prefects closely connected with the *court. However, most prefects were members of the senatorial aristocracy, residing in Rome and acting as *patrons of Roman corporate bodies.

Much of Rome's significance derived from the presence of the Senate, which retained its symbolic power from the Senate House in the Roman Forum and could still exert some influence in policy-making (as in religious controversies, for example). Emperors joined the Senate in honouring local notables with statues in the Forum of Trajan, addressed letters and legislation to that institution, and visited and publicly addressed it when in Rome.

As a local council, the Senate was still involved in the city's political life. However, its importance was mainly due to its members, the wealthiest and most powerful aristocrats in the West. Aristocratic *houses were important political places in Late Antiquity, due to their owners' personal power and networks of *patronage. This is indicated by the fact that the promulgation of the *Theodosian Code* in 438 took place in a senator's house, and not in a public building.

There is no evidence for formal popular assemblies, but the people could take part in city politics in informal ways. Corporations seeking privileges advocated specific policies through their powerful *patrons in office; honorific statues were set up in the semi-public areas of aristocratic houses as a reward (e.g. *CIL* VI, 1682 and 1759). The people voiced their opinion about imperial policies in the *Circus Maximus, for instance during the visit of Constantius II (*Theodoret, *HE* II, 14); they met in informal gatherings to confront public authorities (Ammianus, XV, 7, 3); and carried out attacks against

the houses of prefects in times of crises (Ammianus, XIX, 10, 1–3; XXVII, 3, 3–4; XXVII, 3, 8). Members of the *populus* were directly involved in the troubles that followed the election of *bishops, occupying the public spaces of the city to demonstrate their allegiances (as in the case of Pope Zosimus in 418 (*Collectio Avellana*, 29, 3). According to *Lactantius, Diocletian left Rome before the inauguration of his consulship at the start of 304 because he could not stand the free and easy demeanour of the Roman *populus* (*Mort.* 17, 2).

The Church also played an important role in local political life. Papal elections mobilized different aristocratic and popular groups. From the 5th century onwards, bishops increased their authority over different aspects of city life, including organizing distributions to the *poor and taking part in embassies to the court and to enemy generals.

Civil and military conflicts

The most concrete reason for Rome's continued importance lay in the size of its population and the wealth amassed within its walls. In political terms, Rome was a base of power that could not be neglected by any Roman ruler (or invader), and the history of the city was marked by this fact. Maxentius was successful in adopting it as a base against his enemies, until his defeat by Constantine at the Battle of the *Milvian Bridge in 312. Proclaimed emperor in Rome during the usurpation of *Magnentius (in June 350), *Nepotianus controlled the city for less than a month. Roman *senators supported the usurpation of *Magnus Maximus in 388; they also supported a *usurper in 409, when Priscus *Attalus was appointed emperor. The continued presence of emperors in the 5th century increased the involvement of the city in imperial politics, and different emperors met their fate in the old capital, *Valentinian III in 455 and *Anthemius in 472, among others.

Rome experienced a military and political crisis between 408 and 410, culminating with the sack of the city by *Alaric. The city was sacked again by the *Vandals in 455, when according to *Procopius even the *Palace was looted (*Vandalic*, III, 5, 1–3). The civil war between Anthemius and *Ricimer in 472 brought further destruction to the old capital. It was in the 6th century, however, that the *Byzantine invasion threw Rome into its most serious crisis. The city was besieged and taken by the *Ostrogoths and the Byzantines on four different occasions, leading to the execution of a number of senatorial families, while others fled to *Ravenna and *Constantinople. Hunger and *plague further damaged the city's social and political fabric.

By the end of the 6th century, the city's traditional structures of power barely survived. A Praefectus Urbi is last attested in 597–9. The ancient Roman Senate is last mentioned at the beginning of the 7th century, and in its later incarnations was a very different social and political group. When *Gregory I the Great, a former Praefectus Urbi, was made bishop in 590 the main civil authority of the city was its religious leader.

CARM

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Rome, idea of From the early 3rd century onwards, the city of *Rome ceased to be the normal residence of *emperors (except for *Gallienus, who preferred it, and *Maxentius who had no choice). It remained, though, the geographical centre of the habitable world, what *Ammianus called the temple of the whole world (*templum mundi totius*: Ammianus, XVII, 4). As late as the early 6th century a visitor could write that 'no one ought to complain about being detained in Rome, which is everyone's country, the fruitful mother of eloquence, the wide temple of all virtues' (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, I, 39 of 507/11).

To add to these geographical facts, legal minds ever since Cicero (*De Legibus*, II, 5) had conceived of the city as the *communis patria*, the common fatherland (e.g. Callistratus (*c.* AD 200) in *Digest*, XL, 222, 18; Modestinus (a pupil of Ulpian) in *Digest*, L, 1, 33). The legal concept had particular application in provincial *cities, numerous in *Africa and the West, which enjoyed the rank of *colonia*, and therefore had the same civic constitution and set of public monuments as the city of Rome itself—a provincial town might easily feel a closer affinity with the city of Rome than it did with the *emperor fighting on a distant frontier. The legal concept acquired additional force when Caracalla by the Constitutio Antoniniana of 211 gave the Roman citizenship to all free male residents of the Empire.

Geographical and legal considerations were fuelled by affective loyalties. *Romanitas* (Tertullian, *De Pallio*, 4, 1) had different meanings for different Romans. An African with a profound regard for the city of Rome

might express disdain for a *Balkan emperor whose Roman ideals were a Dacian militarism (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 27, 7–8). A retired Greek staff officer who admired the heroes of the Roman Republic might be disappointed when he came to Rome and met the sybaritic *senators of his own time (Ammianus, XIV, 6). But for senators resident at Rome in the late 4th and early 5th century, regard for the city was a religious ideal. *Rutillius Namatianus, a senator sailing home to *Gaul in the autumn of 417, expressed his sadness at leaving the city (I, 49–51):

> Hearken, Mother of Men and Mother of Gods also hearken;
> Through your temples we are not far away from the heaven.
> You we sing and will always sing while the Fates will permit it.

*Symmachus asserted in the *Third Relatio*, which as *Praefectus Urbi he sent to the emperor in 384, that it was essential to sustain Roman public religion because it was thanks to the time-tested rites of the city of Rome that the gods maintained and defended the Roman Empire (8–9, 15–17).

There was more to this religious ideal than romantic *rhetoric. When *Alaric and the *Visigoths sacked the city in 410, such pagans were not slow to turn on Christians and blame the disaster on their irresponsible neglect for the customary ancient rites. It was in the first place to counter such criticism that *Augustine wrote the *City of God*, in which he contrasted two cities formed by two loves, the earthly city growing from love of self even to the extent of contempt for God, the heavenly city from the love of God even to the extent of contempt for self (*City of God*, XIV, 28). It is characteristic that such fundamental loyalties should be expressed in terms of affection not for a kingdom or *family but for a city. OPN

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O. Hekster, 'The City of Rome in Late Imperial Ideology: The Tetrarchs, Maxentius and Constantine', *Mediterraneo Antico* 2/2 (1999), 717–48.
O. Nicholson, '"Civitas quae adhuc sustentat omnia": Lactantius and the City of Rome', in Klingshirn and Vessey, *Limits of Ancient Christianity*, 7–25.
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Rome, mint of *Rome was among the most important Late Antique mints, though of lesser importance in the reign of *Constantine I after *c.*330, and between the reigns of *Justinian I and *Heraclius. It was the chief mint of *Ostrogothic *Italy, and the main Italian mint of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 8th century, issuing heavily debased *gold. From *c.*781 the mint issued coins under papal rather than imperial authority. RRD

Bellinger, *DOC* I; Grierson, *DOC* II/1; II/2; III/1.
MEC 1.
RIC V/1; V/2; VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.

Rome, *Regionary Catalogues* of The *Regionary Catalogues* of *Rome, the two main versions of which are the closely related **Curiosum* and **Notitia*, date from around the second half of the 4th century and inventory the major buildings and monuments of Rome, listed by each of the fourteen Augustan Regiones. The *Regionary Catalogues* have generally been assumed to be official documents, originating from the office of the *Praefectus Urbi. However, some oddities and inconsistencies of the documents have proved puzzling, most strikingly the very large number of *insulae* (city blocks) listed (over 44,000). More recent assessments reject any official provenance, and suggest instead, variously, that the *Regionary Catalogues* should be understood as ideological, *panegyrical texts, or indeed as tourist guides. They remain essential sources for the study of the archaeology, topography, and population of Rome. LHCG

HLL 5, section 520.
ed. Jordan, *Topographie*, 2/2, 539–74.
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A. Chastagnol, 'Les Régionnaires de Rome', in C. Nicolet, ed., *Les Littératures techniques dans l'Antiquité romaine* (Entretiens Hardt 42, 1996), 179–98.
G. Hermansen, 'The Population of Ancient Rome: The Regionaries', *Historia* 27 (1978), 129–68.
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Rome, sack of (410) On 24 August 410, troops commanded by the *Visigothic leader *Alaric entered the *city of *Rome, sacking it for three days. The sack was the culmination of a long political and military crisis. The events leading to it are well documented by the sources, especially *Olympiodorus. Other authors refer to its impact or describe specific aspects of the crisis.

Alaric invaded *Italy for the second time in 408. The imperial government of *Honorius was incapable of negotiating peace, and the *Visigoth besieged Rome. The city suffered starvation and pestilence, and an embassy from the *Senate was met with harsh demands: in exchange for a ransom and *hostages only their lives would be spared (*Zosimus, V, 40, 4). No settlement was reached, and Rome was besieged for the second time in 409, when Alaric had the senator Priscus *Attalus proclaimed *emperor. A government based in

Rome was formed, which began negotiations with Honorius but failed to secure its position. The sources unanimously portray Alaric as trying to negotiate, reducing his demands, and seeking a compromise. Failure to reach an agreement led to a final siege of Rome in August 410, when the city was eventually captured.

The reasons for the actual sack and its nature are not clear. Scholars debate whether it should be called a 'barbarian' attack, since previously Alaric and his troops had been associated with the defence of the Empire. The actual extent of destruction is the subject of intense debate. Archaeological evidence, when it exists, is difficult to date and interpret, whereas written references are often vague or contradictory.

The sack of Rome had a powerful impact on contemporary and later writers. *Jerome lamented vigorously that 'in one city the whole world perished' (*Commentary on Ezechiel*, I, praef.; cf. *ep.* 127, 12–13). The more subtle development of *Augustine's immediate reaction may be traced in his *sermons, especially in *De Excidio Urbis*; and his more considered response in his *City of God*. The *History Against the Pagans* completed in 417 by Augustine's protégé *Orosius, but not mentioned in the *City of God*, is optimistically, indeed ideologically, naive: Orosius (VII, 39–40) represents the sack as a divine judgement on the unrighteous (though not on pious Christians), and in any case it was nothing like as destructive as the fire under Nero; indeed, he wrote, less than ten years afterwards, you might think 'nothing had happened' (VII, 40, 1). CARM; OPN

P. Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions Germaniques* (1948).

J. Lipps, C. Machado, and P. von Rummel, eds., *410—The Sack of Rome: The Event, its Context and its Impact* (2013).

A. Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* (1986), 102–14.

Brown, *Augustine*, 285–329.

PLRE II, Alaricus 1.

Rome, sack of (455) *Geiseric, King of the *Vandals in *Africa, and his troops sacked Rome for fourteen days in June 455. Some sources say that the *Empress *Eudoxia invited the Vandals, having been forced to marry the *Emperor *Petronius Maximus, who had killed *Valentinian III on 16 March 455 (*Hydatius, *Chron.* 162). Petronius Maximus was himself killed by the Roman people when attempting to flee the *city on 31 May 455 (*Jordanes, *Getica*, 235). *Bishop *Leo I is said to have convinced Geiseric to limit the destruction (*Prosper, *Chron.* ad ann. 455); other sources record widespread looting (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 5, 1–6). Eudoxia and her daughters *Eudocia and *Placidia were taken as *hostages to *Carthage. CARM

C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (1955).

Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, ch. 5.

Rome, schools at By the late 4th century, professorships in *rhetoric, *grammar, *philosophy, and *law existed at *Rome. Candidates were appointed by the *Senate and received **annonae* through the *Praefectus Praetorio (*Symmachus, *ep.* 1, 79). Private teachers, such as *Augustine in 383–4, might recruit students through word of mouth and sometimes had difficulty getting them to pay (*Confessions*, 5, 12). The Magister Census was responsible for registering arrivals and departures of students, notifying their home *provinces, and regulating student behaviour (*CTh* XIV, 9, 1). Official appointments in grammar, rhetoric, and law continued under the *Ostrogothic kingdom (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 9, 21) and after the *Byzantine invasions under Justinian I (*Pragmatic Sanction = *AppJust* 7, 22). RAF

Jones, *LRE* 707.

Rome, secular buildings and topography of The venerable infrastructure of *Rome largely survived throughout Late Antiquity, an era when many *emperors resided elsewhere except for periodic visits to the traditional capital to reclaim the city's lasting traditions. With resources for new building sparse, the often-distant rulers sought lasting fame by conserving ancient architecture, while *senators supported repairs to gain *praise.

Under Aurelian

When imperial funds were available, large-scale construction earned rulers lasting acclaim. The Emperor *Aurelian in 271 boldly expanded Rome's walls to a new circuit of almost 19 km (11.8 miles). Major *roads entering Rome from the countryside led toward the monumental *city gates passing through the Aurelianic walls. This transport network brought *olive oil, pork, and *wine into the city for distribution to citizens as part of the food dole (**annona*). Citizens also received *bread made from *grain which had been unloaded on the banks of the Tiber, carried over the Pons Probi, a *bridge initiated in the 270s, and delivered to the *aqueduct-powered mills on the Janiculum hill for grinding into flour. Aurelian also created a new distribution point for the *annona* in the Campus Martius near Montecitorio. The consistent maintenance required by the Aurelianic walls created opportunities for skilled labourers to repair the circuit as well as other public structures. Aurelian further guaranteed that the proceeds from cheap wine (*arca vinaria*) were destined for restoring buildings.

Tetrarchic restorations

The restoration of damaged structures offered opportunities for emperors keen to demonstrate their largesse, even when these rulers lived outside Rome. A fire during the reign of *Carinus in 283 damaged

the Graecostadium, the Basilica Julia, the *Senate House, the Roman Forum, and the Forum of Caesar; the path of destruction extended along the Via Sacra. In 303 *Diocletian and *Maximian together rebuilt the Basilica Julia and the Senate House in the Roman Forum and also conserved the Forum of Caesar. The comprehensive rehabilitation of central Rome by Diocletian and Maximian served to demonstrate the stability and *concordia* achieved under the *Tetrarchy. At a critical position along the Via Lata, the Tetrarchs installed the now-dismantled Arcus Novus, a triumphal *arch that celebrated the tenth *anniversary (*decennalia*) of rule by the two *Augusti Diocletian and Maximian in 293. Likewise, a dedicatory *inscription credited the towering vaults of the *Baths of Diocletian to that emperor's collaboration with Maximian (*CIL* VI, 1130). The Rostra at the western end of the Roman Forum featured a five-column monument capped by statues of the four Tetrarchs flanking an image of a protective deity. The one surviving plinth, the Decennalia Base, celebrates the joint Decennalia of the two *Caesars *Constantius I and *Galerius in 303 (*CIL* VI, 1203) and another now-lost plinth celebrated the Vicennalia of the Augusti that same year (*CIL* VI, 1204). This five-column monument demonstrating the unity of the Tetrarchy was matched by a nearly identical display on the facing tribune across the Roman Forum. In addition, seven massive free-standing columns capped by statues aligned with the southern edge of the Roman Forum incorporated *bricks with brick-stamps dated after 305, the year when Diocletian and Maximian abdicated together. The two Augusti made a triumphal visit to Rome in 303. This was not an unqualified success. They had ordered repairs to the *Circus Maximus, but part of the structure collapsed imperilling 13,000 spectators; outspoken Romans blamed the emperors.

Under Maxentius

The *usurper *Maxentius resided in Rome as an emperor from 306 to 312, and sought individual credit for enhancing the city. He restored the Lapis Niger, the legendary site of the burial of Romulus in front of the Senate House, by installing statues. A fire seriously harming the Temple of Venus and Roma prompted Maxentius to rebuild this complex on the Velian Hill. Maxentius also sponsored additional impressive public structures nearby along the Via Sacra to the east of the Roman Forum. In this neighbourhood he inserted a rotunda, frequently misidentified as the Temple of Romulus, that functioned as a pivot between the Via Sacra and the Forum of Peace. He founded the adjacent *Basilica Nova (also called the Basilica of Maxentius and the Basilica of Constantine) which accommodated assemblies of judges in its towering cross-vaulted interior. Maxentius' attempts to use construction projects to consolidate his position ended with his defeat by *Constantine I at the Battle of the *Milvian Bridge in October 312.

Under Constantine

Constantine claimed to be the liberator of Rome and discredited Maxentius as a *usurper, yet deemed his condemned predecessor's architecture worthy of appropriation. The Senate as the local governing body inscribed Constantine's name on many of Maxentius' buildings. The Via Sacra rotunda received a new façade to complement the new *inscription naming Constantine. In addition, a colossal portrait statue of Constantine in the vaulted interior of the Basilica Nova was installed along with an apse on its north side; both changes announced the structure's new identity as the Basilica of Constantine. Constantine also sponsored new baths on the Quirinal Hill with steps leading toward the Campus Martius. The Janus Quadrifons, an arch Constantine introduced into the Forum Boarium, supplied grandeur to a route used for public *ceremony. For Constantine's Decennalia in 315, the Senate set up the Arch of Constantine at an important *street junction next to the Colosseum. This triumphal arch was adorned with reused sculptures (*spolia) legally excised from monuments of Constantine's favoured imperial predecessors and assembled together with new carvings to celebrate his military victories and public acts in Rome.

Constantine also destroyed the barracks of the *Equites Singulares near the Aurelianic walls and built there the Lateran *Basilica and a residence for the *bishop. Most Constantinian Christian churches were situated outside the walls near *martyria or imperial *tombs and mausoleums.

Fourth century monuments

Imperial monuments in the heart of Rome recorded the glorious visits of non-resident emperors to celebrate triumphs or imperial jubilees. A granite *obelisk destined for Rome on the orders of Constantine finally arrived when his son *Constantius II saw to its installation on the central barrier of the Circus Maximus to commemorate his triumphant **adventus* in 357. Constantius II claimed a dynastic legacy as Constantine's son with a bronze equestrian statue located across the Via Sacra from his father's image, and was honoured near the Senate House with three identical colossal *bronze portrait statues whose size emphasized his imperial authority.

Rome's loyalty to the emperor, however far off he might be, was marked by lasting memorials. In 364 *Valentinian I issued a law to Avianus *Symmachus the *Praefectus Urbi ordering that there should be no

official sponsorship for new construction but permitting the restoration of old buildings (*CTh* XV, 1, 11). Symmachus accordingly repaired the Pons Aurelius bridging the Tiber in 367; an arched gateway adorned with statues and inscriptions at one end of the renovated bridge together with further inscriptions on the *marble railing were dedicated to Valentinian I and to his brother and joint emperor *Valens (*CIL* VI, 31402–12). The Pons Aurelius, renamed the Pons Valentinianus, thus gave lasting prominence to Valentinian I's munificence even though he never visited Rome in person.

Monuments with inscribed dedications to rulers lined routes used for imperial *processions. The Tiber crossing at the Pons Neronianus was decommissioned in the 270s due to its unprotected position and a nearby bridge, the Pons Aelius, began to carry its traffic thanks to the fortifications provided by the nearby Mausoleum of Hadrian. New streets lavishly equipped with rows of columns led from the Via Triumphalis in the Campus Martius to the Pons Aelius, and from there a path proceeded across the Tiber, joining up with porticoes lining the route leading towards the *Vatican. An inscribed archway marking the entrance to the Pons Aelius was erected to commemorate the Emperor *Honorius' procession of 404 (*CIL* VI, 1196). After nearly doubling the height of the Aurelianic walls, Honorius was praised by the court poet *Claudian, who saw such rebuilding as the revival of Rome's mythic past (*De VI Consulatu Honorii*, 531–2). The Senate proceeded to set up a victory arch in the Roman Forum honouring Honorius and his brother the Emperor *Arcadius.

Private building, imperial and senatorial

Public buildings were imitated in private estates. A circus situated within Maxentius' villa on the Via Appia outside the walls attracted crowds to chariot races. Maxentius also added a bath complex to the imperial *palace on the Palatine Hill. Constantine ordered a nymphaeum, an impressive domed rotunda now called the Temple of Minerva Medica, to be added to the pre-existing palace complex known as the Palatium Licinianum on the Esquiline Hill. A grand *house on the Caelian Hill also featured a beautifully painted nymphaeum that was eventually concealed under the church of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo. *Helena, the mother of Constantine I, created the Sessorian Palace by adding a domed reception hall, a large church, and a bath complex for public use on the grounds of an old villa. Civic architecture inspired the construction of a new secular basilica decorated lavishly with inlaid marbles by *Junius Bassus the elder (*consul 331) on his Esquiline estate.

Senatorial initiatives

During the 4th century senators preserved some prominent *temples by treating them as public monuments. When *Praetextatus as Praefectus Urbi in 367 restored the Porticus Deorum Consentium, he shifted the cult statues from the tainted interior to outdoor display spots on a trapezoidal podium (*CIL* VI, 102). The Senate House survived from time to time without the *Altar of Victory. In the 380s the Senate restored the Temple of Saturn not to restart pagan activities but to sustain its dignity, since imperial legislation had already barred visitors from entering temples (*CTh* XVI, 10, 4). Imperial laws prohibited *sacrifice, but they also displayed a persistent parallel concern to prevent wanton damage to public monuments (*CTh* XVI, 10). In the 6th century Romans attempted to reopen the *bronze *doors of the Temple of Janus near the Senate House to indicate in the traditional way that Rome was at war.

By maintaining customs of civic *portraiture, senators contributed to the dignity of the city while promoting the *honour of individual notables. Statues erected in the Forum of Trajan included an image of *Nicomachus Flavianus the elder, put up by imperial command when his reputation was rehabilitated in 431 (*CIL* VI, 1783), and portraits of literary figures including *Marius Victorinus, *Claudian, Flavius *Merobaudes, and *Sidonius Apollinaris. By contrast, the highest honour, that of being commemorated in the Roman Forum, was usually conferred only on emperors, with a select few senators or military officers receiving portraits near the Senate House or the Rostra.

The fires which destroyed some emblems of senatorial power at the Senate House and the Basilica Aemilia during the Sack of *Rome by the *Visigoths in 410 somewhat diminished Rome's capacity to reinstate its architectural heritage. *Shops aligned with the façade of the Basilica Aemilia were refurbished so as to hide the interior, terribly damaged in 410. Other public buildings sustained damage from looters. After the sack of *Rome by the *Vandals in 455 the Emperor *Majorian countered such opportunism by issuing a law in 458 forbidding private individuals to appropriate architectural elements (*NovMaj* 4, 1). Further damage however occurred around the Senate House during *Ricimer's attack in 472.

Senatorial sponsorship of repairs to the Senate House symbolized aspirations by the senatorial *aristocracy for local control. After the Sack of *Rome in 410, the refurbished senatorial hall glistened once again 'on account of the *gold' as one senatorial sponsor asserted in a restoration inscription (*CIL* VI, 41378). The surroundings of the Senate House were also maintained. The *Secretarium Senatus, the place where aristocrats judged their peers accused of capital crimes, was

inserted during the 4th century into a pre-existing hall, and fire damage to it was repaired in 414. In a nearby courtyard statues were set up after 491 in the rehabilitated Atrium Libertatis, a relocated *archive (*CIL* VI, 1794). A senator restored the statue of Minerva in 472 for display next to the Senate House in the repaired Atrium of Minerva, probably within the Forum of Caesar, so as to celebrate 'the happiness of our times' (*CIL* VI, 526). The Senate continued to meet in the Senate House well into the 6th century; in the year 500 *Theoderic the Ostrogothic king arrived in Rome like an emperor to greet aristocrats at the senatorial hall and later requested that the Praefectus Urbi pay for repairs for the Senate House (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 9, 7). The Senate House remained well maintained up to its transformation into the Church of S. Adriano in 630.

Repairs to the Colosseum allowed senators to make effective contributions after *earthquakes and, more importantly, to contribute to public *entertainments. A senator in the 440s repaired earthquake damage, replaced Vespasian's foundation inscription, and proclaimed a rededication to *Valentinian III, who was further honoured in monumental inscriptions circling the Colosseum's upper balustrade (*CIL* VI, 1763; 32096). *Odoacer, ruler of *Italy after the last Western emperor had been deposed in 476, assigned permanent seats to senators inscribed with their names; 195 of these inscriptions still survive. Theoderic the Ostrogoth made sweeping claims about reviving animal combats in the Colosseum, but the physical evidence reveals that even before the last known spectacle in 537 Theoderic secretly permitted the quarrying of travertine stone from the Colosseum.

Under the Ostrogoths

The Ostrogoths promoted adaptation of old structures for fresh purposes in order to safeguard them. Theoderic encouraged the senator *Albinus to repair a public portico in the Roman Forum, sanctioning its reuse as a commercial workshop (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 4, 30). In this way, they encouraged the trend toward the private use of public architecture to promote both commerce and preservation. Markets, *glass manufacturing, and craft production had all moved into the *Crypta Balbi even earlier. There is little doubt that the Ostrogothic royal family handed over a hall in the Forum of Peace to Pope Felix IV in 530 for reuse as the first church located in the vicinity of the imperial fora.

Theoderic's apparent concern for Rome's buildings masked the frequently aggressive Ostrogothic policies of the early 6th century. Theoderic explicitly revived Augustan-era benefactions and public entertainments at the Theatre of Pompey by appointing a Roman senator, who claimed descent from the original founder, as its restorer (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 4, 51). Theoderic identified himself as the protector of public utility by repairing aqueducts, dockyards, sewers, statues, and walls, appointing a Curator to maintain the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill. Despite his attention to the public good, Theoderic's reputation was marred in Rome after he jailed the *philosopher *Boethius and his father-in-law together with Pope *John I, all of whom perished in *prison.

Rome in the 6th and 7th centuries

Sieges and assaults during the *Byzantine invasion of Italy compelled many to flee Rome before the general *Belisarius protected the city between 536 and 546. After a devastating Ostrogothic siege and the reported abandonment of the city for more than a month, *Narses, a former chamberlain at the court of *Justinian I, returned Rome to imperial rule in 552. Narses supervised repairs to the damaged circuit of walls, built up the palace, erected a statue of himself on the Palatine, and repaired two bridges, the Ponte Nomentana and the Ponte Salario. Reports from the 6th century describe *bronze sculptural masterpieces attributed to Lysippus, Myron, and Pheidias surviving in the Forum of Peace, as well as another marvel, the boat of Aeneas, carved from a single tree-trunk, on the bank of the Tiber. According to the *Pragmatic Sanction of 554 (*NovJust* app. 7) Justinian ordered officials to maintain the *harbour of Rome, the aqueducts, the Roman Forum, the imperial fora, and the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill.

*Phocas was unusual among Byzantine emperors for gaining the affection of Romans after donating the *Pantheon to the *bishop for its transformation into the Church of S. Maria ad Martyras. In 608 a Byzantine *exarch placed a gilded statue of Phocas on top of a pre-existing monumental column in the Roman Forum as the last imperial monument of Rome.

Pope *Gregory I (590–604) supervised Rome's infrastructure by shifting some oversight from the emperor to the bishop, who particularly urged imperial officials to care for the derelict aqueducts. Gregory's own aristocratic *domus* on the Caelian Hill was transformed into a *monastery. Despite the growing local authority of church officials in Rome, Byzantine emperors retained oversight of the palace and appointed a Curator to supervise the Palatine Hill. In the 660s the last known Curator, Plato, repaired the stairs leading from the Atrium Vestae to the north-west corner of the Palatine Hill (*ICUR* II, 442). *Constans II was the last emperor to visit Rome, choosing to reside at the palace for twelve days in 663 but depriving the Pantheon of its gilded bronze roofing tiles as valuable assets shipped out of Rome, an act that earned him the disdain of Romans

(**Liber Pontificalis*, 78, 3). The continued fascination of visitors to Rome with the city's antiquities and its prominent ancient inscriptions is apparent from lists of monuments preserved in a mid-8th-century text from Einsiedeln recounting a pilgrim's itineraries throughout the city. GK

F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Roma* (³1980).
Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary.*
Steinby, *Lexicon.*
R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (2000).
H. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271–855* (2011).
B. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (2000).
E. Marlowe, '*Liberator Urbis Suae*: Constantine and the Ghost of Maxentius', in B. Ewald and C. Noreña, eds., *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (*YaleClassSt* 35, 2010).
B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300–850* (1984).
Harris, *Transformations of Urbs Roma.*

Rome, See of The 300 years from the mid-3rd to the mid-6th century witnessed an astonishing transfiguration in the See of *Rome. It grew from humble beginnings. By 251 the Church at Rome had 46 presbyters, seven *deacons and seven *subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 *exorcists, *readers, and doorkeepers, and over 1,500 *widows and poor *dependants (*Dionysius of *Alexandria in *Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 11). Its *bishops were frequently martyred or died in *exile during *persecutions: Fabian, victim of *Decius, was beheaded in 250; Cornelius died in exile in 253 at Centumcellae; Sixtus (Xystus) II was beheaded in 258; and Marcellinus seems to have been martyred in 304 during the Great Persecution. It was not until *Sylvester's pontificate (314–35) that a turning point was reached, with the *Emperor *Constantine I's adoption of Christianity.

Fourth and fifth centuries AD

Constantine's gifts of buildings, land, and precious objects to the Church at Rome are itemized in the **Liber Pontificalis* life of Sylvester. The *Liber Pontificialis* attributes to Constantine the endowment of the *Lateran *Basilica (which it calls the Constantinian Basilica) and *baptistery, probably Constantine's first Christian foundations anywhere, and also the basilica at the Vatican over the shrine of S. Peter, though actual building at the Vatican was carried out under Constantine's sons. He is also credited with endowing the Sessorian Basilica (*S. Croce in Gerusalemme) and *S. Paolo fuori le mura, though the Basilica of S. Paolo which burnt down in 1823 dated from the later 4th century. A substantial mythology developed concerning Constantine and Sylvester, culminating in the Carolingian forgery of the Donation of Constantine.

Julius I (337–52) brought greater organization to the business affairs of the Church of Rome. He founded *archives and an office of *notaries headed by a first secretary (*Primicerius Notariorum) on the imperial model. Church records at this time included bonds, deeds for its substantial properties, notices of donations and exchanges, transfers and *wills, declarations and *manumissions of church slaves.

When Constantine's son, the *Homoean ('*Arian') *Constantius II, came to control the Western half of the Empire, the See of Rome learnt that imperial favour came with a price. In 355 *Bishop *Liberius was sent into exile for refusing to condemn *Athanasius. His replacement Felix II was then martyred for proclaiming Constantius a heretic, and Liberius returned, having capitulated to Constantius; he remained until 366, having founded the Liberian Basilica on the site of the present S. Maria Maggiore.

Rome was accorded a primacy of *honour among bishoprics at the *Council of *Constantinople in 381 (with the *Patriarch of *Constantinople 'New Rome', following a close second). In spite of the increasing wealth of the see, its bishops continued to be selected from a broad range of social backgrounds through the 4th and 5th centuries. Felix III (483–92), great-great-grandfather of *Gregory the Great, is the first demonstrably aristocratic Bishop of Rome. By the 6th century nine out of fourteen bishops were from noble families of either the Roman or provincial *aristocracy, including a father–son pair, *Hormisdas (514–23) and Silverius (June–November 536).

The term *papa* ('pope') began to be used in the 5th century to indicate the close relationship between the bishop and his people. At the same time the Roman See came to exercise increasing influence on the wider Church. *Damasus (366–84) and Siricius (384–99) initiated special relations with the bishops of *Thessalonica which gave Rome a defined ecclesiastical standing in much of the *Balkans which lasted until 732. Letters of *Innocent I (402–17) on a number of disciplinary questions survive. His successors Boniface I (418–22), Celestine I (422–32), and *Leo I (440–61) also produced letters which they treated as 'decretals' for the universal Church, although in practice it was up to the leading bishops of particular regions, notably *Arles and *Vienne in *Gaul and *Carthage in North *Africa, whether or not they implemented the advice that they received from Rome. Much of this material was preserved in *canon law collections from the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century, including the **Collectio*

Avellana, a collection assembled in the 6th century probably to present a distinctive view of papal authority. *Leo I (440–61) was particularly active in promoting Rome's broader influence and in making its voice heard among the five patriarchal sees (*Alexandria, *Antioch, Constantinople, *Jerusalem, Rome). He resolved a long-running dispute between the bishops of *Arles and Vienne over episcopal primacy in *Gaul and in the **Tome of Leo* of 449 outlined a Christological position which was acclaimed at the Council of *Chalcedon: 'Peter has spoken through Leo'.

Leo I also consolidated the position of Christianity as a civic religion which could function as the *pagan cults had formerly done to guarantee the city's safety and prosperity. When *Attila the *Hun invaded *Italy, Leo and city officials negotiated his withdrawal (*Prosper, *Chron*. ad ann. 452), though Leo could not forestall the *sack of Rome by the *Vandals in 455. An ambitious civic building programme by popes Sixtus III (432–40), Leo I, and Hilary (461–8), funded largely by imperial benefactions, contributed to the public profile of the Roman Church.

Sixth century

Rome sustained adamant advocacy of the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon throughout the 6th century. The *Acacian schism (484–519) began when Pope Felix III (483–92) excommunicated Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, over his acceptance of *Miaphysites at Alexandria. Pope *Gelasius I (492–6) wrote a treatise on the Two Natures of Christ *Against Eutyches and Nestorius*. The accession of *Justin I as *emperor, followed by his nephew *Justinian I, aligned the East Roman government with Chalcedonian doctrine. But political entanglements troubled successive popes for much of the 6th century. Pope *Symmachus (498–514) welcomed *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth to Rome in 500 (**Chronicon Theoderici*, 65–7), but in the closing years of Theoderic's reign relations between Rome and *Italy's Ostrogothic rulers became strained and *John I (523–6) died in a *Ravenna prison, having been accused of plotting with the emperor against Theoderic. Pope *Agapetus (535–6) died at Constantinople while carrying out a diplomatic mission in Constantinople for King *Theodahad, Theoderic's successor, and Pope Silverius (536–7) was deposed and exiled, on a suspicion fabricated by the *Empress *Theodora that he was plotting with the Ostrogoths. *Vigilius (537–55) died in exile after failing to negotiate a settlement between Justinian and the bishops of north Italy over the *Three Chapters Controversy. However, despite the wholesale destruction, *famine, and *plague that attended the *Byzantine invasion of Italy, the city of Rome benefited from imperial largesse.

The domination of Italy by the *Lombards between their arrival in 568 and the *Frankish conquest in 774 set up a fresh set of tensions involving the papacy, the invaders, and the emperors and their agents the *exarchs of *Ravenna. *Pelagius II (579–90) was consecrated without the imperial *mandatum*. When the Lombards threatened Rome he was obliged to negotiate with them without help from the imperial authorities. His successor *Gregory I the Great (590–604), a nobleman turned monk, also had to act independently of the exarchate in order to protect Rome and its territories. He demonstrated the principles of public service set out in his *Pastoral Care* by feeding the people of Rome from church lands, and was inspired by the sight of *Anglo-Saxon slaves for sale in the forum to send his monastic *confrère* S. *Augustine to *Canterbury to spread the gospel (*Bede, *HE* II, 1). The Emperor *Phocas was keen to cultivate good relations with Rome and gave permission to Pope Boniface IV (608–15) for the *Pantheon to be turned into the Church of S. Maria ad Martyras, the first former pagan *temple in the city to be transformed for Christian worship.

Seventh and eighth centuries

In 640, when much of the Eastern Empire was being overrun by the *Arab conquests, the exarch was so short of money that he confiscated by force the contents of the Lateran sacristy. Throughout this period, Rome demonstrated steady opposition to attempts by emperors from *Heraclius onwards to achieve ecclesiastical peace and unity among their Eastern subjects by promoting the doctrines of *Monotheletism (the belief that Christ had Two Natures but One Will). Pope *Martin I (649–55), animated by Eastern dissidents, in particular *Maximus the Confessor, convoked the *Lateran Council of 649 which condemned both the **Ecthesis* of Heraclius (638) and the **Typos* of *Constans II (648) and was arrested by the imperial authorities and exiled to *Cherson where he died.

Constans II in 663 was the last emperor to visit the city of Rome. He was received hospitably by Pope *Vitalian (656–72), and before he left ordered that the *bronze be removed from the roof of the Pantheon and be sent to Constantinople. The late 7th century, however, saw a rapprochement between Rome and Constantinople. Pope Agatho (678–81) was represented by legates at the Third *Council of Constantinople in 680, when Monotheletism was finally condemned, and under his successor, Leo II (682–3), the Emperor *Constantine IV ordered that future *bishops of *Ravenna should go to Rome for their consecration. The last pope to visit Constantinople (till 1967) was Pope Constantine (708–15) in 710. Thereafter relations with the East cooled. In 731 a council at Rome

condemned the new imperial policy of *Iconoclasm. Constantinople retaliated by confiscasting papal territories in southern Italy and placing *Thessalonica and other *Balkan bishoprics, formerly under papal jurisdiction, under the aegis of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The 7th and 8th centuries saw numerous pilgrims and refugees from the East visit and settle in Rome, not least *Theodore of *Tarsus (d. 690) who was sent on to England to be Archbishop of Canterbury, taking with him skilled exponents of Roman *chant. Pilgrims came also from the West, including *Frankish and *Anglo-Saxon kings.

Through all these years the papal chancery sustained a constant diplomatic correspondence. Tensions with the Lombards continued; many Lombards remained stolidly *Homoean ('*Arian') throughout the 7th century. The diplomatic skill of Pope Zacharias (741–52) maintained a balance, but in 751 the exarchate of Ravenna finally disappeared and Zacharias' successors often needed to seek protection from Frankish forces. Late in the year 800, Charlemagne came to Rome, where at the request of Leo III (795–816), he donned a *chlamys and imperial buskins and at the Vatican on Christmas Day, allegedly to his surprise, he was crowned *Imperator Romanorum* by the pope (Einhard 28 and 23; *Liber Pontificalis*, 98, 23–4). BN; OPN

Considerable bibliography in *Enciclopedia dei Papi* (2000), vol. 1.
G. E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity* (2013).
G. D. Dunn, *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity* (2015).
M. Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space, and Authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great', in K. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds., *Religion, Dynasty and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (2007), 21–58.
P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (²1993).
R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1990).
J. Moorhead, '*Papa* as Bishop of Rome', *JEH* 36/3 (1995), 337–50.
Pietri, *Roma Christiana.*
J. Richards, *Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages* (1979).
M. Salzman, 'The Christianization of Sacred Time and Sacred Space', in Harris, *Transformations of Urbs Roma*, 123–34.
K. Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (2012).

Rome, sieges of During the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy *Rome was besieged three times, in 536–7, in 546, and in 549/50. *Procopius provides a detailed narrative of all three sieges in his *Gothic Wars*. However, it is impossible to estimate precisely the destruction caused. The *aqueducts were partly blocked by *Belisarius before being cut by *Vitigis during the first siege. The *water supply was maintained through wells, and the damage was repaired after the war (*Gothic*, V, 19). Rome was sacked after the second siege, and *Totila destroyed large parts of the wall. Procopius reports that Belisarius rebuilt it in a hurried fashion in 25 days (*Gothic*, VII, 20, 22–24, 7), but the restorations datable to this period are rather limited. The Romans themselves, subject to hunger and diseases, seem to have been the main victims of the conflict. CARM

R. Coates-Stephens, 'The Walls and Aqueducts of Rome in the Early Middle Ages, A.D. 500–1000', *JRS* 88 (1998), 166–78.
P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (1971).

Rome, surroundings of The *suburbs of *Rome are usually understood as starting at the Aurelianic walls, but this is a post-Antique definition. *Ostia and *Portus were closely connected with the *city, and they were controlled by the *Praefectus of the **annona*. The *Praefectus Urbi had judicial powers over an area of 100 miles around the *city, and *Italia Suburbicaria was economically and politically connected to it, so that the economic, political, and religious connections reached into a vast area of *Italy of indeterminate size.

The suburbs of Rome were occupied by imperial and aristocratic *estates, although the **Liber Pontificalis* documents the gradual transference of many of them to the Church. Large properties like the *villas of the Gordiani and of *Maxentius continued being refurbished in Late Antiquity. The *aristocracy used villas as a retreat from life in the city (e.g. *Symmachus, *ep.* VI, 47). Many of these properties remained productive, surrounded by smaller farms (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 13, 1). *Aqueducts and *roads were also conspicuous features of the suburban landscape, and continued being repaired into the Middle Ages. *Martyr cult gained importance in the suburbs, with the building of *martyr shrines near the *Catacombs, notably during *Damasus' tenure of the See of *Rome.

Controlled by the *Vicarius Urbis Romae, Italia Suburbicaria was important for the supply of pork, *grain, and *wine to Rome. This is attested by a series of *laws, which created a complex network of local producers, corporations, and officials. Roman aristocrats owned large properties in this area, where they frequently occupied governorships. Their links with provincial communities are demonstrated by the large number of honorific statues dedicated locally, a practice that continued until the 5th century. The *Byzantine invasion and occupation, followed by the *Lombard invasion in 568, affected, but did not destroy, the relationship between Rome and its surroundings. CARM

T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times* (1927; new edn. 1970).
F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (1981).
A. Giardina, *L'Italia romana: storie di un'identità incompiuta* (1997).
Harris, *Transformations of Urbs Roma.*

P. Pergola et al., eds., *Suburbium: il suburbio di Roma dalla crise del sistema delle ville a Gregorio Magno* (2003).
G. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna* (1975–80).

Romula Mother of *Galerius, born north of the Danube. *Lactantius claims her hillbilly pagan enthusiasms animated the Great *Persecution (*Mort.* 11, 1–2). Galerius named *Gamzigrad after her. OPN
PLRE I, Romula.

Romulianum *See* GAMZIGRAD.

Romulus Augustulus Last Western *emperor 475–6. He was made emperor by his father, the general *Orestes (October 475), and, being young was known by the diminutive Augustulus. His father exercised real power. He was not recognized in *Constantinople, where *Julius Nepos was preferred. *Odoacer then overthrew Orestes (August 476), Romulus was deposed, and Odoacer ruled as *king. Because of his youth, Romulus was spared and allowed to live on a family *estate in *Campania, with a generous pension. He may have survived into the early 6th century. ADL
PLRE II, Romulus Augustus 4.

roofs The commonest roof coverings of Late Roman buildings were roof tiles (Gk. *keramis*, Lat. *tegula*), made of coarse ceramic (cf. *amphorae). These were durable and reusable, and are common in archaeological contexts. Pan tiles covered most of a roof, while Laconian or Corinthian cover and ridge tiles protected its seams. Tiles are widely recorded being used as projectiles in times of public *disorder (e.g. *Ammianus, XXVII, 3, 8). In rare cases roofs were made from *marble or gilded. The *bronze tiles of the Pantheon (S. Mary ad Martyras) at *Rome were sufficiently precious for *Constantine IV to have them carried off to *Constantinople (**Liber Pontificalis*, 78). Representations of Roman *cities in art, such as those on *sarcophagi, the *Madaba Map, and the *apse *mosaic of S. Pudenziana, Rome, often depict them as a mass of roofs rising above the surrounding *city gates and walls. Great buildings surrounded by lesser structures (such as the Church of the *Holy Wisdom) might be visible from outside mostly as their roofs and (as with the *Basilica at *Trier) their *façade. JTPi; OPN
J.-P. Adam, *Roman Building: Materials and Techniques* (1999).
W. D. Barry, 'Roof Tiles and Urban Violence in the Ancient World', *GRBS* 37 (1996), 55–74.
Ö. Wikander, 'Ancient Roof-Tiles: Use and Functions', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 17 (1988), 203–16.

Rossano Gospels A 6th-century illustrated Greek Gospel book (= *Σ*), found at Rossano in Calabria in 1879. It consists of 188 leaves bearing the whole Gospel of S. Matthew and most of S. Mark, written in large silver uncial *script, on *purple-dyed parchment. A cycle of miniatures and full-page scenic illustrations, perhaps inspired by monumental art, is gathered at the beginning of the book. The manuscript is one of a family of *purple codices, and ascribed to the end of *Justinian I's reign. Its provenance is unknown, but it may indicate continued relations between *Italy and the Greek world in the 8th century. NAS
P. Sevrugian, *Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope-Fragmente. Miniaturen und Theologie* (1990).

Rothari *Lombard King of *Italy (r. 636–52), best known in three main ways: his expansion of Lombard territory, his *Edict* or Law Code, and his strong *Homoean (*'Arian') Christology. His military campaigns, wholly unrecorded by the **Liber Pontificalis* at *Rome, concentrated on pushing eastwards against the *exarchate, capturing Modena (Mutina) and destroying Oderzo, and culminating in the Battle of Scultenna (AD 643) at which the *Exarch *Isaac was killed, along with 8,000 Byzantine soldiers. He also expanded westwards against Byzantine coastal *Liguria, sacking towns and forts from Ventimiglia to *Luna. The latter campaigns are best attested by *Fredegar (*Chron.* IV, 71), reporting *cities razed or reduced to mere *villages, and populations enslaved. Archaeology shows a relative decay of many sites, but a loss also of fortresses.

Rothari's *Edict* of AD 643 codified and brought up to date ancient *law and practice to promote national cohesion; it provides valuable insights into Lombard social structures and customs, such as **wergeld* or blood *feud (this now commuted to monetary values). It shows a strongly land-oriented society. The **Origo Gentis Langobardorum* attached to it, probably compiled under Rothari, offers an abbreviated history-cum-genealogy of the people and its rulers.

*Paul the *Deacon (IV, 42–7) stresses Rothari's devout 'Arianism' and the high visibility in the kingdom's *cities of Arian *bishops (though naming only Anastasius of *Pavia). This seemingly did not cause religious conflict within the kingdom. NJC
PLRE IIIB, Rothari.
Laws: ed. F. Bluhme, *Leges Langobardorum*, MGH Leg 4 (1869), 1–289.
N. Christie, 'Byzantine Liguria: A Province against the Lombards, A.D. 568–643', *PBSR* 58 (1990), 229–71.
P. Delogu, 'Kingship and the Shaping of the Lombard Body Politic', 251–88, and T. S. Brown, 'Lombard Religious Policy in the Late Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Roman Dimension', in G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, eds., *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2009), 289–308.
C. Azzara and S. Gasparri, eds., *Le leggi dei Longobardi: storia, memoria e diritto di un populo germanico* (1992).

Rouen (*civitas Rotomagensium*: dép. Seine-Maritime, France) Roman port-*city on the Seine, which under the *Tetrarchy became capital of the *province of *Lugdunensis II, and in time a *metropolitan see. Its Late Antique wall-circuit enclosed over 20 ha (*c.*50 acres). Its first attested *bishop attended the *Council of *Arles in 314, and recent excavations have found elements of a cathedral complex of the Constantinian era, to which Bishop *Victricius added a second church *c.*395. Rouen and its *harbour remained important under the *Merovingians, and served as the main base for the regime of *Fredegund and *Chlothar II in the late 6th century. Later *bishops included *Praetextatus and *Audoin. EJ; STL

CAGaule 76/2 (2004).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 9 (1996), 19–35; 16/1 (2014), 246–7.

J. Le Maho, 'Le Groupe épiscopal de Rouen, des temps paléochrétiens à l'époque des raids vikings (IVe–IXe siècle): le témoignage des textes et de l'archéologie', in Y. Lescroart, ed., *396–1996, XVIe centenaire de la cathédrale Notre-Dame-de-Rouen* (2006), 142–79.

Rouran (Jou-jan) *See* TÜRKS; AVARS.

row houses (Ger. *Reihenhäuser*) A form of settlement in north-west Europe dating from the *Migration Period (seen in e.g. *Vorbasse, Denmark) which continued to be used into the 9th–12th centuries (in e.g. Gasselte, the Netherlands). Houses, often within regular plots of land, are aligned along a linear feature such as a track. SCT

Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements.*

Rubens Vase Ovoid vase 18.6 cm (7.3 inches) high of *c.* AD 400, carved in high relief from a single piece of agate and ornamented with two heads of a horned satyr, vine leaves, and bunches of grapes. Once owned by the painter Peter-Paul Rubens, it is now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Its only parallel is the Waddesdon Vase in the British Museum. MDN

M. C. Ross, 'The Rubens Vase: Its History and Date', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 6 (1943), 8–39.

Rufii Festi An aristocratic family from Volsinii; one of its ancestors was Musonius Rufus, a *philosopher from the 1st century. Part of the family moved to *Rome in the 2nd century and gained in importance in the 4th, when they became related by *marriage to such important senatorial aristocrats as *Praetextatus and the *Ceionii. Two Postumiani, the *Praefectus Praetorio of 383 and the *consul of 448, were members of the family, as was the poet *Avienus (*CIL* VI, 537). DN

PLRE II, stemma 20.

J. F. Matthews, 'Continuity in a Roman Family: The Rufii Festi of Volsinii', *Historia* 16 (1967), 484–509.

Rufinianae Suburb of *Chalcedon, location of a church and *monastery of the Apostles. Their construction is attributed to *Rufinus (*Praefectus Praetorio Orientis, 392–5), who established a community of *Egyptian monks there. The monastery was abandoned after his death, but reoccupied *c.*400 by S. *Hypatius, who established himself at the head of a new community. *Theodosius II twice visited the monastery, and the neighbouring *palace became a frequent retreat of his pious sisters. In 403 the Synod of the *Oak met at the Church of the Apostles. BWA

Callinicos, *Vie d'Hypatios*, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink (1971).

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 36–40.

Janin, *CPByz* 151–2, 239, 496–7, 504–5.

Rufinus First dispatched by *Anastasius I on an embassy to *Qobad I (502), later assignments included (unsuccessful) negotiations over *Justin I's proposed adoption of Qobad's son *Khosrow (525/6). With *Hermogenes, however, he negotiated the *Everlasting Peace of 530–2. He enjoyed cordial relations with Khosrow I and the Persian *aristocracy. PNB

PRLE II, Rufinus 13.

Greatrex and Lieu, 63, 81, 88, 91–7.

Greatrex, *RPW* 169, 213–14.

Dignas and Winter.

Rufinus, Flavius (d. 395) *Magister Officiorum (388–92), *consul (392), and *Praefectus Praetorio under *Theodosius I (392–5), and briefly regent for Theodosius' son *Arcadius. In 395, during *Alaric's invasion of Thrace, Rufinus rejected the assistance of *Stilicho, who ordered *Gainas to kill him. Rufinus was praised by *Libanius but commented upon adversely by *Zosimus, and was the object of a substantial *psogos *In Rufinum* in two books by *Claudian. Rufinus came from *Gaul, was a pious Christian, and founded a *martyrium and an important *monastery on his estates at *Rufinianae on the Asian side of the *Bosporus. DN

PLRE I, Rufinus 18.

Claudian, *In Rufinum*, ed. T. Birt, in MGH (Auct Ant) 10 (1892).

ed. H. L. Levy, *Claudian's in Rufinum: An Exegetical Commentary* (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 30, 1971), with edition of text.

Cameron, *Claudian*, 63–92.

T. D. Barnes, 'The Victims of Rufinus', *CQ* 34/1 (1984), 227–30.

Rufinus of Aquileia (*c.*345–*c.*410) Presbyter and translator into *Latin of *Greek texts, particularly of

*Eusebius' *Church History*, which he continued. Born in Iulia *Concordia, in *Venetia et Histria, Rufinus joined the ascetic community in *Aquileia *c.*370 after completing his education in *Rome, where he had become close friends with *Jerome.

He spent most of *c.*372–80 in *Egypt studying under *Didymus the Blind, who introduced him to the works of *Origen. Around 380 he joined Antonia *Melania in the *monastery she had founded in *Jerusalem, returning to *Italy in 397 after the *Origenist controversy disrupted his relationship with Jerome.

Much of the rest of his life was spent in translating *Greek Christian works into *Latin, beginning with *Pamphilus' *Vindication of Origen*, to which he added his own *The Falsification of Origen's Works*. Then in 398 came *Basil's *Rules* and his fateful translation of Origen's *On First Principles*, in the preface to which he repeated his contention that the heterodox elements in Origen's text were the falsifications and interpolations of his enemies; he had, he explained, altered or replaced them with sounder statements taken from elsewhere in Origen. Jerome thought otherwise, and the final break in their relationship came in 402 with Jerome 's ferocious *Apology against Rufinus* in reply to Rufinus' *Apology against Jerome* (which contain considerable biographical information, pejoratively expressed).

Rufinus meanwhile continued his translation work after returning to Aquileia: Basil's homilies and *Gregory's discourses, the **Sentences of Sextus*, Adamantius' *De Recta in Deum Fide*, Origen on Joshua, Judges, and Psalms 36–8, and (perhaps before his return to Aquileia) the letter to S. James attributed to Clement of Rome. His own *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* is usually dated *c.*401.

In 402 or 403 Rufinus published an expurgated translation of Eusebius of *Caesarea's *Church History* at the request of *Chromatius of Aquileia, who wanted something to read to his people to divert their attention from the threat posed by *Alaric's siege of *Milan. Amplified by Rufinus' own continuation (which carried the narrative forward from 325 to 395), it was the first Latin church history and proved immensely popular and influential during the millennium when ignorance of Greek in the West made Eusebius' original practically inaccessible to the Church there. *Socrates made critical use of Rufinus' *Church History* (II, 1).

In 403–6 Rufinus produced more translations: Origen's commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Romans (the last of which particularly influenced *Pelagius), the **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, and the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*. Back in *Rome before 406 (as seems probable), he was forced in 408 to flee to *Sicily with other Romans before a fresh *Gothic invasion. There he died in 410 or 411 while still at work, translating Origen on the Song of Songs, Samuel, Numbers, and perhaps Deuteronomy. PRA

Works (*CPL* 195–201):
PL 21, reprinting D. Vallarsi (1745).
ed. M. Simonetti (CCSL 20, 1961).
Latin version with prologue (*CPL* 198*p*) of **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (*CPG* 5620):
ed. E. Schulz-Flügel (PTS 34, 1990).
Church History, ed. Th. Mommsen, in E. Schwartz, Th. Mommsen, and F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke*, II/1, 2, 3 (GCS NF VI, 1–3, ²1999).
ET (selections) W. H. Fremantle (NPNF series 2, vol. 3, 1892/1969, 403–568).
ET J. N. D. Kelly (annotated), *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* (ACW, 1955).
ET P. R. Amidon, *History of the Church* (FC 133, 2016).
P. R. Amidon, *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia: Books 10 and 11* (1997).

STUDIES

F. X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411): His Life and Works* (1945).
F. Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^e siècle: l'apport de l' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Rufin d'Aquilée* (1981).

Rufus of Hypselis (Shotep) (*fl. c.*600) Biblical exegete and *bishop from Middle *Egypt, to whom are attributed *Coptic *sermons on two Gospels that some have deemed influenced by *Origenism. An earlier composition in *Greek followed by a Coptic translation has been proposed, though this is disputed. LSBM

ed. (with ET, introd., and comm.) M. Sheridan, *The Homilies of Rufus of Shotep on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (1999).
M. Sheridan, 'The Influence of Origen on Coptic Exegesis in the Sixth Century', in L. Perrone, ed., *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* (2003), 1023–33.
E. Lucchesi, 'La Langue originale des commentaires sur les Évangiles de Rufus de Shotep', *Orientalia* 69 (2000), 86–7.

Rugians Germanic people prominent in provincial politics of the Danube *frontier region during the last half of the 5th century. Rugians probably moved east of the Carpathians into the Danube basin in the late 4th century. They later figure among various peoples integrated with *Attila's *Huns and challenged Gothic control of the Danubian region after the death of Attila. The *Emperor *Marcian settled a group of Rugians in Thrace while others sought military service in *Italy under *Ricimer (d. 472). The *Life of S. *Severinus* describes contacts with Rugian **foederati* under their King Feletheus. These Rugians initially settled north of the Danube. When Feletheus claimed towns on the Roman side of *Noricum, *Odoacer launched a campaign (487–8), bringing Feletheus and others captive to

Italy. Other Rugians under Fredericus (son of Feletheus) settled at Novae and later accompanied the Ostrogothic invasion of Italy of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth. In 541, during *Justinian's *Gothic War, Rugians in Italy acclaimed *Erarich as king, but he was soon murdered. MSB

P. Heather, 'Disappearing and Reappearing Tribes', in W. Pohl and H. Reimitz, eds., *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (1988), 95–111.

H. J. Kim, *The Huns, Rome and the Birth of Europe* (2013).

Rule of the Master (*Regula Magistri*) *Latin monastic text from early 6th-century *Italy, basis for the *Rule of S. *Benedict*. There is no internal identification of author or *monastery; liturgical details suggest a central Italian provenance. The title was suggested by the format, in which answers to topical questions begin 'The Lord replied through the Master', i.e. the abbot. The spirituality is derived from *John Cassian and other Latin monastic sources, with many idiosyncratic features. CAS

CPL 1858:

ed. A. de Vogüé et al. (annotated with FT), *La Règle du Maître*, 3 vols. (*SC* 105–7, 1964–5).

ET P. Eberle, *The Rule of the Master* (CSS 6, 1977).

Rules of the Fathers Modern name for six brief *Latin monastic rules, placed chronologically between *John Cassian and the **Rule of the Master*. All emphasize the joyful singlemindedness (*unianimitas*) of communities under their abbot.

The *Rule of the Four Fathers*, the *Second Rule of the Fathers*, and the *Rule of Macarius* come from 5th- and 6th-century *Lérins. The *Oriental Rule* (*c.*515) and the *Rule of Macarius* (*c.*535) also come from *Gaul. A south Italian revision of the *Rule of the Four Fathers* (535/40) survives in one manuscript. All are anonymous, but the *Rule of the Four Fathers* and the *Rule of Macarius* explicitly evoke the spirit of great Egyptian ascetics. OPN

CPL 1859.

CPG 2403.

ed. A. de Vogüé (annotated with FT), *Les Règles des Saints Pères*, 2 vols. (SC 297–8, 1982).

ET C. V. Franklin, I. Havener, and J. A. Francis, *Early Monastic Rules: The Rules of the Fathers and the Regula Orientalis* (1982).

Runder Berg A steep-sided cone-shaped hill near Bad Urach in south-west Germany. Its top is 250 m (820 feet) above the valley below, and it is visible from all directions. Excavations have revealed settlement activity on the top, in an area measuring about 300 by 50 m (1,000 by 160 feet). There was activity during the Neolithic period, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, but the most extensive settlement was established in the second half of the 4th century AD. Extensive systematic excavations between 1967 and 1979 revealed the settlement of elite groups from the latter half of the 4th into the 6th century. There is considerable evidence of manufacturing activity; workshops produced weapons, personal ornaments, and other items, worked in *iron, *bronze, *gold, and antler. Luxury imports associated with *feasting, including wheelmade *pottery and *glass vessels, came from Roman *Gaul, as did *arms.

Partly artificial terraces on the slope of the hill were also occupied, indicating the density of settlement and economic activity at the site.

The site is considered a 'princely seat' (*Fürstensitz)* of the *Alamanni, a king's residence where a ruler lived surrounded by his band of warriors and specialized craft workers. The Runder Berg is the most thoroughly studied *hillfort of this category and for scholars serves as a model for the interpretation of other sites. The specialized workshops, numerous pieces of military equipment, and imported Roman luxury feasting vessels underscore the aristocratic character of the site and its special function as a political and military centre of an *Alamannic ruler.

The site has been published extensively, with numerous volumes presenting the materials and analyses of many different categories of finds. PSW

RGA2 s.v. Runder Berg bei Urach, XXV (2003), 489–93 (Koch).

R. Christlein, *Der Runde Berg bei Urach 1. Die frühgeschichtlichen Kleinfunde ausserhalb der Plangrabungen* (1974).

U. Koch, *Der Runde Berg bei Urach 5. Die Metallfunde der frühgschichtlichen Perioden aus den Plangrabungen 1967–1981*. Part 1: *Text*. Part 2: *Tafeln und Karten* (1984).

U. Koch, *Der Runde Berg bei Urach 6. Die Glas- und Edelsteinfunde aus den Plangrabungen 1967–1983* (1987).

runes and runic alphabet The runic alphabet was a writing system used by early Germanic peoples on the North Sea coast. Runes were primarily used for short *inscriptions on valuable items to mark ownership or manufacture, or on stones as memorials, though ephemeral messages have also been found on sticks and bones.

The oldest runic alphabet, called the Futhark, consisted of 24 runes. The earliest inscriptions are from Denmark *c.* AD 150. In Scandinavian runes from the Viking Age, the alphabet was reduced to 16 runes, many standing for multiple phonemes. This reflected linguistic changes which occurred between *c.*500 and 700. Most surviving inscriptions from the Viking Age are on stone, the largest on the 9th-century stone at Rök in Östergötland in Sweden which includes a short poem about *Theodoric the *Ostrogoth. Later in the Viking Age, a tradition developed in Scandinavia for runestones with memorial messages, many of them clearly Christian, in serpentine outline. In medieval Scandinavia (*c.*1100–1500), the Viking Age Futhark was expanded

again and used to carve religious or memorial messages onto church buildings and everyday objects.

The *Anglo-Saxons and *Frisians also used a runic alphabet also altered to reflect linguistic differences. This system, known as the Futhorc, contained 28 runes. Most famous are the runic inscriptions on the *Ruthwell Cross with a portion of the poem *The Dream of the Rood* in the *Anglo-Saxon language, and on the whale-bone Franks Casket. MVDH

R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (²1999).
T. Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, tr. B. van der Hoek (2005).

Rupert of Salzburg (*c.*650–715/16) Originally *Bishop of Worms, which he left for *Bavaria in 696 at the behest of *Theoto II the *Dux, possibly because of his opposition to the Pippinids. He was variously revered in later hagiograpical texts (*BHL* 7390–403) as a monastic founder and missionary bishop working from Salzburg. MDi; STL

Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, 245–51.
I. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (2001), 146–50.

Ruricius of Limoges (*c.*440–*c.*510) *Bishop of Limoges *c.*485–*c.*510. Born *c.*440 and related to the aristocratic *Anicii family of *Rome, Ruricius married Hiberia, a woman of patrician ancestry. Acquainted with the leading aristocrats of *Gaul, including *Sidonius Apollinaris and *Faustus of Riez, he was chosen as Bishop of Limoges *c.*485. His unpretentious *letter collection, which survives in a single manuscript, illustrates the transition from Roman to *Visigothic *Aquitaine and the last years of the kingdom of *Toulouse. His grandson (also Ruricius) was also Bishop of Limoges. RWM

PLRE II, Ruricius.
PCBE IV/2, Ruricius 1.
HLL 5, section 784.
CPL 985:
ed. A. Engelbrecht (CSEL 21, 1891), 349–450.
ed. B. Krusch (MGH Auct. Ant. 8, 1887).
ed. R. Demeulenaere (CCSL 64, 1985).
ET (annotated with intro):
R. W. Mathisen, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: A Collection of Letters from Visigothic Aquitania* (TTH 30, 1999).
R. W. Mathisen, 'The Letters of Ruricius of Limoges and the Passage from Roman to Frankish Gaul', in R. Mathisen and D. R. Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul* (2001), 101–15.
H. Hagendahl, *La Correspondance de Ruricius* (1952).

Rusafa *See* SERGIOPOLIS-RUSAFA.

Rusicade (mod. Skikda, Algeria) 87 km (55 miles) north of *Cirta, functioned as Cirta's port. *Granaries of the *Annona were built in 364/7. *Bishop Verulus was probably a *martyr under *Valerian. Bishop Victor in 305 obeyed the *Curator's order to burn the Gospels (Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, III, 27). Bishop Navigius in the 4th century built a *martyrium to S. Digna. The French city of Philippeville was built on top of the Roman grid pattern. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 441–3.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 350–2.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 299.

Rusticius Helpidius Author of two Latin poems, of uncertain date (but not earlier than the mid-5th century). The *Tristica* is a set of 24 three-line *epigrams on episodes from the Old and New Testaments. The *Carmen de Christi Iesu Beneficiis* is a *prayer for Christ's support in the struggle against sin that takes the form primarily of celebration of Christ's life and *miracles and the prospect of redemption. The poet is sometimes identified with Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, known from subscriptions to a pair of manuscripts copied at *Ravenna. MJR

PLRE II, Helpidius 7.
PCBE II/2, Helpidius 2.
CPL, 1506–7:
ed. (with IT) F. Corsaro (1955).

Rusticula of Arles (550/1–627) Abbess (568/9–627) in succession to Liliola of the *Monastery of S. John founded by *Caesarius in *Arles. She is known from her *Vita*, written by the *priest Florentius of S. Paul-Trois-Chateaux, which, amid other colourful stories, reports that she was of a noble family from Vaison-la-Romaine, and built several churches within the monastic precinct. MHei

PCBE IV/2, Rusticula.
Life (*BHL* 7405), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. IV (1902), 339–51.
ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 122–36.
P. Riché, 'La Vita S. Rusticulae', *AnBoll* 72 (1954), 369–77.

Rusticus, priest (*fl. c.*440) Gallic *priest, who wrote a *letter praising the exegetical works of *Eucherius of *Lyons, but is otherwise unknown. DRL

PCBE 4/2, Rusticus 5.
Letter, ed. C. Wotke in *Eucherii Opera* (CSEL 31, 1894), 198–9.

Rusticus of Narbonne *Bishop of *Narbonne (427–58/61) The son and nephew of bishops, Rusticus studied in *Rome before returning to *Gaul to pursue a monastic vocation, about which, *c.*412, he received a lengthy *letter from *Jerome (*ep.* 125) advising him to learn from the example of Bishop *Proculus of *Marseilles. As *metropolitan, he resisted the territorial

aggrandizement of *Hilary of *Arles, rebuilt his fire-damaged cathedral between 441 and 445, whose donors are listed in its fine dedicatory *inscription, and carried out other works in and around *Narbonne (*CIL* XII 5335–7; *AE* 1928, 95). In 458, Pope *Leo I (*ep.* 167) replied to his complaints about being ground down by office and about serious problems with his clergy, and answered his request for guidance on nineteen specific issues, particularly concerning *marriage, *penance, and *baptism. CD; STL

PCBE IV/2, Rusticus 3.

H.-I. Marrou, 'Le Dossier épigraphique de l'évêque Rusticus de Narbonne', *RivArcCrist* 46 (1970), 331–49.

Ruthwell Cross Stone cross of the early 8th century, now standing inside Ruthwell church on the Solway Firth in south-west Scotland, about 47 km (30 miles) from *Bewcastle. It bears a complex carved scheme of decoration and inscriptions. The two broad faces have *Latin *inscriptions bordering carved scenes from Christ's life, including the Crucifixion, whilst the lower portions of the narrower sides have inhabited plant scroll decoration bordered by *runic verses from the Old English poem the *Dream of the Rood*. SCT

E. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (2005).

F. Orton, I. Wood, and C. Lees, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (2007).

Rutilius Namatianus (*c.*370–after 417) Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, of Gallic birth and the son of a distinguished office-holder, rose to occupy the positions of *Magister Officiorum (412) and *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome (414). His elegiac poem, conventionally entitled *De Reditu Suo*, describes his voyage back to his native *Gaul from Rome, perhaps in 417 (the date is disputed). Only Book 1 and the first 68 lines of Book 2 survive in the manuscript tradition, though further fragments from Book 2 were discovered in 1973. The work is in the form of an *itinerarium*, describing Rutilius' progress from day to day as he travels up the coast of western *Italy, making frequent landfall. Rutilius is a Roman patriot, and probably a *pagan—he describes a seaside festival of the goddess *Isis. The most famous passage in the poem is the *hymn addressed to Rome as he leaves the *city, asking for her protection on his journey. He *praises Rome's monuments and the extent and justice of her Empire and celebrates her ability to recover from reverses. (Rome had been sacked in 410.) Rutilius is the voice of the conservative landowning and office-holding *aristocracy. Like-minded aristocrats figure largely in his poem; he has waspish things to say about monks and *Jews. But despite the overt optimism of Rutilius' hymn to Rome, there is an undercurrent of melancholy that runs through his poem—destroyed *cities, displaced landowners, young nobles betraying their ancestry and becoming monks—that lends a tone of disquiet to the poem. MJR

PLRE II, Namatianus.

HLL, section 624:

ed. (annotated with GT) E. Doblhofer, 2 vols. (1972–7).

ed. (annotated with FT) E. Wolff, S. Lancel, and J. Soler (2007).

ed. with ET J. W. and A. M. Duff in *Minor Latin Poets* (LCL, ²1982), 2, 751–829.

M. Squillante, *Il viaggio, la memoria, il ritorno: Rutilio Namaziano e le transformazioni dei tema odeporico* (2005).

S

Saba *See* SABAEANS.

Saba, S., and monastery of Mar Saba Monk (439–532) and founder of *monasteries in *Palestine. His *Life* was written by *Cyril of *Scythopolis. After a childhood spent in a rural monastery in his native *Cappadocia, Saba came to *Palestine aged 18, and begged admittance into the *lavra of S. *Euthymius. Euthymius refused to admit a beardless youth and sent him to the monastery of S. Theoctistus. Here Saba spent seventeen years, first in the **coenobium* (457–69) and later (469–73) in a nearby hermitage. In 473 he left the community and roamed the desert until 478, when he discovered the cave that became the core of his lavra. In 483 Saba began receiving disciples and building up the establishment with cells, an oratory, a cave-church, and a *hostel. A spring provided water to the community, now counting 150 members. In 492–502 Saba founded two new monasteries (Castellion and 'The Small Coenobium' for training adults to be hermits), built another church, and bought *hostels in Jericho and *Jerusalem. Opposition to his leadership caused him to go into exile, first near *Gadara and then near *Nicopolis (Emmaus); in both areas he founded *coenobia*. On his return, in 507 Saba founded the New Lavra for his rebellious disciples, then another lavra (Heptastomos), and three *coenobia* (Spelaion and those named after Scholarius and Zannus). Shortly before his death he built another lavra for his disciple Jeremiah. To all he gave a written *Rule*. Saba's *Typikon was adopted also in Byzantium.

Saba's 'Megiste Lavra', known in Palestinian Aramaic as Mar Saba, continued to flourish after his death, in spite of attacks by *Saracens during the *Persian invasion (614) and after the *Arab conquest (twenty monks killed in 797), which caused some of the monks to leave, and the others to retire within the core of the monastery. However, Mar Saba remained one of the most influential cultural centres in the Byzantine Empire, especially in the 8th–9th centuries. It is still active. LDS

Rule: ed. P. de Meester, *Règlement des bienheureux et saints pères Sabas-le-Grand et Théodose-le-Cénobiarque pour la vie des moines cénobites et kelliotes: document d'ascèse orientale (d'après le cod. Paris. Coislin. 295)* (1937).

VSab (*BHG* 1608; *CPG* 7536):

ed. E. Schwartz (TU 49/2, 1939), 3–85.

ET (annotated) R. M. Price and J. Binns (CSS 114, 1991), 93–219.

FT (annotated) A.-J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, III/2 (1962), 13–154.

Patrich, *Saba*.

J. Patrich, ed., *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (OLA 98, 2001).

Sabaeans (Gk. *Sabaioi*, Lat. *Sabaei*) Name of a people settled in the lowlands of inner *Yemen in southern *Arabia, deriving from Saba', a tribal confederation which evolved into the Sabaean kingdom in the 1st millennium BC. Their capital *Marib was surrounded by an oasis 10,000 ha (250,000 acres) in extent. The Sabaeans spoke Sabaic, a Semitic language written in the South Semitic alphabet, and they worshipped Almaqah, tutelary deity of their pantheon.

Sabaeans gained ascendancy over the competing south Arabian kingdoms in the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC and thereafter were a prominent part of the caravan trade, supplying *incense and myrrh to *Mesopotamia and the southern Levant (Jer. 6: 20, Isa. 60: 6). After half a millennium of shrinking power and the Roman siege of *Marib in 25 BC (Strabo, XVI, 4, 22–4), the 2nd–3rd centuries saw the beginning of a Sabaean renaissance. The city of *Sana'a, the counterpart of Marib, was elevated to the rank of a second capital on the highlands with the increasing influence of highland peoples.

After the the kingdom of *Himyar was annexed by the kingdom of Saba' in the late 3rd century, Saba' became merely the tribe of the inhabitants of Marib, but the name of Saba' lived on until the mid-6th century in the Himyarite royal title (King of Saba', dhu-Raydān, *Ḥaḍramawt, and Yamanat).

The *Qur'ān mentions Saba' twice: implicitly in sura 27 relating the visit to King Solomon of a queen—deemed to be the Queen of Saba' by drawing a parallel with the Old Testament; and explicitly in sura 34 (entitled Saba'), alluding to the prosperity of the oasis of Marib and referring to the breach of its great dam, here described as a divine retribution.

The Sabaeans of southern *Arabia are not to be confused with the religious communities of the Sabians of southern Iraq or with the Sabians of *Harran, a transcription of the Arabic *sābi'ūn* which derives from *sabā* ('to turn towards') and has nothing to do with *Saba'*. JS

Ch. Robin, 'Sheba', in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1996), 1043–254.

A. Jamme, *Sabean and Hasaean Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia* (1966).

Sabas the Goth, S. A Gothic Christian of low status, Sabas was martyred north of the Danube *frontier on 12 April 372. His *relics were secured by Junius Soranus, *Dux *Scythiae, and sent to *Basil of *Caesarea in *Cappadocia. Roman *emperors had previously interfered in Gothic territory in favour of Gothic Christians (*see* ULFILAS), and S. Sabas's *Passion* (*BHG* 1607) describes a Gothic Christian *priest moving easily across the frontier. Athanaric, Judge of the *Tervingi, was able to order the *persecution after 369, when a new treaty detached his Goths from tight Roman hegemony. Nonetheless, Sabas had to demand martyrdom as, first, his fellow villagers protected him, and, second, the persecutors initially regarded him as too unimportant. PHe

BHG 1607, ed. H. Delehaye, *AnBoll* 31 (1912), 161–300.

ET (with introd.) Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 102–10.

J. Leemans, 'The Martyrdom of Sabas the Goth: History Hagiography and Identity', in Gemeinhardt and Leemans, *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300–450 AD)*, 201–24.

Sabirs (Suwar) A group of *Huns who, after being attacked by the *Avars (*Theophylact, VII, 8, 3), attacked the *Saraghurs, *Oghurs, and *Onoghurs (*c.*463) somewhere on the western steppe, according to *Priscus (fr. 40 Blockley—30 Müller *FHG*). They were probably Turkic-speaking; their name may come from Turkic *sap-* 'to wander' and is likely to be connected with the toponym Siberia, from whence they probably originated. Arriving in the north Caucasus and the lower Volga in 506 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 3, 5), they subsequently raided south into the Roman and *Persian Empires in 515 (*John Malalas, XVI, 17; *Theophanes, AM 6008) and 531/2 (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 21, 11–16; John Malalas, XVIII, 70; cf. *Zacharias Rhetor, IX, 6c and VIII, 5f), events recorded by *Syriac and *Greek historians. Their military expertise extended to constructing *siege machines (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 11, 26–34). They were, of course, no match for the *prayers and powers of a *holy man (*John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, II, 18–20, IV, 78–83; VI, 115–16; XVI, 245).

In general, the Sabirs remained pro-East Roman in their political allegiance. They served with the Romans (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 30, 28; cf. II, 29, 15 and *Gothic*, VIII, 3, 5; *Agathias, III, 17–18). Sometimes, though, they formed alliances with the Persians (e.g. Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 16, 8 and 17, 10; Agathias, IV, 13, 7–9; *Menander Protector, fr. 18, 5–6) when, for instance, 3,000 Sabiri with a Persian army attacked Roman *Armenia (Procopius, *Persian*, I, 15) or when 12,000 Sabiri volunteered to help Persia but were sent away due to doubts about their loyalty (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 13, 6–7).

Several Sabir rulers are mentioned in East Roman sources. Queen Boa (*PLRE* III, Boa) was an ally of *Justinian I in 528 against Hun (*Hephthalite) allies of the Persians (John Malalas, XVIII, 13; *Theophanes, AM 6020). King Zilgibis (*PLRE* II, Zilgibis) was a Roman ally, *c.*520 (John Malalas, XVII, 10; **Chronicon Paschale s.a.* AD 522–3; *Theophanes, AM 6013). King Grod or Gordas (*PLRE* III, Grod) was baptized in *Constantinople in 527/8 (John Malalas, XVIII, 14; Theophanes, AM 6020). Zilgibis and King Grod are referred to merely as Huns. The Christianized Huns in the 530s mentioned by Zacharias Rhetor (IX, 3: Sunicas; XII, 7) *c.*535 may also have been Sabirs.

Conquered by the Avars in 558, the Sabirs were probably subsequently absorbed into the *Khazar union. MLD

BT II, *Σάβιροι*.

K. Czeglédy, 'Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the Nomads', *Studia Turcica* (1971), 133–48.

P. B. Golden, 'The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes', in *CHEIA* 1 (1990), 259–60.

P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, vol. 1 (1980), 34–6.

P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (1959), 231–2.

D. Sinor, 'Autour d'une migration de peuples au V^e^ siècle', *JA* 235 (1946–7), 1–77.

Sabratha Port *city of *Tripolitania 40 km (25 miles) west of Oea/Tripolis. The *city council ordered the restoration of a *temple in the 340s. Public buildings were restored following *earthquake damage in the mid-4th century. Four churches are known, one the converted civil *basilica. The *city was walled in the 4th–5th centuries and apparently again under Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* VI, 4, 13). GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 372–80.

Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 125–7.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 135–6.

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 223–5.

Sabrisho' (d. 604) *Catholicus of the *Church of the East. Born in Bet Garmai, Sabrisho' studied theology at the School of *Nisibis. He lived as an ascetic and became *Bishop of Lashom (south of mod. *Kirkuk). He was instrumental in the conversion of *Nu'man, King of *Hira. Shah *Khosrow II appointed him Catholicus in 596. Soon thereafter, Sabrisho' called a *council that reaffirmed the Dyophysite Christology of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. The *Acts* of the council contain polemics against Chalcedonians and *Miaphysites and a *letter from Sabrisho' to the monks in the region of *Singara (**Synodicon Orientale*, 196–207). Peter the Solitary wrote his *Vita* (*BHO* 1032) and further information is recorded in the *Chronicle of Séert* (154–78). JNSL

GEDSH s.v. Sabrisho' I, p. 353 (Brock).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 392.

Canons and *Letter*, ed. (with FT) Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 196–207(text), 456–70 (tr.).

Vita (*BHO* 1032), ed. Bedjan, *Histoire*, 288–331.

M. Tamcke, *Der Katholikos-Patriarch Sabrišo' I. (596–604)* (1988).

Sacellarius (Lat. 'pouch-keeper') A chamberlain in the Sacrum *Cubiculum of the Late Roman *court, in charge of the *emperor's private purse, first attested under *Zeno. *Narses, the *eunuch general, was Sacellarius early in the reign of *Justinian I. Theodorus Trithyrius, a general killed at the Battle of the *Yarmuk, was Sacellarius under *Heraclius. From the 8th/9th centuries onwards the term was applied to the chief financial officer of the East Roman state. PS

Jones, *LRE* 425, 567–8.

PLRE III, p. 1486.

sacramentaries In the *Latin-speaking Christian Church, a compilation of *prayer formulae required by a *bishop or *priest for liturgical celebrations, primarily for the *Eucharist, but also containing liturgical texts for *baptism, confirmation, ordination, various blessings, and consecrations. They omit rubrics and the liturgical texts for other ministers.

Although there is evidence from the 5th century that some bishops outside *Rome made such compilations for their own use, the precursor to the sacramentary was the *libellus missarum*, a booklet containing the texts for a particular Mass. None of these survive, but the 6th-century Veronense or Leonine Sacramentary (*CPL* 1897) was compiled from *libelli* of different authors and dates, with the formulae arranged according to the civil calendar. The attribution to *Leo is erroneous.

Erroneous also are the attributions to *Gelasius I and *Gregory I of the most important prototype sacramentaries (*CPL* 1899 and 1902 respectively). These have Roman provenance, with the former preserving the presbyteral formulae for the *tituli* churches of the city of *Rome, and the latter the *liturgy performed by the Bishop of Rome.

The original Gelasian Sacramentary was used in Rome in the 7th and 8th centuries, although the sole manuscript was copied in *Paris *c.* AD 750. It testifies to Roman influence on the liturgy of the *Frankish kingdoms even before the reforms of *Pepin III and Charlemagne.

The Gregorian Sacramentary was for papal celebrations in the Lateran *Basilica and in the *city churches. It was probably compiled under Pope *Honorius I but was subject to later additions. A Gregorian-type sacramentary was sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian as an authoritative model for Charlemagne's liturgical reforms, and thus greatly influenced the development of Western medieval Christian liturgy. JJD

CPL 1897–1905.

ed. A. Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire Gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VIIe siècle* (1958).

ed. L. C. Mohlberg, *Sacramentum Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])* (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes 1, 1956).

ed. J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vols. (Spicilegium Friburgense; vol. 16, 1971; 24, 1979; 28, 1982).

C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, tr. W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (1986).

Sacra Moneta (SM) 'Sacred Money or Sacred Mint', often marked SM on coins, denoting association with the imperial *Comitatus of the *Tetrarchy. Generally SM/Sacra Moneta marked the inviolability of *coinage produced directly under the imperial aegis. On *gold and *silver it probably indicated coins struck using bullion from the Comitatensian Treasury. Mints might simultaneously strike coins with and without the SM mark, presumably from different bullion, or perhaps produced for different purposes. On *bronze coinage, the Sacra Moneta inscription may have been linked to the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict. The mint at *Rome designated itself Sacra Moneta (*RIC* VI, 90) without issuing coins marked SM. RRD

RIC VI.

sacred geography The notion of space and *landscape as sacralized by association with or consecration to the divine or holy. *Pagan notions of a sacral landscape derived from a sense that certain places were particularly numinous (for instance the entry point to the Underworld at *Hierapolis of *Phrygia), and developed the hope that dedicating shrines and *temples in particular places would attract divine favour and even presence. Pagan sacred geography thus involved setting and

observing certain sacred limits, such as those between city and countryside, and maintaining the sacrality of particular spots, whether urban temples or rural shrines, by making offerings and performing rituals.

The process of *Christianization in Late Antiquity transformed both the appearance of rural and urban landscapes, and notions of sacred geography. The sacralization of the natural and built landscape was achieved through the destruction of pagan sacred sites, and through the dedication and construction of new Christian sites and buildings, especially churches, from the reign of *Constantine I onwards. Many pagans (such as *Libanius in his *Oration* 30 *Pro Templis*) feared that this 'conversion' of the landscape was displeasing to the gods, and resisted such change, sometimes fiercely. The appearance of *cities was transformed by the building of impressive, lavishly decorated, purpose-built churches, and the focus of urban religious life was shifted by the building of extra-urban shrines at or near the attested burial places of *martyrs. The contours of the sacred landscape within the largest cities were also shaped and expressed by *stational liturgy, wherein the *bishop celebrated services at different churches over the course of the liturgical year, marking in space the unfolding of sacred time (cf. *Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, XII).

From the 4th century AD onwards, the practice and idea of *pilgrimage became popular. Christians journeyed within, between, and beyond cities to encounter living *holy men and women, and to visit shrines associated with or containing *relics of the holy dead, often in search of healing, physical and spiritual. Pilgrims like the *Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333 and *Egeria also travelled to the *Holy Land to make physical contact with the places where Christ lived on earth; their records form a commentary on the sacred landscape. The formation of a new sacred geography was thus variously imaginative, experiential, liturgical, visual, and literary. SJL-R

V. J. Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* (rev. edn., 1979).
G. M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (1991).
B. Caseau, 'Sacred Landscapes', in G. Bowersock, ed., *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Postclassical World* (1999; ²2001), 21–59.
B. Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (2005).
L. Ellis and F. Kidner, eds., *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* (2001).
G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (2000).
D. Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (1998).
S. MacCormack, '*Loca Sancta*: The Organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity', in R. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (IllByzStud 1, 1990), 1–49.
R. A. Markus, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of the Holy Places', *JECS* 2/3 (1994), 257–71.
O. Nicholson, 'Constantinople: Christian Community, Christian Landscape', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 45–83.
B. Young, 'Sacred Topography and Early Christian Churches in Late Antique Gaul', in R. Jones, ed., *First Millennium Papers: Western Europe in the First Millennium* (BAR IntSer 401, 1988), 219–40.

sacrifice *Pagan religion was centred not on philosophical propositions and beliefs but on the correct performance of prayerful acts, which is why Christians said it 'had to do only with the fingers' (*Lactantius, *Inst*. V, 19, 29). Sacrifice was the most important of these acts; it was at the heart of *festivals, which were the only times when many people got to eat *meat. Philosophical pagans might disdain blood sacrifice; *Porphyry (drawing on Theophrastus) claimed that the earliest Greek heroes had sacrificed not animals but only the fruits of the earth (e.g. *De Abstinentia*, IV, 22). But for practical citizens, such as the pagans who opposed *Arnobius in early 4th-century *Africa (*Adv. Gent*. I), sacrifice honouring the Gods was the only technology available to ensure the cooperation of the forces of Nature, to forestall *natural disasters and obtain favourable conditions for *farming. *Iamblichus expresses the matter philosophically in Book V of his *De Mysteriis*: 'Prayers without sacrifice are mere words, whereas if sacrifice is added the words gain life.'

It was precisely because they refused to cooperate in the communal activity of sacrifice and spoke out against it that Christians were subjected to *persecution. Christians who could be persuaded to sacrifice were released; obliging Christians to sacrifice was not a 'test' applied to assess some other matter, it was precisely the issue at stake in the persecutions. It is scarcely surprising then, though some scholars deny it, that *Constantine I, in a law now lost but recited by his son *Constans I in a constitution of 341, made sacrifice illegal (*CTh* XVI, 10, 2). Supplementary legislation by Constantine specifically forbade sacrifice by imperial officials (*Eusebius, *VCon* II, 44). Surviving laws issued throughout the 4th century, except during the brief pagan revival under *Julian the Apostate (361–3), make specific stipulations. *Constantius II made sacrifice a capital offence (*CTh* XVI, 10, 6 of 356). In 391 *governors with the rank of *Consularis were to be fined six pounds of *gold and those with the rank of *Praeses four pounds of gold if they should enter a *temple to perform 'profane rites', and the staff in their **officium* was to be fined the same amount unless they had taken steps to restrain their chief.

As always with legal sources, the very fact of their being repeated may suggest that their provisions were

being ignored. Certainly the followers of Magna Mater in *Rome were still sacrificing in the late 4th century (*CIL* VI, 503). Nevertheless *Libanius' eloquent plea to the *emperor in his *Oration* 38 *For the Temples* forcefully disavows animal sacrifice: 'If people assemble in some beauty spot, slaughter a calf or a sheep, or both, and boil or roast it, and then lie down on the ground and eat it, I do not see that they have broken the laws at all' (16–17). Accusations of pagan sacrifice, however, were still being made in the time of *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Anecdota*, 11, 32). OPN; CARM

CAH XIII (1998): P. Brown, 'Christianization and Religious Conflict', 632–64.
S. Bradbury, 'Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the 4th Century', *CP* 89/2 (1994), 120–39.
S. Bradbury, 'Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice', *Phoenix* 49 (1995), 331–56.
T. C. Krulak, '*Θυσία* and Theurgy: Sacrificial Theory in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Platonism', *CQ* 64/1 (2014), 353–82.
K. Harl, 'Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium', *P&P* 128 (1990), 7–27.
G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice* (2009).

Sadalberga, S. (*c.*610–*c.*670) Daughter of Gundoin, *Dux in *Alsace, healed of blindness by S. *Eusthasius in childhood. As a *widow, she founded nunneries at Langres and Laon, and was succeeded as abbess in the latter by her daughter Anstrude. HJH

Vita Sadalbergae (*BHL* 7463–4), ed. B. Kruschin, MGH scr. rer. Meroving. 5, 40–66.
ET McNamara et al., *Sainted Women*, 176–94.
H. Hummer, 'Die merowingische Herkunft der *Vita Sadalbergae*', *Deutsches Archiv* 59 (2003), 459–93.

Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas (d. *c.*670–8) Early convert and *Companion of the Prophet from the tribe of *Quraysh who participated in formative battles during *Muhammad's lifetime and was among the commanders who led the conquest of Iraq where he was governor of *Kufa. Sa'd was one of ten Companions who were 'promised Paradise', according to a famous *hadith. NK

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Sa'd b. Abī Wakkas, 696–7 (Hawting).

saddle Until the 5th century AD the predominant saddle in Roman and Persian use was the four-horned, 'Celtic' type. Horns allowed free action with sword and shield, javelins, lance, or bow. In the 5th century the 'arched' saddle was introduced by the *Huns. It may have required stirrups, perhaps at first made of organic materials, although *iron stirrups appear in *Avar and *Lombard burials from the late 6th century onwards. JCNC

G. Herrmann, ' Parthian and Sasanian Saddlery: New Light from the Roman West', in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, eds., *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalia: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe* (1989), vol. 2, 757–809.
Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 123, 190, 227.

Sagalassus Principal *city of the *province of *Pisidia, Sagalassus is about 100 km (60 miles) north of *Attaleia (mod. Antalya) in south-west *Anatolia. Its fertile territory produced a surplus of *grain and *olives for export. It was a manufacturing centre of *pottery for use at table, Sagalassus Red Slip Ware, also exported though not in large quantities. Testament to the prosperity of its citizens is the largest known domestic courtyard in Asia Minor. A *martyrium inside the stadium may mark an execution site. A fortification wall was constructed around the city early in the 5th century, and a Christian *basilica was built inside the *Temple of Apollo Clarius in the mid-5th century though Christianity was not completely dominant by then. The Odeon was renovated in the 6th century to hold *gladatorial combats. Having recovered from the serious *earthquake of 518, the population was then severely depleted by *plague in the middle of the 6th century. Its inhabitants abandoned civic structures following another earthquake in the mid-7th century, instead occupying isolated hamlets across the city site and its former territory for several more centuries. PA

M. Waelkens, 'The Late Antique and Early Byzantine City in Southwest Anatolia: Sagalassos and its Territory. A Case Study', in J. U. Krause and C. Witschel, eds., *Die Stadt in der Spätantike. Niedergang oder Wandel?* (2006), 199–255.
H. Vanhaverbeke, F. Martens, and M. Waelkens, 'Another View of Late Antiquity: Sagalassos (S.W. Anatolia), its Suburbium and its Countryside in Late Antiquity', in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity*, 611–48.
A. K. Vionis, J. Poblome, and M. Waelkens, 'The Hidden Material Culture of the Dark Ages: Early Medieval Ceramics at Sagalassos', *AnatSt* 59 (2009), 147–65.

Sagastan East Iranian province (MP Sagastān, Arabic Sīstān) conquered *c.*233 by *Ardashir I, who deposed the Indo-Parthian King Farn-Sasan and installed a sub-king named Ardashir. *Shapur II established a mint (mintmark: SKSTN, S, SK) which, from *Qobad I (first reign) onwards, was at the provincial capital Zarang (mintmark: ZR, ZRN, ZRNG). DTP

M. Alram, 'Ardashir's Eastern Campaign and the Numismatic Evidence', *PBA* 133 (2007), 227–42.
C. E. Bosworth, 'Sistan and its Local histories', *IranStud* 33/1–2 (2000), 31–43.
C. E. Bosworth, *Sistan Under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids (30–250/651–864)* (1968).
R. Gyselen, 'La Reconquête de l'Est iranien par l'Empire sassanide au VIe s. d'après les sources "iraniennes"', *Arts asiatiques* 58 (2003), 162–7.

Sahabah *See* COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET.

Sahak I Part'ew (338–439) *Catholicus of *Armenia (387–428). Son of the Catholicus *Nerses I and the *Mamikonean princess Sanduxt, Sahak was appointed catholicus a few years after the murder of his father by King *Pap. His long career spanned the final years of the *Arshakuni royal dynasty, during which time he and King Vramshapuh charged Bishop *Mashtots with the creation of an alphabet for the *Armenian language. In 428 the majority of the Armenian nobility turned against the last Arshakuni King Artashir and pressed the Persian king for his deposition; Sahak opposed this move. The king was however deposed, bringing the dynasty to an end. Sahak was deposed as catholicus shortly thereafter and replaced by Surmak, an Armenian who was in turn quickly replaced by the Syrian Bishop Brkisho. He retained a few privileges of his office, but refused to return in 437 upon the death of the Catholicus Samuel, another Syrian who had succeded Brkisho. Sahak was therefore the last catholicus directly descended from *Gregory the Illuminator, although future catholici would often claim a relation to the Gregorid family. He is usually regarded as having had pro-*Constantinople sympathies, prompting his defence of King Artashir as well as his refusal to return as catholicus in 437. A number of *canons in the **Book of Canons* are attributed to him, and his correspondence with *Proclus of Constantinople and Acacius of Melitene is preserved in the **Book of Letters*. TLA

Maksoudian, *Koriwn: Vark' Mashtots'i.*

Sahdona (Martyrius) (7th cent.) East Syriac *bishop and monastic writer. He was a monk of Bet 'Abe (a daughter *monastery of the Great Monastery of *Abraham of Kashkar on Mount *Izla) and wrote a (lost) life of its founder Jacob. In 635/40 he became *Bishop of Mahoze d-Arewan in Bet Garmai. Shortly after that he began to cause controversy by expounding a Christology of one *qnoma* ('hypostasis'), a Chalcedonian-like position similar to that upheld at the *Council of *Chalcedon but unacceptable in the *Church of the East. (This was probably not a result of his seduction by Henophysites, as later stories had it.) He was condemned by two councils under the *Catholicus Maremeh and finally, soon after 649, by the Catholicus *Isho'yab III (whose letters are the primary sources for the controversy). He retired westwards, probably to *Edessa. Sahdona's main work, the *Book of Perfection*, is a treatise on the monastic life of which only one chapter (part 2 ch. 2) is concerned with Christology. JFC

GEDSH s.v. Sahdona (Martyrius), p. 356 (Brock).

DictSpir 10 *s.n.* Martyrius (Sahdona), cols. 737–42 (L. Leloir).

Kessel, *Bibliography*, 174–9.

ed. (with FT) A. de Halleux, *Martyrius (Sahdona), Œuvres spirituelles* (CSCO 200–1, 214–15, 252–5; Scr. syr. 86–7, 90–1, 110–13; 1960–5).

ET Brock, *Syriac Fathers on Prayer*, 198–329.

A. de Halleux, 'Martyrios-Sahdona: la vie mouvementée d'un "hérétique" de l'Église nestorienne', *OrChristPer* 24 (1958), 93–128.

Sa'id b. Batriq *See* EUTYCHIUS, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

saints' Lives Texts that provide, with edifying intent, a chronological narrative of the life of a *holy man or woman. Loosely related to ancient *biography, saints' Lives became hugely popular across the Late Antique world beginning in the 4th century. They were written and read in various contexts, monastic, liturgical, private, and bridged socio-economic boundaries. In formal terms, Lives are one particular genre of hagiography, a broad designation encompassing a variety of literary forms in both prose and verse that take the life and/or the actions of a holy person as their subject. Other subgenres of hagiography include *miracle collections, which often circulated alongside Lives, sayings collections such as the **Apophthegmata Patrum*, beneficial tales, acts of apostles, and *passions of *martyrs. The present entry is concerned with biographical narratives of holy people in prose, the genre of text referred to in *Latin as the *vita* and in *Greek as the *bios* of a saint.

Origins and related genres

Lives were written for entertainment, edification, and as an act of veneration, reflecting their development from several classical and early Christian literary traditions. The obvious precursor to the genre of saint's Life is the Gospels, as the purpose of a saint's Life was to demonstrate how the holy person resembled Christ in his holiness. *Acts* of the Apostles, both the Biblical Acts of the Apostles and the many apocryphal Acts (such as the *Acts of *Thomas*) that circulated in the early Christian centuries, also provided literary models and motifs for later Lives. Likewise, *passions of *martyrs, which describe, in literary forms which range from *letters to *reports of proceedings, the trials and deaths of Christians executed during persecutions, began to circulate in the mid-2nd century and introduced conventions adopted in later Lives. In the 4th century, when the saint's Life as a distinct category began to take shape, educated Christian authors experimented by fusing Christian notions of holiness with such classical literary forms as biography, *historiography, epideictic oratory, and the romance, in order to craft Lives of *holy men and women. An example is *Eusebius of *Caesarea's *Life of Constantine* of *c.*339 (*VCon*), a quasi-hagiographical

*panegyric of the first Christian *emperor. A similar spirit of innovation is displayed in the *funeral orations of *Gregory of *Nazianzus, especially his *Oration* 43 on *Basil of *Caesarea (*c.*381). These texts creatively adapt a standard form of epideictic rhetoric in order to present Gregory's *family and friends as ideal Christians. Similarly, *Gregory of *Nyssa's *Life of S. *Macrina* (*c.*380), crafted as a *bios* contained within a letter, is a biographical account of the author's sister as an ideal holy woman.

Greek and Latin Lives

The *Life of S. *Antony* by *Athanasius of *Alexandria, the classic example of 4th-century hagiographical writing, established the saint's Life as a genre in its own right. Composed shortly after the subject's death in *c.*356, it became the standard model of the monastic *bios*, was rapidly translated into several languages, and seems to have been responsible for an explosion of interest in recording the lives of holy people, especially *ascetics. Thereafter, the monastic biography became a popular genre in both *Greek and *Latin literature. Jerome's novelistic *Life of S. *Paul of Thebes* (*c.*375) and his later Lives of the monks S. *Hilarion and S. Malchus can be read as a Latin response to Athanasius' *Life of S. *Antony*, while *Sulpicius Severus' *Life of S. *Martin of Tours* (late 4th/early 5th cent.) adapts the ascetic Life to a Western setting. From the early 5th century, compendia of brief Lives also appear. Examples include the anonymous **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (*c.*400), the *Lausiac History* by *Palladius of *Helenopolis (*c.*420), the *Religious History* by *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus (*c.*440), and the *Lives of the Fathers* written by *Gregory of *Tours in the 6th century. As the Life developed as a genre in its own right in the 5th and 6th centuries, subgenres of Lives begin to emerge, corpora of texts devoted to specific hagiographical types, such as Lives of founders of *monasteries, of *bishops, of *stylites, of *fools for Christ, and of nuns who lived as men, such as S. *Mary of Egypt. Lives of saints continued to be widely popular throughout the Middle Ages, but Late Antiquity, between the 4th and 8th centuries, was the most significant period of development and innovation in a genre which was able to generate works of such literary quality as the poems of *Romanus and *Bede's *Prose Life of S. *Cuthbert*.

Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic Lives

Though Greek and Latin Lives have enjoyed the most scholarly attention, flourishing hagiographical traditions developed in *Coptic, *Syriac, and later also in *Arabic. In all these languages, new texts were composed and there was also a widespread culture of *translation of Lives, especially from Greek but also between the three language groups, and in particular from Greek and Syriac into Arabic beginning in the 8th century. In *Egypt, Coptic Lives took their cue initially from Greek exempla such as Athanasius' *Life of S. Antony*, which was quickly translated into Coptic, while various Lives of *Pachomius, *Shenoute, and other Egyptian ascetics, monastic founders, and bishops were composed originally in Coptic. Syriac boasted a hugely creative and productive hagiographical tradition in both prose and verse, contemporaneous to the development of Greek and Latin Lives. Classic Syriac works include the *Life of S. Abraham of Qidun and his niece Maria* (*c.*400), the 5th-century *Syriac Life of S. *Symeon Stylites the Older*, and hagiographical compendia such as the mid-6th-century *Lives of the Eastern Saints* by *John of *Ephesus. Syriac literature is classified in three main groups according to the divisions in Syriac Christianity between the *Syriac Orthodox in the West, the *Church of the East, and the *Melkites who accept the Christology of the *Council of *Chalcedon. Syriac saints' Lives from the 5th century onwards frequently have a polemical dimension as a result of these complex theological developments and ecclesiastical loyalties.

SEI

The editors of the 68 volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum (AASS)*, the Bollandist Fathers, intended it to be a comprehensive collection of saints' Lives, arranged by their feast days; the first volume appeared in 1643, the most recent (Novembris IV) in 1925. The Bollandists also produced *BHG*, *BHL*, *BHO*, and are responsible for the journal *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882–) and the monograph series Subsidia Hagiographica (1886–). The Bollandist H. Delehaye enunciated principles for the scientific study of hagiography in a series of works, in particular:

H. Delehaye, *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine* (SubsHag 73, ^{2}1991), with his full bibliography (xxi–xxvii).

H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques* (SubsHag 18, ^{4}1955; ET by D. Attwater, *The Legends of the Saints*, 1962).

H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (SubsHag 21, 1934).

Delehaye's principles have been combined with the prosopographical methods of Roman historians in Barnes, *Hagiography*.

HANDBOOKS

R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (SubsHag 80, 1953; repr. with revised bibliography, 2000).

A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (TU 50–2, 1937–52).

S. Efthymiadis, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 2 vols. (2011–14).

BHG, *BHL*, *BHO*, now dated, provide a catalogue of references to earlier editions of saints' Lives in Greek, Latin, and oriental languages respectively.

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, is a catalogue of Syriac saints' Lives more modern than *BHO*.

STUDIES

S. P. Brock and S. A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (1987).
L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (1997).
T. Hägg and P. Rousseau, *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (2000).
D. Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (2004).
E. Patlagean, 'Ancienne Hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale', *Annales: ÉSC* 23 (1968), 106–26.
M. van Uytfanghe, 'L'hagiographie: un "genre" chrétien ou antique tardif?', *AnBol* 111 (1993), 135–88.
B. Ward, 'The Spirituality of St. Cuthbert', in G. Bonner, D. W. Rollason, and C. Stancliffe, eds., *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (1989).
S. Wilson, *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History* (1983).

saints' Lives, Egyptian The *Coptic language has two words for 'saint', *hagios* and *petouaab*, apparently used interchangeably. The *Arabic word is *marī*. Saints may be classified as *martyrs, confessors, monastic leaders and *desert fathers, church leaders, and reformed characters. The Early Church had no formal procedure for canonizing saints. In addition to *martyr passions and the Lives, *miracles and encomia of saints (recorded mostly in books belonging to monastic *libraries), there is also a Synaxary in *Arabic, where the notices on the saints are arranged by month; the term 'menology' is also used for this. Some *martyrs became so popular that a shrine, a *martyrium, was built over their graves, such as that of S. *Menas near *Alexandria.

The most important monastic figures were Ss. *Antony (*c.*251–356), *Pachomius, and *Shenoute, while the most notable church leaders were *Athanasius and *Cyril. Various collections of stories about desert fathers include anonymous **Apophthegmata Patrum*, probably compiled in Coptic and translated into *Greek, the *Lausiac History* of *Palladius and the **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* in Greek, and a history written in Coptic by Papnoute. Reformed characters include Moses the Robber and *Mary of Egypt.

The *Life of Antony* written soon after Antony's death was translated into many languages and became the template for many Christian *saints' Lives, Eastern and Western, during the Middle Ages. The *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (*BHO*) lists editions of saints' Lives in Near Eastern languages up to 1910. AAl

CoptEnc vol. 4 *s.v.* hagiography, Coptic, cols. 1191a–1197b (T. Orlandi).
H. Delehaye, 'Les Martyrs d'Égypte', *AnBoll* 40 (1922), 5–154 and 299–364.
De Lacy O'Leary, *Saints of Egypt* (1937).
P. Peeters, *Orient et Byzance: le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (SubsHag 26, 1950).

saiones Military agents of the *Ostrogothic kings of *Italy employed in many tasks, e.g. as messengers, tax-collectors, and *spies. Despite resembling Roman **agentes in rebus*, they were more powerful and carried direct royal authority. The word derives from *sagum*, their characteristic dress. JND

Wolfram, *Goths*, 294.
Burns, *Ostrogoths*, 177–9.

Sajah Prophetess and leader in southern *Arabia (Yamama) of parts of the *Tamim and *Taghlib *tribes in opposition to the *Caliph *Abu Bakr during the *Ridda Wars. After defeat by another fraction of Tamim, she sought to form an alliance with *Musaylima. Variant accounts of their meeting include ribald verses regarding their 'marriage'. After Musaylima's death, she accepted *Islam and died, at an uncertain date, in *Basra. GRH

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.v.* Sadjāh, 738–9 (Vacca).
E. H. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia* (1972).

Sakaon, Aurelius (*c.*265–*c.*343) Small landholder (*georgos*) and *village leader from *Theadelphia in the *Arsinoite *nome of the Egyptian Fayyum. Sakaon served as village head (*komarch)* and official in charge of the local granary (*sitologos)* for several years, and was an active farmer with numerous holdings (similar to Aurelius *Isidorus). He is associated with the eponymous *archive of roughly 75 *papyrus documents, which include declarations of people and land, *leases, receipts, *reports of court proceedings, *petitions, etc. Besides documenting the financial and agricultural affairs of Sakaon and his *family, his papers offer a glimpse into rural life and the increasing hardship experienced during the 4th century by villages in the Fayyum's outer areas due to difficulties in *irrigation. The period witnessed a substantial contraction of cultivable land and the subsequent abandonment of villages such as Theadelphia by villagers unable to produce enough to meet the demands of the fisc. RA

P.Sakaon = ed. (with ET and comm.) G. M. Parássoglou, *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon: Papers of an Egyptian Farmer in the Last Century of Theadelphia* (Pap. Texte Abh. XXIII, 1978).
Trismegistos Archives: 'Aurelius Sakaon'. <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/206.pdf> (accessed 20 October 2017).
R. S. Bagnall, 'The Population of Theadelphia in the Fourth Century', *BullSocArchCopte* XXIV (1979–82), 35–57.

Salama, Abba Name given to the first *Bishop of *Aksum in *Ethiopian tradition. *See* FRUMENTIUS.

Salamis *Harbour *city on the east coast of *Cyprus, renamed Salamis-Constantia by *Constantius II (*John Malalas, XIII, 48). It probably became the seat of the *governor around the same time and was regarded as the senior diocesan see of Cyprus by the late 4th century. *Earthquakes in the mid-4th century destroyed the colonnaded Gymnasium. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (1) admired the palm trees and the tomb of S. *Epiphanius. The nearby Great *Baths, rebuilt several times, has an *inscription to 'the Holy Emperors', perhaps *Heraclius and *Constantine III (613–41). The Neronian *aqueduct from Chytroi/Kythrea was rebuilt in 619/31; its completion was credited to Heraclius.

The *Temple of Zeus Olympios is not mentioned after the earthquake; its porticoes became *shops. The huge seven-aisled *basilica built *c.*400 incorporated the tomb of the *Bishop *Epiphanius (*c.*368–408). Other churches were built over the east portico of the Temple of Zeus and in the north portico of the Gymnasium. Two important late 5th-century basilicas, S. *Barnabas and Campanopetra, are possible alternative sites for the burial place of the saint.

A large two-storeyed, *stucco-decorated complex, of the 5th century, known as the Huilerie, may be the episcopal residence. In the early 7th century it was occupied by shops and working quarters.

*Arab raids occurred under *Mu'awiya in 649 and the Church of S. Epiphanius was burnt. A new church was built in the east court and a new building at the Huilerie included an *olive press; the area was enclosed in new defensive walls. Urban life continued through the 8th century; silting of the harbour probably caused the move to Famagusta. RKL

G. Argoud, O. Callot, and B. Helly, *Salamine de Chypre. XI, Une résidence byzantine, 'L'huilerie'* (1980).

A. H. S. Megaw, 'The Campanopetra Reconsidered: The Pilgrimage Church of the Apostle Barnabas?' in E. Jeffreys, ed., *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization* (2006), 394–404.

St. Albans and S. Alban (Roman Verulamium) Roman *city in south-east England. Urban life continued well into the 4th century with clear evidence of buildings being maintained in the town centre of Verulamium, although some peripheral areas did fall into disuse. A complex sequence near the forum appears to show successive construction and repair that takes urban activity well into the 5th century.

St. Albans is renowned as the site of the *martyrdom of S. Alban. The date is debated. *Gildas is the first to place the martyrdom at St. Albans (IX, 10, 2–11), although *Victricius of *Rouen in the late 4th century possibly refers to it (XII, 104–5) and S. *Germanus visited the shrine in AD 429 (*VGermani* 16, cf. 18). There is an epic *martyr passion (*BHL* 2100d), known to *Bede (*HE* I, 8) and written by someone familiar with the geography of the place. There is good evidence that the medieval Abbey of S. Alban, which lies in a position similar to that described in this *Passion* as the site of his execution, had its origins in a Late Roman *cemetery. It is probable that the Late Antique *martyrium of S. Alban was replaced by a later *Anglo-Saxon *monastery at this site. DAP

BHL 2100d and 2111: ed. W. Meyer, Abh. Göttingen 8/1 NF (1904).

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 307–12.

N. Higham, 'Constantius, St Germanus and Fifth-Century Britain', *EME* 22/2 (2014), 113–37.

M. Henig and P. Lindley, eds., *Alban and Saint Alban's: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology* (2001), esp. R. Sharpe, 'The Late Antique Passion of St Alban', 30–7, and M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The Origins of Saint Alban's Abbey: Romano-British Cemetery and Anglo-Saxon Monastery', 45–77.

R. Niblett and I. Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns: An Assessment of St. Albans' Archaeology up to AD 1600* (2005), 161–77.

Salii *See* FRANKS.

Salim Abu al-'Ala' (*fl.* 720) Head of the Writing Office (**diwan al-rasa'il*) under the *Umayyad *Caliph *Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 724–43) and mentor and relative by marriage of *'Abd al-Hamid. Some of Salim's prose appears to be partially extant in later sources. NAM

W. al-Qadi, 'Salim Abu al-'Ala', *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. J. Meisami and P. Starkey (1998), vol. 2, 681–2.

I. 'Abbas, *'Abd al-Hamid ibn Yahya al-Katib wa-ma tabaqqa min rasa'ilih wa-rasa'il Salim Abi al-'Ala'* (1988).

Sallustius Flavius Sallustius, *Consul 363 and *Praefectus Praetorio in *Gaul 361–3. He had been a *Vicarius three times before *Julian appointed him to the Gallic Prefecture. *Ammianus (XXIII, 5, 4) mentions among adverse portents associated with Julian's Persian expedition that Sallustius wrote to Julian from Gaul urging him not to attack precipitately without having prayed first for the protection of the (*pagan) gods. Sallustius is sometimes confused with another pagan friend of Julian, Saturninius Secundus *Salutius, and it is probably the latter who is the *Sallustius Neoplatonicus who wrote the pagan handbook *On the Gods and the Universe*. SFT

PLRE I, Sallustius 5.

Sallustius Neoplatonicus Author of a *Neoplatonic treatise *On the Gods and the Universe*, written in *Greek in the reign of *Julian (361–3), to support the

*emperor's project to restore *paganism. Named Sallustius in some of the manuscripts of the work including the earliest surviving manuscript (of the 13th cent.), the author is commonly thought to be the emperor's friend Secundus *Salutius, *Praefectus Praetorio in *Oriens under Julian, rather than his friend *Sallustius, *Praefectus Praetorio in Gaul under Julian, and *consul in 363. It is the closeness of Salutius to Julian which makes him more likely to be the author. He was an adviser to Julian when he was *Caesar in *Gaul and Julian wrote a *consolation to himself on his departure. In addition, Julian dedicated to him his *hymn to the *Sun, which exhorts him to read *Iamblichus' *On the Gods* (157C).

On the Gods and the Universe is an introductory guide to *Neoplatonism and is indebted to Iamblichus and Julian himself, but also demonstrates independence of thinking. It covers such topics as the First Cause; the orders of the gods; the nature of the universe; mind, being, and soul; Providence and Fortune; and virtue and evil. Particularly arresting is the discussion of the interpretation and function of *myths which addresses the story of Attis and the Mother of the Gods, as Julian also did, and the insistence on the necessity of animal *sacrifice to achieve union with the gods. SFT

ed. A. D. Nock (with ET and comm.), *Sallustius, Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (1926).

ed. G. Rochefort (with FT and comm.), *Saloustios, Des dieux et du monde* (1960).

E. C. Clarke, 'Communication, Human and Divine: Saloustios Reconsidered', *Phronesis* 43 (1998), 326–50.

I. Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Theurgy in Late Antiquity: The Invention of a Ritual Tradition* (2013), 149–51.

Salona (mod. Solin, Croatia) *City, *colonia*, and *harbour. Under *Diocletian (born nearby) Martia Iulia Valeria Salona Felix was the capital of the *province of *Dalmatia. It was the headquarters of the Praepositus of the Thesaurus Dalmatiae, a regional office of the Sacrae *Largitiones. There were also imperial workshops for *arms and armour, for *textile *dyeing (*bafium*), and, by 428, weaving—moved from Bassiana in *Pannonia (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*occ.*] IX, 22; XI, 23, and 46 and 66).

In the 460s and 470s, Salona was fought over by warlords and *usurpers. Between 461 and 468 the **patricius* *Marcellinus ruled Dalmatia from Salona. His nephew *Julius Nepos became *emperor in 474 after deposing *Glycerius, whom he appointed *Bishop of Salona. Overthrown by *Romulus Augustulus in 475, Nepos escaped to Salona and was killed there in 480.

During the *Ostrogoth period (481–535), Salona was the administrative and ecclesiastical centre for Dalmatia and Pannonia *Savia, and the site of a mint in 476–80. At the start of *Justinian I's war with the Ostrogoths (535–54) it was a significant centre of operations; it was recaptured by the Byzantines in 537 and its ruinous fortifications were repaired (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 7, 31). It was also briefly an imperial mint under Justinian. The latest coins of *Heraclius (610–41) and a *letter of Pope John IV (640–2), a native of Dalmatia, directing Abbot Martin to collect *relics of the Salonitan martyrs and to ransom captives in *Histria and Dalmatia (**Liber Pontificalis*, 74) suggest that the raids by *Avars and *Slavs eventually caused Salona's abandonment *c.*636–8. The inhabitants and archbishopric moved to *Split.

Excavation started early in the 19th century and still continues. Salona enjoyed urban amenities—*forum, curia, *theatre, amphitheatre, *city gates, and walls. It also furnishes copious evidence for the urban and funerary development of early Christianity. The relics of nine Salona *martyrs were taken to *Rome by John IV's emissaries in 640/2; one of these, the *Bishop Domnio, is named in the *Syriac *Martyrology of 411* and the names of several are recorded on Salona *inscriptions. Three large cemeteries and *basilicas developed around martyrs' burials, today called Kapljuč, Manastirine, and Marusinac. In the 4th–6th centuries the episcopal complex evolved through increasingly monumental structures: two oratories in an elite residence, a public church, a three-aisled *basilica with octagonal *baptistery, to which a cross-shaped basilica was attached. Seven urban churches of the 5th and 6th centuries have been confirmed archaeologically. The metropolis held regional synods in 530 and 533 with twelve suffragan bishops. IDS; RRD

E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (1951).

N. Duval and E. Marin, eds., *Salona III: recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salona. Manastirine: Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléo-chrétienne à Salone* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 194/3, 2000).

J. Mardešić, 'Excavations 1970–2000', in Davison et al., *Dalmatia Fs Wilkes*.

Ž. Demo, 'The Mint in Salona: Nepos and Ovida (474–481/2)', in P. Kos and Ž. Demo, eds., *Studia numismatica Labacensia Alexandro Jeločnik oblate* (1988).

Bellinger, *DOC* I.

Salsovia Roman fortress in *Scythia Minor (Dobruja) situated on the southern bank of the S. Gheorghe branch in the delta of the Danube River (mod. Romania). The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 39, 26) places the Milites Quinti Constantiani at Salsovia. An *inscription records the annual performance by the garrison of worship of the *Sun ordered by *Licinius (*ILS* 8940). Current fieldwork has suggested that the Late Roman camp was eventually burnt. The destruction must have been severe, for no signs of subsequent settlements have been found. Newcastle University, EcoMuseum and the British Academy have been engaged in fieldwork at the site since 2004. ABA

<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/hca/projects/thesalsoviaproject.html/> (Consulted 30 October 2017).
L. Vagalinski, *The Lower Danube in Antiquity* (2007).

salt (Grk. *hals*, Lat. *sal*) Salt is differentiated in accordance with its origin as either sea salt (Gk. *hals thalassios*, Lat. *sal maritimus/marinus*) or land salt (Gk. *hals oruktos*, Lat. *sal fossicius/fossilis*). Salt was gained from salt pans or as rock salt from mines. In 417 the poet *Rutilius Namatianus saw salt evaporation ponds on the Italian coast near Volaterrae (1, 475–84). Other pans were noted on the eastern coast and *Apulia (*Tabula Peuteringiana*, cf. *Salinae*: **Anonymi Cosmographia*, IV, 31; V, 1; Guido of Pisa, *Geographia*, XXII, 70). The place name *Salinae* indicates salt production; *Mauretania is called *patria salinarum* (*Anonymi Cosmographia*, I, 2; III, 8; V, 28). Evidence of salt extraction from the 3rd–4th centuries has been found at Huntspill on the Somerset Levels in *Britain. *Sidonius Apollinaris knew of salt being mined in hills near *Tarragona (*ep*. IX, 12, 1; Solinus, XXIII, 4). *Synesius (*ep*. 148) notes the production of Ammon's salt, salt derived from an underground bed in *Cyrene, which *Isidore assumed grew during the waxing of the moon (*Etymologiae*, XVI, 2, 3, 7). Ammianus relates that *Alamans and *Burgundians were at war over salt sources in the late 4th century (XXVIII, 5, 11), and the *Armenian History* of *Sebeos (132) notes salt mines at Kołb in *Armenia in AD 631.

Salt pans were leased out to *mancipes salinarum* who held a salt monopoly. They were freed from taxation but in return they were obliged to supply Rome's *baths with firewood (*CTh* XI, 20, 3; XIV, 5, 1; *CJust* IV, 61, 11; *Symmachus, *ep*. IX, 130; X, 44); this monopoly was upheld by Pope *Leo I in 473 (*CJust* IV, 59, 1). The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict notes different prices for plain and spiced salts (3, 8). AMH

RE I A/2 (1920) *s.v.* 'Salz', cols. 2075–99 (H. Blümner).

saltus *Latin term for uncultivated lands. It was used in a more technical sense to denote *estate lands used for pasturage and animal breeding. In Late Antiquity *saltus* indicated large aristocratic and *imperial estates, especially in *Africa. *See also* ESTATE MANAGEMENT. RM

G. Soricelli, '*saltus*', in A. Storchi Marino, ed., *Economia, amministrazione e fiscalita' nel mondo romano: ricerche lessicali* (2004), 97–123.

Salutius Saturninius Secundus Salutius, *Praefectus Praetorio in *Oriens 361–5 and again 365–7, a close friend and supporter of the *Emperor *Julian and probably author of the *pagan handbook *On the Gods and the Universe* ascribed in the earliest manuscript to *Sallustius Neoplatonicus.

Salutius had enjoyed a distinguished career in the imperial *administration which had included being *Magister Memoriae and Proconsul *Africae when he was sent to *Gaul by *Constantius II as an adviser to the *Caesar Julian. The two men shared a commitment to classical literature and became friends, but in 357/8 Constantius recalled Salutius; Julian in consequence wrote his *Consolation to Himself* (*Oration*, VIII) in which he compared their relationship with that of the Republican heroes Scipio and Laelius.

After Constantius died in 361, Julian appointed Salutius Praetorian Prefect of Oriens, charging him with heading the trials at *Chalcedon of those guilty of maladminstration in the previous reign. Julian dedicated to Salutius his *Hymn to the Sun*, and he read Julian's *Caesars*, but in spite of his pagan convictions, even *Gregory of *Nazianzus considered that Salutius was fair-minded towards Christians.

Salutius had considerable responsibility for organizing the logistics of Julian's Persian expedition, he fought in the battle when Julian was fatally wounded and was with his friend when he died. He declined the imperial office after the death of Julian on grounds of age and ill health, but was sent by *Jovian with a cavalry general called Arinthaeus to negotiate peace terms with the Persians. He continued to serve as Praefectus Praetorio under *Jovian and *Valens (with a brief gap caused by *court intrigue) and finally retired in 367. *Libanius, a frequent correspondent, admired him and *Himerius addressed an oration to him (possibly the fragments of *Oration* 42). He is not to be confused with Flavius *Sallustius, Praefectus Praetorio of Gaul 361–3. SFT

PLRE I, Secundus 3.
J.-L. Desnier, 'Salutius—Salustius', *RÉAnc* 85/1 (1983), 53–65.

Salvian (*c*.400–after *c*.468) *Priest and author in *Gaul. Salvian came from the Rhineland and saw *Trier being sacked by *barbarians, *c*.421. After agreeing with his wife that they should pursue *asceticism, he moved to southern Gaul and joined the monastic community at *Lérins under its founder *Honoratus (mid-420s); at an unknown date he became a priest at *Marseilles. He was the author of numerous literary works, of which two treatises and nine *letters are extant.

The earlier treatise, *Ad Ecclesiam* (*To the Church*; mid- to late 430s), is a work on wealth and *almsgiving, notable for its vehement denunciation of those who keep what Salvian regards as an excessive amount of property for themselves or their families. *De Gubernatione Dei* (*On the Government of God*), written in the early 440s, in the aftermath of the fall of *Carthage to the *Vandals in 439, is a much more ambitious work, which attempts to explain barbarian successes as punishments by God for the sins of the Romans. Salvian portrays the Christian Roman Empire as having a relationship to

God analogous to that of Jewish kingdoms in the Old Testament, so that God punishes them in much the same way that he permitted the conquest of *Jerusalem by the Babylonians. In order to demonstrate that the Romans deserve such punishment, he devotes much of *De Gubernatione* to descriptions of the sinful behaviour he claims is endemic in Roman society, ranging from mundane dishonesty and ill-will, through attendance at the games and the theatre, to oppression of the *poor by landowners and officials. Salvian pays an unusual degree of attention to the latter issue, focusing on the oppressiveness of the *taxation system, exploitation of peasants by landlords, the rebellion of the *Bacaudae, and the treatment of slaves. He includes enough detail about these topics to make him a significant historical source for the working of contemporary social institutions.

Salvian's condemnation of the Romans is accompanied by an idealized portrait of their barbarian conquerors, especially the Christian *Goths and *Vandals. His first lengthy discussion of barbarians argues merely that their sins anger God less than those of the Romans because they are committed in ignorance. However, by the end of *De Gubernatione* he asserts that the Goths and Vandals are morally superior to the Romans, portraying their victories as signs of divine favour.

De Gubernatione is important as an attempt to explain contemporary history in religious terms. It is also a significant source for the impact of the barbarian invasions on society and on people's view of the world, and for conditions in the 5th-century Western Empire, though its highly polemical nature means that it has to be used with caution. Salvian was alive but elderly when *Gennadius was writing *De Viris Illustribus* (68). DRL

RE (2e Reihe) I A, Halbbd. 2 (1920) *s.n.* Salvianus 2017–18 (H. Lietzmann).
CPL 485–87.
ed. K. Halm (MGH Auct. Ant. 1, 1877).
ed. F. Pauly (CSEL 8, 1883).
ed. (annotated with FT) G. Lagarrigue, 2 vols. (SC 176, 1971; 220, 1975).
ET J. O'Sullivan (FC, 1947).
ET E. M. Sanford (1930).
J. Badewien, *Geschichtstheologie und Sozialkritik im Werk Salvians von Marseille* (1980).
Brown, *Through the Eye of the Needle*, ch. 26.
W. Goffart, 'Salvian of Marseille, *De Gubernatione Dei*, 5.38–45 and the "Colonate" Problem', *AntTard* 17 (2009), 269–88.
D. Lambert, 'The Uses of Decay: History in Salvian's *De Gubernatione Dei*', *AugSt* 30 (1999), 115–30.
D. Lambert, 'Salvian and the Bacaudae', in G. M. Müller and S. Diefenbach, eds., *Gallien in der Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (2013), 255–76.

Samaria and Samaritans In both biblical and post-biblical texts, Samaria is used in reference to both the city of Samaria, Roman *Sebaste, and the central upland region west of the Jordan River. In Late Antiquity, settlement in the agriculturally productive region—outside of the cities of Flavia *Neapolis (Shechem) and Sebaste (Samaria)—was characterized by a preponderance of *villages and *estates. The heartland and principal centre of the Samaritan religion, in the late 4th century the region was incorporated into the Roman *province of *Palaestina Prima, following the division of Syria Palaestina.

Followers of an Israelite religion, Samaritans (or Samaritan-Israelites) diverged progressively from Judaism, from at least the period of the Second Temple onwards. Rabbinic sources, with some internal variation, suggest a hardening of the sectarian divide during the Amoraic period (the seven or eight generations from the early 3rd cent. to the end of the 5th cent. AD). Central to the sectarian identity of the Samaritan community was the veneration of Mount *Gerizim, near Neapolis (Shechem), as the site designated by Moses for the worship of God in the land of Israel, a belief codified in the Samaritan Pentateuch and well reflected—and polemicized—in patristic accounts.

The 3rd and 4th centuries AD marked a period of geographic and apparent demographic expansion for the community in Palaestina—to *Scythopolis (Beth Shean) in the east, the coastal plain in the west, including the cities of *Caesarea Maritima and *Gaza, as well as numerous rural sites. Outside of Palaestina, a Samaritan diaspora is attested already during the Hellenistic period. In Late Antiquity, diasporic populations are well evidenced in *Rome, *Sicily, *Thessalonica, and *Egypt, while a community may also have existed in *Tarsus and *Africa. Throughout the period, both archaeological and literary evidence attests to construction of synagogues and *miqva'ot* (ritual baths), in both Palaestina and perhaps also the diaspora, as well as a renewed cultic occupation of Mount Gerizim, during the 4th century.

The 3rd and 4th centuries were also a period of apparent prosperity for the community. It witnessed a flourishing of Samaritan exegetic and liturgical literature in Aramaic, through the works of the literary family of 'Amram Dare, Marqe, and Ninna. By contrast, the late 5th and 6th centuries are generally regarded as a period of protracted dislocation and intercommunal conflict. In 484, a Samaritan insurrection led by *Justasas resulted in the expropriation of Mount Gerizim by the *Emperor *Zeno—this was followed by major revolts in 529 (under *Julian, son of Sabarus), 556, and 572, with more local violence recorded during the reign of *Anastasius I (491–518). Between the early 5th and mid-6th century, Samaritans were the object of legislation barring them from acting as lawyers or holding posts in the *army and imperial *administration,

limiting their ability to bequeath and inherit property, and prohibiting them from owning Christian slaves. In 527/9, *Justinian I issued a law (*CJust* I, 5, 17) requiring the demolition of existing Samaritan *synagogues and forbidding the construction of new ones. Despite a relaxation of the restrictions on testimonies in 551 by Justinian (*NovJust* 129), *Justin II renewed and expanded much of the earlier statutory regime in 572 (*NovJustmin* 144). Under the emperors *Maurice (582–602) and *Heraclius (610–41), Samaritans were subjected to forced conversion to Christianity. SSF

ed. (with ET) Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Tibåt Mårqe: A Collection of Samaritan Midrashim* (1988).
A. D. Crown, 'The Byzantine and Moslem Period', in A. D. Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* (1989), 55–81.
S. Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria 800 B.C.E.–636 C.E.*, with a historical comm. by S. Applebaum, 2 vols. (1986).
R. Pummer, *The Samaritans: A Profile* (2016).
R. Pummer, *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism* (2002).
A. M. Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani alla luce delle fonti storico-letterarie, ecclesiastiche e giuridiche* (1987–8).
H. Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity* (2008), 107–42.

Samarkand (Afrasiab, Maracanda, Samarqand, Qand) *City (in mod. Uzbekistan) located on the Zarafshan River, in a fertile part of ancient *Sogdiana. Originating during Achaemenid times and called Maracanda in accounts of Alexander's conquests, it was subsequently ruled by the Seleucid Empire, the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, the Kushan Empire, and various smaller local *Sogdian dynasties (Markwart, *Catalogue*, 8–10). Afrasiab, the site of Samarkand prior to the Mongols, has been extensively excavated. Samarkand's strategic location on the *Silk Road was recognized by all who sought to control the region. The *Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 32–3) describes it as a populous and fertile commercial centre with a strong army, a model to surrounding states.

Captured initially by the *Arabs in 712, it was subject to various rebellions by the local Sogdian and *Türk population before Arab rule was consolidated (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 173, 188–90). Prior to the *Arab conquest, most residents were *Zoroastrians, with Buddhists, *Manichaeans, and Christians also present. Due to resistance, the process of Islamization in this multi-religious environment took several centuries. Arab geographers to give an account include al-*Yaqubi (110–11, 246) and Ibn al-Faqih (386–7). MLD

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.n.* Samarkand (H. H. Schaeder, C. E. Bosworth, Y. Crowe).
EncIran I (1984), 576–8 *s.v.* Afrāsīāb i. The Archaeological Site; Samarqand i. History and Archaeology (E. Yarsahter) and *EncIran* (2002) *s.n.* Samarqand i: History and Archaeology (F. Grenet).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 82–95.
É. de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (2005).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 463–6.

Samnium *Province in the *Dioecesis *Italiae created under the *Tetrarchy but missing from the *Verona List. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists the *governor as a *Praeses (*occ.* I, 94) under the jurisdiction of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae (*occ.* XIX, 11, cf. II, 24), meaning that the province lay in *Italia Suburbicaria. *Inscriptions also give the titles *Rector and *Consularis. Samnium lay between the Adriatic Sea, the Pescara, Aeturnus, and Silaro rivers; its capital was probably Beneventum. MMA

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen in spätantike Italien* (1988).
R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Samo (*fl.* 630s) Leader of a group of Frankish *merchants who traded with the *Slavic Wends. He was made their king after participating bravely in their successful revolt against the *Avars, and according to *Fredegar (IV, 48, 68, 75), our sole source, he ruled them for 35 years, resisting and raiding *Dagobert I's *Franks. EJ

PLRE IIIB, Samo.
LexMA 7 'Samo', 1342–3 (W. Pohl).

Samos Island 1.8 km (1 mile) off the west coast of *Anatolia in the *Verona List *province of *Insulae. Many early churches are known; a three-aisled *basilica with *mosaics, similar in size to the cathedral has been located under the present small chapel of Panagitsa near the western wall of the city. *John Moschus had heard stories about the monks of Samos (*Pratum*, 108, 185). A coin hoard was buried in or soon after 623 perhaps in connection with the *Persian invasion which led to the siege of *Constantinople. The *Theme of Samos was formed in the 8th century. PA

W. Martini and C. Streckner, *Das Gymnasium von Samos. Das frühbyzantinische Klostergut*: Samos Bd. 17 (1993).
M. Oeconomides and P. Drossoyianni, 'A Hoard of Gold Byzantine Coins from Samos', *RevNum* 31 (1989), 145–82.

Samosata (mod. Samsat, Turkey) Large Roman *city in the *province of *Euphratensis, overlooking an important crossing of the Euphrates, with a long Hellenistic and neo-Hittite history, and today lying under the lake formed by the Atatürk Dam. The medieval *city wall rests on its Roman predecessor. A *bath and a *basilica have been excavated. Samosata was the

hometown of the 2nd-century *Greek essayist Lucian, and at the same time the base for Legio XVI Flavia Firma. Paul of Samosata (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 27–30) was *Patriarch of *Antioch in the mid-3rd century, and in the mid-4th century *Eusebius, *Bishop of *Samosata, was a close confidant of *Basil of *Caesarea; healings occurred at his tomb. It was with the assistance of a scribe from the Greek school at Samosata that *Mashtots devised the *Armenian alphabet (*Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, 7–8). *Daniel the *Stylite was born in the territory of Samosata (*VDanStyl* 2). *Theophanes mentions the city's use as a Roman base in the campaigns against *Qobad I in 503 (AM 5997) and of *Heraclius against *Shahrwaraz in 626 (AM 6116). ACFC; OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 144–8.
Millar, *RNE* 453–6.

Samson of Dol (possibly attested 556–573) British monastic founder and *bishop. His earliest Life was probably written in *Brittany in the 7th century using information from his relatives. It had a decisive influence on later Breton hagiography. Samson, it claims, was nobly born in south-east Wales, joined the community of S. Illtud at Llantwit, and then founded *monasteries in Wales, *Ireland, and Cornwall and finally at Dol and Pental in Brittany and Normandy; he interceded successfully with the Frankish King *Childebert on behalf of a Breton prince, Judual, against a usurper, Conomorus. He may have been the 'Samson' who signed the decrees of the Council of Paris in 556–573. His relatively well-attested career illustrates the progress of monasticism in 6th-century *Britain and the early connections among the *'Celtic' Christians. CJB

BHL 7478–84.
ODNB s.n. Samson [St Samson] (Smith).
ed. (with FT and notes) P. Flobert, *La Vie ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol* (1997) = *CPL* 2149.
ET T. Taylor, *The Life of St Samson of Dol* (1925).
J.-C. Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge* (2009).
R. Sharpe, 'Gildas as a Father of the Church', in M. Lapidge and D. Dumville, edd., *Gildas: New Approaches* (1984), 191–206.
R. Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson: Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult', *Francia* 38 (2011), 1–31.

Samuel of Kalamoun (*c.*597–695) Monk at *Scetis until 631, when he left after a violent confrontation involving doctrines intended to reconcile the *Miaphysite Egyptian Church to *Constantinople. After captivity among *Berbers, he returned to *Egypt, where he established a *monastery at *Kalamun (south-west Fayyum). His biography (in *Coptic, *Arabic, and *Ethiopic) probably mentions indirectly the *Arab conquest. Other texts connected with him include a so-called apocalypse (Arabic) and doxologies (Coptic and Arabic). Samuel's feast day is 8 Khoiak. AAl

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Samu'il of Qalamun, Saint, cols. 2092a–2093b (A. Alcock).
ed. (annotated with ET) A. Alcock, *Life of Samuel of Kalamun, by Isaac the Presbyter* (1983).

Samuel Vahewuni (d. 595) Armenian noble who rebelled, with *Atat Khorkhoṛuni and others, successively against the *Persian and Roman empires in 594–5. The unprecedented peace between the rulers *Maurice and *Khosrow II led to their swift defeat and Samuel's death in battle. TLA

PLRE III, Samuel 2.
*Sebeos, 16, 87–8.

San'a (Sana'a) *See* ZAFÂR.

Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary Red wooden box, resembling an ancient medicine chest, formerly kept in the Sancta Sanctorum chapel at the Lateran Palace. It measures 24 × 18.5 × 4 cm (9 × 7 × 1.5 inches), has a sliding lid, is convenient for carrying, and contains labelled packets of earth, wood, and cloth, *eulogiae* obtained from *pilgrimage to the *Holy Land. The outside of the lid is painted with a brown *cross emitting rays of blueish light into a dark green mandorla. The inside of the lid presents five scenes, the Nativity and Baptism of Christ below and the Women at the Tomb (Myrrophoroi) and Ascension above. In the Crucifixion scene, across the middle, Christ wears a **colobium* and has his eyes open. The *dome of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem is visible in the background of the Women at the Tomb. The subjects do not correspond exactly to the items contained in the box, but they recall those depicted on *pilgrimage flasks, while the rendering of the figures resembles that on 6th/7th-century *Sinai *icons. OPN

C. R. Morey, 'The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum, in *Festschrift Paul Clemen* (1926), 150–67.
K. Weitzmann, '*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine', *DOP* 28 (1974), 31–55.
H. J. Kessler, 'Arca Arcarum: Nested Boxes and the Dynamics of Sacred Experience', *Codex aquilarensis* 30 (2014), 83–108, at 97–9.

Sandanski (Bulgaria) Unidentified Roman *city, roughly halfway between *Serdica and *Thessalonica, probably Parthicopolis of *Macedonia Prima. Remains include part of the fortification and four 5th- to 6th-century Christian *basilicas with *mosaics and *cemeteries. ER

TIR K 34 (1976), 157–8.

V. Petkov, 'Kirchengrabungen in Sandanski von 1989–1999', in *Akten des 14. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (2006), 939–42.
R. Pillinger, 'Die Stiftertinschrift des Johannes in Sandanski (Bulgarien) und ihr monumentales Umfeld', *MittChristArch* 12 (2006), 56–72.
Wendel, *Karasura III* (2005), 158, 349.

Sandilkh Ruler of the *Utrigur *Huns (r. 551–9) and ally of the Romans. *Justinian I urged Sandilkh and the Utrigurs to attack the *Kutrigurs three times: in 551, after the latter had invaded Roman territory (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 18–19), in 557/8, to thwart Kutrigur plans to attack the Romans, and in 559, after the Kutrigur ruler *Zabergan attacked *Constantinople. Justinian used the reminder of past gifts and the promise of more rewards to motivate Sandilkh. *Menander Protector (fr. 2) portrays Sandilkh as reluctant to attack the culturally similar Kutrigurs in 557/8, while *Agathias (V, 12, 4–7; V, 24, 2–25, 6) describes him willingly accepting Justinian's invitation in 559, thus setting in motion internecine warfare that weakened both Hunnic groups. MLD
PLRE III, Sandilchus.

St. Andrews A church settlement in eastern Scotland. The site is first mentioned, under its Gaelic name Cennrígmonaid, in the *Annals of *Ulster s.a.* 747 when the death of an 'abbot Túathalán' is noted. The 12th-century origin legend suggests that the church was founded by the *Pictish King Unust son of Wrguist (729–61). Much ecclesiastical sculpture dating to the 8th and 9th centuries survives on the site but the later medieval cathedral complex has obliterated any indications of site morphology, though a long cist cemetery dating to the 7th or 8th century has been excavated on the promontory to the north of the cathedral and another, about a mile (1.6 km) inland, at the site known as Hallow Hill. There is no suggestion of the S. Andrew cult being present before the 11th century. AW
ed. S. M. Foster, *The St Andrews Sarcophagus* (1998).

Sangarius Bridge *Road *bridge, over a quarter of a mile long, on the *Pilgrims' Road in *Bithynia, at modern Beşköprü (near Adapazarı, Turkey). *Procopius (*Aed.* V, 3, 8–11) describes repairs to it. *Theophanes dates work on the bridge to AM 6052 (AD 559/60), which might suggest a late date for composition of Procopius' *Buildings*. An *epigram by *Agathias once inscribed on the bridge survives in the **Greek Anthology* (IX, 641). GBG
[L.] M. Whitby, 'The Sangarius Bridge and Procopius', *JHS* 105 (1985), 129–48.
Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 70 and figs. 96–7.

sanitation and hygiene By the 8th century AD at the latest, and probably very much earlier in the western Mediterranean and north-western Europe, almost all the great *aqueducts supplying *water to the major *cities of the Roman world had fallen into disuse. So too had the large public *baths that they fed. So also the public fountains, similarly supplied, that helped to clean the drains. The rows of communal latrines indelibly associated with classical civic life were presumably not refurbished or replaced. Put these various indices of decline together with the advent of a Christianized empire where a *holy man, saints in *monasteries or *stylites on a pillar, could consider uncleanliness next to godliness, and it is tempting to suppose that Late Antiquity was relatively unhygienic.

That would be a mistake. Granted the various problems of water supply, storage, and dispersal, most people in cities avoided the odour of sanctity and washed as often as their predecessors had done in classical times. Far from entirely decrying hygiene, churches established baths of their own. The *font was after all a bath of regeneration, even if the public bath might be a setting for immorality. At Basilica B in *Philippi the 5th-century *baptistery connected directly to a bathhouse and public latrine. Some of the *miracle stories of Late Antique saints have scenes set in public bathing facilities. Monastic houses of the less rigorous type permitted regular bathing. One bathhouse at *Scythopolis, the largest in Late Antique *Palestine, included a latrine with 75 seats. Especially in the Eastern Roman Empire, ancient habits persisted, constrained but not destroyed by Christianity. Elsewhere of course, such public amenities had never been prominent, or indeed available at all. Almost everywhere private squalor reigned: cesspits were needed for the disposal of some human waste (where simple dung heaps were not tolerated) and washing with water was an unnecessary luxury. Moreover, by modern standards, public baths and latrines were potent sources of infection, so on a biological yardstick Late Antiquity saw no general decline from classical salubrity. PHo
G. C. M. Jansen, A. O. Koloski-Ostrow, and E. M. Moormann, eds, *Roman Toilets: Their Archaeological and Cultural History* (2011).
P. Magdalino, 'Church, Bath and *Diakonia* in Medieval Constantinople', in R. Morris, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium* (1986), 165–88.
A. Scobie, 'Slums, Sanitation and Mortality in the Roman World', *Klio* 68 (1986), 399–433.
A. Wilson, 'Drainage and Sanitation', in O. Wikander, ed., *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (2000), 151–79.

San Juan de Baños de Cerrato *See* SPAIN, CHURCHES OF, SAN JUAN DE BAÑOS DE CERRATO.

San Pedro de la Mata *See* SPAIN, CHURCHES OF, SAN PEDRO DE LA MATA.

S. Antonino di Perti Byzantine *frontier *castrum* of *c.*AD 550–650 connected to the defence of the Provincia Maritima Italorum (mod. west *Liguria, north-west *Italy). Although the earliest document mentioning a Castrum Pertice and its Church of S. Antonino is from 1162, excavations there in 1982–98 revealed a late 6th/early 7th-century *fortification. Finds provide insights into fortress design, manpower, supply, and living conditions. The fortress occupied a steep hill (*c.*270 m/890 feet above sea level), overlooking the Perti and Aquila valleys, running down to the coast. Besides some worn 4th- and 5th-century issues, ten *coins run from AD 537 to 641. The well-preserved, two-phased curtain wall did not gird the whole hilltop but was articulated to control westerly access. Towers included one of three storeys, extant to 5 m (16 feet) high; internal pilasters denote a wall-walk. Internal *houses (*timber-built on stone footings) yielded ceramic refuse, some weaponry, and *dress, craft, and leisure items—including gaming pieces and two flutes. There was imported *pottery, especially from *Africa. Local trade is evident in soapstone vessels from Po Valley regions. The *castrum*'s end coincides with the *Lombard conquest of Liguria under *Rothari, although a lack of destruction deposits suggests withdrawal by the garrison. NJC

T. Mannoni and G. Murialdo, eds., *S. Antonino: un insediamento fortificato nella Liguria bizantina* (Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Collezione di Monografie Preistoriche ed Archeologiche, XII, 2001); summarized in N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800* (2006), 374–78.

Sapaudia The name given in Late Antiquity to a region of western Switzerland, north of Lake Geneva. According to the *Gallic *Chronicle of 511*, the *Burgundians were settled in Sapaudia (by *Aëtius) in 443. The word 'Savoy' derives from Sapaudia. EJ

New Pauly: Antiquity vol. 12 *s.n.* Sapaudia, 958–9 (F. Schön).

Saqqara Ancient burial ground of Memphis (*Egypt). Despite *Ammianus Marcellinus' account of a search for a new Apis bull (XXII, 4, 6), most of the *temples in the necropolis of Saqqara had fallen out of use by Late Antiquity. Many of the settlements which arose on and between the *temples and mausoleums in parts of the necropolis were probably monastic. A *papyrus letter from the 4th/5th century (P.Bingen 121) is addressed to an Apa Antonios, probably the founder of the *monastery of that name in the Sacred Animal Necropolis in north Saqqara.

In the south of the necropolis, near the pyramid of Unas, the large Monastery of Apa Jeremias was occupied from the 5th to 9th/10th centuries. This coenobitic settlement contained monastic cells, refectories, workrooms, chapels, and a main church, and is the source of many *Coptic *inscriptions and a number of Coptic biblical codices now among the *Chester Beatty manuscripts. Wall paintings and important architectural *sculpture have also been found. MCh

CoptEnc vol. 3 *s.n.* Dayr Apa Jeremiah, cols. 772b–779a (R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin, P. Grossmann, H. G. Severin, M. Rassart-Debergh).

H. S. Smith, S. Davies, and K. J. Frazer, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Main Temple Complex: The Archaeological Report* (Egypt Exploration Society, 2006).

J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–09, 1909–10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (IFAO, 1912).

P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (2002).

Saracens (Lat. *Saraceni*, Gk. *Sarakenoi*') Term used in *Latin and *Greek for inhabitants of the *Arabian Peninsula and Syrian Desert. The etymology is uncertain; it may be a tribal name. Saracens first appear under that name in the 2nd century AD, supplanting the word 'Arabs', ubiquitous in earlier writing. PAW

M. C. A. MacDonald, 'On Saracens, the Rawwāfah Inscription and the Roman Army', in his *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia* (2009), VIII, 1–26.

J. Restö, *The Arabs in Antiquity* (2003).

Saraghurs Turkic group that, along with the *Oghurs and *Onoghurs, was originally part of the Turkic Tiele (T'ieh-le) tribal confederation in *Central Asia (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* XII, 7k, ix). They spoke Oghur-Bulghar Turkic and moved into the western Siberian steppe after the *Huns left for Europe. *Priscus (fr. 40 Blockley = fr. 30 Müller *FHG*) describes how *c.*463 they were attacked by the Sabirs, who had themselves been attacked by the *Avars. The Oghurs, Onoghurs, and Saraghurs eventually settled on the Pontic–Caspian steppe. After their arrival, the Saraghurs clashed with and ultimately defeated the Akatzir Huns; in 466, they attacked the *Persian Empire through the *Caucasus Passes (Priscus, fr. 47 Blockley = fr. 37 Müller *FHG*). The Saraghurs—whose name means 'yellow (white) *oghur*' (*oghur* meaning 'grouping of tribes')—probably evolved into the later *Utrighur and *Kutrighur tribes and the related Bulgars probably contained Oghuric elements. MLD

BT II, *Σαράγουροι*.

P. B. Golden, 'The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 257–9.

P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, vol. 1 (1980), 30–4.

D. Sinor, 'Autour d'une migration de peuples au V^e^ siècle', *JA* 235 (1946–7), 1–77.

Saragossa, Chronicle of *See* CHRONICLES, SPANISH.

Sarapanis (mod. Shorapani, *Georgia) Roman hill-top fort in the Surami Gorge, defended by *walls 3 m (10 feet) thick, rebuilt in medieval times. Fortified since the 3rd century BC, Sarapanis was the principal border town between *Iberia and *Lazica. Strabo says it lay at the limit of navigable rivers (XI, 2, 17). Under *Justinian I Roman forces replaced the Lazican garrison, but Persians occupied the fort in the mid-6th century (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 13, 15–16; cf. VIII, 16, 19). MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 288.

V. Japaridze, *Egrisis axkh. ts. 1–7 ss. materialuri kulturis dzeglebi* (The material culture of Lazica (Egrisi) in the 1st–7th cents. AD) (2006), 9–65.

sarcophagus A receptacle (coffin) for a dead body. The Romans abandoned cremation in favour of inhumation in the 2nd century, in both the Greek East and Latin West. The reasons for this change remain obscure. Some *inscriptions and literary testimonies (Statius, *Silvae*, V, 1) stress a wish to keep the *dead body unscathed. Hope for resurrection explains the preference for inhumation among Christians, and possibly other religious sects. Imperial funerals retained the tradition of cremation until the Constantinian period; however, sarcophagi are attested for some 3rd-century *emperors (Balbinus; *Diocletian).

Sarcophagi were of various materials, wood, lead, terracotta, imported or local stone, or, as in most cases, *marble. Many sarcophagi have relief decoration, usually on the front and lateral faces in the Western tradition, but on all faces in the East. Various centres of production are identifiable which developed characteristic forms and decorations. Changes in *iconography (imagery) are observable at times. Most dating is based on stylistic and/or iconographic considerations; sometimes portraits of the deceased, *inscriptions, or archaeological evidence help.

Most sarcophagi were probably set up in mausolea (funerary buildings) where their decoration was visible. Marble sarcophagi were an expensive product available only to the wealthy; some inscriptions inform us that they were commissioned by high-ranking members of the imperial *aristocracy (Januarinus, probably the *consul of 328, *Arles = *Repertorium*, 3, 37; sarcophagi of Catervius = *Repertorium*, 2, 148, and of Gorgonius, *Repertorium*, 2, 149, both *Praefectus Praetorio in the late 4th century).

Centres of production

*Rome, *Anatolia (*Docimium), and *Athens were the main centres of production in the 3rd century. Sarcophagi from Docimium with rich architectural articulation, the so-called Sidamara sarcophagi, were widely distributed in the mid- and later 3rd century. Production came to a sudden halt in Anatolia and Attica apparently in the late 3rd century, and Rome remained the single super-regional centre in the 4th century.

Rome exported many sarcophagi into *Italy, south *Gaul, and *Africa and perhaps *Spain. About half the *c.*2,500 sarcophagi known from between 270 and 600 are from Rome. Production there ceased almost completely in the early 5th century. Roman sarcophagi have flat lids with a vertical panel at the front, which carries images and inscriptions. *Portraits of the dead are often in a shell or a tondo in the centre of the front. Local workshops in southern Gaul remained active after production in Rome ceased in the early 5th century. A flourishing production with regional distribution is observable in south-west Gaul (*Aquitaine) in the later 5th century. Most sarcophagi from these workshops have floral and ornamental decoration; striking is the variety of flutings. The reliefs are flat even when they have figural representations.

It is a widely assumed that *Constantinople absorbed much skill from the abandoned centres of the East (Psamathia relief, Berlin) and became an important centre of production in the 4th century. However, evidence is sparse and scattered. In contrast to other centres of production where the bulk of the evidence has been known for centuries, new finds are still changing our understanding of production in Constantinople. The ten *porphyry sarcophagi in Constantinople (of which one is now lost) were certainly for imperial burials. There are about fifteen items made of marble or coloured stone. About 30 limestone plaques with figural decorations survive from Constantinople; these striking plaques once covered the front of burials. There are a few export pieces, but fragments testify to a once larger stock.

*Ravenna has yielded only some 40 Late Antique sarcophagi; many of them, however, are spectacular in terms of size, quality, and state of preservation. Ravenna sarcophagi display features of the regional tradition of north Italy (gabled roofs with acroteria and other features), but also elements of Eastern traditions (vaulted roofs: the Rinaldo-sarcophagus, and others). Production probably began with the relocation of the Western imperial *court to Ravenna in the early 5th century; it continued into the 7th or even 8th century.

Scattered evidence is known from other *provinces. A workshop on the island of Brattia (*Dalmatia) exported troughs with simple *cross decoration to the Adriatic coasts in the 6th century; another one in *Carthage exported fluted limestone sarcophagi as far as Tarraco in the early 5th century. The *porphyry sarcophagi now in *Milan, Rome, and Constantinople are probably from workshops in *Alexandria. Remarkable

if small in number is a set of lead sarcophagi in the Near East.

Iconography

The imagery of Roman relief sarcophagi abandoned mythological representations in the mid-3rd century. Other motifs became prevalent, including *lion *hunting, sea beings, *Dionysiac scenes, the *vita humana*, philosophical life, and, above all, *pastoral scenes. As early as in the late 3rd century Christian motifs entered sarcophagus iconography. These were initially few (Jonah; Christ's *baptism), and they were combined with 'neutral' images which might or might not be understood in a Christian sense, such as the *Good Shepherd, the *orans figure, *vintage scenes, Orpheus, and others. Christian imagery became more common in the early 4th century. Scenes from the Bible and such NT apocrypha as the Acts of Peter appear repeatedly on earlier 4th-century sarcophagi and give an impression of uniformity; though no sarcophagus exactly copies another.

A change in iconography, together with a decline in numbers, occurred in the mid-4th century. Sarcophagi faces come to be divided up by columns or trees; a famous example is the sarcophagus of *Junius Bassus the younger who died in 359. A remarkable group of sarcophagi with elaborate architectural decoration ('City-Gate Sarcophagi') is datable to the late 4th/early 5th century (sarcophagi of Gorgonius and Catervius, mentioned above). The Crossing of the Red Sea (an antetype of *baptism) is elaborated to an extension formerly unknown. Christ's majesty (*Majestas Domini*) is represented in ways familiar from imperial iconography: Christ is shown frontally in the centre, standing on a mound, or enthroned in a circle of apostles. The apostles display courtly gestures (*acclamation, veiled *hands, kneeling, offerings of palm twigs and wreaths). A common motif is that of the Traditio Legis (handing down of the law), where S. Peter is shown receiving a scroll. The *Cross, carried by S. Peter or replacing the person of Christ, is decorated with inlay and precious *stones, and as a *crux gemmata* is a symbol of triumph and *victory.

Non-Christian imagery is visible in Rome, particularly on hunt sarcophagi which were produced into the late 4th century.

The porphyry sarcophagi at *Constantinople lack decoration, except for a fragment with a floral relief similar to the sarcophagus of *Constantia in Rome; any association it might have with *Constantine I is beyond proof. Some marble plaques which show the classicizing features of the late 4th century (Ambarlıköy relief; Barletta relief) depict a congregation of apostles, a motif familiar from Western sarcophagi of the same period. Sarcophagi representing Christ with S. Peter are absent from Constantinople, but some topics known from the Roman stock occur on limestone plaques in Constantinople. The woodcut style of these plaques is hardly comparable to marble works; a *terminus post quem* for them in the 5th century is given by the hypogeum at Silivri Kapı at Constantinople, built later than the Theodosian Walls of 408/13. A striking feature of Constantinopolitan iconography is the winged *angel. Figural representations are gradually replaced by symbols (cross, chrismon) in the 5th century. This also happened at Ravenna.

Ravenna sarcophagi are striking for their sparse representation of figures, which contrasts with the dense frieze sarcophagi from Rome. Their iconography is also peculiar; the Rinaldi sarcophagus, for instance, shows the first Annunciation scene in Christian art. The Traditio Legis in Ravenna is usually to S. Paul, not to S. Peter. *Animals grouped around a symbol feature on back faces and lids already in the earlier 5th century. UG

Repertorium der christlich antiken Sarkophage, 1 (1967), 2 (1998), 3 (2003).

J. Kollwitz and H. Herdejürgen, *Die Sarkophage der westlichen Gebiete des Imperium Romanum. Teil 2. Die ravennatischen Sarkophage* (Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs, Bd. 8, 2er Teil, 1979).

M. Lawrence, *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna* (1945, ²1970).

H. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage Roms. Der Beitrag des Senatorenstandes zur römischen Kunst der hohen und späten Kaiserzeit* (2001).

G. Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (2000).

Porphyry: P. Grierson et al., 'The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)', *DOP* (1962) 1–63.

F. Bisconti and H. Brandenburg, *Sarcofagi tardoantichi, paleocristiani e altomedievali: atti della giornata tematica dei seminari di archeologia cristiana* (2004).

M. Sotomayor, *Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de Espana: estudio iconográfico* (Biblioteca Teologica Granadina 16, 1975).

Gaul: M. Immerzeel and P. Jongste, 'Import and Local Production of Early Christian Sarcophagi in France', *Boreas* 16 (1993), 135–48.

Les Sarcophages d'Aquitaine, *AntTard* 1 (1993).

A. D. Nock, 'Sarcophagi and Symbolism', in Nock, *Essays*, 606–41.

M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (1993).

Sardinia Mediterranean island and Roman *province, separated from *Corsica (with which it had formed a single province since 227 BC) by the time of the *Verona List. It was governed by a *Praeses under the authority of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae. An official (an Exactor and then a *Rationalis) administered the *imperial estates. The provincial capital was Caralis (mod. Cagliari). Sardinia sent *grain to *Rome after the wheat of *Egypt was diverted to *Constantinople

in the reign of *Constantine I. The mineral resources of the island are well documented in literature (*gold: *CTh* X, 19, 6; *iron: *Rutilius Namatianus, I, 354; *silver: *Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, V, 43) as well as from archaeology.

*Lucifer, *Bishop of Cagliari, vigorously opposed the theology of *Constantius II and was exiled from 355 to 361. After incursions in 437 or 438, Sardinia was conquered by the *Vandals around 455. Reconquered in 466–7 by the *Patricius *Marcellinus, it was again taken over by the Vandals who ruled up to 482. Under *Hilderic the island was handed over to Gordas, a slave of *Gothic origin (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 20). Sardinia was reconquered at the time of the *Byzantine invasion of *Africa and *Justinian I made it a *province under the *Praefectus Praetorio Africae and later the *Exarch of *Carthage.

*Constantine I gave the *Basilica of Ss. Marcellino e Pietro at *Rome property on the island yielding 1024 *solidi* (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 27) The many *letters of *Gregory the Great contain much information about the Church and Sardinian society in the 6th and early 7th centuries.

A small number of gold coins from *Leontius (695–8) to *Anastasius II (713–15) of Carthaginian fabric, marked S, were probably struck on Sardinia by moneyers from Carthage after the *Arab conquest of that city. Slightly earlier *copper issues are less certainly attributed to the island. CS; RRD

Barrrington Atlas, 48.
ANRW II.11.1 *Politische Geschichte (Randvölker: Sizilien und Sardinien; Italien und Rom; Allgemeines* (1988), 451–875.
A. Mastino et al., eds., *La Sardegna paleocristiana tra Eusebio e Gregorio Magno* (1999).
P. Meloni, *La Sardegna romana* (1990).
E. C. Portale et al., *Le grandi isole del Mediterraneo Occidentale: Sicilia, Sardegna, Corsica* (2005).
Grierson, *DOC* II/1.

Sardis *City and metropolis of *Lydia, located in the Hermus River valley *c.*90 km (*c.*56 miles) inland from *Smyrna. For most of Late Antiquity, Sardis was the seat of the provincial *governor and *metropolitan *bishop, location of an imperial *weapons factory, and the regional economic centre. Notable residents included the *Neoplatonist *Chrysanthius, teacher of the *Emperor *Julian, and his pupil *Eunapius.

Despite Sardis being named as one of the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev. 3: 1–6) and the early prominence of Melito, Bishop of Sardis (*fl.* 180), physical evidence for Christianity makes its first surviving appearance in the shape of two small churches built amid earlier burials outside the city.

The prominence of the local *Jewish community is apparent from the *synagogue, work on which began in the western *bath–gymnasium complex in the later 4th or 5th century. The large building consisted of a porticoed forecourt and apsidal hall, which had *mosaic floors and *marble-revetted walls. Two aedicular shrines, votive *inscriptions in *Greek and Hebrew, and several *menorahs establish the identity of the building, which remained in use into the early 7th century.

By AD 400 the urban site with its high acropolis was enclosed by a 4 km (2.5 mile) long fortification wall that included public spaces, entertainment buildings, administrative structures, and residential quarters within an area of nearly 130 ha (320 acres). Earlier *baths, *temples, and civic monuments were selectively adapted to new purposes or quarried for building material. Colonnaded *streets with flanking *shops and *houses remained essential elements in the urban façade. By the later 6th or early 7th century much of the site had been abandoned in favour of limited occupation of isolated buildings and the newly fortified acropolis, which remained a strategic outpost into late Byzantine times. MLR

C. Foss and J. A. Scott, 'Sardis', in *EHB* vol. 1, 616–22.
C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (1976).
A. Seager, 'The Synagogue and the Jewish Community: The Building', in G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975* (1983), 168–78.
M. Rautman, 'Sardis in Late Antiquity', in Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor*, 1–26.

Sarjun (Sergius, or Ibn Mansur) (*fl. c.*660–700) Influential Christian secretary to the *Umayyad *caliphs from *Mu'awiya to *'Abd al-Malik. Reported to have significant standing with 'Abd al-Malik, whom he is said to have prevented from moving to *Mecca the pillars of the church in Gethsemane. Sarjun is usually said to have been *John of *Damascus' father, but may in fact have been his grandfather. RJL

Arabic *Life of John of Damascus*: ed. C. Bacha, *Sirat al-qiddis Yuḥanna al-Dimashqi al-aṣliya* (1912).
S. W. Anthony, 'Fixing John Damascene's Biography: Historical Notes on his Family Background', *JECS* 24 (2015), 607–27.
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 480–81.

Šarkamen An unfinished enclosure with massive defensive walls, located in *Dacia Ripensis, 109 km (68 miles) north of *Niš and 40 km (25 miles) north-east of *Gamzigrad, which it resembles in its layout and construction. The enclosure contained a fortified *palace and several other incomplete buildings. The only complete building, 250 m (820 feet) from the palace, is a domed mausoleum which contained cremated human remains, elaborate *jewellery, and *gold votive plaques impressed with the obverses of *Tetrarchic coins. A neighbouring tumulus contained burials. Fragments of a *porphyry

statue of an enthroned *emperor (*LSA* 1118) were found nearby. The place has been associated with the Emperor *Maximinus Daza (305–13). OPN

I. Popović, ed., *Šarkamen (Eastern Serbia): A Tetrarchic Imperial Palace, the Memorial Complex* (2005).

I. Popović and M. Tomović, 'Golden Jewellery from the Imperial Mausoleum at Šarkamen', *AntTard* 6 (1998), 287–312.

Sar Mashhad Site of a *Sasanian period settlement (lagely unexcavated), located *c.*55 km (35 miles) south of the Sasanian city of *Bishapur. Nearby is a *rock relief of *Bahram II (276–93) and an *inscription of the *Zoroastrian priest *Kerdir (*c.* late 3rd cent.). The relief was carved into a rocky spur through which passed one of the Sasanian *roads from Bishapur to the Persian Gulf. The relief portrays the King of Kings in profile and on foot slaying two *lions with a sword and protecting his queen and sons. MPC

P. Ghasemi, 'Tal-e Khandagh ("Moated Mound")', *NEA* 75 (2012), 240–51.

D. N. MacKenzie, 'Kerdir's Inscription', in C. Cereti and L. Paul, eds., *Iranica Diversa*, 2 vols. (SOR 84, 1999), vol. 1 [MP 217–73].

L. Trümpelmann, *Das Sasanidische Felsrelief von Sar Mashad* (Iranische Denkmäler 5, 1975).

Sarmatians (Sauromatians) Iranian-speaking nomadic tribal confederation, eastern neighbours of the *Scythians, who flourished on the Pontic–Caspian steppe north of the Roman and *Persian empires after their invasion of the area (*c.*500 BC), which forced the Scythians south-westward. The Sarmatian name was applied to several subsequent Iranian nomadic peoples (especially the Roxalani, who defeated the Scythians *c.*200 BC), but the ethnic relations between them all are uncertain. The Aorsi (*Alans) were an important constituent of the Sarmatian confederation that later dominated the Pontic–Caspian steppe, before the 3rd- and 4th-century invasions of the *Goths and *Huns, respectively. Subsequently, only the Alans survived as an independent group; the remaining Sarmatians were absorbed by the Huns and surrounding *Slavs.

Like the Scythians, the Sarmatians were excellent mounted warriors and pastoral *nomads who lived in wagons, but unlike the Scythians, they rarely sacrificed horses or humans and had female warriors and priestesses, perhaps an indication of matriarchal roots. The Sarmatians' most important contribution to warfare was the introduction of heavy *cavalry armour. After Marcus Aurelius defeated them in AD 175, many Sarmatian troops were incorporated into the Roman *army, and Sarmatian cavalry was stationed by the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum* in *Italy and *Gaul (*occ.* XLII, 45–70) and at Ribchester in *Britain (*occ.* XL, 54).

However *Diocletian, *Galerius, *Constantine I (in 323: *Zosimus, II, 21, and in 334) *Constans I (probably in 338), and *Constantius II (in 337, possibly in 352, and in 358: *Ammianus, XVII, 12, 4–6) all campaigned against them on the Danube *frontier, though the victory title Sarmaticus Maximus was not borne by any *emperor after the death of *Julian in 363. MLD

J. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians* (1970).

A. I. Melyukova, 'The Scythians and Sarmatians, in *CHEIA* I (1990), 110–17.

T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians* (1970).

Barnes, *NEDC* 254–8.

R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: the Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (2007) 225–36, 356–65.

Sarug *See* BATNAE.

Sarvestan Domed structure *c.*65 km (39 miles) from Shiraz. North and west entrance **ayvans* led to the structure's central domed **chahar taq*. An interior courtyard (east), two subsidiary *chahar taqs*, and two barrel-vaulted halls with colonnades supporting semi-domes flanked this space (north and south). Often called a *palace in older scholarship, its ground plan corresponds instead to those of known *Sasanian *fire temples and more likely accommodated religious activity. L. Bier argued it was early Islamic simply because of the complexity of its architectural features like the vaulting; however, advances in our understanding of Sasanian architecture and recent excavations at the site suggest that it was late Sasanian. MPC

L. Bier, *Sarvistan: A Study in Early Iranian Architecture* (Monographs on the Fine Arts 41, 1986).

A.-R. A. Chaverdi, 'Archaeological Excavations in the So-Called "Palace of Sāsān" at Sarvestān, Fars', *Sasanika Archaeology* 1 (2012), 1–5.

at <http://www.sasanika.org/wp-content/uploads/Archaeological-01-chaverdi.pdf>

Sasanian dynasty (224–651) Rulers of the last Iranian empire before the coming of *Islam. With roots in the province of *Fars, they established an empire encompassing the Iranian Plateau, *Mesopotamia, and *Central Asia in the 3rd century AD when *Ardashir I, the founder of the dynasty, defeated Artabanus VI, the last Arsacid king of kings, at the Battle of Hormozgan in 224 AD. In the 3rd century AD the Sasanian Empire expanded and conducted several campaigns against the Roman Empire. In the early 4th century the Romans under *Constantine the Great and the Sasanians under *Shapur II recognized each other as equal powers. In the 5th century the nomadic movement of the *Hephthalites brought several defeats

and weakness to the Sasanian empire. With the reforms of *Qobad I and *Khosrow I, the empire was reinvigorated and was able to secure its borders. In the 7th century AD, *Khosrow II fought the last great war of antiquity with the Roman Emperor *Heraclius which caused the defeat of the Sasanian empire. The Sasanian empire came to an end with the *Arab conquest in the 7th century AD, during the reign of *Yazdegerd III.

More than 40 kings and queens ruled the empire, mainly from *Ctesiphon in *Mesopotamia. They were responsible for establishing a narrative for Iranian national history, the **Xwaday Namag* which in the 11th century became the basis of Ferdowsi's epic poem the *Shahnameh* (*Book of Kings*). Iran was first conceived of as *Eranshahr, a distinctive territory and culture, by the Sasanians. The *Avesta, the sacred text of *Zoroastrianism, was first written down in the 4th century AD during the rule of Shapur II and was last codified during the rule of Khosrow I in the 6th century AD. TD

Canepa, *Two Eyes.*
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*
Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire.*

Sasima (mod. Hasanköy) Station (*mansio*) on the *Pilgrims' Road, and small bishopric in *Cappadocia Secunda, 'waterless, barren … a wretched little village full of dust and noise' (*Gregory of *Nazianzus, *Vita* [*Carmen* II, 1, 11], 439–46). Gregory was appointed *bishop against his will in 372, but never took up his post. PJT

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981), 272–3.

Satala (Sadak) One of a series of legionary fortresses established in the 1st century AD between the Black Sea and north *Syria at a major junction between the *frontier road leading north–south and the routes from north *Anatolia into *Armenia. The early 5th-century list in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 38, 18) attests the Legio XV Apollinaris here, but there is no later reference to that unit. Satala remained an important fortress into the 7th century, although the garrison is likely to have been reduced. The site remains well preserved and it is possible to discern the perimeter wall and also the arches of a *basilica. Recent survey and geophysical prospection has indicated a reduced enclosure within the circuit. JCr

C. Lightfoot, 'Survey Work at Satala: A Roman Legionary Fortress in North-East Turkey', in R. Matthews, ed., *Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Years' Work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara* (1998), 273–84.

Satrapies, Armenian *See* ARMENIA QUARTA.

Satrius Arrianus *Praeses of the *Thebaid 305/306–7, known through various *Greek *papyrus documents and *martyr *passions, such as that of S. *Stephanos of Lenaios; in the more legendary Coptic martyr passions, he is often called A(r)rianus and described as a brutal persecutor and torturer of Christians. GS

PLRE I, Adrianus.
Barnes, *NEDC* 148.
Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 7.

Saturnalia (Gk. Kronia) Festival in honour of Saturn, originally on 17 December but observed, at various times, for three, five, or seven days. It was a time of relaxed celebration, when gifts were exchanged and slaves were allowed to dine before their masters. Much lore on the Saturnalia is found in *Macrobius' *dialogue set on the holiday and named *Saturnalia* after it (especially 1, 7). RAK

ed. (with ET) R. A. Kaster, *Saturnalia*, 3 vols. (LCL 510–12, 2011).

Saturn in Africa Evidence of devotion to Saturn as a Roman interpretation of the Punic god Baal is apparent from over 3,000 votive stelae known from all over *Africa Proconsularis and *Numidia. Saturn was especially associated with fertility and *grain; stelae depict farm carts bringing home the harvest; *Arnobius calls him 'the guardian of the countryside with his curved sickle, like someone who cuts back luxuriant boughs' (VI, 12). The latest datable dedication (from Vaga near *Sicca) was erected on 8 November 323. Stelae from Djemila (*Cuicul) were later reused as paving-stones. OPN

M. Leglay, *Saturne Africain*, 2 vols. (BEFAR), vol. 1: *Afrique Proconsulaire* (1961); vol. 2: *Numidie–Mauretanie* (1966).
A. Beschaouch, 'Une stèle consacrée à Saturne le 8 Novembre 323', *BACTH* 4 NS (1968), 253–68.

Saturninus Governor of *Syria who rebelled against *Probus (*Zosimus, I, 66) and minted coins at *Alexandria, but was killed by his own troops, apparently at *Apamea (*Jerome, *Chron.* 224c Helm). OPN

PLRE I, Saturninus 12.
CAH XII (2005), 55.

Saurmag (Sauromaces) Succeeded Mirian (Meribanes) as King of *Iberia (361–3) and as a *client of Rome. Expelled by *Shapur II (364/8), he was replaced by his cousin *Varaz-Bakur (Aspagur) but then restored by *Valens. In *c.*370, the cousins agreed to partition Iberia. Saurmag received the territory adjacent to *Armenia and *Lazica (*Ammianus, XXVII, 12), but in 377/8 Shapur deposed him (Ammianus, XXX, 2, 4–8), bringing all Iberia under Persian patronage. MO

PLRE I, Sauromaces.

C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 24–6.
D. Muskhelishvili, *Sakartvelo 4–8 saukuneebshi* (Georgia in the 4th–8th centuries) (2003), 54–61.

S. Autonomus Shrine at ancient Soreoi (mod. Tepeköy, formerly Ereğli-i Bala, Turkey) near Praenetus (mod. Karamürsel) overlooking the south coast of the Gulf of *Nicomedia in *Bithynia. The eventful but fictional *Passion* of the eponymous *martyr (*BHG* 198; *AASS* Septembris IV, 16–19) provides details of its buildings and pleasant location. The *monastery named after him was visited by S. *Theodore of *Sykeon, one of whose disciples became its abbot (*VTheodSyk* 49). The *Emperor *Maurice was captured here by forces loyal to *Phocas (*ChronPasch s.a.* AD 602; *Theophylact Simocatta, VIII, 9, 9). OPN

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 86–7.
Delehaye, *Origines*, 154.
C. Foss, 'St. Autonomus and his Church in Bithynia', *DOP* 41 (1987), 187–98.

Savaria (mod. Szombathely, western Hungary) Capital of *Pannonia Prima. The epic *martyr passion of S. Quirinus, *Bishop of *Siscia, locates his cult at Savaria (*BHL* 7035–7), though the poet *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, 7, 1–4) places it at Siscia. S. *Martin of *Tours was born at Savaria in 316. According to *Ammianus, *Valentinian I found the place dilapidated in 375 (XXX, 5, 14–18). Tradition claims that some inhabitants fled *Attila's *Huns to help found Venice. Despite a serious *earthquake in 456, the Carolingian revival of Savaria implies some early medieval continuity. Parts of the imperial cult centre, the Late Roman *governor's *palace, and the *street system have been excavated. NJC

TIR L 33 (1961), 64–5.
Papers in *Savaria: a Vas Megyei múzeumok értesítője = Bulletin der Museen des Komitates Vas* (1963–).
E. Tóth, 'Late Antique Imperial Palace in Savaria (the Question of the so-called Quirinus Basilica)', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 25 (1973), 117–37.
N. J. Christie, 'The Survival of Roman Settlement along the Middle Danube: Pannonia from the Fourth to the Tenth Century AD', *OxJnlArch* 11/3 (1992), 317–39.
Z. Visy, ed., *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium* (2003), 224–6, 312.

Savaric *Bishop of Auxerre (*c.*715– *c.*720). According to tradition, Savaric neglected the dignity of his office to raise an army, subjecting several towns including *Orléans to his authority. He died marching on *Lyons and was buried in the Church of S. *Germanus at Auxerre. JTP

Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium, ch. 26: ed. M. Sot, *Les Gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, vol. 1 (2006), 126–7.

Savia *Balkan *province in modern Croatia, created by the time of the *Verona List (where it is called Favensis) from that part of the pre-*Tetrarchic *Pannonia Superior lying south of the River Drava, and placed in the *Dioecesis *Pannoniae. In the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* I, 82) Savia is in the Dioecesis of *Illyricum and governed by a *Corrector. The capital was *Siscia. *Valentinian III settled *Huns in Savia. In the late 5th century it came under *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 4, 49), and then *Justinian I, who in 547/8 bestowed on the *Lombards the 'fortresses of Pannonia' (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 33). IDS; OPN

NEDC 223.
TIR L-33 (1966).
Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia.*

Saxons A Germanic people located primarily in modern north-west Germany, probably first attested in *Ptolemy's *Geography* as a *tribe north of the lower Elbe River in the area of modern Schleswig-Holstein. They appear more often in written sources only from the mid-4th century onwards, either as an ethnic unit beyond the Rhine adjacent to the *Franks, or as *pirates whose raiding along the Gallic and British coasts in the 4th and early 5th centuries was sufficently serious to merit the creation of a special Roman defensive command in eastern *Britain and northern *Gaul under the *Comes of the *Saxon Shore (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*occ.*] XXVIII). A handful of excavated settlements of this period along the North Sea coast in Lower Saxony have been associated by archaeologists with the continental Saxons.

From the 5th century onwards, Saxons were heavily involved in the colonization of eastern Britain, and also settled in lastingly distinct pockets along the Gallic coast, such as the area around Bayeux. The history and social organization of those Saxons who remained east of the Rhine remain obscure, since they are visible only sporadically, and largely through the prism of the *Frankish sources which report their alliances with and against neighbours such as the *Thuringians. These show that the Saxons came under the hegemony of the Franks in the 6th century, but repeatedly rose up in revolt, and were relieved by *Dagobert I of an obligation imposed by *Chlothar I to pay an annual tribute of 500 cows in exchange for a promise to defend the Frankish frontier against the Wends (*Fredegar IV, 74).

By the late 7th century, however, the Saxons appear increasingly assertive and independent of Frankish control, and proved resistant to initial attempts by *Anglo-Saxon missionaries such as the two *Hewalds to bring

about their conversion to Christianity. From 718 onwards *Charles Martel campaigned against the Saxons with some success, but this, and the parallel aspirations of S. *Boniface and others to expand the *Anglo-Saxon mission-field into Saxony, had to await the protracted and bloody campaigns of Charlemagne in the 770s and 780s to come to fruition and finally bring the Saxons into the Frankish Christian orbit.

EMB; STL

LexMA 7 'Saxons', 1223–7 (J. Ehlers, H.-J. Hassler).

D. H. Green and F. Siegmund, eds., *The Continental Saxons from the Migration Period to the Tenth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2003).

Saxon Shore The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*occ.* XXVIII) lists nine coastal garrisons arranged around the south and east coast of *Britain, from the Wash to the Solent, commanded by the *Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam (*occ.* I, 36; V, 132).

It has been suggested that forts on the opposite side of the English Channel also formed part of a wider coastal command. In fact eleven coastal forts are known in south-east Britain located close to estuaries or overlooking *harbours. An early group of forts at Brancaster and Caistor-by-Norwich, and Reculver, were constructed from the early to mid-3rd century and conform to the earlier pattern of forts. Another larger group, built from the later 3rd century onwards, includes Burgh Castle, Bradwell-on-Sea, Pevensey, Portchester, and Lympne. They were equipped with more massive walls and projecting towers, and form the clearest example in Britain of the new *fortifications found along the continental *frontiers and around Gallic *cities, but not found on *Hadrian's Wall.

The function of these forts remains controversial as some scholars have claimed that the threat from *Saxons and other peoples across the North Sea did not justify this level of defence and that the forts formed part of a supply network. The term *Litus Saxonicum* (Saxon Shore) is however comparable to the phrase *Gothica ripa* (Gothic Shore) used in the **Origo Constantini Imperatoris* (6.35) used to define the command of Constantine's nephew Dalmatius along the lower Danube *frontier, and on the Danube there was most certainly a real barbarian threat.

At a number of sites there is evidence for late occupation in the 5th and 6th centuries. The *Lindisfarne monk S. Cedd founded a *monastery in the remains of the fort at Bradwell-on-Sea (Othona, Ythancaestir) in *c.*654 as a base for evangelizing Essex (*Bede, *HE* III, 22). JCr

S. Johnson, *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (1976).

V. A. Maxfield, ed., *The Saxon Shore: A Handbook* (Exeter studies in history 25, 1989).

A. F. Pearson, 'Building Anderita: Late Roman Coastal Defences and the Construction of the Saxon Shore Fort at Pevensey', *OxJnlArch* 18/1 (1999), 95–117.

sayings Words of wisdom had been extracted from authoritative thinkers and gathered in collections since the late classical period. *John Stobaeus' four-book anthology (5th cent.) represents the acme of classical compilations, excerpting writers from Homer to *Themistius on the subjects of logic, physics, ethics, politics, and economics. *Porphyry drew on *Plotinus for his *Sentences Leading to the Intelligibles*, a basic summary of *Neoplatonism, while the more diffuse **Sentences of Sextus* contained a more popular and ecumenical brand of philosophy.

The **Apophthegmata Patrum*, sayings of *desert fathers dating from S. *Antony to the 6th century, assembled for the edification of monks in *Egypt, *Syria, and *Palestine, are different in that they were originally oral. In committing them to writing in the languages of the Early Church, scribes made their own selections and combinations, resulting in a particularly diverse corpus. JLL

Sayings of the Fathers *See* APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM.

S. Bertrand-de-Comminges (civitas Convenarum: dép. Haute-Garonne, France) A minor *city in the foothills of the Pyrenees, known primarily from its material remains. Successive excavations since the 1920s have revealed sundry public and private buildings in the lower town, while the fortification of the directly adjacent hilltop, substantial elements of which survive in elevation, is now well dated to *c.*400. The erection of a substantial church in the lower town in the second quarter of the 5th century and its subsequent modifications coincide with other indications to suggest that the earlier city was not immediately abandoned, but the focus of settlement appears gradually to have shifted to the defended hilltop, where in 585 the *Merovingian pretender *Gundovald made his last stand, vividly described by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* VII, 34–8). STL

CAGaule 31/2 (2006).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 13 (2004), 51–81; vol. 141 (2014), 248.

A. S. Esmonde Cleary, *Rome in the Pyrenees: Lugdunum and the Convenae from the First Century BC to the Seventh Century AD* (2007).

scales and weights Roman and Byzantine authorities usually employed commodity and *coinage weights. The weights in question were commonly manufactured in *bronze, *glass, and lead. In very rare instances, *gold and *silver were also used. Among the

most common *copper-alloy weights the square type appears to have been dominant until the latter half of the 6th century, decorated with imperial figures, or more commonly with a prominent Latin *cross or wreath within cross, both flanked by the denominational mark (β = 2 ounce, γ = 3 ounce, σ = 6 ounce). A few weights have survived in the shape of bronze statuettes of an *emperor. A discoid type became predominant from the 7th to early 9th centuries.

Islamic weights also included a discoid type, although octagonal, not round, and combined with barrel and cubo-octaedric shapes. The Islamic impressions contained usually the ruler's name, a short protocol, or a word of guarantee. *See also* WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. PT

C. Corti and N. Giordani, eds., *Pondera: Pesi e misure nell'antichità* (2001).

C. Entwistle, 'Byzantine Weights', in *EHB* (2007), 611–14.

P. Balog, 'Islamic Bronze Weights from Egypt', *JESHO* 13/3 (1970), 233–56.

M. C. Ross, 'Bronze Statuettes of Constantine the Great', *DOP* (1959), 179–83.

Scanda (mod. Skande in Imereti, *Georgia) Hilltop fort in eastern Colchis, where *Iberia met *Lazica. *Justinian I replaced the Laz garrison with Roman forces in *c.*527/8. They were defeated, and abandoned Scanda due to difficulties with provisioning. The Persians then occupied it, the Laz razed it, and the Persians rebuilt it (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 13, 18; cf. *Persian*, I, 12, 14–19). Archaeology under a medieval fortress has revealed earlier remains and a tunnel running downhill towards a stream. MO

sceattas The word *sceat* indicated in the Anglo-Saxon monetary system a unit of accountancy corresponding to one-twentieth of one shilling. In numismatics the term often denotes small Anglo-Saxon *silver coins, minted to very diverse weight standards. This latter use of the word is inappropriate, since the term *sceat* is used in the laws of *Ethelbert of Kent before the first appearance of the silver coins, which were probably known as pennies. FC

I. Stewart, 'Anglo-Saxon Gold Coins', in R. A. G. Carson and C. M. Kraay, eds., *Scripta Nummaria Romana: Essays Presented to H. Sutherland* (1978), 143–72.

Scetis Important centre of Egyptian monasticism in the Wadi an-Natrun settled by S. *Macarius the Egyptian (*c.*300–90) in *c.*330 and rapidly attracting a substantial semi-eremitic ascetic population. Many of the elders represented in the **Apophthegmata Patrum* were associated with Scetis: Macarius of Egypt, Arsenius, Moses the Black, *John Colobus, Poemen, Paphnutius, *Isidore of Pelusium, Silvanus, and Amma Syncletica.

Four distinct monastic communities had emerged by the end of the 4th century. These were later named after Macarius of Egypt, John Colobus, Baramûs (lit. 'of the Romans'), and Bishoi. In the late 4th century Scetis was a centre of controversy between Melchizedekians and Anthropomorphites, and was devastated by barbarians in 407–8, 434, and 444. After the *Council of *Chalcedon (451), it emerged as a centre of vigorously anti-Chalcedonian *Miaphysite Coptic *monasticism. Scetis benefited from the patronage of the *Emperor *Zeno (474–91). It became a centre of Aphthartodoceticism (belief in the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh) in the 6th century. Scetis endured further devastation in *c.*570. The Emperor *Heraclius (610–41) pressed the monks to accept the Christological compromise of *Monotheletism, without success. The Monastery of S. Macarius became the seat of the Miaphysite Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate of *Alexandria in the Late Roman period. Early experience of the *Arab conquest (after 640) and Islamic rule was relatively benign, with the situation deteriorating (and *taxation increasing) over the 8th century. MGPe

CoptEnc 7 (1991) *s.v.* Scetis 2102–6 (A. Cody).

H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn*; Part II: *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*) (1932).

D. J Chitty, *The Desert a City* (1966).

Schola Unit of organization, civil and military (cf. *scrinia*, *vexillatio*, *auxilium*, *legio*). A wide range of personnel associated with the *palace—and in particular with the *Magister Officiorum—was organized in Scholae. The *Scholae Palatinae (imperial guard) comprised ten Scholae (in the 6th cent., of 500 men each); the **protectores domestici*; **notarii*; **silentiarii*; **stratores*; *viz.* **agentes in rebus*; **decani*, **mensores*, **lampadarii*, and other palace functionaries.

In the central civil *administration, the staff of the *Praefectus Praetorio was variously organized by **scrinium* or *schola* (*CJust* I, 27, 1). In 6th-century *Constantinople, administrative officials (**exceptores*) were divided into fifteen Scholae (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3, 6). Promotion (principally by seniority) and ranks in the military *scholae* (modelled on **vexillationes* and **auxilia*) were mirrored in the civil *administration: members of the *schola agentum in rebus* were graded as *equites*, *circitores*, *biarchi*, *centenarii*, and *ducenarii* (*CJust* XII, 20, 3). CMK

Clauss, *Magister Officiorum*, 23–7.

Jones, *LRE* 578, 588, 634.

C. M. Kelly, 'John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD', *BZ* 98/2 (2006), 442–56.

Teitler, *Notarii*, 75–80.

schola cantorum The papal choir at *Rome. The term is also used for the *solea, the enclosed space

before the *altar where the choir sang. During the entrance rites of papal masses, the choir formed two lines along the processional route to the altar (**Ordines Romani*, 1, 49).

Despite claims by his 9th-century biographer John the Deacon, it is not likely that *Gregory I (r. 590–604) founded the papal choir and instituted its *chant. Singers from among the minor clergy existed before and during Gregory's pontificate, and boy singers from the mid-7th century (**Liber Pontificalis*, 86). A highly organized choral institution called the Schola Cantorum is mentioned in *Ordines Romani*, I. It disseminated its own distinctive Roman chant, especially in the Frankish kingdoms, and through *Canterbury as far as Northumbria (*Bede, *HE* II, 20: James the Deacon; *HE* IV, 2: Eddius Stephanus), especially to Benedict Biscop's *monasteries of *Wearmouth-Jarrow (*HE* IV, 16[18] and Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 6: John, archchanter of S. Peter's Rome). JJD; OPN

New Grove Music s.v. Schola Cantorum (i) (J. Dyer).

C. J. Mews, 'Gregory the Great, the Rule of Benedict and Roman Liturgy: The Evolution of a Legend', *JMHist* 37 (2011), 125–44.

Scholae Palatinae Imperial escort regiments which began to supplement the **equites singulares Augusti* and Praetorian Guard under the *Tetrarchy, and replaced them under *Constantine I. The earliest clear attestation of them is around AD 330 (*CTh* XIV, 17, 9–10). *Scholae* are listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* under each *Magister Officiorum, seven in the East, five in the West (*Not. Dig. or.* 11, 4–10; *occ.* 9, 4–8). They were all *cavalry formations, led by *tribuni, and each unit was 500 strong (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 24, 15). These regiments were the most senior in the Roman *armies with the highest pay, quite distinct from the *field and frontier forces (*CTh* VII, 4, 23). *Scholae* were not under the direct command of the military **magistri*, presumably for political security reasons, as much as for facility of financial *administration. An inner group of 40(?) **candidati* fulfilled bodyguard duties. However, the *scholae* were battlefield regiments, not merely ornamental guardsmen, up until the last quarter of the 5th century. Unit titulature included **clibanarii*, *scutarii*, *armaturae*, and **gentiles*, providing some indication of armament and recruitment. Officers of the *scholae* were detached for special duties, including the command of other formations. Such was their importance that officers occasionally became imperial candidates (*Ammianus, XXV, 10, 9; XXVI, 1, 4). From the reign of *Zeno positions were sold off to raise revenue, so by the time of *Justinian I the *scholae* had become purely ceremonial and militarily useless (Procopius, *Anecd.* 24, 17–21). JCNC

Frank, *Scholae Palatinae*.

Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer*, 279–303, 325–7, 330–3.

M. P. Speidel, 'The Late Roman Field Army and the Guard of the High Empire', *Latomus* 46 (1987), 375–9.

M. J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 45–8.

scholares *See* SCHOLAE PALATINAE.

Scholastica, S. Nun and sister of S. *Benedict of Nursia (*c.*480–*c.*540). Information about her comes entirely from the *Dialogues* of *Gregory the Great, where her prayer conjures up a storm that prevents Benedict from returning to his *monastery, prolonging what proved to be their last annual visit (*Dial.* 2, 33–4). CAS

scholastici Men of legal and *rhetorical learning who taught in rhetorical *schools or served as legal officers in *provincial or ecclesiastical *administration, or as private **advocati*. The latter might compose *petitions (*Augustine, *Tractatus in Joannem*, 7, 11) or draft summonses and responses for litigants; the *Thamugadi (Timgad) charge sheet (*FIRA* [2nd edn.], I, 64= *CIL* VIII, suppl., 17896), sets out their admissible fees, *viz.* 5 *modii* of wheat (equivalent to one-sixth of a **solidus*) for drafting a summons, double that for drafting the defendant's response. *Constantius II criticized the venality of *scholastici* (*CTh* VIII, 10, 2). The designation also denotes learning, as with *Zacharias Rhetor and *Agathias Scholasticus. SDC

A. Claus, *Ho scholastikos* (diss. Köln, 1965).

M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (2004), 296–8.

C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (2007), 112–13.

Scholia Sinaitica Fragments of a late 5th- century (AD 439/529) commentary on Ulpian's *Libri ad Sabinum* for *Greek speakers. The *Scholia Sinaitica*, like the **Syro-Roman Law Book*, are an important witness to the study of law between *Theodosius II and *Justinian I. JND

ed. in Riccobono, *FIRA* II, 635–52.

P. E. Pieler, '"Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur"', in Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. 2, 391–93.

schools, philosophical *See* PHILOSOPHERS AND PHILOSOPHY.

***schuldahis* (*sculdahis*)** *Lombard official subordinate to the *Dux or the **gastald*. The *schuldahis* undertook a low-level judicial function. It is not known how many *schuldaheis* there were in any given territory nor their position in the office hierarchy vis-à-vis **decani* and **centenarii*. CTH

Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 42.

scientia *Latin term for 'knowledge' which acquired a semantic range particular to the varied cultural

settings of Late Antiquity. Classical writing demonstrates a preference for using *scientia* to denote expert knowledge of a discipline or field with particular precepts, such as religion (Cicero, *De Divinatione*), natural philosophy (*Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*), or the study of letters (Quintillian, *Institutiones*). Early Christian authors such as Tertullian could associate *scientia* negatively with profane knowledge. With the importation of secular literary habits into Christian thinking, *scientia* also became positively associated with exegesis and moral discernment (*Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, III, 29, 40 and *De Trinitate*, XV, 15, 25; *Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 50, 9 and *De Anima*, 5). Secular philosophical thinking inherited Aristotle's criteria for possessing *scientia* in the sensible and intelligible sense (*Porphyry, *Isagoge*; *Boethius, *Categories*). Other writers (*Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, II, 10; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, II, 3, 6; *Isidore, *Etymologiae*, II, 24) continued to use *scientia* in reference to a diverse array of specific fields of knowledge. MSB

scientific texts, transmission and translation of Many *Greek writings available in Late Antiquity were later translated into *Syriac and *Arabic, and subsequently formed the core from which science, *medicine, philosophy, and other disciplines developed in the medieval Islamic world.

Scholars such as *Sergius of *Resaina (d. 536) translated Greek philosophical and medical texts into Syriac, and there had been a long tradition of rendering Greek religious and theological texts into Syriac. A second wave of Graeco-Syriac translations occurred in 9th-century Baghdad, where interest in Greek learning was at a peak, especially in the workshop of *Ibn Ishaq (d. *c.*873). Although tremendously influential, most of these Syriac translations are now lost, with the exception of *Galen's *On Simple Drugs* (translated by Sergius) and the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (translated by Ibn Ishaq).

An important route for transmitting Greek thought was undoubtedly the massive translation movement from Greek into *Arabic that took place from the 8th to the 10th centuries. Hunayn b. Ishaq's workshop is mainly associated with the rendering of medical texts, whereas it was in the circle around the polymath Yaqub al-Kindi (d. 873) that many Aristotelian and *Neoplatonic texts were first translated into Arabic. Some translations dating to the late 8th century also survive. These earlier translations and those produced in al-Kindī's circle often simplified and sometimes paraphrased, adding new information, but the renderings by Hunayn b. Ishaq and his workshop display greater sophistication and maturity.

Although most of the 9th-century translators belonged to Christian denominations (notably the *Church of the East), the patrons of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement were mostly Muslims linked to the *'Abbāsid elite (e.g. al-Kindī and Banū Mūsā). Their interest was not limited to 'useful' texts, but included some literature (e.g. the **Alexander Romance*) and even verse (e.g. single lines in the *metre called iambic distichs attributed to Menander). As a result, not only philosophy, *medicine, pure and applied sciences, and *grammar, and but also theology, jurisprudence, and *poetry in Arabic were profoundly influenced by the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. The Arabic language itself, in the classical period and in modern times, bears witness to the enduring influence of Greek thought. PEP

P. Adamson and P. E. Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī* (2012).

Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: A Survey of the Alexander Tradition through Seven Centuries: From Pseudo-Callisthenes to Ṣūrī*, (Mediaevalia Groningana NS 13, 2010).

S. [P]. Brock, *From Ephrem to Romanos: Interactions between Syriac and Greek in Late Antiquity* (1999).

Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (1998).

Dimitri Gutas, 'Greek Philosophical Works Translated into Arabic', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy* (2010), vol. 2, 802–14 (survey of philosophical translations).

P. E. Pormann, ed., *Islamic Medical and Scientific Tradition: Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies*, 4 vols. (2011).

M. Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam* (1970), 25–107 (survey of medical translations).

M. Ullmann, *Die Nikomachische Ethik des Aristoteles in arabischer Übersetzung*, 2 parts (2011–12) (case study).

scipio Eagle-topped sceptre, originally an attribute of *senators; it appears on the *coinage of *Maurice, *Tiberius II, and *Phocas. RRD

Grierson, *DOC* II/1.

Sciri Germanic-speaking group attested around the Carpathians in *c.*380, when they raided the Roman Empire in alliance with some *Huns. In 408/9, large numbers of them were then distributed as **coloni* across *Anatolia when the Hunnic leader Uldin was defeated. After *Attila died in 453 the Sciri re-emerged as an independent power under Edeco, formerly one of Attila's inner circle, and they participated in the struggles for mastery in the Middle Danube, involving *Goths, *Gepids, and *Suebes amongst others. The group defeated and killed the Gothic leader Valamer, but the remainder of the Pannonian Goths (led by the dynasty of the *Amali) then killed Edeco and destroyed Scirian independence. This prompted Edeco's son *Odoacer to leave for *Italy where from 476 he would emerge as its first post-Roman ruler. PHe

W. Pohl, 'Die Gepiden und die *Gentes* an der mittleren Donau nach dem Zerfall des Attilareiches', in H. Wolfram and

F. Daim, eds., *Die Volker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert* (Denkschr. Wien 145, 1980), 239–305.

Scone A *monastery on the River Tay on the east coast of Scotland, of uncertain early medieval date, which was superseded by an Augustinian convent, founded *c.*1120, which went on to host several royal inaugurations at its associated 'moot-hill' in a ritual involving the so-called 'Stone of Destiny'. By the 12th century it was maintained that the last *Pictish king had been killed at Scone, and that subsequently the beliefs and practices of the Pictish Church had been declared obsolete there by royal decree. Perhaps these details retroject something of the reform-mindedness and royal affinities of the Augustinian convent onto its forerunner house, but there is reason to suppose that the latter enjoyed close links with the Scottish royal dynasty descended from Cinaed mac Alpín. It is doubtful whether Pictish or early Scottish kings were inaugurated at Scone. JEF

S. T. Driscoll, 'The Archaeological Context of Assembly in Early Medieval Scotland: Scone and its Comparanda', in A. Pantos and S. Semple, eds., *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe* (2004), 73–94.

R. Welander, D. J. Breeze, and T. O. Clancy, eds., *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland monograph series 22, 2003).

Scotti By the 6th century, in the native Hiberno-Latin of Gaelic writers, an ethnonym that denoted both the inhabitants of *Ireland and Gaelic-speaking groups in northern *Britain. It is convenient to translate the name as 'Gaels', save where the geographical and national overtones of 'Irish' or 'Scots' do not seem unhelpful. The surviving earlier instances lack sufficient geographical specificity to be certain whether *Scotti* carried the same meaning to whichever non-natives coined the name in the 3rd or 4th century from obscure origins. From the introduction of *Latin *literacy in Ireland, *Scotti* appears to have enjoyed a complex coexistence with alternative ethnonyms based on the more ancient Latin name *Hibernia*. *Adomnán of *Iona, for example, termed his native Ireland both *Scotia* and *Ebernia* (with variants) at the end of the 7th century, referring to the Gaels of northern *Britain as *Scoti Brittanniae*. Earlier, the 5th-century British missionary S. *Patrick had apparently used *Hiberionaci* to signify Irish Christians in his writings, reserving *Scotti* for those who remained *pagan. In the course of the early Middle Ages the Irish ultimately settled on terming themselves *Hibernenses* in Latin, whereas the Scottish Gaels settled on *Scotti*, through a process that remains doubtful. An important factor in confining *Scotti* to northern Britain could have been its tendency to appear coupled with *Picti* (*Picts) in particularly influential accounts of British history in the 4th and 5th centuries.

By the time of the foundation of the *monastery of Iona (563), the West Highlands of Scotland and the adjacent islands were part of the Gaelic province of Dál Riata, part of which also lay in north Antrim in Ireland. Although for centuries the Gaels in Britain shared a Latin ethnonym with the Irish, whether (and when) the British areas of Dál Riata were colonized from Ireland, or whether (and when) their inhabitants were gaelicized (and indeed 'scotticized') by more complex processes, are difficult matters to resolve on the basis of the available evidence. Certainly among the different origin stories in circulation by the early 8th century, it was thought that the Gaels of northern Britain were Irish colonists in origin, but the historical value of these stories is doubtful. The leading families of Dál Riata being British-based by then, their espousal of Irish heritage was doubtless politically convenient. The archaeological record is undiagnostic in relation to the possible movement of settlers, and the mass-migration model envisaged by the origin stories probably vastly underestimates the complexity of the circumstances which resulted in the presence of *Scotti* on both sides of the North Channel by the 6th century. JEF

E. Campbell, 'Were the Scots Irish?', *Antiquity* 75 (2001), 285–92.

D. N. Dumville, 'Ireland and North Britain in the Earlier Middle Ages: Contexts for *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*', in C. Ó Baoill and N. R. McGuire, eds., *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig, 2000: Papers Read at the Conference 'Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000', Held at the University of Aberdeen 2–4 August 2000* (2002), 185–211.

J. E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (2009).

E. A. Thompson, 'St Patrick and Coroticus', *JTS* NS 31 (1980), 12–27.

scramasax This term refers to a knife or to a short, single-edged sword, fancifully attributed by etymology to the *Anglo-Saxons but in fact widely attested in the *Frankish panoply from the 5th century onwards. EM

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Sax, XXVI (2004), 538–46 (S. Nässl, H. Westphal).

D. A. Gale, 'The *Seax*', in S. C. Hawkes, ed., *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England* (1989), 71–83.

screen Divider which typically separated the sanctuary from the nave in a church ('chancel screen') in order to isolate spaces reserved for the clergy. It was typically made from panels slotted into short *marble pillars or taller columns, supporting an architrave/epistyle, as in many churches in *Constantinople and *Syria. Screens also fenced in upper galleries or separated the *bema from the nave or the nave from the aisles, especially in Eastern churches, including the 6th-century Church of S. John the Evangelist at *Ephesus. From the

4th-century, screens were made of different materials, including wood, as in the church at *Tyre described by *Eusebius (*HE* X, 4, 44), marble, or *brick, and were often decorated with carving or painting, while more expensive examples, such as the screen in the Great Church of the *Holy Wisdom described by *Paul the *Silentiary, were covered in *silver revetment. Early chancel screens were either of low height or of lattice-work, allowing the congregation to see into the sanctuary, but by the mid-5th century the screen was often of greater height, as in the church at Qirqbize on the *Limestone Massif of northern Syria. After the 9th century, the screen developed into the taller Byzantine iconostasis on which *icons were hung. SVL

S. Gerstel, ed., *Thresholds of the Sacred: Art Historical, Archaeological, Liturgical and Theological Views on Religious Screens, East and West* (2007).

Mathews, *Early Churches*, 105–80.

N. Thon, 'Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ikonostase', *ZOK* 2 (1986), 193–207.

S. G. Xydis, 'The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia', *ArtBull* 29/1 (1947), 1–24.

scribo High-ranking officer drawn originally from the **excubitores* or **domestici* and employed in a variety of sensitive imperial missions, such as the arrest of popes, payment of troops, collection of recruits, diplomatic contacts, or official inquiries. The *scribones* are first attested under *Justinian I. JCNC

Jones, *LRE* 401, 658–9, 675.

Scrinia, Sacra A group of palatine departments, overseen from *Constantine I onwards by the *Magister Officiorum. The three main departments were the Scrinium Memoriae (*see* MEMORIALES; MAGISTER MEMORIAE), the Scrinium Epistularum (*see* EPISTULARES; MAGISTER EPISTULARUM), the Scrinium Libellorum (*see* LIBELLENSES; MAGISTER LIBELLORUM). Less eminent was the Scrinium Dispositionum.

The three principal Scrinia were responsible for a wide range of legal and administrative tasks, including the handling of embassies and *petitions, and the drafting of imperial replies, issuing documents of appointment (**probatoriae*) for many officials; and handling various government reports and judicial records. The Scrinium Dispositionum was perhaps responsible for the *court's schedule.

Staff needed excellent literacy and, more broadly, were expected to be men of literary culture. A rhetorical education was therefore essential. In addition, a legal education was useful for some duties. Recruitment was thus reliant on the provincial aristocracies (*see* ARISTOCRACY, CIVIC) who had access to the requisite education.

To obtain employment in these departments required an entry fee. In the 5th century (*CJust* XII, 19, 7, 2 and XII, 19, 11), a new junior entrant had to pay 250 **solidi* either to the *Proximus, the head of the relevant branch, if the vacancy became available due to the latter's retirement, or to the family of the deceased in a case of death in service—while a further fee of 15 or 20 *solidi* was owed to the *Melloproximus (deputy head).

Salaries were modest and no pension accrued. But staff were permitted to collect **sportulae* (fees), typically several *solidi* per instance, for services to outside parties, for instance in litigation (e.g. *CJust* XII, 35, 18, 2–2a). Sustained service also secured permanent exemption from membership of local *city councils and from other compulsory public *services and conferred the high honours enjoyed by an **honoratus*.

Vacancies were few. The *Emperor *Leo I regulated numbers in 470: 62 *memoriales*; 34 *epistulares*; 34 *libellenses* (*CJust* XII, 19, 10). In the East, provision had been made in 396 for the option to retire after twenty years with the rank of **consularis* (*CTh* VI, 26, 7; *CTh* VI, 26, XII, 19, 3). In the West in 410, staff graded as *exceptores* or higher qualified for the senatorial rank of **clarissimus* (*CTh* VI, 26, 16). Some staff will have left the service earlier for one reason or another, while others will have chosen to remain, progressing to yet higher grades and honours. The Proximus of each of the Sacra Scrinia qualified on retirement for the rank of *Vicarius from 381 in the West and 386 in the East (*CTh* VI, 26, 2; VI, 26, 4). Progression was accelerated when the term of service for a Proximus was reduced from three years to two in the East in 396 (*CTh* VI, 26, 6), and then to one year in both the West in 397 (*CTh* VI, 26, 11) and the East in 416 (*CTh* VI, 26, 17 = *CJust* XII, 19, 6). Promotion was intended to be by 'regular order and merit' (ibid.) rather than by *patronage or purchase. Various delinquencies, such as non-attendance or plurality of office, were prohibited. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 575–8.

C. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (2004), 39–40, 66–7.

scriniarii Administrative staff on the financial side of the **officium* of a *Praefectus, *Vicarius, or provincial *governor. These positions offered prospects of internal promotion and were attractive to families whose members belonged to *city councils (**decurio* meaning 1).

See also CIVIL SERVICE, IMPERIAL; SHORTHAND AND SHORTHAND WRITERS. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 589.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 30–1.

scripts *See* WRITING, GREEK AND COPTIC; WRITING, LATIN.

scripulum Originally a Roman measure of weight (1/24 of an *ounce) and the basis for the earliest issue of the **denarius*. Most Late Roman denominations apparently represented multiples or fractions of the ounce or **siliqua* but *Constantine I issued a short-lived *gold denomination weighing one and a half *scripula* corresponding to *c.*1.7 grams (0.06 ounces). RRD

RIC VII.

R. A. G. Carson, 'Rare Coins of the Late Roman Empire', *BMQ* 21/2 (1957), 44–6.

sculpture Both free-standing sculpture and relief sculpture continued to be produced in Late Antiquity, in *marble and other stone, in wood and in clay. The production of *portraiture for commemorative and honorific purposes continued, for instance in *cities such as *Aphrodisias, even if the recarving of older portraits and the reuse of older statues also played an important part. Unlike earlier classical free-standing sculpture which could be viewed from any angle, Late Antique free-standing statues were meant to be seen only from a certain point of view and were worked using techniques characteristic of relief carving.

Ancient sculpture had various fates. It might be incorporated as *spolia into fresh works of *art or architecture, as happened on the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome. It might be destroyed or recycled as building material or it might be buried carefully. Some statues were 'Christianized' by having *crosses engraved on them, others were damaged and destroyed completely, in order to overcome the *demons which might be associated with them. Numerous masterpieces were imported by *Constantine I as works of art to decorate the public areas of *Constantinople, 'stripping almost every city bare' (*Jerome, *Chron*. 232g Helm). Sculpture also decorated *bathhouses and the houses of important people, such as *Lausus, the *Primicerius Sacri Cubiculi. Here older and new sculptures were used side by side in the same context.

Characteristic of Late Antiquity was the production of *sarcophagi with Christian images. Rome was the most important centre. Such production started in the late 3rd century, and the number of Christian examples came to exceed the number of pagan examples under Constantine I. Production ceased probably in the early 5th century. Sarcophagi and church furnishings were also shipped in a part-finished condition from the quarries on the island of *Proconnesus in the Sea of *Marmara, as is apparent from the Church Wreck at *Marzamemi. From the end of the 3rd century onwards, the demand for *marble became greater than the *quarries could satisfy; this led to older material being reused. Specific techniques were developed to put together single slabs in order to form sarcophagi; in free-standing sculpture, marble pieces were patched. Important collections of sarcophagi survive at *Arles and *Ravenna. Also typical of Late Antiquity was the production of elaborately decorated *silver and *ivory. JDW

LSA: Last Statues of Antiquity (University of Oxford): <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>

Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, 3 vols. (1967–2003).

J. Engemann, 'Eine Dionysos-Satyr-Gruppe als Zeugnis frühmittelalterlicher christlicher Dämonenfurcht', in M. Krause and S. Schaten, eds., *Themelia. Spätantike und koptologische Studien: Peter Grossmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (1998), 97–108.

L. Lavan, 'Political Talismans: Residual "Pagan" Statues in Late Antique Public Space', in Lavan and Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, 439–77.

C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *DOP* 17 (1963), 53–75.

M. Prusac, *From Face to Face: Recarving of Roman Portraits and the Late-Antique Portrait Art* (2011).

R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016).

Ch. Vorster, 'Spätantike Bildhauerwerkstätten in Rom. Beobachtungen zur Idealskulptur der nachkonstantinischen Zeit', in *JbDAI* 127/8 (2012/13), 393–497.

L. Stirling, *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (2005).

sculpture, architectural Sculpture intended to decorate, emphasize, or accentuate inner spaces or outer façades of buildings survives from the Later Roman Empire in *marble and other stone, and sometimes in *stucco (*Baptistery of the Orthodox, *Ravenna). It can best be studied in Christian religious buildings which emerged in large numbers from the early 4th century.

The often plain exterior of churches contrasted with lavish interior designs. The importance of two-dimensional media (*mosaic, painting, *opus sectile) expanded; sculpture was concentrated on columns (*capitals, shafts, bases), archivolts, or architraves, and on *liturgical furniture (parapet slabs, *ambos, *altars).

Column capitals are the key witness for the dissolution of the tangible 'naturalism' of Antiquity into an abstract Late Antique style. In the 4th and 5th centuries, the Corinthian capital and other motifs from the Graeco-Roman tradition prevail; however, the execution is often stylized, the relief flat, the elements of the acanthus reduced. New forms developed in the 5th century, like the fine-toothed acanthus, the 'basket capital' with convex curves, or the 'folded capital' ('Faltkapitell'). In the 5th century, sculptors included a tapering block between capital and arch (impost) into their decorative systems. Impost and capital fused into the 'impost capital'; this conspicuous new form of Late Antique architectural sculpture prevailed in the

6th century (e.g. at *S. Polyeuctus, *Constantinople). Newly carved 6th-century architectural sculpture is striking for its innovative character, variety, abundance, and technical skill. The Christian *Cross became a major motif; sculptors displayed skill and imagination in a huge variety of abstract *geometrical patterns or classical *foliage motifs; the relief is often detached from the background, covering the surface in a lacework effect.

A striking feature of the period is the contemporary use of a variety of elements from traditional architectural orders (Ionic, Corinthian, Composite), both freshly carved and reused, and of newly developed forms, often within the same building. Differences in the form and elaboration of capitals were used to differentiate parts of a building (nave, choir, upper galleries).

*Spolia (reused architectural pieces) were already extensively used in the earliest Constantinian churches (*Lateran Basilica, *Rome); they remained more common in the West, particularly in Rome, than in the East. It is much debated whether, and how far, their use was a claim of the triumph of the new religion, or followed *aesthetic, or pragmatic, and economic necessities.

Figural sculpture, which had been important in classical architecture, largely lost its importance. A frieze of lambs from the monumental entrance of the Theodosian Church of the *Holy Wisdom in Constantinople, dedicated in 414, is a row of identical figures, with no spatial illusion. Relief panels from S. Polyeuctus showing Christ, the Virgin *Mary, and apostles, were possibly parts of a sanctuary *screen. UG

N. Fıratlı, *La Sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul* (1990).

R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 1 (1986).

F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Band I* (1969), 63–9; *Band II, 3* (1989), 273–96.

R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert* (1936).

sculpture, Egyptian What is sometimes called Coptic sculpture comprised two- or three-dimensional honorific, cult, funerary, and/or building carvings in stone and, more rarely, wood. Production of large-scale stone sculpture in the round probably ended in the 4th century with the last imperial *portraits—and probably also the last honorific and funerary portraits.

The hard *purple granite called *porphyry, especially favoured by the *Tetrarchy and their successors, ceased to be mined by the mid-5th century, when *quarrying of other hard stones may also have ceased in favour of imported (e.g. *Proconnesian) *marble, local limestone, and sandstone.

Regional workshops produced deep-relief limestone portrait stelae depicting the deceased in niches at *Oxyrhynchus (mod. Behnesa; *c.*2nd/3rd–4th cent.) and architectural *sculpture depicting both Classical and Christian scenes at *Heracleopolis Magna (mod. Ihnasiya; *c.*4th cent.). Vine-scroll and geometric pattern reliefs dominate the corpus of stone building sculpture from Oxyrhynchus (*c.*4th–6th cent.) and from the *monasteries at *Bawit and *Saqqara (*c.*5th–6th cent.). Large corpora of Christian funerary stelae are known from e.g. *Esna, Armant, *Panopolis (mod. Akhmim), *Saqqara, and the Fayum (*Arsinoite Nome), although their original contexts are poorly documented. In the 1950s–1970s, forged and recut sculpture entered the art market and, subsequently, the academic literature.

ERO

CoptEnc., vol. 7 *s.v.* sculptures in stone, Coptic, 2112a–2117b (H.-G. Severin).

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I appendix.

O.Cair.Monuments.

ed. G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (1907).

Koptisches Sammelbuch, I–III.

Late Statues of Antiquity, <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>, consulted 21 October 2017.

J. MacKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c.300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (2007).

D. Peacock and V. Maxfield, *The Roman Imperial Quarries*, 2 vols. (2001–7).

E. Enβ, *Holzschnitzereien der spätantiken bis frühislamischen Zeit aus Ägypten* (2005).

K. Kumeich, *Spätanike Bauskulpture aus Oxyrhynchos* (2003).

E. R. Russmann, *Unearthing the Truth: Egypt's Pagan and Coptic Sculpture* (2009).

sculpture, figure From the time of *Constantine I onwards, civic *portraiture and imperial *portraiture developed in different directions, and it is not possible to identify a characteristic 'Zeitgesicht', the contemporary look which in earlier centuries arose from the way other portraits were assimilated to the imperial image. Civic *portraiture in Late Antiquity displays an innovative and widely diverging variety of iconographic possibilities. Portraits continued to be made until the 6th century.

In the later 4th century, the production of mythological sculpture showing gods and heroes, both small and 'life size', is resumed, reaching a climax in the age of *Theodosius I. The workmen probably came from *Aphrodisias (mod. Turkey) with a workshop in *Rome. Free-standing decorative sculpture was used to furnish entrance halls, **triclinia*, *baths, and *nymphaea.

Christian themes occur only rarely; there is a group of Jonah and *Good Shepherd statues now in *Cleveland (Ohio) and a famous statue of Christ now in the Palazzo Massimo in Rome. *Eusebius (*HE* VII, 18) mentions a *bronze statue of Christ healing the Woman with an Issue of Blood at Paneas (mod. Baniyas).

This interest in figure sculpture fed an interest in the collection of antique statuary. Contemporary and ancient statues were placed side by side in the vast new palaces of Roman notables. Probably the most important collection of antique sculpture was amassed by *Lausus, in *Constantinople under *Theodosius II. Ancient sculpture from all over the Empire filled public places at Constantinople such as the *circus, the *Senate House, and the *Baths of Zeuxippus, while Eusebius (*VCon* III, 49) praises metal statues of the Good Shepherd and of the prophet Daniel at a fountain in the marketplace of Constantinople. *Ecphrasis of images both public and private images survives in the *epigrams of the **Greek Anthology*. JDW

C. Gennaccari, 'Le "statue" del Buon pastore nei Musei Vaticani: rilettura e additamenta alla luce di alcuni documenti del settecento', *RivArcCrist* 75 (1999), 461–73.

H. Klein, in R. Eikelmann, ed., *The Cleveland Museum of Art, Meisterwerke von 300 bis 1500* (2007), 28–34.

M. Kovacs, *Kaiser, Senatoren, Gelehrte. Studien zu Chronologie, Typologie und Hermeneutik des spätantiken, männlichen Privatporträts vom 4. bis zum 6. Jh.* (2014).

L'Orange, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild*.

Ch. Vorster, 'Spätantike Bildhauerwerkstätten in Rom. Beobachtungen zur Idealskulptur der nachkonstantinischen Zeit', *JdI* 127/128 (2012/13), 393–497.

B. Ward Perkins and C. Machado, '410 and the End of New Statuary in Italy', in J. Lipps et al. eds., *The Sack of Rome in 410 AD* (2013), 353–63.

sculpture, relief Generally, in Late Antiquity relief sculpture is more important than figure *sculpture. The most important category of relief sculpture, *sarcophagi, continued to be produced in *Rome until the beginning of the 5th century. From the time of *Constantine I, Christian themes predominated and illustrate the interest of the elites in this 'modern' form of the traditional type of sepulchre. Christian sarcophagi are the most important medium for the creation of a new, Christian iconography. They were exported to *Italy, *Gaul, *Spain, and *Africa. Local production can be found about AD 300 and again after the end of production at Rome.

In *Constantinople, local production both in *marble and in limestone of sarcophagi and other relief sculpture starts towards the end of the 4th century. New types of relief sculpture are invented, for instance decorated marble table tops with figural representations, both *pagan and conventional and Christian. These are produced in the late 4th and early 5th centuries in different workshops and served various functions in grand *houses and in churches. An innovation is the revival of the *tondo*, a form of relief going back to Hellenistic times, showing heads of gods and heroes in a circular surround, used in Late Antiquity for the decoration of entrance halls. The apogee of this fashion is in the late 4th and early 5th centuries.

For the decoration of churches, reliefs with Christian themes were used, for example the sumptuous reliefs found at *Carthage and the 6th-century ciborium columns now at S. Marco in Venice. More frequently, marble barriers are decorated with figural and ornamental reliefs, often arranged in a two-dimensional decoration. The *champlevé technique, where a figural or decorative motif is isolated by chiselling away the surrounding surface and filling it with coloured materials, is technically relief, but in fact a step towards a two-dimensional decoration which continues in the Middle Ages. JDW

J. Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten aus theodosianischer Zeit* (1991).

J. Dresken-Weiland, 'Zur Ikonographie und Datierung der Champlevé-Reliefs', in *Akten des 12. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991* (1995), 719–26.

J. Dresken-Weiland, 'Sarcophagi', in *CEALA*.

Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, vols. 1 (1967); 2 (1998); 3 (2003).

R. Warland in *Das Königreich der Wandalen, Erben des Imperiums in Nordafrika* (2009), 348f.

Th. Weigel, *Die Reliefsäulen des Hauptaltarciboriums von San Marco in Venedig* (1997).

Scupi Roman and Late Antique *city on the northwest periphery of modern Skopje (FYROM). Scupi stood at an intersection of major *roads between *Niš and *Thessalonica and was the capital of *Dardania. It was probably destroyed by the *Heruli in 269. A *bishop is recorded under *Constantine I. *Theodosius I promulgated *edicts at Scupi in 379 and 388. Scupi was attacked by the *Huns in the mid-5th century. *Marcellinus Comes records its complete destruction by an *earthquake in 518, although *Procopius (*Aed.* IV, 4) lists it as restored by *Justinian I.

Excavated buildings include a theatre, a stone-paved *street with brick-paved colonnaded pavements, a civil *basilica, two Christian *basilicas, an urban *villa, and a *bath complex. Most unusual is the 4th-century civil basilica, probably *Tetrarchic in date; only partly excavated, it displays a rare circiform plan and geometric floor *mosaics. A three-aisled Christian basilica with an atrium and three eastern *apses, discovered in 2008, dates from the 6th century. CSS

TIR K-34 *s.n.* Scypi, 112–13.

M. Brunwasser, 'Burial Customs: Death on the Roman Empire's Eastern Frontier', *Archaeology* 65/5 (2012), 24–7.

L. Jovanova, 'New Data on the Citizens of Scupi and their Beliefs', *Folia Archaeologica Balkanica* 1 (2006), 313–24.

D. Koračević, *Scupi: Gradska teritorija* (2002).

M. Ončevska-Todorovska, 'Novata golema ranohristijanska bazilika od Skupi', *MacActArch* 20 (2006–8) [2011], 365–79.

Scythia Term used by Greek and Roman historians for a large area stretching from the Danube Delta north-east into modern Ukraine and Russia. *Scythia Minor was by the time of the *Verona List a province within the *Dioecesis *Thraciae. ECD

Barrington Atlas.
TIR L 35 (1969).

Scythia Minor *Province named on the *Verona List, corresponding to the Dobruja, the region on the Danube *frontier, enclosed by the final bends and delta of the Danube and the Black Sea, now divided between Romania and Bulgaria. Initially part of *Moesia Inferior, *Diocletian made it a separate province. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.*) places it in the *Dioecesis *Thraciae (II, 58; XXVI, 8 and 15), gives the governor's title as *Praeses (I, 116), records a *Comes Commerciorum shared with *Moesia and *Pontus (XIII, 8) and lists considerable troops commanded by the *Dux Scythiae (XXXIX), stationed mainly at riparian forts and towns and including Legions I Iovia and II Herculea. By the 5th century many of the troops were barbarian **foederati* of Germanic, Turkic (*Huns and *Bulgars), and, perhaps, *Slavic origins. External incursions, rebellions, and tensions between locals and foreign troops frequently troubled the region. *Anastasius I and *Justinian I restored *cities and forts and granted fiscal immunity. Justinian subjected it to the administrative and military command of the *Quaestura Exercitus. *Asparukh's Bulgars conquered the region in 680.

The remains of several cities, forts, and settlements have been archaeologically investigated (e.g. *Tomis, Callatis, Acrae, Tropaeum, *Histria, Carsium, Capidava, *Troesmis, *Dinogetia, *Noviodunum, Ibida, Zaldapa, Axiopolis, and Arubium). Most have strong fortifications mainly of Tetrarchic or Constantinian construction with later phases of repair. There are several Christian churches and necropolises. Cults of *martyrs appeared in the 4th century (e.g. at Niculițel, near Noviodunum). *Relic crypts were usual in churches during the 5th and 6th centuries (e.g. at Histria, Tomis, Tropaeum). ER

TIR L35 (1969).

I. Barnea, *Les Monuments paléochrétiens de Roumanie* (1977).
R. Born, *Die Christianisierung der Städte in der Provinz Scythia Minor* (2012), 73–110.
D. Drakoulis, '*Η περιφερειακή οργάνωση των οικισμών της Ανατολικής Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας κατά την πρώιμη βυζαντινή περίοδο (4ος-6ος αιώνας) Α': Θρακική, Ιλλυρικόν, Ασιανή*', *Byzantina Keimena kai Meletes* 53A (2009), 91–6.
A. Rădulescu and V. Lungu, 'Le Christianisme en Scythie Mineure à la lumière des dernières découvertes archéologiques', in *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986* (1989), 2561–615.
C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube* (BAR IntSer 88, 1980).
S. Torbatov, *Ukrepitelnata sistema na provintsiia Skitiia (kraia na III–VII v.) = The Defence System of the Late Roman Province of Scythia (End of the 3rd–7th Century AD)* (2002).
M. Zahariade, *Scythia Minor: A History of a Later Roman Province (284–681)* (2006).

Scythians (Saka) Iranian-speaking nomads, called Saka by the Persians. They lived in the steppe areas north of the Roman and *Persian empires, extending from *Central Asia to Eastern Europe. The western Scythian civilization flourished between their defeat of the Cimmerians (630s BC) and the *Sarmatian invasion of the Pontic–Caspian steppe (*c.*500 BC), after which the Scythians were restricted to the Lower Danube, Lower Dnieper, and *Crimea. The Sarmatian Roxalani invasion (*c.*200 BC) pushed the Scythians into the Crimea Peninsula and the *Gothic invasion of Crimea (mid-3rd cent. AD) ended Scythian political independence completely.

Eastern Scythian civilization was centred in *Central Asia, later extending southward into Persia and *India. The Massagetae, who defeated Cyrus the Great (530 BC, Herodotus 1, 204–16), were considered Saka, as were the *Khotanese in the *Tarim basin. The role of the Saka in Persian history is commemorated by numerous references to them in Herodotus, Strabo, and other classical authors, where they are mentioned in conflict with the Achaemenid Persians, Macedonians, and Parthians. Mentioned as the Scythians who lived east of the Caspian Sea or beyond the *Jaxartes, they were neighbours of the *Sogdians and *Bactrians. The eastern Iranian province of Sakastan (*Sagastan, mod. Sistan) commemorates a branch of the Saka who established the Indo-Scythian kingdom (1st century BC–1st century AD), extending from eastern Iran to northern India.

The Scythians were superb horsemen and archers who lived on wagons and in cities, practised pastoral *nomadism, agriculture, and trade, sacrificed *horses and humans at royal funerals, and wore *gold ornaments characterized by the artistic depictions of *animals. They also fostered a trade network connecting the Graeco-Roman and Persian worlds.

The Scythians were the first steppe nomads to be described in classical literature (Herodotus, IV, 1–83; Strabo, XI, 2, 1; XI, 6, 2; XI, 8, 2; *Ptolemy, VI, 13–15). Later classicizing *Greek authors therefore frequently applied the name Scythians to later nomadic groups who had no relation whatever to the original Scythians. These included the *Huns (*Priscus, fr. 5

Blockley; *Theophanes, AM 5942), the *Goths and *Ostrogoths (Priscus, fr. 28 Blockley; *Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 5, 5–6; **Strategicon*, 53–4; Theophanes, AM 5870), the Türks (Menander Protector, fr. 10, 3 and 19, 1 Blockley; *Strategicon*, 116–18; *Theophylact Simocatta, I, 8; IV, 10; V, 10; VII, 7), the *Avars (Menander Protector, fr. 15, 1–3 Blockley; *Strategicon*, 116–18; Theophylact Simocatta, VII, 8), the *Khazars (Theophanes, AM 6224), and unnamed or generic steppe nomads (*Cosmas Indicopleustes, 74, 120–1; *John Malalas, XVI, 16; XVIII, 26; *Strategicon*, 24, 52–3, 61, 65, 68).

In the Roman Empire, *Scythia Minor was that part of the Severan *province of *Moesia Inferior corresponding to the Dobruja at the mouth of the Danube made into a separate province under the *Tetrarchy. Several Roman military officers were of unspecified 'Scythian' origin, including *John Scytha in the 5th century and *Hermogenes in the 6th century. MLD

BT II, *Σκύθαι*.

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Indo-Scythian dynasty (R. C. Senior).

C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (2009), 58–77.

A. I. Melyukova, 'The Scythians and Sarmatians', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 97–110.

R. Rolle, *The World of the Scythians* (1989).

T. Sulimirski in *CambHistIran* II, 149–99.

Scythopolis (biblical Beth Shean, Hellenistic Nysa-Scythopolis) Capital of *Palaestina Secunda, and in Late Antiquity a prominent centre of the *textile industry, with a mixed population of Christians, *Jews, and *Samaritans. Extensive excavations have revealed *temples, a Roman theatre, an amphitheatre, a nymphaeum, colonnaded *streets, shops, *bathhouses, *synagogues, churches, remains of the Late Antique *city wall, and a *monastery. Several *inscriptions attest to continued building activity in the 6th century,

A medical student from Scythopolis was a student of *Plotinus (*VPlot* 7). Scythopolis was chosen as a suitably out of the way place midway between *Antioch and *Alexandria for *Paul 'the Chain' to hold *treason trials in 359 (*Ammianus, XIX, 12, 8).

S. Procopius, the first *martyr of the Great *Persecution recorded in *Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine*, died at *Caesarea but was a *reader in the church of Scythopolis, a *Greek–*Syriac interpreter and an enthusiast for natural science. A martyr called Basil was remembered at Scythopolis in the 6th century (*Theodosius, 2). The city was on a *pilgrimage route to *Jerusalem; the *Bordeaux Pilgrim passed through in 333 and the *Piacenza Pilgrim (7) in 570. The city was also the home of *Cyril of Scythopolis who joined the desert monks and chronicled many of their lives (e.g. Ss. *Euthymius and *Saba).

Scythopolis continued to flourish after the *Arab conquest of 636, until its destruction by an *earthquake in 749. The later scanty settlement reverted to the Semitic name, Beysan in *Arabic. LDS; OPN

New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, vol. 1 (1993), 214–35; vol. 5 (2008), 1616–44.

TIR Iudaea-Palaestina, 223–5.

G. Mazor and A. Najjar, *Nysa-Scythopolis: The Caesareum and the Odeum* (2007).

Y. Tsafrir and G. Foerster, 'Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries', *DOP* 51 (1997), 85–146.

L. Di Segni, 'New Epigraphical Discoveries at Scythopolis and in Other Sites of Late-Antique Palestine', *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18–25 settembre 1997, Atti* (1999), vol. 2, 625–42.

S. Denis (dép. Seine-Saint-Denis, France) *Monastery near *Paris, housing the *martyrium of S. Denis. The earliest *Passion* of S. Denis (Dionysius) dates from the early 6th century and describes how a pious woman buried the *martyr (supposedly a *bishop of Paris, and martyr under *Decius) in her field, 10 km (6 miles) from Paris. When the persecutions were over, she built a mausoleum over his *tomb, replaced in due course by a fine *basilica (*BHL* 2171). The *Life* of S. *Genovefa, of similar date, reports how she regularly venerated the tomb of the saint, and obtained permission to build a church over it.

In the 7th century, *Dagobert I undertook the lavish re-embellishment of the church, possibly directed by S. *Eligius, to whom was attributed the large *gold altar *cross, decorated with precious *stones, preserved at S. Denis until 1793; Dagobert and his son *Clovis II endowed its monastic community with considerable lands and privileges, and both were buried there. The royal connections of the abbey were enhanced under the early Carolingians, and *Pippin III was crowned there by Pope Stephen II in 754.

Archaeological investigations have revealed various structures which antedate the 12th-century reconstruction of the abbey and have been associated with the late 5th- and mid-7th-century building phases. They have also located the foundations of the church reconstructed by Abbot *Fulrad from 768 onwards. Aristocratic burials from the early 6th century onwards, including that of *Aregund, have also been excavated within the basilica, while other churches and monastic buildings are known to have existed within what became the *vicus* of S. Denis. PPé; STL

BHL 2171, ed. B. Krusch in MGH Auct. Ant. IV/2 (1885), 101–5.

S. M. Crosby, in P. Z. Blum, ed., *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger (475–1151)* (1987).

M. Fleury and A. France-Lanord, *Les Trésors mérovingiens de la basilique de Saint-Denis* (1998).

J. Formige, *L'Abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (1960).

P. Périn, in *Villes et campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval: mélanges Georges Despy* (1991), 599–624.
M. Wyss, ed., *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis, des origines au XVIIIe siècle* (1996).

Seal of Faith (Arm. *Knik' Hawatoy*) *Armenian *florilegium* of the 7th century defending the theological position of the Armenian Church after its rejection of the Christology of the Council of *Chalcedon. Since the work of Tēr Mkrtč'ean (1914) ascription of its inception to the *Catholicus Komitas (615–28) is generally accepted. Its author may come from circles around Yovhannes Mayragomets', an admirer of the Aphthartodocetist *Julian of Halicarnassus (Cowe). Adducing Syrian, *Greek, and Armenian authorities, *Knik' Hawatoy* presents in ten tenets a *Miaphysite Christology. With *Philoxenus of Mabbug it asserts that Christ possesses one nature and one hypostatis, consubstantial with the Father both in *miracles and in human passions. Christ did not fear death or sweat blood.

The *Knik' Hawatoy* builds on two earlier works, the *Refutation* of Chalcedon by the Patriarch of *Alexandria *Timothy II Aelurus, and an early version of the correspondence of the Armenian Church, the **Book of Letters* (*Girk' t'łt'oc'*). It inspired later apologetic *florilegia*, e.g. Anania Sanahnets'i's *Hakačařut'iwn* (*Refutation*) on Christ's incorruptibility (11th cent.), and *Armat Hamatoy* (*The Root of Faith*), compiled by Vardan Aygekts'i (1175–1235). TMvL

S. P. Cowe, 'Armenian Christology in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries with Particular Reference to the Contributions of Catholicos Yovhan Ōjnec'i and Xosrovik Targmanič", *JTS* 55 NS (2004), 30–54.
K. Tēr Mkrtč'ean, *Knik' Hawatoy* (1914; repr. 1974: Catholicos Komitas *Le Sceau de la Foi*).

seals, Roman The use of lead seals to secure and authenticate documents became widespread in the Eastern Roman Empire during the 6th century. To attach his seal, the sender threaded a cord from the document through the channel of a small lead disk; he then pressed the heat-softened blank with a pliers-like instrument (*boulloterion*) to imprint the words or images engraved into the facing dies of the *boulloterion* onto the lead. *Inscriptions (mainly in *Greek, but also in *Latin) rendered in linear form or as a *monogram identified the sender, and often his title or office, making the seals an indispensable source for the prosopography and *administration of the Eastern Roman Empire (cf. *PLRE* III, 1556–73). Of particular importance are the seals of the officials who supervised the imperial *silk trade (*commerciarii*). Their seals, bearing the likeness of the *emperor, guaranteed the quality of the merchandise and the legality of the transactions conducted in this lucrative state monopoly. Cruciform monograms invoking divine aid, and tutelary images of the *Theotokos or saints, appear as expressions of personal piety on seals during the 6th and 7th centuries, although depiction of holy figures ceased temporarily during the *Iconoclast controversy (726–87, 815–43). The abandonment of Latin by this time, however, and of non-cruciform monograms proved to be lasting changes. EM

J. W. Nesbitt, 'Double Names on Early Byzantine Lead Seals', *DOP* 31 (1977), 109–21.
J.-C. Cheynet, *La Société byzantine: l'apport des sceaux*, 2 vols. (Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Bilans de recherche 3, 2008).
J. W. Nesbitt, Nicolas Oikonomides, et al., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 6 vols. (1991–2001).

seals and sealings, Persian Sealings were employed throughout the *Sasanian period, both on documents and on the fastenings attached to bales of goods. Numerous clay sealings (*bullae*) have been recovered, for instance in the excavations at *Takht-e Solayman, *Siraf, Ak-Depe, and Mount *Mugh.

Numerous seals also survive, made of *glass or semi-precious or precious *stones including *lapis lazuli and garnets. They come both from archaeological excavations (e.g. at *Qasr-e Abu Nasr) and from the activities of collectors. Such seal-stones bear images of people and animals, both real and mythical, depictions of ritual scenes and *hunting, of flowers and *altars (with and without fire), and legends and names in Middle *Persian, including the names of important figures known from written sources such as King *Peroz. Similar stamp-seals have been found as far afield as *Mantai in Ceylon and *Panjikent in *Sogdia. A post-Sasanian Persian lapidary text, chapter 46 of the Pahlavi Ribayat accompanying the **Dadistan-e Denig*, catalogues the different forms of good fortune enjoyed by those who wear particular stones. OPN

CII III, vol. 6. *Seals and Coins*. Portfolio I. *Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian Seals and Kushano-Sasanian Coins: Sasanian Seals in the British Museum*, ed. A. D. H. Bivar (1968); Portfolio II. *Sasanian Seals in the Collection of Mohsen Foroughi*, ed. R. N. Frye (1971).
A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Stamp Seals*, vol. 2: *The Sassanian Dynasty* (1969).
C. J. Brunner, *Sasanian Stamp Seals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1978).
P. O. Skjaervø, 'The Great Seal of Peroz', *Studia Iranica* 32 (2003), 281–8.
A. G. Gubaev, S. D. Loginov, and A. B. Nikitin, 'Sasanian Bullae from the Excavations of Ak-Depe by the Station of Artyk', *Iran* 34 (1996), 55–9.
P. de Menasce, 'Un lapidaire pehlevi', *Anthropos* 37–40 (1942–5), 180–5.

sea scenes Marine images were popular as decoration in Late Roman houses, *villas, and *baths. Marine scenes reflected the bounty of the sea and its creatures, as well as celebrating *fishing and those that go down to the sea in *ships. They also often incorporated mythological characters such as Erotes, Neptune, mythological creatures (e.g. Nereids) performing a *thiasos*, and *personifications of Ocean and Tethys/Thetis. Originating in *Italy in the Roman period, *mosaics of sea scenes continued to be used in Late Antiquity to decorate grand *houses, as in the cold room (*frigidarium*) of the 4th-century *villa at *Piazza Armerina which featured a mosaic of Nereids and sea monsters. They were even more popular in *Africa, where at Althiburus a mosaic has been found uniquely illustrating *Homer's Catalogue of Ships. Churches occasionally featured such scenes: for example, the 4th-century *Basilica of *Bishop Theodore at *Aquileia included a marine floor mosaic into which the story of Jonah was inserted. SVL

Seasons Personified and venerated as goddesses in the Roman period, the four Seasons (Gk. *Horai*, Lat. *Horae*) of the year—Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn—continued to be considered as crucial to agricultural success in Late Antiquity, and were symbols of the cyclical nature of the year (and of time generally) and of death and life. Appropriately, *personifications of the Seasons frequently decorated *sarcophagi, including the *Seasons Sarcophagus now at Dumbarton Oaks, on which the Seasons are represented as four young men. However, the Seasons more frequently appear as bust-length portraits of women who are clad in costumes befitting their place in the year (e.g. Winter typically wears a heavy cloak) and who hold attributes alluding to agricultural or other civic events which occur during their time of year: for example, Summer is associated with the wheat harvest and holds hot weather implements such as a fan, while Autumn often holds grapes or a pruning knife of the sort seen in *vintage scenes. From the 3rd century onwards, the busts of the Seasons were popular motifs in domestic floor *mosaics, particularly of *villas in *Antioch and *Africa. The Seasons were also important figures in larger *cosmological scenes, including the ceiling paintings at *Brigetio and in the winter *baths at Gaza, described by the rhetorician *John of Gaza (*Ekphrasis tou kosmikou pinakos*). SVL

G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (DOS 2, 1951; repr. 1971), 262–74.
D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (1947).
D. Parrish, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (1984).

Seasons Sarcophagus Large, lidless *sarcophagus, mid-3rd to mid-4th century, of greyish-white *marble now at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington D.C. Decorated only on the front, it shows a central *Zodiac ring containing busts of the deceased couple flanked on either side by two winged male youths representing the four *Seasons. JB

G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (DOS 2, 1951).

Sebaste (Samaria) *City of *Palaestina Prima, formerly Samaria, renamed in honour of the *Emperor Augustus and rebuilt by Septimius Severus. By *c.*300 it had shrunk to a small town (*Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, 154, 22). It was revered as the burial site of S. John the Baptist and the prophets Elisha and Obadiah; the *Emperor *Julian is said to have had the bodies burnt, but they were rescued by monks (*Philostorgius, VII, 4; *Rufinus, *HE* II, 28) and were seen by *Paula in 404 (*Jerome, *ep.* 108, 13, 4; cf. *Theodosius the pilgrim, 2). It was a *bishop's seat in Late Antiquity, and had a *monastery. *John Rufus, writing in 512, describes the *lamps always burning in front of the tombs of Elisha and John the Baptist in a chapel of the church. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (6), passing through, also noted the tomb of Elisha. Sebaste declined yet again after the *Arab conquest, and the church had collapsed by 808. RP; OPN

J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, and E. L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria* (1942).
J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria* (1957).

Sebasteia (mod. Sivas, Turkey) *City and *metropolitan diocese of Armenia Minor, then, from *Theodosius I onwards, of *Armenia Prima (Armenian P'ok'r Hayk). Sebasteia was located around an acropolis in the flood-plain of the River Halys (Arm. Aghis, mod. Kızıl Irmak). The city was named Sebasteia under Augustus. The Late Antique city lies under the large modern city, but monuments of the Seljuk period, especially the Gök Medresse and Bürüciye Medresse, contain Late Antique *spolia.

Sebasteia was the most northerly city captured by the *army of *Shapur I in the Persian invasion of 260 (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 32). *Justinian I rebuilt the city walls (*Procopius, *Aed.* III, 4, 11) and made it capital of Armenia Secunda, but the Persians burned Sebasteia in 575/6 (*John of *Ephesus, *HE* VI, 8; *Eustratius, *Life of Eutychius*, 1719). *Heraclius used Sebasteia as a base when he hit back against *Khosrow II in 623/4 (*Theophanes, AM 6116). After the *Arab invasions, Sebasteia was often threatened, and in the mid-7th century it became part of the large *Armeniac Theme.

One of the three surviving *sermons preached by *Gregory of Nyssa about the *Forty *Martyrs of Sebasteia, Roman soldiers who allegedly suffered for their faith by exposure on the ice of a lake during an Armenia winter, describes the city vividly (*BHG* 1208 PG 46,

773–88). On another occasion Gregory was the visiting preacher for the evening and morning of the *festival of the Forty in their *Martyrium at Sebasteia itself (*BHG* 1206–7, PG 46, 749–72). Other alleged martyrs were honoured at Sebasteia. The Five Martyrs of Sebasteia, Eustratius and his comrades, were venerated in a shrine north of the city. The colourful pre-Metaphrastic *Passion (*BHG* 276; PG 116, 817–30) of the *Bishop S. Blasius has much in common with that of S. Irenarchus whose shrine was to the west of the lake where the Forty froze (G. Garitte, 'La Passion de S. Irénarque de Sébastée et la Passion de S. Biaise', *AnalBoll* 73 (1955), 18–54). The lake is no more to be seen. TMvL; OPN

TIB 2: *Kappadokien*, 274–6;
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 2, 296–311.
N. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (CSCO 574 SubsHag 100, 1999).
R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (2001).
R. H. Hewsen, 'Armenia on the Halys River: Lesser Armenia and Sebastia', in R. G Hovannisian, ed., *Armenian Sebastia/ Sivas and Lesser Armenia* (2004), 45–79.

Sebastianus *Usurper in *Gaul, 412–13. Of noble birth, he was proclaimed *emperor by his brother the usurper *Jovinus. They were captured by the *Gothic ruler *Athaulf in 413, and executed at *Narbonne while being escorted to the imperial *court at *Ravenna, where their severed heads were displayed. ADL

PLRE II, Sebastianus 2.

Sebastopolis (mod. Sukhumi) *City with a *harbour, at or near classical Dioscurias at the eastern end of the Black Sea (*Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 15; Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 9, 2). Its main role was to protect trade routes in the northern Black Sea from *pirates. In 535, Sebastopolis was a fort rather than a city (*NovJust* 28, praef.). MO

A. Apakidze and O. Lordkipanidze, *Novye materyaly po arkheologii Dioskurii-Sebastopolisa* (New archaeological finds from Dioscurias-Sebastopolis) (Trudi Abkhazskogo institute yazyka, literature i istorii AN GSSR 32–4, 1963).

Sebastopolis (mod. Sulusaray, Turkey) Inland town and bishopric in the *Tetrarchic *province of *Diospontus, transferred to *Armenia Prima by 451. Sebastopolis was the site of a major battle between *Justinian II and the *Arabs under *Muhammad b. Marwān in summer 692, at which 20,000 *Slav troops deserted from Justinian's army (*Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6184). PJT

T. B. Mitford, 'Inscriptiones Ponticae: Sebastopolis', *ZPE* 87 (1991), 181–243.
W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert* (2002), 353–7.

Sebeos (d. after 661) Name conventionally given to the author of an *Armenian history covering events from *c.*572 to *c.*655, with notices appended subsequently up to 661. Prior to the 10th century, the only attested figure named Sebeos was a *bishop of the *Bagratuni who was a signatory to the *canons of the *Council of *Dvin held in 645. The first surviving reference to a historian called Sebeos comes from the *History* of Step'anos Asołik, writing *c.*1004; Asołik and later authors name this Sebeos as the author of a work called the *History of Heraclius*. The identification of the history now known as the *History of Sebēos* with the *History of Heraclius* and the identification of its author as the Bagratuni bishop were both made in 1833 by the scholar Y. Shahxat'unean, and the text was first published in 1851 by T. Mihrdatean under this identity. Neither the identification of the text nor its attribution to Sebeos the Bagratuni bishop is accepted today, although the text continues to be known as the 'History attributed to Sebeos'. T. Greenwood argues that the author was a senior cleric, probably with ties to the *Mamikonean family, and possibly the bishop who refused communion with *Constans II and the *Catholicus Nerses III in an episode described within the text.

The *History* is best known as the earliest surviving substantive account of the rise of *Islam and the *Arab conquest. An aim of the author was to illustrate how the folly of *Khosrow II Aparwez brought about the overthrow of the *Sasanian *Persian Empire, and how *Armenia came to be subject to the *caliphate. The author was conscious of his place in a chain of Armenian *historiography, but rather than beginning in the late 5th century where his immediate predecessor *Lazar Parp'ets'i left off, he began his account nearly a century later with the revolt of *Vardan II Mamikonean in 572.

The text can be divided roughly into three sections. The first describes the transition of power from *Khosrow I Anushirvan, and the Persian civil war that ended when his grandson Khosrow II gained the throne with the help of the Roman *Emperor *Maurice, inaugurating peace between the two empires. The author focuses on the careers of Armenians in the service of both empires, most notably Smbat Bagratuni. The second section describes the 'Last Great War of Antiquity' waged against the Roman Empire by Khosrow II; although the author describes the consequences of the war for Armenia, he has little to say about the activities of individual Armenians during this period. The third section begins after *Heraclius' victory over the Persians, and here the author focuses once more on the careers of Armenian princes. Amid these accounts he gives a synopsis of the career of *Muhammad and describes the rise of Arab power and the overthrow of the Sasanians, the alliances between the Romans and various Armenian princes, and the eventual treaty between *Theodore

Rshtuni and the future Caliph *Mu'awiya that led to Armenia's subjugation to the Arabs and the collapse of Roman influence in the region. The *History* gives a vivid account of the fluidity of allegiances among Armenian princes throughout the period. TLA

ed. G. V. Abgaryan, *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi [History of Sebēos]* (1979).

ET (annotated with comm.) R. W. Thomson, J. Howard-Johnston, and Tim Greenwood, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebēos*, 2 vols (2001).

T. W. Greenwood, 'Sasanian Echoes and Apocalyptic Expectations: A Re-Evaluation of the Armenian History Attributed to Sebēos', *Le Muséon* 115/3–4 (2002), 323–97.

Sebuxt (Gk. Sebochthes; MP Sēbuxt) (d. after 572) Ambassador of *Khosrow I to *Justin II. He was presumably a Christian, and was sent to appeal to Justin after Khosrow's successful campaigns against the *Hephthalites (*Menander Protector, fr.13, 5). He arrived in *Constantinople in 572, asking for the gold *tribute of 500 pounds of *gold promised to the Sasanians in the *Fifty Years Peace concluded in 562. However, Justin II dismissed the ambassador and sent the general Marcian to the East, thus starting a new phase of the *Persian–Roman wars (Menander Protector, 16, 1 *John of Epiphania, fr. 203). KR

PLRE III, Sebochthes.

Greatrex and Lieu, 139–41.

Second Sophistic The name given by *Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* to the intellectual ambience of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries. Philostratus' Sophists were virtuoso rhetorical performers who gave demonstrations of *declamation, often improvised, and of epideictic oratory. They also taught *rhetoric. Their written and oral output was characterized by Atticism, the use of the Athenian dialect of the Classical period and the strict avoidance of later vocabulary and syntax. Prominent representatives of the Second Sophistic, which Philostratus traces back to Aeschines, included Polemo, *Aelius Aristides, *Hermogenes, and Herodes Atticus (Dio Chrysostom is mentioned by Philostratus as one of a group of more marginal figures). Their performances in *cities such as *Antioch, *Smyrna, *Ephesus, *Pergamum, and *Athens drew large audiences and Philostratus vividly evokes rivalries between the leading Sophists. Usually from prominent families, these Sophists played important social and political roles within their communities, notably as ambassadors. The most eminent of Philostratus' Sophists enjoyed direct access to Roman officials and even to *emperors.

Philostratus' account of the Second Sophistic is undeniably partial in its selection of individuals: he makes no mention of authors considered central by modern scholars such as Lucian or of *Latin authors such as Fronto and Apuleius whose output was very similar, although he does mention Westerners who wrote and performed in *Greek such as Favorinus of *Arles and Aelian. Philostratus omits other important aspects of the intellectual life of the period such as the many competitions in oratory at local *festivals and the dual competence in rhetoric and *philosophy shown by some individuals who practised and taught both. The impact of the Second Sophistic can also been seen in productions other than the rhetorical displays described in the *Lives*. The novels by Longus, Achilles Tatius, and *Heliodorus are recognizably products of the Second Sophistic in their language, in their use of rhetorical techniques, and, more broadly, in their exploration of fiction.

Several of the defining characteristics of the Second Sophistic were not unique to the imperial period: declamation and the use of classical Attic orators and poets as models were characteristic of Hellenistic schools; the stylistic imitation of Attic Greek had been proposed by the Augustan critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus. However, these practices were carried out with a new intensity as evidenced by the development of declamation in particular into a competitive performance art in its own right, the rigour with which linguistic Atticism was practised, the sheer number of professional Sophists and educated individuals willing to listen to their displays and able to evaluate them. Most importantly, the period at which these Sophists flourished was one of peace and prosperity in the *cities of the Greek East that provided the background for a redefinition of Hellenism and its relationship to Roman power. The educated culture (*paideia*) of the Sophists was a sign of social distinction within Greek cities, confirming the status of the elites but also allowing some degree of social mobility. The public display of *paideia* was also a means of fostering Hellenic cultural confidence in the face of Roman power, making use of the past for the needs of the present.

There was thus a distinct continuity between the Second Sophistic and the literary and rhetorical production of later centuries. The rhetorical output of orators such as *Libanius, *Himerius, *Proaeresius, and the members of the 'School of *Gaza' was very similar in form to that of the Sophists. *Menander Rhetor's precepts for the production of epideictic speeches, written in the late 3rd century, drew directly on the speeches of Aelius Aristides (117-*c.*180 AD). Declamation remained a mainstay of *education and continued to be a subject of study and debate, as is clear from the profusion of competing methods, including that of Hermogenes whose treatises were the subject of commentaries by *Syrianus, among others. These similarities have led to the use of the term 'Third Sophistic' to designate the flourishing rhetorical culture

of Late Antiquity. Most importantly, Christian members of the elite received this same rhetorical and linguistic training as is clear from the writings of the *Cappadocian Fathers, *John Chrysostom, *Synesius, and the orators of Gaza. Acquisition of this traditional *paideia* was a prerequisite for careers in the Church, city, and Empire and, as in the earlier period, its public display remained an art essential to the lives of notable men. Eloquent *bishops also used their rhetorical skills to represent their cities and congregations. RW

Brown, *Power and Persuasion*.
S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (1996).
T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (2001).
E. Amato, ed., *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique* (2006).

secretarium Private room in a Roman *court, often closed off by a *curtain (*velum*), where trials could take place out of the public eye (e.g. *Passio *Cypriani*, 1). The word later denoted a side room of a church (cf. *diaconicon) alongside the *apse (e.g. *Paulinus of *Nola, *ep.* 32, 16). EL

R. Hanslik, 'Secretarium und Tribunal in den *Acta Martyrum Scillitanorum*', in *Mélanges C. Mohrmann* (1963), 165–8.

Secular Games (*Ludi Saeculares*) Theatrical games in *Rome closing an age (*saeculum*) of 100 or 110 years, held following Augustus' calculation in 17 BC, AD 88, and 204, but also for Rome's eighth, ninth, and tenth centenaries in AD 48, 148, and 248. Traditionalists lamented their absence in 313 (*Zosimus, II, 7, 2) and 348 (Aurelius *Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 28, 2). GAJK

Zosimus II, 1–7, with the comm. ad loc. of F. Paschoud (²2000).

Secundus of Non (d. 612) Abbot who composed a now (fundamentally) lost *Historiola*, which *Paul the Deacon subsequently used for his *History of the Lombards* (esp. III, 29). Paul records that Secundus baptized the son of the Lombard King *Agilulf and *Theudelinda in 603. Secundus also probably wrote to *Gregory I concerning the protracted *Three Chapters Controversy. CTH

PCBE II/2, Secundus 3.
Chazelle and Cubitt, *Crisis of the Oikoumene.*

security Locks ensured security for unguarded valuables. Specialist lock makers (Lat. *claustrarius*) in the Roman Empire made fixed locks and padlocks which were in common use in Late Antiquity (**Digest*, XXIV, 9, 1). Examples in *bronze and *iron have been found at *Delos, and *Corinth (Davidson, 139) and keys and lock plates are common finds, for instance at *Anamur (Russell, 136).

Pin-tumbler locks, one of the oldest technologies, continued in use: a bolt moving on the horizontal was blocked by vertical pins held in place with a spring which could be lifted by a key whose tines matched the pins. Warded locks used obstructions (wards) to prevent movement of the bolt unless one used the proper key, whose cuttings matched the wards and allowed the key to move freely within the lock, thereby striking and moving the bolt directly or via a lever and spring mechanism. Spring and lever padlocks were made of metal, usually *bronze, and consist of a body, shackle, and locking device. The shackle is usually a U-shaped metal piece that allows the lock to be affixed to a hasp. Roman spring padlocks are double chambered, the locking mechanism being a spring residing in the upper chamber with a narrow opening at its base. An angled key, inserted through the plate of the lock and through the base opening, accessed the spring and allowed the lock to be opened. Fine steel examples are known from the *Persian Empire in the *Sasanian era (Tanavoli, 52). MD

G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, and Weighing* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 2, 1980).
G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, vol. 12: *The Minor Objects* (1952).
J. Russell, 'Byzantine *Instrumenta Domestica* from Anemurium: The Significance of Context, in R. C. Hohlfelder, ed., *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (1982).
P. Tanavoli and T. Wertime, *Locks from Iran: Pre-Islamic to Twentieth Century* (1976).

Sedulius poeta (*fl.* 425/450) Sedulius is the author of a biblical *epic on the life of Christ, the *Carmen Paschale*, a later prose version of the same work, *Opus Paschale*, and a pair of influential *hymns, *Cantemus, Socii, Domino*, in epanaleptic elegiac couplets, and *A Solis Ortu Cardine*, an abecedarius in iambic dimeters. The *Carmen Paschale* was the most widely read of the Late Antique biblical *epics, but despite its success little is known of the poet's biography. He was probably Italian, perhaps a *priest. The poem is in five books: Book 1 is introductory in nature, with an extensive section of Old Testament *miracles; the rest of the poem traces Christ's life, from birth to ascension, with an emphasis on the miraculous and the theme of salvation. Sedulius shows himself theologically and exegetically aware. He is careful in his formulation of doctrinally difficult passages and exploits the multiple interpretative levels of the biblical texts. In poetic idiom his main debt is to *Vergil, but the Christian poets *Juvencus and *Prudentius also exerted an influence. Somewhat like Lucan, Sedulius often voices strong emotional reaction to the events he is narrating. In Sedulius' hands the biblical epic becomes a work of edification, instruction, and meditation. MJR

PCBE II/2, Sedulius.
HLL section 793.
CPL 1447–52:
ed. J. Huemer (CSEL 10, ²2007).
ET (annotated): C. P. E. Springer, Sedulius, The Paschal Song and Hymns (WGRW 35, 2013).
Green, *Latin Epics*, 135–250.
C. P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: The Paschale Carmen of Sedulius* (1988).

Sefer ha-Razim (*Book of Secrets/Mysteries*) *Jewish *magical text of the 2nd–3rd century AD which claims to have been revealed to Noah by the Angel Raziel and transmitted to Solomon. It contains seven sections, each describing one celestial firmament and listing names of its *angelic overseers. While its *cosmology resembles Jewish *apocalypses of Enoch and the *Talmud, the text's substance is an array of magic spells with close affinities to Aramaic *incantation bowls and *Greek magical *papyri. Different angels are associated with different spells and cures: *Sefer ha-Razim* reveals the magical practices used in summoning their assistance. Associating affliction and relief with *demons and angels was widespread in Late Antiquity, and the figure of Solomon was central in this literature (Duling). *Sefer ha-Razim* reveals crossovers between Jewish, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek cultures through magic. No complete manuscript survives; the oldest fragments were found in *Egypt, though this does not imply solely Egyptian origin. It spread widely: Hebrew and *Arabic fragments have been found in the Geniza documents and quotations appear in medieval European magical texts. The first modern reconstruction was edited by M. Margoliouth, while the most recent edition is by B. Rebiger and P. Schäfer. PAW

ed. B. Rebiger and P. Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II. Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II* (2 vols., 2009).
Text (with ET), M. A. Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim, The Book of the Mysteries* (1983).
D. C. Duling, 'The Testament of Solomon', in J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2010), 935–88.

Segermes (mod. Henchir Harat) Roman *municipium* in *Byzacena, 65 km (40 miles) south of *Carthage. Extensive survey between 1987 and 1989, combined with *sondages* in larger settlements, showed the region was used for intensive *farming (mainly *grain and *olives), with settlement activity and economic exploitation peaking between 500 and 550. AD; RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 304–5.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 82–3.
S. Dietz (vols. 1–2), H. Ben Hassen, L. Ladjimi Sebai, P. Ørsted (vol. 3), J. Carlsen (vol. 3) eds., *Africa Proconsularis: Regional Studies in the Segermes Valley of Northern Tunisia*, 3 vols. (1995–2000).

segmenta Term conventionally (but not necessarily correctly) applied to the decorative roundels and square panels incorporated into Roman and Persian *dress and soft furnishings. Rare in earlier Roman times (Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 3, 169; Juvenal, 2, 124), they became standard in Late Antiquity under the influence of Persian fashion. *Segmenta* were integral to the *textiles they embellished, being tapestry-woven (*ars plumaria*) on the loom, free-hand, from coloured wool yarns (often dyed with true *murex or an imitation vegetable *purple *dyestuff) and occasionally spirally spun *gold thread. Detail was sometimes supplied by extra flax wrapping threads which floated over the weft ('flying needle'). *Segmenta* appear on the shoulders and at knee level on tunics, and in the corners of cloaks, bedspreads, and cushions. They are complementary to the linear tapestry-woven **clavi* of tunics. Designs, transmitted by cartoons on *papyrus, encompass geometric motifs, stock devices, and classical mythological (later biblical) figures. The broadly accepted dating scheme, covering developments over a span of at least eight centuries, has been based on iconography. It is now being reassessed in the light of radiocarbon dating, with more consideration being given to the possibility that workshop traditions may be contemporary but different. JPW

F. Pritchard, *Clothing Culture: Dress in Egypt in the First Millennium A.D.: Clothing from Egypt in the Collection of the Whitworth Art Gallery, the University of Manchester* (2006).
S. Schrenk, *Textilien des Mittelmeerraumes aus spätantiker bis frühislamischer Zeit* (2004).
A. Stauffer, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien. Untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Tradition in spatantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Textilwerkstätten* (1992).

Seleucia ad Belum Hellenistic *city, listed by *Pliny the Elder as in *Syria Coele. Its exact location is unknown; it is associated with Jisr al-Shugur, an important bridgehead across the Orontes River east of *Antioch. A *bishop is attested in 363 (*Socrates, III, 25) and Seleukobolos is listed in *Syria Secunda by *Hierocles (712, 9). *Theophanes, probably following *Theophilus of *Edessa, records that in 663/5 'Abd al-Rahman son of *Khalid b. al-Walid settled 5,000 of his *Slav allies at Seleukobolos, near *Apamea. MESW; OPN

R. Burns, 'Jisr al-Shurgur', in *Monuments of Syria* (³2009).
Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 135–6.

Seleucia ad Calycadnum (mod. Silifke, Turkey) *City near the south coast of *Anatolia founded by Seleucus I in the 3rd century BC and from the *Tetrarchy onwards *metropolis of the *province of *Isauria. The Calycadnus River valley, cutting through the western Taurus, links the Anatolian plateau to the sea, making the site strategically valuable.

The *bishop attended the *Council of Nicaea, and a church *council was held at Seleucia in 359. From the 4th century, pilgrims, including *Egeria (23, 1–6), frequented the *martyrium of S. *Thecla nearby at Meriamlık, also mentioned by *Gregory of Nazianzus. The *Life and Miracles of S. Thecla* (*BHG* 1718, *CPG* 6675) provides considerable information about the supplanting of *pagan *temples at Seleucia. During the *Persian invasion of the early 7th century, *Heraclius established a mint here (615–18). SGB

TIB 5 *Kilikien und Isaurien* (1990).

Mitchell, *Anatolia*.

R. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion* (doctoral thesis, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2001), 149–55.

P. Grierson, 'The Isaurian Coins of Heraclius', *NumChron* 6th series 11 (1951), 56–67.

Seleucia ad Tigrim The Parthian city of Seleucia on the right bank of the Tigris opposite *Ctesiphon was a ruin in *Sasanian times, but its name was often used alone or as Seleucia-Ctesiphon to refer both to the Sasanian royal residence at Ctesiphon and to the conurbation called in *Syriac *Mahoze and later in *Arabic al-*Mada'in. *See also* *KOKHE; AL-MADA'IN. OPN

Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Councils of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, PERSIAN EMPIRE.

Seleucia-Ctesiphon, See of *See* CATHOLICUS.

Seleucia Pieria (nr. mod. Samandağ, Turkey) Fortified port of *Antioch on the Orontes, one of the Tetrapolis founded by Seleucus Nicator, made a *colonia* under the Severans, and a *metropolis* under Alexander Severus. Its artificial *harbour was the base for the Roman Classis Syriaca. S. Paul sailed from Seleucia (Acts 13: 4). Vespasian and *Constantius II both conducted harbour works. A bishopric by 359, in the 5th/6th century a *tetraconch church was built with biblical reliefs and animal *mosaics. The city was damaged by the Antioch *earthquake in 526 (but not in 528). *Khosrow I sacrificed and symbolically bathed in the sea here in 540 after sacking Antioch (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 11, 1). The *Umayyad *caliph al-*Walid I built a fortress, but the port moved to nearby al-Mina (later S. Symeon). *Michael the Elder records that it remained a bishopric of the *Syriac Orthodox Church until the 9th century. ACFC

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 252–9.

Butcher, *Roman Syria*.

W. E. Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Function of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia', *DOP* 27 (1973), 89–114.

Selymbria (mod. Silivri, European Turkey) Garrison *city 67 km (42 miles) west of *Constantinople on the *Via Egnatia, named Eudociopolis after *Theodosius II's wife. Selymbria's walls have *brickstamps of the early/mid-5th century and 6th century. *Leo I commanded troops here before becoming *emperor (*Candidus, fr. 1). Selymbria was *Justinian I's base in 559 while restoring the Long (Anastasian) *Walls, 6 km (3.7 miles) to the west (*Malalas, XVIII, 129, *Theophanes, AM 6051, cf. *Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 9, 12). JPH; OPN

J. Crow and S. Turner, 'Silivri and the Thracian Hinterland of Istanbul: An Historic Landscape', *AnatSt* 59 (2009), 167–81.

semantron A suspended wooden or metal sounding board struck rhythmically with a wooden or iron hammer to call monks to the *liturgical offices. Wooden boards were called 'xylon', and those of iron 'sideroun'. Byzantine *typica* suggest a 4th-century origin, but they are clearly attested only from the 6th century (e.g. *Thomas of *Marga I, 10 on 594/5). *Monasteries might possess a large and small semantron used for different services or seasons. Literary sources connect the sound to the sonorous tones of liturgical *chant and with power to ward off *demons. *Bells replaced them in Western monasteries from the 7th century. JJD

DACL 3/2 (1914) *s.v.* cloche, clochette XVI, cols. 1970–7 (Leclercq).

semissis Roman *gold denomination worth half a **solidus*, weighing *c.*2.25 g (0.08 ounces). Issued from the 330s until the reign of *Leo III, the *semissis* also became the prototype for various barbarian *coinages (especially *Visigothic) in the medieval West. RRD

DOC 1, II.1, II.2, III.1.

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*.

MEC 1.

RIC VIII, IX, X.

Senate of Constantinople *Constantine I formed a 'senate of the second rank' for his new *city (**Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 6, 30) and, says *Sozomen, assigned it the same honours and the same *festivals that were traditional in *Rome (II, 3, 6). It was, however, *Constantius II who provided *Constantinople with a lasting system of local government. An official called the *Proconsul of Constantinople is first attested in 342 and on 11 December 359 Constantius appointed the first *Praefectus Urbi for the city, an office conceived of as parallel to the *Praefectus Urbi at Rome (*Socrates, II, 41; Sozomen, IV, 23, 3). In 361 he gave the Praefectus the right to hear appeals from neighbouring *provinces (*CTh* I, 6, 1).

Constantius also put the *Senate of Constantinople on a formal footing. Most of the surviving evidence dates from the latter part of his reign. In 340 he ordered the establishment of three offices of *praetor whose holders were to give games (*CTh* VI, 4, 5–6) and hear legal cases (*CTh* VI, 4, addressed to the Senate in 359) and be elected by the Senate (*CTh* VI, 4, 15 of 359). In an *edict of 361 (*CTh* VI, 4, 12–132) he indicated that membership of the Senate should comprise *consuls and prefects, *proconsuls, *Themistius the *Philosopher (specifically named) and all praetors (VI, 4, 12, cf. VI, 4, 13–16). He had previously expressed the hope that at least 50 senators would join the Senate of Constantinople (*CTh* VI, 4, 9 of 356) and indeed ordered that senators resident in the *Balkan provinces who had been shirking their responsibilities at Rome should be obliged to join it (*CTh* VI, 4, 11). Even so, according to Themistius the body numbered no more than 300 (*Oration* 34, 13).

Unlike a traditional *city council, the Senate of Constantinople was not composed simply of local landowners who met a certain property qualification, nor was it composed of the senatorial *aristocracy, men from old landed families, like the *Senate of Rome. Especially after the imperial *court settled permanently at Constantinople in the reign of *Arcadius, it was composed of the imperial *aristocracy, those who held, or as **honorati* had held, official positions in the imperial *administration. Within a century it had grown to about 2,000; numbers tending to grow because senatorial rank was hereditary and because of the prestige and financial privileges that went with it. Only a small proportion of the members would have attended sessions in the Senate House and by the mid-5th century, only those who held the higher *title of *illustris* were permitted to attend. In practice, the Senate rarely debated important issues. It was often convened simply to give moral support for a decision already taken. When *Anastasius wished to abolish the **collatio lustralis* in 498, he convened the Senate in order to announce his decision, not to discuss it.

In the 5th century there had been occasions when the Constantinople Senate could have a direct political influence in deciding who the next emperor might be. In 476, after *Zeno had been ousted from Constantinople by the *usurper *Basiliscus, the Senate contacted two of Basiliscus' followers to encourage them to change sides and thus helped to engineer Zeno's return to power. During the later 5th and early 6th centuries, the Senate seems to have played a part behind the scenes in ensuring a peaceful transfer of power when the previous emperor had left no designated successor. In 457, following the death of *Marcian, the **Chronicon Paschale* asserts that his successor *Leo I was chosen by the *army but *John Malalas says that he was crowned by the Senate. The most detailed account of the process of *accession is given by the 6th-century writer *Peter the Patrician who recounts that the Senate initially wanted to give the crown to *Aspar, a powerful barbarian general. Aspar declined and proposed Leo, one of his lieutenants, who was then duly acclaimed emperor by senate, army, and people at a formal inauguration ceremony.

The Senate played a prominent part in the *ceremonies through which the people of the city expressed their loyalty and their consent to being governed. It was customary for the Senate to assemble and to provide a welcome for the emperor when he made a ceremonial **adventus* to Constantinople as it did for *Julian in December 361. It formed a part of important religious *processions such as that in May 406 when Arcadius accompanied the relics of the Prophet Samuel from *Chalcedon to the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. In 457, the Senate was responsible for the coronation ceremony of Marcian, the designated successor of *Theodosius II. On the accession of Anastasius I in 491 and *Justin I in 518 the Senate participated in the *acclamation of the new emperors, and the poem in *praise of *Justin II by *Corippus suggests that it was equally important in securing the accession of Justin II in 565. In a city whose principal activity was the business of imperial government, the Senate articulated by its ceremonial activities the loyalty of the upper echelons of the imperial workforce. When *Procopius complained that in the time of *Justinian I the Senate had lost its influence and that its sittings had become merely a matter of form his concern was not with the disappearance of democracy but with the emperor's increasingly authoritarian treatment of the *noblesse de robe* who worked under him. JPH; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 329–33, 525–30.
Grigg and Kelly, *Two Romes*.
A. Skinner, 'The Early Development of the Senate of Constantinople', *BMGS* 32/2 (2008), 128–48.
Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*.
Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*.
P. Heather, 'New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial Elite in the Eastern Mediterranean', in Magdalino, *New Constantines*, 11–33.

Senate of Rome (Lat. *senatus, ordo, curia*) In the later Empire, the Roman Senate was an advisory body, but as the *emperor was seldom in *Rome he relied for regular counsel on his *Consistorium. The Roman Senate concerned itself heavily with the affairs of *Italy and the city of Rome, though its members retained significant informal influence.

In the 3rd century the Roman Senate consisted of men from the great *families of the senatorial *aristocracy, in

the narrow sense, possessed of broad hereditary lands and powerful *patronage. The *letters of *Symmachus from the late 4th century illustrate well the tentacular connections of an old-world nobleman. At Rome, though not at *Constantinople, the regular business of the Senate appears to have continued to be dominated by these 'Romans of Rome' throughout Late Antiquity.

Ever since the 1st century emperors had also had the right to adlect additional individuals to the Senate. *Constantine I adlected considerable numbers of senators from among men working in the imperial *administration. Many of these men had a primary loyalty to the Senate of Constantine, which subsequently under *Constantius II became the *Senate of *Constantinople. To be adlected to the Senate an imperial official had to achieve a position in the *administration which bore the *title of *vir clarissimus*. With inflation of titles, however, by the late 5th century adlection was open only to those who held a position that gave them the higher title of *vir illustris*.

The Senate traditionally held a daybreak session beginning on the morning of the *Kalends of January. Thereafter the Senate usually met twice a month in the Curia (senate house) in the Roman Forum, where the Statue and *Altar of Victory were located, or elsewhere. The only Senate meeting of which a set of minutes survives, that which accepted with *acclamation the **Theodosian Code*, was held in a private *house.

Just as *city councillors took on civic duties, senators were expected to take on the expense of the civic offices of *quaestor and *praetor in order to qualify for entrance into the Senate. Quaestors and praetors were required to put on games and perform certain *munera*, as laid down in *Constantius II's senatorial reform and legislative reminders in 354 (e.g. *CTh* VI, 4, 4; VII, 13). Colossal sums of money were spent on these *entertainments. Constantius II also established that in order to conduct public business (e.g. appointing praetors), a quorum of 50 was needed at a meeting (*CTh* VI, 4, 9). *Marcian would later excuse provincial *viri spectabiles* and *viri clarissimi* from the burden of the praetorship, effectively making a further distinction within the Senate between Romans of Rome and senators living in the *provinces (Jones, *LRE* 529).

Service in the Senate was a way of qualifying for other significant offices in the city of Rome. The most important position filled by senators in the city of Rome was that of *Praefectus Urbi. On occasion, senators might serve as *Consul Ordinarius for the year. By the late 5th century the oldest living former Consul Ordinarius in the Senate was designated the Caput Senatus, a title held by men such as Festus (*PLRE* II, Festus 5).

Although a second *Senate was created in *Constantinople by Constantine I (*Sozomen, II, 3), the Roman Senate generally counted antiquity, pedigree, and the extreme wealth of its members as marks in its favour. The emperor was seldom present in the city of Rome itself during the 4th century, which reduced the Senate's immediate influence on him. The absence of the emperor also gave senators increased influence in the administration of the city and of parts of *Italy. However, the Roman Senate was in contact with the emperor. Embassies could be sent to the imperial *court, along with written enquiries and reports (like the *Relationes* of Symmachus, Praefectus Urbi in 384). Conversely, imperial *orationes* on legislative matters were passed down from the emperor to the Senate. The Senate used dedications of monuments as a form of communication. It also continued to serve as a legitimizing body where imperial legislation could be promulgated. This is exemplified by the meeting of the Senate on 25 December 438, which acclaimed the recently completed *Theodosian Code* sent to it by *Theodosius II (Harries, *Law and Empire*, 64–5).

In addition to performing political functions, the Senate had long been integral to the performance of public *pagan cult. Senators had responsibility for selecting, systematizing, and allocating funds for public cults in the city, and so exercised influence in the *provinces, as in pagan times the rites of Rome were imitated in many provincial cities, in particular in those which had the rank of *colonia* (Salzman, 65–6). In the 4th century, senators continue to practise pagan cult within the limitations of laws made by Christian emperors, they selected *Vestal Virgins, and were visible participants in *festivals and games. Symmachus' famous *Third Relatio* to the Emperor *Valentinian II, asking for the restoration to the Senate House of the *Altar of Victory, emphasized the importance of pagan cults celebrated at Rome in the life of the Empire at large. It was because the gods were honoured in the way that had been so successful for so long that Roman armies won their battles and protected the Empire from barbarians. Christianization within the senatorial order increased in the 380s and 390s, with little evidence for any 'pagan revival' in the years 392–4 (Cameron, *Pagans*, 4, 173–205). M. Salzman considers that by 392, Christians predominated among the senatorial order (67, 118); T. D. Barnes has argued that a Christian predominance had occurred already much earlier in the 4th century.

The importance of the Senate in *diplomacy increased in the 5th and 6th centuries. In the midst of political turmoil or upheaval, with imperial claimants following one another rapidly during the mid-5th century onwards and then the dominance of the barbarian warlords *Odoacer and *Theodoric the *Ostrogoth, the Senate could be taken to represent a fount of legitimacy and a channel of communication with the Eastern Roman Empire, although *Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*

attests to the moral depravity of some senators and Theodoric's unease with others.

The *Byzantine invasion of Italy imperilled the institution and drove out many wealthy senators, but in the late 6th century, the Senate still met, under markedly increasing duress from the *Lombards (Lançon, 53). The Senate is last mentioned in an account of the reception of the images of the usurping Emperor *Phocas and his consort Leontia on 25 April 603, images which the Senate approved with their traditional acclamations of support (*Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, App. 8; Humphries, 21). SEB

Jones, *LRE* 329–33, 490–1, 528.
P. Heather, 'Senators and Senates', in *CAH* XIII (1998), 184–210.
A. Chastagnol, 'La Carrière sénatoriale du Bas-Empire (depuis Dioclétien)', in *Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL su epigrafia e ordine senatorio, Roma, 14–20 maggio 1981*, 1 (1982), 167–94.
M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (1972).
T. D. Barnes, 'Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy', *JRS* 85 (1995), 135–47.
Cameron, *Pagans*.
M. D. Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space, and Authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great', in K. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds., *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (2007), 21–58.
B. Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312–609*, tr. A. Nevill (2000), 48–53.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*.
M. R. Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (2002).
M. A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen des Römischen Reichs* (1967).

senator In 376, *Symmachus described senators as the 'better part of the human race' (*ep.* I, 52). Up till the time of *Constantine the Senate had been heavily composed of members of the senatorial *aristocracy, men from great families associated with the city of *Rome itself who had undertaken the necessary duty of holding the civic *entertainment required of those appointed to the civic office of *quaestor. *Emperors since Augustus had always had the right to adlect to the Senate individuals they deemed worthy; the emperor issued **codicilli* which were passed to the *Praefectus Urbi along with testaments from other senators as to the individual's character, and a vote was finally taken. Senators bore the *title *vir clarissimus*.

Constantine expanded the size of the Senate by adding to it those many who held office in the imperial *administration. Admittedly many of these men had a primary loyalty to the Senate of Constantine, which under *Constantius II became the *Senate of *Constantinople. This was a different body from the *Senate of Rome, consisting not of hereditary grandees, but generally of men who held offices of profit under the crown. When he organized it, Constantius required those holding senatorial rank who never went near Rome and resided in the *Balkan provinces to transfer their allegiance from the older body to the new (*CTh* VI, 4, 11 of 357). Its members continued to be mandarins like *John Lydus in the 6th century or the sort of people who appear in the pages of the late 5th-century *Life* of S. *Daniel the Stylite. In its early years, it numbered only about 300, but inflation in titles meant that in time numerous imperial officials acquired the status *vir clarissimus*, and in the later 5th century, membership of the Senate was confined to those who held the higher title of *vir illustris*.

In the meantime, the senatorial *aristocracy continued to dominate the city of *Rome, exercising *patronage, caring for their estates, and being consulted from time to time in a formal fashion. In the *Ostrogothic period, senators like Q. Aurelius Memmius *Symmachus, great-grandson of the 4th-century orator, and his son-in-law *Boethius were able to mediate between the barbarian king, his Italian subjects, and the court at *Constantinople. SEB; OPN

Jones, *LRE* 525–30.
M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (1972).
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*.
Cameron, *Pagans*.
T. D. Barnes, 'Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy', *JRS* 85 (1995), 135–47.
M. R. Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (2002), 19–68.
M. A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (Archaeologische Studie van het Nederlands Historisch Institut te Rome 2, 1967).

Senchus fer nAlban A Gaelic text ('Genealogy of the men of Alba'), concerned with Dál Riata inhabiting parts of western Scotland and Ulster in *Ireland *c.*450–*c.*700, combining genealogical material with naval and army levy information on the main Dál Riata kindreds. Although its sources originally date from the late 7th or 8th centuries, it contains later alterations. NJE

J. Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (1974).
D. N. Dumville, 'Ireland and North Britain in the Earlier Middle Ages: Contexts for *Míniugud senchasa fher nAlban*', in C. Ó Baoill and N. R. McGuire, eds., *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig, 2000: Papers Read at the Conference 'Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000', Held at the University of Aberdeen 2–4 August 2000* (2002), 185–211.

Seneca and S. Paul, correspondence between Exchange of *letters, forged probably in the 4th century to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over classical *philosophy. SJL-R

HLL, section 571.1.

CPL 191:

ed. in *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, app. 1976.

ET (annotated) J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1993), 547–52.

A. Fürst, *Der apokryphe Briefwechsel zwischen Seneca und Paulus* (2006).

Sentences of Sextus An influential collection of maxims first mentioned by *Origen (*Contra Celsum*, VIII, 30), who provides the *terminus ante quem* and indicates its early popularity with Christian readers. Its *translation from *Greek into *Latin by *Rufinus, *c.*400, disseminated it in the West, and *Armenian and *Syriac versions also exist. Rufinus notes an attribution to Xystus (Sextus), *Bishop of *Rome (martyred 258), thereby equipping the text with a Christian pedigree; but the alternative attribution to 'Sixtus the philosopher' eventually convinced *Augustine (*Retractationes*, II, 68 [42]), and *Jerome too noted the absence of specifically Christian features. The maxims mostly inhabit a middle ground which pagan *philosophy (occasionally Cynic, but also *Pythagorean in the vague contours that *school had taken on in Late Antiquity) and Christianity might share, with a general orientation towards a philosophical religiosity stressing continence and god-fearingness. The text seems to have circulated in various versions, partly overlapping with collections ('The Pythagorean Sentences', 'The Epitome of Cleitarchus') which may or may not represent its pagan substrate. It is an important witness to the continuities and discontinuities in pagan and early Christian ethics, analogous to pseudo-Phocylides in *Judaism. JLL

ed. (annotated with Rufinus' LT) H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus: A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics* (1959).

ET R. A. Edwards and R. A. Wild (1981).

Sepphoris (Diocaesarea, Eirenopolis) *City in the Central *Galilee, 6 km (3.5 miles) north-north-west of *Nazareth.

First mentioned in the Hasmonean era by Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, 13, 338), Sepphoris was the main urban centre in the Galilee, retaining that distinction until the founding of *Tiberias (AD 19–20). With the transfer of Tiberias to Agrippa II *c.* AD 55–60, Sepphoris regained its primacy as the central Galilean city.

The pro-Roman policy of the city's inhabitants during the First Revolt (Josephus, *Jewish War*, 3, 30) brought peace to the city and is reflected in the legend 'Eirenopolis (City of Peace) Neronias Sepphoris' on its coins. Numismatic evidence also attests to the continuation of this pro-Roman stance over the next century and a half. Hadrian renamed the city Diocaesarea, and its alliance with Rome was proudly proclaimed on its coins from the Severan era. The city's political and social prominence was undoubtedly a major factor in *Rabbi Judah I's move there; his presence at the height of his career enhanced the city's reputation and status, at least among *Jews.

Eighteen *synagogues were associated with Sepphoris, and in 1993 a well-preserved synagogue was unearthed. The seven bands or registers of its floor *mosaic include depictions of the Binding of Isaac (the 'Aqedah), the *Zodiac, Aaron, and the Tabernacle–Temple appurtenances. While this floor's motifs are not unique to this site, many of its features may be best explained by positing a significant degree of priestly influence, whether direct or indirect, as priestly interests are decidedly prominent here.

The discovery of several churches and epigraphical evidence attests to a flourishing Christian community in Late Antiquity, with some *bishops contributing to civic causes. The pilgrim *Theodosius (4) notes that Sepphoris was the home of Simon Magus. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (4) passed through and venerated various secondary *relics of the Virgin *Mary, including the seat in which she was sitting at the time of the Annunciation. LL

ABD, vol. 5, 1090–3.

L. I. Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity* (2012), 260–77.

Z. Weiss, *The Sepphoris Synagogue: Deciphering an Ancient Message through its Archaeological and Socio-Historical Contexts* (2005).

Septem Provinciae **Dioecesis* covering southern *Gaul. In the *Verona List (only) it is called Viennensis, and comprises the *provinces of *Viennensis, *Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, Novempopuli (*Novempopulana), Aquitanica (*Aquitania) Prima and Secunda, and *Alpes Maritimae. An *inscription of 364 names it as Quinque Provinciae (*CIL* VI, 1729 = *ILS* 1254). In the **Notitia Dignitatum* Septem Provinciae is placed under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Gaul (*occ.* III, 3) and the lists of provinces are augmented by the following: *Lugdunensis Prima, *Germania Prima and Secunda, *Belgica Prima and Secunda, *Alpes Poeninae et Graiae, *Maxima Sequanorum, and Lugdunensis Secunda, Tertia, and Senonia (*occ.* III, 13–41 and XXII, 3–19). In 418 *Honorius and *Theodosius II ordered that the council of the *dioecesis* should meet annually in *Arles (*Ep. Arel.* 8). CD

A. Chastagnol, 'Le Diocèse d'Aquitaine au Bas-Empire', *BSNAF* (1970), 272–92.

Septimania Term of obscure Roman origin, first attested in *Sidonius (*ep.* III, 1, 4), and subsequently

employed by non-Hispanic sources to refer to the region of south-west *Gaul, approximating to the later Languedoc, which remained, despite occasional *Frankish attacks, under *Visigothic control after the Franks expanded into other Visigothic territory in the early 6th century. Hispanic sources such as *John of Biclar or *Julian of Toledo refer to it as Gallia (*Narbonensis I), and assign the frontier province a distinct, rebellious identity within the Visigothic kingdom. It fell to the *Arabs in the 720s, before being brought under Frankish control by *Pippin III in the 750s. STL; CD

*RGA*2 'Septimanien', 28, 185–94 (J. Insley).

E. James, 'Septimania and its Frontier: An Archaeological Approach', in E. James, *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (1980), 223–41.

Serapeum of Alexandria Sanctuary dedicated to Serapis, consisting of a *temple surrounded by a colonnade with a famous *library. It dominated the acropolis, and was embellished with a monumental column dedicated to *Diocletian in 298. This grand sanctuary, with the statue of the god, was admired by the author of the **Expositio Totius Mundi* (35), by Libanius (*Oratio* 30 *Pro Templis*, 44), and by *Ammianus (XXII, 16, 12–13). It was destroyed during a conflict between pagans and Christians (led by the *Patriarch *Theophilus), in 391/2. Christians like *Rufinus (*HE* XI, 22–5) and *pagans like *Eunapius (*Lives of the Philosophers*, 471–2) offer contrasting accounts of the event and its causes, while recognizing its symbolic importance. Soon afterwards, churches and a *martyrium (of S. John the Baptist) occupied the area. CARM

J. Hahn, 'The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum in 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into a "Christ-Loving" City', in Hahn et al., eds., *From Temple to Church*, 335–65.

J. McKenzie, S. Gibson, and A. Reyes, 'Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence', *JRS* 94 (2004), 73–121.

F. Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle: l'apport de l'Histoire écclésiastique de Rufin d'Aquilée* (1981), 160–205; 250–79.

Serapion of Thmuis *Bishop of Thmuis in the *Nile Delta from before 339 to 359, when another bishop is attested there, though Serapion may have lived beyond this. *Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 99), who praises his learning, attributed to him a work *Against the Manichaeans*, which has survived, as well as a (lost) commentary on the *Psalms, and several *letters, mostly now lost. A *Euchologium* of 30 *prayers is also attributed to him. He was a close ally of *Athanasius of *Alexandria, who sent him four *letters on the nature of the Holy Spirit and a letter on the death of *Arius. The *Life of Antony* records that S. *Antony left his two sheepskin tunics to Serapion and Athanasius. MCh

CPG 2485–504:

CPG 2485: ed. R. P. Casey, *Serapion of Thmuis Against the Manichees* (Harvard Theological Studies 15, 1931).

K. Fitschen, *Serapion von Thmuis. Echte und unechte Schriften sowie die Zeugnisse des Athanasius und anderer* (PTS 37, 1992), including GT of *Adversus Manichaeos*.

Euchologium (*CPG* 2495), ed. (with ET and study) M. E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis* (OCA 249, 1995).

ET: J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's prayer-book: an Egyptian pontifical dated probably about A.D. 350–356* (1899).

Serbs A Slavicized people, part of whom presumably migrated from Lusatia (Central Europe) into Roman territory. The *Emperor *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 913–59) claimed that *Heraclius (r. 610–41) allowed some of them to settle near *Thessalonica (*De Administrando Imperio*, ch. 32). Subsequently, they moved north-west to where *Avars and *Slavs had undermined Roman authority. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they accepted *baptism and Roman supremacy. He derived their name from *servi* (slaves). The reliability of Constantine's account is disputed. ABA

Curta, *Making of the Slavs*.

Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*.

Serdica (mod. Sofia, Bulgaria) Capital of the *province of *Dacia Mediterranea where the *Via Militaris crossed with *roads leading to the Aegean and the Danube *frontier. *Constantine I at one point claimed, 'My Rome is Serdica' (**Anonymous post Dionem*, fr. 15, 1) and was a frequent resident. It was the site of the eponymous ecclesiastical council of 343, and possibly the episcopal see of the heretic Bonosus. Although sacked by *Attila in 440–1 and assaulted several times, it remained in Roman hands until its fall to the *Bulgars in 809.

Originally a small town (17.5 ha, about 43 acres) founded under Trajan and fortified under Marcus Aurelius, Serdica became a monumental *city with a forum, council house, praetorium, orthogonal *street plan, public *baths, an *aqueduct, and cemeteries. Its walls, built originally under Marcus Aurelius, were rebuilt in the late 3rd/early 4th century. At the same time, a new separately fortified quarter (Serdica II) of substantial size (*c.*60 ha, nearly 150 acres) was built directly north of the old city (Serdica I) in the period between *Aurelian and Constantine. It is unclear why such a large fortification was built and if it was ever finished. It may be associated with the settlement in the city of refugees from the former province of Dacia north of the Danube (cf. *Lactantius, *Mort.* 9, 2) or with its reorganization as a provincial or prospective imperial capital. In the late 5th or 6th century only the walls of the old city (Serdica I) were repaired and strengthened

with an additional layer of masonry and with triangular and polygonal *towers. Serdica minted coins from *c.*272, sometimes sporadically. The mint was reopened and enlarged in 303/4, possibly by a temporary personnel transfer from *Thessalonica (Hendy, *Studies*, 385), which from 309 entirely superseded it.

In the early 4th century, a group of eight *barns (*horrea*) was built along the south-west wall of the old city (Serdica I), while a quarter of sumptuous buildings including a *palace and *bathhouses appeared south-east of the forum. The palace included sumptuous halls and peristyle courts with *mosaic pavements. An Early Roman theatre outside the walled city was rebuilt as an amphitheatre in roughly the same period. A 4th-century fortified *villa has been excavated in Orlandovtsi, and a 4th-century mausoleum with *sarcophagi in Lozenets.

One of the three known intramural churches was a converted early 4th-century bath (S. George Rotunda) and another probably occupied a site where *Mithraism had previously been practised. Three extramural *basilicas are currently known, including the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom, which was built between the late 6th and 8th centuries, taking over earlier churches of the early 4th to 5th centuries. The cemeteries included Christian *tombs and *inscriptions. A vaulted tomb with Christian wall paintings has been found near the Church of the Holy Wisdom.

An *inscription commemorates the building of an aqueduct and several buildings under the supervision of Archbishop Leontius, with funds sent by the *Emperor *Tiberius II through the Candidatus Julian.

ER; RRD

RIC V/1, V/2, 6.
TIR K 34: *Naissus* (1976), 113–14.
Serdika: arkheologicheski materiali i prouchvaniia, 1 and 2 (1964 and 1989).
Serdika—Sredets—Sofiia, 1–5 (1976–2010).
L. W. Barnard, *The Council of Serdica, 343 AD* (1983).
S. Boiadzhiev, 'L'Architecture du mausolée de Lozenetz et sa corrélation avec ceux de la Moesie et la Thrace', in A. Minčev, ed., *Early Christian Martyrs and Relics and their Cult in East and West* (2006), 129–39.
Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 51, 64–5, 67, 204–7.
V. Dinchev, 'Северната крепост на Сердика (Сердика II)', *Bulletin of the National Institute of Archaeology* (Sofia) 41 (2013), 237–79.
G. Fingarova, *Die Baugeschichte der Sophienkirche in Sofia* (2011).
N. Kirova, 'Serdica', in R. T. Ivanov, ed., *Roman Cities in Bulgaria* (2012).
Z. Velichkov, 'The Amphitheatre of Serdica', in T. Wilmott, ed., *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula* (2009), 119–25.
M. Wendel, *Karasura III* (2005), 74–6, 356.

Serena (*c.*370–408) Niece of the *Emperor *Theodosius I, born in *Spain, she moved to *Constantinople when Theodosius adopted her in 379 (*Claudian, *Carmina minora*, 30 (29) *Laus Serenae*, 4–5). She married *Stilicho in 384 and gave birth to one son, Eucherius, and two daughters, Maria (d. 408) and Thermantia (d. 415), who were successively married to the Emperor *Honorius. On a visit to *Rome she removed a necklace from the image in the *Temple of Magna Mater, put it on herself, and cursed a *Vestal Virgin who objected. Following the execution of Stilicho, the *Senate and Galla *Placidia also found Serena guilty of complicity with *Alaric and she was executed in 408 (*Zosimus, V, 29, 8). DN

PLRE I, Serena.
PCBE II/2, Serena 1.
A. Demandt and G. Brummer, 'Der Prozess gegen Serena im Jahre 408 n. Chr.', *Historia* 26 (1977), 479–502.

Serenus (3rd–4th cent.) Mathematician from *Antinoopolis in *Egypt. Two treatises are extant: *Section of a Cylinder*, showing that the plane sections of a cylinder are ellipses, and *Section of a Cone*, studying the conic sections made by a plane passing through the vertex. His commentary on the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perge is lost. FA

PLRE I, Serenus 1.
ed. J. L. Heiberg (with LT, 1896).

Sergiopolis-Rusafa Frontier *castellum* and town 25 km (15 miles) south of the Euphrates in the Late Roman *province of *Euphratensis and the assumed location of the martyrdom of S. *Sergius. The fortress, which was part of the Late Roman Limes Arabicus, dates back to the 1st century AD; the settlement, however, only became important with the growing veneration of S. Sergius from the mid-4th century onwards. It was renamed 'Sergiopolis', and became a *bishop's see at the beginning of the 5th century, and thereafter attracted many pilgrims ranging from local nomads to Roman and Persian dignitaries. In the early 6th century, five large churches, including four *basilicas, were erected in Sergiopolis-Rusafa, and the place also enjoyed donations from *Ghassanid leaders, particularly from the *phylarch al-*Mundhir who had an audience hall built outside the walls. Their lavish ornaments place the churches among the most important ecclesiastical buildings of the later Roman Empire. The walls of the settlement were repaired during the military build-up of *Justinian I, and withstood the *Persian invasion of the early 7th century. Numerous sinkholes and several *earthquakes have caused severe damage to the buildings.

After the *Arab conquest, the town continued to be visited by Christian and Muslim pilgrims alike. The *Umayyad prince *Hisham made the city one of his favourite residences and erected palaces south of the town. The Great *Mosque of Rusafa, sharing a wall

with one of the *basilicas, demonstrates the importance of S. Sergius to both religions. After Hisham became *caliph in 724, the town was renamed Rusafat Hisham, and remained an important settlement until it was deserted in the 13th century. KMK

Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*.
M. Konrad, *Der spätrömische Limes in Syrien. Archäologische Untersuchungen an den Grenzkastellen von Sura, Tetrapyrgium, Cholle und in Resafa. Resafa V* (2001).
M. Konrad, 'Roman military fortifications along the Eastern Desert Frontier', in K. Bartl, ed., *Residence, Castles, Settlements* (2009), 433–54.
W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien* (1976).
T. Ulbert, *Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiupolis. Resafa II* (1986).
D. Sack, *Die Große Moschee von Resafa – Ruṣāfat Hišām. Resafa IV* (1996).

Sergius *Dux of *Tripolitania (543–4), where he provoked *Moorish unrest. He succeeded his uncle, *Solomon, as *Praefectus Praetorio in *Africa (544–5), where *Procopius thought him a disaster (*Vandalic*, IV, 22). *Theodora, however, thwarted efforts to punish him for misgovernment. He was later posted to *Italy (547), and was **patricius* by 559. PNB

PLRE III, Sergius 4.

Sergius *Strategos of *Sicily who rebelled during the *Arab siege of *Constantinople of 717. When news came that the siege was over, Sergius fled to the *Lombards. His co-conspirators' heads were sent to the *Emperor *Leo III pickled in vinegar, but Sergius was pardoned and cooperated with his successor (*Theophanes, AM 6210). OPN

PBE, Sergios 3.
Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 77–8.

Sergius and Bacchus, Ss. A pair of Christians widely venerated as *martyrs and *military saints, particularly in the Roman eastern *frontier zone. A *Sinai *icon of *c.* AD 600 (now in Kiev) shows them as two fresh-faced young men.

Their *Passion*, a confection which must pre-date *Severus of Antioch's *Cathedral Homily* 57 of 514 (*BHO* 1055) and a verse sermon (*BHO* 1054) by *Jacob of Sarug, place S. Bacchus' execution at Barbalissus on the Euphrates and S. Sergius' execution at the strategically significant desert settlement of *Sergiopolis-Rusafa.

The earliest evidence of a shrine at Sergiopolis is from the early 5th century. During the 6th century the place acquired elaborate churches and fortifications (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 9), as it became a centre for the *Jafnid dynasty who ruled the Christian *Ghassanid *Arabs of the Syrian plain. *Khosrow II twice sent thank-offerings to S. Sergius (*Theophylact Simocatta, V, 13–14; *Evagrius, VI, 21).

Ss. Sergius and Bacchus were honoured far beyond Sergiopolis. *Justinian I built a church at *Constantinople. Mar *Ahudemmeh, *Miaphysite *Bishop of *Beth ʿArabaye (d. 559), built a replica shrine east of the frontier at *Qasr-e Serij. There was a church at *Ravenna (*Agnellus, 86), a *monastery of S. Sergius near *Bethlehem (*John Moschus, 182), *relics at *Bordeaux (*Gregory of Tours, *HF* VII, 31) and *Tours (*HF* X, 31, cf. *Glory of the Martyrs*, 96), and a shrine between *Dara and *Nisibis, at precisely the most sensitive point on the Persian frontier (*Georgian Life of S. *Golinduch*, 20, 2). OPN

Greek *Passion (BHG* 1624–5), ed. I. van den Gheyn, *AnBoll* 14 (1895), 371–95.
Syriac *Passion* (*BHO* 1052; Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 403), ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. 3, 283–322.
Latin *Passion* (*BHL* 7599–606): *AASS* Octobris III, 871–2.
Delehaye, *Origines*, 209–11.
Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*.
M. J. Higgins, 'Chosroes II's Votive Offerings at Sergiopolis', *BZ* 48 (1955), 89–102.

Sergius of Resaina Physician and translator (d. 536) from *Resaina-Theodosiopolis (Syr. Resh'aina) in the Roman *province of *Mesopotamia. He went to *Antioch to lay accusations against Ascolius, *Bishop of Resaina, in front of *Ephrem of *Amida, the Chalcedonian *Patriarch of Antioch, but was sent by Ephrem to *Rome to Pope *Agapetus, whom he brought back to *Constantinople, where both he and Agapetus died in 536 (*Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* IX, 19 c and e).

Sergius studied in *Alexandria, and was expert in *Syriac and in *medicine. Among his *translations into Syriac were at least 25 treatises of *Galen, Pseudo-Aristotle's *De Mundo*, the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, and a treatise of Alexander of Aphrodisias *On the Principles of the Universe*, in the case of the latter two with significant adaptations. While he did not, as far as is known, translate any works of Aristotle, he held him in esteem as the fount of all knowledge for physicians and *philosophers, and intended to comment in Syriac on the entire Aristotelian curriculum of the *School of Alexandria. His commentary on the *Categories* is extant, as are several smaller works in philosophy and a short treatise on spirituality. As the first commentator on Aristotle in Syriac and translator of Galen and *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, he had a profound influence on the subsequent intellectual history of the Near East. JWW

PLRE III, Sergius 1.
GEDSH s.v. Sergios of Resh'ayna, p. 366 (Brock).
Kessel, *Bibliography*, 192–4.
ed. (with ET, comm., and introd.) S. Aydin, *Sergius of Reshaina, Introduction to Aristotle and his Categories, Addressed to Philotheos* (diss. Uppsala, 2015).

ed. (with IT) E. Fiori, *Dionigi Areopagita. Nomi divini, teologia mistica, epistole: La versione siriaca di Sergio di Rēš'aynā (VI secolo)* (CSCO 656–7, Scr. syr. 252–3, 2014).
H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La Logique d'Aristote: du grec au syriaque* (2004), 123–230 (includes list of works).
D. King, 'Alexander of Aphrodisias' On the Principles of the Universe in its Syriac Adaptation', *Le Muséon* 123 (2010), 157–89.

Sergius the Interpreter 6th-century Roman diplomatic interpreter, 'the best translator of his day' (*Agathias, IV, 30, 3) admired also by *Khosrow I. He was granted access to the **Xwaday Namag* (*Sasanian royal annals) enabling Agathias to use them in his *Histories* (IV, 23–30). GBG

PLRE III Sergius 9.
Averil Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sassanians', *DOP* 23/4 (1969/70), 69–183.

sermo humilis Informal, low, or ordinary speech. Cicero used *humilis* to describe the lowest of three rhetorical styles both positively and negatively. The term was adopted by Latin Christians to refer positively to the plain language of the *Bible, also described as *sermo piscatorius* (the language of fishermen), and to the unpretentious style of their own writings. This unadorned, straightforward style was patterned on everyday speech and was arguably more accessible to the mass of ordinary Christians in a preacher's audience than the kinds of elevated speech taught in *schools of *rhetoric. It was also a style with its own moral authority, embodying something of the humility of Christ himself. *Sermo humilis* did not, however, eclipse more high-flown rhetoric; as *Augustine counselled (*Doctr. Chr.* 4.), levels of rhetoric were to be selected according to the subject and purpose of a work. It was sometimes a cause of embarrassment for learned Christians, whose pagan peers mocked the unpolished style of Christian scripture and writings. SJL-R

P. Auski, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal* (1995).
E. Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (1958), 25–53.
Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire.*
R. MacMullen, 'A Note on *Sermo Humilis*', *JTS* NS 17 (1966), 108–12.
S. Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature: Prose Rhythm, Oratorical Style and Preaching in the Works of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine* (1991).

sermons (Gk. *homilia*; Lat. *sermo*; Syr. *mêmrâ*) Preaching was integral to the initial spread of Christianity during Late Antiquity, not least because training in *rhetoric was at the core of classical *education, and listening to public speakers was a popular pleasure in the Graeco-Roman world. *Augustine was not the only connoisseur of public speaking who went to church simply to enjoy a famous preacher's technique and found himself moved by the message (*Conff.* VI, 13–14, 23–4). Of course, as professor of rhetoric at the imperial *court, Augustine could listen to *Ambrose as a fellow professional, but even those not able to perform for themselves could be affected by what they heard. It is even possible in some surviving sermons for the modern reader to be aware of the presence of the congregation, as when *Gregory of *Nyssa started to suggest to the people of *Sebasteia that their *Forty Martyrs, whose *festival he had been asked to help them celebrate, were not their *city's unique and peculiar property, and suddenly found himself obliged to break off his discourse because of noise in the crowd.

Very large numbers of sermons survive, of many different sorts. Some were clearly composed in advance as works of art, like the elaborate *Homily on the Pasch* of Melito, Bishop of *Sardis, in the 2nd century or the teaching songs (**madrāshê*) of *Ephrem the Syrian in the 4th. But many were extemporized, as is apparent from the sermon which Augustine preached on an unexpected text after the *lector had chanted the wrong passage from the *Bible by mistake. Such sermons survive because *shorthand writers took them down on writing *tablets as they were delivered. Sermons were widely distributed, and sometimes (especially in the case of *John Chrysostom) falsely attributed to famous preachers.

Some preachers employed the training they had received in formal *rhetoric. The sermons of *Basil of *Caesarea and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and of John Chrysostom on individual *martyrs, make elegant use of the techniques of classical *panegyric. *Proclus, Patriarch of *Constantinople between 434 and 446, adopted a highly lyrical style full of parallelism and metaphor similar to that of the Syriac Ephrem. In some Greek homilies of the 5th and 6th centuries, dramatic dialogues were introduced, pushing the boundaries between church and theatre. Some adopted more narrative methods of hagiography; the account Theodore of Trimithus in the 7th century gave of John Chrysostom is really a *saint's life equipped with a homiletic opening and a closing doxology (*BHG* 872; ed. F. Halkin, SubsHag 60 (1977), 7–68).

Others self-consciously adopted **sermo humilis*, plain speaking, which eschewed the fancy strategems of what Augustine (who knew them all too well) called the Schools of Pride. Augustine, in fact, seems to have found the composition of his treatise on how to do Christian teaching (*De Doctrina Christiana*) a perplexing task. It was straightforward enough to commend to future preachers the equivalent of classical *inventio*. They could find things to talk about by studying the Bible, and presentation should be suited to the audience

addressed. But how to learn the art of presentation was another matter, and in the final book of his treatise Augustine fell back on the optimistic notion that learning the arts of rhetoric was otiose for those who were guided by the Spirit.

The substance of most preaching was scripture. Some preachers subsequently put their sermons together to make entire commentaries on books of the *Bible. Impressive also is the relation built up between bishop and congregation. As Augustine sat at the centre of the **synthronon* at *Hippo he looked across at his people at eye level and thought 'one deep calling unto another' (Psalm 42 (41): 7). The relationship was not always a comfortable one. *Leo the Great in 5th-century *Rome rebuked his congegation for turning to honour the rising *Sun before coming into church on *Christmas Day. *Caesarius of *Arles was capable of locking his congregation into the church and telling them that when they came to the Last Judgement they would not be able to slip out quietly if they did not like what they heard. Sermons were dramatic, but they were drama concerned with matters which were of serious concern to those who heard them, and to those who preached. WEM; OPN

W. Mayer, 'Homiletics', in *OHECS*, 565–83.
A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua* (1991).
R. MacMullen, 'The Preacher's Audience (AD 350–400)', *JTS* 40 NS (1989), 503–11.
P. Rousseau, 'The Preacher's Audience: A More Optimistic View', in T. W. Hilliard et al., eds., *Ancient History in a Modern University: Early Christianity, Late Antiquity, and Beyond* (1998), II.
A. Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast: Melito, Peri Pascha, and the Quartodeciman Paschal Liturgy at Sardis* (1998).
M. Cunningham and P. Allen, eds., *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (1998).
J. L. Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and his Congregation in Antioch* (2006).
R. MacMullen, 'A Note on *Sermo Humilis*', *JTS* NS 17 (1966), 108–12.
J. Bernardi, *La Prédication des Pères cappadociens: le prédicateur et son auditoire* (1968).
P. T. Sanlon, *Augustine's Theology of Preaching* (2014).
A complete list of Augustine's sermons is provided by A. Fitzgerald and J. C. Cavadini, *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (1999), 774–90.
H. O. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, vol. 2: *The Patristic Age* (1998).

Seronatus (*fl.*469) A senior official in southern *Gaul involved in tax-collection, despised by *Sidonius Apollinaris for working, apparently, for both the Roman and Gothic authorities, until, before 475, he was exposed as a traitor by the people of *Clermont, tried, and executed. JDH

PLRE II, Seronatus.
J. D. Harries, 'Sidonius Apollinaris and the Frontiers of *Romanitas*', in R. Mathisen and H. Sivan, eds., *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (1996), 31–46.

services, compulsory public Across the Roman Empire, each *civitas* (a city and its territory) was reliant on the time and money of individuals (*see* CITY COUNCILS AND COUNCILLORS) for the effective functioning of public services. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, while the imperial bureaucracy (*see* CIVIL SERVICE, IMPERIAL) developed substantially, the prestige attaching to many aspects of local service declined. As a result, there was an increasing element of compulsion in the allocation of tasks—and a concomitant rise of legitimate exemptions and attempts at avoidance.

The range of compulsory public services (civic liturgies, Lat. *munus*; plur. *munera*) was outlined during the reign of *Diocletian by the jurists *Arcadius Charisius (*De Muneribus Civilibus*) and *Hermogenian (*Epitomes*). They can also be reconstructed from legal and documentary evidence. These services were broadly categorized into demands on people's time (*munera personalia*) and demands on their personal means (*munera patrimonalia*). The distinction was in some cases illusory. Major obligations included the maintenance of law and order (assisted by club-wielding constables), market regulation, particularly over *weights and measures, prices, and the professional conduct of *guilds, oversight of bakeries to ensure *bread supply, oversight of *water supply, including routine maintenance of such facilities as *aqueducts, the management of public *baths, especially the fuel-intensive and therefore costly matter of heating them, and the maintenance of public *roads and an array of public buildings. In addition, there were public *entertainments to be financed and administered, and potentially salaries to be provided for public doctors and professors holding civic teaching *chairs.

By the 290s, legitimate exemptions from service to the *city were being claimed through formal channels by claiming that service at a certain rank had been performed in the imperial administration, irrespective of whether that service was ongoing or had ended (P.Oxy. 1204). The notion of permanent exemption from *munera* for **honorati*, as a consequnce of distinguished service in the imperial *administration, took root in the 4th century. Others who held titular grants of rank but who had not held substantive posts also sought exemption on more ambiguous grounds; while others again sought illegally to acquire *titles of rank through *patronage or purchase. Illegitimate avoidance schemes were vigorously combated in legislation (e.g. *CTh* XII, 1, 24; XII, 1, 27) with what appears to have been mixed success. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 734–7.
C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr* (1997).
R. M. Frakes, *Contra Potentium Iniurias: The Defensor Civitatis and Late Roman Justice* (2001), 32–6.
J. Harries, *Imperial Rome AD 284–363: The New Empire* (2012), 13–15.
M. Kelemen, 'Platz der munera sordida im Abgabensystem der Spätantike', *Journal on European History of Law* 5 (2014), 104–10.
N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (²1997).
F. Millar, 'Empire and City, Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status', *JRS* 73 (1983), 76–96.

Servius (b. *c.*380, d. before *c.*430; additional names—'Honoratus' and 'Maurus/Marius'—are of doubtful authenticity) A **grammaticus* in *Rome: his appearance in *Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (dramatic date *c.*383) is one of the anachronisms to which Macrobius confesses (1.1.5). One minor work, dedicated (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* IV, 456, 3–4) to an aristocratic pupil (very likely Caecina Decius Aginatius Albinus, *Praefectus Urbi at Rome 414), cannot post-date the first years of the 5th century. His commentary on *Vergil might antedate the Sack of Rome in 410 (C. Murgia, *CP* 98 (2003), 61–4). Like the interlocutors in the *Saturnalia* whose dates of death are known, he was probably dead when Macrobius wrote sometime after 430.

Besides the commentary on Vergil (below), Servius' authentic surviving works include several brief technical treatises—*On One Hundred Meters* (dedicated to Albinus), *On Final Syllables*, *On Horace's Meters* (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* IV, 449–72), and a commentary, now extant only in abridged form, on the *Ars* of Aelius *Donatus (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* IV, 405–48); the unabridged commentary was cited by *Priscian (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* II, 8, 15) and extensively used by the grammarian Pompeius in his own commentary on Donatus (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*V, 95–312). Other works attributed to 'Servius' or 'Ser(e)gius' in the manuscripts are not his (Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* IV, 475–584, cf. VI, 240–2, VIII, 143–58).

Servius' commentary on Vergil's three poems—the only commentary on a *Latin author to survive intact from Antiquity—has been transmitted in two versions. The shorter ('vulgate') version is the work of the historical Servius, who drew on the variorum commentary of Aelius Donatus and other sources to produce a teaching instrument for his *school. The longer version—'Servius Auctus' or, more commonly, 'Servius Danielis' (DServ.), after its first publisher, Pierre Daniel (1600)—began as the work of a compiler (6th or 7th cent., perhaps in *Ireland) who supplemented his copy of Servius with lore derived from other sources, including chiefly the same commentary of Donatus on which Servius himself had drawn (Marinone). As this compiler's work was transmitted, users or copyists felt free to add or subtract, so that any given manuscript is best conceived as revealing one phase of a work in progress.

Servius' version of the commentary is intended for the *grammaticus*' school; but despite its often elementary character and lack of interest in many questions that engage Vergil's modern readers, the commentary is invaluable testimony to the ways of Late Antique schools and to the often sensible views of an ancient teacher.

RAK

PLRE I, Servius.
HLL section 612.
Kaster, *Guardians*, 169–97, 356–9.
ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen (1881–1902).
The 'Harvard Servius' is so far available only for *Aeneid* 1–5: ed. E. K. Rand et al., 2 vols. (1946 and 1965).
Comm. on *Aeneid* 7 and 9: ed. G. Ramires (2003 and 1996).
N. Marinone, *Elio Donato, Macrobio e Servio, commentatori di Vergilio* (1946).
G. P. Goold, 'Servius and the Helen Episode', *HarvStClassPhilol* 74 (1970), 101–68.
U. Schindel, *Die lateinischen Figurenlehren des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts und Donats Vergilkommentar* (1975).
D. P. Fowler, 'The Virgil Commentary of Servius', in C. Martindale, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (1997), 73–8.

settlement patterns Settlement patterns in Late Antiquity varied widely. In the broadest terms, overall settlement numbers seem to have remained high in *Britain in the 3rd and 4th centuries, particularly in the South-West and in the Midlands.

In northern *Gaul, more than half of the rural sites around *Trier persisted into the late 4th or early 5th century. Around *Paris there was general stability of settlement in the 4th century and settlement abatement in the 5th. While there are regional variations which can be severe, the overall trend seems to have been toward more autochthonous forms of rural organization, a *village society (rather than one dominated by *villas), and a gradual decline in the density of rural occupation. In central and southern Gaul, the trend in the countryside was toward the increased prominence of the villa, the aggregation of settlement, and a reorientation toward major *cities. After a drop in site numbers and overall occupied land area in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, southern Gaul witnessed a similarly durable and robust pattern of settlement from the 3rd to the 6th century.

In *Spain, as elsewhere in the Roman West, many villas were restructured and expanded in the course of the 4th century. In the Guadalquivir Valley of *Baetica,

however, settlement patterns indicate a marked decline in the number and overall density of dwellings and farms as well as a marked drop in *olive oil production.

In *Italy, the regional settlement picture is complicated, but a general trend was in the decline of medium-sized and small towns. In southern Italy rural centres of agricultural production and management of *vicus* type were common along major *roads. The *vici* or villages comprised clusters of domestic and agricultural buildings and were incorporated into administrative and ecclesiastical networks. Settlement over much of the peninsula suffered following the *Byzantine invasion of the 6th century.

Similarly in *Africa, *Carthage and the cities of the Dorsal seem to have done relatively well at least until the *Byzantine invasion of Africa. In the northern *Balkans villa sites were generally abandoned in the 5th century, probably due to the invasions of the *Huns.

Over much of the East, archaeological evidence suggests that rural landscapes were densely populated and well integrated within the Mediterranean *trade nexus into the late 6th century, with significant shifts and the decline of cities in *Anatolia and the northern Levant from the mid-7th century onwards, though regional exceptions such as *Euchaïta and *Amorium caution us to avoid simple generalizations of 'decline' or 'transformation'.

Further survey will illuminate patterns of settlement in more detail. There is controversy regarding the value of survey and archaeology generally in determining levels of settlement, and further debate about how settlement patterns may relate to ancient populations. While absolute numbers of sites can provide useful information in a given landscape, quantification of sites is not itself sufficient to understand and compare changing demographic and land use patterns. Such precision is rarely available from many places within the Roman and post-Roman world. MD

N. Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2004).

S. E. Cleary, *The Roman West, AD 200–500: An Archaeological Study* (2013).

Sevastopol *See* CHERSON AND TAURIC CHERSONESE.

Seven Sleepers of Ephesus A legendary group of seven Christians enclosed, according to legend, in a cave near *Ephesus during the *persecution under *Decius (*emperor 249–51), only to awaken from a miraculous sleep under *Theodosius II (sole emperor 408–50).

The earliest Greek version of the tale (PG 115, 428–48) may have been produced in Ephesus shortly after the Robber *Council of Ephesus (449). Portions of a complex dedicated to the Seven Sleepers at Panayir Dağı outside Ephesus are dated to the mid-5th century.

The *miracle story fits well within the context of various doctrinal controversies of the 5th century. Various early *Syriac versions survive, including a **memra* by *Jacob of Sarug. The Sleepers (and their puppy Viricanus) are named (*c.*518–30) by the *Latin pilgrim *Theodosius (26). The tale survived in many places, from the *Qur'ān (18: 7–26) to *Anglo-Saxon England and Jacob of Voragine's *Golden Legend*. SEI

BHG 1593–1599d: Pueri VII in Epheso.

GEDSH s.v. Sleepers of Ephesus Legend of the, 360–1 (W. Witakowski).

E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (ST 173, 1953), 123–68.

M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern. Eine literargeschichtliche Untersuchung* (1910).

F. Miltner, *Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer. Forschungen in Ephesos*, vol. 4, tome 2 (1937).

Severianus *Pagan from *Damascus who studied *philosophy at *Athens, and discussed the speeches of Isocrates with *Damascius. Under *Marcian, he served in the imperial administration but declined high office under *Zeno, because he refused to become a Christian. OPN

PLRE II, Severianus 2.

Severianus of Gabala (d. after 408) *Bishop of *Gabala in *Syria who sided against *John Chrysostom at the Synod of the *Oak of 403 (*Socrates VI, 11–16; *Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.* 31). Numerous homilies, including six combining the biblical ***hexameron* with ancient science, are now attributed to him. SJL-R

CPG, 4185–295.

Hexaemeron sermons: ed. in PG 56, 429–500.

C. Datema, 'Towards a Critical Edition of the Greek Homilies of Severian of Gabala', *OLP* 19 (1988), 107–15.

Severinus of Noricum, S. (d. 8 Jan. 482) Prominent *holy man in the region of the upper Danube during the last half of the 5th century. *Eugippius presided over the cult of S. Severinus at Castellum Lucullanum and composed the *Vita* of S. Severinus (*BHL* 7655) in 510/11, although it is not certain that he knew S. Severinus personally. Eugippius notes only that Severinus came to *Noricum Ripense from the East soon after *Attila's death (*VSeverini* 1, 1). Despite his leadership in the administrative and ecclesiastical affairs of the region, Severinus was a lay *ascetic. He declined the position of *Bishop of Favianis (*VSeverini*,9, 4), instead founding *monasteries there and at Batavis (*VSeverini* 4, 6 and 19, 1). The *Vita* ascribes to him *miracles relating primarily to foresight, and he frequently steered communities away from disaster by organizing ritual observances. Urban communities along the *frontier and leaders of ***foederati* recognized his importance. Severinus organized *liturgical *prayer, food relief, the

care of the *poor, the defence of towns, and evacuations in advance of enemy attacks. He managed relations with local *Rugian *foederati* and negotiated the release of captives across the frontier. He also exchanged *letters with *Odoacer and the *aristocracy of *Italy. Buried at Favianis, in 488 his *relics were moved to a fort in northern Italy when Odoacer evacuated Noricum. Between 492 and 496, Pope *Gelasius arranged his translation to Eugippius, a monastic community in *Campania. MSB

Eugippius, *Vita Severini* (*BHL* 7655–7), ed. H. Sauppe (MGH Auct. Ant. 1/2, 1877).
ET G. W. Robinson (1914).
ET L. Bieler (FC 55, 1965).
W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger, eds., *Eugippius und Severin. Der Autor, der Text und der Heilige* (2001).

Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 538) Born a *pagan *c.*456 in Sozopolis of *Pisidia, Severus studied in *Alexandria and *Beirut before being baptized by Christians opposed to the Christological doctrines of the *Council of *Chalcedon and embracing monastic life in *Gaza (*c.*490). Ordained *priest before 500, Severus was attacked by the Chalcedonian agitator Nephalius and forced to leave *Palestine for *Constantinople, just missing the stay of the militantly anti-Chalcedonian *Philoxenus of Mabbug. Philoxenus had ambitions to supplant Flavian, the Chalcedonian *Patriarch of *Antioch. Eventually Flavian was deposed by the *Emperor *Anastasius I and replaced by Severus in 512.

As the new patriarch, Severus was a leader of resistance to partisans of the Council of Chalcedon. He remained in his see until his own deposition in 518 during the Chalcedonian restoration under the Emperor *Justin I, delivering *sermons, composing *hymns and *letters, and writing dogmatic works. After his deposition he spent a long period in *exile in *Egypt (518–38), and although forever on the run, remained active in administering and caring for the Church of Antioch.

*Justinian I considered Severus a lynchpin in his negotiations for ecclesiastical peace, and invited Severus to Constantinople. Severus declined until 534/5, when he attended unsuccessful discussions that ended with his condemnation in 536. He was declared exiled and his works condemned to the flames. Many of them however survived, some in more or less contemporary *Syriac translations. Severus died on 8 February 538 in Sakha (east of *Alexandria).

We have 125 *sermons from the time he was patriarch (a valuable source for liturgical development), nearly 300 letters from four decades, *prayers, liturgical rites, and hymns on liturgical occasions. The sermons mostly survive in *Syriac *translations by *Paul of *Callinicum and *Jacob of *Edessa. There also survive remains of Severus' dogmatic disputes with the neo-Chalcedonians Nephalius and John the Grammarian, and with the extreme advocates of One Nature Christology, Sergius the Grammarian and *Julian of Halicarnassus. Many fragments are preserved in **catenae*.

For Severus, as in general for *Miaphysites and those opposed to the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon, the terms *physis*, *hypostasis*, and *prosopon* were synonymous. Severus clearly states that the terms *ousia*, *physis*, *hypostasis*, and *hyparxis* do not differ. Thus when applied to the Nature of Christ, the term *physis* (nature) denotes one concrete individual, the incarnate Word. The definition of Chalcedon predicated two natures (*physeis*), divine and human, coexisting in Christ. For Severus this implied logically that Christ had two *hypostaseis* and two persons (*prosopa*). Severus preferred to describe the act of incarnation as a thorough uniting (*henosis*) of natures or a uniting of *hypostaseis*, a hypostatic union, which produced one wholly new nature, that of the God-Man. For Severus a confusion or mixture (*mixis*) of natures or *hypostaseis* is an impossibility. As there is only one *prosopon* (person) of Christ, so there is only one *hypostasis* and one nature, that of the God-Man, united, not mixed. Severus adopted Cyril's term *synthesis* and its cognates precisely so as to exclude the term *mixis*. For Severus the humanity in Christ has no independent status and Christ's one nature is that of the Word. With respect to Christ's activity Severus characterizes the union as 'a single activity of the God-human', an expression adapted from *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite that was later important in the Monoenergist and *Monothelete controversies of the 7th century. Severus understood the union of the two natures in Christ strictly numerically, and rejected the formula 'a single double nature', a formula which had been used by some theologians prior to the Council of Chalcedon, but which was dropped because it might be misunderstood in a sense which seemed to endorse *Nestorianism, the belief that Christ's two natures were radically separate. For Severus the union of two natures is intrinsically redemptive, in that mankind is saved through Christ, but in his theology the divine nature does seem to dominate the process, so that for him the interplay of divine and human, the *communicatio idiomatum*, can seem one-sided. Given his systematization of Cyril's thought to exclude ambiguities that supported the Chalcedonian position, the lasting significance of Severus as a theologian lies in his organic one-nature doctrine, a doctrine which continued to be influential after his death. PAl

GEDSH s.v. Severus of Antioch, 368–9 (Brock).

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Letters, ed. (with ET) E. W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus Patriarch of Antioch in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, 2 vols. (1902–4); ed. (with ET) E. W. Brooks (PO 12/3, 1915 and 14/1, 1920).
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ed. M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis Presbyteri et Grammatici Opera quae Supersunt* (CCSG 1, 1977).
ET I. R. Torrance, *The Correspondence of Severus and Sergius* (TeCLA 11, 2011) .

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F. Alpi, *La Route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les Églises d'Orient (512–518)*, 2 vols. (2009).
A. Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr in Antiocheia zwischen 512 und 518', *RQ* 11 (1897), 31–66.
R. C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (1976).
R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ* (1924).
A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2/2 (1995), 21–173.
J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (1909).
A. Grillmeier, 'La Christologie du monophysisme syrien', in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 2 (1951), 425–580.
A. Olivar, 'Sever d'Antioquia en la història de la predicació', *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 5 (1980), 403–42.
I. R. Torrance, 'Severus von Antiochien', *TRE* 31 (2000), 184–6.

Severus b. al-Muqaffa *See* HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE COPTIC CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

Severus of Malaga (d. before 602) Author of an *Epistula ad Epiphanium* with Licinianus of *Cartagena and lost treatises against *Arianism and on virginity. Portions of a twelve-book Gospel *epic discovered in 1967, containing the end of Book 8, all of Book 9, and the beginning of Book 10, have been identified as the work of Severus. According to a 9th-century Lorsch catalogue, Severus also wrote ten Eclogues and four books of Georgics, in combination with a twelve-book *Metrum in Evangelia*, evidently in imitation of *Vergil. The surviving portion of the text begins with the raising of Lazarus and Christ's curse of the fig-tree (Matt. 21: 17) and breaks off just after Christ's denunciation in *Jerusalem of the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. 24: 1). MJR

ed. B. Bischoff, W. Schetter, et al., *Severi Episcopi <Malacitani (?)> in Evangelia Libri XII: Das Trierer Fragment der Bücher VIII–X* (1994).

Severus of Minorca (*fl.* early 5th cent.) *Bishop and author of an encyclical *letter (*Epistula Severi*) describing the *conversion to Christianity of Minorca's *Jews in February 418 following the arrival on the island of the *relics of S. Stephen the first *martyr. Fundamentally an anti-Jewish text, the work offers a vivid narrative of religious coercion leading to the alleged mass conversion of all 540 Jews on the island. It circulated with a tract (now lost) containing anti-Jewish arguments for public *dispute. The *Epistula* preserves precise information about Minorca's Jewish community. Although long thought to be a forgery, it is clearly authentic, but tendentious, and its historicity remains problematic. SAB

ed. (with ET) S. Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca: Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* (1996).
R. S. Kraemer, 'Jewish Women's Resistance to Christianity in the Early Fifth Century', *JECS* 17 (2009), 635–65.

Severus Sebokht Noted 7th-century *Syriac Orthodox polymath and teacher. Referred to in the sources as 'Bishop of Qenneshrin', it is unclear whether this refers to the famous *monastery and intellectual centre of *Qenneshre, or whether it refers to the northern Syrian city of *Chalcis (Syr. Qenneshrin), though the former is more likely, given that Severus was the teacher of Athanasius of Balad (d. 686), who is known to have studied and learned *Greek at the Monastery of Qenneshre.

Severus is also referred to as *mlila* (Syr. 'eloquent' but possibly also 'logician' or 'rhetor'), and was celebrated for his mathematical and philosophical knowledge. His surviving works include a treatise on the *astrolabe, one on lunar *eclipses, another on the phases of the moon, and another on constellations. We also possess fragments of geographical works by Severus.

'Sebokht' means 'the three have redeemed' in Middle *Persian and Severus himself knew Pahlavi in addition to *Greek and *Syriac. He was responsible for the *translation of a commentary by *Paul the Persian on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* from Middle *Persian into Syriac. He was also probably the translator of a logical compendium written in Middle Persian by Paul the Persian for *Khosrow I. In his surviving *letters, Severus takes up a number of other topics which point to his engagement with secular learning: he deals with, among other things, Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* and *On Interpretation*, displays a familiarity with most of the works of *Ptolemy, and takes up questions of history, *mathematics, and *geography.

In 659, Severus, along with the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Theodore, engaged in a *dispute with *Maronite theologians in the presence of the *Caliph *Mu'āwiya. According to the *Maronite *Chronicle*, the *Miaphysites were defeated. Severus' earliest dated work was a treatise on syllogisms written in 638. He died *c.*667. JT

GEDSH s.v. Severus Sebokht, 368 (Reinink).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 408.

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 246–7.

On the Constellations, ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *ROC* 7 (1929–30), 327–410; and *ROC* 8 (1931–2), 85–100.

On the Astrolabe, ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *JA* 9/13 (1899), 56–101, 238–303.

ed. Sachau, *Inedita syriaca*, 127–34.

H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Questions de logique au VIIe siècle: les épîtres syriaques de Sévère Sebokht et leurs sources grecques', *Studia Graeco-Arabica* 5 (2015), 53–104.

H. Takahashi, 'The Mathematical Sciences in Syriac: From Sergius of Resh-'Aina and Severus Sebokht to Barhebraeus and Patriarch Ni'matallah', *Annals of Science* 68/4 (2011), 477–91.

Severus the Tetrarch *Emperor 305–7. A military officer from *Illyricum, Severus became *Caesar in the West when *Diocletian and *Maximian abdicated on 1 May 305 and *Augustus (with the backing of *Galerius) when, on 25 July 306, *Constantius I died at *York. On 28 October 306, *Maxentius, son of the former Augustus Maximian, usurped power at *Rome. Severus marched on Rome, but many of his troops defected to Maxentius. He fled to *Ravenna, where in spring 307 he surrendered to Maximian. He perished in *prison near Rome. OPN

PLRE I, Severus, 30.

NEDC 38–9, 65, 137, 197.

Barnes, *Constantine*, 59, 66–9.

Séviac (dép. Gers, France) A *villa in *Novempopulana, near Montréal-du-Gers, with a sequence of occupation from the 2nd to 7th centuries emblematic of the rich villa culture of Late Antique *Aquitaine. It was given a new monumental layout in the later 4th century, incorporating vast *baths and a wealth of *marble and *mosaic decoration. The reception rooms were further enhanced around the mid-5th century and a *baptistery added *c.*500. A church and *cemetery subsequently developed adjacent to the site, which remained in occupation well into the 7th century, while steadily losing its monumental character. The Late Antique phases incorporated over 30 mosaic pavements, primarily with geometrical and floral patterns in vibrant colours. ACR; STL

Balmelle, *Demeures aristocratiques*, no. 38, 386–90.

J.-B. Laffitte and J. Gugole, *Mosaïques de Séviac: le décor de sol d'une riche villa gallo-romaine du Sud-Ouest* (1996).

B. Fages, 'Le devenir des uillae aristocratiques aquitaines de la fin du IVe au VIe siècle à travers l'exemple de Séviac (Montréal-du-Gers, Gers)', in *Villae and Domain at the End of Antiquity* (2015), 141–60.

Seville Roman Hispalis, capital of the *province of *Baetica. The *city is mostly unexcavated, though the ancient *harbour has yielded an anchor and boat of controversial date and origin. Seville was conquered in 428 by the *Vandals, and in 441 by the *Suebes under Rechila (king 438–48). It was autonomous during early *Visigothic rule, the site of the revolt of *Athanagild (king 551/5–68) against *Agila (king 549–5), and capital of the rebel *Hermenigild (579–84). Under *bishops *Leander (*c.*579–600) and his brother *Isidore (*c.*600–636), Seville was the intellectual centre of *Spain. Church *councils were held here in 590 and 619. The city was taken in 712 during the *Arab conquest and was the seat of the first Muslim governors. GDB

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 6 (2005) *s.n.* Hispal(is, Spalis), col. 384 (P. Barceló).

Sevso Treasure (buried *c.*450) A hoard of fourteen pieces of *silver plate (total weight, *c.*69 kg, *c.*11 stone) and a *copper alloy cauldron, apparently used as the hoard container. The hoard takes its name from a *Latin *inscription on the Hunting Plate (decorated with *hunting scenes and an outdoor banquet scene) that translates as: 'May these small vessels, O Sevso, yours for many ages be, fit to serve your descendants worthily.' Other items are the Meleager Plate, with *Meleager, Atalanta, and the hunters of the Calydonian Boar on the central medallion, and other Greek heroes, including Paris, Perseus, and Hippolytus, on the flat rim; the Achilles Plate, bearing scenes from the hero's life; a platter with geometric, niello-inlaid central medallion; an *amphora with panther handles, and a ewer, both with *Dionysiac relief decoration; a ewer with hexagonal panels decorated with people, animals, and geometric motifs; a ewer and a pair of situlas ('buckets'), decorated with scenes from the life of Hippolytus; a pair of ewers with geometric motifs, for use with a fluted basin; and a casket with domed lid with repoussé relief of toilet scenes. With regard to function, a number of vessels (the platters, amphora, and ewers) were probably used to serve food and *wine during banquets; other vessels, such as the geometric ewers, basin, and casket, for ablutions and beautification.

The treasure's provenance is officially unknown, with claims to ownership, submitted by Croatia and Hungary, rejected by the New York Supreme Court in 1993. Hungary has continued to make the most persistent provenance claims, citing as evidence the reference to 'Pelso' (the ancient name for Lake Balaton) on the Hunting Plate, stylistic similarities with a silver-stand

found at Polgardi, and a police investigation concerning the death of the alleged finder. The treasure is currently in the possession of the Trustee of the Marquess of Northampton 1987 settlement. Many experts regret the hoard's lack of provenance, negating the possibility of investigating the find-spot. RHob

Mango and Bennett, *Sevso Treasure*.

SFB (Sunken-Featured Building) (Fr. *fonds de cabane*, Germ. *Grubenhaus*) A structure recognized in archaeological excavation by an oval or oblong feature cut into the ground surface, with two, four, or six post-holes in the short sides providing evidence for a *timber *roof structure. SCT

Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*.

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, 52–4.

S. Giovanni di Ruoti A *villa complex in *Lucania (*Italy). Recent excavations reveal three villas occupying the site in succession: a first villa constructed in the 1st century and abandoned in the 3rd; a second larger villa, appearing in *c.*350 when the site was reoccupied; and a third dating to *c.*400, whose owners made drastic changes to the pre-existing structures and plan. They destroyed all ramshackle structures and built on a larger scale with a coherent plan and features characteristic of Late Roman villas, e.g. an apsidal hall and *bath complex with hot and cold rooms. Following the collapse of several buildings in *c.*460 (including the apsidal hall), the owners rebuilt the hall (now on an upper storey) and expanded, adding a tower and *mosaic floors.

The third villa bears signs of its owners' wealth, probably derived from pig production. Lucania was renowned for its *swine farms, which became especially profitable during Late Antiquity when pork rations were added to the **annona*. By *c.*500, the villa showed signs of deterioration (e.g. *roofs remained unrepaired; refuse was regularly dumped into rooms), though most parts remained occupied until the second quarter of the 6th century. In *c.*550 the main north range, including the apsidal hall, burned down and the remaining buildings were abandoned, damage perhaps connected to the *Byzantine Invasion. KMS

S. J. B. Barnish, 'Pigs, Plebians, and *Potentes*: Rome's Economic Hinterland, *c.*350–650', *PBSR* 55 (1987), 157–86.

A. M. Small and R. J. Buck, *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti*,3 vols. (1994).

S. Giusto in Apulia *Villa and ecclesiastical complex in *Apulia, *Italy (territory of Lucera), in the river valley of the Celone. In 1995–99 emergency excavations revealed a large and prosperous 4th/5th-century Roman villa (*c.*12,000 m² or 3 acres), with rooms used for agricultural storage and processing as well as more monumental spaces, including an apsidal hall and polychrome *mosaic floors. At various times the villa stored *grain, produced *wine and common-ware ceramics, and processed wool and pelts (suggested by the remains of a runnel network). In the mid-5th century, a tri-nave church ('Church A') with an *apse and polychrome floor mosaics was built alongside the villa; a circular *baptistery was erected nearby. In the late 5th/early 6th century, a second church of similar dimensions ('Church B') was built parallel to Church A. The remains of 67 Late Antique *burials within Church B suggest that it was a funerary space. Scholars hypothesize that the villa of S. Giusto was imperial property and that the church was the episcopal seat of a rural *diocese. A fire destroyed Church A in the mid-6th century, but Church B continued to be used for liturgical and burial purposes along with the villa. The entire complex was gradually abandoned in the 7th and 8th centuries. KMS

G. Volpe, 'Architecture and Church Power in Late Antiquity: Canosa and San Giusto (Apulia)', in Lavan et al., *Housing*, 131–68.

G. Volpe, ed., *San Giusto: la villa, le ecclesiae: primi resultati dagli scavi nel sito rurale di San Giusto (Lucera): 1995–1997* (1998).

Shahi (*c.*420–1000?) Name normally given to different dynasties ruling over the Kabul Valley/Kapiśa and Zabulistan in modern Afghanistan. The confusing state of sources for long prevented a clear identification of the dynasties, resulting in erroneous attributions. Based on fresh numismatic research, we know that the earliest rulers were Alkhan (Alchon) chiefs who later also moved east to Gandhara and Uddiyana/Swat. Another dynasty, known as the Nezak Shahs from their coins, took over sometime in the later 5th/early 6th century and expanded their power partly to Zabulistan. A later Alkhan/Nezak dynasty may have been vassals of the Western Türk Empire, hence the designation of the Turki Shahis. A further push from Gandhara and Kashmir put the region under the suzerainty of Hindu rulers who are known as the Hindu Shahis, but were possibly continuing the previous dynasty's power as local rulers. They only ceased to control the region after the Ghaznavid conquest of the Kabul Valley in the late 9th/early 10th century. KR

K. Vondrovec, *Coinage of the Iranian Huns and their Successors from Bactria to Gandhara (4th to 8th century CE)* (2014).

M. Inaba, 'From Kesar the Kābulšāh', in M. Alram et al., *Coins, Art and Chronology*, vol. 2: *The First Millennium CE in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Denkschr. Wien 412, 2010).

E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (1903).

Shahin (d. 628) *Persian general during the *Persian invasion of the Eastern Roman Empire under *Khosrow

II. In 608/9 he defeated the Romans near *Theodosiopolis (Erzerum) and between then and 613 captured both *Caesarea of Cappadocia and Melitene (*Sebeos, 33–4/111–13). In 614 he advanced as far as *Chalcedon where he met Heraclius in 614 (**Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. 614 AD). He campaigned against *Heraclius' retaliatory invasion, and was put in command of a freshly recruited army of 50,000 men, but was defeated by Theodore, brother of Heraclius, fell ill, and died (*Theophanes, AM 6117). KR; OPN

PLRE III, Shahin.

Greatrex and Lieu, 187–95, 203–7.

J. D. Howard-Johnston, 'Heraclius' Persian Campaign and the Revival of the East Roman Empire, 622–630', *War in History* 6 (1999), 1–44.

***shahr* (English satrapy, MP *štry*)** Term denoting a province of the *Persian Empire (*Eranshahr) under the *Sasanian dynasty, used as early as the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*.

The catalogue of provincial capitals called the *Shahrestaniha i Eransahr* lists the four regions (*kusts*) of Eranshahr, one for each point of the compass, and the *cities (*shahrestan*) of each *shahr*. Though in its present form it dates from the *Abbasid *caliphate, the list in its original form was likely to have reflected conditions in the 6th century. It enumerates the principal *cities; in the province of *Fars, for instance, four *shahrestan*s are named: *Staxr (Istakhr), *Darabgerd, *Bishapur, and Gor-Ardashir-xwarrah (*Firurzabad). Some of the places named (such as *Edessa) lay well beyond the territory of the Sasanians.

Each *shahr* was administered by a governor (*shahrab*, English satrap), with the aid of a financial officer (*amargar*). The term *shahrdar*, correctly used of a royal noble, but in later times also applied to other senior members of the *aristocracy, is also sometimes confused with the term *shahrab*. In militarized areas there was a *marzban (governor of the marches). There was a parallel religious administration headed by a *Zoroastrian priest (**mowbed*) who was concerned with both religious and judicial matters. Each *shahr* was divided into districts (*rustag*) and these comprised individual *villages (*deh*) headed by a **dehqan* (also *shahrig*). OPN

ed. (with ET, NP tr., and comm.) T. Daryaee, *Šahrestānīhā-ī-Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic and History* (2002).

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 125–6.

Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire.*

shahrdar *See* ARISTOCRACY, PERSIAN; *SHAHR*.

Shahrwaraz (d. 630) *Sasanian general of the wars with the Eastern Roman Empire under *Khosrow II, and briefly in 630 Shahanshah of the *Persian Empire. The name, meaning Boar of the Empire, was both a title and a name. *Sebeos refers to him as Khoream.

Shahrwaraz was the victor of the Battle of *Antioch against *Phocas (613) and conquered *Jerusalem and *Egypt, carrying off from the former the *Relic of the True *Cross. In 626, he commanded the Persian *army at the siege of *Constantinople, coordinated with the *Avar forces. At the time of the counter-attack on Persia by *Heraclius in 628, he joined a conspiracy against *Khosrow II and was instrumental in deposing him. He briefly usurped the Sasanian throne for a few months in 630 and arranged to restore to the Romans both the True Cross and the territories which had been occupied by the Persians under Khosrow II (**Chronicle of Khuzestan*—which sometimes gives him his patronymic name Feruhan). He was soon murdered and replaced by Queen *Boran (*Tabari, V, 1063). A possible son, Nicetas, was later a Christian officer of the East Roman *army, leading to speculations about Shahrwaraz's own religious loyalties. KR

PLRE III, Shahrbaraz.

Greatrex and Lieu (where the name is spelled Shahrvaraz).

Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 176–85.

Shahryar (d. 628) Son of *Khosrow II and *Shirin (*Theophanes, 6118 AM) and one of the royal family murdered by his elder half-brother *Qobad II (Kavadh II, also Shiroe, Shiruye) when he displaced Khosrow as King of Kings (*Sebeos, 39, 127). Shahryar was the father of *Yazdegerd III. KR; OPN

Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 174 *s.n.* *Xšathradara 4.

Shapur I (MP *Shabuhr*, Lat. *Sapor*) Second *Sasanian King (r. AD 239/42–270/2), son of *Ardashir I. Shapur I is famous both for consolidating the Sasanian dynasty's rule over the early *Persian Empire and for the aggressive prosecution of campaigns against the Roman and the *Kushan empires, even if not all his gains were permanent. His successful campaigns he commemorated in his trilingual *inscription (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*; *ŠKZ*) on the Ka'ba-ye Zardosht at *Naqsh-e Rostam, in his *rock reliefs at *Bishapur, *Naqsh-e Rostam, and *Darabgerd in Iran, and symbolically at Rag-e Bibi in Afghanistan, where he hunts rhinoceroses. His western campaigns appear as catastrophic events in the rather meagre Roman sources.

Presumably his father's co-regent (from 239) and successor (from 240 until Ardashir I's death in AD 242), his first campaign against Rome led to the conquest of Hatra (240/1) and to a most favourable treaty with the Roman *Emperor Philip the Arab after his victory at Misiche-*Peroz-Shapur and the death of *Gordian III. His second campaign (AD 252–7), despite a minor setback at the hands of *Emesan forces under

the command of the priest Sampsigeramus (Uranius Antoninus), led to the conquest of *Armenia, *Dura Europos, and *Antioch (possibly twice). In his third campaign, Shapur defeated the Emperor *Valerian near *Edessa, taking the emperor captive and deporting him and many of his soldiers back to the *Persian Empire.

Those Roman prisoners of war were responsible for many engineering works (*bridges, dams, etc.) in *Khuzestan, including hydraulic works at *Susa (Sushhtar) that function to this day. Finally checked by *Odaenathus of *Palmyra, Shapur was not able to drive the Romans from *Mesopotamia and *Armenia (if that was his intention) or even to re-establish the Euphrates as the *frontier.

Calling himself 'King of Kings of Iran and Non-Iran' (MP *Šāhān šāh Ērān ud Anērān*), an expansion of his father's titulature, Shapur, in his *Res Gestae* (*ŠKZ*) also furnishes information on the members and the genealogy of the royal household, the members of his court and those of his father and grandfather, his religious ('Mazdaean' i.e. *Zoroastrian) convictions, and his endeavours for his family, the nobles, and the clergy; he also gives details of his endowment of *fires dedicated 'for the soul' (MP *pad ruwān*) of himself and certain immediate members of his family. Shapur had a reputation for being relatively tolerant to religious minorities including the *Jews, and, despite the objections of the Zoroastrian priesthood, was even a *patron of the prophet *Mani, who dedicated his work the *Shabuhragān* to the king. JWi

EncIran (2002) *s.n.* Shapur I: History (Sh. Shahbazi); *s.n.* Shapur I: the Great Statue (G. R. Garosi).

PLRE I, Sapor I.

Ph. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šabuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, *CII* Pt. 3, vol. 1, texts 1, 2 vols. (1999).

E. Kettenhofen, *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: nach der Inschrift Šāhpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye zartošt (ŠKZ)* (1982).

K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n. Chr.* (2009).

Canepa, *Two Eyes.*

Shapur II Persian Shah AD 309–79, the longest reigning *Sasanian King of Kings. Persian tradition states that he was crowned when he was in his mother's womb. The Roman Empire was in a dominant position following the victory of *Galerius over *Narseh, and the *letters sent by *Constantine I to the young Shapur (preserved in *Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 8–13) are of a conciliatory character.

In 325, at the age of 16, Shapur II led an *army and defeated the *Arab tribes who had crossed the Persian Gulf from Bahrain (al-*Bahrayn) and pillaged the province of *Fars (Persis). He dealt harshly with the Arabs and was therefore given the title of 'he who pierces shoulders', from the unusual way he roped his prisoners together. Some of the defeated Arab tribes were settled in the *Persian Empire, in *Kirman in the south-east and in *Khuzestan in the south-west. A wall was built called the 'Wall of the Arabs' (MP *War ī tāzīgān*), to defend against further nomadic incursions.

Shapur II invaded the Eastern Roman Empire in AD 337, and persisted in his aggression for a quarter of a century; the reaction of the Emperor *Constantius II, in sole charge of the East from 337 to 361, was essentially defensive. *Nisibis was besieged repeatedly, but was not taken, and *Singara, the scene of several battles, was not captured till 360. Shapur did capture other *cities, including *Amida in 359; *Ammianus Marcellinus' eyewitness account of the siege of Amida survives (XIX, 1–11). Shapur II then turned his attention to the East, facing the *Hunnic tribes. He was able to dominate the Kushans in the East and minted coins in such cities as *Merv in *Central Asia.

In AD 361 the Emperor *Julian invaded the Sasanian Empire through the Euphrates Valley and besieged *Ctesiphon. Julian was killed in battle and the Roman army retired up the Tigris. *Jovian was chosen as the new emperor and made peace with Shapur II, ceding the essential border cities of Nisibis and Singara and the Regiones *Transtigritanae which had become Roman in 298 after the victory of *Galerius. It was during Shapur's reign that the last Middle *Persian *inscriptions were carved. Shapur II also invaded *Armenia, and according to the Armenian historian *Movses Khorenats'i killed its king, *Tigran, placing his son *Arshak II (AD 350–67/8) on the throne. As a result Armenia and *Georgia came under Sasanian influence.

Under the leadership of the high priest *Adurbad-i Maharspandan, *Zoroastrianism was reorganized during Shapur II's reign. According to Middle *Persian sources, he collected and edited the *Avesta and went through an ordeal (having molten metal poured onto his chest) to prove the correctness of his interpretation of the sacred text. He set about suppressing the competing Zoroastrian sects. Persecutions of *Christians in the *Persian Empire occurred periodically under Shapur II, in part because of the new status of Christianity in the Roman Empire, and the wish of Constantine I and his sons to spread the Christian faith and act as its protector beyond the Empire's borders. A *rock relief at *Bishapur depicts him enthroned, as did formerly a relief at *Naqsh-e Rostam. The relief at *Taq-e Bostan near Kermanshah of an investiture by the god Mithras may represent Shapur's triumph over the Emperor Julian. TD

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* Shapur II (T. Daryaee).

PLRE I, Sapor II.

Lieu and Dodgeon, 143–274.

M. Back, *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften. Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften*

zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortgutes und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften (1978).
T. D. Barnes, 'Constantine and the Christians of Persia', *JRS* 75 (1985), 126–36.
T. Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia* (2013).

Shapur III Persian King (r. 383–8) and the son of *Shapur II. On his father's death, Shapur's uncle *Ardashir II initially seized power, but lost the confidence of the *aristocracy. When Shapur came to the throne he concluded negotiations with the Roman *Emperor *Theodosius I partitioning *Armenia and was tolerant of religious minorities. The *Sasanian official history (**Xwaday Namag*), as reconstructed from *Tabari's use of it, remembers him as a just king murdered by the nobles (Tabari, V, 68). He recarved an **ayvan*-shaped *rock relief at *Taq-e Bostan, which had been begun by his uncle. TD; MPC

PLRE I, Sapor III.
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*
B. Overlaet, 'Ardashir II or Shapur III? Reflections on the Identity of a King in the Smaller Grotto at Taq-i Bustan', *IrAnt* 46 (2011), 235–50.

sharakan* and *sharaknots' The *Armenian words for 'hymn' and 'hymnal', respectively. The canon of the Armenian *Sharaknots'* (Hymnal), fixed in about 1350 (*see also* LITURGY AND LITURGICAL BOOKS, ARMENIAN) contains 1,166 hymns, enumerated under 162 headings as canons, *suites*, and associated *hymns. The writing of *sharakan*s, which constituted the largest branch of Armenian spiritual lyric poetry, began in the 5th century and reached its pinnacle in the 7th, when Step'anos Siwnets'i introduced the form of the canon. *Sharakan*s were created to teach and propagate the Christian faith; they included short and concise stories from the Bible and the lives of the saints and particular feasts of the Lord. It is impossible to study the theology and doctrines of the Armenian Orthodox Church without having recourse to the *sharakan*s. VN

Thomson, *BCAL* 275–7, supplement 220–1.
Garegin I, Sargisian, *Hay ekelec'woy astuacabanutiwne est hay sarakanneru (The Theology of the Armenian Church According to Sarakans* (2003).
Komitas, *Armenian Sacred and Folk Music*, ET by Edward Gulbekian, introd. by Vrej Nerses Nersessian (1998).
Robert At'ayan, *The Armenian Neume System of Notation*, with ET and introd. by V. N. Nersessian (1999).

Sharbel, Babaï, and Barsamya, *Passion* of Ss. (5th cent.) Cycle of fictional *martyr passions narrating the trials and sufferings of Sharbel (a converted *pagan *priest), Babaï (his sister), and Barsamya (the *Bishop of *Edessa). The legend is set in the reign of Trajan but belongs to a group of 5th-century texts celebrating Edessa's Christian lineage. JNSL

BHO 1049–51.
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, nos. 390 (Sharbel and Barbai) and 78 (Barsamya), ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, I, 95–119, 120–30.
ed. (with ET) W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (1864), 63–85.

sheep The most important livestock in ancient agriculture, outnumbering *goats in all but *marginal *landscapes. Sheep remained vital in the post-Roman world. On *Anglo-Saxon sites in *Britain, in the 5th and 6th centuries, sheep comprised up to 50% of all domestic animals (Crabtree). Sheep provided wool, milk, and *meat. They were grazed away from growing crops and *gardens, generally in marginal areas, though their dung was important for fertilizing arable after the harvest had been gathered.

Wool was the principal product for which sheep were reared. Spinning and weaving were universal pursuits in the *household economy, but the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict gives maximum prices for wool from the *city of *Laodicea ad Lycum (*Phrygia), from Asturia and Atrebatan lands (*Belgica), and from the Italian cities of *Mutina (Modena), Altinum, and Tarentum (25), though it lists prices for finished clothes and *carpets for significantly more places (19).

Sheep had a religious dimension, as both *sacrifices and symbols. Hermes Criophorus 'ram bearer' was the object of apotropaic *pagan cult at Tanagra of *Boeotia (Pausanias, IX, 22, 1) and the ram bearer god was frequently represented in ancient *sculpture. *Christ is also shown as the *Good Shepherd, for instance in the *baptistery of the house church at *Dura Europus, the *Catacombs of *Rome, and in an important passage from *Augustine's *Confessions* (IX, 10, 24).

In Persian *Mesopotamia, where flock sizes tended to be small due to the intensively farmed nature of the land, professional shepherds were employed to manage sheep from multiple owners (*Babylonian *Talmud Baba Mes'ia*, 37.B). Consortiums owning flocks of sheep, divided into shares to spread risk and employing professional shepherds who often grazed flocks in the less-cultivated area of the *Nile Valley, are common in Egyptian *papyri (Keenan). MD

M. L. Ryder, *Sheep and Man* (1983; repr. 2007).
P. J. Crabtree, 'Sheep, Horses, Swine, and Kine: A Zooarchaeological Perspective on the Anglo Saxon Settlement of England', *JnlFieldArch* 16/2 (1989), 205–13.
J. G. Keenan, 'Pastoralism in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 26/3–4 (1989), 175–200.

Shenoute (*c.*348–465) Third leader of the *White *Monastery federation near modern Sohag, *Egypt,

and the most prolific author in *Coptic whose works remain extant. Although Shenoute goes almost entirely unmentioned in *Latin and *Greek sources, he was influential in Egypt. His *letters and *sermons describe regular interactions with local elites and provincial officials. He also attended the First *Council of *Ephesus in 431 as part of *Cyril of *Alexandria's entourage. His works, written in sophisticated Sahidic Coptic, indicate that Shenoute had at least some *rhetorical education and that he was proficient in *Greek.

Shenoute's writings remain mostly unedited, and include nine volumes of *Canons*, which contain works related to the internal affairs of the federation that were compiled by Shenoute himself. They also incorporate eight volumes of *Discourses*, which consist of letters, sermons, and treatises that were compiled by others after Shenoute's death, in part for liturgical purposes. The *Canons* reveal that Shenoute became leader of the White Monastery after a conflict with his predecessor about sins committed within the community. They also contain monastic rules, letters that Shenoute wrote to address issues such as conflict about *punishment and the expulsion of disobedient monks, and missives written in response to difficulties with nuns from the convent under Shenoute's care. *Canon* 7 chronicles developments at the White Monastery such as the construction of the monastery's monumental church and the community's care for refugees in response to alleged barbarian incursions into the surrounding countryside. The *Discourses* show that Shenoute entertained visiting public officials and that he was an ordained *priest who preached to audiences containing visiting monks, clergy, and laypeople. They also include polemical works directed at *Arians, *Manichaeans, *Nestorians, and *Origenists.

EFD

CoptEnc vol. 7, cols. 2131a–2133b *s.n.* Shenute, Saint, col. (K. H. Kuhn).

ed. J. Leipoldt (with LT by H. Wiesman), *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* (CSCO 42, 73, Scr. copt. ser. 2, vol. 2 and 5 [1954–5]; LT CSCO 96 and 108, Scr. copt. ser. 2, vol. 8 and 12 [1952–5]).

ed. (with FT) E. C. Amélineau, *Œuvres de Schenoudi*, 2 vols. (1907–14).

ET D. Brakke and A. Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenoute the Great: Community Theology and Social Conflict in Late Antique Egypt* (2016).

BHO 1074–87: Bohairic *Life*: ed. J. Leipoldt (with LT by H. Wiesman), *Sinuthii Vita* (CSCO 41, Scr. copt. ser. 2, vol. 1 (1951)); LT CSCO 129, Scr. copt. ser. 2, vol. 16 (1951).

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S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (2004).

G. Gabra, ed., *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt: Akhmim and Sohag* (2008).

R. Krawiec, *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (2002).

B. Layton, 'Rules, Patterns, and the Exercise of Power in Shenoute's Monastery: The Problem of World Replacement and Identity Maintenance', *JECS* 15 (2007), 45–73.

C. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe* (2007).

***Sheyist ne Sheyist* (*Sayest ne-Sayest*)** (Licit and Illicit) Middle *Persian text from the *Sasanian period which prescribes behaviour and practices for *Zoroastrians. Editors have divided it into three parts. The first ten chapters are concerned with purity and pollution, especially as they concern the disposal of the *dead, menstruation, eating, dress, *prayer, and such miscellaneous matters as legitimizing the children of a maidservant and treatment of a hedgehog. Chapters 11 to 14 are concerned with expiation of sin, sacrifice, and ritual, including the maintenance of the home *fire. Chapters 15 to 23 are a miscellany discussing prayer, *pilgrimage, and other matters. TD

EncIran (2004) *s.n. Šāyest nē-šāyest* (F. Vahman).

ed. (annotated with ET) J. C. Tavadia, *Šayast-ne-šayast: A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs* (1930).

ed. K. Mazdāpūr, *Šāyast nā Šāyast: matnī bih zabān-i Pārsī-i miyānah* (1990).

ET E. W. West, *Shayāst la-Shayāst*, Pahlavi Text part 1 (Sacred Books of the East 5, 1860).

Shi'a Shortened form of the *Arabic *shi'at 'Ali* (the faction of *'Ali) and, along with the Sunnis, one of the two major branches of *Islam. They are often called the *'Alids or the proto-Shi'a when referring to the earliest centuries of Islam, before the broad doctrines of the group and its sects came to be solidified.

Among their most important beliefs is the primacy of place of the family of the Prophet *Muhammad in the political and religious leadership of the Muslims, specifically the descendants of one of Muhammad's sons-in-law 'Ali b. Abi Talib and his daughter *Fatima. Leaders of their religious communities are referred to as imams; their descent is believed to provide superior religious knowledge and upright standing compared to others.

Important to many sects is their eschatological belief in the Mahdi, who will restore the family of the Prophet and the religion to its rightful place. While many figures in early Islamic history were proclaimed as such, many of the Shi'a subscribe to the belief that the Mahdi has appeared and since entered occultation (*ghayba*)—although sects disagree over his identity before becoming hidden.

The earliest point of division between the Sunnis and the Shi'a came over succession following Muhammad's death: the Shi'a believe Muhammad designated 'Ali as

his heir and successor; the Sunnis recognized no such designation, favouring instead acclamation of *Abu Bakr.

The Shi'a took diverse approaches to power and in matters of succession. The Zaydis opted for armed rebellion against the rule of the *Umayyads over the quietist policies of *Muhammad al-Baqir and *Ja'far al-Sadiq, while the Isma'ilis diverged from the Twelvers when Ja'far's heir, Isma'il, predeceased him. RJL

Al-Mufid, *Kitāb al-Irshād*: ET I. K. A. Howard, *The Book of Guidance into the Lives of the Twelve Imams: Kitāb al-Irshād* (1981).

S. Arjomand, 'The Crisis of the Imamate and the Institution of Occultation in Twelver Shi'ism', *IJMES* 28 (1996), 491–6.

D. K. Crow, 'The Death of Al-Husayn b. 'Ali and Early Shi'i Views of the Imamate', *al-Serat* 12/1 (1986), 71–116.

H. Halm, *Shi'ism* (2004).

M. G. S. Hodgson, 'How Did the Early Shī'a Become Sectarian?', *JAOS* 75 (1955), 1–13.

W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1998).

H. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam* (1993).

Shi'i *See* SHI'A.

Shi'ites *See* SHI'A.

ships and shipbuilding, Mediterranean In Mediterranean shipbuilding, the classical traditions held strong in Late Antiquity. Though aware of the frame-first method used in northern Europe, hull-first construction continued throughout Late Antiquity, only gradually giving way to the frame-first method. Intermediate examples of this gradual change have been found in the *Constantinople *harbours excavations at Yenikapi in Istanbul.

Naval ships decreased in size. In Late Antiquity strategy relied more on speed and mobility, at last forsaking the trireme and quinquireme, and taking the *celetes*, the **akatos*, the **lembos*, and the **liburna* as models for the **dromon*, which served as the principal naval vessel. The ram, still relevant in the 4th century for the attacking manoeuvre called in *Greek *diekplous*, was gradually abandoned in favour of a spur that could more easily destroy oars (but not the enemy ship itself) in the manoeuvre called *periplous*. This may have followed changes in hull construction that made ships less vulnerable to ramming. The *dromon* adopted the lateen sail already known to have been used by small merchant ships.

Despite the widespread move toward smaller and lighter ships for warfare, merchant vessels (*corbita*, *ponto*, *holkas*) did not, for the most part, follow suit. Ships of 100–150 tons were common, and ships of greater displacement (up to perhaps 300 tons) were not uncommon (though generally confined to the trade in stone, like the *Marzamemi Wreck. Bringing an *obelisk from *Egypt required the building of a special ship.

In Late Antiquity, the painstaking mortice-and-tenon construction of the classical period (where planks were joined at the edge with pinned loose tenons) appears to have become laxer, with the mortices being spaced wider apart. This led to more play in the joints, and thus required the use of substantial caulking. Additionally, planks now began to be edge-joined by *iron fasteners rather than wooden tenons and pegs. Frames to stiffen the ship were attached with iron nails (as they had not before).

In the same way that the bottoms of later sailing ships were covered in thin sheets of copper, so Late Antique ships' bottoms were clad with lead. Ships might paint their sails and hulls a variety of colours, but an unpainted vessel would have been black from a coating of tar. Naval and pirate vessels might also paint their hulls and sails blue for camouflage, as *Vegetius observes. An oar had a one-year life expectancy, a galley perhaps fifteen years at most. ALB

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship.*

A. Ginalis, 'A Comparison of Maritime Traditions in the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean', in A. Al-Helabi et al., eds., *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium: Cultural Contacts in Ancient and Medieval Times. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Historical Relations between Arabia, the Greek and Byzantine World* (2012), 253–66.

A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean & the Roman Provinces* (BAR Int. Series 580, 1992), 24–30.

J. R. Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks* (²1998), 37–85.

J. Whitewright, 'The Mediterranean Lateen Sail in Late Antiquity', *IntJnlNautArch* 38/1 (2009), 97–104.

D. N. Carlson, J. Leidwanger and S. M. Kampbell (eds.), *Maritime Studies in the Wake of the Byzantine Shipwreck at Yassiada, Turkey* (2015).

ships and shipbuilding, northern world Different types of craft were required for different functions. Ships built for the open sea differed from those made for rivers or for coastal trade, their tonnage capacity being their more important feature. As in the Mediterranean world, northern European shipbuilding traditions underwent fundamental changes during Late Antiquity. Starting as extended dugout vessels with few planks, ships in northern waters evolved into the longships of the Vikings, as the clinker tradition of shipbuilding, with its emphasis on heavy, strong, flat-bottomed craft, developed.

Shipbuilding technology differed in certain details in the North Sea and the Baltic, but a general evolution may be observed. The earliest archaeological examples from the 2nd century AD, such as the oak-built Blackfriars I Ship found in the Thames at *London, show shell-first constructions with early signs of clinker

building where the planks were fixed to each other, overlapping along their edges. However, at that stage the planks were still sewn together. These ships possessed sturdy frames which were lashed to cleats, projecting from the strakes. In contrast to the longships of the late 7th century AD and later, these early ships did not have a true keel but only a plank keel—a single thick, broad plank projecting only slightly into the water. They were therefore long, narrow rowing boats with a shallow and open section amidships and a low raking stem- and sternpost. Around the 6th century AD, the clinker technique seems to have affected Scandinavian ship design, leading to the development of double-ended boats with tightly curved stem- and sternposts fitted almost vertically and a deeper cutwater much more like a true keel. The subsequent development of the keel provided greater longitudinal strength to the hull. AG; JC

B. Greenhill, *The Evolution of the Wooden Ship* (1988), 29–39.
J. R. Steffy, 'The Development of Ancient and Medieval Shipbuilding Techniques', in *International Symposium on the Archaeology of Medieval and Modern Ships of Iberian-Atlantic Tradition* (1998), 49–61.
J. R. Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks* (1994), 266–98.
S. McGrail, *Ancient Boats and Ships* (2006), 38–45.
K. Muckelroy, ed., *Archaeology under Water: An Atlas of the World's Submerged Sites* (1980), 30, 68–77.

shipwrecks Environmental conditions and the circumstances of sinking may affect the condition of a shipwreck. The Mediterranean, shallow and warm, hastens the disintegration of *ships, so that often only the ship's bottom survives, having been pressed into the seafloor and covered by mud and sand. The cooler and deeper waters of the Atlantic and the North Sea and the Black Sea's anoxic conditions delay deterioration. Shipwrecks may appear on land as well as under water due to environmental changes, including siltation and changes in sea level and watercourses.

Ancient shipwrecks provide information concerning changes in shipbuilding and trade patterns. The best-known wreck of a ship carrying *marble, that off Kizilburun near *Claros in western *Anatolia, is of the Hellenistic period. At *Marzamemi off *Sicily, a 6th-century wreck containing marble columns and *capitals for a Christian *basilica indicates the continuation of the Classical marble *trade, as do capitals and columns found in the 5th/6th-century Ekinlik wreck in the Sea of *Marmara and in the Punta Scifo A wreck of Severan date and the Capo Bianco wreck of the late 3rd century, both off Crotone in southern *Italy.

Among the many wrecks off the south-west coast of Turkey are the 4th- and 7th-century ships found at *Yassı Ada off Bodrum (ancient Halicarnassus). These wrecks, both carrying *amphorae, display the gradual shift away from Roman mortice and tenon hull construction. The oldest wreck built without mortice and tenon joints is Tantura A from the late 5th century, found in Tantura Lagoon off the coast of Israel. Excavations since 2004 at Yenikapi, a *harbour on the south coast of *Constantinople, have yielded dozens of ships, including the first examples of Late Roman warships. These wrecks show several stages in the development of Late Antique hull construction. The 7th-century ship found in the Pantano Longarini marsh in south-east Sicily provides another example of an intermediate stage of hull construction. ALB; AG

D. G. Bartoli, *Marble Transport in the Time of the Severans: A New Analysis of the Punta Scifo A Shipwreck at Croton, Italy* (diss. Texas A and M University, 2008).
G. F. Bass and F. H. van Doornick Jr, 'A Fourth-Century Shipwreck at Yassi Ada', *AJA* 75 (2011), 27–37.
G. F. Bass and F. H. van Doornick Jr, eds., *Yassi Ada: A Seventh- Century Byzantine Shipwreck* (1982).
D. N. Carlson, J. Leidwanger, and S. M. Kampbell, eds., *Maritime Studies in the Wake of the Byzantine Shipwreck at Yassiada* (2015).
Y. Kahanov and J. G. Royal, 'The 1995 INA/CMS *Tantura A* Byzantine Shipwreck Excavation—Hull Construction Report', *Center for Maritime Studies News 23* (December 1996), 21–3.
S. M. Kampbell, *The Pantano Longarini Shipwreck: A Reanalysis* (MA thesis, Texas A and M University, 2007).
S. A. Kingsley, ed., *Barbarian Seas: Late Rome to Islam* (2004), 29–130.
A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces* (1992).
C. Pulak and E. Rogers, 'The 1993–1994 Turkish Shipwreck Survey', *InstNautArchQuarterly* 21/4 (1994) 17–21.
Skyllis 11 (2011), especially E. F. Castagnino Berlinghieri and A. Paribeni, 'Byzantine Merchant Ships and Marble Trade: New Data from the Central Mediterranean', 64–75.

Shirin (Širin) Favoured wife of *Khosrow II of Persia. Shirin was a Christian from *Khuzestan; she was proclaimed as Khosrow's queen in 592. The following year Khosrow and Shirin asked for the prayers of S. *Sergius so that she should have a child; when she conceived, S. Sergius appeared to Khosrow three times in a *dream, and the couple sent a donation of 5,000 *silver **dirhams*, a *gold paten, and a circumstantial *letter to the saint's shrine at *Sergiopolis-Rusafa (*Evagrius, VI, 21; *Theophylact Simocatta, V, 13–14). She and her doctor *Gabriel, a *Miaphysite Christian of the *Syriac Orthodox Church from *Singara, were able to influence Khosrow and for the first decade of the reign the king followed a balanced policy towards Christians in *Armenia and the *Persian Empire. Khosrow founded a church and a *monastery for Shirin

(*Chronicle of Siirt*, 58; *Thomas of Marga, I, 23). She and Gabriel were even able to influence the appointment of the *Catholicus of the *Church of the East, to the disgust of the anti-Miaphysite author of the *Chronicle of Khuzestan.* Shirin and her son Mardanshah, whom Khosrow had hoped would succeed him, were both killed during *Heraclius' invasion in 628, as part of the *coup d'état* by the *aristocracy and *Ardashir III (Shiroe) which deposed Khosrow II (*Theophanes, AM 6118). The love of Khosrow and Shirin became a legend in later Persian poetry. OPN

PLRE III, Shirin.

Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 136–41.

B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse: et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII° siècle* (1992), vol. 2: *Commentaire* (1992), 106–18.

Shiz *See* TAKHT-E SOLAYMAN.

Shmona, Guria, and Habib, *Passion* of Ss. Cycle of *Syriac *martyr passions recounting the arrest, trial, martyrdom, and burial at *Edessa of the Christian laymen Shmona and Guria in 306/7 and the *deacon Habib in 322. Historical facts in the surviving text are confused, but the martyrs are named by *Ephrem and listed in the *Syriac *Martyrology of 411 AD*. Their shrine became a focus for *pilgrimage and civic piety, as the Syriac romance **Euphemia and the Goth* attests. JNSL

BHO 363 (Guria and Shmona) and 367 (Habib).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, nos. 181 (Guria and Shmona) and 182 (Habib).

ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* I, 144–60 (Habib only).

ed. (with ET) W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (1864).

ed. (with ET) F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth, with the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa* (1913), 90–128.

L. Greisiger, 'Edessenische Märtyrerakten als Quellen zur Religionsgeschichte', in M. Tamcke and H. Andreas, eds., *Die Suryoye und ihre Umwelt* (2005), 219–45.

Millar, *RNE* 486–8.

shops Places where goods were produced and sold were integral to *city life and existed also in smaller settlements. *John Chrysostom commented negatively on the presence of shops and market spaces (*agorai*) in *Antioch and the *villages around it (*On the Acts of the Apostles* [PG 60, cols. 141–50], 18, 4). Late antique shops tended to be small, rectangular, and generally had an entrance on a main thoroughfare, as in the city of Munigua of *Baetica, where they replaced an early imperial *street. Shops excavated at *Sardis and *Corinth are among the best-documented Late Roman examples, typically measuring 5–7 m (16–23 feet) on a side. Spaces below *houses or structures attached to buildings, as well as independent buildings, might be employed as shops, as in 4th-century additions to the Casa-Basilíca in *Mérida, at *Caerwent in *Britain (Rogers, 101), or at the House of Jove and Ganymede in *Ostia, which acquired shops when it was rebuilt in the Severan period (DeLaine, 95–6). In the East, private house owners were commonly responsible for half the maintenance and repair of the street porticoes outside their property, which might have shops on the ground floor or the upper storey (*Julian of Ascalon, §37). The existence of shops, an obvious sign of economic activity, may be taken to indicate that Late Antique cities continued to thrive, even where other signs of classical civic life, such as monumental colonnades and broad streets, were becoming less apparent. Ornate and rather open public shops continued into the *Umayyad era; in AD 737/8 new colonnaded shops were built at *Scythopolis (Beth She'an of *Palestine), complete with *mosaic *inscriptions and a monumental entrance. MD

J. DeLaine, 'The Insula of the Paintings at Ostia 1.4–2–4: Paradigm for a City in Flux', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas, eds., *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (1996), 83–111.

L. Lavan et al., *Housing*.

A. Rogers, *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline* (2011).

shorthand and shorthand writers Shorthand writers (*see NOTARII, EXCEPTORES*) used a system of writing (also known as stenography or tachygraphy) which, in the interests of speed, employed a system of abbreviated symbols to record the spoken word, generally onto wax writing *tablets. *Ausonius (*Ephemeris*, 7), was amazed how fast his secretary could follow his dictation. *Augustine reassured readers that stenography was a skill permissible to Christians (*De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 26, 40).

Shorthand writers recorded official business in the imperial *administration and made *reports of proceedings in *courts of law (e.g. *Ammianus, XIV, 9, 2 *notarii*; *Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 489: Themis). *John Lydus states that 1,000 were enrolled in the imperial service every year. They also worked for private individuals (cf. P.Oxy. III, 724 and XLI, 2988, contracts of apprenticeship; *Jerome, *ep.* 118, 1: *letter of *consolation).

The Church also employed shorthand writers. They were recording Christian *sermons from the 3rd century onwards (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 36, on *Origen, who employed a team of seven stenographers: *HE*, VI, 23). Their presence is attested at the church *council of *Carthage (AD 411).

*Eusebius (Jerome, *Chron.* 168f Helm) and *Isidore (*Etymologiae*, I, 22) attribute the origins of *Latin shorthand to Cicero's secretary M. Tullius Tiro; it probably derived from an earlier *Greek system (cf. Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 23) dating perhaps to pre-Hellenistic times (Diogenes Laertius, II, 48 and *IG* II² 2783). Isidore stated that Seneca had assembled a collection of

5,000 signs. Seventeen Carolingian manuscripts transmit a collection of over 13,000 signs, and there are also Latin shorthand copies of the Psalter, of complete sermons, and of shorter texts and glosses.

Greek shorthand manuals containing word lists and their corresponding abbreviated entries are transmitted on *papyrus from the 2nd century AD. Shorthand word lists were probably intended both for teaching and for scholarly use (P.Oxy. XV 1808; P.Westm.Coll. Inv. 19r; P.Brit.Libr. 2561–2). Shorthand also survives on wax tablets such as BL Add. ms. 33,270. Greek shorthand continued in use in the Byzantine Empire until the 11th century. DG; MPe

H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und tironische Noten* (1974).
G. Menci, 'Echi letterari nei papiri tachigrafici', in I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci, eds., *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (2001), 927–36.
N. Lewis, 'Shorthand Writers', *Comunicazioni dell'istituto papirologico G. Vitelli* 5 (2003), 19–27.
Teitler, *Notarii*.
K. A. Worp and S. Torallas Tovar, eds., *To the Origins of Greek Stenography (P. Monts. Roca I)* (2006).

Shubhalmaran (6th/7th cent.) Monk, *bishop and theologian of the *Church of the East. Having been appointed *Metropolitan of *Kirkuk shortly after 608, he took part in the theological dispute of 612 when his Church was obliged to defend her teachings in front of the Shah *Khosrow II. Shubhalmaran's writings survived in a collection called *Book of Parts* (the editor's rendering of the title as *Book of Gifts* is misleading). In addition to various counsels on spirituality there is also an *apocalyptic description of the Final Battle (Book 6). The imagery used in this section is deeply rooted in the East Syrian tradition. It is likely that this part was written in exile after 613. It reflects the depressing conditions East Syrian Christians suffered in the *Persian Empire of that period. Shubhalmaran probably died before 628. KP

Kessel, *Bibliography*, 208–10.
ed. (with ET) D. J. Lane (*CSCO* 612–13, Scr. syr. 236–7, 2004).
M. Binder, *Asket und Eschaton. Das Endzeitbuch des Šubḥālmāran von Kirkuk* (2013).

shura In *Islam consultation among prominent figures, probably a continuation of pre-Islamic tribal practice, epitomized in the decision of *'Umar I b. al-Khattab (r. 634–44) to appoint a council to elect his successor, resulting in the choice of *'Uthman b. 'Affan (r. 644–56). In the *Qur'ān, the term is one of the marks of belief (Q. 42: 38) in the sense of deliberation among communal leaders. The verbal form at Q. 3: 159, where the Prophet is commanded to consult his companions, reflects preparations for the Battle of Uhud (625). The term would come to be used to counter the tendency to define the *caliphate in terms of divine appointment rather than communal election. In the later sources, it is put in the mouth of rebel figures during the first century of Islam as a technique for demanding redress of grievances against the ruler. PH

P. Crone, 'Shura as an Elective Institution', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19 (2001), 3–39.

shurta Military and police force, responsible for the practical application of the *law in the early Islamic state, for maintaining public order, for the protection of officials, and so demonstration of the state's authority. Established by the time of the *Caliph *'Uthman b. 'Affan, the *shurta* are also sometimes found in the vanguard of battle. RJL

F. Donner, 'The Shurta in Early Umayyad Syria', in *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, vol. 2 (1989), 247–62.
M. Ebstein, 'Shurṭa Chiefs in Baṣra in the Umayyad Period', *Al-Qanṭara* 31 (2010), 103–47.
M. Lecker, '*Shurṭat al-Khamīs* and Other Matters', *JSAI* (1991), 276–80.

Shushanik (d. *c.*458) Early *ascetic and *martyr of the *Armenian Church. Also known as Vardeni Mamikonean, Shushanik was the daughter of *Vardan *Mamikonean (the hero of the 451 Battle of *Avarayr) and the wife of Vazgen, Prince of Gugark/Gogarene. She renounced her husband and her royal life when he submitted to the Persian King of Kings and renounced Christianity for *Zoroastrianism. The story of her torture and imprisonment by Vazgen, her feats of ascetic piety, and her death has been transmitted in several versions in both Armenian and *Georgian. It probably pre-dates the 7th century, and is one of the most important witnesses to the practice of female *asceticism in the early Armenian Church. TLA

BHO 1107–8.
ET K. Maksoudian and C. H. Zakian, *The Passion of Saint Shushanik* (1999).
Z. Pogossian, 'Female Asceticism in Early Medieval Armenia', *Le Muséon* 125/1–2 (2012), 169–213.

Shushtar *See* SUSA.

Sian-Fu Stele *See* XI'AN STELE.

Sibyls and Sibylline Oracles The 1st-century BC Roman antiquarian Varro (cited by *Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, I, 6, 6–16) reckoned that there had been twelve legendary pagan prophetesses known as the Sibyls. The utterances of the Cumaean Sibyl were consulted at *Rome for political purposes and for ritual prescriptions,

The prophetic figure of the Sibyl was appropriated by Hellenistic Jews and then Christians to articulate their

own hopes and expectations. At times she was imagined as a figure whose antiquity pre-dated the bifurcation of *paganism and the primitive *monotheism of the earliest humans, at others as a privileged pagan; it was the latter interpretation, given impetus by the Fourth Eclogue of *Vergil, that prevailed in the early Church, e.g. in Lactantius (*Institutes*, VII, 24), *Constantine I's *Oratio ad Sanctum Coetum* (18–22), and *Augustine (e.g. *City of God*, XVIII, 23). A *Theosophy* of Sibylline wisdom, composed by an unknown author during the reign of *Zeno (474–91) and partly extant in the **Theosophy of Tübingen*, reflects the same outlook.

A corpus of fourteen books of *Sibylline Oracles* (partly overlapping) survives in certain 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts. Although the earliest parts derive from Jewish circles in Hellenistic *Alexandria, the composition of Sibyllina continued through Late Antiquity and beyond; the 13th Book provides important insights into Roman-Persian relations in the mid-3rd century and the latest strata of text date from the 7th century. Much of the corpus emanates from *Egypt, certain parts possibly or probably from Asia Minor and *Syria. The oracles are akin to *apocalyptic, although lacking the characteristic presence of a mediator; like apocalyptic they are dominated by eschatology, principally cosmic, although the fate of the individual soul concerns some Christian Sibyllists. History is divided into periods across four, five, or ten ages, with references to the successor kings and Roman *emperors, culminating in the upheavals of the final age; this future orientation is complemented by an interest in practical ethics (especially, condemnations of homosexuality and idolatry).

Another oracle in popular circulation was the Tiburtine Sibyl, now extant in *Latin and in a *Greek version as the **Oracle of Baalbek*. Though subject to much updating by later editors, its nucleus seems to have originated in the 4th century, since it prophesies the advent of a final emperor called Constans; history will end with the vanquishing of the Antichrist. JLL

ed. J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS 8, 1902).
ET J. J. Collins, in J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins* (1983–5), vol. 1, 317–472.
ed. (with ET, comm., and study of I–III) J. L. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles* (2007).
ed. (with GT and study) E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898).
H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (1988).
D. S. Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle* (1990).
D. S. Potter, *Prophets and Emperors: Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius* (1994).

Sicca Veneria (mod. El Kef, Tunisia) Roman *colonia*. *Inscriptions suggest 4th-century building restorations. *Arnobius, teacher of *Lactantius, taught here. *Procopius claimed that *Justinian I fortified Sicca (*Aed.* VI, 7, 10). One church dates to the 6th century; another is built into the large *baths. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 156–61.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 92–3.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 226–7.

Sicily The first Roman *province (from 241 BC). Under the *Tetrarchy Sicily became a part of the *Dioecesis Italiae aggregated to *Italia Suburbicaria. It was governed by a *Corrector and after *Constantine I by a *Consularis under the *Vicarius Urbis Romae (**Notitia Dignitatum* [occ.] 19, 6). Syracuse was the provincial capital.

In Late Antiquity Sicily enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. The island became the primary supplier of *grain to the *City of *Rome after *Constantine I founded *Constantinople and diverted the grain of *Egypt to feed the people of his new residence. Between the 4th and 5th centuries Sicily was governed by members of the senatorial *aristocracy (e.g. *Ceonii Albini, Postumii Albini, *Valerii and Aradii, *Symmachi and Nicomachi). These families had strong economic interests in the island; their holdings formed part of a chain of landed property stretching from Rome to *Africa. Although there were small and medium-sized *estates, most of the land was owned by the *emperors or the senatorial aristocracy and, from the time of Constantine, by the Church. The **latifundia* were divided into **massae*, aggregates of **fundi* not necessarily contiguous and generally managed by **conductores*. The **Antonine Itinerary* names settlements that correspond to *estates throughout the hinterland (e.g. Calvisiana, Philosophiana, Petiliana, toponyms which imply the word *praedia*—'estates'). The growing burden of *taxation also caused the great landowners to seek new sources of income with greater investment in their estates, a phenomenon associated with the creation of large *villas such as *Piazza Armerina, *Patti Marina, *Tellaro, and others that have been archaeologically identified, together with farms and *villages, in many parts of the island.

Valid evidence, literary and archaeological, for the spread of Christianity in Sicily can be found only from the 3rd century onwards. The *martyr passion of S. *Euplus contains elements which appear authentic. In the 4th century the development of Christian communities is recorded mainly in urban centres.

The island was attacked by the *Vandals in 440 in accordance with the strategy of *Geiseric who aimed at conquering the main Mediterranean centres of *grain production. *Theodosius II and *Valentinian III (*Nov-Val* 1, 2) granted a tax amnesty as compensation to the

inhabitants of Sicily whose property had been destroyed by the Vandals. Vandal attacks continued until 475, and in 476 Sicily was sold to *Odoacer and subsequently came under the control of the *Goths. *Cassiodorus (*Variae*, 10, 2) attests that wheat production was still considerable and that under the government of the *Ostrogoths the island enjoyed a period of well-being.

In the 6th century Sicily played a strategic part during the *Byzantine invasion, and in 535 became a Byzantine possession, aggregated to the Pars Orientis (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 5, 12). *Gregory the Great fed Rome with grain from church estates in Sicily. The *Arab conquest was completed in the 9th century. CS

ANRW II.11.1 *Politische Geschichte (Randvölker: Sizilien und Sardinien; Italien und Rom; Allgemeines* (1988), 3–450.
L. Cracco Ruggini, 'La Sicilia fra Roma e Bisanzio', *Storia della Sicilia* 3 (1980), 3–96.
Conferences on Ancient Sicily: *Kokalos* 28–9 (1982–3); *Kokalos* 42–4 (1997–8); 47–8 (2008).
F. P. Rizzo, *Sicilia Cristiana dal I al V secolo*, 1–2 (2005–6).
G. Uggeri, *La viabilità in Sicilia in età romana* (2004).
R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire: The Archaeology of a Roman Province (36 BC–AD 535)* (1990).
R. J. A. Wilson, 'La Sicilia', in A. Carandini, L. Cracco Ruggini, and A. Giardina, eds., *Storia di Roma* III/2: *il tardo impero. I luoghi e le culture* (1993), 279–98.

Sicorius Probus *Magister Memoriae whose negotiations with King *Narseh after *Galerius' Persian victory in 298 secured for the Roman Empire the strategic *Transtigritanae regiones and agreement that *Nisibis should be the place where the two empires would henceforth do business (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 14). OPN

PLRE I, Probus 7.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 292–4.

Side *City on the coast of *Pamphylia. Its proclamation as *neokoros* ('temple guardian') on *coinage in 256 indicates the presence of a *temple of the *imperial cult. Insurgency by *Goths under *Gallienus reached Side. In the 3rd century the city claimed to be 'First City of Pamphylia', but *Perge became chief city of the *Tetrarchic *province. The city *aqueduct was restored by a private benefactor called Lollianus, a rare example of private benefaction in Late Antiquity. Amphilochius, *Bishop of Side, had problems with *Messalians in the mid-5th century. *Justinian I gave the bishopric *metropolitan status. Large churches survive from this period near the temple ruins. In the 7th century the city walls retracted to incorporate the back wall of the theatre; this possibly helped Side survive the *Arab conquest. The population had moved to *Attaleia by the 10th century. ACFC

B. Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (2004).
C. Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (1990).

Sidon (mod. Saida, Lebanon) *City on the Mediterranean coast, about 40 km (*c.*25 miles) south of *Beirut in the province of *Phoenice. It was famous for *glass manufacturing and the production of *purple dye from *murex shells. An ancient shell dump can still be seen 100 m (*c.*330 feet) high and 50 m (*c.*165 feet) long. Designated *Colonia Aurelia Pia Sidon* by Elagabalus, the Romans built a theatre and other monuments. A series of Mithraic sculptures from the late 4th (or possibly 2nd) century is now in the Louvre.

The *bishop attended the *Council of *Nicaea. *Theophanes of Hermopolis passed through in 322/3 as did the *Bordeaux Pilgim in 333 (583, 11). *Severus of *Antioch called a church *council at Sidon in 511 (*Zacharias Rhetor, 7, 10; Severus, *Select Letters*, VI, 4, 2). After the *earthquake of 551, Beirut's law classes were relocated to Sidon (*Agathias, II, 15, 1–4). The *Piacenza Pilgrim (2) in 570 found the place partly ruined and the people unpleasing. After the *Arab conquest the city became part of the **jund* of *Damascus. LJH

Millar, *RNE* 285–8.
F. M. Barratte, 'Le Mithraeum de Sidon', *Topoi* 11 (2001), 205–27.
N. Jidejian, *Sidon through the Ages* (1971; ²2006).
N. Marriner and C. Morhange, 'Under the City Centre, the Ancient Harbour: Tyre and Sidon', *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 6 (2005), 183–9.
E. Will, 'La Date du Mithraeum de Sidon', *Syria* 27 (1950), 261–9.

Sidonius Apollinaris (*c.*430–*c.*489) One of the pivotal figures in the history and literary culture of Roman *Gaul in the 5th century AD, Sidonius was the son-in-law of an *emperor, Eparchius *Avitus (r. 455–6). He was the last Gallo-Roman to be *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome (468–9) and was later *Bishop of *Clermont-Ferrand, the 'city of the Arverni' (470–*c.*485). He was also the author of verse *panegyrics of three emperors (*Anthemius, *Majorian, and Avitus), which were included in his book of *Poems* (*Carmina*), published in 469, and of nine books of **Letters* (*Epistulae*). His literary work is increasingly appreciated for the sophistication of his literary technique and his use of allusion with reference to historical and quasi-mythical events and to such models as Horace, Lucan, Pliny the Younger, and *Claudian.

Sidonius was born in *Lyons, the son and grandson of Gallic *Praefecti Praetorio; his grandfather Apollinaris served as the *usurper *Constantine III's Praefectus in 408. In the early 450s, Sidonius married Papianilla, daughter of Avitus and a member of a family of landowners at Clermont, which became Sidonius' preferred residence. In January 456, aged about 25, he delivered his *Panegyric* of the new emperor, Avitus, before the

*Senate at Rome, voicing *inter alia* the alienation felt by many Gauls from the Italian centre of empire. After Avitus' overthrow in October 456, Sidonius joined those Gauls who initially refused recognition to Avitus' nemesis, Majorian, but, after Majorian surrendered Lyons late in 458, he delivered a second panegyric, advocating the unity of the West against the 'new Hannibal', *Geiseric. Welcomed by Majorian into the emperor's circle of 'friends', he was given the title of **comes*.

After Majorian's overthrow in 461, Sidonius occupied himself with Christian concerns in Gaul, attending services at Lyons and sophisticated theological seminars at *Vienne, reporting on the activities of bishops, and putting his poetic talents at their service. In 467, he undertook an embassy to the new Emperor Anthemius at *Rome. There he was invited to pen a panegyric to the new ruler, as a consequence of which (he said), he was offered the City Prefecture; in reality Anthemius thus hoped to conciliate opinion among the Gallo-Roman *aristocracy at large.

Little is known of Sidonius' official tenure at Rome, or the reasons for its termination in 468/9, but there is a probable connection with events in Gaul. Consistently but controversially, Sidonius cultivated good relations with the *Gothic kings at *Toulouse, visiting their *court and celebrating the civilized and almost Roman way of life of *Theoderic II. In 469, he tried to advise a former Praefectus Praetorio of the Gauls, Arvandus, who was accused of treasonable correspondence with the aggressive new Gothic King, *Euric. Ignoring Sidonius' advice, *Arvandus acknowledged that he had advocated that Roman Gaul be partitioned between the *Goths and the *Burgundians and was duly convicted of assisting the enemy. Soon after this, Sidonius, who had absented himself from the trial, returned to Gaul and is next heard of, in 470, as the newly consecrated Bishop of Clermont.

Control of Clermont was coveted by both Gothic *Aquitaine and the Burgundians of the Rhône corridor. From 471 to 475, Clermont was besieged annually by the Goths. Sidonius' letters describe the sufferings of the besieged, and celebrate the help given by his brother-in-law *Ecdicius and by associates from the clergy at Lyons and elsewhere. In 475, the Emperor *Julius Nepos and a conclave of bishops ceded Clermont to the Goths in return for guarantees of safety for Provence, soon to be proved worthless. Although Sidonius protested against this 'betrayal' with a passionate eloquence which still resonates, it is likely that his determination to hold out to the last against his former allies was motivated by the hope of brokering a better deal independently.

Dispatched by *Euric into internal *exile near Carcassone, Sidonius used contacts in *Aquitaine to regain the king's favour, proffering yet another panegyric, which celebrated Euric as the new protector of Roman security. Reinstated as bishop, Sidonius coexisted peacefully with the conquerors, more troubled, so it seems from *Gregory of *Tours, by nagging from his wife over his sale of the family *silver, and the subversive antics of contumacious clergy. In or soon after 481, he completed the ninth book of his letters. But unlike Pliny, his model, whose correspondence with Trajan was collected in his Book 10, Sidonius left no tenth book; perhaps a tacit reminder that letters could no longer be addressed to an emperor at Rome. JDH

PLRE II, Apollinaris 6.
PCBE IV/2, Sidonius 1.
HLL section 783.
CPL 986–7:
ed. C. Lütjohann (MGH Auct. Ant . 8, 1887).
ed. (with ET) W. B. Anderson, 2 vols. (LCL 433–4, 1936).
ET O. M. Dalton (annotated), *The Letters of Sidonius*, 2 vols. (1915).
S. Condorelli, *Il* poeta doctus *nel V secolo D.C, Aspetti della poetica di Sidonio Apollinare* (2008).
R. Gibson, 'Clarus Confirmed? Pliny Letters 1.1. and Sidonius Apollinaris', *CQ* 61 (2011), 655–9.
J. [D.] Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome* (1994).
Joop van Waarden, *Writing to Survive: A Commentary on Sidonius Apollinaris, Letters Book 7, Volume I, The Episcopal Letters 1–11* (2010).
J. A. van Waarden and G. Kelly, eds., *New Approaches to Sidonius Apollinaris* (LAHR 7, 2013).

siege warfare The siege and defence of fixed places demanded huge resources for the construction of fortifications, the supply of internal garrisons and besieging *armies, the concentration and organization of manpower, and the development of technology. As in most periods, sieges in Late Antiquity far outnumbered encounters in open battle. Theoretical Late Roman siege-craft is known from technical treatises covering assault, defence, and *artillery design (e.g. *Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 4.1–30). Numerous fortifications survive from the Roman and *Persian Empires, and descriptions of sieges by ancient historians (e.g. *Ammianus, *Zosimus, *Procopius, *Agathias, *Theophylact Simocatta) may be compared with the realities revealed through conflict landscape archaeology.

From the 3rd century AD Roman fortifications developed in the direction of greater defensive strength, in contrast to those of the early imperial period. Standing Hellenistic defences provided a basis for fortifications which featured tall curtain walls, sometimes with a forewall (Gk. *proteichisma*, as at *Constantinople). In front of such walls were wider, deeper, sometimes multiple ditches. They had multiple, large, projecting towers, designed primarily for troops firing missiles but

accommodating also artillery. Their *gateways were narrow and more heavily defended. Pre-existing defences were strengthened and numerous new fortresses constructed in this new style, particularly under the *Tetrarchy and under *Constantine I and his sons, with waves of building in the time of *Theodosius and *Justinian I, and beyond.

Besieged positions could be worn down by blockade or taken by subterfuge, treachery (as attempted at *Amida in 359: Ammianus, XIX, 5, 5–8), or incompetence on the part of the defenders (as with the monks of Amida in 503: Procopius, *Persian*, I, 7, 20–9). Assaults on fortifications could go over walls using ladders, wheeled wooden siege-towers, and ramps; they could go through them using rams and mines to cause breaches; and they could go under them, employing mine galleries. Vegetius discussed the use of penthouses, screens, and mantlets to protect besiegers as they worked, and counter-measures to disrupt them. Attackers employed artillery for accurate sniping, breaking in gates, or clearing wall-tops by removing parapets. Defenders sniped at enemy leaders and demolished screens and other wooden structures. Both employed fire-missiles amid a two-way blizzard of arrows, javelins, sling-projectiles, and thrown stones, intended to destroy structures and injure or drive back personnel. Metal components from such weapons have been recovered archaeologically from 3rd- to 5th-century frontier installations. Excavated siege sites of any period often yield numerous inorganic missiles and metal heads. Larger artefacts are less likely to have survived post-conflict collection and recycling, especially if occupation of a site was resumed after the siege. Thus numerous projectiles were found at *Dura Europus, but abandonment of the city after it was besieged by the Persians and captured in 256/7 makes the substantial finds of *arms and armour, shields, and other artefacts in the collapsed towers and siege-mines quite extraordinary.

Most of Rome's enemies posed little credible threat to Late Antique fortifications, yet the new defensive designs spread across the whole Empire, becoming characteristic of Roman military culture, from the projecting towers of tiny police posts up to the enclosure of great imperial capitals. Of course successful defence also depended upon the presence of an adequate garrison with determined morale and realistic hope of relief. The *Goths were not particularly successful in capturing well-garrisoned *cities after their victory at the Battle of *Adrianople in AD 378, whereas numerous centres, such as Naissus (*Niš) and *Aquileia, were sacked by the *Huns under *Attila in the mid-5th century.

Only the Persians really threatened Roman defences with assault, although it is unclear whether or not they generally used artillery. The archaeology at Dura-Europus amply demonstrates their capabilities, and may be compared with the assault on *Amida in 359, described by Ammianus Marcellinus (XIX 1–8). The *Ostrogothic siege of Rome in AD 537–8 did see barbarians employ mobile siege-towers, but without success (Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 18–23). Both Roman and Persian armies organized large numbers of troops or mobilized agricultural populations to move considerable quantities of soil and other material, filling ditches, building ramps, digging mines, or building contravallations and circumvallations (as in the 3rd-century siegeworks at *Cremna and Hatra). The Syrian–Mesopotamian theatre was the laboratory of fortification design and siege warfare in the Roman period, much as northern Italy and the Netherlands were in the wars of the Renaissance. Such places as Amida, *Dara, *Nisibis, and *Singara changed hands between the two empires over centuries of conflict. The *Chronicle* of *Joshua the Stylite, which describes in detail the Persian invasion of Roman *Mesopotamia at the beginning of the 6th century, gives perhaps the most vivid account from Late Antiquity of the effect of such siege warfare upon the civilian population who suffered it. JCNC

S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (1976).
C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (1986).
P. E. Chevedden in I. A. Corfis and M. Wolfe, eds., *The Medieval City Under Siege* (1995), 131–73.
H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe* (1996), 82–6.
J. C. N. Coulston, 'The Archaeology of Roman Conflict', in P. W. M. Freeman and A. Pollard, eds., *Fields of Conflict* (2001), 23–49.
J. C. N. Coulston, 'Military Equipment and the Archaeology of Roman Conflict', in S. Jilek, ed., *Archäologie der Schlachtfelder—Militaria aus Zerstörungshorizonten. Akten der ROMEC XIV, Wien, 27–31 August 2003* (2005), 19–32.
S. James, *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928–37, Final Report* VII: *The Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment* (2004).
Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 168–70, 206–8.
J. Levithan, *Roman Siege Warfare* (2013), 170–204.

Siffin, Battle of A series of minor skirmishes and one battle during the First *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*). The fighting took place around Siffin, a ruined Byzantine *village near al-Raqqa (*Callinicum), a few hundred yards from the Euphrates River, between *'Ali b. Abi Talib (*c.*597–660, r. 656–60) and *Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan (*c.*605–80, r. 661–80). The main clash is often said to have begun on 26 July 657 and to have continued for three days and nights, after which the conflict ceased and arbitration commenced. The arbitration failed to resolve the core issues at stake (punishing *'Uthman b. 'Affan's killers and resolving the dispute over leadership) and is seen as a

turning point in the fortunes of 'Ali, who was later assassinated by disaffected former supporters. AJD

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997), *s.v.* Siffin, 552–6 (Lecker).

al- Minqari, *Waq`at Siffin*, ed. M. Harun (²1962).

M. Hinds, 'The Siffin Arbitration Agreement', *JSS* 17 (1972), 93–129.

Sigibert I (535–75) *Frankish King from 561, the son of *Chlothar I, grandson of *Clovis. He inherited the north-eastern Frankish kingdom centred in the Rhineland and made a treaty with the *Avars. He married the *Visigothic Princess *Brunhild in *c.*566. He fought repeatedly with his brothers *Guntram and *Chilperic I, and in 575 his army killed Chilperic's son Theudebert. While besieging Chilperic at *Tournai, he was killed by assassins sent by *Fredegund, Chilperic's wife. He was succeeded by *Childebert II, his 5-year-old son. RVD

PLRE IIIB, Sigibertus I.

Sigibert II (602–13) *Frankish King of *Burgundy and *Austrasia (613). The eldest son of *Theuderic II, born of a *concubine. On his father's death, he became the final hope of the regime governed by his great-grandmother *Brunhild. She was overthrown in the same year by *Chlothar II, who ordered Sigibert and his brother Corbus executed (*Fredegar, *Chron*. IV, 40–2). ACM

PLRE IIIB, Sigibert II.

Sigibert III (629/30–56) *Frankish King from *c.*632. The son of *Dagobert I and Ragnetrude (*Fredegar IV, 59) or Nantechild (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 42), he was installed as King of *Austrasia by his father, and continued to rule that kingdom on Dagobert's death (Fredegar IV, 75–6). He was still a minor during the successful revolt of *Radulf of *Thuringia in 639, and the *Mayor of the Palace *Grimoald remained a dominant figure for much of his reign (Fredegar IV, 87). He adopted Grimoald's son *Childebert (the Adopted), but then produced an heir in *Dagobert II (**Liber Historiae Francorum*, 43). He supported the monastic foundations of *Remaclus, and corresponded with *Desiderius of Cahors (*ep.* I, 3–4; II, 9, 17). JHo; STL

PLRE IIIB, Sigibertus III.

LexMA 7, 1884 (P. George).

Sigibert the Lame (*fl.* late 5th–early 6th cent.) *Frankish King at *Cologne, known exclusively from *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 37, 40). Apparently a relative of *Clovis I, he was wounded in the knee in a battle against *Alamans at *Zülpich, and later murdered by his son Chloderic, who had assisted Clovis at the Battle of *Vouillé. After having Chloderic killed, Clovis took over Sigibert's kingdom. RVD

PLRE II, Sigibertus 'Claudus'.

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Sigibert von Köln, XXVIII (2005), 393–6 (M. Springer).

sigillata General term for Roman wheel-made fine *pottery, often decorated with images in relief (Lat. *sigilla*—'figurine'). It is characterized by a reddish, smooth, glossy-slipped surface. Decoration was formed using moulds, stamps, rouletting, or slip-applications (Fr. *barbotine*). JV

Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Atlante delle forme ceramiche romane, vols. 1–2 (1981, 1985).

Sigismund *Burgundian King (516–23). He succeeded his father *Gundobad, and also had the Roman title **patricius* (*Avitus, *ep.* 8). He was a pious Catholic even while his *Homoean ('*Arian') father was alive, and founded the *Monastery of *Agaune. In 522, he executed his son Sigiric, and became a monk in remorse. In 523, the *Franks invaded his kingdom, and he was captured by *Chlodomer and eventually killed (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* III, 5–6). His remains were removed to Agaune. Gregory of Tours included him in his *Glory of the Martyrs* (74); a *saint's life was written, probably in the early 8th century. Sigismund was the first medieval royal saint. EJ

PLRE II, Sigismundus.

PCBE IV/2, Sigismundus.

Passio S. Sigismundi (*BHL* 7717), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS. rer. Meroving. 2 (1888), 329–40.

signalling, military *Ammianus Marcellinus, who served in the *army in the mid-4th century, suggests that visual signals were taught to officers, while tactical signals were often transmitted by horns. The **Strategicon* of *Maurice in the 6th century also mentions the battlefield use of visual signals and musical instruments. There was occasional use of beacons for signalling (also used in the 9th cent. to send information to *Constantinople from the Arab–Byzantine *frontier), though these had a very limited range of messages and the Romans preferred to send couriers. HE

P. Pattenden, 'The Byzantine Early Warning System', *Byzantion* 53 (1983), 258–99.

signa militaria *See* STANDARDS, MILITARY.

silentiarii Ushers at the imperial *court, also used as imperial emissaries. They are first attested under *Constantius II. Legislation in 437 stipulated 30 staff, led by three **decuriones*. They were not *eunuchs but came under the overall charge of the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi. The best known of them was the poet *Paul the Silentiary. AGS

Jones, *LRE* 571–2.

Silentium A meeting of the *Consistorium (hence, the support staff in attendance were called **silentiarii*). From the 5th century onwards, legal cases on appeal were also heard before the *emperor at a session (Conventus) of the *Senate of *Constantinople (*NovMarc* 5.1.pr). In 537, the two were combined as *Silentium cum Conventu* (*NovJust* LXII, 1, 2). CMK

siliqua* and *half-siliqua Roman unit of weight and Late Roman denomination of *silver *coinage. A *siliqua* was 1/24 of a **solidus*, *c.*2.7 g (0.09 ounces) (*Isidore of *Seville, *Etymologiae*, XX, 16, 25). Numismatists use the term to describe an unnamed Late Roman silver coin, weighing 3.4–2.2 g, and its half-measure. RRD

Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage.*

siliquaticum Tax on sales, to be paid by both buyer and seller, introduced by *Valentinian III in 444/5 (*NovVal* 15) corresponding to 1/24 of a **solidus* (i.e. 1 *siliqua*). Despite difficulties in its collection, the tax was still imposed in 6th-century *Italy (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IV, 19, 2). RM

Jones, *LRE* 205, 351, and 432 (Valentinian III), 254 and 826 (Ostrogoths), 435 (collection).

Hendy, *Studies.*

silk and silk trade Silk (Lat. *sericum*, Gk. *sericon*) was the most highly prized *textile fibre of Antiquity. It is extruded as a double filament by a silk moth caterpillar when constructing its cocoon. By Late Antiquity, the 'Coan' industry based on the wild silk moth of the eastern Mediterranean region, *Pachypasa otus*, had ceased to exist; all Roman silk came from the domesticated *Bombyx mori*, reared exclusively in *China, whence the yarn had to be imported at great cost.

While wild silk is discontinuous and has to be spun, up to 1,300 m (4,260 feet) of *Bombyx* silk can be reeled straight from the cocoon. Roman weavers gave some twist to warp yarn, but they often left weft yarn unspun. Silk's natural sheen made it particularly suitable for complex weaves with overall repeat patterns such as monochrome damask and polychrome weft-faced compound tabby (*taqueté*). After the 4th century, the more advanced compound, twill (samite), dominated. Silk tunics were still woven on a wide vertical loom, but with special arrangements for opening multiple sheds. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of 301 lists not only *purple dyed silk yarn (Gk. *metaxa*), but shirts and tunics wholly (Lat. *holoserica*) or partly (Lat. *subserica*) of silk.

*Ivory *diptychs frequently depict shirts, tunics, cloaks, and *togas with overall patterns, presumably of silk, as do 6th-century *mosaics. Archaeological finds confirm the widespread use of silk clothing by the wealthy, decorated with purple wool and spun gold **segmenta*. *Emperors, however, made repeated, if vain, attempts to confine use of the most highly decorative silks to the *court (*CTh* X, 21, 1; X, 21, 3; XV, 7, 11). They ordained that silk clothing in that category should only be made in their own official **gynaecea*, ultimately located in the *palace complex in *Constantinople: *Procopius reports on earlier workshops in *Beirut and *Tyre (*Anecd.* 25, 14).

The *Sasanians maintained a monopoly on the silk trade. Their silk textiles were highly prized and ornamental patterns copied both in the Roman Empire and in *Central Asia. A Roman law of 383/92 (*CJust* IV, 40, 2) empowered the *Comes Commerciorum per Orientem to buy up all silk yarn brought over the frontier from the *Persian Empire. In 553–4, however, *Bombyx mori* eggs reached Constantinople, supposedly smuggled by monks (Procopius, *Gothic*, IV, 17), and it was possible to inaugurate sericulture (and cultivation of the white mulberry on which the silkworm necessarily depends) in the Roman Empire. Even after this, the Romans still imported a great deal of silk and the Persians maintained their monopoly despite attempts by Türko-*Sogdian diplomats, such as *Maniakh, to trade directly with the Romans. JPW

EncIran I/3 (1983) *s.n. abrīšam*, 229–47 (W. Eilers, M. Bazin, C. Bromberger, and D. Thompson).

L. Boulnois, *Silk Road: Monks, Warriors & Merchants on the Silk Road*, tr. H. Loveday (2004; French tr. 2001).

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 205–8.

R. S. Lopez, 'Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum* 20 (1945), 1–42.

A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, ed. E. Kislinger and J. Koder (1997).

Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 195–204.

Y. Tazima, 'Silkworm Moths', in I. L. Mason, ed., *Evolution of Domesticated Animals* (1984), 416–24.

Silko Powerful chieftain of the *Nobades, who records three victories over *Blemmyes in a *Greek *inscription from the *Temple of Mandulis at *Kalabsha (*Sammelbuch*, V, 8536) now known to date to the 5th century on the basis of a *papyrus from *Qasr Ibrim (*Sammelbuch*, XIV, 11957). JHFD

Dijkstra, *Philae*, 160–6.

Silk Road Term coined by Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905) to describe the network of trade routes connecting *China with the Mediterranean via *Central Asia, reflecting the importance of *silk in transcontinental trade during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. However, many other commodities—*carpets, *textiles, *horses, slaves, *glass, jade, *leather, wool, paper, spices, cast *iron, and precious *stones—as well as art, technology, *philosophy, and religion, travelled along these trade routes. Trade between China and the *Tarim basin began *c.*1200 BC and the first Chinese diplomatic

mission to *Farghana, *Sogdiana, and *Bactria, under Zhang Qian (Chang Ch'ien), was in 128–126 BC. Chinese–Parthian trade along the Silk Road started in 106 BC; thereafter, Roman and Chinese goods generally had to pass through Persia before reaching opposite ends of the Silk Road.

The eastern terminus of the Silk Road was Chang'an (Xi'an), from which the route led westward through the Gansu (or Hexi) Corridor to Anxi, where it split into two branches. The northern route led through Hami, *Turfan, and the Ili Valley to Issyk-Köl, where it branched south to *Chach (Tashkent) or continued north-westerly into the steppe, eventually passing north of the Caspian Sea. The other branch from Anxi led south-west, dividing again at Yumenguan (the Jade Gate), just past *Dunhuang. The southern branch skirted the edge of the Taklamakan Desert, through the oases of Miran, Niya, *Khotan, and Yarkand to *Kashgar. The middle branch headed west from Yumenguan through Loulan to Korla, in the shadow of the Tien Shan range. There, joined by a connecting route from Turfan and Qarashahr to the north-east, it turned south-west, following the northern edge of the Taklamakan, through the oases of Kucha and Aqsu to Kashgar, where it rejoined the southern branch.

Other branches of the Silk Road connected Central Asia to surrounding regions. Leading south from Yarkand through the Karakorum to *India was an important route used by traders and *Buddhist pilgrims. Meanwhile, at Kashgar, two routes led either north-west through the Farghana Valley or south-west to *Balkh. From Farghana, one could turn north to Chach and the steppe beyond or south to *Samarkand, *Bukhara, and *Merv. From Balkh, routes led west to Merv or south-east into India. Once in Iranian territory, the route headed steadily westward through Meshed, *Nishapur, *Rayy, *Hamadan, and Seleucia-*Ctesiphon (and later Baghdad). Western termini included *Damascus, *Tyre, *Aleppo, *Antioch, *Trebizond, and *Constantinople.

Initially, most trade between China and Persia was controlled by the *Sogdians, that between India and Central Asia by the *Bactrians. After the spread of *Islam, *Arabs and Persians became more involved in Silk Road trade. Although the *Sogdian language was the *lingua franca* throughout much of the network, many other languages were also spoken by traders, pilgrims, and residents of *cities *en route*, including *Arabic, *Bactrian, Chinese, *Khotanese, *Persian, Sanskrit, Tibetan, *Tocharian, and *Uighur Turkic. Few would have navigated the entire route before Mongol times; traders, pilgrims, and other travellers usually only travelled along certain sections of the network. *Buddhism, Christianity, *Manichaeism, and Islam all spread along the Silk Road, as did technology, notably silk production (after monks from 'Serinda'—probably *Khotan—told the *Emperor *Justinian I the secret *c.*550) and paper-making (after Chinese paper makers were captured by the Muslims following the Battle of *Talas in 751). MLD

K. M. Baipakov in *HCCA* IV(2), 221–6.
I. M. Franck and D. M. Brownstone, *The Silk Road: A History* (1986).
V. Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (2012).
W. Watson in *CambHistIran* III, 537–58.
S. Whitfield, *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (2004).
F. Wood, *The Silk Road: Two Thousand Years in the Heart of Asia* (2003).
E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (1963).

Silva Carbonaria (Lat. Charcoal Forest) Substantial forest extending from the modern forest of Soignes (Brussels) in the north to the vicinity of the *monastery of Lobbes on the Sambre in the south, forming the boundary between the Roman *provinces of *Belgica Secunda and *Germania Secunda and later between the *Merovingian kingdoms of *Neustria and *Austrasia. *Lex Salica (47, 1, 3) did not apply east of the forest. It appears in various sources between 388 and the 12th century, particularly in accounts of conflicts between Austrasia and Neustria such as the battles of *Tertry (687) and *Vinchy (717). ADier

U. Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus in Niederlothringen. Untersuchungen zur politischen Raumgliederung im frühen Mittelalter* (1983), 226–39.
R. Noël, 'Deux grandes forêts du nord de la Gaule franque: la *Silua Arduenna* et la *Carbonaria*', in M. Rouche, ed., *Clovis: histoire et mémoire* (1997), vol. 1, 631–69.

Silvan *See* MARTYROPOLIS.

Silvanus General of *Frankish descent in Roman service, Silvanus deserted the *usurper *Magnentius to side with *Constantius II before the Battle of *Mursa in 351. In 355, exploiting doubts about his loyalty, the courtiers of Constantius II accused him of plotting usurpation. Tricked by an embassy headed by *Ursicinus, he fled for sanctuary to a Christian chapel, but was executed soon after (*Ammianus, XV, 5). JDH

PLRE 1 Silvanus 2.
J. Drinkwater, 'Silvanus, Ursicinus and Ammianus: Fact or Fiction', in C. Deroux, ed., *Latin Literature and Roman History* 7 (Collection Latomus 227, 1994), 568–76.

silver (Lat. *argentum*, Gk. ἄργυρος) Argentiferous lodes were worked south of the Danube in the 3rd century, possibly in *Thrace (at Mount Pangaion) in the 6th century, and at Thoriskos, where oil *lamps

attest mining works in the 5th/6th century. At Laurium slag from the older silver *mines was re-smelted. Further silver mining operations are documented in the Bolkardağ district in *Anatolia. After the collapse of Roman rule in the West, the *Visigoths may have exploited silver mines in *Spain (Sotiel Coronado). As early as the 7th century and during the Carolingian period silver ore was extracted at Melle, Kremnitz, and Schemnitz in German Saxony. Silver was possibly mined by the *Sasanians in *Yemen and in *Najd on the *Arabian Peninsula, according to al-Hamdānī, a geographer of the 10th century AD.

In the Later Roman Empire, part of the silver mined or collected under the **collatio lustralis* (until 372; *Zosimus, II, 38, 2; *CTh* XII, 1, 50; XIII, 1) was handed out to soldiers, high officials, and friends of the *emperor as *donatives on special occasions (e.g. imperial *accession, *anniversaries, emperor's **natalis*). Silver was issued as *coinage, medallions, ingots, or luxurious wares, possibly under the supervision of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. While some silver ingots were produced in private contexts, the weight (1 Roman pound) and shape of some ingots, along with *silver stamps and *inscriptions, indicate a varying degree of state involvement in their production at sites such as *Niš or *Trier (often, but not necessarily, imperial *mints). A few ingots have been discovered outside Roman territory (e.g. Balline and Ballinrees in *Ireland, Dierstorf in Lower Saxony).

From such ingots, plates and other items were produced by silversmiths, by hammering. Late Roman silverware (plates, bowls, cups, spoons, *lamps, caskets, etc.) has been discovered in numerous deposits throughout Europe and the eastern Mediterranean (e.g. *Kaiseraugst in Switzerland, *Mildenhall in England, *Kaper Koraon in Syria). Some treasures come from private contexts, assembled perhaps over generations as with the *Esquiline Treasure, or consisted of cult items given to churches (chalices, censers, *crosses, etc.). Silverware from the *Persian Empire is attested for the 4th to 6th centuries, mostly displaying the image of the King of Kings.

Silversmiths (*see ARGENTARIUS*) were exempted from state burdens in 337 (*CTh* XIII, 4, 2) but were barred from honorary office (*CJust* XII, 57, 12 of 436). From *papyri we learn that silversmiths in Late Roman *Egypt were obliged to report their *prices (P.Oxy. 3642 of 359). AMH

Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA s.v.* mining, 579 (J. C. Edmondson).
*RGA*2 *s.v.* Silber, vol. 28 (2005), 428–32 (A. Hauptmann).
K.-P. Matschke 'Mining', in *EHB* I, 115–20.
M. K. Papathanassiou, 'Metallurgy and Metalworking Techniques', in *EHB* I, 121–7.
Delmaire, *Largesses.*
J. C. Edmondson, 'Mining in the Later Roman Empire and beyond: Continuity or Disruption?', *JRS* 79 (1989), 84–102.
P. O. Harper, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period* (1981).
Leader-Newby, *Silver.*
R. Wiegels, *Silberbarren der ro mischen Kaiserzeit. Katalog und Versuch einer Deutung* (2003).

silver, liturgical, Christian Late Antique *silver decorated with Christian emblems, scenes, and *inscriptions survives from hoards deriving from church treasuries. Collections vary in size from the 56 pieces of the *Kaper Koraon Treasure to the single 7th-century plate whose inscription identifies it as 'treasure of the most holy church of Sarabaon'. Most have come to notice by way of the antiquities market rather than through scholarly excavation, so information about context and the correct grouping of objects is often scarce (*see* KAPER KORAON TREASURE). The liturgical function of silver pieces in collections is usually confirmed by dedicatory inscriptions and/or the presence of Christian *iconography or symbolism. Where these are absent a domestic function is assumed, as happened with the *Canoscio Treasure until a votive inscription was identified.

The principal items of silverware employed in the Christian *liturgy were the plate called the paten, the chalice (Gk. *poterion*), and the liturgical fan (Lat. *flabellum*, Gk. *rhipidion*). Also commonly found are *crosses and spoons, and, more rarely, *pyxides* (small boxes), ewers, bowls, strainers, censers, *lamps, lamp-stands, *polycandela* (chandeliers), *book-covers, plaques or revetments (*see* KUMLUCA TREASURE), and *reliquaries.

The function of these objects in the *Eucharist is sometimes debated. Patens and chalices held the eucharistic gifts and spoons were used in administering Holy Communion. Silver fans may have repelled flies and *demons or represented the wings of *angels (Hunter-Crawley; Safran). Crosses may have been displayed by the *altar or carried in *procession and used in blessing. R. Taft has debated the purpose of liturgical spoons, which may have functioned in coordination with ewers, bowls, strainers, and *pyxides* in preparation, distribution, and storage of the Communion Elements. Censers, lamps, and stands fostered appropriate reverence during the liturgy, while plaques and revetments enhanced the appearance of the church interior, particularly around the altar.

Usage may have changed over time; for example, the 6th-century *Riha and *Stuma fans are the earliest silver pairs to survive, indicating development from the use of feather or cloth fans. This illustrates the increased use of silver for liturgical purposes from the 5th century onwards. Collections also accumulated over decades or centuries, and objects were recycled from domestic contexts (such as the mirror in the *Antioch Treasure), or

from other localities (such as the Byzantine Čaginkom cross of *c.*547 whose inscriptions indicate later Armenian use). The majority of extant liturgical silverware derives from Turkey and *Syria, or, less commonly, from *Italy, *Greece, or northern Europe, and carries strong indication of manufacture in the eastern provinces, which suggests a particular preference for silverware in the eastern liturgy. HAHC

Boyd and Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate.*

B. Caseau, 'Objects in Churches: The Testimony of Inventories', in Lavan et al., *Objects in Context*, 551–79.

E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern 9, 1974).

E. C. Dodd, 'Three Early Byzantine Silver Crosses', *DOP* 41 (1987), 165–79.

Baratte and Duval, *Argenterie*.

Leader-Newby, *Silver*.

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*.

H. Hunter-Crawley, 'Embodying the Divine: The Sensational Experience of the Sixth-Century Eucharist', in J. Day, ed., *Making Senses of the Past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology* (2013), 160–76.

L. Safran, 'Art in the Service of the Liturgy: Byzantine Silver Plate', in S. Boyd. ed., *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium* (1998), 152–85.

R. Taft, 'Byzantine Communion Spoons: A Review of the Evidence', *DOP* 50 (1996), 209–38.

Age of Spirituality, 592–639.

silver, Persian (MP *asēm*) *Silver provided the *Persian Empire's primary currency and was supplied by several productive mines in the empire such as that at Al-Radrad, Yemen. It was also favoured for a wide variety of luxury silver vessels.

Much like *textiles, Sasanian silver made a deep impact on Eurasia, yet the study of both is problematic. The vast majority of known Sasanian silver vessels have come from clandestine excavations and lack archaeological context, or even a securely identified find spot. Much silver in European and American museum collections reportedly came from the Caucasus, Urals, the northern Black Sea, *Anatolia, and Iran.

Without archaeological context, past scholarship has classified the vessels according to their shapes, technique of manufacture, and metrology. Criteria for dating often rest entirely on formal analysis and, when kings appear, correspondences with royal portraits on *coinage and *rock reliefs.

The most abundant object-types were created for the preparation and consumption of *wine. Characteristic forms include animal-protome rhyta, teardrop ewers, and oval bowls, often with multiple lobes. The other major class of objects comprises decorative (or 'diplomatic') plates. These served a roughly similar purpose to Roman **missoria*, that is to say they were given as *gifts within and beyond the Empire. These portray *kings *hunting or (to a lesser extent), enthroned, or banqueting.

The most elaborate vessels carry elaborate ornamental and figural decoration often created by soldering several components. Many carry short *inscriptions in Pahlavi pecked into their feet with weight or, less commonly, ownership, or a dedication. Details are often incised and accented with *gold or niello.

Sasanian silver vessel types, such as the teardrop ewer or multi-lobed dish, were consumed, represented, or copied as far afield as Rome, *Bactria, *Sogdiana, north India, Türkic *Central Asia, Tibet, Silla Korea, Sui-Tang *China, and Nara Japan. In addition, a sizeable body of post-Sasanian metalwork copying Persian shapes and iconographies flourished in Iran after the *Arab conquest, as surviving local gentry from the **dehqān* class cultivated the traditions of the fallen empire. However, without provenance, often little more than stylistic classification has led to an object being deemed 'late Sasanian' or 'post-Sasanian'. MPC

M. Compareti, 'Iranian Elements in Kaśmīr and Tibet', *Transoxiana* 14 (2009), <http://www.transoxiana.com.ar/>.

P. O. Harper, 'A Gilded Silver Vessel', in L. al-Galaini Werr et al., eds., *Of Pots and Pans* (2002), 113–27.

P. O. Harper, 'Evidence for the Existence of State Controls in the Production of Sasanian Silver Vessels', in Boyd and Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 147–53.

P. O. Harper, 'Sasanian Silver', in *CambHistIran* III, 1113–29.

P.O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire* (1978).

P. O. Harper and B. Marshak, 'La Vaisselle en argent', in F. Demange, ed., *Les Perses sassanides* (2006), 69–80.

P. O. Harper and P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period* (1981).

M. Mundell Mango, 'Byzantine, Sasanian, and Central Asian Silver', in C. Bálint, ed., *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.–7. Jahrhundert* (2000), 267–84.

A. Péli and F. Téreygeol, 'Al-Radrad (al-Jabali): A Yemeni Silver Mine', *ProcSemArabSt* 37 (2007), 187–200.

silver, secular, Roman Considerable hoards of Late Antique domestic plate have been found, particularly in *Britain, *Italy, France, Germany, *Cyprus, and southern Russia, sometimes as 'hack silver', dismantled in preparation for the melting pot (e.g. the *Traprain Law Treasure from Scotland and the Balline Hoard from Co. Limerick, Ireland).

The presence of *pagan scenes and themes, and the absence of Christian *iconography, symbols, or *inscriptions, does not preclude the possibility that silverware was used by Christians. Pagan and Christian motifs are sometimes combined, for example on the spoons of the *Thetford Treasure, so identification requires caution. In fact, much pagan subject matter

began to lose overt religious significance during Late Antiquity, and came to be regarded as merely secular, while remaining integral to moral and cultural education, or *paideia*, in ways outlined by *Basil in his *Address to Young Men on the Uses of Classical Literature.* Scenes from classical *myth (particularly featuring *Dionysius) and *hunting scenes (e.g. *Meleager in the *Sevso Treasure) were popular, alongside *foliage, *animal, and geometric motifs.

Finds of secular silver include such table silver as plates and dishes, ewers, spoons and cutlery, bowls, buckets, cups, and saucepans. The *Hoxne Hoard preserves rare examples of *piperatoria*, or pepper pots. Other finds include flasks, *mirrors, cosmetic pots, and other forms of toilet silver, *jewellery, and very occasionally *furniture, for instance *lamps and stands, revetments, and ornaments.

Characteristic of Late Roman table silver was the use of beaded edging, high feet with ball stems, openwork, chasing, gilding, relief work, and niello (silver sulphide) decoration, which had just come into use. Silver drinking cups declined in popularity in Late Antiquity, though they adopted new styles, such as *glass encased in openwork silver. Saucepans continued to be popular; their handles, elaborately decorated and shaped, often featured pagan deities and motifs. Dishes, like the *Anastasius I charger from *Sutton Hoo, became much larger—some were as much as 60 cm (*c.*2 feet) across. Angular shapes became fashionable from the 4th century, leading to a new style of rectangular tray, the *lanx* (*see* CORBRIDGE LANX). Framing friezes were popular, combined with central medallions (the *Sevso Treasure's Hunting Dish is a fine example). Picture dishes are also characteristic of Late Antiquity, featuring large scenes spread across the interior surface (such as the *Mildenhall Treasure's Oceanus dish, and the David Plates from the *Cyprus Treasures). From the 3rd century, there developed fluted, scalloped, and flanged bowls which could be used to serve food, or for hand washing. Elongated spoons, and bowls offset from their handles by embellished junctions, became fashionable, and a new type of bowl emerged featuring a short, looped handle modelled as a swan's neck. Jugs and flasks became elongated, with ovoid bodies, and elaborately decorated.

Finds of toilet silver are rare for this period. The large and elaborate Projecta Casket from the *Esquiline Treasure is a magnificent example, but it is also unique. Mirrors were fitted with grips on the back, rather than stem handles. Cosmetic pots and implements are sometimes found, including *pyxides*, though these were more usually made of *ivory. HAHC

Baratte and Duval, *Argenterie*.
R. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, vol. 3: *Late Roman and Byzantine Silver* (1983).
Kent and Painter, *Wealth of the Roman World*.
Leader-Newby, *Silver*.
Mango and Bennett, *Sevso Treasure*.
K. S. Painter, *The Mildenhall Treasure: Roman Silver from East Anglia* (1977).
Strong, *Plate.*

silver in coinage In comparison with its role in earlier Roman monetary systems, *silver lost importance in Late Antiquity. The author of the *Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis* suggested a monetary reform but the illustrations accompanying the work do not include silver.

Nonetheless silver coins were continuously minted throughout the entire period.

*Diocletian reintroduced in 294 a pure silver coin of 1/96 pounds, with a value of 50 **denarii*, increased from 301 onwards to 100. *Constantine I added two more denominations (1/60 and 1/72 pounds). In 348 minting was reduced to only one silver coin, weighing 1/144 or 1/156 pounds, which was produced in great amounts. Probably in 387, *Magnus Maximus again reduced the weight to 1/216 pounds, which in the course of the 5th century (maybe in 411) changed to 1/288.

In a context in which *gold and divisional coinage circulated separately and did not have a fixed exchange ratio, but the price of gold fluctuated continuously, silver coinage was at different times rated in relation to one of the other two existing systems. Under Diocletian it would appear to have had a nominal overevaluation and was in a fixed exchange ratio with the divisional coinage, as the Currency *Edict of *Aphrodisias shows. At the end of the 4th century on the other hand, maybe starting with *Valentinian I, silver was exchanged for its intrinsic value and had a fixed exchange ratio with gold (1:14.4), as is attested both by *papyri from *Egypt and also by imperial legislation (*CTh* XIII, 2, 1). In the 6th century, however, the introduction of new silver coins marked with their nominal value (250, 125 *nummi*) indicates a new coupling to the divisional system. FC

F. Carlà, 'Il sistema monetario in età tardoantica: spunti per una revisione', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 53 (2007), 155–218.
P. Grierson, 'The Role of Silver in the Early Byzantine Economy', in Boyd and Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate* 137–46.
G. Mickwitz, *Die Systeme des römischen Silbergeldes im IV. Jhdt. n. Chr.* (1933).

silver stamps An imperial system for assuring the quality and weight of metal in the manufacture of certain *silver vessels. It developed in the 5th century, under *Anastasius I, and continued into the 7th, under *Constans II. Control stamps were usually applied to the back of a vessel after it was formed but before it was

decorated, as can be seen on two 7th-century plates from Klimova (*see* PERM TREASURES). The system involved a set of (usually) five stamps, of triangular, hexagonal, square, cruciform, round, or oblong shape, which incorporated imperial portraits and the monograms of *emperors and officials (the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum or subordinates). These enable vessels to be dated, sometimes with precision. The system probably operated in *Constantinople, although surviving vessels derive from elsewhere (e.g. *Cyprus, *Sutton Hoo). Unusual stamps on some vessels suggest competing or imitative systems based elsewhere. HAHC

Boyd and Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate*, 203–28.

E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps, with an excursus on the Comes Sacrarum Largitionum by J.P.C. Kent* (DOS 7, 1961), with supplements by E.C. Dodd in *DOP* 18 (1964), 237–48, and *DOP* 22 (1968), 141–9.

D. Feissel, 'Le Préfet de Constantinople, les poids étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VIe et au VIIe s.', *RevNum* 6/28 (1986), 119–42.

L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike. Studien auf Grund der Silbergefässe der Ermitage* (1929).

Simplicius (*c.*490–*c.*560) *Neoplatonic *philosopher from *Cilicia who studied in *Alexandria under *Ammonius and later in *Athens under *Damascius. He joined Damascius and other Athenian colleagues when they migrated to the *Persian Empire in 531 and returned with them in 532. He composed surviving commentaries on Aristotle's *De Caelo*, *Physica*, *De Anima*, and *Categories* as well as one on the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus. The Aristotelian commentaries are notable for their abundant use of quotations from pre-Socratic philosophers. The *Enchiridion* commentary includes a discussion of the appropriate political responses philosophers should have to tyranny. This provides a possible philosophical justification for his own flight to Persia. He was a *pagan and argued against *John Philoponus. EW

PLRE IIIB, Simplicius 1.

Commentary on Epictetus, ed. F. Dübner in his *Theophrasti Characteres etc.* (1840), ET T. Brennan and C. Brittain, 4 vols. (2002–14).

Against Philoponus On the Eternity of the World: ET D. Furley, and C. Wildberg in *Corollaries on Place and Void* (AncCommAristotle, 1991).

ET J. O. Urmson with L. Siorvanes, *Corollaries on Place and Time* (AncCommAristotle, 2014).

COMMENTARIES ON ARISTOTLE

De Caelo, ed. I. L. Heiberg (CAG VII, 1894), ET R. J. Hankinson and I. Mueller, 21 vols. (AncCommAristotle, 2001–14).

Metaphysics: ET J. Dillon, D. O'Meara, et al., 4 vols. (AncCommAristotle, 2007–14).

Physica, ed. H. Diels (CAG IX–X, 1882–95), ET P. M. Huby, J. O. Urmson, et al., 21 vols. (AncCommAristotle, 1989–2014).

Categories, ed. C. Kalbfleisch (CAG VIII, 1907), ET M. Chase et al., 8 vols. (AncCommAristotle, 2000–14).

De Anima, ed. M. Hayduck (CAG XI, 1882), ET J. O. Urmson, C. Steel, and H. J. Blumehnthal, 4 vols. (1995–2014).

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Ilsetraut Hadot, ed., *Simplicius, sa vie, son œuvre, sa survie* (1987).

H. Baltussen, *Philosophy and Exegesis in Simplicius: The Methodology of a Commentator* (2008).

Sinai, Monastery of Mount Fortified monastic complex founded by the *Emperor *Justinian I between 548 and 565 (attested by *Procopius and *in situ* *inscriptions) at the purported site of the Burning Bush in the valley (Wadi ed-Deir), below the peak associated with the biblical Mount Sinai (Jebel Musa). *Egeria's travel account attests to the presence of a monastic community and churches at the Burning Bush and mountaintop sites as early as the 380s, and remains of pre-Justinianic structures have been documented at both locations. The *monastery became an increasingly important spiritual and administrative centre in the late 6th and 7th centuries, with the dramatic expansion of *pilgrimage to the site, the writing of the influential ascetic guide, the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by *John Climacus, abbot of the monastery, and the transfer of the episcopal see of *Pharan to the monastery. In the 11th or 12th century a building opposite the church entrance was converted to a *mosque (paralleling the roughly contemporary construction of a new mosque on the mountain peak), and by the late 12th century the *relics of S. Catherine of *Alexandria were venerated at the monastery. The monastery remains in the Patriarchate of *Jerusalem and is today home to an active community of Greek Orthodox monks and local Bedouin. It is visited by thousands of tourists each year, and its holdings have been the subject of recent intensive conservation and digitization campaigns.

Architecture and decoration

The massive, extant square fortifications of the 6th century enclose an area of approximately 6,030 square metres (*c.*1.5 acres). Later construction complicates our knowledge of the monastery's original plan, but it appears that chambers built against the interior of the wall circuit served as monks' quarters, dining halls, storerooms, and pilgrims' *hostels. At the centre of the enclosure, at the lowest elevation of the complex, stands the 6th-century *basilica church composed of a nave and two aisles that culminate in two chapels flanking the sanctuary. Sometime after the original

construction, a *narthex was added, narrow side chambers to either side of the aisles were subdivided into chapels, and the site of the Burning Bush was enclosed in a chapel behind the apse.

Many of the church's 6th- to 7th-century elements remain *in situ*, including the central wooden *door leading from the narthex, decorated and inscribed wooden ceiling trusses, stone columns and *capitals, two encaustic paintings on the *marble wall revetment of the pilasters to either side of the sanctuary (the Sacrifice of Isaac on the left and the Sacrifice of Jephtha's Daughter on the right), and the *mosaics of the *apse conch and triumphal arch wall.

The mosaics are especially significant due to their high quality and excellent preservation. They depict within the apse an image of the Transfiguration with a radiant figure of Christ appearing to the apostles Peter, James, and John flanked by the prophets Elijah and Moses. The central scene is framed by a chain of inscribed medallions of prophets and apostles with additional medallions on the vertical axis (a golden *cross above and King David below) and, at the corners, two contemporary monks thought to be the mosaic's *donors. On the wall above, on either side of two small *windows, are two scenes from the story of Moses set within the local *landscape: to the left Moses before the Burning Bush, and to the right his reception of the Tablets of the Law from the *Hand of God. In the spandrels below appear two flying *angels bearing sceptres and orbs to a medallion of the Lamb of God and two uninscribed roundels bearing images thought to depict S. John the Baptist and the Virgin *Mary.

Significant later decorations include 13th- and 16th-century murals in the refectory, Fatimid-era wooden doors to the basilica's narthex, and the church's 17th-century iconostasis.

Treasury and library

The monastery also houses a very important collection of over 2,000 *icons, including two dozen rare examples dated to the 7th century and earlier which escaped destruction during the *Iconoclast Controversy during which time the monastery was no longer under Byzantine control. In addition, the *library houses some 3,300 manuscripts, among the most famous of which are the illuminated manuscripts of *Cosmas Indicopleustes (Sinai 1186) and John Climacus (Sinai 275 and 418), and formerly the 4th-century biblical manuscript known as Codex Sinaiticus, now divided between London, Leipzig, S. Petersburg, and Sinai. The monastery also preserves an important collection of *papyri, a number of which date from the 6th or beginning of the 7th century and record accounts or concern legal problems from the monastery's early history. Many of the manuscripts and icons entered the monastery as gifts, and though earlier evidence is not definitive, it appears certain that there was a scriptorium at the monastery from at least the 10th century. AY

D. F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* (2010).

S. Coleman and J. Elsner, 'The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai', *World Archaeology* 26/1 (1994), 73–89.

G. H. Forsyth, 'The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian', *DOP* 22 (1968), 1–19.

G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzman, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian* (1973).

S. E. J. Gerstel and R. S. Nelson, eds., *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai* (2010).

P. Grossmann, 'Neue baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen im Katharinenkloster im Sinai', *ArchAnz* 3 (1988), 543–58.

K. Manafis, ed., *Sinai: The Treasures of the Monastery* (1990).

R. S. Nelson and K. M. Collins, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (2006).

I. Ševčenko, 'Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in Light of its Inscriptions', *DOP* 20 (1966), 255–64.

A. M. Yasin, 'Space and Place: Experiencing Sinai's Monastic Landscape', in K. Kourelis and W. R. Caraher, eds., *Beyond Icons: Method and Theory in Byzantine Archaeology* (forthcoming).

The website <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/> includes a facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus.

Sinai Peninsula Triangular desert peninsula that at its northern, Mediterranean end connects *Egypt to the Negev and the *Holy Land. It is bordered on the west by the Gulf of Suez, on the east by the Gulf of Aqaba, and on the south by the Red Sea. The peninsula's southern tip is a forbidding mountainous landscape punctuated by holy sites associated with the Israelites' journey out of Egypt and God's revelation to Moses, and so traversed devoutly by such pilgrims as *Egeria (1–5). In the 5th–7th centuries the region became an important place of *pilgrimage and the location of many *monasteries, including *Raithu and the walled Monastery of Mount *Sinai, famous for its *mosaics, its manuscripts, and for its abbot, *John Climacus, author of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*. *John Moschus also spent time in the region visiting monasteries and included ascetic tales from here in his book *The Spiritual Meadow*. AY

D. F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* (2010).

U. Dahari, *Monastic Settlements in South Sinai in the Byzantine Period: The Archaeological Remains* (2000).

R. Devreesse, 'Le Christianisme dans la peninsula sinaïtique, des origins a l'arrivée des musulmans', *Revue Biblique* 49 (1940), 205–23.

I. Finkelstien, 'Byzantine Monastic Remains in the Southern Sinai', *DOP* 39 (1985), 39–75.
Y. Tsafrir, 'Monks and Monasteries in Southern Sinai', in Y. Tsafrir, ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed* (1993), 315–33.

Sind A province (MP *snd*), probably along the lower Indus River, administered in the late *Sasanian period by a governor (MP *ostandar*) and tax-collector (MP *amargar*) attested in *seal legends. According to the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*ŠKZ* §3, 11), Hindestan was part of *Shapur I's empire and *Tabari says that Shapur built cities in Sind and Sistan (*Sagastan). The absence of the name in *Kerdir's *inscriptions suggests that the province had been lost by the reign of *Bahram II. If this were true, it could explain why *Bahram V, according to Tabari, made an expedition to *India where an unnamed king gave him his daughter in marriage along with the port of al-Daybul (*Banbhore), Makran, and parts of Sind. The Indian King then made certain that the land tax from these regions would be paid to Bahram. Tabari also lists Sind amongst the provinces lost to other kings that were regained by *Khosrow I. A reference to the Sindis in *Khosrow II's conversation with a *Himyarite envoy suggests that Sind was no longer part of the Sasanian empire during his reign. DTP

*Tabari, V, XXIII.
R. Gyselen, *Géographie administrative de l'empire Sasanide* (1989), 65.
P. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardus (ŠKZ)*(1999), vol. 2, 32.

Singara (mod. Sinjar, northern Iraq) Jebel Sinjar is a mountain massif on the Roman–Persian *frontier, first occupied as a fortified outpost by the Romans in 114–17 (Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 22). The *city of Singara lay on the southern slope of the mountain. Its remote position, *c.*90 km (*c.*56 miles) south-south-east of the border *city of *Nisibis, made it a stopping point on the cross-desert road from the Khabur to the Tigris. Remains of the South Gate and some recognizably Roman bastions in the city walls, which were in some places 3 m (10 feet) thick, as well as the remains of a defensive ditch in parts 15 m (50 feet) across and 3 m deep, were still to be seen in the mid-20th century.

*Shapur I does not list Singara among his conquests on the **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, in the 3rd century, but fighting around the city between the armies of *Shapur II and *Constantius II included at least three battles (*Festus, *Breviarium*, 27, cf. *Ammianus, XIX, 2, 8). A famous battle in 343/4 or 348 turned into a bloody nocturnal pursuit by the Romans (Ammianus, XVIII, 5, 7), described with more artistry than clarity by *Libanius (*Oration*, 59, 100–20) and *Julian the Apostate (*Oration*, I, 23A–25B). In 360 a Persian battering-ram penetrated the stonework of a tower whose mortar was damp from recent repairs and Shapur ordered the the city's population into exile in the *Persian Empire (Ammianus, XX, 6). *Jovian handed Singara to the Persians in the treaty of 364, and it remained a Persian stronghold, despite occasional Roman raids such as that by the future Emperor *Maurice in 578, until the *Arab conquest in *c.*639 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 274).

*Sozomen (VI, 33) notes that the rugged mountain landscape attracted Christian hermits in the 4th century and *monasteries of the *Church of the East around Sinjar were combating *Messalianism in the late 6th century. The legend (probably of the 6th century) of 'Abd al-Masih, a *Jewish shepherd boy who became a Christian *martyr (allegedly in 389/90), suggests a mixed population which included *Zoroastrians and, at least from the time of *Qobad I onwards, a people called the Qadishaye. The *Life* of *John of *Tella relates how in 536 that energetic *Miaphysite missionary was craftily captured while taking refuge at Singara and handed over to the Roman authorities. In 563 the Church of the East Bishop of Singara was among those invited by *Justinian I to discuss Christology at *Constantinople. However, *Syriac Orthodox (Miaphysite, Jacobite) influence certainly increased in the area, as elsewhere in Persian *Mesopotamia, during the reign of *Khosrow II, whose physician, *Gabriel of Singara, was a Miaphysite convert. The Syriac *Apocalypse of Ps.-*Methodius* was written after the *Arab conquest apparently by Syriac Orthodox Christians in Singara. It sees the Muslim invasion as a punishment sent by God, but holds out hope for deliverance through the coming of a Christian Roman Emperor. PAW; OPN

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997) *s.n.* Sindjar (C. P. Haase).
D. M. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq* (1968), 97–106.
D. M. Oates, 'The Roman Frontier in Northern 'Iraq',*Geographical Journal* 122/2 (June 1956), 190–9.
D. Kennedy and D. Riley, *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air* (1990).
Fiey, *Nisibe*, 269–73.
J. M. Fiey, 'Ma'in, général de Sapor II, confesseur et évêque', *Le Muséon* 84 (1971), 437–53.
P. Peeters, 'La Passion arabe de S. Abd al-Masih', *AnBoll* 44 (1926), 270–341.
J. M. Fiey, 'Encore 'Abdulmasih de Singar', *Le Muséon* 77 (1964), 205–23.
M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (1984).
P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (1985), 27–9, 36.

Singidunum *See* BELGRADE.

Sinope Important commercial port *city on the south shore of the Black Sea, and at its narrowest point. It was the site of the *martyrium of S. Phocas, named by

*Gregory of *Nazianzus and praised by *Asterius of *Amaseia (*BHG* 1538–40), whose *relics were carried by sailors as far afield as *Antioch, *Sidon, and probably *Constantinople. Three Late Roman *shipwrecks have been found west of the city and a fourth, Sinop D, of 410/520, to the east. Both *Tiberius II and *Justinian II used Sinope for expeditions to *Crimea. It was a port for the *Armeniac *Theme. The Sinop Regional Archaeological Project has been running since 1996. AG; OPN

Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, vol. 1, 69–89.
O. P. Doonan, *Sinop Landscapes: Exploring Connection in a Black Sea Hinterland* (2004).
D. M. Robinson, 'Ancient Sinope: An historical Account with a Prosopographia Sinopensis and an Appendix of Inscriptions', First Part: *AJP* 27/2 (1906), 125–53; Second Part: *AJP* 27/3 (1906), 245–79.

Sinope Gospels Gospel fragment (= O) from *Sinope on the Black Sea coast, now in Paris (BN ms. Suppl. Gr. 1286), consisting of 43 leaves, written in large *gold uncial *script, on *purple-dyed parchment. All five surviving miniatures are in the lower margin. It dates from the 6th century and is related to the *Rossano Gospels. NAS

A. Grabar, ed., Les Peintures de l'Évangéliaire de Sinope (1948).

Sion Treasure *See* KUMLUCA AND KUMLUCA TREASURE.

Siraf (mod. Bandar-e Tahiri) Port on the Persian side of the Gulf, 220 km (132 miles) south-east of Bushehr and at the end of an overland caravan route linking the coast with the interior of *Fars. Excavations beneath a congregational *mosque of the early 9th century have found a *Sasanian fort (62×57 m) with hollow, pear-shaped corner towers and semicircular turrets, two on each side and a pair flanking the entrance. Although the fort's date is uncertain, a number of imports found at the site (e.g. Indian Red Polished ware, Namord ware from south-eastern Iran, 5th-cent. Roman *glass, and coins of *Theodosius I (376–94) and *Constans II (651–9)) suggest it may have been in use for a number of centuries. A general resemblance to a Roman *castellum* has also been noted, though whether this is chronologically significant or not is unclear.

Over 500 rock-cut burial chambers in the ravine behind the site may be *Zoroastrian **astōdāns*, but their date remains unconfirmed. The fact that the Muslim geographer Yaqut linked Siraf with the legendary pre-Islamic Persian King Kay Ka'us shows that a memory of the site's antiquity survived into the Middle Ages. Before its destruction by an *earthquake in 977, Siraf was a flourishing port engaged in commerce with lower *Mesopotamia (*Basra), East Africa, *India, and *China. DTP

P. Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500* (1993), 174–5.
Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 59–66.
D. Whitehouse, 'Sasanian Maritime Activity', in J. Reade, ed., *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity* (1996), 339–49.
D. Whitehouse, *Siraf: History, Topography and Environment* (British Institute of Persian Studies Archaeological Monograph Series 1, 2009).

Sirmio *See* DESENZANO.

Sirmio (mod. Sirmione) Extensive promontory at the south end of Lake Garda, north *Italy. Sirmione harboured many grand Roman *villas. By *c.* AD 400 the promontory was militarized, with a curtain wall that survives in part; the site probably accommodated a Late Roman *fleet command. In the *Lombard period Sirmione was a *castrum* and head of a military district; contemporary *burials and later religious foundations have been excavated. NJC

G. P. Brogiolo, S. Lusuardi Siena, and P. Sesino, eds., *Ricerche su Sirmione Longobarda* (Ricerche di Archeologia Altomedievale e Medievale 16, 1989).
G. P. Brogiolo, ed., *Le fortificazioni del Garda e i sistemi di difesa dell'Italia settentrionale tra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo* (9 Seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo in Italia centro settentrionale, 1999).

Sirmium (mod. Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia) Flavian *colonia* and from the *Tetrarchy onwards capital of the *province of *Pannonia Secunda and of the *Dioecesis-Pannoniae (seven *provinces in the *Verona List) later *Illyricum.

In 272, the *Emperor *Probus was killed at Sirmium, his birthplace (Aurelius *Victor 37, 4), and the parents of the future *Tetrarch *Maximian were in trade there (**Epitome de Caesaribus* 40, 10). The *city was a Tetrarchic imperial residence and later headquarters of the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum. There were imperial factories for both *arms (*fabricae*) and clothing (**gynaeceum*) (*Not. Dig.* [*occ.*] IX, 14–16; XI, 45), a base for the river *fleet, and a *mint, opened briefly between 320 and 326 and again in 351 for approximately fifteen years. It later served sporadically as an *Ostrogothic mint. In the Middle Ages Sirmium was called Civitas Sancti Demetrii.

An imperial *palace was built under the *Tetrarchy and used until *Theodosius I, who was proclaimed *Augustus there in 379. Excavations since 1957 have revealed remains of the palace and a *circus, where *Ammianus Marcellinus says *Julian staged chariot races in 361 (XXI, 10, 2). Ammianus (XXIX, 6) also

mentions the rebuilding of the Sirmium fortifications under the Praefectus Praetorio *Petronius Probus in 373 for defence against the *Sarmatians and *Quadi. The palace–hippodrome complex, similar in plan to those of *Constantinople and *Thessalonica, covered *c.*20 ha (about 50 acres), with remains of residential and storage areas and *baths. Their decorations included floor and wall *mosaics and sculpture in Carrara and Pentelic *marble and red Aswan *porphyry (Jeremić). Only limited and salvage excavation is possible, since the modern city overlies the ancient remains.

Four councils of the *Church held at Sirmium under *Constantius II debated the nature of the Trinity; the fourth of these, in 358, endorsed the *Homoean compromise. Eight *bishops of Sirmium are reliably attested in church councils and papal letters. Those of the 4th century favoured non-Nicene theologies, but in 376 *Ambrose of *Milan visited Sirmium to consecrate the Nicene Anemius (*Paulinus, *VAmbrosii* 11).

Sirmian *martyrs are known only from legendary *passions and *martyrologies. *Inscriptions provide evidence for the cults of Ss. Irenaeus (*BHL* 4466; cf. *BHG* 448–51) and Synerotas (*BHL* 7595; *CIL* III, 10232–3). The martyrs Ss. Anastasia (feast day 25 December) and *Demetrius were also associated with Sirmium (Delehaye, *Origines*, 256–7).

The archbishopric was removed to *Iustiniana Prima in 535. The Empire recovered Sirmium from the *Gepids in 567, and *Hierocles still lists it as one of two cities in Pannonia, but the *Avars captured Sirmium in 581/2 (*Menander Protector, fr. 60; *Theophylact Simocatta, I, 3, 3–4). IDS; RRD

MEC 1.

RIC VII, VIII.

M. Jeremić, 'The Sirmium Imperial Palace Complex in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Investigations', in *Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace*, 471–99.

V. Popović et al., *Sirmium—grad careva i mučenika* (sabrani radovi o arheologiji i istoriji Sirmiuma) (2003).

R. Bratož, 'Die Geschichte des frühen Christentums in Gebiet zwichen Sirmium und Aquileia', *Klio* 72 (1990), 508–50.

F. Dolbeau, 'Le Dossier hagiographique d'Irénée, évêque de Sirmium', *AntTard* 7 (1999).

***Sirmondian Constitutions* (*Collectio Sirmondiana*)** A collection of eighteen Roman imperial constitutions passed between AD 333 and 425 dealing with *bishop's courts (*episcopalis audientia*: 1, 17, 18), *heresies (4, 6, 12), *Easter pardons (7, 8), and privileges of the laity (4, 13, 16) and the clergy (2, 3, 6, 9–11, 13–15). The purpose of making the collection seems to have been to strengthen the position of the Church in the Germanic kingdoms. Transmitted in full in only one manuscript, it was first published by the Jesuit scholar Jacques Sirmond (Sirmondius) in 1631. Its initial compilation occurred probably around the mid-5th century, and certainly somewhere between the publication of the **Theodosian Code* in 438 and the last half of the 6th century. The core of the collection consists of 16 constitutions, 12 of which are contained in different versions in the *Theodosian Code*, and may pre-date the latter's publication. Since constitutions 17 and 18 are taken directly from the *Theodosian Code*, they may have been added after 438. LLe

ed. T. Mommsen, P. M. Meyer, P. Krüger in *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes* (1904/5).

ET in Pharr, *Theodosian Code.*

A. J. B. Sirks, *The Theodosian Code: A Study* (2007).

M. Vessey, 'The Origins of the *Collectio Sirmondiana*: A New Look at the Evidence', in J. D. Harries and I. Wood, eds., *The Theodosian Code* (1993), 187–99.

Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (2000).

Sisauronon (mod. Serwan, Turkey) Persian fortress, east of *Nisibis, located at the edge of the north Syrian plain in *Beth 'Arabaye. *Belisarius captured Bleschames and 800 horsemen there in 541 (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 19, 24; *Aed.* II, 4, 8–9) . It was captured again in 589 by *Comentiolus. The Roman fortress of *Rhabdion stands on the escarpment 6.5 km (4 miles) to the north-west. JCr

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 350–1.

Siscia (mod. Sisak, Croatia) Important *city of *Pannonia Superior, commanding crossings of the River Sava, and from the *Tetrarchy onwards the capital of Pannonia *Savia. The surrounding area had *silver and *iron *mines. The *mint of Siscia (*mint mark usually SISC) was opened during *Gallienus' sole reign and closed under *Valentinian II. The **Notitia Dignitatum* records the presence of a Thesaurus, a government goods depot run by the Sacrae *Largitiones. Siscia's strategic location involved it in civil wars, including in 388 the initial victory of *Theodosius I over troops of *Magnus Maximus (*PanLat* II (XII), 34).

S. Quirinus, *Bishop of Siscia, was *martyred by drowning during the Great Persecution (*Jerome, *Chron.* 313e); *Prudentius places his cult at Siscia, his epic *Passion* places it at *Savaria. Later, bishops of Siscia were involved in the 4th-century debates concerning the Nature of Christ. The Councils of *Salona in 530 and 535 show that the bishop was then subject to the metropolitan authority of Salona.

*Pottery and *glass kilns have been found, and metal production is attested. The modern city centre lies over the Roman city, but some excavation has been undertaken. IDS; RRD; OPN

TIR L 33 (1961), 67.

RIC V,1, 9.

R. Makjanić, ed., *Siscia: Pannonia Superior* (BAR IntSer 621, 1995).
Ž. Demo, ed., *Early Christianity in Continental Croatia* (1994).
M. Hoti, 'Sisak in Ancient Sources', *OpArch* 16 (1992), 133–63.

Sisebut *Visigothic King and astronomical poet (r.612–21).

Few substantive biographical details survive about this extraordinary Visigothic king. He exemplifies a Germanic ruler intent on promoting *Latin literary culture in *Spain, considering himself a political and cultural heir of the Roman Empire.

Sisebut nurtured a close relationship with the most celebrated churchman of the Visigothic era, *Isidore of *Seville. Isidore dedicated to Sisebut his *De Natura Rerum* and the king reciprocated with a 61-line poetic epistle on *eclipses. This stylized work reveals considerable knowledge of classical poets such as Lucretius and Manilius, and the ability to compose in a highly polished style. Another work attributed to the learned king is a *saint's life of S. Desiderius,*Bishop of *Vienne, martyred in 607 by two *Frankish rulers (*BHL* 2148). A number of *letters bearing his name are also extant (*CPL* 1299) further revealing the sophistication of his writing.

His attempts to dislodge the Byzantines from south-west Spain by military means met with modest success. Under his direction, the future King *Suinthila conquered the Ruccones. Sisebut attempted to force *Jews to *conversion by promulgating harsh laws (**Book of Judges*, XII, 2, 13–14). The measures were opposed by *Isidore of *Seville supported by many *bishops. AF

PLRE III, Sisebutus.

Works (*CPL* 1298–1300): ed. J. Gil, *Miscellanea Wisigothica* (²1991).

VDesiderii (*CPL* 1298; *BHL* 2148), ed. B. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Meroving. 3, 1896).

ET (annotated) A. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (TTH 26, new edn., 2011), 1–14.

ET (annotated) in J. R. C. Martyn, *King Sisebut and the Culture of Visigothic Spain* (2008).

Carmen de Eclipsibus (*CPL* 1300), ed. (with FT) J. Fontaine, in his *Isidore of Seville, Traité de la nature* (Études Augustiniennes, 1960), 328–35.

Y. Hen, 'Music of the Heart: The Unusual Case of King Sisebut', in *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (2007), 124–52.

J. Fontaine, 'King Sisebut's "Vita Desiderii" and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography', in E. James, ed., *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (1980), 93–129.

Sisinnios (Sisianos) Vardapet (*fl.* 11th cent.) Presumed author of an account in *Armenian of the *Forty Martyrs of *Sebasteia. The identity of Sisianos the author with the 11th-century Sisianos is not certain. The composition is original and elaborately numerological, and almost certainly drew upon an ancient *Greek source. TLA

T. Dasnabedian, 'Encomion de Sisianos Vardapet sur les XL Martyrs de Sebaste', *Handēs Amsoreay* 109 (1995), 210–43.

Sistan *See* SAGASTAN.

Sitifis (mod. Sétif, Algeria) Principal *city of *Mauretania Sitifensis, 38 km (26 miles) south-west of *Cuicul. The amphitheatre and *temple of Cybele were rebuilt under the *Tetrarchy. The town expanded to the north-west in 355/78. Facilities for baking for the **annona* were restored in 383/92. Other 4th-century buildings included a large *circus and *city walls. Barbarians kidnapped a nun nearby before 409 (*Augustine, *ep.* 111, 7). In 419 Augustine claimed that 2,000 people sought *baptism after an *earthquake at Sitifis (*Sermon*, 19, 6 CCSL 41, p. 258). A fort was built over the city centre in 539/44. *Bishops are known in 525 and into the 9th century. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 497–503.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 367–68.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 227–9.

Sittas Brother-in-law of the *Empress *Theodora, he served with distinction on the eastern *frontier. He was *Magister Utriusque Militiae praesentalis from 530 to 538 when he was killed in action in *Armenia. PNB

PLRE III B, Sittas 1.

Sivec (FYROM) A white dolomitic *marble *quarry near Prilep in *Macedonia Secunda that supplied the best local workshops of the *Balkan Mountains from the Roman period onwards. Late Antique carvings, for example at the Episcopal *Basilica in *Stobi, are similar to products from the imperial quarries at *Docimium and *Proconnesus, and it may be that Sivec at that time functioned as a *Balkan branch of the same organization. PhN

L. Audley-Miller et al., 'Marbles, Quarries and Workshops on the Highlands of Northern Macedonia', *ArchAnz* (2013), 95–145.
B. Babić, 'Archaeological Traces from the Antique and Mediaeval Period in the Prilep Area', *Materijali* 9 (1972), 21–38, 24, 33.
W. Prochaska, 'A Sculptural Marble of Prime Quality in Antiquity: The Dolomitic Marble of the Sivec Mountains in Macedonia', *Archaeometry* 54 (2012), 179–97.

Skedemosse Wetland on Öland, south Sweden, with large deposits of objects and animal and human skeletons, dating mainly from the Roman Iron Age into the Late Viking Age.

The finds consist of *gold ornaments, personal adornments, *weapons and horse *harness, and a few tools from daily life. The remains of about 40 humans have been found, as well as animal bones—mainly of *horses, but also of *sheep, *goats, *cattle, *swine, *dogs, and wild animal species. *Cats, hens, *fish, *birds of prey, and roe *deer were also found in smaller quantities.

The horses (of which the greatest concentration comes from AD 200–400) are thought to have been sacrificed to provide ritual meals after ritual races. Such races were called *skeiđ* and the name Skedemosse may derive from this word. Some of the human bones indicate violent deaths: one complete human skeleton has an iron knife stuck between its ribs. KJe

U. E. Hagberg et al., *The Archaeology of Skedemosse 1, The Excavations and the Finds of an Öland Fen, Sweden* (Royal Swedish Academy 45, 1967).

J. Boessneck et al., *The Archaeology of Skedemosse 3, Die Knochenfunde von Säugetieren und vom Menschen* (Royal Swedish Academy 47, 1968).

Skeireins Remains of a Gothic commentary on S. John's Gospel surviving on eight palimpsests. Authorship is ascribed to Theodore of Heraclea (*c.* AD 340). It is of interest linguistically because it is the only Gothic text with sections of native prose, and theologically because it does not present an overtly *Arian Christology. MVDH

RGA2 s.v. Gotische Literatur: §2 Skeireins, XII (1998), 450–1 (Schäferdiek).

J. W. Marchand, 'The Gothic Intellectual Community: The Theology of the *Skeireins*', in Williams, *Christian Communities*, 62–76 and 170–2.

The Skeireins Project maintains a website with text, translations, and bibliography at <http://www.gotica.de/skeireins>.

Skourta plain The highest (532 m, 1,755 feet) mountain plateau in the Kithairon-Parnes range that marks the border between Attica and Boeotia in *Greece. The Skourta plain provided a pastoral landscape for provisioning *Athens with meat and dairy products, and is traversed by the primary pre-modern route between Athens and *Thebes of Boeotia. To the south it is divided from the plain of *Eleusis by a range of low peaks dominated by the commanding Panakton; to the north it is bordered by the Asopos gorge. Archaeology suggests that after it was depopulated in the Roman period, dispersed settlements appeared again in the 4th century, dated by *coinage. The absence of habitation in the Skourta plain from the late 6th century onwards is ascribed to *Slav incursions. PA

M. H. Munn and M.-L. Z. Munn, in A. Schachter, ed., *Essays in the Topography, History, and Culture of Boiotia* (1990), 33–40.

G. Fowden, 'City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica', *JHS* 108 (1988), 48–59.

sky In Late Antiquity the sky was conceived of as an immense sphere rotating around an axis running through the centre of the cosmos which was occupied by a second sphere, the earth. Planetary spheres were arranged outward the stationary earth with the stars fixed to the outer surface. The intersection of the sky rotation axis with the stars defined the celestial poles. The celestial bodies moved attached on an invisible cycle (epicycle), which, in turn, moved along a larger cycle (deferent).

The beauty and regularity of the heavens fascinated Late Antiquity. *Origen argued that the stars were rational beings who served humanity (*PG* 98, 3: 81–5). Glittering starry and cloudy skies decorated the *apses and ceilings of churches, as in S. Pudenziana, *Rome (*c.*390) and the building known as the Mausoleum of *Galla Placidia (*c.*450), the Chapel of S. Andrew, the Archbishop's Palace (5th/6th cent.) and S. Apollinare in Classe (6th cent.), all at *Ravenna. The heavens, a garden of delightful reward for followers of *Islam, was the 'House of Song' for the Persians, the place of heavenly *liturgies and divine experience for the Christians. DK

J. L. Berggren and A. Jones, tr., *Ptolemy's Geography* (2002).

A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of Stars* (1994).

slave mode of production The category 'mode of production' is of Marxist derivation and has been influential in the tradition of historical materialism. In Marx's own writings, the term is already ambivalent. It can refer both to the technical aspects of the production process and to the various social systems or time periods characterized by a certain production process. Thus, history could be conceived of as a succession of different modes of production. It was a particularly important conceptual tool which has allowed historicists like Marx to describe the logic of pre-modern economic systems as somehow fundamentally distinct from modern capitalism (conceived as an economic system dominated by wage labour).

For Marx, classical societies were based on the slave mode of production. He conceived of this mode as a form of communal property ownership, which permitted the emergence of *cities. Warfare was the engine of this system, as the supply of labour depended on the constant influx of new captives. This, for Marx, described an inherent limit on the slave mode, which was always doomed to dissipate because of its own contradictions.

In much Marxist-inspired historiography, Late Antiquity has been considered a transitional phase between slave and *feudal modes of production. Most

influentially, neo-Marxists have emphasized the mechanisms of surplus extraction to distinguish between plantation *slavery (equated with the slave mode) and dependent tenancy (considered as feudal or feudalizing), in which labourers are permitted some autonomy over production. For some scholars this has meant that the slave mode of production did not exist in Late Antiquity, despite the presence of legal slaves. KH

J. Banaji, 'Modes of Production in a Materialist Conception of History', *Capital and Class* 2 (1977), 1–44.
K. Harper, 'The Transformation of Roman Slavery: Un Mythe Économique?', *AntTard* 20 (2012), 165–72.
K. Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, with introd. by E. Hobsbawm (1964).

slavery, Arab and Islamic Slavery would have been familiar to pre-Islamic Arabians of the *Hijaz, though actual slave ownership would not have been common. While the majority of these slaves came from *Ethiopia, *Muhammad's entourage also contained former slaves from the *Persian Empire and the Roman Empire including *Egypt. The tribes of the Hijaz could also export captives taken as a result of inter-tribal warfare when they were not ransomed back to their families or married into the captor group.

The *Qur'ān exhorts the good believer to treat his or her slaves with kindness (Q. 4: 36) and indicates that they should be considered as members of the family (e.g. Q. 24: 31). *Manumission is also seen as a charitable act (Q. 90: 12–20). The *Arab conquests, described in al-*Baladhuri's *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, brought the Muslim elites huge numbers of slaves who were typically used to demonstrate wealth, to perform household tasks, or taken as concubines. The children of the concubine unions were treated as free and by the middle of the 8th century were coming to dominate the highest levels of the Muslim polity. There was also limited agricultural slavery. MJRo

EI 2 vol. 1 (1960) *s.v.* 'abd (R. Brunschvig).

slavery, Roman and post-Roman The Mediterranean societies of Late Antiquity inherited an extensive and internally complex slave system from the High Roman Empire. Late Roman society was dominated by Roman legal institutions, which drew a clear line between free men and slaves. Although some have argued that these distinctions were blurred by the institution of the status of **colonus* (peasants with legally restricted movements and economic choices), there are compelling reasons to accept that the legal basis of slave status remained a powerful institutional force throughout Roman territories.

Slavery was most important in *cities and in rural areas close to Mediterranean markets or sea-lanes. The number of slaves is unknown, but estimates in the order of 10% of the overall population have been recently defended. Slaves were recruited from across imperial *frontiers, from within the Empire (through kidnapping, child sale, and child exposure), and from birth to slave mothers. Slave labour was deployed in a range of operations, from domestic service and *farming to highly skilled business occupations.

Most controversial has been the question of agricultural slavery's significance and extent. It is highly debated whether Late Roman slavery was continuous with the expansive plantation system of the Late Republic and Early Empire; the evidence is ambiguous, allowing for multiple interpretations, but clearly slave labour was of significance in the production of agricultural commodities.

Experience

Slave experience varied considerably. As in all slave systems, the extraction of slave labour was founded on violence, whether actual or potential. Older arguments that religious change effected milder treatment of slaves fly in the face of extensive evidence for the domination of slaves by physical force. Domestic slaves were subjected to close surveillance, especially in smaller *households. Agricultural slaves probably experienced a mixture of extreme violence and space to pursue private relationships. Masters had incentives to extract labour in the most efficient way, which meant that positive rewards, such as *manumission or the ownership of their own property, were used, especially for skilled slaves. Slaves resisted their status in various ways, and they found methods of leverage to make the best of their condition. Slave flight was a common concern, and slaves were an unstable element in the social landscape.

Christians expressed considerable anxiety about the sexual abuse of slaves, a practice which was both widespread and effectively institutionalized in Roman society (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst.* VI, 23, 23). Here, if anywhere, religious change may have had social effects. The *Bible already pointed towards an accommodation with the slave system in general, commanding obedience from slaves, but it is noteworthy that the Christian theologian *Gregory of *Nyssa produced one of history's first unequivocal critiques of slavery as inherently unjust.

Change

Few have contested that the Roman Empire in the 'long 4th century' was, to use M. Finley's terminology, a genuine slave society. Slaves appear in households and on *estates, in East and West. Even if the evidence for slavery is concentrated in the coastal regions of the Empire, it is apparent that some slavery was practised in more peripheral areas. In the 5th and 6th centuries, however, patterns of enslavement began to change.

In the West, persistent instability undermined the most advanced sectors of the economy, where slavery was most important. The production of commodities for urban markets, and the existence of large numbers of urban consumers, both declined, and with them the slave system. Nevertheless, slavery would never completely disappear in the post-Roman West, nor were slaves simply assimilated with *tenants to form a class of serfs. The decline of slavery was only partial, but it was significant. In the East, slavery was of some importance in the legal reforms of *Justinian I, but slaves are rarely mentioned in the *papyri. Slaves seem to have played a very marginal role in the *village-based regions which were the economic powerhouse of the Late Roman East. Domestic slavery in the households of the Eastern *aristocracy may have been the most enduring part of the ancient slave system, acting as a bridge to medieval slavery. The medieval slave systems were confined largely to the exploitation of female domestics, with important exceptions in the Islamic world, which was destined to become the centre of the slave trade. KH

C. Grey, 'Slavery in the Late Roman World', in K. Bradley and P. Cartledge, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1 (2011), 482–500.

K. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425* (2011).

H. Nehlsen, *Sklavenrecht zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Germanisches und römisches Recht in den germanischen Rechtsaufzeichnungen* (1972).

B. Shaw, '"A Wolf by the Ears,": M. I. Finley's *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* in Historical Context', foreword to M. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (²1998), 3–74.

D. Vera, 'Dalla villa perfecta alla villa di Palladio: sulle trasformazioni del sistema agrario in Italia fra principato e dominato', *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 189–211, 331–56.

C. Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* (1955–77).

C. Wickham, 'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', *P & P* 103 (1984), 3–36.

C. Whittaker, 'Circe's Pigs: From Slavery to Serfdom in the Later Roman World', in M. Finley, ed., *Classical Slavery* (1987), 88–122.

slave trade The Late Antique slave trade descended directly from the slave trade of the High Empire, a complex and professionalized operation which connected the supply of slaves with the market demand for slave labour. It was supplied by the offspring of slaves, by the capture or importation of 'barbarian' slaves, and by internal sources such as kidnapping and child exposure. The slave trade drew on all three sources, and the evidence suggests that *merchants even organized slave raids across Roman *frontiers. *Augustine harrowingly evokes the operations of slave traders who attacked a Roman *province (*ep.* 10*). Observers regularly assumed that slaves could be found for sale at auction in Late Antique *cities, and slave-dealers were a recognizable element of Late Roman society. Although specialized slave merchants certainly existed throughout Late Antiquity in the eastern Mediterranean, by the 6th century there are indications that the slave trade was transformed or radically reduced in the West, which gradually became a net exporter of slaves in the Early Middle Ages. KH

K. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425* (2011), ch. 2.

J. Szidat, 'Zum Sklavenhandel in der Spätantike (Aug. epist. 10*)', *Historia* 34 (1985), 360–71.

Slavs An ethnic term applied to several tribes whose origins and mutual relationship are widely disputed. Traditional scholarship depicts the Slavs as sharing a common ancestor and language belonging to the Indo-European family. In Late Antiquity, two independent tribes, the Sclavenes (the term from which scholars have derived 'Slavs') and the *Antes, are thought to have emerged as the largest and most representative Slavic groups. Scholars, basing their claims largely on the 6th-century historian *Jordanes, have conventionally placed the Sclavenes in Central Europe with territories presumably extended as far as the Vistula to the north. The Antes therefore lived as neighbours to the Sclavenes, between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. One dominant scholarly theory has postulated that the Venethi (Venedi), mentioned by *Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, *Ptolemy, the Peutinger Map, and also by Jordanes, were the primordial ancestors of the Slavic tribes. The ancient Venethi eventually split, and for reasons much debated in modern scholarship, their 6th- and 7th-century Slavic offspring presumably abandoned their original homeland in Central Europe and moved south into Roman territories. By *c.*700, various Slavic groups occupied most of the *Balkans, settling deep into southern *Greece, as indicated by the **Chronicle of Monemvasia*.

More recent scholarship has drawn attention to serious contradictions in the textual record and has questioned the previous account of the origin of the Slavs. Largely on the basis of archaeological data, it has re-evaluated the nature of Slavic occupation of Roman territories. Instead of a common ancestry in Antiquity and a massive Slavic migration from Central Europe into imperial *provinces to the south, the new reconstruction proposes that Slavic group identity emerged in the 6th century as a political and cultural consequence of the grand defence system initiated by the *Emperor *Justinian I (r. 527–65) on the Danube *frontier. This reconstruction points out that no texts earlier than Justinian specifically mention Slavic tribes, and it maintains that the emperor's development of a network of forts (listed in *Procopius, *Aed.*) in the northern Balkans brought the neighbouring tribes onto the immediate

horizon of Roman writers, who lumped together various tribes, misunderstanding or disregarding their actual origins or mutual relationships and thereby inventing a common identity for Balkan tribes. Thus, the imposed Roman terms 'Sclavenes' and 'Antes' have obscured the actual social and cultural complexity significantly enough to render impossible any large-scale political and social unification of the tribes. The first native source to adopt the ethnonym 'Slavs' is in fact the 12th-century *Russian Primary Chronicle*.

Both traditional and revisionist views derive their arguments primarily from fragmentary evidence found in Roman authors such as *Menander Protector, the **Strategicon* of *Maurice, and *Theophylact Simocatta. After the Sclavenes' participation together with the *Avars and the Persians in the important siege of *Constantinople in 626, *George of Pisidia, *Theodore Syncellus, and the author of the **Chronicon Paschale* also wrote about them. At the same time the Slavs drew the attention of *Fredegar, who produced the first independent Western account of events involving them. However, it is important to note that Fredegar did not refer to 'Sclavenes' or 'Antes', but called the tribes 'Wends'. There are no sources referring to putative 'Slavs' later than Book II of the *Miracles of S. Demetrius* (*c.*690).

Given the nature of the extant evidence, the identity of the early Slavs is hard to reconstruct, but the 6th and 7th centuries clearly marked a critical period of both tribal consolidation and Roman cultural identification of various groups in the Balkans. It appears that, like their contemporaries the *Lombards, *Gepids, and Avars, the 'Sclavenes' and the 'Antes' had distinct customs and sufficient political organization to merit the Romans giving them a specific cultural designation. The ethnonyms 'Sclavenes', 'Antes', and 'Slavs' are generally used interchangeably and are taken to reflect long-lasting and culturally related tribal groups, yet the actual relationship between them remains nebulous.

Aside from questions concerning the origin and common culture of the Slavs, historians have considered the nature of Slavic settlement and impact in the Balkans between *c.*600 and *c.*800. Recent scholarship maintains that there was never a massive and sudden invasion of Slavs or Avars into Balkan territories. Instead, it is believed that local tribes settled there largely due to a demographic contraction in the imperial provinces. It is certain that most of the Balkans were effectively lost to the Empire. In the 610s, a Slavic settlement surrounded *Thessalonica (whose patron saint was S. *Demetrius). By the late 7th century, Slavs had occupied *Thessaly, and Slavic *pirates in their **monoxyls* recurrently raided the coast of *Thrace and reached as far as the island of *Proconnesus in the Sea of *Marmara.

Although the Balkans were largely taken over, some important *cities remained under Roman control. In 662, *Athens was still part of the Roman state, and the city's *bishop participated in the Sixth Œcumenical *Council of the Church (681). *Justinian II began serious attempts to re-establish control over the *Via Egnatia and *Via Militaris. Additionally, the newly created *Theme of *Thrace to the north and the creation of the Theme of *Hellas in the late 7th century indicate attempts at political restoration. Overall imperial control of the Balkans, however, remained minimal and the consequences of Late Antique political changes were long-lasting. ABA

F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c.500–700* (2001).

F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250* (2006).

Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*.

J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans* (2006).

ed. (with FT, comm., and study) P. Lemerle, *Les Plus Anciens Recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius et la Pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, 2 vols. (1981).

A. Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology* (1995).

S. Mamas Several places around *Constantinople were named after the *martyr S. *Mamas of *Caesarea. In the south-west angle of the *city, near the walls, was a *monastery associated with the *Emperor *Maurice who was buried there, with his family. There was also an imperial *palace, *circus, colonnade, and harbour named after S. Mamas at *Sykae (mod. Dolmabahçe) on the European side of the *Bosporus where *Leo I lived after a great fire at Constantinople (*ChronPasch s.a.* 469). There was a *Miaphysite monastery there under *Justinian I (*John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 298, 422–3, 431, 509 Brooks). OPN

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 314–19.

Janin, *CPByz* 473–4.

J. Pargoire, 'Les Saints-Mamas de Constantinople', *IRAIK* 9 (1904), 261–316.

Smaragdus *Exarch of Byzantine *Italy 584–8/9, then again 602/3–11, being reappointed (after a spell of insanity) by the *Emperor *Phocas. The column and statue dedicated to Phocas by Smaragdus is the last documented secular monument in the *Roman Forum. During Smaragdus' first exarchate *Franks were paid to attack the *Lombards. His second exarchate saw periods of truce and *tribute payment to the Lombards, followed by territorial losses to the Lombard King *Agilulf in north *Italy. Smaragdus opposed *Three Chapters schismatics, notably those led by *bishops in *Histria and *Aquileia. NJC

PLRE III, Smaragdus.

*Gregory I, *Registrum Epistularum*, I, 16a; XIII, 36.

*Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, III, 18, 26, IV, 25, 28.
L. M. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien 540–750* (1889), 10–13.
Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 64, 153.
Richards, *Consul of God*, 39–41, 233–4.

Smyrna (mod. İzmir) One of the largest *cities of western *Asia Minor, site of the *martyrdoms of Ss. *Polycarp and *Pionius. Little survives of the city's Late Antique circuit of walls, constructed under *Arcadius (*c.*395). PJT

G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, II/1 (1987), nos. 844–55.

Snape Mixed *Anglo-Saxon *cemetery of inhumations and cremations in former heathland *c.*2 km (1 mile) north of the River Alde, Suffolk, England. After rediscovery in the 19th century, a ship burial was excavated at the site in 1862. SCT

W. Filmer-Sankey and T. Pestell, *Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: Excavations and Surveys 1824–1992* (2001).

Sobata (mod. Shivta; Ar. Subeita and Esbeita) The best preserved of the *Nabataean foundations in the *Negev. Three *basilicas, two of them with *baptisteries, several chapels, a *monastery, private mansions, and olive *presses have been excavated, and a number of *Greek *inscriptions. Remains of wall paintings on church *apses have been detected. PFi

A. Segal, *The Byzantine City of Shivta (Esbeita), Negev Desert, Israel* (1983).
A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (1981), 47–67.
P. Figueras, 'Remains of a Mural Painting of the Transfiguration in the Southern Church of Sobata (Shivta)', *Aram* 18–19 (2006–7), 127–51.

social distinctions Late Antique society was formally stratified, its hierarchy grounded in Roman *law. The all-important distinction between slave and free remained fundamental; slaves were property, deprived of access to social honour. Roman citizenship marked another important distinction, even after the Antonine Constitution of 211 had accorded Roman citizenship to all free adult men. The distinction between **honestiores* and *humiliores* became important.

*Aristocracies were finely graded and fiercely competitive over rank. *Constantine I accelerated the decline of the equestrian order and the inflation of the senatorial order; over the next generations, new distinctions were created within the senatorial order itself. Civilian and military elements competed for precedence, in a social order where the imperial family was at the pinnacle. In the 4th century, however, social mobility was possible, particularly for the rhetorically educated, as is demonstrated by the career of *Ausonius and the aspirations of the young *Augustine before his *conversion. Young provincials in the Greek East had similar ambitions in the 5th century, if the intended career of *John Lydus among the *noblesse de robe* which made up the *Senate of *Constantinople is any indication.

Social distinctions were reinforced by *dress, behaviour, *ceremony, and other conventions. A *philosopher continued to be recognizable by his beard and **pallium*. The Christian clergy developed their own codes. More important, though, were local developments. Individual cities had always had their own hierarchies and their own notables, whether within the *city council of a small town like *Thagaste, or among the 'Romans of Rome' who continued to form the core of the *Senate of *Rome and for whom *Symmachus the orator was 'a senator of middling wealth' (*Olympiodorus, fr. 43, 2 Blockley). Local gradations of lesser wealth may actually be calculated from *tax and census registers surviving from a few places around the eastern Mediterranean. KH

Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*.
R. Mathisen, 'Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani: Concepts of Citizenship and the Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire', *AHR* 111 (2006), 1011–40.
K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.
P. Heather, 'Senators and Senates', in *CAH* XIII (1998), 184–210.

social mobility By pre-modern standards, the Roman Empire was characterized by high levels of social mobility. It was long held that social mobility was greatly reduced in Late Antiquity, as the 'Dominate' (conceived as an orientalizing autocracy) sought to fend off decline by enforcing rigid rules which made occupations inheritable. This image is largely a caricature. It is true that, for fiscal reasons, various laws tried to restrain taxpayers from deserting their place of registration, their *origo*. Most notably, the state tried to enforce such rules on peasants, the basis of the so-called colonate. But these measures applied equally to others discharging public obligations, from *ship's captains and *actors to members of *city councils. It is now broadly recognized that the extensive amount of material in the Late Roman law codes, especially the **Theodosian Code*, pertaining to such rules represents the fiscal strategy of a state with limited powers rather than a truly immobile social system. Indeed what is striking about Late Antique society is the degree of upward social mobility which was possible in the *civil service or in the clergy. The most notable examples, such as *Augustine or *Ausonius, reveal the career paths which might allow those with talent, in particular a rhetorical *education, to pursue their ambitions on an imperial scale. KH

K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household* (2007).
C. Grey, 'Contextualizing *Colonatus*: The *Origo* of the Late Roman Empire', *JRS* 97 (2007), 155–75.
K. Harper, 'Marriage and Family in Late Antiquity', in *OHLA*, 667–714.
M. K. Hopkins, 'Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire: The Evidence of Ausonius', *CQ* 11 (1961), 239–49.

Socrates (*c.*380–after 439) Church historian from *Constantinople and an adherent of the *Novatian schism. He frequented a literary circle around *Anthemius the *Praefectus Praetorio and the sophist Troilus of *Side in *c.*400–20 (VII, 1), where he developed contacts with the enemies of *John Chrysostom. His *History* clearly betrays sympathy for the Novatians and for *Origenism and an antipathy for Chrysostom. His rather irenic views about the conflicts of his time are the result of the fact that he belonged to a minority group. Contrary to earlier opinions, there is no proof that Socrates was a lawyer by training. He was the first Nicene to continue *Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* in *Greek; within a decade he would be followed by *Sozomen and *Theodoret. He traces events from 324 until 439 in seven books, each dedicated to the reign of an *emperor. Written from the perspective of Nicene orthodoxy (to which the Novatians claimed to adhere as well), it is mainly the story of the struggle against *Arianism and its theological variants after the *Council of *Nicaea, followed by the dispute concerning John Chrysostom. Published shortly after 439, the work displays the optimism of the middle of the reign of *Theodosius II: the last book is explicitly *panegyrical about the emperor, in whose reign all the tensions of the past seem to have dissolved, and about the *Patriarchs of Constantinople, in particular Atticus and *Proclus. Socrates depicts himself as a critical historian in the classical tradition, noting, for example, that he drew on eyewitnesses and that he corrected his main source *Rufinus after he had discovered the writings of *Athanasius (II, 1). He is unusually explicit in providing reference to his sources. In line with Eusebius' practice, Socrates cites numerous documents, which he normally obtained through pre-existing collections. Besides Athanasius, the most important of these was the *Synagoge* of Sabinus of Heraclea, a Homoeousian. As a result, Socrates is very well informed on the development of this branch of Arianism. For secular events and for the chronological framework, he used several chronicles and *consularia, besides the standard reference work of *Eutropius. Socrates was not just well read in Christian literature but also well informed about contemporary secular literature, using works of *Julian and *Libanius and several (now lost) *epic poems produced in Constantinople. For his last book, numerous unknown sources need to be postulated; one remarks a particular, albeit partial, interest in contemporary *Judaism. Socrates sees his narrative as relating the strife that interrupted the peace established by *Constantine I, a peace that he considers to be returning towards the end of his *History*. He includes much information on secular affairs, on the ground that church and state events are connected through 'a form of sympathy' (V, praef.). Indeed, in contrast with other church historians, such as his successor Sozomen, Socrates does not emphasize the Church as the driving force of history. Rather, both Church and state have been disrupted by human sins. Socrates' *History* had an extensive afterlife. Having become by the 6th century one of the canonical treatments of the period, it was epitomized, together with Sozomen and Theodoret, in *Greek by *Theodore Lector and in *Latin by *Cassiodorus/*Epiphanius (the so-called **Historia Tripartita*). An early translation and a later abbreviated redaction exist in *Armenian, whilst fragments of a *Syriac translation also survive. PVN

PLRE II, Socrates 2.
CPG 6028:
ed. G. C. Hansen (GCS NF 1, 1995).
ed. P. Maraval and P. Périchon (SC 477, 493, 505, 506; 2004–7).
ET C. D. Hartrauft and A. C. Zenos (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 2, 1891).
Armenian version:
ed. M. Ter-Movsesean, *Sokratay sk'olastikosi Ekełec'akan Patmut'iwn* (1897).
ET R. W. Thomson, *The Armenian Adaptation of the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus* (2001).

STUDIES

B. Bäbler and H.-G. Nesselrath, eds., *Die Welt des Sokrates von Konstantinopel. Studien zu Politik, Religion und Kultur im späten 4. und frühen 5. Jh. n. Chr.* (2001).
H. Leppin, *Von Constantin dem Grossen zu Theodosius II. Das christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret* (1996).
T. Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople: Historian of Church and State* (1997).
P. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix et de piété: étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène* (2004).
M. Wallraff, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates* (1997).

Sogdiana (Sughd, Sogdia) Traditional homeland of the *Sogdians in *Transoxiana. Narrowly defined, it comprises the Zarafshan and Qashqadarya river valleys, more broadly all territory between the *Oxus and *Jaxartes rivers. Important Sogdian cities included *Bukhara, *Samarkand, Nasaf, *Kish, and *Panjikent. Previously ruled by the Achaemenids, Seleucids, Graeco-Bactrians, and Kangju, Sogdiana emerged as an independent kingdom during the Chinese Han dynasty. The arrival of *Huns (*Chionites, *Kidarites,

*Hephthalites) *c.*350 politically disrupted Sogdiana, but the agricultural economy and population grew in the 5th–6th centuries.

Sogdian commercial and cultural influence extended into *China by the 3rd century and Sogdian territory included *Chach (Tashkent) by the 5th century. The network of Sogdian *trade colonies that developed along the *Silk Road (*Talas, Suyab, Kucha, *Turfan, Gansu, Luoyang, and many others) lasted until the 8th century. Sogdiana came under the nominal suzerainty of the western *Türks (560), Chinese (657), and *Türgesh (720), although rulers of the Sogdian city states continued to hold power until the *Arab conquest.

A local form of *Zoroastrianism was the primary religion, with some Christians also present; the *Sogdian language and script were widely used. After early raids on Bukhara and Samarkand (674–81), the *Arab conquest began in earnest under *Qutayba b. Muslim, resulting in the capture of Bukhara in 705, Samarkand in 712, and Mount *Mugh in 722 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 171–6, 186–90). Although Sogdian resistance to the Arabs continued for decades, Islamization was complete by the 9th century. Sogdiana supplied many troops to the *'Abbasid caliphal armies (al-Baladhuri II, 205; al-*Yaqubi, 28, 31). Other Arabic and Persian accounts are given by Ibn Khurdadhbih (19–20), al-Yaqubi (109–11), *Hudud al-Alam* (112–13) and al-*Muqaddasi (240–2, 248–51). MLD

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997) *s.n.* al-Ṣughd (W. Barthold, C. E. Bosworth).

EncIran (2011) *s.v.* Sogdiana iii. History and Archaelogy (É. de La Vaissière).

W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 82–142.

G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 460–73.

Sogdian language and literature Eastern Middle Iranian language spoken in *Sogdiana up to the *Arab conquest (8th cent.), after which it was gradually replaced by New *Persian. Due to Sogdiana's location and Sogdian commercial activity, the language functioned as the *lingua franca* of the *Silk Road for centuries, particularly in Sogdian *trade colonies in *China. The Sogdians played a key part as cultural and religious mediators for the *Türks and Mongols, from the 6th-century Turkic–Byzantine diplomatic exchanges between the Türks and the Eastern Roman Empire (*Menander Protector, fr. 10, 1–3) to the later adaptation of the Sogdian alphabet to write *Uighur and, by extension, Mongolian (9th and 13th cents.). Sogdian was written in the native Sogdian script (descended from Aramaic and used for both secular and religious texts), as well as the *Manichaean scripts for Christian and Manichaean texts, respectively; minor phonological differences exist between the three scripts. One Sogdian text from *Turfan was also written in Brahmi script.

Prior to 20th-century archaeological discoveries, the main references to the Sogdian language occurred in the 11th-century *Arabic author al-Biruni (56–7, 82, 220–2). The earliest Sogdian texts are the Kultobe inscriptions (3rd cent. or earlier), followed by the Sogdian Ancient Letters (early 4th cent.), which give invaluable insights into Sogdian commercial activity in China. These earlier texts use an older form of Sogdian script incorporating Aramaic-based ideograms. Sogdian coins (2nd–8th cents.) provide important data on pre-Islamic Sogdian rulers, while the Mount *Mugh documents (early 8th cent.) illuminate the Sogdian political situation during the *Arab conquest. Sogdian grafitti along the Upper Indus (4th–6th cents.) and in Ladakh (9th cent.) further show that traders continued to use the language after the conquest. Many Sogdian *Buddhist, Christian, and Manichaean texts found in *Dunhuang and *Turfan (8th–11th cents.) testify to the central role of Sogdian in transmitting these three religions throughout *Central Asia, even after the Arab conquest. MLD

M. Dresden in *CambHistIran* III, 1216–29.

N. Sims-Williams in *CompLingIran*, 173–92.

W. Sundermann, N. Sims-Williams, and Y. Yoshida in *HistPersLit* XVII, 197–329.

Sogdian religion The indigenous religion of the *Sogdians was a local form of *Zoroastrianism with a pantheon of deities, including the Babylonian goddess Nana, and thus distinct from orthodox *Sasanian Zoroastrianism, where Ahura Mazda (*Ohrmazd) predominated. Religious art was influenced by Hellenistic, Mesopotamian, and Indian iconography and murals from *Panjikent give evidence of localized *Mithra-worship and a Sogdian funerary cult. Like Persian Zoroastrians, Sogdians utilized ossuaries for burials, but *fire-altars were much less common than in orthodox Zoroastrianism.

Due to Sogdiana's location on *trade routes connecting both the *Persian Empire and *India with *China, Christianity, *Manichaeism, and *Buddhism became established in urban Sogdian culture by the 6th century. Thereafter, in the course of their trading activities along the *Silk Road, the Sogdians were active in spreading Christianity and Manichaeism throughout *Central Asia and China; Buddhism was less popular in *Sogdiana proper, but was adopted by many Sogdians in China, especially in *Turfan and *Dunhuang. However, Sogdian tolerance of religious diversity and concern for maintaining trade relationships resulted in a generally pragmatic approach to all religions.

The 8th-century *Arab conquest of Sogdiana facilitated the Islamization of the Sogdians, largely completed by the 9th century, although smaller Christian and Manichaean communities continued for some time in larger cities like *Samarkand. Sogdian Buddhist,

Christian, and Manichaean texts from Turfan and Dunhuang illustrate the importance of these religions to expatriate Sogdians. The *Fihrist* discusses the religion of Sogdia (32–3, 801–3, 824). MLD

EncIran (2002) *s.v.* Panjikant (B. I. Marshak).

Ph. Gignoux, B. A. Litvinsky, and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, in *HCCA* III, 403–48.

G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting* (1981).

P. Bernard and F. Grenet, eds., *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique* (1991).

Sogdians Inhabitants of *Sogdiana (Sughd), mentioned by Strabo (XI, 11, 2–4) and *Ptolemy (VI, 12). Although previously under Achaemenid, Seleucid, Graeco-Bactrian, and nomadic (Saka?) Kangju rule, a more distinct Sogdian culture, typified by agriculture, commercial *trade, and use of the Sogdian script, emerged during the 1st–3rd centuries. Increased irrigation, urbanization, and the development of literature, art, and architecture, coupled with continued expansion of trade networks (northward into *Chach and the steppes, eastward into *China), resulted in Sogdian cultural and economic flourishing during the 4th–6th centuries.

After the *Türks and *Sasanians defeated the *Hephthalites *c.*560, Sogdiana came under nominal Turkic political control, resulting in increased Sogdian cultural influence on the Türks and joint Turco-Sogdian control of much of the *Silk Road trade, as demonstrated by *Menander Protector's story of *Zemarchus (fr. 10, 1–5). With the Chinese defeat of the eastern and western Türks (630, 659), Sogdian trade once again came under Chinese protection. The *Sogdian language functioned as a *lingua franca* along the Silk Road, Sogdian colonies were found througout northern China, and Sogdian religious ideas spread to Türks, Chinese, and others. In Sogdiana, cities like *Bukhara, *Samarkand, and *Panjikent had their own rulers, ambassadors, and coinage. Sogdian society consisted of nobles, wealthy *merchants, warriors, craftsmen, traders, and farmers.

The *Arab conquest of *Central Asia (completed by the mid-8th cent.), coupled with the political turmoil of the An Lushan rebellion in China (755) disrupted the Sogdian trade network and changed Sogdian culture irreversibly. Once Sogdiana was pacified, local leaders cooperated politically with the *Arabs, and Sogdian soldiers entered the *'Abbasid caliphal armies. As *Islam replaced the previous religious diversity (by the 9th cent.) and New Persian replaced the Sogdian language (by the 10th cent.), Sogdian identity was gradually absorbed into the Muslim Persian world in Sogdiana proper, with expatriate Sogdians eventually assimilating to Chinese or *Uighur Turkic culture. MLD

EncIran (2011) *s.v.* Sogdiana iii. History and Archaelogy (É. de La Vaissière).

EncIran (2004) *s.v.* Sogdian Trade (É. de La Vaissière).

B. I Marshak and N. N. Negmatov in *HCCA* III, 233–80.

Silk Road Newsletter 1/2 (December 2003).

G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting* (1981).

É. de la Vaissière and É. Trombert, eds., *Les Sogdiens en Chine* (2005).

É. de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (2005).

É. de la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra: élites d'Asie centrale dans l'empire abbasside* (2007).

B. I. Marshak, *Legends, Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (2002).

Sogdian tombs in China By the 4th century there were *Sogdian communities along the *trade routes into *China. Tombs dating from the 6th to the 8th centuries have been discovered.

The Sogdians were *Zoroastrians, whose practices for disposal of the *dead involved exposure on towers of silence to prevent bodily fluids defiling the earth. The clean bones were placed in ossuaries (*see* ASTODAN). Ossuaries discovered in north-west China suggest the continuation of traditional practices.

In central China, however, local practices were followed. A sloping passageway led to an underground tomb chamber. The earliest contain a stone funerary couch or house-shaped sarcophagus, decorated with carved or painted scenes. They show Zoroastrian, *Buddhist, *Manichaean, and Hindu themes. The coffin was placed on a narrow platform, protected from the earth by a stone slab. SWh

P. Wertmann, *Sogdians in China: Archaeological and Art Historical Analyses of Tombs and Texts from the 3rd to the 10th century AD* (2015).

***sogitha* (plur. *sogyata*)** Form of *Syriac poetry consting of short stanzas, documented from the 5th century onwards. *Sogyata* often take the form of *dialogues between two persons, and some are *acrostic. References to *sogyata* are found in the **Liber Graduum* (4th cent.) and *Joshua the *Stylite (6th cent.). In later Syriac manuscripts many poems carry this designation and are provided with melodies. Various metrical schemes have been proposed to define the *sogitha* within the wider genre of **madrasha* ('*hymn' or 'teaching song'), including particular syllable counts (such as 4+4 or 7+7) per distich, or a specific number of distichs (such as two or three) per stanza, but none of these schemes accounts for all cases. The term may therefore have originally designated popular secular songs, and later been applied to various metrical compositions, popular, theological, and liturgical. JWW

GEDSH s.v. poetry, 334–6 (Brock).

ed. S. Brock, *Selected Dialogue Poems: Sugyotho mgabyotho* (2009).

ET S. Brock, *Treasure-House of Mysteries: Exploration of the Sacred Text Through Poetry in the Syriac Tradition* (SVS Popular Patristics 45, 2012).

S. Brock, 'Dialogue and Other *Sughyotho*', in A. Chahwan, ed., *Mélanges offerts au Prof. P. Louis Hage à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* (2008), 363–84.
S. Brock, 'Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac', in *OHECS* 657–71.

soil erosion *See* LANDSCAPE AND LANDSCAPE CHANGE.

Soissons (dép. Aisne, France; civitas Suessionum) *City on the Aisne, surrounded by a wall enclosing 12 ha (*c.*30 acres) during Late Antiquity. It had acquired a *bishop by 346. It was conquered by *Clovis I from the Roman general *Syagrius in 486, and in the 6th century became the capital of the kingdom of *Chlothar I and *Chilperic I, before ceasing to be a regular royal residence in the 7th century. Apart from the cathedral, its most important religious buildings were the funerary *basilicas of Ss. Crispin and Crispinian and of S. *Medard, in which Chlothar I and *Sigibert I were buried, and a *monastery for women founded in 666/7 by the *Mayor *Ebroin. MG

CAGaule 02 (2002), 422–61, 518–22.
M. Gaillard, 'Soissons', *Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 14 (ed. L. Pietri, 2006), 47–57.

***Soldier's Law* (*Νόμος Στρατιωτικός*)** Collection of military *law, comprising about 55 chapters, 15 copied from the **Strategicon* of *Maurice, and about 40 originating from *Justinian's *Code* (mainly **Digest*, 49, 16). The *Soldier's Law* dates from the 7th century (before *c.*650; Schminck: later 9th cent.), and occurs—in different recensions—in many manuscripts. The regulations in the *Soldier's Law* are mainly penal and disciplinary in character, with heavy penalties for crimes in wartime. ThEvB

ed. W. Ashburner, 'The Byzantine Mutiny Act', *JHS* 46 (1926), 80–109.
A new edition is being prepared by L. Burgmann.
ODB s.v. Nomos Stratiotikos (L. Burgmann, E. MacGeer).
L. Burgman, 'Die Nomoi Stratiotikos, Georgikos und Nautikos', *ZRVI* 46 (2009), 43–64.
A. Schminck, 'Probleme des sog. "*Νόμος Ῥοδίων ναυτικός*"', in E. Chrysos, D. Letsios, H. Richter, and R. Stupperich, eds., *Griechenland und das Meer. Beiträge eines Symposions in Frankfurt im Dezember 1996* (1999), 171–8 at 178.

solea The passage, enclosed by barriers, leading down from the *altar into the body of a church, also called the *schola cantorum. It was invented in 4th-century *Italy; the solea subsequently became popular in the Eastern Empire, particularly in the churches of *Constantinople.

Excavations at the Lateran Basilica have exposed *marble sockets for the posts supporting the solea barrier. That in the 12th-century Upper Church at S. Clemente reuses stones bearing *monograms of Pope John II (533–5) from the Lower Church. That at the Church of S. Sabina at *Rome has been rebuilt several times. SVL; OPN

A. Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (2008), 86–94.
T. F. Mathews, 'An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its Liturgical Functions', *RivArcCrist* 38 (1962), 73–94.
S. G. Xydis, 'The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia', *ArtBull* 29/1 (1947), 1–24.
Mathews, *Early Churches*.

***solidi*, lightweight** Coins produced from the time of *Justinian I onwards (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 22, 36–8), at *Constantinople weighing less than the 24 *carats of standard **solidi*, and at *Thessalonica and *Ravenna weighing 20 or 22 carats. Later, from the reign of the *Emperor *Maurice, they were also minted weighing 23 carats. Few were produced and the actual weight was always indicated on the coin itself.

The introduction of lightweight *solidi* has been explained in various ways. The intention may have been to save expenditure on *tributes paid to barbarians, or for use in international *trade, as lightweight *solidi* would fit better with Germanic standards of weight. Equally they may have been meant to ease exchange within the Empire because of changes in the *gold to *bronze ratio, or simply to save on the cost of gifts and distributions. FC

F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (2009).
W. Hahn, 'Zur Frage der reduzierten Solidi unter Justinian I', *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten* 24 (1989), 164–7.

solidi gallici *Majorian's **Novel* 7.14 (of 6 November 458) mentions as *solidi gallici* *gold coins which, even though of full weight, must be accepted at a lower value and not be completely rejected, because of a lesser purity in gold content. The identification of such coins presents serious difficulties. The most convincing hypothesis connects them to a series of **solidi* which bear as mark first a small crown and the *mint mark RA; these were minted in the names of *Valentinian III, *Majorian, and *Libius Severus in *Gaul, probably by a military authority under the control of the generals *Aëtius and later *Aegidius, and were diffused in Gaul and in *Britain. FC

F. Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (2009).
J. Lafaurie, 'Encore le *solidus gallicus*', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 50 (1995), 1080–4.

solidus Standard Roman *gold denomination, introduced by *Constantine I, weighing *c.*4.55 g (1/72 of a Roman pound). Constantine I replaced the *aureus*

with the *solidus*, in 324 in the East and from 312 in the West. Thereafter, it was continuously struck to a very high purity. Though sporadically struck outside *Constantinople, by the 7th century almost all *solidi* carried the mint mark CONOB (pure gold of Constantinople). The *solidus* travelled widely due to its high purity, appearing in *Bede as the 'bezant' (Bede, *HE* III, 8). RRD

DOC I, II.1, II.2, III.1.
MEC 1.
RIC VII, VIII, IX, X.

Soloi *Harbour *city on the north coast of *Cyprus, with five church structures, associated with Auxibios, its first known *bishop. They have early 5th-century *mosaics, showing swans and dolphins. RKL

J. des Gagniers and T. T. Tinh, *Soloi: dix campagnes des fouilles (1964–74)*, vol. 1: *La Basilique* (1985).

A. H. S. Megaw, 'The Soloi Basilicas Reconsidered', in *Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies, Leukosia, 16th–20th April, 1996* (2000), vol. 2, 171–80.

Solomon (d. 544) *Magister Militum Africae and *Praefectus Praetorio Africae (534–6 and 539–44). Born near *Dara, Solomon was a *eunuch, allegedly as the result of a childhood accident. The *Domesticus of *Belisarius, in 533–4 Solomon commanded a unit of **foederati* in the *Byzantine invasion of the *Vandal kingdom in *Africa, described in *Procopius' *Vandalic War*. When Belisarius was recalled to *Constantinople, Solomon remained in Africa as the region's civil and military governor. He successfully confronted a *Moorish insurgency, but discontent within the imperial *army led to an open military revolt under *Stotzas that forced Solomon to flee Africa for *Sicily. In 539, after the suppression of the mutiny, *Justinian reinstated Solomon to civil and military command. He now purged the army of its disgruntled elements, deported the remaining Vandal population, and oversaw the fortification of Africa. This period also saw a resumption of hostilities with Moors in *Numidia, *Byzacena, and *Tripolitania, in the course of which Solomon was killed near Cillium, while fighting the *Laguatan. JPC

PLRE III, Solomon 1.

P. Morizot, 'Recherches sur les campagnes de Solomon en Numidie méridionale (535–589)', *CRAIBL* 137 (1993), 83–106.

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa.*

Sopater (mid-3rd cent.–before 337) Native of *Apamea, a *philosopher and pupil of *Iamblichus. In the mid-320s, Sopater frequented the *court of *Licinius and later that of *Constantine I. He was said to have told Constantine that it was impossible to make up for his involvement in the deaths of his son and wife. He was later implicated in a conspiracy formulated by the *Praefectus Praetorio Ablabius in the early 330s and was executed, probably before Ablabius accompanied *Constantius II to the East in 335/6. His son, also named Sopater, corresponded with *Libanius, was a *city councillor of *Apamaea, and entertained *Constantius II, the *Caesar *Gallus, and *Julian when they visited *Syria. EW; OPN

PLRE I, Sopater 1 and 2.

G. Fowden, 'The Platonist Philosopher and his Circle in Late Antiquity', *Philosophia* 7 (1977), 359–83.

T. D. Barnes, 'A Correspondent of Iamblichus', *GRBS* (1978), 99–106 = Barnes, *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire* Study XVII.

G. Fowden, 'The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *JHS* 102 (1982), 32–59.

Sopater Rhetor Greek teacher of *rhetoric and author of a manual on *declamation, who probably lived in *Athens in the second half of the 4th century. His treatise *On the Division of Questions* gives advice on tackling a large number of *declamation themes involving historical and fictional situations. It is particularly valuable for its analysis of the question at issue in each speech, showing stasis-theory in action, and for its presentation of often detailed advice, interspersed with sample passages, on how to organize and present the arguments.

A commentary to *Hermogenes, whose author frequently expresses his disagreements with earlier commentators and with Hermogenes himself, is also ascribed to a Sopater, but differences in approach suggest that it was the work of another rhetorician of the same name. RW

Diaireseis Zetematon, ed. C. Walz, in *Rhetores graeci* (1835), vol. 8.

D. Innes and M. Winterbottom, *Sopatros the Rhetor: Studies in the Text of the Diaíresis zētēmatōn* (BICS 48, 1988).

Sophia (*c.*530–after 601) *Empress and wife of *Justin II. The *acclamations of the people called the pair the 'two lights of the world' (*Corippus, *In Laudem Justini Minoris*, II, 169–73). She played a powerful role in government, and was the first empress whose image appeared alongside the *emperor's on the *coinage. After Justin went mad following the capture of *Dara by the Persians in 573, she secured a one-year truce with the *Persian Empire in 574, extended to three years, following negotiations by the *doctor and diplomat *Zacharias (*Menander Protector, fr. 18, 2–4 Blockley = fr. 37–8 Müller *FHG*). She was consulted by the *Senate before in 574 *Tiberius II was promoted as *Caesar and designated successor to Justin. Following Justin's death, Tiberius refused to marry her. After she initiated a plot against him, Tiberius removed her from

the *palace, although she retained the title of Augusta. She is last mentioned in 601. RCW

PLRE III, Sophia 1.

A. Cameron, 'Empress Sophia', *Byzantion* 45 (1975), 1–21.

sophist *See* RHETORIC AND RHETORICIANS.

Sophronius (*c.*550–638 or 639) *Patriarch of *Jerusalem 634–8/9, writer of *saints' lives, *sermons, and poems, defender of Chalcedonianism.

Two Sophronii are known at this period: Sophronius the Sophist and Sophronius the Patriarch. That they were the same man has been credibly demonstrated. Sophronius was born at *Damascus and may have been *bilingual. In Damascus Sophronius 'the Sophist' taught *rhetoric: its effect can be felt in his writings. This Sophronius became a monk in *Egypt about 580 and accompanied *John Moschus on his travels in the eastern Mediterranean. He is mentioned often in Moschus' *[Spiritual] Meadow* and the work is dedicated to him. From Egypt he went to the *Monastery of S. Theodosius near *Bethlehem. With Moschus he spent ten years on *Sinai. Thereafter he returned to the New Lavra in *Judaea. In about 603, with the *Persian invasion approaching, the pair left Palestine and eventually reached Egypt again, by way of *Syria and *Anatolia. Here Sophronius was cured of 'xerophthalmia' at the shrine of Ss. *Cyrus and John at Menouthis (*Aboukir). When the Persians captured Jerusalem in 614 Moschus and Sophronius went, it seems, to *Constantinople. Moschus wrote up the *Meadow* in *Rome and at his death there entrusted Sophronius with the work, and with conveying his body to Sinai for burial; but, because of the *Arab conquest, Sophronius buried his friend in the monastery of S. Theodosius. This was either in 619 or in 634.

In about 626 Sophronius was in North *Africa with *Maximus the Confessor, but in 633 he was in *Alexandria and soon in Constantinople and possibly Rome. He returned to Jerusalem, where the see had been vacant since 631, and in 634 was elected patriarch. At the *Arab conquest it was Sophronius who surrendered Jerusalem to the *Caliph *'Umar in 638.

Sophronius' literary output contains a narrative of the *miracles and encomia of Ss. Cyrus and John. With Moschus he wrote a life of S. *John the Almsgiver (lost but incorporated into the *Life* by *Leontius of Neapolis). He also composed Anacreontic odes, *epigrams, and idiomelic verses. His other works are homiletic and dogmatic. Several dubious and spurious works are attached to his name, including a *Life* of S. *Mary of Egypt.

From 633 his was the main voice against the Monoenergism, favoured by Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and *Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, that later developed into *Monotheletism. Sophronius' strong Chalcedonianism is set out in his *Synodical Letter* issued when he became patriarch. PP

CPG 7635–53, 7656–63 (dubia), 7670–81 (spuria).

ed. in PG 87/3, cols. 3147–4014.

ed. M. Gigante, *Sophronii Anacreontica* (1957).

ed. (with SpT and study) N. Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribucion al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (1975).

ed. (with FT and comm.) J. Gascou, *Sophrone de Jerusalem: Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean (BHG I 477–479)* (2006).

ed. (with FT and comm.) P. Bringel, *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Panégyriques des saints Cyr et Jean* (2008).

P. Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy* (2009) (including text, ET, and comm. of the *Synodical Letter*).

P. Booth, 'Sophronius of Jerusalem and the End of Roman History', in Wood, *History and Identity*, 1–28.

Sopianae (Pécs, Hungary) Capital of the *Balkan *province of *Valeria, connected by major *roads to *Aquincum, *Carnuntum, *Sirmium, and Singidunum (*Belgrade). Most of the archaeological remains come from the extensive necropolis, including Late Roman tombs and ornate mausolea with Christian wall paintings. ER

TIR L 34 (1968), 105.

O. Gábor, 'Buildings and Building Elements in the Town of Sopianae and its Late Antique Cemetery', in P. Scherrer, ed., *Domus. Das Haus in den Städten der römischen Donauprovinzen* (2008), 333–48.

K. Hudák, 'The Iconographical Program of the Wallpaintings in the Saint Peter and Paul Burial Chamber of Sopianae', *MittChristArch* 15 (2009), 47–76.

sors In Late Roman *law and the legislation of the Romano-Germanic kingdoms, the *Latin word *sors* signified either a portion of an *estate, or a share of land, or a share of the tax revenues or burdens incumbent on that land. PS

W. Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (2006).

***sortes biblicae* (*sortes sanctorum*)** *See* MAGIC AND DIVINATION, ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN, CHRISTIAN.

Soshans (MP Sōšāns, Avestan Saoshyant) The future saviour, or 'revitalizer' in *Zoroastrian *eschatology. He was believed to be the third and last of Zarathustra's eschatological sons born at the beginning of the last trimillennium of the world's 12,000-year history. He is ultimately responsible for the final

resurrection (*rist-āxēz*) of humanity which will last for a period of 57 years (**Bundahishn*, 34, 7).

The sanctuary of *Kuh-e Khwaja was associated with his coming, and occupied an island in Lake Hamun, whose waters were understood to preserve Zoroaster's semen for the future conception of the saviour. When he first appears, 'for thirty days and nights the sun will stand in the sky' (*Bundahishn*, 33, 34). He is described as 'victorious' and as 'the completer of the renovation through the complete propagation of the praise of the *yazdān*, and the perfect propagation of the pure religion' (**Dadistan-e Denig*, 1, 11; 27, 7). With his eschatological helpers he will perform a *sacrifice and kill a mythical bull, and from its fat they will prepare the white *hōm*, an ambrosia, that they give to the recently resurrected ensuring their immortality (*Bundahishn*, 34, 23). He is often compared to the Judaeo-Christian Messiah, but there are few resemblances. YSDV; POS

ed. M. Jaafari-Dehagi, *Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Part I: Transcriptions, Translation and Commentary* (1998).

Skjærvø, *Spirit.*

Sosthenion Bay on the European side of the *Bosporus (mod. İstinye, ancient Lasthenes), associated with the Argonauts (Dionysius of Byzantium, 63). Legend attributed to a *dream of *Constantine I the foundation of a *monastery (*John Malalas, IV, 13), where miraculous cures occurred (*Sozomen II, 3) and whose *icon of the Archangel *Michael was apostrophized in epigrams by *Agathias (*AnthGr* I, 35). BWA; OPN

Janin, *CPByz* 479.

Janin, *ÉglisesCP* 346–50.

J. Beaucamp, 'Saint-Michel de Sôsthénion ou Les Argonautes et l'archange', in Caseau et al., *Mélanges Maraval*, 13–23.

Soterichus (*fl.* late 3rd cent.) Poet from *Oasis in *Libya whose writing embraced mythology, history, and *panegyric. According to the **Suda* he produced a *panegyric on *Diocletian and a *Life* of *Apollonius of *Tyana. He also wrote a poem describing the sack of Thebes by Alexander the Great (the *Python* or *Alexandriacon*). It is not known whether allusion was made to Dionysus in this poem, but the god clearly held centre stage in Soterichus' four-book *Dionysiaca* or *Bassarica*. A poem on Ariadne is also likely to have touched upon the role of Dionysus. Interest in women and the theme of love suggested by the poem on Ariadne is further in evidence in Soterichus' poem on Pantheia of Babylon (the story of the tragic love between Pantheia and her husband Abradatas is told in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*). Soterichus is known from Tzetzes (Scholia on Lycophron, *Alexander*, 486) to have produced a poem on the Calydonian Boar hunt (*Calydoniaca*). According to *Stephanus of Byzantium he produced a *patria* poem that celebrated his own city of Oasis. A fragment of a poem on Antinous also attributed to him is preserved on P.Oxy. 4352 (*c.* AD 298) . RECS

PLRE I, Soterichus 1.

FGrHist Jacoby IVA/7, 1080 (= 641).

Barnes, *CE* 296 n. 68.

souk *See* STREET.

South Cadbury (Cadbury Castle, Somerset; Cadbury-Camelot) A large multivallate Iron Age hillfort in south-western *Britain. Some Late Roman finds are known but it is most famous for being refortified with a stone and timber defensive rampart in the late 5th century. A large timber feasting hall was built on the summit of the hill and this structure was associated with imported Mediterranean *pottery. The 'Dark Age' activity appears to have ended in the 6th century. JFG

L. Alcock, S. J. Stevenson, and C. R. Musson, *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: The Early Medieval Archaeology* (1995).

J. Davey, *The Roman to Medieval Transition in the Environs of South Cadbury, Somerset* (2005).

South Etruria Area to the north-west of *Rome, between the River Tiber and the Tyrrhenian Sea, comprising *c.* 1,000 km² (386 square miles). It was characterized in the classical period by a dense network of towns, *villas, and farms, closely connected to Rome. Archaeological surveys and texts indicate important changes in Late Antiquity. The number of *cities decreased, and the disappearance of public *inscriptions, coupled with the abandonment of classical monuments, suggests that those that survived developed new functions, especially as ecclesiastical centres. Ceramic evidence indicates that the number of rural settlements increased after a drop in the 3rd century, and the classical pattern of dispersed farms and villas survived into the 5th. The presence of local *pottery and the growth of imported *amphorae attest to the vitality of local markets and interregional *trade, dominated by Rome. Debate remains open over the form of exploitation of land and labour, and documents record the transfer of property to the Church, parallel with the foundation of rural parishes. The number of sites fell after the *Byzantine invasion, reaching its lowest point in the 8th century. In the Middle Ages, the landscape was dominated by large papal *estates (*domuscultae*) and hilltop settlements (*castelli*). CARM

H. Patterson, ed., *Bridging the Tiber* (2004).

H. Patterson, 'The Middle Tiber Valley in the Late Antique and Early Medieval Periods: Some Observations', in

H. Patterson and P. Coarelli, eds., *Mercator Placidissimus: The Tiber Valley in Antiquity* (2008), 499–532.
T. W. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of Southern Etruria* (1978).

Sozomen (*c.*400–after 445) The church historian Salamenios Hermeias Sozomenos was born in the *village of Bethelea, near *Gaza. His first name, which is the Aramaic form of his third, indicates that he came from a Semitic background, as his knowledge of *Arabic and *Syriac suggests. After legal studies, possibly in *Beirut, he became a lawyer in *Constantinople. Proud of his profession, he regularly used the **Theodosian Code* as a historical source. As far as we can tell, he did not reach the upper echelons of society. His *Ecclesiastical History*, dedicated to the *Emperor *Theodosius II, is an attempt to attract the attention of the *court and is therefore *panegyrical about the powers-that-be at the time of publication (*c.*445), in particular *Pulcheria. It is unlikely that he had any success in this aim: the last book remains unfinished and parts of the rest are unrevised. Having originally planned to write the history of the Church from its very origins, Sozomen settled for a two-book epitome of *Eusebius (now lost) and a nine-book continuation. The history aimed at covering the same ground as *Socrates (324–439), who was also his main source. Apart from the hope of social promotion, the reason for rewriting Socrates was a desire to surpass him by presenting a more polished literary product, correcting Socrates' sympathy for the *Novatians, and countering his antipathy towards *John Chrysostom. Although Nicene in his Christology, Sozomen actually includes additional information about the Novatians and had contacts among Chrysostom's admirers who allowed him access to original documents and the *Epitaphios* of John Chrysostom by Pseudo-Martyrius. Even more than Socrates, Sozomen presents himself as a historian in the classical tradition, pretending to rely primarily on personal experience, eyewitnesses, and documents. In fact, most of his sources are narrative. Besides Socrates, he consulted *Rufinus, *Eunapius, and *Olympiodorus (especially in his last book), as well as Sabinus of *Heraclaea and other collections of documents (including the so-called **Historia Acephala*). In addition, he drew on a wide range of Christian literature, such as *Athanasius, the **Historia Monachorum*, and Jerome's *Life of S. *Hilarion*, and classicizing texts, such as the writings of *Libanius and *Julian. His style is much more polished than Socrates and he quotes fewer documents, asserting that they would interrupt the flow of his narrative. Although Sozomen did not abandon imperial reigns as an organizing principle, his *History* focuses more narrowly than that of Socrates on the Church. Whereas Socrates emphasizes concord between Church and state and the importance of peace in both, Sozomen's *History* celebrates the Christian revolution, through which the *pagan world was converted into a Christian one, marked by the constant increase of the pious. In consequence, Sozomen tends to minimize the importance of *heresies and to emphasize their disappearance more than their origins, and he highlights the importance of the monks as examples of piety. Unsurprisingly, the last book marks the culmination of this process. Together with Socrates and *Theodoret, Sozomen became by the 6th century one of the canonical treatments of the period, and was epitomized in *Greek by *Theodore Lector and in *Latin by *Cassiodorus/*Epiphanius in the so-called **Historia Tripartita*). PVN

PLRE II, Sozomenus 2.
CPG 6030.
ed. G. C. Hansen (GCS NF 4, ²1995).
ed. (annotated with FT) B. Grillet and G. Sabbah (SC 306, 418, 495, 516; 1983–2008).
ed. (with GT) G. C. Hansen (2004).
ET C. D. Hartrauft and A. C. Zenos (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 2, 1891).
E. I. Argov, 'A Church Historian in Search of an Identity: Aspects of Early Byzantine Palestine in Sozomen's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *ZAC* 9 (2005), 367–95.
H. Leppin, *Von Constantin dem Grossen zu Theodosius II. Das christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret* (1996).
P. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix et de piété: étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène* (2004).

Spahbad Military rank in the *Persian Empire under the *Sasanians, denoting an army commander. The earliest attestations of the term, the *inscriptions of the 3rd century AD, do not determine the authority and functions of the rank. However, the Spahbads known from the 6th-century *seals of the time of *Khosrow I are assigned to the four administrative regions (MP **shahr*) of the late Sasanian Empire: the North, South, West, and the East. AZ

R. Gyselen, *The Four Generals of the Sasanian Empire* (2001).

Spain

Background

In the Iberian Peninsula, the reorganization of the Roman provincial *administration by the *Tetrarchy and *Constantine I was limited to the creation of the *Dioecesis *Hispaniae with its capital at Augusta *Emerita (mod. Merida), newly incorporating *Mauretania Tingitana, south of the Mediterranean and the separation of the *provinces of *Carthaginiensis and *Tarraconensis. The *Balearic Islands were the last province created, at the end of the 4th century.

The disposition of the army as inventoried in the *Notitia Dignitatum* is uncertain, but the cities of Spain acquired considerable fortifications: Asturica Augusta, Barcino (Barcelona), Bracara Augusta (Braga), Gerunda (mod. Girona), Lucus Augusti, and Tarraco, as well as the smaller Conimbriga, all gained circuits of walls sometime between the late 3rd and early 5th centuries.

Spanish economic prosperity relied on the *annona* and on olive oil export, but this declined alongside the decline of Mediterranean trade. Networks of pottery distribution in the interior became highly localized; aristocratic villas dotting the countryside, often with private chapels, began to be adapted in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Religion

Late Roman Spain witnessed two notable religious developments. The first is the heresy of Priscillian in Gallaecia and Lusitania: after his controversial execution by the usurper Magnus Maximus *c.*385, an episcopal council was called at Toletum (Toledo) in 400 to tackle its aftermath, with limited success. Consentius of Minorca records efforts against Priscillianism a decade later, and it was still mentioned in the 6th century. About the same time, Prudentius of Calahorra (Calagurris in the Basque country), part of a literary network of Christian aristocrats which spanned the Pyrenees and including Paulinus of Nola, published a series of fourteen poems known as the *Peristephanon* describing in classical metres and highly coloured terms the sufferings and deaths of Christian martyrs; six of the poems are concerned with people and places in Spain.

End of the Roman period

The historian Paulus Orosius and the chronicler Hydatius are the principal sources for the end of Roman Spain. Amidst the chaos of imperial usurpations, Vandals, Alans, and Suebes entered the Iberian Peninsula in 409, initially facing opposition organized by Didymus and Verinianus, relatives of the Emperor Honorius; the dynasty of Theodosius originated in Spain, and maintained estates there. Constantius III temporarily restored Roman authority by employing the Visigoths to eliminate the Siling Vandals and Alans in 417/18. When the Hasding Vandals departed for North Africa in 419, the Suebes were left commanding the field, and under their King Rechila expanded outward from Gallaecia, making their capital at Augusta Emerita in 439 and conquering Baetica and Lusitania by 441. Rechiarius succeeded in 448 and became the first Germanic king to adopt Nicene (Catholic) Christianity, perhaps to charm his Hispano-Roman subjects after decades of Suebic pillaging. In 452 he made a treaty with the Roman Empire, but in 455 invaded Tarraconensis, the final province under direct Roman rule. This prompted the Emperor Eparchius Avitus to dispatch the Visigoths again, under Theoderic II, who defeated and killed Rechiarius in 456.

Visigothic settlement

The Visigoths thereafter established themselves in the south and east of Spain, conquering Baetica, Carthaginiensis, and southern Lusitania. There was no clear end to Roman rule in Spain, only decreasing likelihood of imperial authority being restored. The last emperor to set foot in Iberia was Majorian, who made an *adventus* into Caesaraugusta (Saragossa) in 460 but did not attempt to dislodge the Visigoths from control of the Peninsula. The Visigoth King Euric conquered Tarraconensis in 474/6, confining the Suebes to northern Lusitania and Gallaecia; in 464 the Suebes under Remismund negotiated with the Emperor Leo I for support against the Visigoths, but after the chronicle of Hydatius ends in 469, disappear from sight for a century. While the first Visigothic kingdom was based at Toulouse, the *Consularia Caesaraugustana* (*Chronicle of Saragossa*) indicates that settlement in Spain intensified in the 490s. With the defeat of the Visigoth Alaric II by the Frank Clovis at the Battle of Vouillé in 507, Visigothic territory in Gaul, except for Septimania, was overrun by Franks and Burgundians, and Spain became the base of the Visigoths.

The early 6th century was a period of Ostrogothic hegemony in the western Mediterranean basin. Theoderic the Ostrogoth intervened in the aftermath of Vouillé to establish Amalaric, son of Alaric, as a regent over the Visigoths. After the brief personal rule of Amalaric also ended in defeat by the Franks, the Ostrogothic general Theudis became king in 531: during his reign numerous provincial church councils were held. Amidst civil war between Agila I and Athanagild, the Emperor Justinian I sent an army to intervene in 552. This Byzantine invasion established an enclave on the south-eastern coast of Carthaginiensis, but never attempted full reconquest on the scale that was achieved in Africa and Italy.

Athanagild emerged victorious and moved the Visigothic capital to Toletum (Toledo); his elected successor Liuva I is most notable for appointing his brother Leovigild as joint ruler in 569, responsible for reunifying Spain under single rule for the first time since 409. As chronicled by John of Biclar, beginning in the 570s, Leovigild campaigned against the Empire in the south-east, conquered Cordoba, and suppressed various peoples and local polities which had become independent in the north. He also fought the Basques in 581, establishing the town of Victoriacum to pacify the area. In imitation of Roman urban foundations, Leovigild also built a new capital at Reccopolis, named after his son and successor. Most importantly he defeated the

Suebes. They reappear in the mid-6th century in Gallaecia, surrounded by the Visigoths, and were converted from *Homoean (*Arian) Christianity under the influence of *Martin of *Braga sometime before 561; Martin then presided over Catholic councils at Braga in 561 and 572. The Suebic King *Miro formed a brief alliance with the Visigothic king. When Miro's son and successor was overthrown, Leovigild invaded in 585, conquering the kingdom.

In 580, Leovigild's son *Hermenegild revolted, negotiating with the eastern Roman emperor and converting from Homoean (Arian) to Catholic Christianity in 582, but his father defeated him in 584. At the death of Leovigild in 586, the only obstacle to unifying Spain was the religious divide, highlighted by the revolt of Hermenegild. Leovigild's son and successor *Reccared personally became Catholic in 587, and most Homoean clergy followed his example. Secure after repelling a Frankish attack on Septimania in 589, Hermenegild called the Third Council of Toledo, under *Leander *Bishop of *Seville, which announced the formal conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism, and by 590 all Homoean resistance had ceased. Reccared adopted the name *Flavius, a title reminiscent of the dynasty of the Roman Emperor *Constantine I, as did subsequent Visigothic kings, presenting themselves as successors to the Christian Roman emperors. Indeed, John of Biclar compared Reccared to the emperors Constantine and *Marcian, and declared that his own church council had surpassed those of *Nicaea and *Chalcedon which those emperors had convened.

Later history

The limitations of the sources make the history of Spain in the 7th century little more than a sequence of kings and bishops. In 601, Liuva II became the fourth member of the same family to be king, but he was deposed after two years by the Visigothic noble Witteric, veteran of an Homoean revolt in Emerita Augusta recounted in the *Lives of the Fathers of *Merida*. This reaffirmed the elective nature of Visigothic kingship, from amongst a small pool of the Visigothic *aristocracy, and intrigue and coup characterized the government for the rest of its existence.

Two kings in the first third of the 7th century can stand for much of Spanish society under the Visigoths. *Sisebut (r. 612–21) was a cultivated man of letters, author of a *Life* of S. *Desiderius of *Vienne (*BHL* 2148) and an epistolary poem on *eclipses addressed to *Isidore of Seville. He also made attempts to convert the *Lombards to Catholicism. A sophisticated literary culture characterized Visigothic society: beginning with the religious writings of Leander and Isidore of Seville, and continued by the *letter collection of *Braulio of Saragossa, the involved theological treatises of *Ildefonsus and *Julian of Toledo, and the archaizing poetry of *Eugenius II of Toledo, the bishops of Spain were accomplished scholars. Furthermore the *Visigothic slates—accounting, legal, educational, and religious texts found in rural obscurity on the northern Meseta—hint that written culture may have been widespread on the ground. Sisebut also renewed Roman legislation against *Jews, whose legal status became progressively worse during the 7th century, and began the final reconquest of the eastern Roman enclave. His successor *Suinthila completed this by 624: apart from periodic skirmishes with the Franks, the Visigothic kingdom appeared thenceforth secure from external threat, but in the north, the Astures and Basques were never subdued, and raids and campaigns were a constant source of internal tension.

The institutional Church made repeated attempts to ameliorate the instability arising from the struggle for the kingship amongst the nobility, and the number of regular councils, at Toledo and also in the provinces, are matched only in Gaul. Attempts to furnish the king with spiritual support began with the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633, presided over by Isidore. When Chintila succeeded in 636, he called the Fifth Council, which granted protection to the king and his family. But the coups continued, culminating under *Chindasuinth (r. 642–53), who executed 700 nobles and forced the remainder to swear *oaths of loyalty. The Seventh Council of Toledo provided for the excommunication of treasonous clergy in 646.

Alongside this substantial body of *canon law, a distinctive feature of Spain in the 7th century is the quantity of surviving legislation, yet it is difficult to assess in practice given the almost total absence of any corresponding *charters. Begun in the reign of Chindasuinth, the **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum* or *Liber Iudiciorum*) was promulgated by his son *Reccesuinth in 654, at least in part a statement of royal authority. The code draws on prior legislation, including the lost *Codex Revisus* of Leovigild, but most notably reflects Roman *law as mediated through the *Breviarium of *Alaric* II (issued in 506). The law is emphatically territorial, and applied equally to both Visigoths and Hispano-Romans, who had begun to integrate after 589. Government administration, according to the code, was in the first instance military, with the military commanders, the provincial **dux*, and the urban **comes* being the key office-holders. *Taxation was certainly collected, if intermittently.

The reign of *Wamba (r. 672–80) is one of the best documented in the 7th century, thanks to the account by Julian of Toledo of his suppression of a revolt. Wamba made a number of laws about the military, mandating armed support of the kingdom, but he seems to have been deposed in a clerical coup, to

judge from the curious exercise in legitimizing his successor *Ervig during the opening of the Twelfth Council of Toledo in 681. Ervig himself promulgated a revised version of the Visigothic law that year.

The combination of coups and the mass of new anti-Jewish legislation in this code, as well as further laws by successive kings against fugitive slaves, has in the past led historians to see the Visigothic kingdom as spiralling out of control in its final years. But such instability was the norm, and the downfall of the Visigoths happenstance. After the death of *Wittiza in 710, his successor *Roderic struggled to establish the legitimacy of his reign, and an *Arab expeditionary force under *Tariq b. Ziyad invaded in 711. This Islamic *army defeated the Visigoths in that year at the Battle of Guadelete, where the king and much of the nobility perished. The Arabs quickly secured the submission of the major cities by 713/14, and the unity of the Iberian Peninsula was once more fractured. The nascent emirate of al-Andalus was based at Cordoba in the south and the old capital of Toletum persistently rebelled. In 718/22, *Pelayo (Pelagius the Visigoth) revolted against Arab rule in the Cantabrian mountains of the north; his foundation of the Asturian kingdom began the Spanish reconquest, at least in the eyes of his descendants. GDB

J. S. Richardson, *The Romans in Spain* (1996).
Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*.
K. Bowes and M. Kulikowski, eds., *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives* (2005).
Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*.
E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (1969).
P. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).
P. Heather, ed., *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century* (1999).
R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (2004).
J. N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in History and Legend* (2009).
A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418–711: A Bibliography* (1998, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2014).
P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (1972).
R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (²1994).

Spain, churches of Surviving early churches in *Spain are diverse but broadly united by their proximity to Roman-period sites and reuse of fine ashlar masonry. In plan they are compartmentalized by solid walls or chancel barriers. *Reccopolis, *Quintanilla de las Viñãs, S. Comba de Bande, and S. Pedro de la Nave have cruciform central plans augmented by separate rectangular spaces, whereas S. Lucía del Trampal, built over a Roman shrine, and *S. Juan de los Baños, by a spring, have distinctive separate triple *apses. S. Frutuoso de Montélios may be a cruciform mausoleum. Decoration focuses on friezes that reflect a taste for geometric chip-carving similar to that found on *jewellery. There is little doubt, on the basis of stylistic as well as scientific analysis, that some elements of the buildings belong to the *Visigothic period. Building archaeology has provided much useful data but little agreement on interpretation. Some scholars have proposed dates as late as the 9th or 10th centuries for several of the surviving structures, and the study of these churches forms a highly contested field. RJW

J. D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (1990).
A. Chavarría Arnau, 'Churches and Aristocracies in Seventh-Century Spain: Some Thoughts on the Debate on Visigothic Churches', *EME* 18/2, 160–74.
M. de los Ángeles Utrero Agudo, 'Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches and the Archaeology of Architecture: Revisions and Reinterpretation of Constructions, Chronologies and Contexts', *MedArch* 54 (2010), 1–33.

Spain, churches of, Melque The Church of Santa María de Melque (*Toledo) is remarkable for being used under Muslim rule in al-*Andalus. Part of a large monastic complex, it was constructed of massive ashlar granite blocks, probably reused from a Roman-period *aqueduct. Its plan is cruciform with a high crossing and broad horseshoe *arches. The date of its construction is much disputed, but scholarly opinion has moved towards *c.*800, based partly on analysis of its fragmentary *stucco decoration. RJW

S. Garen, 'Santa Maria de Melque and Church Construction under Muslim Rule', *JSAH* 51 (1992), 288–305.

Spain, churches of, Quintanilla de las Viñas Church, also known as S. María de Lara, at Quintanilla near Burgos in northern Spain. Only the chancel and crossing stand. Excavations indicate it had a three-aisled subdivided nave. The sculptural friezes on exterior and interior may post-date the *Visigothic period. RJW

M. Cruz Villalón, 'Quintanilla de las Viñas en el context del Arte Altomedieval: una revisión de su escultura', *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 21 (2004), 101–35.

Spain, churches of, S. Juan de Baños de Cerrato Church at Baños de Cerrato in north central Spain. The *inscription at this church recording its foundation in 662 by King *Reccesuinth has long been the lynchpin monument for 7th-century churches in *Spain. Some believe that Reccesuinth's *villa Gerticos is nearby. However scholars suggest that the standing structure is 9th century and the inscription a copy. Excavations have revealed the foundations of three *apses of the earlier church, and graves. *Visigothic-period frieze decoration is visible on what is now an exterior wall. RJW

P. de Palol, *La Basílica de San Juan de Baños* (1988).
R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2006), 174–96.

Spain, churches of, S. Pedro de la Mata Ruined church outside *Toledo, plundered for *spolia, but

later reconstructed. It is disputed whether it was built before or after the *Arab conquest of 711. RJW
Utrero Agudo, *Iglesias tardoantiguas*, 156–7.

sparapet Armenian military title derived from Parthian *spādapat* (MP *spāhbed*), denoting the general-in-chief of the Armenian army in wartime. The *sparapet* ranked above all other military offices and coordinated the tactics of the various contingents of the Armenian army. The origins of the office in *Armenia are unknown, but by the 4th century it had become hereditary in the *Mamikonean family, as evidenced by the **Buzandaran Patmuti'wnk'* (*Epic Histories*, 5th cent.). Sources do not permit the delineation of all the prerogatives of the position, but it constituted the most important office at court. The office and title remained in the Mamikonean family until the second half of the 8th century when it was transferred to Smbat *Bagratuni (d. 775). SVLa
R. Bedrosian, 'The *Sparapetut'iwn* in Armenia in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', *Armenian Review* 36/2 (1983), 6–46.
Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian.*
M.-L. Chaumont, 'L'Ordre des préséances à la cour des Arsacides d'Arménie', *Journal Asiatique* 256 (1968), 11–31.
N. Garsoïan, 'Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Elements in Arsacid Armenia', *Handes Amsorya* 90 (1976), 177–234.

sparsio A symbolic form of largesse that featured scattering grain and later tokens or coins to a populace. It was associated from the time of the Republic with such public rites as the celebration of the *Kalends of January, Roman triumphs, and the celebration of the *Secular Games. *Sparsiones* might be depicted as sacks of *gold coins, or as scenes of distribution that resemble **congiaria*, such as that showing *Constantine's *liberalitas* on the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome. Unlike *congiaria*, which remained principally acts of political munificence, *sparsiones* evoked sacral connections with the divine shower of golden rain that brings fertility to the earth. The opus sectile floor of the Basilica of *Junius Bassus in *Rome shows a *consul sprinkling coins from his chariot; a consular *processus* was described by *Corippus (*In Laudem Justini Minoris*, IV, 226) as late as the time of *Justin II. RLi
H. Nibley, 'Sparsiones', *CJ* 40 (1945), 515–43.

Sparta and Laconia (Lakedaimon, Lakedaimonia) Inland *city and region of *Greece, enclosed by mountains in the southern Peloponnese, and traversed by the River Eurotas. Prosperous under the High Empire, Sparta recovered sufficiently from the invasion of the *Heruli in 267–8 to support a monumental building programme which included well-appointed *houses for affluent landowners. The 5th-century cathedral on the acropolis accords with Sparta's first attested *bishop in AD 458. In the later 6th century, in response to incursions by *Slavs, Spartan citizens emigrated to *Sicily and Calabria, while pastoralists retreated into the mountains where they preserved a fossilized form of Greek, Tzakonian, extant until recent times. PA
R. W. V. Catling, W. G. Cavanagh, J. H. Crouwel, and G. S. Shipley, *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey* (2002).
G. L. Huxley, 'The Second Dark Age of the Peloponnese', *Lakōnikai spoudai* 3 (1977), 84–110.
R. J. Sweetman, 'Memory and Loss in the Late Antique Cities of Knossos and Sparta', in N. J. Christie and A. Augenti, *Urbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns* (2012), 243–274 at 249–53, with extensive bibliography.

Spartianus, Aelius Alleged author of six lives in the **Historia Augusta*, covering Hadrian and Lucius Aelius, Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger, Caracalla and Geta. OPN

Spatharius From the mid-5th century in the eastern part of the Empire the *emperor's principal personal bodyguard (from Gk. *spathe*, sword). The first firmly attested *Spatharius is the *eunuch *Chrysaphius under *Theodosius II. Sometimes the term was also used more loosely to refer to individual imperial guards. HE
Jones, *LRE* 567–8.

spectabilis *See* TITLES OF HONOUR, ROMAN.

spices and spice trade Along with *incense, precious *stones, and animal products, the Roman Empire imported spices from south and south-east Asia, as condiments and as medicinal products. While many were luxury consumer products, by Late Antiquity some spices, most notably black pepper, may have been quite widely available. Several kilos of pepper have been excavated from a single storage room at *Berenice on the Red Sea coast of *Egypt and it does not appear on the 2nd-century list of tariffed, high-value products entering *Alexandria (Miller, *Spice Trade*, 279–80). Some spices could also be bought in different qualities, reflecting a stratified market.

Spices are often difficult to recover archaeologically and textual evidence is complicated by the difficulties of identifying what botanical types are indicated by *Latin and *Greek terms, especially where these may have changed over time or have been subject to contemporary confusion. J. L. Miller provides an invaluable concordance of terminology and sources, while archaeobotanical research is adding new and quantifiable data. Particular problems continue to surround the identification of spices usually translated as cinnamon and cassia, which are listed as coming from *Ethiopia and further east in different qualities, and cloves, which

prior to modern transplantation, came only from a tiny range of islands in the Moluccas. It remains unclear from textual or archaeological sources whether cloves had reached the Mediterranean by Late Antiquity.

RRD

R. Cappers, *Roman Food-Prints at Berenike: Archaeobotanical Evidence of Subsistence and Trade in the Eastern Desert of Egypt* (2006).

J. I. Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire: 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (1969).

R. Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper* (2008).

spies and spying The Romans and Persians are both reported as having long-established bodies of state-supported spies (Gk. *kataskopoi*) who infiltrated enemy territory, including the *palace, to learn of enemy plans (*Procopius, *Pers.* I, 21, 11; *Anecd.* 30, 12). Disguise as *merchants is particularly mentioned, consistently with both empires' concern to control cross-frontier *trade, thereby restricting opportunities for espionage (*CJust* IV, 63, 4 [408]).

Use of spies on other *frontiers is less well attested, although northern *Britain had a unit known as *arcani* ('secret(ive) men') who gathered intelligence about *tribes beyond the frontier; they were disbanded in 368/9 because they had succumbed to bribery and were passing information to the enemy (*Ammianus, XXIII, 3, 8).

Regular spies were not always used for such activities: in 359 Ammianus Marcellinus, then an *army officer, undertook a mission into the Kurdish Alps to observe a Persian invasion (Ammianus, XVIII, 6, 20–7, 2), while in 533 Procopius, then secretary to *Belisarius, was sent to Syracuse to gather information about the *Vandal fleet (*Vand.* I, 14, 1–5). *Embassies might also undertake spying, although the Romans and Persians were alert to this and sometimes restricted their movements.

ADL

Lee, *Information and Frontiers*, 166–82.

spiritual direction Personal guidance of a philosophical or religious adherent by an experienced figure. Practices of examination of conscience, meditation on specific themes (e.g. death), and the sharing of one's thoughts with a guide were common to both philosophical and Christian movements. Direction could be provided *viva voce*, in written form, or both. Socratic dialogues portray a group form of spiritual guidance paralleled in later Christian *ascetic and monastic circles. The *Enchiridion* ('Manual') of Epictetus, and Christian analogues such as the trilogy *Praktikos*, *Gnostikos*, and *Kephalaia gnostika* of *Evagrius Ponticus, offer brief chapters suitable for memorization and meditation, whether or not accompanied by personal instruction. The letters of *Barsanuphius and *John of Gaza (6th cent.) illustrate direction by recluses who never actually met their clients.

Christian monasticism placed obedience to an elder's skills of discernment at the heart of monastic initiation, as evident in treatises on discernment and spiritual guidance, and in numerous examples of direction found among the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (**Apophthegmata Patrum*) of the Egyptian monks in the form of requests for a 'word' from a wise monk. In coenobitic communities such guidance could be shared or delegated, as with the housemasters of *Pachomian monasteries in *Egypt, or the novice master described in chapter 58 of the *Rule of S. *Benedict*.

CAS

I. Hadot, *Seneca und die griechisch-römische Tradition der Seelenleitung* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie 13, 1969).

I. Hadot, 'The Spiritual Guide', in A. H. Armstrong, ed., *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (1986), 436–59.

I. Hausherr, *Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East* (CSS 116, tr. A. P. Gythiel, 1990; French original, 1955).

P. Rabbow, *Seelenführung. Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (1954).

C. Stewart, 'The Desert Fathers on Radical Honesty about the Self', *Sobornost* 12 (1990), 25–39, 131–56.

Split (Spalato) Medieval and modern city on the coast of Croatia, 6 km (*c.*4 miles) south-west of Roman *Salona. The historical core of Split is the *palace built for his retirement by the *Emperor *Diocletian. Ancient names recorded are Aspalato (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *occ.* XI, 48), Spalathron and Spalatrum (**Anonymi Cosmographia*, IV, 16 and V, 14), and Spalato (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, V, B1), all derived from **palatium*. Architectural remains and artefacts found within and outside the palace perimeter confirm that the site was occupied before Diocletian built his palace.

Diocletian's retirement palace, built *c.*295–305, was a unique synthesis of military, ceremonial, residential, and funerary architecture. Seen formally in the landscape, it was a fortified, maritime *villa of a slightly trapezoidal plan with square towers at corners and along three sides. A pair of octagonal towers flanked each of the three land *gates. The seaside *façade had a small entrance from the quay and an arcaded *ambulatio* on the upper floor along the entire length of the southern wall. The interior space of 30,000 m² (over 322,000 square feet) had an urban, if not *castrum*-like arrangement. The *cardo* and *decumanus*, the colonnaded *streets leading from the land gates, met in the centre of the palace, dividing the northern, utilitarian areas of the palace from the southern section, whose functions required greater spatial complexity.

The Peristyle was centrally located between the quarters of the *palatium* designed for residence and for *ceremony. To the east and west were two walled enclosures with richly decorated sacral buildings. The emperor's Mausoleum, now the city's cathedral, is an *octagon constructed on a high podium with a colonnaded portico attached to its east side; the western enclosure next to it contained two round *temples and one prostyle, rectangular temple, which has been assumed to have been dedicated to Jupiter. This identification remains uncertain, but its architectural decoration is related to that of the Mausoleum. The elevated, monumental entry from the Peristyle into the private areas to the south should be visualized as a stage on which the emperor might make a ceremonial appearance, of the sort depicted a century later on the *Missorium of *Theodosius I. Four red granite columns support an arcuated lintel and pediment. The circular Vestibule beyond this ceremonial porch led into the residence whose apsed reception and dining halls looked out over the sea. There were two *bath complexes, east and west of the Vestibule, between the sacral and residential areas, which probably had both public and private functions. The residential rooms were built as an upper floor above massive substructures; though the plan of the rooms themselves has been lost, their layout seems to be related to that of the substructures.

Diocletian's vegetable garden (**Epitome de Caesaribus*, 39, 5) has eluded archaeological investigation, but an official garment factory, a **gynaeceum*, perhaps in the palace, is recorded in the early 5th century (*Not. Dig.*, *occ*, XI, 48).

Traditions recorded by *Thomas the Archdeacon (1201–68) associate the transformation of the palace into a city with refugees leaving Salona in the 7th century and continuing their urban and ecclesiastical traditions by converting Diocletian's Mausoleum into the cathedral and the rectangular temple into a *baptistery. Systematic excavation, documentation, and conservation have been carried on since 1955. IDS

J. J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace, Split: Residence of a Retired Roman Emperor* (Ian Sanders Memorial Fund, 1986, new edn. 1993).

N. Cambi, J. Belamarić, and T. Marasović, eds., *Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace* (2009).

S. McNally, 'The Palace of Diocletian at Split', in *Croatia: Aspects of Art, Architecture and Cultural Heritage* (2009), 48–59.

S. McNally, 'Split in the Byzantine Empire: The Archaeological Evidence', in *XVIII IntCongByzStud* (from Moscow 1991), vol. 2 (1996), 250–64.

S. McNally, *The Architectural Ornament of Diocletian's Palace at Split* (BAR IntSer, 639, 1996).

Spoleto (Roman Spoletium) *City 120 km (75 miles) north-east of *Rome on the Via Flaminia, in central *Italy, mentioned in the *letters of *Symmachus. The earliest known *bishop, Caecilianus, received a letter in *c.*355 from *Liberius, *Bishop of Rome. A legendary *Passio* (*BHL* 7451) records that a martyred bishop called Savinus was buried near the second milestone from Spoleto; he was still venerated in *Lombard times (*Paul the Deacon, *HL* IV, 16; cf. *Procopius, *Gothic*, VI, 8). During the *Byzantine invasion, the *Ostrogoth *Totila converted the amphitheatre into a fortress.

From the rule of the *Lombard *Faroald I (*c.*575–*c.*591) onwards, Spoleto became the centre of the semi-independent Duchy of *Spoleto. The city's position, between the *exarchate of *Ravenna and Rome but distant from the principal Lombard centres, permitted the *Duces of Spoleto to steer an independent political course. Early in the Lombard period, Pope *Gregory I (590–604) records a dispute in the city between *Homoean (*'Arian') and Catholic bishops, caused by Homoeans and their bishop forcing their way into a church because they could acquire no place of worship through negotiation.

Spoleto has several Late Antique churches and other architectural remains, notably the Tempietto del Clitunno, 18 km (10 miles) from the city, and S. Salvatore, on the eastern edge of the city. S. Salvatore, a 4th/5th-century *basilica, was restored by the Lombards in the 8th century, and reflects the classical forms of the Tempietto. Long thought to be a Roman pagan *temple with its *cella* remodelled for Christian use, the Tempietto is now recognized as being of the late 7th, or first half of the 8th, century. The form of both churches suggests that they were built and restored by Roman architects working under the *patronage of *Faroald II (703/5–719/20), a *patron of the arts and founder of churches. CTH

J. J. Emerick, *The Tempietto del Clitunno near Spoleto*, 2 vols. (1998).

C. Jäggi, *San Salvatore in Spoleto. Studien Zur Spätantiken und Frühmittelalterlichen Architektur Italiens* (1998).

Spoleto, Duchy of Unit of *Lombard government, established in the 570s probably from a Byzantine territorial district and by a rebellious mercenary commander, *Faroald (who besieged *Rome in 579).

The Duchy of Spoleto often followed a quasi-autonomous trajectory. The *Dux Faroald extended Lombard control eastwards into *Picenum, but best documented are conflicts between his successor, the Dux Ariulf (591–601), and Byzantine and papal forces in Rome, as documented by Pope *Gregory I's *letters. Ariulf blocked land communications to *Ravenna, battered the northern districts of the Duchy of Rome, and besieged the City of Rome, in concert with attacks in the south by the *Lombards of *Benevento. When still a pagan, Ariulf saw the *martyr-*bishop S. Savinus fighting beside him in battle (*Paul the *Deacon, *HL* IV,

16). Gregory negotiated a treaty in 592 and regained forts (and wayward mercenaries); he engineered a wider peace with King *Agilulf in 598, with the Duces of Spoleto and Benevento as signatories, attesting their distinct status.

The activities of 7th-century Duces of Spoleto receive virtually no attention from Paul the Deacon, though he notes their rebelliousness during the reign of *Grimoald. In the first half of the 8th century closer ties developed between Rome and Spoleto. When King *Liutprand extended Lombard authority east and south, he also in *c.*740 removed Thransamund of Spoleto. Thransamund allied with Rome to recapture his duchy and helped to attack Lombard forces in the Pentapolis. Liutprand responded and removed Thransamund again. While the Duchy of Spoleto persisted in name thereafter it plays no notable role.

Key architectural survivals for the first half of the 8th century are the Tempietto sul Clitunno (perhaps a ducal funerary oratory), and S. Salvatore Church in *Spoleto itself. Within the duchy's confines, related Lombard archaeology is not extensive, though the eastern zone features two of the best-known late 6th/7th-century *cemeteries at *Nocera Umbra and *Castel Trosino.

NJC

G. P. Bognetti, 'Il ducato longobardo di Spoleto', in *L'età longobarda*, 3 (1967), 499ff.

S. Gasparri, *I duchi longobardi* (1979).

Richards, *Consul of God*, 182–90.

P. S. Barnwell, *Kings, Courtiers & Imperium: The Barbarian West, 565–725* (1997), 115–18.

J. Emerick, *The Tempietto del Clitunno near Spoleto*, 2 vols. (1998).

C. Jäggi, *San Salvatore in Spoleto. Studien zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Architektur Italiens* (1998).

R. Bernacchia, 'I Longobardi nelle Marche', in L. Paroli, ed., *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino: Bizantini e Longobardi nelle Marche* (1995), 79–91.

spolia Modern term for ancient sculptural and architectural elements reused in newer buildings, though originally (until the 16th cent.) denoting primarily trophies and spoils of war.

The practice of reuse was occurring already in the 3rd century and was widespread, though increasingly regulated by law, much of it collected in *CTh* XV, 1. Recycling might be born of necessity, as in the case of the 'Herulian Wall' at *Athens, incorporating considerable ancient material in the cause of military security. It could also be motivated by civic pride and a distinctive aesthetic, like the Post-Herulian gateway to the Athenian acropolis, which made much use of a civic monument of 320/19 BC. Reused material was incorporated into secular buildings, the most famous example being the 2nd-century figure sculpture used in the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome. Churches also recycled building material, such as the architectural *sculpture reused in the Church of S. Sabina in *Rome.

Christians might appreciate ancient sculpture merely as art, divorced from religious association (cf. *CTh* XVI, 10, 8), as seems to have happened in the reordering of statues at *Olympia in the 5th century. Such reuse might be deemed a purification (cf. *Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, I, 499–505), like that believed to be effected by the small *crosses scrawled on the floor of the *Temple at *Didyma. The reuse of famous sculptures to adorn *Constantinople may be seen, therefore, both as a demythologizing of the sculptures themselves and as a redeployment of them in the interests of civic dignity and elegance. SMS; OPN

T. M. Kristensen and L. Stirling, *The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture: Late Antique Responses and Practices* (2016).

J. Alchermes, '*Spolia* in the Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse', *DOP* 48 (1994), 167–78.

D. Kinney, '*Spolia*, *Damnatio* and *Renovatio Memoriae*', *MAAR* 42 (1997), 117–48.

sportulae (Lat. 'little baskets') Originally presents of food or money given to clients by *patrons (e.g. *Ammianus, XIV, 6, 14), in Late Antiquity the term also denoted fees charged by officials for administrative action. They were sometimes specified by government regulation, e.g. *CIL* VIII, 17896 (*Thamugadi) = *Ordo Salutationis* (fees payable to officials for litigation in *court); *NovMaj* 7, 16 (tax collection); *NovJust* 123, 3 (ordination of *bishops); *CJust* XII, 19, 7, 2 and *NovJust* 8 *Notitia* (appointment and promotion). On occasion *sportulae* were a cause for complaint (*Priscus, 11, 2; *CTh* I, 16, 7). CMK

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, esp. 138–85.

Harries, *Law and Empire*, 100–1.

Spyridon, S. (*c.*270–348) Cypriot-born *Bishop of Tremithus, probably one of three bishops from *Cyprus at the *Council of *Nicaea, though omitted from the official list (*Socrates, I, 8). He was a shepherd, a married man of remarkable generosity, and a worker of *miracles (Socrates, I, 12; *Sozomen, I, 11). Reputedly he converted a pagan philosopher by comparing the threefold character of the Trinity to the way a potsherd is composed of fire and water and clay (Ven, 55). A *Life* by *Leontius of Neapolis is now lost; that by Theodore of *Paphos (7th cent.) survives. His intact *relics were taken to *Constantinople in the late 7th century and transferred to Corfu after 1453. RKL

Life by Theodore of Paphos (*BHG* 1647–1647b); ed. (with FT) P. van den Ven, *La Légende de Saint Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 33, 1953).

H. Delehaye, 'Saints de Chypre', *AnBoll* 26 (1907), 239–41.

Srōsh (MP: listening; Avestan Sraosha) For *Zoroastrians Srōsh facilitated communication between this world and the divine world. Fighting the powers of darkness, he dealt 'Wrath with the bloody club' a bleeding wound at dawn. His animal is the rooster, which crows at dawn: 'Get up people! Praise Order! Scorn the *demons!' He was the first to tie the **barsom*, to sacrifice to *Ohrmazd, and to recite the *Gāthā*s. At the end of the world, he assists Ohrmazd in the final *sacrifice to banish evil forever. Several rituals were devoted to him. POS

ed. (with ET) H. Humbach with J. Elfenbein and P. O. Skærvø, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts* (1991).

J. Rose, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction* (2011), 154–6.

Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 15–16.

Staffordshire Hoard The largest collection of *Anglo-Saxon *gold and *silver objects yet found, first rediscovered by a metal-detectorist in a field near Lichfield, England, in July 2009. To date over 3,500 items have been identified, the majority clearly warriors' equipment. The hoard includes helmet cheek-pieces, numerous sword fittings, and small items including mounts, buckles, and fragments of *metalwork. The style of the objects suggests the hoard may have been deposited in the later 7th century. SCT

K. Leahy, R. Bland, D. Hooke, A. Jones, and E. Okasha, 'The Staffordshire (Ogley Hay) Hoard: Recovery of a Treasure', *Antiquity* 85 (2011), 202–20.

standards, military Four types of standards were employed by the Late Roman *army. *Signa* were spear shafts with multiple *phalerae* attached, topped by a small eagle or a cross-bar flag. *Vexilla* had a large, rectangular, *textile flag suspended from a cross-bar, attached to a spear shaft, and included the Constantinian **labarum*. *Imagines* had a figure of a totemic *animal or an imperial portrait on a shaft. These three standard forms were long-lived, but the traditional legionary *aquila* (eagle) did not perhaps outlast the 3rd century. Conversely, the *draco* (dragon) was a snake-headed wind-sock *cavalry standard, adopted from the *Sarmatians, which continued in use well into the medieval period. They were carried by legionary cohorts, and as personal standards for 4th-century *emperors (*Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 2, 13; *Ammianus, XVI, 10, 7; XVI, 12, 39). JCNC

Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*, 226–7.

Stara Planina *See* FRONTIER, ROMAN MILITARY, DANUBE; STARA ZAGORA.

Stara Zagora (ancient Beroea, Augusta Trajana of Thrace) *City of *Thracia, whose position on the Stara Planina (mod. Bulgaria) made it vulnerable whenever barbarians breached the Danube *frontier. The *Emperor *Decius was defeated at Beroea in 250 by Cniva and the *Goths (*Jordanes, 102). *Licinius established a base at Beroea in the final phase of the *Cibalensean War and the area was embroiled in the *Adrianople campaign in 378 (*Ammianus, XXXI, 9, 1 and 11, 2).

The city was surrounded by a double wall. Sumptuous *houses with elaborate *mosaics have been excavated, as well as *villas in the surrounding fertile plain. There were rich graves outside the walls and also a 4th/5th-century Christian *basilica.

*Procopius lists Beroea among the *Balkan fortresses restored by *Justinian I (*Aed.* IV, 11, 19). The city is listed by *Hierocles (635, 5). It was besieged by *Bulgars in 587 (*Theophylact Simocatta, II, 16, 12). *Justinian II ceded Zagora to *Tervel the Bulgar *Khagan in 705, and despite Byzantine efforts to regain it, notably by *Constantine V, the city and its plain were Bulgar territory during the 9th and 10th centuries. OPN

Barrington Atlas, 22 C 6.

TIB 6 (1991), 203–5.

stational liturgy The practice whereby different churches are used for the main *liturgy of a particular *festival or liturgical observance presided over by the *bishop of a *city or his representative. The systems of stational liturgy of three major *cities are known from Late Antiquity. In *Jerusalem (from the 4th cent.) liturgical services were held in churches or shrines that corresponded to individual feasts; e.g. *Bethlehem on the Vigil of *Epiphany or Golgotha on Good Friday. In *Rome the system centred on the use of major *basilicas and neighbourhood churches (*tituli*) during Lent. For example, the *Lateran Basilica was used on the First Sunday of Lent, S. *Sabina on the Aventine on Ash Wednesday, *S. Paolo fuori le mura on the fourth Wednesday of Lent, when catechumens were officially enrolled for *Easter *baptism. In *Constantinople the system centred on the elaborate use of *processions (68 in all), normally from the Church of the *Holy Wisdom or the Forum of *Constantine to special churches on days that often commemorated significant events in the history of the city. For instance, 25 September commemorated the great *earthquake of 447, with a *procession from the Forum to the Golden Gate and finally the liturgy at S. John the Apostle in the *Hebdomon, outside the city gates. JFB

J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228, 1987).

R. Hierzegger, 'Collecta und Statio', *ZKTh* 60 (1936), 511–54.

ed. J. Mateos (anntotated with FT), *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*, Tome 1. *Le cycle des*

douze mois (OCA 165–1962); Tome 2. *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* (OCA 166, 1963).
ed. A. Renoux (annotated with FT and study), *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121* (PO 35–6, 1969, 1971).

statues, function of Late Antiquity saw some continuity in the function of statues, but also much change. The most obvious change was the end of the production of *pagan cult statues as Christianity took hold; the new religion (because of its distaste for idolatry) did not embrace three-dimensional cultic imagery (although it was happy with the depiction of Christ and his saints in two-dimensional *mosaic or wall paintings). However, many older statues, including images of the gods, continued to stand in the *cities of the Empire (sometimes indeed moved from ruined *temples into the *streets), since they were appreciated as an element of traditional embellishment. Only when civic centres fell wholly into ruin, which in the East could be as late as the 7th century (and in *Constantinople even after this), did statuary disappear from view.

The most obvious continuity of statuary into Late Antiquity was in the production of honorific statuary, honouring the living benefactors of cities. However, unlike under the early Empire, when many recipients of honorific statuary had been local citizens, in Late Antiquity the great majority of statues was erected to *emperors or to their representatives, the provincial *governors. Furthermore, the habit of erecting honorific statues steadily declined, effectively disappearing in the West (except *Rome) by about AD 400, and in the East (except Constantinople) about a century later. The very last statue to be set up in Antiquity was to a cousin of the Emperor *Heraclius, erected in Constantinople in the early 7th century. BW-P

R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016).

Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua (*Ancient Statutes of the Church*) In its Gallic and Italian versions, a profession of faith for *bishops, followed by 102 canons that regulate clerical and lay behaviour, describe ordination rituals for clergy, and specify duties and ceremonies for consecrated *virgins, *widows, brides, and bridegrooms. Although this influential work was transmitted in collections of conciliar canons, it was probably the product of a single author with reformist inclinations, possibly the late 5th-century *priest *Gennadius of *Marseilles. Its disciplinary prescriptions align closely with the reforming ideas of *Julianus Pomerius and *Caesarius of *Arles. WEK

Statuta (*CPL* 1776), ed. C. Munier, *Les Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (1960).
A. Faivre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie: les premie res ́etapes du cursus cl*erical (1977).
W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (1994).
R. E. Reynolds, 'Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art', *Gesta* 22 (1983), 27–38.

Stavrovouni Monastery (near Larnaca, *Cyprus) *Monastery on an isolated mountain (689 m, 2,260 feet high), known in antiquity as Mount Olympus (Strabo, XIV, 6, 3; Ptolemy, V, 14, 5). The *Empress *Helena is credited with founding the monastery, with its *relic of the *True Cross, not attested till the 12th century (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 8). RKL

C. W. Wilson, ed., *Pilgrimage of Russian Abbot Daniel to the Holy Land, 1106–1107 A.D.* (PPTS, 1895), 8.

Staxr (Istakhr) and Marv Dasht Plain Principal *city, region, and religious centre of the *Sasanian province of Pars (NP *Fars). Staxr (NP Estakhr/Istakhr) was the seat of the rulers of Pars during the Seleucid and Parthian eras. Sasanian Staxr lay at the eastern entrance into the Marv Dasht Plain between the Hosayn Kuh and Kuh-e Rahmat mountains at a crossing over the Polvar River. In the Islamic period a city grew up to the west before Shiraz supplanted it. Sasanian Staxr was closely associated with the ruins of Persepolis *c.*9 km (*c.*5 miles) to the south and the Achaemenian necropolis and Sasanian *rock reliefs at *Naqsh-e Rostam (*c.*2 km north-west) as well as reliefs at the spring at *Naqsh-e Rajab. **Astodans* abound in many nearby cliffs. Staxr's Temple of *Anahid (Ādur-Anāhīd) was important for the Sasanians until the end of the dynasty.

Despite al-Muqaddasi's claim and its Achaemenid *spolia, archaeological evidence proves the Islamic city's Friday Mosque was built in the 7th century and not converted from a Sasanian temple (Muqaddasi, ed. de Goeje, 436). Al-*Mas'udi's description suggests the Sasanian *fire temple might have been a reconstruction of a portion of the ruins of Persepolis (*Moruj*, ed. Pellat, 1403). Staxr hosted a major Sasanian mint (mint abbreviation: ST) and treasury. Its fortress, situated on the Marv Dasht's easternmost outcrop, was the site of the last resistance to the *Arab conquest. Explored cursorily by E. Herzfeld and E. Schmidt (with results published by D. Whitcomb), Sasanian Staxr is largely unexcavated. MPC

EncIran VIII/6 *s.v.* Eṣṭṭakr, 643–6 (Bivar, Boyce).
M. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Sasanian Iran', *AJA* 114 (2010), 563–96.
E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 3 vols. (1953–70).
W. Kleiss, 'Beobachtungen in der Umgebung von Persepolis und Naqš-i Rostam', *AMI* 9 (1976), 131–50.
D. Whitcomb, 'The City of Istakhr and the Marv Dasht Plain', in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie* (AMI Erganzungsband 6, 1979), 363–70.

Stephanos of Lenaios Christian *priest and *martyr in *Egypt, tried and convicted by Satrius *Arrianus, *Praeses of the Thebaid 305/6–7. A fragmentary Coptic *papyrus leaf of the 4th century preserves a redacted version of the *report of proceedings at his trial. It is short and circumstantial, lacking the embellishment common in later legendary Coptic martyr *passions. GS

ed. (with ET and study) P. van Minnen, 'The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic', *AnBoll* 113 (1995), 13–38.

Barnes, *Hagiography* 141–42.

Stephanus (d. shortly after 542) Antecessor (professor of *law) in *Beirut. His lectures on the **Digest* resulted in two separate works: a *Greek paraphrase (*ἔνδιξ*) and many notes (*παραγραφαί*). Numerous extracts survive, mainly in the scholia to manuscripts of the *Basilica* (a later Byzantine legal compilation). ThEvB

PLRE III, Stephanus 18.

H. de Jong, *Stephanus en zijn Digestenonderwijs* (2008).

ed. H. J. Scheltema, D. Holwerda, and N. van der Wal, *Basilicorum Libri LX*, Series B, 9 vols. (1953–85).

H. J. Scheltema, *Opera Minora ad Iuris Historiam Pertinentia*, ed. N. van der Wal, J. H. A. Lokin, B. H. Stolte, and R. Meijering (2004), 62–3, 75–9, 106–10, 331–7.

Stephanus of Alexandria (late 6th–early 7th cent.) *Philosopher visited by *John Moschus and *Sophronius at *Alexandria. He composed commentaries on Aristotle and *astronomical texts, mostly lost, and may be identical with *Stephanus of *Athens (*PLRE* III B, Stephanus, 52). EW

PLRE III B, Stephanus 51.

Commentary on Aristotle, *De Interpretatione*, ed. M. Hayduck in CAG 18/3 (1885).

Mossman Roueché, 'Stephanus the Alexandrian Philosopher: The *Kanon* and a Seventh-Century Millennium', *Jnl Warburg & Courtauld Inst* 74 (2011), 1–30.

H. Usener, 'De Stephano Alexandrino', *Kleine Schriften* 3 (1914), 247–322.

Stephanus of Athens (late 6th, early 7th cent.) Medical author who wrote a number of commentaries on such Hippocratic works as the *Prognostics* and the *Aphorisms*, and on *Galen's *On the Method of Healing for Glauco*. These commentaries reflect the Late Antique medical curriculum as taught in *Alexandria. Little is known about his life, and even his identity is disputed; he may well be identical with *Stephanus of Alexandria (*PLRE* IIIB, Stephanus 51) and Stephanus the Philosopher. PEP

PLRE IIIB, Stephanus 52.

Stephani Atheniensis In Hippocratis Aphorismos commentaria, ed. (with ET) L. G. Westerink et al. (CMG XI, 1, 3, 1–3; 1985–95).

Stephani Philosophi In Hippocratis Prognosticum commentaria III, ed. (with ET) J. M. Duffy (CMG XI 1, 2; 1983).

W. Wolska-Conus, *RÉB* 50 (1992), 5–86; 52 (1994), 5–68; 54 (1996), 5–66; 56 (1998), 5–68; 58 (2000), 5–68.

Stephanus of Byzantium (*fl.* 6th cent.) *Grammaticus at *Constantinople writing after 540. His *Ethnica* in over 50 books was an alphabetical disquisition on geographical places and their descriptive adjectives which deployed extensive quotation of classical texts. Entries focused on the etymology and form of individual place names and local inhabitants. Modern historians find his information reliable and valuable. The only extant parts of the original work are an extract covering entries from 'Dymne' to the end of the letter D (in the 11th-century Paris manuscript *Coislinianus* 228, fols. 116r–122v = Billerbeck, vol. 2, 69ff.) and entries transcribed in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio* and *De Thematibus*. An epitome of the work by Hermolaus also survives, composed in the time of Justinian, but whether *Justinian I or *Justinian II is debated. BC

PLRE II, Stephanus 24 and *PLRE* III, Hermolaus.

RE III A.2 (1929) *s.v.* Stephanos (Byzantios) [12] cols. 2369–75 (E. Honigmann).

ed. M. Billerbeck (with GT and notes), *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*, vol. 1, A–G (CFHB 43/1; 2006); vol. 2, D–I (CFHB 43/2; 2011); vol. 3, K–Omicron (CFHB 43/3; 2014).

ed. A. Meinecke, *Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorvm Quae Svpersvnt*, vol. 1 (CSHB 1849) (complete).

A. Diller, 'The Tradition of Stephanus Byzantius', *TAPA* 69 (1938), 333–48, repr. in *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (1983), 183–98.

D. Whitehead, 'Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium', in D. Whitehead, ed., *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius: Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis* (1994), 99–124.

Stephen bar Sudaili (6th cent.) *Syriac monk, probably (according to west Syrian tradition) the author of the *Book of the Holy *Hierotheus*. Originally from *Edessa, Stephen was for a while part of the circle around *Philoxenus of *Mabbug. He then left for *Palestine, where he may have stayed with *Origenist monks. A *letter from *Jacob of *Sarug (d. 521) to Stephen survives, as does an epistle from Philoxenus of Mabbug to two *priests of Edessa, condemning Stephen's teachings in some detail. These are the principal surviving contemporary sources reporting on Stephen's thought.

Stephen adapted ideas characteristic of *Origenists and of *Evagrius Ponticus. He taught that the torments of Hell and the delights of Heaven would pass away and that all creatures would eventually be united with God. He is reported to have believed it impossible that

divine justice would punish temporary sins with eternal torments, and is said to have promised restoration in Abraham's bosom to a *Jew. He may be identical with Mar Stephen, co-author of *Sergius of Resaina's Syriac translation of the works of *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. IP

GEDSH s.v. Ṣtephanos bar Ṣudayli, 384–5 (Van Rompay).

DictSpir 4/2 *s.n.* Étienne bar Soudaili 1481–8 (Guillaumont).

Kessel, *Bibliography*, 205–7.

ed. (with ET) A. L. Frothingham, *Stephen bar Sudaili the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos* (1886).

ed. (with ET) F. S. Marsh, *The Book which is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos* (1927).

K. Pinggéra, *All-Erlösung und All-Einheit. Studien zum 'Buch des heiligen Hierotheos' und seiner Rezeption in der syrisch-orthodoxen Theologie* (2002), 7–34, 132–55.

Stephen of Ahnas (6th cent.) *Bishop of *Heracleopolis Magna (Copt. Ahnas), a *nome capital in Middle *Egypt. He wrote in *Coptic a *Panegyric on Apollo*, archimandrite of the *monastery of Apa Isaac, a work characterized by strong antipathy to the Christology of the *Council of *Chalcedon. CJH

ed. (with ET) K. H. Kuhn (CSCO 394, Scr. copt. 40, 1978).

Stephen of Ripon (Stephanus the priest, *fl. c.*670–*c.*730) Biographer of S. *Wilfrid of *York. He seems to have accompanied Wilfrid on some continental journeys, and was probably present at Wilfrid's death in 709/10. The *Life of Wilfrid* (*BHL* 8889) was commissioned by Tatberht, Abbot of *Ripon, Wilfrid's first *monastery and burial place, and was composed probably within a decade of Wilfrid's death. He was formerly, and incorrectly, identified with Eddius Stephanus, mentioned by *Bede (*HE* IV, 2). HFF

BHL 8889: ed. B. Colgrave (with ET and comm.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (1927).

stibadium A large semicircular dining couch, common in *villas from the 4th to 7th centuries. Between five and seven diners gathered around a single large table in order of rank (*Sidonius, *ep.* 1, 11) and reclined with heads positioned towards the centre. NFH

G. Volpe, '*Stibadium* e *convivium* in una villa tardoantica (Faragola, Ascoli Satriano)', in *Faragola, I. Un insediamento rurale nella Valle del Carapelle. Ricerche e studi* (2009), 117–44.

Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*.

Stilicho *Consul in 400 and 405 and *de facto* ruler of the Western Roman Empire from 395 until his death in 408. The son of a *Vandal cavalry officer and a Roman mother, Flavius Stilicho was promoted quickly in the Eastern *army under *Theodosius I, who around 384 arranged Stilicho's marriage to *Serena, Theodosius' niece. In 394, Stilicho commanded the *emperor's troops against the *usurper *Eugenius and was named *Comes et *Magister Utriusque Militiae (394–408), a position he turned into the basis of his personal power.

After Theodosius' death in 395, Stilicho was made regent for the boy emperor of the West, *Honorius (*Claudian, *In Rufinum*, 2, 4–6; *Ambrose, *De Obitu Theodosii*, 5), but could not enforce his claim to guardianship over *Arcadius, the teenaged emperor of the East (*Zosimus, IV, 59, 1). Over the following years, Stilicho's attempts to gain control of the East were frustrated by two unsuccessful expeditions against *Alaric in *Greece (395 and 397), and by his rivalry with successive Eastern *Praefecti Praetorio *Rufinus and *Eutropius, who in 397 convinced the *Senate in *Constantinople to declare Stilicho a public enemy.

More successful in the West, Stilicho defeated *Gildo's rebellion in 397, and repelled Alaric's and *Radagausius' invasions of *Italy (401 and 406), but could not impede the crossing of the Rhine *frontier by a confederation of barbarians on the last day of 406. Stilicho also strengthened his position through dynastic politics, arranging the consecutive *marriages to Honorius of his two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, in 395 and 408, and trying to marry Honorius' half-sister Galla *Placidia to his son Eucherius (Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, 2, 341ff.), who is depicted on an *ivory *diptych from *c.*396 with Stilicho, Serena, and Maria (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 63).

In 408, two fateful decisions led to Stilicho's fall. First, he convinced the *Senate at *Rome to yield to Alaric's onerous demands for financial compensation in respect of a broken agreement. Second, upon Arcadius' death, he persuaded Honorius to send troops against the usurper *Constantine III instead of imposing his imperial authority over Honorius' nephew *Theodosius II the new junior emperor in Constantinople. These interventions gave rise to rumours that Stilicho was treasonous, and this precipitated his arrest and execution in August 408. After his death, some of his relatives and followers were also executed.

A controversial figure, Stilicho received hostile treatment from *Eunapius and *Orosius, but was praised by *Augustine, Zosimus, and especially by the panegyrist Claudian, who is the main source of information about him up to 404. Former scholarship also mirrored this divide and Stilicho was seen either as a barbarian traitor or as a virtuous defender of Rome. Recent research has supplied more nuanced interpretations. DN

PLRE 1 Stilicho.

T. S. Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome* (1994), 145–223.

Cameron, *Claudian*, 37–252.

A. Cameron, 'Theodosius the Great and the Regency of Stilicho', *HarvStClassPhilol* 73 (1969), 247–80.
O'Flynn, *Generalissimos*, 14–62.
T. Janssen, *Stilicho. Das weströmische Reich vom Tode des Theodosius bis zur Ermordung Stilichos (395–408)* (2004).
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 253–83.
S. Mazzarino, *Stilicone: la crisi imperiale dopo Teodosio* (1942).
M. A. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (2013), 153–86.
H. Torp and B. Kiilerich, 'Hic est: Hic Stilicho. The Date and Interpretation of a Notable Diptych', *JbDAI* 104 (1989), 319–71.

stipendium Annual wage for Roman soldiers. In the 3rd century, this was still paid three times per year though by the end of the century *inflation meant that these wages were worth little. Thus by the 4th century these payments were supplemented by ration (**annona*) and fodder (*capitus*) allowances. Ranks above private soldier received larger amounts. Minting and issuing *stipendia* was the responsibility of the *Rationalis Rei Summae in the 3rd century and of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum from the reign of *Constantine I onwards. Payment appears to have ceased by the 6th century. HE

Jones, *LRE* 369–70, 427, 441–3, 623–4, 643–4.

stirrup *See* SADDLE.

Stobaeus *See* JOHN STOBAEUS.

Stobi (FYROM) Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique *city at the confluence of the Crna (Erigon) and Vardar (Axios) rivers, and the intersection of two Roman *roads, connecting *Thessalonica to Central Europe and *Heraclaea Lyncestis to *Serdica. *Bishops are mentioned sporadically from 325 until the late 7th century, although Margarites in 691/2 may have been bishop in name only. In 388 *Theodosius I issued two laws at Stobi, whose most famous citizen was the 5th-century anthologist *John Stobaeus. *Theoderic and the *Ostrogoths captured Stobi in 479 (*Malchus, fr. 18); at approximately the same time, it became the capital of the *province of *Macedonia Secunda. Almost abandoned in the late 6th century, the city was destroyed by unknown causes.

Stobi recovered from a late 3rd-century *earthquake, but by the end of the 4th century severe and recurring floods caused abandonment of space near the rivers. Excavation of the Casa Romana, the 'Building with Arches', and since 2008 of an *Isis *temple complex demonstrates that monumental structures of the Early Roman city lay near the Crna River. The inner city wall marked the new boundary of the city by the mid-5th century. Reorganization in the 4th century included palatial residences, with apsidal *triclinia and rooms arranged around courtyards. The Theodosian Palace and the House of Peristeria experienced reconstruction in the second half or the middle of the 5th century. At the end of the 4th century, a new *synagogue replaced the earlier synagogue of Tiberios Claudios Polycharmos, known from *inscriptions.

The Early Episcopal Basilica, for which *pottery and coins give a *terminus post quem* of the late 4th century, displayed a *mosaic floor and colourful wall paintings. Intensive ecclesiastical building at Stobi began in the third quarter of the 5th century with the construction, completed after 475, of a much larger Episcopal Basilica raised on a 4 m (13 ft) high terrace. During the first half of the 6th century the church was destroyed and rebuilt on the same basic plan.

A further six three-aisled basilicas were similar in size (26–9 m (85–95 feet) long, *apse through *narthex) and proportions. The North, Civil (recently identified as a church), and Central basilicas formed a row in the north-east part of the city. The Cemetery, Extra Muros, and Palikura basilicas stood outside the city.

Salvage excavations in the 1990s revealed a substantial suburb of the 4th–6th centuries outside the Porta Heraclaea, to the south-west of the city. Excavations since 2008 have uncovered the south-west quarter of the city, which indicates that the city remained relatively prosperous into the second half of the 6th century. CSS

V. R. Anderson-Stojanović, *Stobi 1. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (1992).
R. Kolarik, 'The Episcopal Basilica at Stobi: The Baptistery and Related Structures', in *Acta CIAC* 15, *Toledo* 2008 = Studi di antichità cristiana 65 (2013), 939–52.
I. Mikulčić, *Stobi, antički grad Stobi: An Ancient City* (2003).
F. Papazoglou, *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque Romaine* (1988), 313–23.
E. Petrova, *Stobi vodič: Stobi Guide* (2003).
C. S. Snively, 'The Episcopal Basilica, the Via Sacra, and the Semicircular Court at Stobi, R. Macedonia', *NišByz* 10 (2012), 185–200.
J. Wiseman, 'The Early Churches and the Christian Community in Stobi, Macedonia', *Acta CIAC 14, Vienna, 1999* = Studi di antichità cristiana 62 (2006), 795–803.

stones, precious Minerals (and also *amber, *jet, etc.) were cut and used in *jewellery and to decorate various metalwork. From Antiquity onwards, precious stones also had medical, magical, and religious significance and were described in treatises called lapidaries. Inspired by the mineralogical work of classical writers (esp. *Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXVII) and Christian scholars (e.g. *Isidore, *Etymologies*, XVI), lapidaries in the Early Middle Ages combined classical knowledge and myths with a Christian background, forming a tradition that continued until the end of the Middle Ages.

From the 4th century onwards garnets became favoured in Europe and were used as flat plates for the emerging *cloisonné style, reaching a peak in the 6th century. Amethyst beads also appear in great numbers all over Europe during the 7th century (with a high concentration in Kent). They are often connected with Byzantine imports (esp. in Northern and Western Europe). Because of its greater bulk, rock *crystal was often utilized for larger objects, such as the crystal balls which formed part of women's *amulet pendants in Merovingian times. Different varieties of chalcedony (e.g. agate, carnelian) were also common as beads, *cameos, and entire *rings.

*India and Sri Lanka were the main suppliers of precious stones, and are mentioned by the 6th-century merchant *Cosmas Indicopleustes, and in the earlier anonymous *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. The associated workshops were probably located in the Mediterranean basin, like the one at *Crypta Balbi, Rome, dating from the 7th century.

Historical sources from Tang Dynasty *China refer to gemstones as diplomatic *gifts, mostly from *Central Asia and the Near East, although they are seldom identified by name in these references. *Turquoise, as well as jade and *pearls, was popular in China. AHi

P. Kitson, 'Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part I, the Background; the Old English Lapidary', *ASE* 7 (1978), 9–60.

P. Périn et al., 'Provenancing Merovingian Garnets by PIXE and μ-Raman Spectrometry', in J. Henning, ed., *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, 2 vols. (Millennium-Studien 5, 2007), 69–76.

E. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (1963).

R. Webster, *Gems: Their Sources, Description and Identification* (5th edn., rev. P. G. Read, 1994).

Stotzas Rebel in 536–45 during the *Byzantine occupation of *Africa. During his prolonged revolt, Stotzas was allied with various *Moorish leaders and may have styled himself king (*Victor Tonnensis *s.a.* 541). Victorious in several encounters with imperial troops, he was eventually killed at *Sicca Veneria by the Byzantine general John (*Procopius, *Vandalic* , IV, 24). AHM

PLRE III, Stotzas.

Strasbourg (Roman Argentorate; first called Strateburgum by *Gregory of *Tours, *HF* IX, 36; X, 19) *City in *Germania Prima, on the *road parallel to the Rhine *frontier, between Augusta Raurica (*Kaiseraugst) and Mogontiacum (*Mainz). It was a legionary base and headquarters of the *Comes of the Tractus Argentoratensis (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *occ*. I, 34; V, 130; XXVII). The fortifications were strengthened, probably in the 4th century, by the building of a second wall.

The land surrounding the city was occupied by barbarians when *Julian arrived in Gaul as *Caesar (*Ammianus, XVI, 2, 12). On 25 August 357 Strasbourg was the scene of a crushing victory by Julian over a barbarian army of 35,000 men. Julian's own account of the battle (mentioned by Ammianus, XVI, 5, 7 and *Eunapius, fr. 9 *FHG* Müller = 17 Blockley) is lost, but it is the subject of an elaborate rhetorical description by Ammianus (XVI, 12). Of the barbarians, 6,000 were killed, many of them drowned in the river, and the leader of the confederation, Chnodomar of the *Alamans, was captured along with 200 of his entourage who 'deemed it a disgrace' to live free after the capture of their king.

*Jerome in a characteristically rhetorical *letter of 409 enumerates Strasbourg as one of several cities overwhelmed by Germans (*ep*. 123, 16). The *Franks gained control of Strasbourg from the Alamans in the early 6th century, and from the mid-7th century onwards coins were minted there under the authority of the *Dux of *Alsace.

A *bishop is first attested at the Council of *Cologne of 346. Excavations in the area of the present cathedral (in the south-west corner of the Roman *castrum*) have produced confusing results, but include a *tile stamped with the name of Bishop Arboast. The interpretation of excavations under the Church of S. Stephen (in the north-east angle of the *castrum*), which have revealed a coin *hoard of after 352/7, other finds of the late 4th century, and an *apse with an internal diameter of *c*.9.5 m (over 30 feet), are similarly problematic. Adalbert, Dux of Alsace (d. 722/3), is said to have founded a *monastery for his daughter on this site. DdH; OPN

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 11 (2000), 45–61 (B. Beaujard, R. Guild).

J. J. Hatt, A. Thévenin, and H. Vogt, *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours, I: Strasbourg des origines à l'invasion des Huns* (1980).

J. J. Hatt, *Argentorate: Strasbourg* (1993).

BATTLE OF AD 357

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 91–2, 296–300.

Barnes, *Ammianus*, 17, 149–53.

Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 219–33.

Strata Diocletiana Term conventionally used to refer to the military *road running south-west from Sura on the middle Euphrates to *Palmyra and then on to *Damascus, laid out during the *Tetrarchy. The term features on *milestones in the region, and the presence of these, together with Roman forts and towers at intervals, has encouraged scholars to think in terms of a coordinated defensive scheme to counteract desert raiders, against whom *Diocletian fought campaigns. However, it is important to emphasize the limited nature of the evidence for such a reconstruction,

originally developed primarily from aerial survey. The term itself appears only on a number of milestones in the general vicinity of Palmyra, where Diocletian established a military camp. Few milestones have been recovered on the stretch north of Palmyra, while those to the south use only the word *strata* or *istra[ta]*. The term *strata* may therefore have been a technical one used to refer to the unsurfaced roads along which the milestones were placed, with the commander at Palmyra expressing loyalty by adding the epithet *Diocletiana* on stretches under his supervision. ADL

T. Bauzou, 'Épigraphie et toponymie: le cas de la Palmyrène au sud ouest', *Syria* 70 (1993), 27–50.
D. L. Kennedy and D. N. Riley, *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air* (1990), 181–4.

***Strategicon* of Maurice** (*Strategikon* of Maurikios) Military treatise usually dated to *c.*590–602. The *Strategicon* was the most influential of the Late Roman *military treatises and was later used as a source, e.g. by Leo VI the Wise (886–912). Leo's *Tactica* in turn influenced Maurice of Nassau, the Dutch military reformer (1567–1625). Most scholars consider the *Emperor *Maurice (582–602) the likeliest author of the *Strategicon*, mainly because most of the extant manuscripts name him. Others disagree; among their suggestions for authorship are *Urbicius Barbatus who wrote under *Anastasius I (491–518), the imperial circles of the 590s, the Emperor *Heraclius (610–41), and others. One scholar has suggested that Maurice wrote the treatise in two stages: first the '*cavalry treatise' for the *Persian wars in about 583/4; then the complete treatise for his *Balkan wars in about 593.

The *Strategicon* is a compilation combining contemporary observations and practices with material taken from older military treatises and drill manuals. The first portion of the treatise (Books 1–11) gives detailed descriptions of cavalry organization, equipment, training, drill, *intelligence gathering, marching, combat formations, tactics, ambushes, guerrilla warfare, surprise attacks, night attacks, sieges, enemies, and other matters. Book 12, the 'infantry treatise', includes discussions of infantry organization, equipment, training, marching, infantry combat formations and tactics, warfare along rivers and difficult terrain, marching camps, and so forth. The treatment of military topics is very broad. The only significant omission concerns *naval warfare, which suggests that there were no naval threats at the time. The *Strategicon* stresses above all the importance of vigilance and caution on the part of the commander, to be manifested most clearly in the need always to adapt military strategy and tactics to the situation. The treatise also betrays a strong influence of enemy practices on Roman military practice and doctrine. IAPS

ed. (with GT by E. Gamillscheg and introd.) G. T. Dennis (CFHB 17, 1981).
ET G. T. Dennis (1984).
Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.
P. Rance, *Tactics and Tactica in the Sixth Century: Tradition and Originality* (Ph.D. thesis, St Andrews, 1993).
J. Wiita, *The Ethika in Byzantine Military Treatises* (Ph.D. thesis, Minnesota, 1977).

Strategius Paneuphemos Flavius Strategius 'Paneuphemos' (an epithet meaning 'all-honoured') was a Middle Egyptian landowner attested in the *Oxyrhynchus *papyri and related documents from *c.* AD 600. He was a member of the *Apion *family (whether by blood or by *marriage is disputed). PS

B. Palme, 'Die *domus gloriosa* des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos', *Chiron* 27 (1997), 99–125.
B. Palme, 'Flavius Strategius und die Apionen', *ZSS* 115 (1998), 95–125.
J. Beauchamp, 'Apion et Praejecta: hypothèses anciennes et nouvelles données', *REB* 59 (2001), 165–78.

strategos Ancient generic term for a military commander, and in *Egypt, from Ptolemaic times onwards, the title of the chief administrator of a *nome. With the development of the *Theme System, Strategos became the title of the head of a theme, combining military with civil and financial functions. Incumbents were important political figures in the 7th to 9th centuries, several becoming *emperor. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 734–9.

Stratelates *Greek equivalent of the senior military rank called in *Latin *Magister Militum (as in *Justinian, *Novel*, 70). From the 6th century onwards it came, like the title Apo Eparchon, to be a title of various lower officials, a number of whom are known from their *seals. AG; OPN

PLRE III, indexes, pp. 1506–9 lists those named as Stratelates to 641, and *PBE s.v.* stratelates those from the 7th to 9th centuries.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 165, 393–5.
J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, 23–5.

Stratonicaea (mod. Eskihisar, Turkey) *City of *Caria, Asia Minor, founded by a Seleucid king, later a 'free city' of the Roman Empire. It has been extensively excavated, and various *inscriptions from and relating to the city indicate that it was an important religious centre; there is epigraphic evidence for religious sanctuaries in or near the city dedicated variously to the cults of Hecate, Zeus Hypsistos, and Zeus Panamara. Stratonicaea may also have had some importance in the administration of Caria; one inscription

states that it was the metropolis of Caria, and a *bilingual copy of the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of AD 301 was first found at Stratonicaea. *Bishops of the city are recorded as attending church *councils from the 5th century onwards. SJL-R

M. C. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia* (1981).

R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (1981), 46–8.

stratores Literally 'grooms or 'equerries'. Officials concerned with *horses in various imperial **officia*, also sometimes employed to carry messages (e.g. *Passio* **Cypriani*, 2, *Gregory the Great, *ep*. III, 65). The *stratores* serving at court in the Schola Stratorum under the *Tribunus Stabuli were responsible for vetting (for a fee of one **solidus*) remounts levied for imperial service (*CTh* VI, 31). *Stratores* in other *officia*, such as the *schola* of six men under the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Africa (*CJust* I, 27, 1, 33 of 534) or at military installations (e.g. *Lambaesis, *CIL* VIII 2565; 2567; 2568; 2569), had similar functions. DSl; OPN

street Paved public streets were an essential element of Roman *civic planning. *Cities were typically laid out as an orthogonal grid with streets parallel to the main north/south street (*cardo maximus*) or the secondary main street (*decumanus*) crossing at right angles. Main streets were often wide and featured pavements and colonnades. In Late Antiquity, the importance of the classical street plan persisted, and streets continued to be maintained, including the colonnaded street at *Apamea that was rebuilt in the first half of the 6th century. However, from the late 4th century onwards, the streets of many cities, including *Antioch, *Gerasa, and *Scythopolis, were encroached upon by *shops and *houses built into the colonnades. This process escalated from the 6th century. It seems to have been controlled by the state to some extent, as imperial legislation banned encroachment at *Constantinople because of safety concerns (e.g. *CTh* XV, 1, 39) but regulated and taxed new structures elsewhere, as at *Antioch (*Libanius, *Oration*, 26, 20; *CJust* VIII, 10, 12 and VIII, 11, 20). A *governor at *Edessa in 497 cleared booths from the colonnades (*Joshua the Stylite, 29). Encroachment into the street happened across the Empire, in the East resulting in the creation of the *suq* (souk), characteristic of the Islamic city of the Middle Ages. SVL

D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (1969), 41–69.

H. Kennedy, 'From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *P&P* 106/1 (1985), 3–27.

C. Saliou, 'Identité culturelle et paysage urbain', *Syria* 82 (2005), 207–24.

J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIX siècle* (1940).

Marlia Mundell Mango, 'The Porticoed Street at Constantinople' in N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (MMED 33, 2001), 28–51.

stucco, Islamic Plaster and painted plaster decoration was used extensively in Parthian, *Sasanian, and *Umayyad art. Its lightweight properties made it a suitable decoration for buildings that would not have been able to support the weight of heavy stone ornament. Persian *stucco tended to be moulded, whereas Umayyad plaster was often hand-carved. Persian influence can be seen in the flowing arabesques of *foliage and in motifs such as pomegranates, which are commonly found in Umayyad stucco-work. However perhaps the most definitive evidence for the relationship between the two traditions can be found in the sculptures of *caliphs from the *palaces at *Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi and *Khirbat al-Mafjar where princely figures are depicted in robes strongly influenced by Persian fashion, suggesting that the *Umayyads adopted this iconography in order to promote a distinctively powerful appearance. EL

R. Talgam, *The Stylistic Origins of Umayyad Sculpture and Architectural Decoration* (2004).

stucco, Persian The *Sasanian tradition of applying gypsum plaster to mud-brick or rough-stone masonry for waterproofing and decoration departed from Parthian practices. Stucco was carved or moulded to create figural and ornamental reliefs. The style and subject matter of figural reliefs often corresponded to that of *rock reliefs.

Most surviving stucco comes from the interiors of *palaces, aristocratic houses, and *fire temples. Early Sasanian stucco incorporated a wide variety of ornamental influences including Achaemenid (*Ardashir I's palaces at *Firuzabad) and Roman ornament (*Shapur I's palace at *Bishapur). Stucco from the *villa at *Hajiabad indicates that the Persian ornamental repertoire began to coalesce by the late 4th century and that it developed continuously into Islamic *stucco carving. Important stucco remains have been recovered from the 3rd-century refurbishing of *Kuh-e Khwaja, 5th-century structures at Bandian and Mele Hairam, 5th–6th-century palaces at *Kish, *Damghan, a 6th-century sanctuary at *Takht-e Solayman, a villa at *Chal Tarkhan, and numerous 6th–7th-century palaces around al-*Mada'in/*Ctesiphon. Stuccowork has also been recovered from the 6th-century churches at *Hira and Qasr Bint al-Qadi. Sasanian stucco motifs influenced Late Roman architectural ornament in the churches of S. *Polyeuctus, Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus, and the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople. MPC

P. Callieri, *Architecture et représentations dans l'Iran sassanide* (2014), 103–27.

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 205–23.
Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdecor.*
D. Thompson, *Stucco from Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad Near Rayy* (1976).

stucco, Roman Relief wall decoration or architectural detail made of pliable lime-based materials. In Late Antiquity stucco was widely employed, both in domestic interiors (e.g. Villa dei Giordani, *Rome) and churches (Church of the *Holy Wisdom, *Constantinople; Basilica Euphrasiana, *Poreč). Stucco decorations are found throughout the Empire (though the best evidence is from *Ravenna), often painted, silvered, or gilded (S. Croce, Ravenna). Lavish figural stuccowork is preserved in Ravenna (Orthodox Baptistery, *c.*458) and elsewhere, notably on *Cyprus. UG

L. Pasquini, *La decorazione a stucco in Italia fra tardo antico e alto medioevo* (2002).

Stuma Treasure Part of the *Kaper Koraon Treasure, this dealer's assemblage comprised a liturgical fan and three *silver patens. A *lamp (now in the Abegg Stiftung, Bern) with a *silver stamp and *inscription found on some of the pieces was later added to the group. MH

Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium,*

stylites *Holy men who lived on the top of pillars. Several of them became much renowned and were celebrated in Lives written soon after their deaths. For the period before 750 this is true of *Symeon Stylites the Older, who died in 459, *Daniel the Stylite, who ascended a column as soon as Symeon had died, *Symeon Stylites the Younger (d. 592), and Alypius of Adrianople in *Paphlagonia (d. in the reign of *Heraclius, 610–41). The sources make incidental references to many other stylites, which have been critically analysed by H. Delehaye. Some of these saints were never stylites, or are purely legendary, or were misdated, but others are credible, such as Michael, who lived near *Nineveh in the 6th century. *John Moschus (*fl.* 600) mentions several stylites in *Cilicia and northern *Syria. The famous *Georgian stylite Antony was born in *Syria and likewise dates to the 6th century, while the first known *Egyptian stylite, Theophilus the Confessor, flourished in the reign of Heraclius (610–41). One stylite is known in *Gaul, S. Wulflaicus the *Lombard, who was ordered down from his pillar by his *bishop *c.*585 (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* VIII,15). The stylite life is best interpreted as a symbol of the 'angelic' life, poised between earth and heaven, interceding for human beings and transmitting God's blessing and guidance to them. RMP

H. Delehaye, *Les Saints stylites* (SubsHag 14, 1923).
I. Peña, P. Castellana, and R. Fernandez, *Les Stylites syriens* (Collectio minor, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 16, 1975).
J.-M. Sansterre, 'Les Saints stylites du Ve au XIe siècle', PHChr 19 (1989), 33–45.
L. A. Schachner, 'The Archaeology of the Stylite', in D. Gwynn and S. Bangert, eds., *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity* (LAA 6, 2010), 329–97.
Marlia Mango, 'A New Stylite at Androna in Syria', in *Mélanges J.-P. Sodini* (TM 15, 2005), 329–42.

Suania Mountainous region of western *Georgia (mod. Svaneti), which connected the northern steppe with *Lazica (Colchis) as well as *Iberia. The Suanian language belongs to the Kartvelian language group and is still widely spoken in the region. The mountains of Suania were mined for metals and precious *stones from ancient times; the story of the Golden Fleece of Colchis is connected with an alleged Suanian practice of using sheep's wool to collect *gold in streams.

The province was closely connected with Lazica; in 552, in the middle of the Lazic War, while the Roman and *Persian Empires fought over control of this strategically important region, Suania invited Persian officials into their territory. This seems to have reflected a general Suanian preference for alliance to Persia, set against a Lazican preference for Roman alliance, which was to remain a point of tension until the *Arab conquests. Both territories became part of the Kingdom of *Abasgia in the late 8th century. Suania was one of the rare Georgian provinces never to be occupied by any foreign armies; it has consequently preserved a large amount of royal treasure and some of the earliest examples of Georgian ecclesiastical *art. MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 311–14.

subdeacon Christian clerical order, first recorded in *Rome and *Africa in *letters respectively of Cornelius (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43, 11) and *Cyprian (e.g. the messenger Crementius in *epp.* 2; 9; 20). Subdeacons appear in the **Ordines Romani* as assistants to *deacons and *priests. MFC

DTC 14/2 (1941) *s.v.* 'sous-diacre', 2459–66 (Michel).
DACL 15, part 2 (1953) *s.v.* 'sous-diacre': 1619–26 (Leclercq).

Subiaco (Lat. Sublacum) Town on the Anio River, 40 km (25 miles) east of *Rome. According to Book 2 of *Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* it was the site of *Benedict of Nursia's first monastic retreat, before he and his followers moved to *Monte Cassino. The name comes from the artificial lakes created by the Emperor Nero. CAS

subsidy Financial payments to a neighbour state. These could pose problems in *diplomacy. Conscious that they might be portrayed as *tribute, the Roman Empire understandably preferred to describe such payments as *gifts. The more neutral term 'subsidy' prevails

in modern scholarship. Although they featured in imperial dealings with a range of neighbours, subsidies became a common feature in Roman–Persian relations in the 6th century, invariably being paid from *Constantinople to *Ctesiphon. A substantial sum was given as part of the *Everlasting Peace of 532, while truces in 545 and 551 were also secured with money. In the latter case, the Romans are said to have given a single sum rather than five annual instalments precisely to avoid the appearance of paying tribute (*Procopius, *Goth.* 4, 15, 3–7). Despite this concern, annual payments for fifty years were agreed in the *Fifty Years Peace of 562. During the 5th century, the Romans made periodic payments to Persia to help maintain defences in the *Caucasus Passes against barbarians who had sometimes encroached on Roman and Persian territory. Such payments were closer to a true subsidy. ADL

R. C. Blockley, 'Subsidies and Diplomacy: Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 62–74.
A. D. Lee, *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007), 119–22.

Sub tuum praesidium Attested in a Greek *papyrus (P.Ryl. 470) of the 3rd century, this prayer addresses the Virgin *Mary as *Theotokos (God-bearer): 'Under your compassion we flee, Theotokos; Do not overlook our prayers, but deliver us from danger. You alone are pure and blessed.' It is the earliest evidence for such devotion. AMcG

M. E. Johnson, 'Sub Tuum Praesidium: The Theotokos in Christian Life and Worship Before Ephesus', *ProEccl* 17 (2008), 52–75.

suburbs Transitional spaces between an urban centre and its hinterland took various forms. The *Greek word *proastion* (*proasteion*; Lat. *suburbanum*) often indicated a *villa in close proximity to the *city. By Late Antiquity suburban dwellings were found even around provincial *cities, such as Ascalon, where the so-called 'Third Mile Estate' was a working farm.

*Daphne was one of many suburbs of *Antioch, but it was the most luxurious, with numerous fine *houses and cult sites situated among shady groves renowned for their beauty, affording privacy and a retreat from the bustle of the city for those fortunate enough to live there. At *Hebdomon on the *Via Egnatia, 11 km (*c.*7 miles) west of the Milion in *Constantinople, the site of a Roman military camp became a favourite pleasure spot for *emperors including *Valens and *Justinian I, who built villas, *gardens, and churches there.

Other suburban spaces were less appealing; most of the *poor and heavily Jewish and Christian quarter of Trastevere (Lat. Trans Tiberim), which had once been a district of wealthy villas, was outside the city wall built by the Emperor *Aurelian around the city of *Rome. Immediately outside cities one would commonly find fullers, tanners, dyers, and potters—all engaged in industries of the sort deprecated by the town planner *Julian of Ascalon, which generated significant pollution and made living conditions unpleasant.

Marginal groups, especially Christians prior to the 4th century, had sanctuaries outside cities (e.g. the Extra Muros *church at *Philippi) often associated with burial places (which were always outside cities). These sometimes became important points of settlement as well as ritual, as at *St. Albans around the tomb of the eponymous *martyr, or at *Trier, where clusters of churches and suburban Christian burial places were noted as cult sites by *Gregory of Tours (*Glory of the Confessors*, 91). MD

P. Goodman, *The Roman City and its Periphery: From Gaul to Rome* (2006).

succession *See* INHERITANCE AND WILLS.

successor states Term current in modern international law applied to the various Late Antique political entities which developed completely or partly on former Roman territory from the 5th century onwards. It therefore indicates both the kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons, *Franks, *Burgundians, *Visigoths, *Ostrogoths, *Vandals, and others in the West, and also the post-Roman realm of the *Ummayads in the East. It does so without prejudging the extent to which such states owed their formation and composition to *Barbarian Migrations or to centrifugal tendencies in the Roman *provinces themselves. HF

***Suda* (*Suidas, Souda*)** Title of an extensive and popular 10th/11th-century Byzantine encyclopedic dictionary valuable for scholarship because it preserves many quotations and reliable snippets of information from now lost Greek and Roman writers, or reliable biographical data about them. It may or may not be the product of a single author. Some 30,000 entries cover a wide range of geographical, biographical, literary, and philological detail from early Greece to Late Antiquity, with little from later centuries. Some individual attributions which are anonymous are contested and there may still be scope for more secure identification of certain entries. The compiler or compilers probably worked at *Constantinople and mainly employed previous collections of compendious information such as those of *Hesychius Illustris for biographical information on writers and the large categorical collection of historical **Excerpta* produced for *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Also used were manuscripts of individual works and scholia on ancient texts, especially on the works of Aristophanes, *Homer, Sophocles, and Thucydides. Occasionally the *Suda* contains a quotation

from a Late Antique historian such as *Eunapius or *Malchus not preserved elsewhere because the relevant volume of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' excerpts is lost. Little attention has been paid to the purpose and manner in which the Suda was composed. BC

ed. A. Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 5 vols. (1928–38; repr. 1994–2001).

ET (incomplete) in online digital format: <http://www.stoa.org/sol/>

N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (rev. edn., 1996), 145–7.

G. Zecchini, *Il lessico Suda e la memoria del passato a Bisanzio* (1999).

B. Baldwin, 'Aspects of the Suda', *Byzantion,* 76 (2006), 11–31.

Suebes (Lat. *Suevi*) Name of a Germanic *tribe from east of the Rhine *frontier which eventually settled in the Roman *province of *Gallaecia (mod. Galicia and northern Portugal). Caesar described the Suebi as the largest nation among the Germans (*Gallic War*, IV, 1), Tacitus (*Germania*, 38) says that they occupy most of Germany, and Cassius Dio (LI, 22, 6) says that many barbarians claim the name.

The group of Suebes which settled eventually in *Spain was part of the confederation which included also *Vandals and *Alans that entered *Gaul across the Rhine frontier in the first decade of the 5th century (*Orosius, *HE* VII, 38, 3–4 and VII, 40, 3; *Zosimus, VI, 3, 1). The principal source for their settlement in Gallaecia is *Hydatius, *Bishop of Aquae Flaviae (mod. Chaves, Portugal), who witnessed first-hand the invasion of his homeland. The Suebes followed the Roman *road in the western Pyrenees near modern Roncesvalles. After considerable movement, some conflict, and negotiations the 'new' political-social order secured Gallaecia under Suebic rule. The smaller of the tribes, the Alans, was easily conquered; only the Suebes and Vandals remained. The Romans struck an alliance with the *Visigoths, who in 416–18 had settled in Gaul, making them **foederati* with the condition that they would destroy the Suebes and Vandals in Spain. In 421 the Asding Vandals left Gallaecia and established an independent kingdom in *Baetica which left the peninsula open for the Suebes to conquer and rule. In 430, however, the Suebes' offensive was cut short by the Vandal *Geiseric in *Merida (Roman Emerita).

After the Vandals moved on to North *Africa, the Suebes were given a second chance to dominate the peninsula. Under Rechila (Requila, 438–48) the Suebes subjugated the provinces of *Lusitania, Baetica, and *Carthaginensis and the pivotal cities of Merida and *Seville. Rechila's son *Rechiarius (Requiarius, 448–56) became, during the 440s, the first Germanic monarch in the West to be converted to Catholic Christianity.

Things took a turn for the worse for the Suebes when the Visigothic King *Theoderic II (453–66) in *Italy set out, with the support of the Roman *Senate, to destroy the Suebic kingdom. In 469 Rechiarius was unable to defeat Theoderic's formidable army; he was subsequently captured and executed, and the *city of *Braga was conquered. Hydatius, *Isidore of *Seville, and *John of Biclar confirm a sequence of Suebic kings who ruled in Gallaecia right up to the destruction and assimilation of their kingdom in 585 by the Visigothic King *Leovigild. The person credited for their final and permanent conversion from *Homoean ('*Arian') Christianity to the Catholic faith was *Martin of Braga, and the Third Council of Braga (675) that met under Catholic Visigothic rule reveals a Church in Gallaecia that was thriving.

See also COINAGE, SUEBIAN. AF

E. W. Bangs, *Threads of Identity: The Persistence and Change of Expressed Memetic Variants of the Suebi and Alamanni in Southwest Germany. The First Century BC through the Sixth Century AD* (diss. Minnesota, 2010).

M. Kulikowski, 'Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain', *Britannia* 31 (2000), 325–45.

P. C. Díaz Martínez, *El Reino Suevo (411–585)* (2011).

A. Ferreiro, 'Sueves and Martin of Braga: Historiography and Future Research Prospects', in E. Koller and H. Laitenberger, eds., *Suevos/Schwaben. Das Königreich der Sueben auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (411–585): interdisziplinäres Kolloquium Braga 1996* (1998), 37–62.

A. Ferreiro, 'Braga and Tours: Some Observations on Gregory's *De Virtutibus Sancti Martini* (1.11)', *JECS* 3/2 (1995), 195–210.

E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (1982).

F. Lopez Sanchez, 'Suevic Coins and Suevic Kings (418–456): The Visigothic Connection', in Curta, *Neglected Barbarians.*

Sufaiyah Small tell south of *Nisibis near which F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld observed four piers of a *bridge formerly spanning an arm of the River Mygdonius (mod. Jaghjagh, Turkish Cağcağ Çay). Sarre and Herzfeld identified it with the Thallaba of the Peutinger *Map (XI), but others have equated Thallaba with Bethallaha of the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XXXVI, 35) and modern Tell Brak. OPN

F. Sarre and E Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet* (1911–20), vol. 1, 190–1.

Sufetula A major node in the *road network of western *Byzacena, 212 km (130 miles) south-west of *Carthage. Considerable Late Antique building survives. A monumental arch was built under the *Tetrarchy and three monumental fountains were constructed in the mid-4th century. Eight churches are known; one was converted from a *temple, probably in the early 5th century. The *forum had a wall built around it in Late Antiquity too insubstantial to be a fortification. Several

small fortified structures were built in the south-east of the town before the 7th century. Sufetula was the residence of *Gregory the Exarch, before *Arab invaders killed him in battle near the city in 647. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 308–12.

N. Duval, 'L'Urbanisme de Sufetula', *ANRW* X.2 (1982), 596–632.

N. Duval and F. Baratte, *Les Ruines de Sufetula, Sbeïtla* (1973).

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 284–5.

suffragium Influence or recommendation necessary for appointment or promotion, secured by *patronage or payment. As 'purchased advantage' it is first explicitly attested in 338 (*CTh* XII, 1, 25); thereafter *suffragium* refers (frequently ambiguously) to influence however obtained. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 391–6.

Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 211–16.

G. E. M. de Ste Croix, 'Suffragium: From Vote to Patronage', *British Journal of Sociology* 5 (1954), 33–48.

suggestio A proposal put forward by an official, eminent individual or interest group for a reform or change in the *law, for discussion by the *emperor and his *Consistorium (advisory council). Many of the responses triggered by the suggestion process form the contents of such legal compilations as the **Theodosian Code* and *Justinian's *Code*. Sometimes backed by an official report, the *suggestio* was also a significant (but not always reliable) channel of communication between emperors and Empire. JDH

Harries, *Law and Empire*, 47–53.

suicide Traditionally an accepted, even praiseworthy, way out of troubles, especially sexual shame for women and defeat for men. Lucretia, and Cato of Utica, were examples known from school texts and debates. But Stoic arguments that suicide could be a rational choice were surpassed by Plato's teaching that although the mortal body hampers the immortal soul, we should wait for God to dismiss us from our post (*Phaedo*, 61D). *Plotinus held (*Enneads*, 1, 9) that suicide is almost always driven by emotion which damages the soul. He diagnosed melancholy, not rational choice, when *Porphyry (*VPlot* 11) thought of 'taking himself out', and himself endured a difficult terminal illness (*VPlot* 2). Christians hoped for immortality, but found no support in Scripture for suicide, and distinguished *mors voluntaria* (self-sought death) from *martyrdom. *Lactantius (*Inst.* III, 18) condemned as murder the suicide of *philosophers who hoped to reach a better life. The range of attitudes is illustrated in *Augustine's classic discussion (*City of God*, 1, 17–27) of Christian women who killed themselves rather than suffer rape. Some Christians praised them, but Augustine argued that it is wrong to kill an innocent person, including oneself, or to despair of God's mercy for the penitent; that escape from suffering is not greatness of soul; that Plato did not advise suicide as a route to a better life; and that Lucretia and Cato were motivated by pride in their reputation. EGC

A. J. L. van Hooff, *From Autothanasia to Suicide: Self-Killing in Classical Antiquity* (1990).

D. Hoffmann, *Suizid in der Spätantike. Seine Bewertung in der lateinischen Literatur* (2007).

***Suidas* (*Souda*)** *See* SUDA.

Suinthila *Visigothic king (621–31). Suinthila served under King *Sisebut, his brother-in-law, notably in the campaigns to expel the Byzantines in 629 which resulted in the Visigoths retaking the Algarve, their last stronghold. Another successful campaign against the Vascones (*Basques) was also commanded by Suinthila. Later he lost the throne as a result of internal family squabbles. During his short rule no *councils of the Church convened in *Spain. *Isidore of *Seville generously wrote that Suinthila had been 'father of the poor'. We know nothing of his later life. AF

PLRE IIIB, Suinthila.

L. A. García Moreno, *Historia de la España Visigoda* (2007).

R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (1983).

Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik (*c.* 675–717) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 715–17) and the second of *'Abd al-Malik's sons to succeed him. Upon his accession, Sulayman moved to place his allies in key roles within the imperial administration, in some cases at the direct and violent expense of people appointed by his brother al-*Walid I. One notable beneficiary of this policy was al-*Hajjaj's former enemy Yazid b. al-Muhallab, whom Sulayman made governor of Iraq, and who was later dismissed by Sulayman's successor, *'Umar II. A significant campaign against the Byzantine Empire was launched in 716, under *Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik. NC

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997) *s.v.* Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, 821–2 (Eisener).

*Tabari, XXIV.

R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaiman b. 'Abdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen* (1987).

G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).

H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (1986).

Sulpicius Alexander (*fl.* perhaps late 4th or early 5th cent.) Author of a history in at least four books, known only from a few extensive quotations by *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 9), for whom he was an important source

of information about *Frankish kings and their military campaigns during the later 4th century. RVD
PLRE II, Alexander 25.

Sulpicius Severus (*c.*360–after 404) Gallic pioneer of aristocratic monasticism, and author of works concerning S. *Martin of *Tours. Most of what we know about Sulpicius' life derives from the *letters of his contemporary *Paulinus of *Nola, who mentions his young friend's distinguished legal career and *marriage into a rich consular family, and also records his conversion to an ascetic way of life, praising the frugality of his private monastic establishment at Primuliacum in south-west *Gaul. Sulpicius was content to be associated with Paulinus but considered himself a disciple of S. Martin, and his literary productions are chiefly devoted to sustaining the memory of that saint and his exploits. They were also evidently written with an eye to the major controversies of his day (*Priscillianism, *Jovinianism, *Origenism).

The apparently authentic detail to be found among the *miracles of the *Life of S. Martin* has led many scholars to accept it as basically truthful, although various dates and encounters (e.g. with *Hilary of *Poitiers) are certainly misplaced or invented. The more polished and artificial style of the accompanying letters and the *Dialogues* (written after 404) has caused greater disquiet, and the patent defensiveness of these works in particular makes it clear that Sulpicius' version of events was not universally accepted among his contemporaries. His *Chronicle* (ending in AD 400, but completed after 403) takes a wider perspective, placing recent events in the context of an overarching Christian history which employs a biblical narrative to reveal a divine pattern or plan. Its culmination remains, however, an attack on S. Martin's western opponents. Gennadius included a brief biography of Sulpicius Severius in his *De Viris Illustribus* (19). MSW
PLRE II, Severus 20.
PCBE IV/2, Severus 1.
DCB Severus 18.

WORKS (*CPL* 474–7)
ed. in PL XX, 95–222, reprinting G. de Prato (1741–54).
ed. K. Halm (CSEL 1, 1866).
J. Fontaine (annotated with FT, *SC* 133–5, 1967–9).
ET A. Robertson (NPNF, 2nd ser., 11, 1894).
B. M. Peebles (FC 7, 1949).
Life of S. Martin (*CPL* 475; *BHL* 5610):
ed. (annotated with FT) J. Fontaine, 3 vols. (SC 510, 2006).
F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (1954).
C. White, *Early Christian Lives* (1998).
Chronicle (*CPL* 474):
ed. (annotated with FT) G. de Senneville-Grave (SC 441, 1999).

STUDIES
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 199–234.
R. Goodrich, '*Vir Maxime Catholicus*: Sulpicius Severus' Use and Abuse of Jerome in the *Dialogi*', *JEH* 58 (2007), 189–210.
Stancliffe, *St Martin*.
D. E. Trout, '*Amicitia*, *Auctoritas*, and Self-Fashioning Texts: Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus', *SP* 28 (1993), 123–9.
G. K. van Andel, *The Christian Concept of History in the Chronicle of Sulpicius Severus* (1976).

Suluk (Su-lu) (r. 715–38) *Khagan (Qaghan) of the *Türgesh, based on the steppe north of the *Jaxartes, who reclaimed traditional western *Türk territory from the Second Türk Empire and led *Sogdian resistance to the *Arab conquest of *Central Asia, ostensibly at the request of the Emperor of *China, and sometimes accompanied by the grandson of *Yazdegerd III, the last effective *Sasanian Shah. Despite recapturing much of the territory conquered by *Qutayba b. Muslim and repeatedly defeating the Arabs, especially at the Day of Thirst (724) and the Battle of the Pass (731), the Arabs decisively beat Suluk at the Battle of Kharistan (737), after which one of his relatives assassinated him (738); Türgesh power subsequently declined, leaving the Arabs largely unopposed in Central Asia. MLD
Chavannes, Documents, 44–7, 78, 81–4.
Chavannes, *Notes*, 35–7, 42, 62–3.
*Orkhon inscriptions, 280.
Jahiz, 689–93.
D. S. Powers, tr., *Tabari*, XXIV: *The Empire in Transition* (1989), 152–7.
K. Y. Blankinship, tr., *Tabari*, XXV: *The End of Expansion* (1989), 14–17, 30, 50–62, 66–7, 71–89, 131–51.
S. Klyashtorny in *HCCA* III, 334–42.
H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923), 60–85 *et passim*.

Summus Senior official in *Syria and *Palestine in the early 6th century. *Choricius of *Gaza praised him in a *panegyric, the *Laus Summi*, attended by his brother, the diplomat *Julian.

Summus held several official appointments in the 520s, distinguished himself by his generosity to *Antioch after the 526 *earthquake, and was *Dux *Palaestinae from 531. In response to a request from *Justinian I, he organized and financed the building of fortifications to protect the *monastery of S. *Sabas from Saracen attacks (*Cyril of *Scythopolis, *VSab* 72–3). He is praised for bringing peace and order to Palestine, reconciling two quarrelling *phylarchs, preventing barbarian raids, protecting pro-Roman nomads on the border with *Egypt, and reassessing *taxation more fairly. He was reappointed Dux Palaestinae in

537/8 and investigated a boundary dispute between the Arab phylarchs al-*Mundhir (Alamundarus) and al-*Harith (Arethas). *Choricius praised him for dedicating the revenues from his lands near *Jerusalem to helping the *poor. FKH

PLRE II, Summus.

Choricius, *Laudes Summi*, in R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig, eds., *Choricii Gazaei Opera* (1929; repr. 1972).

Shahid, *BASIC* 182–94.

sumptuary laws Following the tradition inherited from their Roman past, Late Roman imperial legislators issued laws trying to regulate especially the manufacture, distribution, and wearing of specific items of *dress, not so much to restrict extravagant expenditure by private individuals, as to protect imperial prerogatives, uphold the social order, and safeguard Roman *disciplina*. Pure *silk garments dyed with true *purple *dye from the murex shellfish were exclusive to the *emperor (e.g. *CTh* X, 21, 3), as were dress ornaments woven of silk and *gold (*paragaudas*) (*CTh* X, 21, 1–2) and *pearls, emeralds, and hyacinths (perhaps sapphires) on dress accessories and horse *harness (*CJust* XI, 12, 1).

Interestingly, while some of the restrictions regarding imperial prerogatives were comprehensive to begin with, in the 5th century they were relaxed in favour of women, perhaps because the latter, by their nature, were excluded from the imperial dignity and, consequently, their indulging in luxurious fashions was deemed no threat to the imperial authority (*CJust* XI, 9, 1–2, 4). Particular attention was also given to the dress worn by the inhabitants of *Rome and *Constantinople. Regulations were made against the encroachment of non-Roman, 'barbaric' fashions, such as trousers and Persian boots (*CTh* XIV, 10, 2–4), and the militarization of male civilian dress in non-military settings, a development which contravened traditional Roman civic values (*CTh* XIV, 10, 1). Such official efforts were doomed to failure (cf. *Procopius, *Anecd.* 7, 8–14). Christian morality appears to have had no effect on late antique sumptuary laws, with the possible exception of certain attempts to regulate the dress of female performers on and off stage (*CTh* XV, 7, 11–12; *CJust* I, 4, 4). MGP

R. Delmaire, 'Le Vêtement dans les sources juridiques du Bas-Empire', *AntTard* 12 (2004), 195–202.

Sun (Gk. Helios, Lat. Sol)

Roman god

Romans deemed their cult of the Sun among the oldest of the *City of *Rome. Of its three Republican *temples (on the Quirinal, in Trastevere, and in the Circus Maximus), at least that in the Circus Maximus, and possibly all three, remained in use until the demise of *paganism. The Sun's modest religious importance increased significantly after the *Emperor *Aurelian reorganized the cult in AD 274. He instituted a new priesthood, the *Pontifices Dei Solis, built a lavish temple, and founded quadrennial games 19–22 October to celebrate his *victories over *Palmyra and the *Gallic Empire. *Constantine I associated himself with the Sun, and *Julian, the last pagan emperor, wrote a *Hymn to King Helios* (*Oration* 4) in 362. Throughout the 4th century, leading *senators were Pontifices Dei Solis. Most also held other priesthoods, some of which were more prestigious than that of the Sun. If Aurelian intended his cult of the Sun to be a henotheistic alternative to the traditional Roman cults, this never occurred.

Christ and the Sun

In the Bible (Mal. 4: 2) and early Christian literature (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst.* II, 9, 12; cf. II, 19, 5), the Sun is used with some frequency as a metaphor for God and for Christ. From this, many scholars have extrapolated an influence of solar cult on emerging Christianity, citing the *mosaic of Christ-Helios in the Vatican Necropolis and a solar festival—often erroneously identified as Aurelian's quadrennial games—on 25 December. Particularly influential was H. Usener's conclusion that *Christmas was fixed on 25 December to stifle a popular feast of the Sun on that day. Recent studies have questioned his conclusions.

Other sun gods

The role of the Sun in *Mithraism is enigmatic. In Mithraic art, the Sun is a lesser figure, always clearly distinguishable from Mithras and participant in a number of stock scenes. *Inscriptions, however, routinely address Sol Invictus Mithras as if the two were one. Mithras did not play a role in the public cult of the Sun.

Sol Invictus Elagabalus, the Syrian sky-god of *Emesa, was briefly introduced to Rome by the young emperor Heliogabalus (218–22), but was removed from Rome after his death. The Emesan Ba'al's solar nature is noteworthy. Elsewhere in Syria, the supreme gods were equated with Jupiter, and the sun god was a separate, lesser deity. There is no evidence for any Syrian influence on the Roman cult of the Sun.

Art

In art, the Sun was invariably depicted as young, clean-shaven man with long, wavy hair, and a radiate *nimbus or just rays. He is usually nude but for a cloak, though in Late Antiquity he is increasingly depicted in a long chiton. By the middle of the 2nd century AD it was standard to depict the Sun as bust, standing figure, or the charioteer of a *quadriga*, with a globe or whip in his left hand, right hand raised. Depictions of the Sun as deity and the object of cult, or as active participant in a

myth, are rare. Normally the Sun was a 'framing' figure together with the Moon, imparting to an image a cosmic dimension with connotations of stability and eternity. In this ossified form the anthropomorphic image of the Sun remained in use well into the Byzantine and medieval periods.

The sun as planet

The existence of the Sun was undeniable, of course, but his divinity was debated. While the circular motion and spherical shape of the heavenly bodies was understood to be of a higher order than the downward linear motion of shapeless earthly matter, the superiority of this *quinta essentia* or Fifth Element did not necessarily make them 'divine' or make them the objects of religious cult. Theorists such as *Macrobius might speculate on the significance of the Sun, but opinions on the involvement of heavenly bodies with earthly matters varied greatly. Where some degree of influence of heavenly bodies on earthly affairs was generally accepted, the impact of the Sun was seen to be the most obvious.

SHi

S. Berrens, *Sonnenkult und Kaisertum von den Severern bis zu Constantin I.(193–337 n. Chr.)* (2004).
F. J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 4–5, 1925).
W. Fauth, *Helios Megistos. Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (1995).
S. E. Hijmans, 'Temples and Priests of Sol in the City of Rome', *Mouseion* 10/3 (2010, pub. 2013), 381–427.
P. Matern, *Helios und Sol. Kulte und Ikonographie des griechischen und römischen Sonnengottes* (2002).
M. Wallraff, *Christus Verus Sol. Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike.* (JbA C Ergänzungsband 32, 2001).

Sunday Romans and Greeks did not in general reckon time in weeks. Christians inherited the Jewish seven-day week and termed its first day the 'Lord's Day' (Rev. 1: 10). All four Gospels place the discovery of Christ's Empty Tomb on the first day of the week, and the Acts of the Apostles (20: 7) mentions it as the day when Christians met to 'break bread' (cf. 1 Cor. 16: 2). This custom became general among Christians (e.g. Pliny, *ep*. X, 96; Tertullian, *Apology*, 16), though as late as the 4th-century, canon 29 of the *Council of *Laodicea ad Lycum counselled Christians to work on the Sabbath (Saturday) and rest on the Lord's Day (Sunday).

In 321, the *Emperor *Constantine I ordered that Sunday should be a day of rest and religious observance for soldiers, Christian and non-Christian (*Eusebius, *VCon* IV, 18–20), and ordered that no legal business except the freeing of slaves be done on Sundays (*CTh* II, 8, 1; *CJust* III, 12, 2). Later emperors refined these requirements; *Valentinian I specifically prohibited arrest for debt on Sundays (*CTh* VIII, 8, 1) and *Honorius required judges to visit *prisons on the Lord's Day to ensure the humane treatment of inmates (*CTh* IX, 3, 7).

The laws of post-Roman barbarian kingdoms contained similar prescriptions. The *Visigothic **Book of Judges* forbade lawsuits and debt collection on the Lord's Day (II, 1, 12, 10) and the Laws of Ine of Wessex (3) prescribed fines for those who worked on Sundays.

MFC; OPN

Bingham, *Antiquities*, XX, ii, (1875), 1125–37.
Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts*, 3–36.
W. Rordorf, *Sabbat und Sonntag in der Alten Kirche* (1972).
K. M. Girardet, 'Vom Sonnen-Tag zum Sonntag. Der dies solis in Gesetzgebung und Politik Konstantins d. Gr.', *ZAC* 11 (2007), 279–310.
D. Haines, *Sunday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon England* (2010).

sundials Over 500 ancient stone sundials are known from sites ranging from *Spain to Afghanistan, with heavy concentrations in *Italy, *Greece, and Turkey. Some 20 portable sundials testify to the inventiveness of the ancient dial-makers. Portions of two works of ancient gnomonics (dial-making) are preserved, those by *Vitruvius (IX, 7) and *Ptolemy (*Peri analemmatos*).

Although Babylonians and Egyptians used shadows to reckon time, a new approach came with the geometrization of the celestial sphere and the invention of the *analemma*, which used geometrical unfolding and projection to situate the hour marks. The oldest known geometrical dials are from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Accuracy varied considerably, with a falling off after the Hellenistic period, but accuracy was probably less important than the social organization of time. An ancient Egyptian, non-geometrical type had a vertical semicircle, divided into twelve equal segments, and a horizontal gnomon. This automatically gives twelve seasonal hours in every day, but the hours do not correspond to those in later Greek mathematical astronomy; nevertheless, these experienced a revival in the Byzantine period.

A portable sundial with calendrical gearing of the 5th/6th century, of which four fragments are now in the Science Museum in London, indicates that technical expertise persisted into Late Antiquity, whilst the agricultural author *Palladius knew how to use the shadow of a man's length to tell time for each month. A sundial probably of the 5th century has been found at *Aphrodisias of *Caria, a *city whose educated classes were in close touch with Alexandrian thinkers; the grid of lines on this dial appears to have been designed for the latitude of *Alexandria. Late Antique authors built on earlier scholarship. *Faventius added to Vitruvius in his Latin translation, and the Venerable *Bede, a

historian fascinated by computus and the measurement of time, was familiar with the use of sundials (e.g. *HE* V, 21) and drew on *Ambrose's **Hexaemeron* and Pliny's *Natural History* to expound the principles on which they were constructed (*De Temporum Ratione*, 31–4). JCE; OPN

M. Arnaldi and K. Schaldach, 'A Roman Cylinder Dial', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 28 (1997), 107–17.
J. V. Field and M. T. Wright, 'Gears from the Byzantines: A Portable Sundial with Calendrical Gearing', *Annals of Science* 42 (1984), 87–138.
S. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (1976).
S. Karlheinz, *Die antiken Sonnenuhren Griechenlands. Festland und Peloponnes* (2006).
P. Pattenden, 'A Late Sundial from Aphrodisias', *JHS* 101 (1981).
R. J. A. Talbert, *Roman Portable Sundials: The Empire in your Hand* (2016).
D. J. de Solla Price, 'Portable Sundials in Antiquity', *Centaurus* 14 (1969), 242–66.

sunna *Arabic term referring to the instituted tradition of the Muslim community, and mainly associated with the paradigmatic practice of the Prophet *Muhammad and his closest followers. Within the context of Islamic legal discourse, the term *sunna* is also used to refer to religious practices which were recommended, but not obligatory in the strict sense of the word, and, more broadly speaking, to established practices or customs within Islamic tradition as a whole. Lexicographers connect the term's origins with the idea of a well-trodden path or a smooth channel of flowing water. In the pre-Islamic *Arabian Peninsula, the word referred to customs or traditional practice (the '*sunna*' of a particular tribe or location). This is the way one encounters the word in the *Qur'ān, where one verse even refers to the *sunna* of God (35: 43). Likewise, early Muslims probably spoke of the common shared *sunna* of the Muslim community, while still retaining a second, more localized usage of the term.

Around the 8th century AD, the term became increasingly identified with the specific paradigmatic practice of the Prophet Muhammad, as encapsulated in the narrative reports known as the *hadith. The circle of the jurist al-Shafi'i (d. 820) promoted the idea that the *sunna* as defined by prophetic example was one of the major sources of Islamic law. Traditionalist scholars such as Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855), who were in conflict with rationalist theologians known as the Mu'tazila, identified themselves as the 'People of the Sunna'. A public inquisition (*miḥna*) against traditionalist scholars instigated by the rationalists was carried out throughout the reigns of several *'Abbasid *caliphs, but eventually this policy was cancelled under the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861), who supported and vindicated the traditionalist cause. Combined with the increasing appeal of the idea of *jama'a* (communal unity and consensus), this experience forged and consolidated a distinct 'Sunni' identity', and established the position of hadith studies among the primary disciplines of Muslim scholarship. HBR

EI 2 vol. 9 (1997) *s.v.* Sunna, 878–81 (Juynboll).
G. H. A. Juynboll, 'Some New Ideas on the Development of *Sunna* as a Technical Term in Early Islam', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), 97–118.

superindiction *See* INDICTION AND SUPERINDICTION.

superstitio **(Gk. *deisdaimonia*)** Term used pejoratively in the Late Republic and Early Empire for religious beliefs or practices that were regarded as excessive, novel, or foreign, and characteristically driven more by fear than a proper *pietas* or sense of duty towards the gods. *Ammianus Marcellinus, himself a steady pagan, describes the excessive devotion of Julian the Apostate as *superstitiosus* rather than as due observance of traditional rites (XXV, 4, 17).

In the 4th century, Christians used the term *superstitio* to condemn *pagan worship of false gods in contrast to true religion. This definition was first laid down by *Lactantius (*Institutes*, IV, 28, 11–16), and the earliest surviving law against pagan *sacrifice opened by declaring 'let superstition cease' (*CTh* XVI, 10, 2 of AD 341). DMG

M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (1998), vol. 1, 214–44.
R. Gordon, 'Superstitio, Superstition and Religious Repression in the Late Roman Republic and Principate (100 BCE–300 CE)', *P&P* 199 (2008), 72–94.

Sura (Syria) Fortress city in Syria *Euphratensis. It was captured by Shapur I in 253 (*ŠKZ* 13), apparently on his way up the Euphrates. It was later at the north end of the *Strata Diocletiana, and one of a chain of forts between *Palmyra and the Euphrates (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*or.*] XXXIII, 6 and 28, cf. *VAlexanderAc* 33), and was fortified by *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 9, 1–2), but captured by the Persians in 540 (*Persian*, II, 5, 8). There are remains of fortifications and an *irrigation system. OPN

TIB 15/2 (2015) *s.n.* Sura, 1764–6.

Sura Academy Important rabbinic centre in Jewish Babylonia. Situated just east of the Euphrates River near al-*Hira in Persian southern *Mesopotamia, the academy was established by Rav (*c.*219) and one of its illustrious heads was Rav *Ashi (d. 427), credited with a major role in the redaction of the Babylonian *Talmud. IMG

Oppenheimer, *Babylonia.*

surgery Late Antique surgery included cautery, cupping, bloodletting, applying poultices, and simple cutting of the flesh. Little is known about surgery after *Galen. Surgeons in *Alexandria, however, continued to perform daring procedures, reflecting their extensive training and personal experience. The texts of Galen, Antyllus the Surgeon (*fl. c.*200–40), and another surgeon named Leonides (*fl. c.*180–200) remained important points of reference for surgical authors. Many writers did not merely reproduce the instructions of these 'authoritative' texts, but often modified them in light of their own clinical experience. For example, *Aëtius of *Amida (*fl.* 530), possibly one of the personal physicians to the *Empress *Theodora, interweaves Leonidas' description of lumps and cancers in the breasts with his own recommendations for their surgical removal (*Tetrabiblon*, 16, 40–4).

Similarly, Alexandrian commentators like *Stephanus of *Athens (*c.*550–630) emphasized the authority of their Hippocratic and Galenic texts, whilst offering significant qualifications and even criticisms drawn from their personal experiences as practising physicians. The wording and style of these commentaries are suggestive of lecture notes, and accordingly indicate how the medical professors taught surgery in 6th- and early 7th-century Alexandria. Stephanus often prefaces his surgical instructions with discussions of anatomy and theoretical concepts; he contrasts the Hippocratic physician with the untrained surgeon, who harms or even kills his patient through ignorance of proper method and basic anatomy (*In Hippocratis Aphorismos Commentaria*, VI, 27).

*Paul of Aegina's *Pragmateia* (*c.*630) represents a final stage in the development of textual explication based on clinical experience. He rarely cites written authorities, but rather subsumes them anonymously within his own accounts. *Pragmateia* VI details a number of surgical procedures, such as the repair of hernias (65–6), the extraction of arrowheads (88), and the surgical reduction of male breasts (46). Translated into *Arabic by Hunayn *Ibn ʾIshāq (d. *c.*873 or 877), Paul's work influenced generations of Muslim physicians and surgeons. ARD

For editions of medical works, many of them in the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, *see* under AËTIUS OF AMIDA, AURELIANUS, FELIX, GALEN IN LATE ANTIQUITY, ORIBASIUS, PAUL OF AEGINA, and STEPHANUS OF ATHENS.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 13 (2008) *s.v.* surgery, cols. 962–3 (V. Nutton).

C. Salazar, 'Getting the Point: Paul of Aegina on Arrow Wounds', *Sudhoffs Archiv* 82 (1998), 170–87.

J. Scarborough, 'Teaching Surgery in Late Byzantine Alexandria', in H. J. F. Horstmanshoff, ed., *Hippocrates and Medical Education* (2010), 235–60.

Surkh Kotal Abbreviated name of *kafir-qala surkh kotal* 'heathen castle of the red pass', *Bactrian archaeological site in Afghanistan from the Kushan period (*c.*30–*c.*230) on the road from Kabul to Mazar-e Sharif, about 13 km (8 miles) south of Baghlan, excavated in the 1950s by the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan. The site contains a fortress and sanctuaries for *Zoroastrian and *Buddhist deities. The original structure, built by Kanishka the Great (r. probably from AD 127/8), suffered from lack of water and 'the gods abandoned their seats'. In the month of Nisan of the 31st regnal year, the official Nukunzuk inspected the castle and ordered a well to be dug and a staircase to be built and several copies of an *inscription were made narrating the history of the building. The building shows Hellenistic features, and the inscription is written in *Greek capital letters. POS

D. Schlumberger, 'The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India', *PBA* 47 (1962), 79–95.

D. Schlumberger et al., *Surkh Kotal en Bactriane*, 2 vols. (1983–90).

N. Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan* (*CII* II/6, rev. edn., 2012).

M. P. Canepa, 'The Transformation of Sacred Space, Topography, and Royal Ritual in Persia and the Ancient Iranian World', in D. Ragavan, ed., *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World* (2013), 319–72.

surveyors (Lat. *agrimensores*) The techniques and tools of surveying, developed by the Romans, enabled them to build their famous *roads and *aqueducts with precision. During the heady days of imperial expansion, surveyors laid out new *cities on standard grid plans, with the two main streets (*decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus*) intersecting at right angles. Retired soldiers were rewarded for their service with plots of land in conquered or confiscated territories, and the land, from *Africa to *Gaul to the *Balkans, bears the impress of these centuriated landscapes.

The surveyor's tools included the *groma* or *stella*, a tall staff with two cross arms attached to a bracket on the top. The device was levelled by plumb bobs hanging from the arms. A portable *sundial was used to determine direction. Distances were paced out or measured with a chain or a wheel. The surveyors placed boundary stones on the land, and recorded their findings on official charts kept in government *archives.

The *Corpus Agrimensorum* is a collection of texts, dating from the lst century onwards and compiled in the 4th century. It is preserved in a number of manuscripts, the earliest being *c.*500, and is illustrated with miniatures showing surveying techniques, *maps and *landscape views, and diagrams of centuriation.

In Late Antiquity the need to lay out new *cities and lands dwindled, but legal disputes over boundary lines still required the skills of the *agrimensores.* EE

ed. (with ET and comm.) J. Bruce Campbell, *Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors* (JRS monographs 9, 2000).
O. A. W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors: An Introduction to the Agrimensores* (1971).
M. Lewis, *Surveying Instruments of Greece and Rome* (2001).

Susa Ancient urban centre on the Karkheh River in *Khuzestan founded *c.*4000 BC and occupied into the Islamic era. It was eclipsed by the *Sasanians' later foundations on the Susa plain, including *Shapur I's *Gondeshapur and *Shapur II's Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan.

*Tabari says that al-Sūs (Susa proper) was refounded by Shapur II alongside a fortress containing the remains of the biblical prophet *Daniel, whose tomb (rebuilt) continues to be revered to this day. Whether or not this refers to a refoundation after the king destroyed the *city in 339 is unclear. Roman sources indicate that Susa's destruction was connected with Shapur's persecution of its *Christians, though it is uncertain whether this was his true motivation, particularly as *Sozomen (II, 14) says that Milles, *Bishop of Susa *c.*330, struggled to make converts there.

Sasanian occupation levels at Susa are meagre, and appear to cover only a small fraction of the Seleucid and Parthian city. Nevertheless a long list of Susa's bishops between 410 and 605 suggests that the episcopal see retained its prestige and 33 clay *bullae* (*sealings) recovered in excavation attest to a population significant enough to warrant an official bureaucracy. These *seals also attest that Shapur II renamed the city Šuš-ī-ēr-kar (Susa made Iranian). Two coin *hoards from the reign of *Khosrow II (r. 591–628), two Sasanian boat-shaped *silver bowls, and a rock *crystal bowl in a *gold mount are clear markers of the wealth of some of its residents.

The East Roman *Emperor *Maurice (r. 582–602) is said by *Sebeos to have tried to remove Daniel's body from Susa and bring it to *Constantinople. That he was unsuccessful, however, is shown by the anonymous *Syriac **Chronicle of Khuzestan* and by *Arabic accounts of the *Arab conquest of Susa which describe the discovery of Daniel's tomb by the invading forces under Abu Musa when they captured the city. Numerous minor minting authorities in the region continued to strike coins following the fall of the Sasanians. DTP

EncIran (2005) *s.n.* Susa V: The Sasanian Period (G. Gropp).
Tabari, V.
R. Gyselen, *Arab–Sasanian Copper Coinage* (2000).
D. T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (²2015).
C. F. Robinson, 'The Conquest of Khūzistān: A Historiographical Reassessment', *BSOAS* 67 (2004), 14–39.

Sutton Hoo and the Sutton Hoo Treasure Standing on a terrace above the River Deben in Suffolk, England, Sutton Hoo is best known as the location of a *ship burial containing the Treasure now displayed in the British Museum. It also comprised many other elements. The earliest was at the 6th-century Tranmer House cemetery where 19 inhumations and 17 cremations were excavated. Typically for *aristocratic cemeteries of the period, the main early 7th-century cemetery lies 500 m (547 yards) away, to the south; it too included inhumations and cremations in at least 17 burial mounds. The site is most famous for its two ship burials. Mound 2 covered an inhumation chamber containing *arms and armour, drinking horns, and other objects. A ship *c.*20 m (*c.*70 feet) long was dragged across to seal it before the mound was built. By contrast, the Mound 1 inhumation (*c.* AD 625) was laid in a chamber aboard the 27 m (88 ft) clinker-built ship. The deceased was buried with spears, knives, helmet, scabbard, pattern-welded sword, rich *gold and garnet *jewellery, symbols of his office, and items from Europe and the Mediterranean including Merovingian *coinage and Byzantine *silver bowls. After mound-burial ceased in the 7th century, the site became a burial place for victims of execution. SCT

M. O. H. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: A Princely Burial Ground and its Context* (2005).
M. O. H. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: Burial Ground of Kings?* (1998).
Bruce-Mitford, *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, vol. 1 (1975), vol. 2 (1978), vol. 3 (1983).
Kendall and Wells, *Voyage to the Other World.*

Svaneti *See* SUANIA.

S. Vincenzo al Volturno Archaeological site of a Late Roman rural community and early medieval *monastery located near *Monte Cassino, on a plateau of the Volturno river valley in the mountains of Abruzzo.

There had been a Roman *villa at S. Vincenzo since the Augustan era. By the early 4th century it had been resettled as a rural **vicus*. By the second half of the 5th century, a funerary church and an apsidal *basilica had become the focal point for a rural community of 40–60 people. Analysis of grave sites and coin deposits indicates activity throughout the 6th century, including the period of the Gothic War following the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy.

The creation of the *Lombard Duchy of *Benevento in the late 6th century introduced new *patrons to the region. According to the 12th-century *Chronicon Vulturense*, the *Dux Gisulf gave the property (*c.*703) to three Lombard monks who supposedly discovered an oratory originally built by *Constantine I. The new monastic community grew modestly in the first half of the 8th century with the reconstruction of remains of

the original funerary church and Late Roman villa as the abbey church of S. Vincenzo Minore. From 774, the monastery became the object of Carolingian patronage. Abbot Joshua (792–817), a noble *Frank connected to Charlemagne's *court, built the massive new abbey complex of S. Vincenzo Maggiore (consecrated in 808), which included *gardens, dormitories, and refectory. At 6–10 ha (14–24 acres), the new complex accommodated a population of about 340 monks, making S. Vincenzo one of the largest monastic communities in Europe at the time. The neighbouring rural *cemetery suggests a lay population in excess of 300. At the same time, the old abbey church of S. Vincenzo Minore was retrofitted with Roman architectural elements typical of the Carolingian Renaissance, creating a new palace church for the abbot and a focal point for Carolingian imperial ideology. The writings of Pope Hadrian and *Paul the Deacon refer to S. Vincenzo as a large and prosperous monastic community. The monastery was overwhelmed in an attack by *Arab invaders in 881. Surviving members of the monastic community retired to *Monte Cassino, but returned to S. Vincenzo in 916. The community thereafter accommodated itself to more modest means until the 11th century, when it again became the focus of restoration. S. Vincenzo has been important to understanding the rural transformations from Roman villa to Late Antique *vicus* and monastic community. Similarly, the site is well documented as an example for the connection of the Italian countryside to the wider Mediterranean economy and the connection of monasteries to early medieval politics. MSB

R. Balzaretti, 'Review Article: San Vincenzo al Volturno. History Rewritten?', *EME* 8/3 (1999), 387–99.
E. Fentress, 'San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Middle Ages', *JRA* 9 (1996), 604–10.
R. Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages: The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (1997).

S. Wandrille (dép. Seine-Maritime, France) *Monastery on the lower Seine, at Fontanelle, in the forest of *Jumièges, founded in 649 by the monk *Wandregisel (S. Wandrille), with the support of *Audoenus, *Bishop of *Rouen, on a fiscal *estate donated by the *Mayor of the Palace *Erchinoald. It followed a mixed rule influenced by styles of monasticism associated with both S. *Columbanus and S. Benedict. *Relics and *books were acquired from *Rome. It became a notable community, whose endowed wealth is apparent from *saints' lives and a Carolingian history of its early abbots, the *Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii*. These abbots included Lambert, future Bishop of *Lyons, and *Ansbert. The *Gesta* complain of a decline in the standards of the community under *Charles Martel, several of whose relatives, including *Hugo, became its abbots. RLJ; STL

DHGE 17 (1971) *s.n.* Fontanelle, cols. 915–53 (Laporte).
Gesta, ed. F. Lohier and J. Laporte (1936).
F. Lot, 'Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* 204 (1913), 21–191.
I. Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille and its hagiography', in I. Wood and G. A. Loud, eds., *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor* (1991), 1–14.

swine Pigs were probably the most commonly raised food animal in the Roman world. They bred rapidly and were easily kept: they foraged readily in woodland and marginal zones, as well as among human refuse, making them easily integrated into village husbandry. Two broad 'breeds' can be noted from archaeozoological material recovered in Roman *Italy, one a squat, heavier breed, the other a long-legged, bristled type. The 4th-century satirical **Testamentum Porcelli* is a 'will' penned by a pig and illustrates the ambiguity with which pigs and animals were generally viewed. A similar document is the 3rd-century *epitaph of a pig at Macedonian Edessa (*SEG* 25, 711) which commemorates a pig run over by a cart wheel. Considerable legislation (*CTh* XIV, 4) regulated the guild responsible for procuring swine for consumption in the City of *Rome. *Zoroastrians, *Jews, and Muslims had taboos against rearing and eating pigs. MD

M. MacKinnon, 'High on the Hog: Linking Zooarchaeological, Literary, and Artistic Data for Pig Breeds in Roman Italy', *AJA* 105 (2001), 649–73.

Syagrius (d. 486) Son of *Aegidius (d. 465), the leading Roman general in northern *Gaul. According to *Gregory of *Tours (our sole source), he became 'King of the Romans', based in *Soissons. He was defeated by *Clovis, and killed shortly afterwards. Modern historians have sometimes imagined he ruled a 'kingdom of Soissons' extending widely across northern Gaul. EJ

PLRE II, Syagrius 2.
E. James, *The Franks* (1988), 67–77.

Syagrius of Autun Bishop of Autun (*c.*556–599/602). Probably an influential counsellor of the *Frankish King *Guntram, and, after his death, of Queen *Brunhild, who in 596/7 sought the **pallium* for him from Pope *Gregory I. In 599, Gregory granted the request, noting Syagrius' support for the mission of S. *Augustine to *Canterbury, asked him to preside over a reforming *council of the Gallic Church, which never took place, and sent him a series of other *letters. Syagrius also received letters from *Venantius Fortunatus, and founded various religious establishments in *Autun. BD

PCBE IV/2, Syagrius 5.

Syagrius of Taionnacus (*fl.* 460s) Aristocratic landowner of consular descent in *Gaul, castigated by

*Sidonius for avoiding public service. Later he entered the service of the *Burgundians, whom he advised on *law. Sidonius warned him as the 'Solon of the Burgundians' not to let his newly acquired fluency in the *Germanic language corrupt the purity of his *Latin. JDH

PLRE II, Syagrius 3.
PCBE IV/2, Syagrius 2.

Sycae District across the Golden Horn from the *City of *Constantinople, later the *Jewish and foreign quarter of Galata/Pera. The **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (240) lists it as the City's 13th region, linked 'by frequent ferries' to the City, and as a separate town with churches, *baths, and a shipyard, and its own *fortifications (renewed by *Justinian I). A fort at Galata is first attested in an account of the Arab Siege of 717 (*Theophanes AM 6209) as holding one end of the chain across the Golden Horn. JCr

Janin, *CPByz* 56–7, 221, 466–7.

Syene (Aswan) Largest and most important town in the region of the First Cataract of the *Nile in southern *Egypt. Having surpassed *Elephantine as the main regional centre, Syene also became the main administrative centre of the region in Late Antiquity and attained *city status at the end of the 6th century. Given its strategic position on the southern Egyptian frontier, withdrawn by *Diocletian to the Cataract region in 298 (*Procopius, *Persian*, I,19, 27–37), Syene had a large presence of frontier troops (**limitanei*). The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* 31, 35) lists among the legions under the *Dux Thebaidos a detachment of Milites Miliarenses stationed at Syene.

The earliest bishop whose name is attested is Neilammon in 343 (*Athanasius, *Apologia Secunda*, 49, 3). A petition sent in 425–50 by Bishop Appion to *Theodosius II (P.Leid. Z) requests military support against raids from *Blemmyes and *Nobades. The diocese consisted of Syene, Elephantine, and Contra-Syene, a settlement on the west bank of the Nile opposite Aswan.

A detailed picture of army and Church in Late Antique Syene, as well as its topography, can be gleaned from the *papyrus *archive of Flavius *Patermouthis. Recent excavations also add much to this picture, including evidence for several churches and stretches of the town wall. One of the few ancient monuments of Syene still standing is the *Temple of *Isis, which was turned into a church in the 6th–9th century. JHFD

Dijkstra, *Philae*, 30–5, 51–6, 70–8, 94–110.
J. H. F. Dijkstra and E. Cruz-Uribe, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (2012).
P.Leid. Z: ed. (with FT and comm.) D. Feissel and K. A. Worp, *Ouheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden* 68 (1988), 97–111.

Sykeon (mod. Kiliseler, south of Beypazarı, west of *Ankara) *Village in *Galatia on the Roman *road from *Constantinople to *Ankara, located on the River Siberis, east of Anastasioupolis, the birthplace, later the bishopric, of S. *Theodore of Sykeon, who founded a *monastery and two churches nearby. Publication of the Tahirler Project of 1997–8 and 2000–3, which studied the site under the direction of Dr Joel Walker, is in progress. SEI

TIB 4 (1984), 228–9.
D. Barchard, 'Sykeon Rediscovered? A Site at Kiliseler near Beypazarı', *AnatSt* 53 (2003), 175–9.
French, *Pilgrims' Road*, 44.
Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 122–34.

Sylvester *Bishop of *Rome 314–35. There is little reliable historical information about Sylvester I. His biography in the **Liber Pontificalis* (34) mostly concerns donations to Roman *basilicas made by *Constantine I. It also ascribes to Sylvester a church on the Esquiline, the Titulus Silvestri, which has not been precisely located. The *Actus Silvestri* (*BHL* 7726–41) gives a lively and legendary account, which fed later Christian fiction about Constantine's *baptism at Rome and the forged *Donation of Constantine.* LHCG

PCBE II/2, Silvester 1.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 85–9.
G. Fowden, 'The Last Days of Constantine: Oppositional Versions and their Influence', *JRS* 84 (1994), 146–70.

Symeon, Monastery of S. One of the best-preserved medieval monastic complexes of *Egypt. Situated on the west bank of the *Nile near Aswan (ancient *Syene), the *monastery is known today as that of S. Symeon but was originally named after Apa Hatre, one of the *bishops of Syene (385–412). The church was built at some point before 796 and then renovated in several stages. While the remains of the complex are mostly medieval, evidence for an older monastic community is extant in a cave located close to the church with wall paintings dating to the 6th or 7th century. In the monastic cemetery, numerous *Coptic tombstones have been recovered (*Koptisches Sammelbuch*, I, 498–675), of which the oldest may date to the 6th or 7th century. JHFD

U. Monneret de Villard, *Il monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswân*, vol. 1 (1927).
Dijkstra, *Philae*, 37, 61–2.

Symeon bar Sabba'e, S. *Catholicus of the *Church of the East, 329–41 and one of the most famous *martyrs of *Shapur II's great persecution of *Christians in the *Persian Empire. He was archdeacon before succeeding *Papa bar Aggai as catholicus in 329. His *martyr passion, which survives in two versions (*BHO* 1117 and 1119),

describes his imprisonment in Karka d-Ledan in *Khuzestan (Susiana), together with two *priests and about 100 lay Christians. Symeon was decapitated on Good Friday, probably in 341. His *martyr passion was soon recounted in *Greek by *Sozomen (*HE* II, 9–10), and in *Armenian (*BHO* 1118). Symeon is said to have introduced liturgical innovations. CJ

GEDSH s.v. Shem'on bar Ṣabba'e, 373–4 (Van Rompay).
Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 421.
BHO 1117, ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, II, 123–30.
BHO 1119, ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, II, 131–207.
Hymns and both *Passions*, ed. (with LT) M. Kmosko, PatSyr 1/2 (1907), 715–960, 1048–55.
Both *Passions*, ed. (annotated with ET) K. Smith, *Martyrdom and History of Blessed Simeon bar Ṣabba'e* (2014).
Partial GT of Passions, Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, 5–57.
R. W. Burgess, 'The Dates of the Martyrdom of Simeon bar Sabba'e and the "Great Massacre"', *AnBol* 117 (1999), 9–66.
P. Devos, 'Sozomène et les actes syriaques de S. Syméon baar Ṣabba'é', *AnBol* 84 (1966), 443–56.
G. Wiessner, *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II.*, *Abh.* (Gött.) III, 67 (1967).

Symeon of Bet Arsham (d. 548) *Syriac Orthodox bishop and missionary. Symeon 'the Persian Debater' devoted his life to advancing *Miaphysite Christianity in places where Chalcedonian and *Church of the East communities had gained ascendancy. In his *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (10, PO 17/1, 137–58) the historian *John of *Ephesus describes Symeon as an indefatigable itinerant missionary whose efforts expanded the Miaphysite community into the *Persian Empire; in particular he lauds his theological acumen and skill as a debater. Symeon converted the *Arab tribes living on the Roman–Persian *frontier.

In addition to the hagiographical sources, Symeon's own extant works reveal his interest in the promotion of Miaphysite theology and the protection of their community. His *letters from Hirta brought attention to the plight of Arab Christians persecuted by the Jewish *Himyarite King in *Najran. Symeon's treatise *On Barsauma Bishop of Nisibis and the Heresy of the Nestorians* condemned the Dyophysite leaders and the School of the Persians in *Nisibis. Symeon debated with the East Syrian *Catholicus Babai in front of the Persian *marzban. He attended a synod in *Armenia (505/6). Symeon died in *Constantinople, where the *Empress *Theodora and the community of leading Miaphysites under her protection honoured him. JNSL

GEDSH s.v. Shem'un of Beth Arsham, 376 (Van Rompay).
Letter On Barsauma:
ed. (with LT) Assemani, *BiblOr* vol. 1, 346–58.
ET A. H. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (TTH 50, 2008), 21–39.
Letter on the Martyrs of Najran:
ed. (with IT) I. Guidi, 'La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth Aršâm sopra i martiri omeriti', *Reale Accademia dei Lincei: memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. 3a, VII (1881), 501–15 (Syr.) and 480–95. [IT]
ed. (with ET and study) I. Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân: New Documents* (SubsHag 49, 1971).

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J.-M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'Église en Iraq* (CSCO 310, Subs. 36, 1970), 120–7.
Th. Hainthaler, 'Der persische Disputator Simeon von Bet Aršam und seine antinestorianische Positionsbestimmung', in Grillmeier, 2/3 (2013), 262–78.

Symeon of the Olives, S. *Syriac Orthodox *holy man and *Bishop of *Harran who lived in northern *Syria in the 7th and early 8th centuries. Along with the *Life* of S. *Theodota of *Amida, the *Life* of S. Symeon of the Olives is one of the two most important Syriac Orthodox *saints' lives from the Islamic period; both provide precious contemporary glimpses into the religious landscape of the *Umayyad period. Symeon's *Life* also provides valuable information for economic history.

According to the *Life* Symeon was born in *Tur 'Abdin in 624, eventually running the *monastery *school of Qartmin (Mar *Gabriel), then becoming a *stylite, directing the affairs of the entire *monastery from his pillar. The pivotal moment of the *Life* is the discovery by Symeon's nephew, David, of a large treasure hidden in a cave; this treasure provided money for Symeon to purchase great *estates for the Monastery of Qartmin and to build and restore monasteries across a wide area. Symeon also planted some 12,000 *olive trees, an act which earned him the sobriquet 'of the olives'. Symeon was eventually made Bishop of Harran and died in 734.

In its current form the *Life* suffers from a number of historical anachronisms. For example, it places Symeon's debate with Muslim, *Jewish, and *Nestorian scholars at the court of al-Ma'mun in Baghdad, a city which had not even been built by the time of his death. Obvious attempts have been made to conflate the Syriac *Life* of Symeon with the *Arabic account of the debate of Theodore Abū Qurra with the *Caliph al-Ma'mūn. A critical edition, commentary, and translation are currently planned by A. Palmer and J. Tannous. JT

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 412.
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 168–71.
F. Y. Dolabani, *Maktabzabnē d-ūmrā qadīshā d-Qartmīn* (Monstery of Bar Hebraeus, Netherlands, 1959, 1991).
Palmer, *Monk and Mason.*

A. Palmer and J. Tannous, 'The Story of St Simeon of the Olives, Exalted among the Elect', in *Christian–Muslim Relations*, 5 (2013), 615–19.
S. P. Brock, 'The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur Abdin', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979), 168–82.

Symeon Stylites the Older, S. (*c.*390–459) The first of the *stylite saints, perched on the top of columns. Born in *Cilicia, he entered the monastery of Teleda (east of *Antioch) in *c.*403, and moved as a hermit to nearby Telanissus in *c.*412. By 423 he had adopted living on a pillar, and this he continued till his death. Already in his lifetime he was visited by crowds of pilgrims, and the written accounts of his life all reflect a standard account told to pilgrims by the monks who lived around the pillar and received visitors. These accounts include that in *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus, *Religious History*, 26 (written in 440), the *Life* by Simeon's disciple Antonius, and the long *Syriac *Life* (these last two dating to soon after the saint's death). From his column Symeon addressed the crowds, and also responded to individuals. He was on occasion consulted by *emperors on doctrinal matters, and acted as a local arbitrator, determining such matters as the proper rate of interest. The explanation given of his mode of life was that it was a divine sign 'to awaken the world from heavy torpor' (Syriac *Life*, 111), comparable to the bizarre behaviour attributed to several of the prophets of the Old Testament, such as Jeremiah's wearing of a wooden collar. Substantial remains of the vast cruciform shrine built around his pillar survive at *Qalat Seman, 35 km (22 miles) north-west of *Aleppo.
RMP

BHG 1678–88.
Bibliotheca Sanctorum 11 (1968), 1116–38.
H. Lietzmann, *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites,* TU 32/4 (1908), with the texts of the two Greek *Lives*.
ET R. Doran, *The Lives of Simeon Stylites* (CSS 112, 1992).
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 258–9.

Symeon Stylites the Younger, S. (521–92) Born in *Antioch and soon orphaned, Symeon entered a *monastery south-west of the city near the source of the Orontes at the age of 5, and became a *stylite at the age of 7. In 541 he moved to the nearby Wondrous Mountain between Antioch and the Mediterranean, where a large church and monastery were built around his column. It is clear from his *Life* that he soon acquired a widespread reputation for working *miracles and also for prophecy; he is reported to have predicted not only numerous events in the history of Antioch but also the accession of the *emperors *Justin II in 565 and *Maurice in 582. He was the first stylite to be a significant writer; a Byzantine collection preserves 30 of his *sermons, in a pompous paraphrase, though probably authentic in content. His *Life* preserves three of his troparia, of which one is still used in the Greek Church. His *letters are largely lost, apart from an account of *Samaritan profanation of sacred images cited in the Acts of the Second *Council of *Nicaea (Mansi, 13, 160–1). Fine architectural *sculpture and the rock-cut base of his church are still to be seen on the Mons Mirabilis overlooking the *harbour above *Seleucia Pieria, as are a substantial part of his pillar and the rock-cut steps which pilgrims climbed to consult him.
RMP

Bibliotheca Sanctorum 11 (1968), 1141–57.
BHG 1689–91: ed. P. van den Ven, *La Vie ancienne de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–92)*, 2 vols. (SubsHag 32, 1962, 1970).
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 301–3.
P. van den Ven, 'Les Écrits de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune avec trois sermons inédits', *Le Muséon* 70 (1957), 1–57.
H. Delehaye, *Les Saints stylites* (1923), lix–lxxv, 238–71.
W. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 13, 1986).

Symeon the Holy Fool of Emesa, S. (Symeon Salus) (mid-6th cent.) The first of the 'holy fools'. There is an authentic but brief treatment of Symeon in *Evagrius Scholasticus (*HE* IV, 34), which tells of him feasting in taverns while *fasting in private and (innocently) frequenting prostitutes. In the 640s *Bishop *Leontius of *Neapolis wrote a substantial *Life*, which misdates Symeon to the end of the 6th century. His work, partly legendary, partly fictitious, is important not as history but for bequeathing to Byzantium the new category of 'holy fools', who scorn reputation by acting outrageously and pretending to be mad, while at the same time managing to exert an edifying influence.
RMP

Vita (*BHG* 1677):
ed. L. Rydén, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 4, 1963).
ET (with study) D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (TCH 25, 1996), 131–71.
S. A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* (ET by S. Franklin, 2006; Russian original, 1994), ch. 4.

Symeon the Potter (Shem'un Quqaya) (5th–6th cent.) Potter (Syr. *quqaya*) and *Syriac poet from Geshir in northern *Syria. Nine poems on the Incarnation survive in the London ms. BL Syr. Add. 14520, each preceded by an indication of its tune. *Jacob of Sarug is said to have admired Symeon. After him is named a genre of Syriac poetry 'potter-songs' (*quqaye*), that later played a role in the *liturgy.
JNSL

GEDSH s.v. Shem'un Quqoyo, p. 377 (Brock).
Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 158–9.

ed. (with GT) S. Euringer, 'Die neun "Töpferlieder" des Simeon von Gêšîr', *OrChrist* 11 (= 2nd series, vol. 3) (1913), 221–35.
ET S. P. Brock, *The Bride of Light: Hymns on Mary from the Syriac Churches* (1994), 102–8.
ET of *On the Nativity*: S. Brock, *Eastern Churches Review*, 8 (1976), 54–5.

Symmachi *Family of senatorial *aristocracy possibly of Italian origin. The Symmachi may have amassed their substantial fortune in *Africa in the 3rd century, but gained prominence during the 4th century, when several members held high magistracies. This is the case of Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus (*consul 330), his son Lucius Aurelius Avienus, whose tenure as *Praefectus Urbi in 364–5 was praised by *Ammianus (XXVII, 3, 3–4), and Avienus' son, Q. Aurelius *Symmachus 'the orator' (Praefectus Urbi 384–5, consul 391).

In the 4th century, the Symmachi were committed pagans and related by *marriage to other pagan senatorial families such as the Nicomachi. One such marriage may be commemorated on the *Nicomachorum–Symmachorum *diptych. However, several Symmachi of the 5th and 6th century were devoted Christians, such as Aurelius Anicius Symmachus (Praefectus Urbi 418–20), Symmachus junior (consul 485 and also a member of the Christian family of the *Anicii), or the latter's grandson, Flavius Symmachus (consul 522). Rusticiana, the pious correspondent of Pope *Gregory, and her daughter Eusebia, *Apion's wife, were also possibly part of the Symmachi.

Literary culture as well as religion was important to the family. Avienus' skills as a poet were praised by his son Symmachus, the famous orator, and the orator's *letters were edited by his son Memmius. A century later Q. Aurelius Memmius *Symmachus junior was renowned for his literary accomplishments, as was his son-in-law, the philosopher-statesman *Boethius. DN

PLRE I, stemma 27, p. 1146.
PLRE II, stemma 22, p. 1322.
Cameron, *Pagans*.
A. Cameron, 'The Antiquity of the Symmachi', *Historia* 48 (1999), 477–505.
H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (1981), 6–16.
Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 3–31.
C. Sogno, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus: A Political Biography*, 59–85.

Symmachorum-Nicomachorum Diptych *See* NICOMACHORUM-SYMMACHORUM DIPTYCH.

Symmachus *Bishop of *Rome 498–514. A Roman *deacon elected pope at the same time as *Laurentius (**Liber Pontificalis*, 53). Confirmed by King *Theoderic and a synod at *Rome in 499, he was accused of various crimes in 501–2 and discredited when he refused to defend himself at *court. Faced with violence and declining support in Rome, he withdrew to the *Vatican, while Laurentius occupied the *Lateran as antipope. A number of synods followed, but the schism ended only when Theoderic intervened on Symmachus' behalf in 506/7. Now without a rival, he extended his reach into *Gaul and *Spain, confirming the primacy of *Arles and granting its bishop, *Caesarius, the **pallium*. He also patronized the *Vatican extensively and refused to compromise on the *Acacian Schism. JJA

PCBE II/2, Symmachus 5.
E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, vol. 2 (1933).
W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (²1959).
Moorhead, *Theoderic*.
Stein, *Histoire*, vol. 2 (1949).

Symmachus, Q. Aurelius, 'the orator' (*c.* 340–402) Roman *senator and orator of the senatorial *Symmachi family. Symmachus received the strong rhetorical education essential to a prominent political career. As a young senator, Symmachus was entrusted with an embassy to *Valentinian I in 369–70, where he delivered three *panegyrics and started a lasting relationship with *Ausonius. After being *Proconsul *Africae (373), he was appointed *Praefectus Urbi Romae in 384. In 387–8, Symmachus supported *Magnus Maximus' usurpation, falling in disgrace after the latter's defeat (*Socrates, *HE* V, 14), but he was later rehabilitated and appointed *consul in 391.

After his death in 402, Symmachus' son Memmius compiled more than 900 of his *letters following the model of Pliny the Younger's Epistolary. Accordingly, Book 10 contained his letters to the *emperors, including 49 *Relationes* or reports that Symmachus wrote while he was Praefectus Urbi. The most famous is *Relatio* 3, a senatorial petition to *Valentinian II asking for the restoration of the *Altar of Victory which *Gratian had removed from the Senate House. Symmachus' defence of pagan cults was opposed by *Ambrose, *Bishop of Milan (Ambrose, *epp.* 17 and 18, cf. 57), and the episode was traditionally interpreted as a landmark in the conflict between paganism and Christianity. However, former characterizations of Symmachus as the head of a pagan aristocratic faction and literary circle have been called into question by recent research.

The other nine books contain Symmachus' letters to more than 130 addressees. These letters are not empty rhetoric, they furnish insight into the mentality, social protocol, and political tactics of the Late Roman senatorial *aristocracy. Among Symmachus' correspondents were some of the most important personalities of the Empire, including bishops such as Ambrose, generals such as *Stilicho, and pagan aristocrats such as his *friend *Praetextatus. Especially noteworthy was

Symmachus' relationship with *Nicomachus Flavianus the Elder. Symmachus' daughter married *Nicomachus Flavianus the Younger, and his son, Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus (*PLRE* II, Symmachus 10), married a granddaughter of the elder Nicomachus. However, unlike Nicomachus the Elder, Symmachus did not support the failed *usurper *Eugenius. After Nicomachus Flavianus committed *suicide in 394, Symmachus wrote copious letters to rehabilitate his son-in-law and secure the reputation of his family. DN

PLRE I, Symmachus 4 (= *PLRE* II, Symmachus 7).

ed. O. Seeck, MGH Auct. Ant. VI (1883, repr. 2001).

ed. J. P. Callu (with FT and comm.), *Symmaque: Lettres* 1–2 (Budé 1, 1972), 3–5 (Budé 2, 1978), 6–8 (Budé 3, 1995), 9–10 (Budé 4, 2002); *Discours—Rapports*, vol. 5 (Budé 5, 2009).

ET M. R. Salzman and M. J. Roberts, *The Letters of Symmachus: Book 1* (WGRW 30, 2011).

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ed. (with comm. and IT) D. Vera (1981).

ed. R. H. Barrow (with ET and introds.), *Prefect and Emperor: The Relationes of Symmachus* (1973).

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J. F. Matthews, 'Symmachus and Oriental Cults', *JRS* 63 (1973), 175–95.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 3–31.

C. Sogno, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus: A Political Biography* (2006).

Cameron, *Pagans*, esp. 353–98.

McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 151–67.

P. Bruggisser, *Symmaque, ou le rituel épistolaire de l'amitié littéraire* (1993).

Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna*.

F. Paschoud, ed., *Colloque génévois sur Symmaque: à l'occasion du mille six centième anniversaire du conflit de l'autel de la Victoire; douze exposés, suivis de discussions* (1986).

Symmachus, Q. Aurelius Memmius junior *Consul for 485 and twice *Praefectus Urbi (476, 491), he was one of the last prominent representatives of the *Symmachi and great-grandson of *Symmachus the orator. Like the latter, Symmachus junior had a successful political and literary career, being both *patricius and Caput Senatus. He was sent by the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic on an embassy to *Constantinople. He was a Christian and may have supported Pope Symmachus against his rival *Laurentius (*Avitus, *ep.* 34). He was also known as a *philosopher and model of eloquence, receiving *letters from *Ennodius, and also from *Cassiodorus, who mentions his (lost) Roman History in seven books. The *philosopher *Boethius was his son-in-law. After Theoderic executed Boethius, Symmachus was also arrested, accused of *treason, and, in 525, put to death (*Procopius, *Gothic*, I, 1, 32). DN

PLRE II, Symmachus 9.

J. Moorhead, 'Boethius and Romans in Ostrogothic Service', *Historia* 27 (1976), 604–12.

Symmachus the Ebionite Symmachus, called 'the Ebionite' by early Christian authors but the 'translator of the *Jews' by *Palladius of *Helenopolis in the 4th century, is the name attached to one of the early *Greek *Bible versions produced in the 2nd century AD. His translation is frequently mentioned together with those of *Aquila and *Theodotion, marked as 'the three', because they were included in *Origen's *Hexapla* and transmitted together in marginalia and citations. There is no extant manuscript other than these fragments. It has been suggested that Symmachus may have been Jewish, although not necessarily affiliated with the *rabbinic movement. WFS

Symphosius Pseudonymous author of a collection of 100 tristich hexameter *riddles in *Latin; he may have lived in the 4th or 5th century. In a preface, the author claims to have improvised his *aenigmata* at a banquet during the *Saturnalia: this could be to characterize them as sympotic poetry rather than as historical truth. The riddles cover an array of topics from the natural world and impress with their cleverness and finish. Several of these riddles appear also in the Latin novel the *Romance of *Apollonius, King of Tyre*. The collection exercised considerable influence over early medieval writers of riddles, notably in *Anglo-Saxon England. SMcG

HLL 5, section 548.

CPL 1518:

ed. (with introd. and comm.) T. J. Leary (2014).

ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Anthologia Latina* (1982).

Z. Pavlovskis, 'The Riddler's Microcosm: From Symphosius to St. Boniface', *ClassMed* 39 (1988), 219–51.

synagogue Scholarly theories regarding the date of the origins of the synagogue as *Jewish place of meeting span almost the entire first millennium BC. The first solid archaeological and literary evidence stems from the Hellenistic and Early Roman eras, beginning in *Egypt and then surfacing in Judaea and elsewhere in the Diaspora.

From this time onward, the synagogue functioned as both a central communal institution and the setting for its religious practices. In the latter capacity, the liturgy focused on Torah reading and associated activities, such as reading from the Prophetic books (*haftarah*), the *sermon (*derashah*), and probably the translation of the biblical text into the vernacular (*targum*). Flavius Josephus and the New Testament (especially the Acts of the Apostles) are the most important literary sources for this, together with archaeological remains (buildings

and *inscriptions) from Judaea and the Diaspora. Perhaps the best known of these sources is the Theodotos inscription, written in *Greek in 1st-century AD *Jerusalem:

Theodotos, the son of Vettenos, priest and *archisynagogos*, son of an *archisynagogos*, grandson of an *archisynagogos*, built the synagogue for reading the Law [i.e. the Torah] and teaching the commandments, and the guest chamber, the rooms, the water installations as lodging for those in need from foreign lands [i.e. the Diaspora]. Its foundation [i.e. the synagogue's] was laid by his fathers, together with the elders and Simonides.

Despite the useful evidence from before AD 70, the later period provides far more abundant archaeological and literary data, including Jewish (*rabbinic), Roman, and Christian sources, all attesting to the remains of some 150 synagogue buildings in *Palestine and the Diaspora and many hundreds of inscriptions. The later synagogues continued the primary functions of their precursors, serving as the focus of communal and religious activities. At the same time, the synagogue also witnessed dramatic developments in Late Antiquity.

One important feature of the synagogue after AD 70 was its increasingly religious profile, influenced not only by the vacuum created by the absence of the Temple at Jerusalem but also by the more dominant part played by religion in Late Antiquity generally. Several 2nd-century rabbinic sources allude to synagogue sanctity, and further evidence from the 3rd century onwards includes the synagogue's orientation toward Jerusalem and the introduction of the Torah shrine into the main hall. Inscriptions from both Palestine and the Diaspora attest to the community's new perception of the synagogue as a holy place.

Another distinctive feature of the synagogue after AD 70 was its developing *liturgy. Earlier synagogue practices, such as Torah reading and its accompanying activities, continued, but several new components appeared over the coming centuries. Communal prayers were developed and gradually introduced into synagogue liturgy while the emergence of *piyyut* (*see* HYMNS, JEWISH) in the Byzantine era added a further dimension to *prayer. This newly created liturgy reached a fairly consolidated form only at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The late antique synagogue also became the focal point for the development of a heretofore unattested Jewish art, primarily in its *mosaic floors. Influenced particularly by the Christian context, Jews began to make extensive use of religious symbols such as the Torah ark, *shofar*, *lulav* (palm branch), and *ethrog* (citron), and especially the *menorah. The menorah appears well over 1,000 times in the art of Late Antiquity. For the first time, Jews introduced biblical figures and scenes into their synagogues, including David, Daniel, Samson, an Exodus scene, and the Binding of Isaac ('Aqedah). While a number of synagogues boasted some of these motifs, the most impressive display of biblical scenes in a synagogue setting, not only in Antiquity but throughout Jewish history, is the 3rd-century synagogue at *Dura Europus, whose four walls were completely covered from floor to ceiling with wall paintings of biblical scenes and figures. The most striking motifs introduced into Palestinian synagogues at this time were classical cosmological motifs, the *Zodiac and the *Sun, which were placed in the largest and most central panel of half a dozen mosaic floors.

While the communal dimension of synagogues remained central after AD 70, the reasons for the significant changes that took place in its religious dimension raise questions. The changes appear to have transpired gradually, but flourished when Jews throughout the Byzantine Empire were being challenged by an emerging and triumphant Church. In response, Jewish communities both made use of styles and practices dominant in the surrounding cultures and, at the same time, drew upon their historical memories, including their customs and symbols, for the religious, social, and psychological reinforcements deemed necessary to cope with their new reality. LL

L. I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2005).

Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae Calendar of church *festivals compiled in the 10th century under the direction of the *deacon and librarian Evaristos and commissioned by *Constantine VII. Each entry provides a short biography of the saint celebrated and names the church in *Constantinople or its vicinity where the commemoration (*synaxis*) was held. Liturgical *processions connecting multiple points in the *city are also described. The *Synaxarium* is thus a fundamental source for the ecclesiastical topography of Constantinople, whose use is complicated by its status as a compilation whose multiple temporal strata are not clearly distinguished. BWA

ed. H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris* (1902).

C. Mango, 'The Relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion of Constantinople', *BBGG* 53 (1999), 79–87.

P. Odorico, 'Idéologie politique, production littéraire et patronage au Xe siècle: l'empéreur Constantin VII et le synaxariste Évariste', *Medioevo Greco* 1 (2001), 199–219.

A. Luzzi, *Studi sul Sinassario di Costantinopoli* (1995).

Syncletica of Palestine (6th cent.?) Daughter of a Constantinopolitan aristocrat who fled an arranged *marriage to become a hermit in the desert of *Palestine. A woman fleeing an unwanted marriage to lead the *ascetic life is a common typological and hagiographical

theme in early monastic literary tradition, but the story of Syncletica as narrated by a monk named Silas, and surviving in both *Greek and *Georgian, is plausible and appears to be, at least in part, historical. Syncletica stands firmly within the tradition of *virgins and widows from the first four centuries of Christianity: as a female ascetic, she detaches herself from the world and its values and strengthens her attachment to God through seclusion and the study of the *Bible. She is distinct from the 4th-century Syncletica of *Egypt, some of whose sayings survive in the Alphabetical Series of the **Apophthegmata Patrum*, as well as a *Life* erroneously attributed to *Athanasius (*BHG* 1694; *CPG* 2293). TV

Life: *BHG* 1381 (III, Appendix IV, 177–8).

ed. (with study) B. Flusin and J. Paramelle, 'De Syncletica in Deserto Jordanis (*BHG* 1381)', *AnBoll* 100 (1982), 291–317; Gk. text 305–17.

ET (with study) T. Vivian, 'A Woman in the Desert: Syncletica of Palestine', in *Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives* (1996), 37–52.

Synesius (*c.*370–414) *Philosopher and *Bishop of *Ptolemais, in the Libyan Pentapolis (410–14). Born in *Cyrene to an aristocratic *family of Greek origin, he was educated in *Alexandria under *Hypatia, with whom he kept a close relationship throughout his life. In *c.*397, Synesius was entrusted with an embassy to the *Emperor *Arcadius for negotiating a tax remission for the Pentapolis, remaining at the *court until *c.*400 and becoming a protégé of the *Praefectus Praetorio Aurelianus, who eventually granted the tax reduction. The context of court intrigue and anti-*barbarian sentiment in *Constantinople influenced two of Synesius' treatises. *De Regno* (*c.*398) recalls the virtues of the ideal king and criticizes the influence of barbarians in Roman politics. *De Providentia* (399) focuses on how God permits Evil and attacks the ambition of *Gainas in his political competition with Aurelianus, by representing the two men allegorically as Typhon and Osiris respectively.

After leaving Constantinople, Synesius married a rich Christian, and the couple established themselves in Cyrene, where Synesius composed *Dion*, a treatise on the philosophical life, and *On Dreams*, an elaboration on the **Chaldean Oracles* about the nature of the soul. An influential citizen with an active role in defending his *city from barbarian invasions, he was elected Bishop of Ptolemais (410–11), being consecrated six months later by *Theophilus, *Patriarch of Alexandria, who had also officiated at his *marriage.

Synesius' 156 *letters contain abundant information about his troubled episcopacy. In *ep.* 105, written at the moment of his episcopal election, Synesius restates his *Neoplatonist *philosophy and his refusal to give up his wife. In the next years Synesius also faced the death of his wife and three sons (*epp.* 70 and 89), a problematic relationship with Andronicus, the *Praeses of *Libya Superior, who was excommunicated by Synesius for not respecting church *asylum (*epp.* 41–2), and invasions by *nomads (*ep.* 67, *Catastases*). Synesius' other writings reveal his aristocratic ethos (*Cynegetics*, lost), his expertise in classical *rhetoric (*On Baldness*, *Hymns*), and his keen interest in scientific and technical knowledge (*On an Astrolabe*). His controversial *baptism, philosophical ideas, and closeness to Hypatia once led historians to interpret Synesius as a pagan struggling with *conversion to Christianity, but this view has been contested in more recent studies that consider Synesius a typical example of the cultured Christian aristocrat. Synesius died in 414 without knowing the tragic end of Hypatia. DN

PLRE II, Synesius 1.

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 14 (2009) *s.n.* Synesios, cols. 24–5 (J. Rist).

CPG 5630–40:

Hymns: ed. (annotated with FT) C. Lacombrade (Budé 262, 1978).

Letters: ed. (annotated with FT) A. Garzya, 2 vols. (Budé 397 a and b, 2003).

Opuscula, ed. J. Lamoureux (annotated with FT by N. Aujoulat), 3 vols. (Budé 434, 2004; 464 and 466, both 2008).

ET A. Fitzgerald, *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene: Including the Address to the Emperor Arcadius and the Political Speeches*, 2 vols. (1930).

J. Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene: Philosopher-Bishop* (TCH 2, 1982).

T. D. Barnes, 'Synesius in Constantinople', *GRBS* 27 (1986), 93–112.

Cameron and Long, *Barbarians*.

P. Heather, 'The Anti-Scythian Tirade of Synesius' *De Regno*', *Phoenix* 42/2 (1988), 152–72.

Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 110–41; 228–72.

J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, 'Why Did Synesius Become Bishop of Ptolemais?', *Byzantion* 56 (1986), 180–95.

H.-I. Marrou, 'La Conversion de Synésios', *REG* 65 (1952), 474–84.

Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, 156–65.

D. Roques, *Études sur la correspondance de Synésios de Cyréne* (Coll. Latomus 205, 1989).

Synodicon Orientale Comprehensive collection of legal texts from the *Church of the East. These texts, assembled around the 11th century and numbering 80 (Selb), are in three groups: (1) nos. 1–27, documents of early Western *councils; (2) nos. 28–41, records of thirteen councils of *bishops in the *Persian Empire 410–775; and (3) nos. 42–80, miscellaneous collections of canons and other legal compositions. Groups 1 and 3 contain documents of very different origin, for example collections of pseudo-apostolic canons (nos. 1–2), the

Statutes of the School of *Nisibis (no. 55), and the well-known dialogue between Patriarch Timothy and *Caliph al-Mahdi in 775/85 (no. 68). The documents in the second group are a separate and earlier compilation, made perhaps by Timothy, and are a primary source for the history of the Church of the East. (The authority known as the *Synhados* in the modern church is, however, a different book, a compilation of canons by 'Abdisho' of Nisibis in the 13th cent.) JFC

GEDSH s.v. Synodicon Orientale, 387–8 (Van Rompay).

ed. of part two (with FT), Chabot, *Synodicon orientale.*

O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados oder Synodicon orientale* (1900) (GT of part two).

W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht, I. Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)* (Sb Wien 388, 1981).

synone *See* COEMPTIO.

synthronon A stone bench curving around the interior of the *apse of a church, behind the *altar, providing seating for the clergy, with a central space on the platform holding the *chair (Lat. *cathedra*, Gk. *thronos*) of the *bishop, from which he generally preached. A striking example survives at the Church of the *Holy Peace in *Constantinople. EL

Mathews, *Early Churches*, esp. 143, 149–51.

Syria The northern half of the land extending eastwards from the east end of the Mediterranean Sea, roughly equivalent to modern Syria and Lebanon, may be divided into three approximate geographical zones: the coastline, inhabited in Late Antiquity by people who generally spoke *Greek, its hinterland in the Fertile Crescent, where *Syriac was the most commonly spoken language, and to the south-east the Syrian Desert, extending down into the *Arabian Peninsula and separating Syria from Persian *Mesopotamia (mod. Iraq). There was extensive cultural cross-fertilization between the civilizations, literature, and *philosophy of the Syriac and Greek cultures; it was indeed largely by way of *Syriac that *Greek thought came to the *Arab world in the 9th century AD. Syria and its principal *city of *Antioch on the Orontes came under Roman rule with Pompey's conquest of the rump of the former Seleucid kingdom in the 60s BC. Throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD Syria was the area of the Roman Empire closest to the *Persian Empire. The rise of the *Sasanian dynasty, with its more aggressive attitude to the Romans, made Syria vulnerable to attack, particularly as during the course of the century Rome and the Sasanians absorbed former client kingdoms and buffer states along their mutual *frontier, such as the kingdom of *Osrhoene, run by the Abgar dynasty from *Edessa. The three hostile campaigns celebrated by *Shapur I in his **Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, with their long catalogues of cities captured (including Antioch itself), illustrate a threat under which Syria lived until the *Arab conquest of the mid-7th century.

Between 260 and 272, following the third of Shapur's great campaigns, Syria was part of the breakaway Empire of *Palmyra. Roman imperial control was re-established by *Aurelian in 272, and under the *Tetrarchy the provinces of Syria were subdivided and grouped to form a part of the *Dioecesis of *Oriens. *Galerius and *Diocletian were frequently at Antioch, which was, uniquely, both one of the greatest cities of the Mediterranean world and one of the residences of the Tetrarchs, favoured because it made a convenient headquarters to defend a frontier. *Constantine I and his son *Constantius II were also frequent residents of Antioch, and it was from that city that *Julian launched his ill-fated expedition into Persian Mesopotamia in 363. A 4th-century geographer says that the city was 'good in every way, for indeed the Lord of the Earthly Globe resides there' (**Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, 23).

Even after *emperors settled permanently in *Constantinople at the end of the 4th century, the *provinces of *Mesopotamia, *Osrhoene, and *Euphratensis, of *Syria Prima (Coele) and Syria Secunda (Salutaris), of *Phoenice Prima (Phoenice Paralia and Phoenice Maritima) and Phoenice Libanensis (Phoenice Secunda), the Roman provinces listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* which correspond most closely to the modern territory of Lebanon and Syria, remained prosperous, particularly during the long 5th-century lull in the *Persian–Roman wars.

Late Antique economic prosperity

The prosperity of Syria into the late 6th century was apparent in its great cities, both those inland, such as *Damascus, those of the Orontes Valley such as Antioch and *Apamea, and those on the coast, such as the ports of *Seleucia Pieria, *Tyre, *Sidon, *Tripolis, *Byblos, and the city of *Beirut, famous for its school of *law. *Education in classical literature, as promoted by *Libanius, and in *philosophy persisted in such places, most visibly at Antioch and Apamea, and sumptuous private *houses have been excavated particularly at the *locus amoenus* of *Daphne-by-Antioch. During the course of the 5th century such cities acquired monumental church buildings; the first of which we have a record is that erected immediately after the end of the Great *Persecution in 313 at *Tyre (*Eusebius, *HE* X, 4), followed soon after by the Golden Octagon at Antioch.

Prosperity is evident also from the patterns of rural settlement. Up to the end of the 6th century marginal land in Syria was brought into agricultural production which was not to be cultivated so intensively again until the 19th century. This is emphatically not a tale of

decline and fall. The phenomenon is particularly visible in the *Limestone Massif of northern Syria, the hinterland of the great cities of Antioch, *Aleppo, and *Apamea, where over 700 Late Roman settlements have been identified, many of them with standing buildings which have not been used (or had their stone robbed out) since Late Antiquity. *Farming in this area was not, as previously thought, a monoculture producing *olives for external markets, but a balanced agricultural economy producing *grain and *wine as well as olive oil.

Christianity

Many of the standing buildings in these *villes mortes* are churches. Christianity reached Syria even before the conversion of S. Paul, and Antioch was the place where Jesus' disciples were first called Christians (Acts 11: 26). Under the Emperor Trajan (98–117) Ignatius of Antioch, third *Bishop of Antioch (*Eusebius, *HE* II, 3, 22), was sent to *Rome to face martyrdom, and Eusebius of *Caesarea catalogues other Syrian Christians who died for their faith, both in his *Church History* and in his horrific personal memoir of the Great *Persecution, the *Martyrs of Palestine*.

Among these *martyrs was the *priest *Lucian of Antioch (*HE* VIII, 13, 2 and IX, 6, 3), one of a long line of interpreters of the *Bible associated with the See of *Antioch. Scriptural exegetes of the Antiochene school were more concerned with the literal meaning of the text of the Bible, in contrast to interpreters associated with *Alexandria who were more interested in *allegory. They included *Diodorus of *Tarsus and *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, whose theology influenced *Nestorius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople (428–31). Nestorius' extreme notion of the radically separate existence of divine and human Natures in the Person of Christ was condemned at the *Council of *Ephesus of 431, and caused a number of theologians who espoused his position to move to Persian territory and the *Church of the East.

Theological differences and dispute persisted between those who accepted the decisions of the Council of *Chalcedon of 451 that Christ had two distinct Natures, human and divine, and *Miaphysites who believed the divine and the human to be so completely fused in Christ that He could be said to have only one divine-human nature. A vigorous exponent of Miaphysite views was *Severus, a convert from *paganism and Patriarch of Antioch (512–18); he was replaced as patriarch under *Justin I by a stern repressor of Miaphysites, *Ephrem of *Amida, and in the course of the 6th century, largely through the efforts of *Jacob Burd'oyo (d. 578), a separate church hierarchy, the *Syriac Orthodox Church or Jacobites, emerged, which claimed the loyalty of a large proportion of the population of Syria well into the Islamic period.

Church life in Syria was not all theological controversy. *John Chrysostom, a *priest of Antioch 386–97, was a famous preacher and very large numbers of his *sermons survive. At *festival time, when country people came to the big city, he had an interpreter who put his words into Syriac, the language of the hinterland east of Antioch up and to and beyond the Persian border. The development of Christian *hymns owed much to Syriac and Greek models composed in Syria.

From the latter part of the 4th century onwards Syria was also the home of famous *holy men. Desert monasticism began in *Egypt with S. *Antony the Great (*c.*251–356), but some of its most notable exponents lived in Syria, where the Desert and the Sown are less radically separate than they are in Egypt. The lives of many holy men were recounted in the *Religious History* of *Theodoret, the classically educated bishop (423–after 460) of the city of *Cyrrhus between Antioch and the Euphrates crossing at *Zeugma. Holy men were Christians who set themselves apart from normal life and endeavoured to live on earth the life of complete and sole dependence on God that is characteristic of the *angels. Their advice was therefore valued by ordinary Christians not only because they were disinterested and had nothing to gain or lose by what they said, but also because their own intense inner lives had endowed them with holiness and insight. Sometimes these powers would be apparent in spectacular fashion through *miracles, but such manifestations were occasional flashes in a life of long *asceticism. The most famous of these holy men was S. *Symeon Stylites the Older, the 'lion of Syria' (d. 459), who occupied the summit of a pillar on a hilltop at *Qalat Seman on the Limestone Massif for over 35 years, where he was visited by a regular stream of pilgrims. His *saint's life was written by Theodoret while he was still living (*Religious History*, 26) and after his death an enormous sanctuary was constructed around his pillar, a boulder of which still remains at the site. A younger *stylite, S. *Symeon Stylites the Younger, lived nearly all his life on a pillar on the Mons Mirabilis overlooking the Mediterranean Sea west of Antioch, where the rock-cut portions of the pillar and the rock-cut steps which people climbed up to consult him are still to be seen.

Persian wars and Arab conquest

At the beginning of the 6th century the Persian King *Qobad I attacked the cities of the Roman East, inaugurating a period of wars which were to persist, with some interruptions, until 628. In 540 Qobad's son and successor *Khosrow I sacked Antioch and captured Apamea, an event witnessed personally by the historian *Evagrius Scholasticus when he was a schoolboy (*HE* IV, 26). Khosrow carried off craftsmen

to Persian *Mesopotamia where he housed them in his newly founded city of *Weh-Andiog-Husraw (MP: Khosrow's Better Antioch). The Persians were back in 573 when they sacked Apamea and burnt much of it, and then finally under *Khosrow II, during the *Persian invasion beginning in 604. The Persians actually took possession of Syria in 613–14 and proceeded to rule it for about a decade; they were not wholly dislodged until *Heraclius overthrew *Khosrow in 628.

The Roman repossession of Syria was short-lived. The first attacks on Roman territory by Muslim armies took place before *Muhammad's death in 632 and full-scale *Arab conquest followed soon afterwards. In 635 a Muslim *army commanded by *Khalid b. al-Walid took possession of *Damascus and the following year defeated the Emperor *Heraclius at the Battle of the *Yarmuk: 'To Syria', the emperor is supposed to have said, 'a long farewell' (*Michael the Elder, *Chron.* II, 424). Following the First *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*), the fifth *caliph (successor to *Muhammad) in 661 adopted Damascus as his principal residence, and Syria became the centre of *administration for the rapidly expanding Muslim world, until the *'Abbasids in the mid-8th century and *Islam's centre of gravity moved to Mesopotamia (Iraq).

OPN; PWMF

Millar, *RNE*.
R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria: An Historical Guide* (2009).
D. L. Kennedy and D. N. Riley, *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air* (1990).
R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (1927).
K. Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East* (2003).
G. Downey *A History of Antioch in Syria* (1961).
G. Tate, *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du nord, du IIe au VIIe siècle* (1992).
N. G. Garsoïan, T. F. Mathews, and R. W. Thomson, eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period: Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980* (1982).
F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).

Syria, churches of The remains of the oldest known church building, the house church at *Dura Europus (abandoned 256/7), are in *Syria. So also is the densest concentration of Late Antique monuments in the world, on the *Limestone Massif around *Aleppo. This region has several hundred settlements which have between one and three churches at each site, as well as *monasteries located outside the towns and *villages. The archaeological evidence at such sites as *Qalat Seman and *Qalb Lozeh is exceptionally well preserved as the area was abandoned from the 7th century onwards and very little new construction has been carried out in intervening centuries.

Although it does not have the volume of monuments of the Limestone Massif and has been continuously inhabited, the *Auranitis (Hauran), the basalt massif that links modern southern Syria and northern Jordan, also provides much information about early Christian architecture due to a similar level of outstanding preservation. Our evidence of early Syrian churches largely originates from the west of the country, as east of the anti-Lebanon mountains the Syrian steppe and desert churches were largely built of mud-brick. These survive as part of the archaeological record, but unlike the substantial stone remains in the west, are invisible except through survey.

East of the anti-Lebanon evidence of ecclesiastical architecture is more fragmented. Whilst the majority of Lebanese mountain churches have early origins, they have all been extensively remodelled over the centuries making it difficult in many cases to discern their original form. However they commonly take the form of a small *apsed *basilica, often without aisles, with a simple *narthex in the west.

The exceptional preservation of the west Syrian sites has left a corpus of *inscriptions that attest to a strong church-building tradition from the second half of the 4th century onwards. This flourished until *c.*610 when Syrian society began to decline, and church building appears to have stopped almost overnight. This hiatus occurred throughout the region, and affected all Christian communities, whatever their attitude to the Christological definitions of the *Council of *Chalcedon.

For there is a clear division between the ecclesiastical loyalties of northern and southern Syria. The northern area was strongly linked to both *Antioch and *Edessa and evidence suggests supporters there of the Council of Chalcedon and non-Chalcedonians both adopted identical forms of ecclesiastical architecture, employing the *basilica form for most churches but using centrally planned monuments for *martyria and other cult centres. As far south as *Epiphania (Hama) there is also evidence for the use of transverse naves, an element that is found in church architecture in *Mesopotamia. In southern Syria Christian communities were almost entirely Chalcedonian and made greater use of centrally planned churches with *domes, suggesting that Christological affiliation could have affected architectural preferences. However it is not possible to use church architecture as a direct indicator of the doctrine embraced by those who worshipped in these churches.

EL

H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria* (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division II, Sections A and B; 1919–20).
H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria: Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, ed. E. Baldwin Smith (1929; repr. 1969).
Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie.*
Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord.*

Syria Prima (Coele) and Syria Secunda (Salutaris) The *Verona List records a single *province of *Syria Coele in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens; this consisted of the western part of the previous (Severan) province of Syria Coele, the eastern part having been separated to form the new province of *Euphratensis. A single province of Syria appears in the signatory lists of the church *Council of *Constantinople of 381. By the time of the **Notitia Dignitatum*, Syria Prima (*or.* II, 11) was governed by a *Consularis (*or.* I, 61), from *Antioch, and a separate province of Syria Salutaris (Secunda) had been created to the south (*or.* II, 20), governed by a *Praeses (*or.* I, 91) from *Apamea. In 528 *Justinian I carved out of Syria Prima and Secunda the coastal province of *Theodorias, centred on *Laodicea, while leaving the previous provinces intact for ecclesiastical purposes. In 535/6 Justinian merged the title, **officium*, and emoluments of the Consularis of Syria Prima with those of the *Comes Orientis (*NovJust* 8, 5), but by 542 the Comes appears to have recovered at least some of his former broader authority (*NovJust* 157). *Hierocles enumerates seven *cities in Syria Prima (711, 1–8) and eight cities in Syria Secunda (712, 1–9).

OPN; PWMF

Spilia, *Reorganisation of Provincial Territories.*

Syriac language and literature

Language

Syriac is the dialect of Edessene Aramaic. By the early centuries AD Aramaic, which had been the *koine* of the Near East since about the 7th century BC, had developed into many different local dialects. Some of these dialects, like that of *Edessa, were used for writing, each with its own distinctive *script (notably Jewish Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Hatran).

Syriac is first attested in *pagan *inscriptions of the 1st century from the Edessa region, and by the mid-2nd century it had become the literary language of Aramaic-speaking Christianity. Besides the early inscriptions, three legal documents from *Mesopotamia, dated 240, 242, and 243, are of particular importance. The earliest literary text is the Old Testament *Peshitta, translated from Hebrew (2nd cent.), and the earliest known author *Bardaisan of Edessa (154–222). Edessa was also where the earliest dated Christian literary manuscript (in any language) was copied (AD 411).

Syriac inscriptions from west of the Euphrates are rare before the late 5th and 6th century. It is likely that many people in Late Roman *Syria will have been *bilingual in Syriac and *Greek, though only a few authors (including *Rabbula, *Bishop of Edessa, d. 435) wrote in both languages. Though Syriac has continued as a literary language vestigially until the present day, it had probably been replaced as a spoken language by vernacular dialects by the time of the *Arab conquest, and eventually by *Arabic; thus *Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) felt the need to aid readers by indicating vowels in the consonantal script.

Literature

Syriac literature is the heir to three main traditions, ancient Mesopotamia, early Judaism, and Hellenistic Greek culture. The first two are more significant in early writers, but from the 5th century onwards the Greek element is predominant, reaching its height in the 7th century: this can be seen, not only from the increasing number of Greek loanwords in common use, but also from the adoption of Greek genres and thought patterns. It so happens that the earliest surviving literary text, the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, attributed to Bardaisan (actually by his disciple Philip), goes against this general pattern, being in the form of a Greek philosophical *dialogue. By contrast, the three most important 4th-century authors, *Aphrahat, *Ephrem, and the unknown author of the **Liber Graduum* (*Book of Steps*), are far less Hellenized than those of the following centuries, in the course of which Syriac culture becomes more and more influenced by the Greek-speaking world. Both Aphrahat and the author of the *Book of Steps* were writing within the *Persian Empire, the former during the second quarter and the latter towards the end of the 4th century. From the 5th century onwards Christian authors living under the *Sasanians sometimes wrote in Middle *Persian, rather than in Syriac, though nothing of the former survives directly.

Syriac literature of Late Antiquity covers many areas, only a few of which can be dealt with here.

Historiography: *Eusebius of *Caesarea claimed to have derived the correspondence between King Abgar of Edessa and Christ from the *archives of Edessa, but the absence of any mention of the *Abgar legend in the 6th-century **Chronicle of Edessa* calls this into question. Of slightly earlier Edessene provenance is the vivid historical narrative covering the years 494 to 506, conventionally attributed to '*Joshua the Stylite' (ET by J. Watt and F. Trombley, 2000). In the late 6th century *John of *Ephesus produced a continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, though only the third (and last) book survives. A century later *Jacob of Edessa did the same for Eusebius' *Chronicle*, but unfortunately this is almost entirely lost.

Hagiography: This can take various forms. Important *martyr passions from Roman territory include those of the Edessene martyrs *Shmona, Guria, and Habbib. There are also passions of *martyrs in the Persian Empire: those concerning the many martyrs under *Shapur II are of very varied historical value, some

being much later compositions of an epic character (e.g. *Qardag, ET by J. T. Walker, 2006). Of particular interest are the accounts of 6th- and 7th-century martyrs (for a guide to editions and translations, S. P. Brock, ed., *The History of the Holy Mar Ma'in* (2008), 77–125). Among the many *saints' lives, those of *Symeon the *Stylite (ET by R. Doran, 1992), and the collection of 6th-century lives by John of Ephesus, the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, might be singled out. There are also a few hostile *Lives*, notably of *Nestorius and of *Maximus the Confessor.

Theology, Exegesis and Spirituality: Two major theological writers are *Philoxenus (d. 523, *Syriac Orthodox) and *Babai (d. 628, *Church of the East). Only in Syriac is there surviving polemical writing from all sides of the three-way split in Eastern Christianity over the *Council of *Chalcedon. Though exegetical literature is usually categorized as being either Antiochene or Alexandrian in tendency, this polarization does not apply to earlier authors such as Ephrem, or indeed to several later commentators; commentaries on the *Bible are normally on single books. The 7th and 8th centuries witnessed a flowering of East Syriac monastic literature, notable authors being *Sahdona (Martyrius), *Isaac of *Nineveh (the Syrian), *John of Dalyatha (the Elder), and *Joseph Hazzaya (the Seer). These writers drew especially on the spirituality of *Evagrius Ponticus (translated from Greek) and *John of Apamea (early 5th cent.). In the same period the main Syriac Orthodox authors, such as *Severus Sebokht and Jacob of Edessa, primarily had scholarly concerns, including *astronomy and Aristotelian *philosophy; Jacob's **Hexaemeron* commentary draws on the scientific knowledge of his day. In both east and west Syriac traditions there are some important writings in the area of *canon law; for the east, some of these feature in the **Synodicon Orientale* (ed. Chabot, 1902).

Poetry: Syriac *metre is syllabic, and two main verse forms are found, stanzaic (**madrasha*) and couplets (**memra*), the outstanding exponent of the former being Ephrem. A distinctive Syriac genre is the verse sermon, for which the two main authors were *Narsai (d. *c.*500), who ended up as head of the famous theological School of *Nisibis, and the *Miaphysite *Jacob of Sarug. There is also a considerable amount of imaginative narrative poetry on biblical topics, such as the epic on Joseph (probably by Balai, rather than Ephrem). Another distinctive genre is the verse dialogue, in alternating stanzas, usually with biblical characters. SB

GEDSH s.v. Syriac Language, 390–1 (Butts).
M. Atallah, ed., *Nos sources: arts et littératures syriaques* (2005).
M. Albert, 'Langue et littérature syriaques', in M. Albert et al., eds., *Christianismes orientaux* (1993), 297–375.
I. A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* (ET, ²2003).
Baumstark, *Geschichte*.
S. P. Brock, *An Introduction to Syriac Studies* (2006).
S. P. Brock, *An Outline of Syriac Literature* (²2009).
S. P. Brock, 'Edessene Syriac Inscriptions in Late Antique Syria', in H. M. Cotton, R. G. Hoyland, J. J. Price, and D. J. Wasserstein, eds., *From Hellenism to Islam* (2009), 289–302.
M. Debié, ed., *L'Historiographie syriaque* (2009).
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Kessel, *Bibliography* (2011).
D. G. K. Taylor, 'Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia', in J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain eds., *Bilingualism in Ancient Society* (2002), 298–331.

Syriac Orthodox Church This Church represents that section of the *Patriarchate of *Antioch which did not accept the dogmatic definition of the *Council of *Chalcedon (451), that Christ was incarnate 'in two natures', as opposed to their *Miaphysite position (also that of the *Armenian Church, the Coptic Church in *Egypt, and the Church in *Ethiopia) of 'one composite (divine–human) nature of the incarnate Logos'. Like the Chalcedonians, the Syriac Orthodox also reject the Monophysite position of *Eutyches (that the one nature was *only* divine), though Chalcedonian writers have consistently but misleadingly described them as 'monophysite'.

The break came with the imposition of the 'two natures' Christology of Chalcedon on the hierarchy by the *Emperor *Justin I, on whose accession in 518 Patriarch *Severus of Antioch (d. 538) was deposed, whereupon he fled to Egypt. In 532/3 *Justinian I held theological discussions with some Miaphysite *bishops (accounts from both sides survive), but they ended in failure. The same was the case in 536 when Justinian summoned Severus to *Constantinople, which had the unwanted result of Anthimus, Patriarch of *Constantinople, siding with Severus.

Already in the 520s deposed bishops, and in particular *John of Tella (d. 537/8?), had been continuing to ordain clergy, but it was the consecration in 542, at the request of the *Ghassanid leader *Harith b. Jabalah, of two bishops by Theodosius, Patriarch of *Alexandria, in Constantinople (with the *Empress *Theodora's help) that saw the beginnings of a separate hierarchy. The activities of one of these bishops, *Jacob Burd'oyo (Baradaeus, Bishop of *Edessa, 542–78), subsequently led to the Syriac Orthodox being described by their enemies as 'Jacobites'. It was not until 557/8, however, that a patriarch was elected (Sergius of Tella).

The *Three Chapters and the *Council of *Constantinople of 553, usually seen as attempts by Justinian at winning back those opposed to Chalcedon, appear to have had little impact. Of the various further attempts at reconciliation, the most important was that of *Heraclius, *c.*630, when he met Patriarch Athanasius I in *Hierapolis (Mabbug) at a time when there was no Chalcedonian Patriarch of Antioch. With the *Arab conquest of Syria, the Syriac Orthodox Church became cut off from the Byzantine Empire.

Circumstances obliged the Syriac Orthodox patriarchs to reside in different *monasteries. The last decades of the 6th century witnessed the so-called 'Tritheite' controversy and a schism between Antioch and Alexandria (588–616). Already in the course of the late 5th/6th century the Syriac Orthodox Church had spread eastwards into the *Persian Empire, and in 628/9, around the time of Heraclius' campaigns, the see of *Takrit was accorded special status, its holders having the title *Maphrian (the first being *Marutha, d. 649).

Major authors writing in *Syriac include, for the 6th century, *Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), *Philoxenus (d. 523), *John of Ephesus (d. c.588), *Peter of *Callinicum (patriarch 581–91); 7th/8th century: the scholars *Severus Sebokht (d. 666/7), *Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), and *George, bishop of the Arab tribes (d. 724). Numerous *translations from Greek were made during the period, biblical, theological (e.g. writings of Severus), and philosophical (notably Aristotle's *Organon*).

The main sources are John of Ephesus' *Ecclesiastical History*, Part III (ET by R. Payne Smith, 1860), and his *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (ET by E. W. Brooks, in PO 17–19; 1923–5).

*Zacharias Rhetor's *Ecclesiastical History* (ET by G. Greatrex, C. Horn, and R. Phenix, 2011), the **Zuqnin* ['Ps. Dionysius'] *Chronicle* of *c.*775 (Part III, ET by W. Witakowski, 1996; Parts III and IV, ET by A. Harrak, 1999), and the *Chronicle* of *Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785; reconstructed ET by R. Hoyland, 2011). Many documents are preserved in Books 8–11 of the *Chronicle* of *Michael the Elder (Michael the Syrian; d. 1199; FT by J.-B. Chabot, 1901). An inventory of an important dossier of documents covering 564–75 is provided in A. van Roey and P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century* (1994), 268–303. SB

GEDSH s.v. Syriac Orthodox Church, 393–4 (Kiraz).
F. Alpi, *La Route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les Églises d'Orient (512–518)*, 2 vols. (2009).
S. P. Brock, ed., *The Hidden Pearl: The Syrian Orthodox Church and its Ancient Aramaic Heritage*, 3 vols. (2001).
R. Devresse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Eglise jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (1945).
W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (1972).
A. Grillmeier and Th. Haintaler, eds., *Jesus der Christus. 2/3: Die Kirchen von Jerusalem und Antiochien nach 451 bis 600* (2002), 179–659.
W. Hage, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche in frühislamischer Zeit* (1966).
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W. A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (1923).

Syrianus (d. *c.*437) *Neoplatonic *philosopher and *rhetorician. Born in *Alexandria, Syrianus succeeded his teacher as head of the Neoplatonic Academy of *Athens in 431/2 and read the works of both Aristotle and Plato with the young *Proclus (*Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 11–13). He was a key figure in the development of late Platonism. His surviving philosophical work is a commentary on Books 3, 4, 13, and 14 of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in which he defends Plato against Aristotle's criticisms. The **Suda* attributes to him commentaries on *Homer and Plato's *Republic* as well as treatises on the gods in Homer and on Orphism. Further aspects of his teachings, particularly on the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides*, are detectable in the work of his pupil Proclus. Syrianus' doctrine represents the culmination of the Neoplatonic project of harmonizing Platonic idealism with Aristotelian empiricism. Using as his framework the Neoplatonic doctrine of the three kinds of universals, he proposes a complete and systematic articulation of three types of form: the intelligible separate form, the enmattered form, and the abstracted (logical) universal.

Syrianus was also the author of commentaries on the rhetorical treatises of *Hermogenes, addressed to his son. The frequent references to Plato and Aristotle illustrate a further harmonization, that of *rhetoric with philosophy. RW

PLRE II, Syrianus 3.
Commentaria in Hermogenem, ed. H. Rabe, 2 vols. (1892–1893).
Commentaria in Metaphysica, ed. W. Kroll (1902). ET D. O'Meara and J. Dillon, 2 vols. (2006–8).
A. Longo, ed., *Syrianus et la métaphysique de l'Antiquité tardive* (2009).
S. K. Wear, *The Teachings of Syrianus on Plato's Timaeus and Parmenides* (2011).

Syrianus Magister The same author wrote three military treatises, *De Re Strategica*, *Rhetorica Militaris*, and *Naumachia*. The *Naumachia* names him as Syrianus Magister. The three works must post-date the mid 6th century, as *De Re Strategica* (33) mentions *Belisarius,

and pre-date the early 10th century, as *Rhetorica Militaris* and *Naumachia* were used in Leo VI's *Tactica* (*c.*895–908). They draw on experience accumulated from classical authors (e.g. Aelian, *Hermogenes) and Late Antiquity (e.g. on *archery). IAPS; OPN

De Re Strategica, ed. (with ET) as 'The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy': G. T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (CFHB 25, 1985), 1–135.

Rhetorica Militaris, ed. H. Köchly in *Index Lectionum in Literarum Universitate Turicensi* … (1855–6).

Naumachia, ed. A. Dain, *Naumachica* (1943), 43–55.

ed. (with ET) J. H. Pryor and E. Jeffreys in Pryor and Jeffreys, *Age of the Dromon*, 455–81.

P. Rance, 'The Date of the Military Compendium of Syrianus Magister (Formerly the Sixth-Century Anonymus Byzantinus)', *BZ* 100/2 (2007), 701–37.

Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.

Syro-Roman Law-book A rich source of Late Antique Roman *law. Its non-extant *Greek original was translated into *Syriac probably in the 6th century. The version L (Londinensis) that is closest to the original was later reworked several times. Through this reworking the order of the sections was changed, the text was shortened, and some insignificant changes were introduced. Such modified versions were then translated into *Arabic and *Armenian, later into *Georgian. One also finds many citations in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic legal works.

Its title notwithstanding, the work is not a real law-book. Contrary to earlier suggestions it does not contain any Syriac customary law either. Rather it consists of interpretations of 5th-century imperial *constitutions. It was most probably compiled in a Near Eastern law school. Its author was familiar with both Roman law and the handling of documents.

The text was known in both Eastern and Western Syriac-speaking areas. As is demonstrated by its many versions, it spread very widely. There is no evidence for the supposition that it would have been used in judicial practice, for instance in *bishops' courts (*episcopalis audientia*). HK; tr. IP

W. Selb and H. Kaufhold, *Das Syrisch-römische Rechtsbuch*, 3 vols. (2002).

T

Tabarestan Mountainous region in northern Iran bordering the Caspian Sea. Called Tapuristan during the *Sasanian period, renamed Mazandaran from the 11th century. Separated from the Iranian Plateau by the Alburz Mountains, its climate, population, culture, and history remained distinct. Its nobility enjoyed substantial autonomy for most of the Sasanian period.

Tabarestan also defied the *Arab conquest. As *Zoroastrians and members of the indigenous *aristocracy, the Dabuyids and, later, the Bavandids, maintained independent states, cultivating Sasanian royal traditions and lineage. The Dabuyids minted their own coins on Sasanian models until 760 (Walker 1, plates xxiii, xxv, xxxviii) and the Bavandids built royal tomb towers with Middle *Persian inscriptions. Afterwards, control by the *caliphs was still limited; the region tended towards alternative currents of *Islam, especially the *Shi'ite strand. PAW

W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran* (1984).

C. Melville, 'The Caspian Provinces, a World Apart: Three Local Histories of Mazandaran', *Iranian Studies* 33/1–2 (2000), 45–91.

M. Michaelidis, 'In the Footsteps of the Sasanians: Funerary Architecture and Bavandid Legitimacy', in S. Babaie and T. Grigor, eds., *Persian Kingship and Architecture: Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis* (2015), 135–74.

J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins in the British Museum: (Umaiyad Governors in the East, Arab-Ephthalites, 'Abbāsid Governors in Tabaristān and Bukhārā)* (1941).

al-Tabari (839–923) Jurist, *Qur'ānic exegete, and historian. Born into a landholding family in Iran, al-Tabari was a precocious student who became—even by the standards of his time—an astonishingly prolific scholar. Income from a family estate (and, later, from teaching) enabled him to travel extensively for his education and build a career largely independent of the *'Abbasid establishment. He wrote a monumental work of *tafsir* (Qur'ānic exegesis), founded a short-lived law school, the Jaririyya, and wrote a world chronicle, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk* ('The History of the Prophets and the Kings'). Beginning with Creation, the *Ta'rikh* includes detailed accounts of scriptural and ancient history, and a lengthy annalistic history of *Islam from the Prophet's day down to the year 915. Al-Tabari's sources for his *History* included al-*Mada'ini, *Ibn Ishaq, and Abu Mikhnaf, and it seems his work's popularity and authoritative status superseded many of them, causing them to fall out of circulation. He included multiple (sometimes contradictory) accounts rather than presenting an integrated narrative, but did nonetheless filter and reshape the material—and guide readings of it—through editing, juxtaposition, and omission. No complete manuscript of the *Ta'rikh* survives, but the number of continuations, translations, and reworkings—including Bal'ami's 10th-century Persian adaptation—attest to its far-reaching influence. NC

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* al-Ṭabarī, 11–15 (Bosworth).

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F. Rosenthal, *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 1: *General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood* (1989).
B. Shoshan, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography: Deconstructing Tabari's History* (2004).

tabelliones *See* NOTARIES.

Tabennese and Phbow The first and second *monasteries of the Pachomian federation in Upper *Egypt. *Pachomius, who began his *ascetic career as a disciple of the anchorite Palemon, moved to the deserted *village of Tabennese in AD 323 in response to a vision and initiated the first communal monastery (**coenobium*), which quickly added an affiliated female community. After initial difficulties, the monastery grew rapidly, necessitating the foundation of a second monastery in the nearby, again deserted village of Phbow (AD 329). Phbow became the central monastery of an expanding monastic federation, which by the time of Pachomius' death in AD 346 included nine monasteries spread out along the *Nile in Upper Egypt. The location of monasteries within villages in the fertile Nile Valley underscores the non-desert, village nature of the Pachomian movement. Remains of Phbow's great 5th-century *basilica are visible in the modern village of Faw Qibli. JEG

CoptEnc. vol. 6 *s.v.* Pbow, cols. 1926–9 (R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin, and P. Grossman).
CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.v.* Tabennese, col. 2197 (R.-G. Coquin).
J. E. Goehring, 'Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt', in J. E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert* (1999), 89–109.
Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Teil 2 (1984) *s.v.* Faw, 947–57 (S. Timm).

tablets, writing (Gk. *deltos*, Lat. *tabula*, *pugillar*) Late Roman writing tablets might be made of *ivory, like the *diptychs sent out by *Symmachus to celebrate his son being *Quaestor at *Rome (*ep*. II, 81, 2), of wood inscribed in ink, like the *Albertini Tablets, which record business transctions in *Vandal *Africa, or the limewood tablets favoured by Commodus (Herodian I 17, 1; *HA* Commodus, 9, 3), or more commonly of wax set in a frame and written on with a metal stylus. *Sidonius composed his *letters on wax tablets and had them copied onto *papyrus to be sent (*ep*. IV, 3, 1). *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, IX) describes the *martyrdom of a cruel Christian schoolmaster, stabbed to death by the styluses of his students. *Curse tablets were generally made of lead. MPe; OPN

É. Lalou, ed., *Les Tablettes à écrire de l'Antiquité à l' époque moderne* (1992).
P. Degni, *Usi delle tavolette lignee e cerate nel mondo greco e romano* (1998).
K. A. Worp, *A New Survey of Greek, Coptic, Demotic and Latin Tabulae Preserved from Classical Antiquity*, Trismegistos Online Publications (no. 6), Version 1.0 February 2012 http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php.

tablion One of two rectangular *textile panels sewn onto the vertical edges of the *chlamys, the military cloak which by the late 4th century had been adopted as *court civilian attire. At that time, the tablia were apparently attached at knee level, though by the 6th century they had moved further up, over the breast. While the tablia of the civilian imperial chlamys were golden, those of dignitaries' cloaks (such as two on the *mosaic of *Justinian I's entourage at S. Vitale, *Ravenna) were *purple, symbolizing the wearers' obedience to imperial authority (*John Malalas, II, 8). MGP

M. G. Parani, 'Defining Personal Space: Dress and Accessories in Late Antiquity', in Lavan et al., *Objects in Context*, 497–529, at 501–4.

tabularii Junior accountants. *Tabularii* served in palatine, provincial, military, and municipal **officia*; their competences might overlap with those of **numerarii*. *Tabularii* were liable to torture (e.g. *CTh* VIII, 1, 4, 334); slaves and **coloni* were excluded from their ranks (*CTh* VIII, 2, 5, 401). MMos

RE 4, 2nd ser. (1932), 1969–84 (Sachers).
Jones, *LRE* 564–7, 594, 600.

Tacitus M. Claudius Tacitus, a senior *senator (*consul 273), acclaimed *emperor by the *Senate after *Aurelian's murder in 275. He died at *Tyana the following year, having tortured Aurelian's assassins, minted much *coinage, and claimed the title Gothicus Maximus. His half-brother *Florian briefly succeeded him. OPN

PLRE I, Tacitus 3.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 275.

Tadmor *See* PALMYRA.

Taghlib *Arabian *nomadic *tribe, originally from *Najd. After losing the *Basus War of AD 494–534, against the *Bakr b. Wa'il, the Taghlib migrated northwards to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, entering the *Sasanian sphere of influence around al-*Hira. The Taghlib became allies of the *Kinda, then of the *Lakhimids, fighting with them and the Sasanians at the Battle of *Dhu Qar in *c*.609.

Some Taghlibi groups fought against Muslims in the *Ridda Wars and again during the *Arab conquest of Persian *Mesopotamia. Others converted to *Islam and fought with Muslim conquering armies, but even during the *Umayyad *caliphate, most Taghlib groups were Christian, being one of the very few tribes which claimed Arab ancestry yet remained Christian in early

*Islam, a unique status that aroused legal debates over their *tax obligations. By the *Abbasid caliphate, Taghlib power had waned, their rates of *conversion to Islam increased, and most were Muslim by the early 9th century. PAW

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Taghlib b. Wā'il, 89–93 (Lecker).

Taginae, Battle of *See* BUSTA GALLORUM, BATTLE OF.

tagma Term (from Gk. *tassein*, to appoint to service or place in order), designating a particular army formation or regiment during Late Antiquity, and subsequently the fundamental unit of the Byzantine army.

In the 4th century AD a *tagma* was equivalent to the *arithmos* or **numerus* in the eastern Roman armies (each *c.*200–500 men). Later on, in the 7th century, the Tagmata were the imperial troops in and around *Constantinople.

The term gained a technical significance in the mid-8th century when the reforms of the *Emperor *Constantine V divided the troops into four new Tagmata or regiments under direct imperial command, acting as a counterbalance to the forces of the *Themes. The first Tagmata established were the *Scholae and the *Excubitores. The closely related formations of the Numeri, *Optimates, and the imperial *fleet were also often referred to as Tagmata. Scholars disagree about the size of these units; estimates vary between 1,000 and 1,500 men and 4,000 men each. AG; JCNC

Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, 228–37.

Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, 78, 103.

Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army*, 102.

Taifali Germanic or *Sarmatian group, renowned as light *cavalry, who occupied Oltenia (the former Dacia Inferior north of the Danube, mod. south-west Romania) from the late 3rd century when the Romans left. Living adjacent to the Gothic *Tervingi, they often allied with them both against other trans-Danubian powers and Roman imperial hegemony. In 377, faced with the rise to power of the *Huns, many Taifali allied themselves to Farnobius, a leader of the Gothic *Greuthungi, and invaded the Roman *Balkans. On Farnobius' defeat, they were resettled as **coloni* with a military obligation in the territories of various *cities in northern *Italy. Other Taifali were settled later in *Gaul, where they remained a recognizable grouping into the 6th century, and still others remained north of the Danube under Hunnic rule. PHe

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Taifalen, XXX (2005), 271–2 (A. Sitzmann).

Takht-e Solayman Archaeological site in Azerbaijan (north-west Iran) and site of the sanctuary of Adur Gushnasp, one of the 'Great Fires' of the *Persian Empire. Located 160 km (96 miles) south-east of Lake Urmia, the site has important *Sasanian and Ilkhanid remains. The name ('Throne of Solomon') is post-Timurid. Previously known as (al-)Shiz, the oval-shaped site (300 × 380 m; 328 × 415 yards) covers 9.77 ha (24.14 acres) and is enclosed by a long stone wall 3.8 m (over 12 feet) thick, and 1.12 km (1,225 yards) long with 38 projecting *towers and a monumental gateway. Within the enclosure is a thermal, spring-fed lake *c.*80 m (262 feet) in diameter, and 60 m (197 feet) deep. German excavations (1959–78) recovered over 1,200 clay *bullae* bearing impressions of *c.*800 different *seals, including 19 with the legend '*mogbed* of the fire temple Adur Gushnasp', thus identifying the massive *fire-temple complex at the site with one of the three most important *fires in the *Sasanian Empire.

There is no evidence that a fire temple was built at the site any earlier than the Sasanian period. Leaving aside traces of Achaemenid and Arsacid occupation, which are unrelated to the monumental complex, the earliest, mud-brick architecture at the site has been dated to the 5th century on numismatic grounds (coins of *Peroz, r. 457–84 and *Theodosius II, r. 408–50). The more substantial stone and baked *brick buildings are dated numismatically to the reigns of *Qobad I (after 528) and *Khosrow I (531–79). This burst of construction seems to have followed Khosrow's massacre of the *Mazdakites and strengthening of the *Zoroastrian Church. The main complex consisted of a palatial residence with a large **ayvan* on the south side, opposite the lake, backed by a fire temple of the **chahar taq* (domed, with four arches) type flanked by columned rooms and *courtyards. Adur Gushnasp was administered separately from the rest of the province of Azerbaijan (Ādurbādagān) by a *framādār*, who sometimes had a military function.

The identification of Shiz/Takht-e Soleyman with Ganzak, a place captured by *Heraclius in 624, is generally accepted, though not without some dispute in past scholarship. The presence of a monumental audience hall within the complex provides archaeological corroboration of textual sources that state or allude to the kings holding audiences at the site. The site remained occupied after the *Arab conquest but how long the fire temple remained functional is unclear. DTP; MPC

EncIran (2002) *s.v.* Takt-e Solaymān (D. Huff).

M. Canepa, 'Building a New Vision of the Past in the Sasanian Empire: The Sanctuary of Lake Kayansih and the Great Fires of Iran', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 5 (2013), 69–94.

Gyselen, *Nouveaux Matériaux*, 115.

H. Humbach, 'Ātur Gušnasp und Takht i Suleimān', in G. Wiessner, ed., *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers. Ein Dokument der internationalen Forschung zum 27. September 1966.* (1967), 189–90.

R. Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman und Umgebung* (Führer zu archäologischen Plätzen in Iran 2, 1977).
Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer*, 309–57.

Takrit (Tagrit, Tikrit) City located between Baghdad and *Mosul, and a flourishing river port and a market after the *Sasanians destroyed Hatra in the mid-3rd century. The *Emperor *Julian died near Takrit in 363. The early spread of Christianity was probably the result of the work of missionaries from *Edessa and Hatra.

The town was the centre of *Miaphysite Christology in Persian territory from the 5th century onwards and contined to be so until 1156. *Jacob Burd'oyo consecrated Mar *Ahudemmeh as the first *metropolitan for the communities of the *Syriac Orthodox Christians in the *Persian Empire in 559, and the *Miaphysites (Jacobites) spread eastwards into lands where previously the dominant Christian communities were the *Nestorian *Church of the East. Takrit became the seat of the principal *Syrian Orthodox *bishop east of the Tigris, an office which was given from the 12th century the title *Maphrian' (Syr. 'one who bears fruit'). The first such bishop was *Marutha of Takrit (629–49).

In 627, after *Heraclius' military conquests in Persian *Mesopotamia, the city was briefly the residence of a Roman governor until the *Arab conquest. In about the 8th century, Miaphysite *merchants from Takrit settled in a *monastery of the *Wadi an-Natrun in *Egypt, which therefore became known as the *Deir al-Suryani. CJ

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Takrīt, 151–2 (J. H. Kramers and C. E. Bosworth).
ed. (with FT) F. Nau, *Histoire d'Ahoudemmeh et de Marouta, métropolitains Jacobites de Tagrit et de l'Orient; traité d'Ahoudemmeh* (PO III/1, 1–120).
J. M. Fiey, 'Tagrît: esquisse d'histoire chrétienne', *L'Orient syrien* 8 (1963), 289–342.
A. Harrak, 'Recent Archaeological Excavations in Takrit and the Discovery of Syriac Inscriptions', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 1 (2001), 11–40.

Talas (Taraz) City located in the Chu River Valley in Yeti Su (Semirechye) area of *Central Asia. *Menander Protector (fr. 10, 35) mentions Talas on the itinerary of the East Roman embassy to the *Türks led by *Zemarchus in 569. The *Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 28) describes the foreign traders who frequented Talas, along with a nearby community of 300 Chinese captives. Based on archaeological finds, the *Sogdian- and Turkic-speaking residents practised *Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. The famous Battle of *Talas, in which the *Arabs finally curbed Chinese expansion into Central Asia, took place in 751. MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Ṭarāz (C. E. Bosworth).

Talas, Battle of (751) *'Abbasid (Muslim) victory over the Tang Dynasty of *China (618–906), in (mod.) Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan. Convention attributes the introduction of papermaking to the Islamic world to Chinese prisoners taken in this battle. NC

J. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper on the Islamic World* (2001).

Talha b. 'Ubaydallah *Merchant of *Mecca, *Companion of the Prophet, and one of the 'ten promised Paradise'. Talha had heard of *Muhammad's prophetic mission from a Christian monk and was introduced to Muhammad by *Abu Bakr. After joining Muhammad's cause, he went on to fight under Abu Bakr's leadership in the *Ridda Wars and is said to have been appointed a member of the **shura* that chose *'Uthman b. 'Affan in 644. In 656, he joined forces with *'A'isha bt. Abi Bakr, Muhammad's widow, in her opposition to *'Ali's bid to attain the *caliphate. It was in the 'Battle of the Camel' (656) against 'Ali that Talha was killed. NK

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Ṭalḥa', 161–2 (Cambridge).

Talmis *See* KALABSHA.

Talmud The Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds (Talmud Yerushalmi and Talmud Bavli) are arranged as commentaries on the Mishnah, that is, they follow the division of the Mishnah into orders and tractates. The Mishnah, which was edited at the beginning of the 3rd century AD, is the first collection of rabbinic religious law, containing legal rules, discussions, and stories. Whereas the Mishnah transmits tannaitic traditions only (that is, traditions associated with the so-called tannaim, *rabbis who lived between AD 70 and the end of the 2nd century), the Talmuds transmit both tannaitic material and also amoraic material pertaining to rabbis who lived until the middle of the 5th century. While tannaitic traditions both *mishnayot* and *baraitot* (tannaitic traditions not found in the Mishnah), are usually preserved in Mishnaic Hebrew, the amoraic traditions are usually written in Palestinian Aramaic in the Talmud Yerushalmi and Babylonian Aramaic in the Talmud Bavli.

In general, the Talmuds are much more discursive than the Mishnah: they contain more narrative and exegetical material and discuss issues in much more detail. The discussions, arranged in thematic units called *sugyot*, are more complex: they combine earlier attributed and unattributed traditions with the anonymous editorial comments, additions, and glosses. The literary and redactional history of the Talmuds is much disputed amongst scholars. Since no direct evidence on the creation of the Talmuds exists, the various hypotheses are based on the nature of the texts

themselves which can be compared with other ancient text collections. It is clear, though, that the much longer and later Babylonian Talmud took the earlier Palestinian Talmud as its model for collecting and preserving the Babylonian amoraic material and adapting Palestinian traditions to the Babylonian context.

The Palestinian Talmud provides a commentary on the first four orders of the Mishnah and the tractate Niddah of the fifth order. It is therefore considered to be 'incomplete' in comparison to the Babylonian Talmud with its commentary on all six orders. Furthermore, the Bavot tractates of the fourth order, the so-called Neziqin ('Damages') tractates, differ from the rest of the Yerushalmi with regard to their literary and redactional character. Lieberman (1931) has pointed out that in these tractates the discussions are shorter, Caesarian rabbis are mentioned more often, traditions show Caesarian local colour, and many *Greek and *Latin loanwords are used. He suggested that Yerushalmi Neziqin was edited in *Caesarea in the 4th century, whereas the other tractates were edited in *Tiberias in the 5th century. Wewers and Hezser have questioned the persuasiveness of Lieberman's arguments for a Caesarean origin but supported his assumption of an earlier redaction of these tractates. Altogether, the question of the Yerushalmi's editing is much disputed: some scholars (Schäfer; Becker 1999) have rejected the notion of a 'final' editing at a particular time period and suggested a continuous editing process until the time of the first manuscripts in the Middle Ages. Others (Milikowsky) continue to distinguish between the editors, who composed the document, and the scribes who wrote the manuscripts. The development of the Talmud was a complex process which involved many tradents (transmitters), editors, and scribes, and lasted many centuries. One can reckon with many stages of collection and editing and successive changes to the text once it existed in written form. Since no copyright existed in Antiquity, scribes were free to change the text in accordance with their understanding and interpretation. Therefore many different versions would have circulated from early on. The search for an original or 'Urtext' of the Talmud is therefore useless and inappropriate. All one can do is compare the different manuscript versions, which are now available in a synoptic edition (Becker 1991–2001). Whether the Yerushalmi was composed hastily, in a situation of persecution and uncertainty incited by the Church, is similarly doubtful, since the 4th and 5th centuries seem to have been flourishing periods in Palestinian *Judaism (cf. the building of *synagogues and composition of other literary documents at that time). The anonymous scholars responsible for the compilation of the Talmud seem to have done their work for antiquarian reasons and to maintain (or 'construct') rabbinic identity: they tried to collect and preserve the teachings and stories of earlier generations of rabbis whom they considered authoritative. They thereby created a literary monument for the rabbinic movement which ensured its continuing significance. The work was only surpassed by the Babylonian Talmud.

The Babylonian Talmud is much larger than the Yerushalmi and seems to have been edited between the 6th and 8th centuries. Rubenstein has argued that it reflects the competitive and hierarchical culture of the saboraic (post-amoraic) Babylonian academies (Rubenstein; see also Kalmin, who disagrees with Rubinstein in some regards). It was clearly modelled after the Palestinian Talmud and may be considered its Babylonian competitor and counterpart. Tannaitic and amoraic traditions have received a more thorough redaction and are sometimes harmonized with each other to close discussions. The social context of the Bavli's redaction is the rabbinic academies of the 6th and following centuries. At that time, and especially after the *Arab conquest of the Near and Middle East, the centre of rabbinic Judaism shifted from Palestine to Babylonia. The Babylonian Talmud became the basis of ongoing rabbinic scholarship and has maintained this status until today. Both Talmuds were commented upon by successive generations of scholars throughout the Middle Ages. CH

H.-J. Becker, *Die grossen rabbinischen Sammelwerke. Zur literarischen Genese von Talmud Yerushalmi und Midrash Bereshit Rabba* (1999).

H.-J. Becker, ed., *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi*, 4 vols. (1991–2001).

C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee, *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (2007).

C. Hezser, *Form, Function, and Historical Significance of the Rabbinic Story in Yerushalmi Neziqin* (1993).

R. Kalmin, *The Redaction of the Babylonian Talmud: Amoraic or Saboraic?* (1989).

S. Lieberman, *The Talmud of Caesarea* [Hebr.] (1931).

C. Milikowsky, 'On the Formation and Transmission of Bereshit Rabba and the Yerushalmi: Questions of Redaction, Text-Criticism and Literary Relationships', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 92 (2002), 521–67.

J. Neusner, ed., *The Study of Ancient Judaism II: The Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds* (1981).

J. L. Rubenstein, *The Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (2003).

P. Schäfer, 'Research into Rabbinic Literature: An Attempt to Define the Status Quaestionis', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 37 (1986), 139–52.

G. A. Wewers, *Probleme der Bavot-Traktate. Ein redaktionskritischer und theologischer Beitrag zum Talmud Yerushalmi* (1984).

Tamim A large northern *Arabian *tribe, which places them among *al-'arab al-musta'riba* ('the Arabized Arabs') in the later Islamic-era genealogies. Comprised of both sedentary and semi-nomadic elements, the tribe

was primarily located in central and eastern Arabia prior to the rise of *Islam. During the incursion into the *Arabian Peninsula of the Persian King *Shapur II (r. AD 309–79), the Tamim were dealt with in a particularly fearsome manner, and the tribe thereafter were largely subordinate to *Sasanian rule—either directly or through their *Lakhimid intermediaries (under the institution of the viceroyship or *ridafah*). There were also some solid connections between the Tamim and the *Quraysh of *Mecca. *Khadija bt. Khuwaylid was married to a Tamimi prior to her marriage to *Muhammad, and there is evidence of Tamimi settlement in Mecca in pre-Islamic times. The Tamim played an essential part in the *Arab conquest of the *Persian Empire, and they were important in the garrison towns of *Kufa and *Basra. Their support of *'Ali (r. AD 656–61) during the First *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*) and at the Battle of *Siffin (657) meant that the stature of the Tamim was greatly reduced under *Umayyad rule, but their support was always essential in the eastern *caliphate. RHos

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Tamīm B. Murr, 172–6 (Lecker).

R. Hosein, *Tribal Alliance Formations and Power Structures in the Jahilliya and Early Islamic Periods*, Ph.D. thesis (Chicago, 1971).

R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001).

M. J. Kister, 'Mecca and Tamim: Aspects of their Relations', *JESHO* 8/2 (1965).

Tamkhosrow (Gk. Tamchosroes, MP Tahm-Khosrow) (d. 582) *Sasanian general in both *Mesopotamia and *Armenia in the savage years of fighting which followed the Roman loss of *Dara in 573. In 574/5 he ravaged land around Dara while peace negotiations proceeded (*Menander Protector, fr. 18.4). He campaigned in Armenia in 577–8 (*Sebeos, 9/71) and then marched unexpectedly south to despoil *Armenia Quarta (*John of *Ephesus, *HE* III, 6, 14; Menander Protector, 52; *Theophylact Simocatta, III, 15, 12). He was later *marzban in northern Mesopotamia, and in 582, having attacked Roman forces under *Maurice near *Constantina-Tella, was killed in battle (John of Ephesus, *HE* III, 6, 26, Menander, fr. 26.5, Theophylact Simocatta, III, 18, 1–2). KR; OPN

PLRE III, Tamchosroes.

Greatrex and Lieu.

Tamshapur (MP Tahm-Šabuhr; Lat. Tamsapor) Sasanian military commander (*marzban) of *Adiabene under *Shapur II. He is known as the first addressee of an unofficial peace initiative of the *Praefectus Praetorio of the East, Strategius Musonianus, in AD 357 (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 9, 3–4; XVII, 3, 1). As commander on the Persian *frontier, he treated with the Roman renegade Antoninus and sponsored him at the Persian *court (Ammianus, XVIII, 5, 3); he commanded troops during Shapur's invasion of 359, which culminated in the siege of *Amida. JWi

PLRE I, Tamsapor.

K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n.Chr.* (2009), 289.

R. Seager, 'Rome and Persia 357–9: The Role of Tamsapor', in C. S. Kraus, J. Marincola, and Ch. Pelling, eds., *Ancient Historiography and its Contexts* (2010), ch. 9.

tanning *See* LEATHER AND TANNING.

Tao-Klarjeti (Gk. Tais, Arm. Tayk') South-west region of medieval *Georgia. Originally, Tayk' was the fourteenth region of Greater *Armenia and an Armeno-Georgian marchland. By the 8th century, Tao and Klarjeti became possessions of the *Iberian *Bagratids. Subsequently the region was called the 'Kingdom of the Georgians'. NA

W. Djobadze, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i, and Savset'i* (1992).

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 2, 1–46.

Taposiris Magna (Coptic Busir, mod. Abusir) Ptolemaic-era *harbour on Lake Mareotis, 45 km (*c.*29 miles) west of *Alexandria. Extensive harbour works and a narrow artificial channel suggest that the port controlled waterborne traffic from the west. A Hellenistic *temple was transformed into a garrison fortress in the 5th century. *Basilica churches, *baths, and a possible *circus attest to the place's continued importance into the early 7th century, when according to *John of *Nikiu it was involved in civil strife (ch. 97). CJH

CoptEnc vol. 1 *s.v.* Abusir, cols. 34b–36b (P. Grossmann).

M. Rodziewicz, 'From Alexandria to the West by Land and by Waterways', in J.-Y. Empereur, ed., *Commerce et artisanat dans l'Alexandrie Hellénistique et Romaine* (BCH suppl. 33, 1998), 93–103.

M.-F. Boussac, 'Recherches récentes à Taposiris Magna et Plinthine, Égypte (1998–2006)', *CRAIBL* 151 (2007), 445–79.

Taprobane *See* INDIA AND CEYLON.

Taq-e Bostan Site near modern Kermanshah, with three Sasanian *rock reliefs, a hunting **paradeisos*, and a spring-fed lake. Taq-e Bostan lay on the *road taken by Persian kings between *Ctesiphon and the Iranian highlands.

Taq-e Bostan relief 1 (late 4th cent.) portrays *Shapur II (or *Ohrmazd) investing *Ardashir II, both trampling the body of the Roman *Emperor *Julian the Apostate, and the god *Mihr blessing them. The rear of Taq-e Bostan relief 2 (late 4th cent.), a rock-cut **ayvan*,

portrays Shapur II and *Shapur III (probably re-carved from Ardashir II) and an *inscription.

Taq-e Bostan relief 3 (the 'Great Ayvan') was created by *Khosrow II and left unfinished because of his fall from power and death *c.*628. The rear of the **ayvan* portrays in high relief Khosrow II invested by Ohrmazd and *Anahid (above) and the king armoured and mounted on his *horse, Shabdiz (below). Both side panels portray *hunting scenes in low relief. The relief is especially important for its detailed portrayals of textile ornament. Winged victories decorate the *façade's spandrels. MPC

S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, *Taq-i Bustan*, 4 vols. (1969–72)—with comprehensive photographic coverage.

D. Hollard, 'Julien et Mithra sur le relief de Taq-e-Bostan', in R. Gyselen, ed., *Sources for the History of Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Iran* (Res Orientales 19, 2010), 147–63.

H. Luschey, 'Taq-i Bostan', in W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer with R. M. Boehmer, eds., *Bisutun. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in den Jahren 1963–1967* (Teheraner Forschungen 7, 1996), 121–30.

J. D. Movassat, *The Large Vault at Taq-i Bustan: A Study in Late Sasanian Royal Art* (Mellen studies in archaeology 3, 2005).

B. Overlaet, 'Ardashir II or Shapur III?', *IrAnt* 46 (2011), 235–50.

Taq-e Kesra (Ayvan-e Kesra) Remains of the 6th-century *palace of the *Sasanian kings in *Ctesiphon. Originally part of a larger complex expanded by multiple kings, the surviving *façade, originally *c.*92 m (*c.*300 feet) wide by *c.*35 m (115 feet) high, features a massive **ayvan* 25.50 m (84 feet) wide. Its upper storeys hosted private chambers. MPC

EncIran III/2 (1987) *s.v.* Ayvān-e Kesrā, 155–9 (E. J. Keall).

Tara (Co. Meath, Ireland) Prehistoric ceremonial complex of a sacral *kingship. The Hill of Tara is a low ridge which is covered in a rich palimpsest of archaeology dating from the Neolithic to the medieval period. The place name Tara is an anglicized version of Irish *Temair* 'a sanctuary'. It was the location of an inauguration ceremony at which the most powerful king in Ireland was proclaimed 'king of Tara'. The ceremony declined with the adoption of Christianity but the title maintained its prestigious significance to the 11th century. EB

E. Bhreathnach, ed., *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara* (2005).

Tarasicodissa Isaurian name of the Emperor *Zeno (474–91). OPN

Tarbat Monastic site in Easter Ross, Scotland. Not known from historical sources, this site was excavated over several years beginning in 1996. The monastic phase appears to have lasted from the later 6th to the early 9th century, although detailed dating within this range has not yet been published. The site, together with the *place name, Portmahomack, from earlier Port mo-Colmach, are suggestive of a connection with *Iona and S. *Columba. The high-quality *Pictish *cross slabs in the locale are thought to mark out the territory of the *monastery. AW

M. Carver, *Portmahomack: A Monastery of the Picts* (2008).

Tardu (Datou) (r. 576–603, intermittently) Son of the Yabghu Khagan of the western half of the First *Türk Empire. Under his able military and political leadership, the Western Türk polity was strengthened and gradually separated from the Eastern Türk state. The formal break occurred after a succession struggle for the Eastern Türk Khaganate (581). One rival, Apa *Khagan (Ta-lo-pien), appealed to Tardu for military aid; unsuccessful in his attempt to capture the Eastern Khaganate, Apa ousted Tardu and formally established the Western Türk Khaganate, becoming its first Khagan between 583 and 587 (*Menander Protector 19, 1 Blockley). Tardu seemingly reasserted his authority over the Western Türks between 594 and 603, alongside the enigmatic Niri Khagan (r. 588–604). The Khagan who wrote to the *Emperor *Maurice in 595 (*Theophylact Simocatta, VII, 7–9) was either Tardu or Niri Qaghan. Fleeing from a revolt in 603, Tardu disappears from the sources. MLD

BT II, *Τάρδου*.

PLRE III, Tardou.

Chavannes, *Documents*, 47–52.

D. Sinor, 'The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 305–7.

É. de la Vaissière, 'Maurice et le qaghan', *REB* 68 (2010), 219–24.

Targum (plur. *Targumim*) Luwian loanword (via Akkadian and Aramaic) that means 'translation' in many Semitic and Indo-European languages. In Late Antiquity and the early medieval period the word developed into a technical term for the Jewish scriptural translations into Aramaic. This was in recognition of the unique character of the Targumim arising from their translation strategies and bilingual application, whether in education, liturgy, or private study. Unlike most translations, they were never meant to be used in isolation from, let alone instead of, their original Hebrew source text. Rather, they were recited or studied in alignment with their source, usually alternating source and target text verse by verse.

Formally and structurally, these translations remained subservient to the original in their presentation, structure, and contents. In the Targumim of the Torah and the Prophets, their interdependence on the Hebrew

source text is manifest throughout: they transparently relate to the original text even in the face of the interpretative elements that found their way into the translated sentence structure. Yet these elements show to what extent they also have a marked expository streak. Some parts of the Targum Writings share this characteristic, but others dissolve the basic equation in new syntactic structures, seemingly independent from the original, which only on closer inspection reveal the influence of the underlying original text. Note that elements of both structures occur in any Targum.

With the Qumran Targum considered a different type of translation, the earliest Targumim concern the Torah and the Prophets in the 2nd century AD (but subject to revision in later centuries). These were adopted by the Babylonian academies, but were much less in evidence in Roman *Palestine, where the Palestinian Targum to the Torah circulated. Towards the end of Late Antiquity and well into the Islamic period, translations of the Writings came into circulation, some of which may have been composed in 10th-century Europe. WFS

Tarim basin Large depression (over 900,000 sq. km; *c.*350,000 sq. miles) in Xinjiang, *China, surrounded on three sides by the Tien Shan (north), Pamir and Karakoram (west), and Kunlun (south) mountain ranges; to the east lies the Hexi Corridor. Fed by tributaries from these mountains, the Tarim River flows east, ending in the Lop Nor marsh. The Taklamakan Desert fills most of the basin, with the smaller Lop Desert and *Turfan Depression just to the north of Lop Nor. Despite the desert conditions and extreme dry continental climate, an agricultural economy, supported by extensive *irrigation, has flourished since Antiquity. Important oasis cities ringing the basin included Miran, Niya, *Khotan, Yarkand, *Kashgar, Aqsu, Kucha, Qarashahr, and Turfan.

The area benefited from *trade along the *Silk Road, which divided at Kashgar—one branch running south of the basin, another north—rejoining at *Dunhuang. Both mercantile caravans and religious pilgrims plied the trade routes surrounding the basin. Inhabitants of the region initially spoke Indo-European languages, primarily Khotanese in the south and *Tokharian in the north, but became Turkified after the arrival of the *Uighurs in the 9th century. The *Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 17–24; II, 306–24) records the local conditions. Similarly, the initial dominance of Buddhism, supplemented by *Manichaeism and Christianity, was ultimately replaced by *Islam, a process not completed until the 15th century. Artistic and textual artefacts found in Dunhuang, Turfan, and elsewhere testify to the cultural and religious richness of the area. MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Tarīm (G. R. Smith).
EncIran V/5 (1991) *s.v.* Chinese Turkestan i. Geographical Overview, 461–3.
R. E. Emmerick in *CambHistIran* III, 263–75.
Zhang Guang-Da in *HCCA* III, 281–301.
V. Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (2012).
S. Hedin, *Through Asia* (1899).
P. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (1980).
W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the Twelfth Century* (1964).
M. A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (1912).

Tariq b. Ziyad *Berber commander of the Muslim forces that conquered *Spain from the *Visigoths in 711. According to the *Arabic narratives, he was a client of *Musa b. Nusayr, the governor of *Ifriqiya, invited to invade by the *Comes Julian of Ceuta. Landing at Gibraltar with a Berber army, Tariq defeated the Visigothic King *Roderic in battle at the Guadalete, possibly aided by disgruntled *aristocrats, and captured *Toledo, the Visigothic capital. Musa then arrived with Arab troops, displacing his over-independent subordinate, and after completing the conquest together, they returned to *Damascus as rivals in 714. GDB

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, col. 242 (L. Molina).

***Taron, History of* (*Patmuťiwn Tarōnoy*)** The *History*, written in *Armenian, purports to be a work in two parts, the first written by a Syrian *bishop, Zenob Glak, a colleague of *Gregory the Illuminator and first abbot of the *Monastery of S. John the Precursor in Taron (mod. Muş, west of Lake Van), and the second by Hovhannes *Mamikonean, allegedly Bishop of Taron and abbot of the same monastery in the 7th century, who also allegedly edited the whole. The work narrates the Christianization of Greater *Armenia, later legendary battles against Persian troops, and the beginnings of the *Arab conquest of Armenia. However, style, inconsistencies, and anachronisms indicate it is of 10th-century composition, with additions made before AD 1220. Its purpose was to give legitimacy and primacy to the Monastery of St John. LA

Thomson, *BCAL* 223–4.
ET (with comm.) L. Avdoyan, Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *The History of Tarōn [Patmuťiwn Tarōnoy]* (1993).

Tarraconensis *Province in north-east *Spain, in the *Dioecesis *Hispaniae. The province established by Augustus in BC 27 was reorganized under the *Tetrarchy and is named in the *Verona List. The **Notitia Dignitatum* lists the *governor as a *Praeses; he resided at Taracco (mod. *Tarragona). Tarraconensis bordered *Carthaginiensis, *Gallaecia, and (across the Pyrenees) the Dioecesis of *Septem Provinciae (Viennensis). Tarraco was conquered by the *Visigoths in 476 and razed by the *Arabs in 724. GDB

Barrington Atlas, 100F3, 101F3.

TIR K/J–31 (1997).
S. Keay, 'Tarraco in Late Antiquity', in Christie and Loseby. *Towns in Transition*, 18–44.

Tarragona (*Spain) The Roman *city of Tarraco. Capital of the former Hispania Citerior, which became the *province of Tarraconensis. In the 1st century AD the upper level was built up with monumental public buildings; the inhabited area was the lower part of the city.

Tarraco had one of the oldest Christian communities of Spain; the bishop, S. Fructuosus, and two *deacons were martyred in 259; a substantially contemporary *Passio* survives (*BHL* 3196). It was a *metropolitan see from the mid-5th century.

Numerous archaeological excavations and an important document from the beginning of the 8th century, the illustrated manuscript known as the *Libellus Orationum* of *Verona (*CLA* 515; *CPL* 2016), permit the reconstruction of the city's Christian topography. The location of the episcopal complex is still to be determined because the recent excavations under the Gothic cathedral do not pinpoint its position.

In the arena of the amphitheatre there was a church built in the 6th century as a place of commemoration for S. Fructuosus and his deacons. In the city suburbs, many Late Antique *cemeteries have been excavated, notably that known as Francoli or La Tabacalera, comprising over 2,500 tombs, with imported *sarcophagi, locally carved sarcophagi and plain sarcophagi, and many *epitaphs in *mosaic. In the late 20th century a funerary church was found in the area of this cemetery, which indicates that these were burials *ad sanctos*, given that the church was probably the first building to house the *relics of the city's martyrs. It was provided with an atrium, was built in the mid-5th century, and must have been in use till the beginning of the 8th century, the city being conquered by the *Arabs in 718.

J. López, *Les Basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de Tarraco: el temple septentrional i el complex martirial de Sant Fructuós* (2006).
J. M. Macías Solé, 'Tarraco en la Antigüedad Tardía: un proceso simultáneo de transformación urbana e ideológica', in A. Ribera, ed., *Los orígenes del Cristianismo en Valencia y su entorno* (2000), 259–71.

Tarsus Principal *city of *Cilicia Prima strategically sited where the *Pilgrims' Road between the *Cilician Gates and *Antioch on the Orontes reached the south coast of *Anatolia. It could feed itself from the produce of a fertile coastal plain and was a centre for linen production. The city struck its own *coinage well into the 3rd century and its large *Temple of Sandon (= Heracles) is depicted on plaques and coins until the reign of *Gallienus. The *usurper *Florianus was killed at Tarsus in 275. *Maximinus Daza, pursued by *Licinius, fled to Tarsus, where he took poison (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 49). *Constantius II died at nearby Mopsucrenae on his way to confront *Julian in 361, and two years later Julian was buried at Tarsus.

S. Paul came from Tarsus, 'no mean city' (Acts 21:39), and the **Liber Pontificalis* records that an island in the suburbs of the city formed part of the endowment of the *Basilica of S. Paul-without-the-Walls at *Rome (34). *Bishop Helenus was a contemporary of *Dionysius of Alexandria (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 46, 3; VII, 5, 1; VII, 28, 1; VII, 30, 2). Before he became *Bishop of Tarsus in 378, Diodore of Tarsus had headed an *ascetic community at Antioch which included *John Chrysostom and *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. *Egeria (32–3) passed through in 384 on her way to *Corycus and the shrine of S. *Thecla, near *Seleucia ad Calycadnum.

Tarsus was involved in the Isaurian revolts of the late 5th century; the *usurper *Leontius was crowned at the Church of S. Peter just outside the city in 484. *Procopius records that flooding in the city centre inspired *Justinian I to build a bridge (*Aed.* V, 5, 14–20; *Anecd.* 18, 40) which still survives; he was less complimentary about Justinian's handling of factional strife in the city (*Anecd.* 29). There was further flooding under the *Emperor *Maurice (*John of Nikiu, 100), who built a church of S. Paul in the city (*Theophylact Simocatta, VIII, 13, 16).

Tarsus and the region round about were threatened early in the *Arab invasions as the Emperor *Heraclius withdrew, and Arab garrisons were placed in the area in AD 646 (25 AH). *Theodore of Tarsus was a refugee from these troubles, at first in *Rome and then (668–90) as Archbishop of *Canterbury. Tarsus itself was captured in 712 (93 AH) and control of the area oscillated between Arabs and Byzantines. The city is reported to have been ruinous in 778 (162 AH), but was repopulated in 788 (172 AH) by the 'Abbasids, who eventually made it the south-westerly terminus of the arc of fortresses they maintained on the Arab–Byzantine *frontier as the bases for their regular raiding into the uplands of *Anatolia. ACFC; OPN

TIB 5 (1990) *s.n.* Tarsos, 428–39.
K. Rigsby, 'A Flood at Tarsus', *JNES* 73/1 (2014), 43–7.
C. E. Bosworth, 'The City of Tarsus and the Arab–Byzantine frontiers in Early and Middle 'Abbāsid Times', *Oriens* 33 (1992), 268–9.

Tascodroungitae A Montanist sect from *Phrygia discussed by *Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 48, 14; cf. *CTh* XVI, 5, 10), who claims that their name derives from their practice of placing the forefinger (*droungos*) against the nose (*taskos*) in *prayer. They may also have practised infant pricking or *tattooing. PJT

C. Trevett, 'Fingers up Noses and Pricking with Needles: Possible Reminiscences of Revelation in Later Montanism', *VigChrist* 49/3 (1995), 258–69.

Tassilo III (741–after 794) *Dux of *Bavaria in succession to his father *Odilo. He was deposed by Charlemagne in 788. The chalice Tassilo donated to the *Monastery of Kremsmünster attests to the cultural activity at his *court. MDi

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Tassilo III, XXX (2005), 290–3 (M. Diesenberger).
M. Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen* (1993).

Tatianus *Consul (391) and *Praefectus Praetorio (388–92), Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus had a distinguished career in the imperial service, but in 393 *Rufinus succeeded him as Praefectus Praetorio, had him exiled home to *Lycia, and his son Proculus (then *Praefectus Urbi at *Constantinople) executed. Tatianus' name was erased from the bases of the imperial statues he erected at *Aphrodisias (*LSA* 164 and 166–7; Roueché, *ALA* inscr. 25–7); his descendant *Tatianus, a *Praeses of *Caria, honoured him with verses and a *portrait statue (*LSA* 193; Roueché, *ALA* inscr. 37). DN; OPN

PLRE I, Tatianus 5.
Bagnall et al., *CLRE*, 316–17.
R. Scharf, 'Die Familie des Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus', *ZPE* 85 (1991), 223–31.

Tatianus *Praefectus Urbi at *Constantinople (450–2) who attended the *Council of *Chalcedon. Probably the *consul of 466 who went on an embassy to the *Vandals under *Leo I (*Priscus, fr. 31–2 = 41 Blockley, cf. *Candidus, fr. 1). The prefect came from *Lycia, as did Tatianus, *Praeses of *Caria, who erected verses and a statue at *Aphrodisias honouring an ancestor, consul in 391, also called *Tatianus (Roueché, *ALA* inscr. 37). OPN

PLRE II, Tatianus 1.

tattooing and branding Tattooing was relatively widespread in the Later Roman Empire, branding almost unknown. The standard tattoo, forcibly imposed on the forehead, indicated *slave status or legal degradation (accompanying condemnation to *mines or *quarries). The voluntary tattoo, much less common though time-honoured, betokened devotion to an exotic divinity. Also, by the 4th century some soldiers and armourers in imperial service were so inscribed (though not on the face).

The bulk of the evidence concerns punished Christians, so eventually the penal tattoo underwent a transformation. When Christians bearing the indelible stigma were released, for whatever reason, their mark became a badge of glory, a visible manifestation of the seal of the spirit. Emulation followed, with some of the faithful tattooing themselves voluntarily with Christian symbols. MTG

M. Gustafson, 'Inscripta in fronte: Penal Tattooing in Late Antiquity', *ClassAnt* 16 (1997), 79–105.
C. P. Jones, 'Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', *JRS* 77 (1987), 139–55.

Taurinos archive (426–513) Private *archive consisting of 56 *papyrus documents found in Hermopolis (mod. al-Ashmunein). The archive, called after the eldest member of a 5th-century dynasty, concerns five generations of landowners. It includes contracts of *lease addressed to members of the families of Taurinos, Sarapodoros, and Kyra, and copies of receipts for tax paid by Taurinos I and Sarapodoros' sister Eucharistia for their plots of land. It provides detailed information on Taurinos and his descendants' careers as soldiers and officers, illuminating the background of military *administration in 5th-century *Egypt. MPe

BGU XII = ed. H. Maehler, *Papyri aus Hermupolis* (1974), XIX–XXVI.
J. G. Keenan, 'Soldiers and Civilians in Byzantine Hermopolis', in A. Bülow-Jacobsen, ed., *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (1994), 446–51.
G. Poethke, ed., *Griechische Papyrusurkunden spätröm. und byzantinischer Zeit aus Hermupolis Magna* (2001), XXXIV–XXXVI.

taurobolium Ritual particularly associated with the cult of Cybele (the Magna Mater) and sometimes wrongly interpreted as 'baptism in bull's blood'. It is described by the Christian poet *Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, X, 1011–50) and recorded on 4th-century altars from the Phrygianum sanctuary on the Vatican hill. DMG

N. McLynn, 'The Fourth-Century *Taurobolium*', *Phoenix* 50 (1996), 312–30.

Taurus Mountains Range of mountains approximately parallel to the south coast of *Anatolia, running through *Lycia, *Pisidia, *Isauria, and *Cilicia, whose inhabitants had a reputation for banditry. The highest peaks exceed 3,000 m (10,000 feet), with snow in some areas as late as May. Movement across the Taurus is restricted to a few passes including the *Cilician Gates, making the mountains an effective element in the Arab–Byzantine *frontier in the late 7th and 8th centuries. HE; OPN

taverns and cookshops (Lat. *tabernae* and *popinae*) Shops where food was served in public. Taverns offered fare simpler than that presented in more elegant settings (*Ausonius, *Mosella*, 120–4). It was expected that the clientele were from the lower classes (Ausonius, *ep.* V, 45). *Ammianus was particularly scandalized by the base and corrupt character of taverns in *Rome (XIV, 6, 25). In the East taverns were more benign,

though still served a humbler clientele; neighbourhoods saw them as potentially problematic (Julian of *Ascalon, *Hexabiblos*, 26). The raucous atmosphere of taverns provided a suitable backdrop for the boorish antics of S. *Symeon the Fool. NFH

tax and census registers Household *census declarations and status applications (*epikriseis*) drawn up for the Roman poll-tax (Lat. *tributum capitis*, Gk. *laographia*) disappear from *papyri after 257/8, after which only limited demographic reconstructions can be attempted, as when the later 4th-century *Greek census *inscriptions from *Chios, *Magnesia on the *Maeander, *Mytilene, *Thera, and *Tralles provide evidence complementary to the papyri regarding expanding senatorial land and slaveholding. The *Tetrarchy sought to standardize *tax collection from all *provinces, especially the supplies of *grain for the capital and *army from *Egypt's **annona*; they established a combined property and poll-tax on two schedules (**jugatio and **capitatio*) that was to be reassessed with each new fiscal cycle (*indiction) every fifteen years, all overseen by the *Praefectus Praetorio. Each province was assessed according to its amount of cultivable land, its production quality, and how many people (and animals) were registered as belonging to the fiscal community (Lat. *origo*, Gk. *idia*). A new, heavily stratified hierarchy of *city officials and liturgists (*curiales* performing civic service) collected this tax, although great *estates and neighbouring *villages often combined to collect their own (**autopragia*). *Constantine I established the *gold **solidus* as the coin for tax payments, although commutation of tax paid in cash or kind was available (**adaeratio*). Cadastral records formed the basis for this new system and provided records for land registration into the Byzantine period. KF

Jones, *LRE* 784, 787, 793, 818.
Bagnall, *Egypt*.
R. S. Bagnall and B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (²2006).
W. Clarysse and D. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (2006).
J. Gascou and L. MacCoull. 'Le Cadastre d'Aphroditô', *TM* 10 (1987), 103–58 (*Sammelbuch* XX, 14669).
K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.
M. Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècles: propriété et exploitation du sol* (1992).
J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries', in *EHB*, 231–310.

taxation, Islamic Islamic taxation was characterized by a distinction between those outside the Muslim community and those inside. Under *Muhammad, *Arab *tribes which joined the **'umma* paid a tribute (*sadaqa/*zakat*) to the Muslim polity. Although Muslims acknowledged the obligatory nature of this tax, which is frequently mentioned in the *Qur'ān, much debate centred around who was responsible for collecting and distributing it, the authorities or taxpayers themselves. Muslims paid the alms tax (*sadaqa/zakat*), a percentage specified per taxable goods, over property that was subject to or symbolizes in itself growth, that is to say crops, mined minerals, and *gold and *silver, grazing livestock and trade goods that had been in the possession of the owner for one year (*ḥawl*). The authorities further collected tolls and other levies.

After the *Arab conquests the hierarchical relation between conquerors and conquered was expressed fiscally. Conquered adult males paid a poll-tax (**jizya*), introduced directly after the conquest by the Arabs (see Morelli 2001, text 1) and imposed in proportion to the wealth of the taxpayer. The conquered population was also responsible for a regularly collected land tax (**kharāj*) calculated on the basis of acreage to be paid in coin (*jizya*) and kind (*dariba*). The Muslim authorities also irregularly imposed requisitions (*fudul*) of provisions for Arab troops and administrators, building materials, beasts of burden, and personal services.

The Byzantine and *Sasanian fiscal systems and their officials were initially sustained by the Arab conquerors, although some new taxes and methods of collection were quickly introduced, and Arab military officials were assigned functions in tax collection. The authorities assigned tax liability communally to *villages, *monasteries, *estates, *city quarters, and other units of taxpayers, who then divided the liability amongst individual taxpayers. Acreage, the manner of *irrigation, the circumstances of climate, and the kinds of crops cultivated determined the level of taxes, and reports on these variables were exchanged between local and central officials.

Important changes aimed at increasing the tax intake occurred in the Marwanid period (684–750). Surveys of land, people, and livestock allowed for more effective and precise tax collection. The conditions under which individual areas were conquered by *Islam were re-examined. This affected the amount of tax that could be levied—taxes on lands that had surrendered and whose status was determined by a treaty (*sulḥ*) were fixed, but lands which were conquered by force (*'anwatan*) could have their taxes raised at the will of the ruler. The resulting heavier burden led to fugitives leaving their lands to escape taxation.

Initially only the conquered people paid *kharāj* on cultivated land, but in the course of the 8th century Muslims started to work the land. Pressure on the system increased because members of the conquered populations joined or wanted to join the *'umma* and

demanded fiscal privileges. The reforms ascribed in the sources to *Caliph *'Umar II (r. 717–20) resulted in the land tax (*kharāj*) being no longer dependent on the identity of those working the land. Another change was that individual taxpayers were directly responsible to Muslim Arab officials who had taken over their positions from indigenous administrators.

The recipients of *sadaqa/zakat* taxes are mentioned in the Qur'ān (9: 60) as the *poor (*fuqara'; masakin*) and other specified groups in need of financial support (slaves, travellers, debtors), tax-collectors, and two categories described as 'those whose hearts are won over' (i.e. converts) and those 'in the path of God' (i.e. *jihad* fighters). The taxes raised from the conquered lands and their people were used to pay a stipend (*'ata'*) and sustenance (*rizq*) to Muslim soldiers enrolled on the register (**diwan*) and to maintain such infrastructure as *roads, *irrigation works, and buildings. PMS

D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (1950).
G. Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans* (1986).
F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period* (1950).
F. Morelli, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Griechische Texte XV, Documenti greci per la fiscalità e la amministrazione dell'Egitto arabo* (2001).
K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (1981).
A. Noth, 'Zum Verhältnis von kalifaler Zentralgewalt und Provinzen in umayyadischer Zeit. Die Sulh–'Anwa Traditionen für Ägypten und den Iraq', *Die Welt des Islams* 14 (1973), 150–62.
P. M. Sijpesteijn, 'New Rule over Old Structures: Egypt after the Muslim Conquest', in H. Crawford, ed., *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt* (2007), 183–202.
P. M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (2013).
J. B. Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System* (1988).

taxation, Persian Agricultural land was the primary source of taxable revenue for the *Perisan Empire under the *Sasanian dynasty.

Much of what we know comes from the texts that describe or reflect the reforms of *Khosrow I. Before these reforms, taxes were levied on agricultural produce and the high *aristocracy appears to have held substantial control over the Empire's finances, with their estates remaining largely exempt from tax. *Qobad I ordered a cadastral survey of the Empire, and this was completed under Khosrow I. This enabled the crown to calculate a tax based on the size and quality of the land and not on its produce in any given year, a reform that may have been inspired by the contemporary Roman system. Moreover, the nobility's estates were no longer exempt.

Supplementing land taxes were tolls on caravans, tax for water usage, and a means-based poll-tax on urban populations, including artisans, guilds, tradesmen, and religious minorities, with the heads of guilds or religious communities responsible for collecting them. Taxes were probably paid in kind just as often as in cash. Taxation levels can be estimated based on the early Islamic taxation records for the various provinces of the *caliphate. The Sasanian fiscal system continued in use until the beginning of the *Abbasid period. MPC; TD

EncIran IX/6 *s.v.* Fiscal System i. Achaemenid ii. Sasanian, 639–46 (Dandamayev and Gyselen).
P. Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500*, tr. S. Sampson (1993).
Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia.*

taxation, Roman and post-Roman The Roman Empire depended for its cohesion upon the ability of *emperors to harness and tax the resources of their subjects, for only through effective taxation could emperors hope to raise the sums required to pay for the civil *administration that bound the Empire together institutionally, or the *army that defended it against both external foes and internal dissent. Indeed, it has been estimated that between one-half and two-thirds of all Roman tax revenues were directed towards supporting the army, and any substantial diminution in tax revenues necessarily risked undermining the Empire's military effectiveness (which was one reason why imperial legislation records tax evasion to have been such a major cause for concern).

Late Roman taxation

The basis of Late Roman taxation was the land and those who worked it. From the late 3rd century AD onwards, emperors and administrators made increasingly concerted efforts first to register the Empire's chief taxable resources (i.e. land and labour) and then to bind the Empire's subjects legally to the fiscal communities or *origines* at which they were registered, so as to render tax revenues more predictable. As *Lactantius complained of the Emperor *Galerius' fiscal survey of 306: 'the fields were measured sod by sod, the vines and *fruit trees were counted; the number of animals of all kinds was set down in writing, and the humans were counted one by one' (*Mort*, 23, 2). These efforts to harness the taxable resources of empire were intensified by the threat presented by the *Huns in the early 5th century, and again, in the East Roman Empire, in the reign of the Emperor *Justinian I in the early 6th century, when the revival of warfare with the *Persian Empire placed growing fiscal pressures on the East Roman state. The level of taxation for a given locality was primarily determined by

the number of cultivated or cultivable plots (*_jugera_) and the number of individuals (or 'heads'—_capita_) available to work them. Each legal community or _origo_ was thus registered with a certain number of _jugera_ and _capita_, and taxes would be levied according to the overall budgetary needs of the imperial government. Such fiscal communities (_origines_) could consist of the *city, *village, or *estate in which a taxpayer was born. For most of the period from the 4th to 6th centuries, taxes at a local level were collected by the agents of the local *city council (the _curia_ or _boulê_), although great landowners and larger villages seem to have increasingly asserted a right to *_autopragia_ or 'self-collection' of taxes, transmitting them directly to the agents of the state. From the early 4th century, the fiscal system was also increasingly monetized, with the land tax coming to be reckoned and collected in coin. This served to stimulate and maintain the broader monetization of the Late Roman economy as a whole. In addition to land taxes, other charges such as *tolls, village- and city-level taxes, and taxes on mercantile profits (the *_collatio lustralis_) are also mentioned in the legal and documentary sources. The taxation system of Late Antique *Africa and Egypt were to some extent peculiar unto themselves, in that much of the *grain produced in these regions was diverted by way of fiscal imposition to feed the teeming populations of *Rome, *Alexandria, *Constantinople, and the other great cities of the Empire.

Post-Roman taxation

In the West, the waning of Roman power in the 5th century AD led to the gradual fading away of much of this fiscal framework, with landowners increasingly taking advantage of the weakening of central imperial power to shake off fiscal obligations that many had hitherto gone to considerable lengths to circumvent. To some extent, this shaking off of fiscal obligations may have been negotiated between provincial landowners and the new leaders of the Romano-Germanic kingdoms, who forged increasingly cooperative and symbiotic relationships. Certainly, insofar as the land tax survived into post-Roman conditions around the Mediterranean core of the old Empire, there are signs that it did so at significantly lower levels than had prevailed under the Roman emperors. As A. H. M. Jones noted, for example, there are indications that those 5th-century Roman landowners who had barbarian troops appointed to their estates under *_hospitalitas_ arrangements enjoyed a disproportionately greater reduction in the taxes to which they were liable.

Moreover, as over the course of the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries post-Roman society became increasingly dependent militarily on soldiers rewarded with land in return for their military service, the less necessary, pressing, or politically sustainable effective taxation of estates is likely to have become. The army, as noted earlier, is commonly agreed to have been the main recipient of Late Roman tax revenues. The smaller the standing army, the less necessary taxation thus became. Likewise, as is clear, for example, from the evidence for *Vandal Africa, post-Roman Gaul, and *Visigothic Spain (*_Book of Judges_ = _Leges Visigothorum_, 10, 1, 16), those barbarians who came to acquire landed property were deemed to be exempt from taxation and other public burdens.

It is evident that by the mid-6th century in *Francia (comprising much of former Roman Gaul), the land tax was no longer a genuine political possibility. An attempt to revive the land tax was made by the highly Romanizing *Merovingian King *Theudebert I, who drew, crucially, upon the skills of a minister by the name of *Parthenius (who had spent time in Byzantine-controlled *Ravenna, where the land tax remained an actually existing reality). *Gregory of *Tours informs us that upon the king's death, the citizens of *Trier seized Parthenius, 'struck him with their fists and spat at him. They then bound his hands behind his back, tied him to a pillar and stoned him to death.' Later in the 6th century, the Merovingian *Chilperic I got himself into difficulty for similar reasons: when he attempted to revive the land tax, the citizens of Limoges are reported to have 'risen up against the new taxation of king Chilperic and burnt the tax registers'.

Likewise, in Spain, *Isidore of *Seville writes expressly of how the higher rates of taxation in the Byzantine-occupied enclaves of the province of Spania induced many to prefer *Visigothic rule, as it was, in his words, 'better for them to live poor with the *Goths than to be powerful among the Romans and bear the heavy yoke of tribute'. The less dependent on the monetized land tax rulers became, however, the less reason there was for them to mint coinage in the same volume as the Late Roman state had done, and the less coinage there was in circulation, the less sustainable Late Roman levels of economic complexity and urbanism became, leading to a progressive demonetization and deurbanization of the post-Roman social and economic landscape. PS

Jones, _LRE_ 462–9.
Wickham, _Framing the Early Middle Ages_.
Sarris, _Empires of Faith_.

Tayyâyê *Syriac term for *Arabs. It derives from the proper name of the *tribe *Tayyi', which was allied with larger tribal confederations such as the *Ghassanids and the *Lakhimids. KMK

J. Segal, 'Arabs in Syriac Literature before the Rise of Islam', _Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam_ 4 (1984), 89–124.
Hoyland, _Seeing Islam_.

Tayyi' A *tribe from Southern *Arabia which, according to Muslim historical tradition, migrated into the central *Arabian Peninsula (Najd) in the 1st century BC. In Late Antiquity they were allied at various times with the *Ghassanids or the *Lakhimids, with whom they also intermarried. Their name, in the form *Tayyâyê, became the generic term in *Syriac for 'Arabs' from the 3rd century onwards—a fact which reflects their influence. While some members of the tribe adopted Christianity, others continued to venerate idols, until they were converted to *Islam by *'Ali. The Tayyi' were famous for their *poets, most notably Hatim. During the Middle Ages their name was gradually replaced by that of Shammar. KMK

Shahid, *BAFOC.*
Shahid, *BAFIC.*

Tbilisi (Tiflis) *City in central *Georgia situated on the banks of the River Kura (Mtkvari in Georgian). The name derives from the Georgian word *tpili* (warm), probably referring to the abundance of hot sulphur springs. In *c.*350 King *Varaz-Bakur (Aspagur II) built a fortress there, and by the end of the 4th century it was the residence of the *Iberian *Pitiakhsh. In the mid-5th century the fortress was restored and transformed into a city by King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali, whose son Dachi built a defensive wall around it and, obeying his father's will, transferred the capital of *Iberia there from *Mtskheta. In 570–80 Tbilisi was occupied by the Persians and was the residence of a Persian military commander. In 627, the *Emperor Heraclius together with a *Khazar army besieged Tbilisi unsuccessfully. In 628 the Khazars did succeed in capturing and sacking the city. In 735–6 Tbilisi was captured by *Marwan II b. Muhammad and became the Tbilisi Emirate. Only in the 12th century did the city return to Georgian rule. Thanks to its strategic location, throughout its existence Tbilisi has been the most important city and the principal trade centre in the Caucasus region. MO

M. Dumbadze and V. Guchua, eds., *Tbilisis istoria*, 1 (History of Tbilisi) (1990), 47–58.

teaching chairs The Roman Empire's first state-sponsored teaching chairs were set up by Vespasian at *Rome—one in *Latin *rhetoric, one in *Greek (Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 18). Marcus Aurelius set up chairs at *Athens, in rhetoric and *philosophy (Cassius Dio, LXXXII, 31, 3). Municipalities also endowed chairs, especially in *grammar and rhetoric, and privately funded teaching was also common. Variously funded, by Late Antiquity most major *cities, such as *Constantinople, *Milan, *Antioch, *Bordeaux, *Nicaea, *Beirut, *Trier, *Carthage, *Nicomedia, and *Toulouse all had chairs. A *panegyric giving *praise to the *Tetrarchy for funding the revival of rhetoric teaching at *Autun survives (*Eumenius, *PanLat* IX [IV]). *Ausonius' catalogue of his professorial colleagues gives information about Bordeaux. A law of 370 regulated the behaviour of students who came to study the Liberal Arts at Rome (*CTh* XIV, 9, 1).

Competition for the best posts was intense, and in the 4th century imperial intervention was common, both in deciding professorial appointments in municipalities, and in determining levels of pay. *Theodosius II endowed 31 chairs, including one in *philosophy and two in *law in 425 when he founded the Schools, the Pandidakterion, in *Constantinople (*CTh* XIV, 9, 3). *Augustine scoffed at the *scholae superbiae*, the schools of arrogance maintained by the holders of such standard municipal chairs (*Confessions*, IX, 4, 7)—he had after all held an official civic professorship at Carthage in his twenties.

*Eunapius wrote of a chain of continuity in *Neoplatonic teaching (*Lives of the Sophists*, 457). The philosophical school inaugurated by *Plutarch in the late 4th century at *Athens lasted for several generations. The thrones of *bishops offered a Christian analogue, not least the accumulation of teaching passed down from master to pupil and the authority of the *chair itself—the throne of James brother of Jesus and first *Bishop of *Jerusalem was preserved in the time of *Eusebius (*HE* VII, 19; cf. Egeria appendix E). RDR; OPN

CAH XIV (2000), 'Education in the Roman Empire', 855–83 (R. Browning).
M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (1971).
H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. G. Lamb (1956).

Tebtunis (mod. Umm el-Barakat) *Village on the south-east edge of Fayyum (*Egypt), a major religious centre for the cult of the *crocodile god from Hellenistic times with a big *temple complex (abandoned in the 3rd century) to the south-west of the village. Tebtunis was continuously inhabited well into the 11th century, with the Late Antique and *Arab settlement in the north-east part of the site.

A full excavation of this area has never been carried out: archaeological expeditions have mainly concentrated on the Hellenistic and Roman quarters, temple, and necropolis. It is doubtful whether Tebtunis was renamed Theodosiopolis and made capital of its district in the 4th/5th century. At least three 6th/7th-century *basilica-shaped churches of local workmanship with reused material (columns, *capitals, friezes) were unearthed in sporadic excavations of the Late Antique site and are now mostly lost (their identification as monastic institutions remains uncertain). The best

preserved of these churches (church C) was richly decorated with good *c.*10th-century wall paintings. One of these paintings (now in Cairo) represents Adam and Eve before and after the Fall. Before the Fall they have no sexual attributes; these appear on their expulsion from the Garden of Eden (so suggesting influence from the doctrine of *Julian of Halicarnassus, which may have been favoured among Tebtunis' faithful). The church underwent several changes, among them the addition of a narthex with a large colonnaded opening, later replaced by walls. Other Christian paintings were found, together with *Coptic and Christian *Arabic *inscriptions: their subjects are mainly Christ, *Mary, and local Egyptian saints, especially monastic figures (Ss. *Antony and *Pachomius) and *military saints (Ss. Theodore Stratelates, *George, etc.).

Tebtunis was a famous Coptic scriptorium (documented from the 9th century onwards), with manuscripts being deposited in the *monasteries of S. Michael at Kom *Hamouli and of Apa *Shenoute at Sohag. Late Antique Greek and Coptic *papyri, as well as Arabic parchments, have been found, but in much smaller numbers than those from Hellenistic and Roman periods. This may be due to the lack of complete excavation of the Late Antique and Arabic sector. MCDP

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Umm al-Barakat cols. 2289b–2291a (P. Grossmann).

R. W. Boutros, 'The Christian Monuments of Tebtunis', in G. Gabra, ed., *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis* (2005), 119–31.

J. G. Keenan, 'Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyūm', *BASP* 40 (2003), 119–39.

J. Jarry, 'Réflexions sur la portée théologique d'une fresque d'Umm-el-Baraqat (Tebtunis)', *BIFAO* 66 (1968), 139–42.

Te Deum Laudamus (Lat. 'We praise you, God') Opening of a prose *hymn of *praise, possibly 4th century, formerly attributed to S. *Ambrose, also to *Nicetas of Remesiana, incorporated in the monastic office by S. *Caesarius (*Regula* 21) and S. *Benedict (*RegBen* 11). MFC; OPN

CPL 650:

ed. (annnotated with ET) J. Wordsworth (²1903).

New Grove Music, 25, 190–3 (Steiner, Falconer, Caldwell).

Tella de Mauzelat *See* CONSTANTIA-TELLA.

Tellaro *Villa in the Caddeddi district of south-east *Sicily, partially excavated, though under a modern farm. A small apsed room opened onto the middle of the south side of a central peristyle and onto three rooms on the north side, all paved with polychromatic figurative *mosaics. It was probably built in the second half of the 4th century, and is comparable to such residential Late Antique villas as *Piazza Armerina and *Patti Marina. CS

G. Voza, 'L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale', *Kokalos* 28–9 (1972–3), 190–2; and *Kokalos* 32–3 (1976–7), 572–4.

G. Voza, *I mosaici del Tellaro: lusso e cultura della Sicilia sud-orientale* (2003).

Telmessus Important port on the coast of *Lycia, largely overbuilt by the modern Turkish town of Fethiye. *Basil of *Caesarea mentions *Bishop Hilarius approvingly in a *letter of 375/7 (*ep.* 218). Plentiful ruins, including *baths of *c.*500, indicate the importance of the island of Macra, which controlled the entrance to the *harbour, so that at the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451 the bishop's see is named 'Telmessus and the island of Macra'. Early 8th-century walls, possibly built when Telmessus was renamed Anastasiopolis after *Anastasius II, remain visible. IJ

C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, at 4–6.

W. Tietz, *Der Golf von Fethiye. Politische, ethnische und kulturelle Strukturen einer Grenzregion vom Beginn der nachweisbaren Besiedlung bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (2003).

Tembris Valley The upper section of the modern Porşuk River in *Phrygia Pacatiana (mod. w. central Turkey), which flows through *Cotiaeum (mod. Kütahya) and Dorylaeum (mod. Eskişehir). *Inscriptions (including a series with the words 'Christians for Christians') indicate the presence of numerous Christians in the area before the time of the Great *Persecution. PhN

TIB 7 *Phrygien* (1990).

C. W. M. Cox, B. Levick, et al., eds., *Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley, Cotiaeum, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra Sidera, and Tiberiopolis; MAMA* 10 (JRS monograph 7, 1993).

P. Thonemann, ed., *Roman Phrygia* (2013).

temples and sanctuaries, pagan Buildings erected for the worship of deities, and the monuments and the places associated with them, were the most prominent symbols of pagan religions. They were not spaces for indoor congregational worship—the *altar for *sacrifices was generally on the temple steps—but were thought of as the god's home. Being the focus of cult and traditions, they were essential to religious and civic identities. As Christianity progressed among imperial and municipal elites, they became the object of conflict and controversy. There is much information available about temples, but bias in the texts and the lack of adequate stratigraphic analysis for many sites pose difficulties for understanding their history. The general picture is one of progressive decline and

abandonment, a process which started in the 3rd century and varied in its forms and rhythms from region to region, even from one *city to another.

Although *Constantine I despoiled some temples, notably at *Aegae, *Heliopolis (Baalbek), *Aphaca, and *Jerusalem (Eusebius, *VCon* III, 50–8; III, 26–7), 4th-century imperial legislation often shows concern for the preservation of these structures as works of art and historic monuments (*CTh* XVI, 10, 3). Local Christian initiatives, however, like those of *Mark, *Bishop of Arethusa in *Syria, might spell ruin for temples; by the time of *Julian the only temple left in *Caesarea of *Cappadocia was that of the *Fortune of the City, and a Christian called *Eupsychius promptly reacted to Julian's policies by destroying that too.

There is evidence for the restoration of pagan structures throughout the Empire until the end of the 4th century, including the Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum (*CIL* VI, 937) and the rural sanctuary at Matagne-la-Grande in Belgium (datable by coins to after 350). The Temple of *Olympia may even have been reordered as a sculpture gallery. However, new religious priorities and the financial difficulties of *cities meant that most temples went unrepaired. In *Ephesus, many structures were restored after an *earthquake in the late 4th century, but its most important temples were used as sources of building materials.

The Theodosian period marked a change in imperial policy, when temples were first ordered to be closed (*CTh* XVI, 10, 10), and later destroyed (XVI, 10, 16 and 25). Destruction is archaeologically attested, mainly in the East. It is usually impossible to be certain that the demolition of a temple was due to religious motivation, although Christian writers frequently refer to it, treating events like the destruction of the *Serapeum of *Alexandria as proof of Christian triumph. Archaeology shows a more complex picture, in which temples were frequently left in disrepair, or reused for secular functions. The conversion of a temple into a church usually had an intermediary phase of abandonment or reuse, though sometimes a *holy man might occupy one to disinfect it of *demons (*VDanStyl* 14–15; S. *Benedict in *Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, II, 8, 11). The known examples of direct conversion into a church, like the Temple of Aphrodite at *Aphrodisias, are datable to the late 5th century onwards. The first temple in the City of *Rome to be turned into a church was the Pantheon (**Liber Pontificalis*, 69), which became S. Mary ad Martyras in 608/15. Temples, even when abandoned, were still seen as symbols of the victory over paganism, and as the abode of *demons. CARM

A. Busine, 'From Stones to Myth: Temple Destruction and Civic Identity in the Late Antique Roman East', *JLA* 6/2 (2013).

G. L. Fowden, 'Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A.D. 320–435', *JTS* 29 NS (1978), 53–78.

B. Caseau, 'The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity and the Christianisation of the Countryside', in Bowden, Lavan, and Machado, *Late Antique Countryside*, 105–44.

J. Hahn, S. Emmel, and U. Gotter, eds., *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (2008).

Lavan and Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*.

L. Hébert, 'Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Aphrodisias', in Kendall et al., *Conversion*, 85–113.

tenant Agricultural tenancy was the primary way in which landowners acquired rural labour. Tenancy is distinct from slavery in devolving control of the productive process to the peasant, and it is distinct from *wage labour in requiring either a fixed rent or a share of the harvest. The form of the rent—fixed or share—is one of the most important structural distinctions within the category of tenancy, and it is apparent from *leases preserved on *papyri that both forms of rent were paid in Late Antiquity. Tenants could be wealthy independent contractors or poor dependants, and it is not clear that the latter increased greatly in importance in the course of Late Antiquity. KH

D. Kehoe, *Law and Rural Economy in the Roman Empire* (2007).

D. Vera, 'Forme e funzioni della rendita fondiaria nella tarda antichità', in Giardina, *SRIT*, vol. 1 (1986), 367–477.

Tenedos Island in the north-east Aegean, where *Justinian I built *barns for the *grain fleet from *Egypt to discharge their cargo when adverse winds prevented the *ships from reaching *Constantinople (*Procopius, *Aed.* V, 1, 7–16). DSt

TIB 10 *Aigion Pelagos*, 287–91.

Tertry, Battle of (Lat. Textricium, dép. Somme, France) Victory in 687 of the *Austrasian *Mayor of the Palace *Pippin II over the *Neustrian-Burgundian forces of *Theuderic III and his Mayor *Berchar. It enabled Pippin to establish his family's position in *Neustria and eventual dominance of the *Merovingian kingdoms. It is described briefly by the **Liber Historiae Francorum* (48) and more rhetorically in the **Annales Mettenses Priores* (AD 690). EM

LexMA 8 *s.n.* Tertry col. 559 (U. Nonn).

P. Fouracre, 'Observations on the Outgrowth of Pippinid Influence in the "Regnum Francorum" after the Battle of Tertry (687–715)', *Medieval Prosopography* 5/2 (1984), 1–31.

terunciani Alternative term for first-phase **folles* introduced in the *coinage reform enacted by *Anastasius I in 498, indicating their weight of a third of an ounce. The *Chronicle* of *Marcellinus Comes (*s.a.* 498) refers approvingly to the new coinage under the

term *terentiani*. In 512 the weight of these *folles* was increased. RRD

Hendy, *Studies*, 477.

Tervel (Terbel) *Bulgar *Khagan (r. 694/695/701–715/714/718), traditionally considered son and heir of the Khagan *Asparukh. In 704, the deposed *Emperor *Justinian II (r. 685–95 and 705–11) sought Tervel's military aid to regain power. Tervel's support proved crucial, and Justinian was restored to the *purple in 705. As reward, Tervel was acclaimed as *Caesar, one rank below the Roman emperor. Despite this initial endorsement, in 708 Justinian turned against Tervel, but was defeated near *Anchialos (mod. Pomorie, Bulgaria).

*Theophanes Confessor describes Tervel in *c.*718 as assisting another displaced Roman emperor, *Anastasius II (r. 713–15), against the Emperor *Leo III (r. 717–41). Anastasius' attempt to regain power failed when Bulgar support was withdrawn. It is, however, possible that Theophanes was mistaken in identifying Tervel as the Bulgar ruler involved in this later incident. ABA

PBE Tervel 1.

J. V. A. Fine Jr., *Early Medieval Balkans* (1983), 74–5.

J. Jurukova and V. Penchev, *Bulgarski srednovekovni pechati i moneti* [*Bulgarian Medieval Seals and Coins*] (1990), 16–19.

Tervingi Gothic confederation which took control of modern Moldavia and Wallachia *c.*300–20 (*see* CARPI) and was brought—by defeat—into a close relationship with the Empire by *Constantine I in 332. The *Goths received subsidies and trading privileges but had to send troops to fight the *Persian Empire. The confederation splintered in the 370s under attack by the *Huns (*see also* ATHANARIC and FRITIGERN). PHe

Heather, *Goths and Romans*, ch. 3.

Wolfram, *Goths*, 24–5.

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 320–1, 324–5.

Testament of Adam Anonymous *Syriac pseudepigraphical work, also extant in *Greek, *Arabic, *Ethiopian, *Georgian, and *Armenian. It is incorporated into the **Cave of Treasures*. Its various parts date from the early 2nd to late 3rd centuries. It describes the order in which all creatures should pray to God at each of the twelve hours of day and night, and contains a prophecy of the coming of Christ. KDB

GEDSH s.v. Testament of Adam, 399 (Brock).

ed. (with LT) M. Kmosko, *Testamentum Patris Nostri Adam*, PatSyr 1.2 (1907), 1307–60.

ET (annotated) S. E. Robinson, 'Testament of Adam', in Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, 989–95.

ed. (Syriac and Gk., with ET) S. E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (1982).

Testamentum Domini Nostri A *Church Order surviving most fully in *Syriac in a *translation which the colophon of the manuscript says was made in 686/7 by 'the poor Jacob', who is generally taken to be *Jacob of *Edessa. There is a further Syriac version, as well as versions in *Ge'ez and *Arabic. It was, however, originally written in *Greek and a very small fragment of an uncial Greek manuscript, possibly of the 5th century, was published in 2011.

The body of the text combines liturgical and practical prescriptions for the running of the church, which have affinities with other church orders. It describes the design of church buildings, the qualifications of the clergy, the *liturgy of the *Eucharist, and the preparation of catechumens for *baptism. The *Easter Vigil is described as a type of the Kingdom of Heaven, but in characteristically practical tones the *Testament* requires that no one should start eating the feast until the liturgy is complete, and that young women of marriageable age should go home with their mothers (II, 19–20).

Prescriptions from the *Testament* about baptism and *widows are quoted *verbatim* by *Severus, the 6th-century *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Antioch, but Severus may not have known the whole of the text in its present form. There are references to the possiblilty of *persecution (I, 39 and II, 5), and those who may not be prepared for baptism include the priests of idols (II, 2). Either of these references might be taken to indicate an early date, but they might equally be fossilized allusions surviving from an earlier form of a 'living text', one which was brought up to date from time to time.

More unusual is the prologue to the *Testament*. Jesus appears to the Apostles after His Resurrection and at their request gives them a circumstantial account of the End Times (I, 1–14). Many dates have been assigned to this prophecy. Stewart places this prologue in the 3rd century, Drijvers thinks it the work of Jacob of Edessa himself, and dates in between these two have been proposed. There is certainly a 'change of gear' between Jesus' dire eschatological predictions and his advice about church architecture which follows (I, 15–20). OPN

CPG I, 1743.

GEDSH s.v. Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, 399 (Brock).

ed. (with LT) I. R. Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (1899).

Clementine Octateuch: a new critical edition with German translation is being prepared by a team led by Hubert Kaufhold under the aegis of the Forschungsstelle Christlicher Orient at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt.

ET J. Cooper and A. J. MacLean (ANCL, 1902).

Greek fragment: ed. (with considerable comm.) S. Corcoran and B. Salway, *JTS* NS 62/1, NS (2011), 118–35.

H. J. W. Drijvers, 'The Testament of Our Lord: Jacob of Edessa's Response to Islam', *ARAM* 9 (1994), 104–14.

R.-G. Coquin, 'Le Testamentum Domini: problèmes de tradition textuelle', *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974), 165–88.

A. C. Stewart, 'The Apocalyptic Section of *Testamentum Domini*: An Attempt at Dating', *JTS* NS 62/1, NS (2011), 136–43.

Testamentum Porcelli (*Testament of the Piglet*) Parody of a Roman *will, written in the 4th century. M. Grunnius Corocotta (M. Grunty Scoundrel) dictates it before he is slaughtered, probably for the *Saturnalia. The text, in which Grunnius leaves acorns and wheat to his father and mother, and various cuts of his carcass to a variety of persons (e.g. his tongue to pleaders), bears some resemblance to a soldier's will. It was loathed by *Jerome and loved by his students. JND

HLL 5, section 550.2.

ed. (with comm. and GT) N. A. Bott, *Testamentum Porcelli* (1972).

ed. (annotated with SpT) A. D'Ors (Supplementos de 'Estudios Classicos: Serie de Textos 3, 1953), 74–83.

E. Champlin, 'The Testament of the Piglet', *Phoenix* 41 (1987), 174–83.

D. Daube, *Roman Law: Linguistic, Social, and Philosophical Aspects* (1969), 77–81.

tetraconch *See* TRICONCH, TETRACONCH.

Tetrarchic art The *concordia* of the *Emperor *Diocletian (284–305) and his imperial colleagues, the *Augustus *Maximian and the *Caesars Constantius I and *Galerius Maximianus, was described by a later emperor as resembling a dramatic chorus gathered around its leader (*Julian, *Caesars*, 315A). The Tetrarchs were aware that the visual presentation of political power was important. In place of the plethora of images which had cluttered the reverses of the debased *bronze *coinage of the mid-3rd century, they placed the *Genius of the Roman People. Their imperial portraits were similarly direct presentations of power, whether they were massy *porphyry figures with cubic heads, like those now in Venice and the Vatican, or the two contrasting classical heads of Diocletian with furrowed brows and sunken eyes in the Villa Doria Pamphili at *Rome and in *Nicomedia. This style was to contrast with the youthful appearance and flowing hair favoured later by *Constantine I and his sons.

*Lactantius accused Diocletian of a *cupiditas aedificandi*, a lust for building (*Mort.* 7, 8–12). Tetrarchic *palaces and other buildings erected both in Rome and in the *cities near the *frontiers where the Tetrarchs spent most of their time provided appropriately massive monumental settings for imperial *ceremony. This is most easily appreciated in Diocletian's retirement palace at *Split, where it is possible to visualize the emperor making an appearance between the pillars of the inner *façade of the peristyle, in the manner presented more colourfully by the massive *purple-draped portrait paintings of the Tetrarchs in the principal niche of the *Temple of the Imperial Cult at *Luxor in Upper *Egypt. Similarly, the emperors were represented offering *sacrifice on the Decennalia Base outside the Senate House at Rome and on the *Arch of *Galerius at *Thessalonica, while a *city gate of *London was the setting for the **adventus* of *Constantius I depicted on the largest of the gold medallions found at *Arras. Art and architecture, like *panegyric and ceremony, were intended to work together to form a bond between ruler and ruled. OPN

R. Rees, 'Images and Image: A Re-examination of Tetrarchic Iconography', *Greece and Rome* 40/2 (1993), 181–200.

MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*.

J.-P. Callu, *Genio Populi Romani (295–316): contribution à une histoire numismatique de la Tétrarchie* (1960).

P. Niewöhner and U. Peschlow, 'Neues zu den Tetrarchenfiguren in Venedig und ihrer Aufstellung in Konstantinopel', *IstMitt* 62 (2012), 341–67.

M. Jones and S. McFadden, *Art of Empire: The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple* (2015).

M. S. Pond Rothman, 'The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs on the Arch of Galerius', *AJA* 81/4 (1977).

Tetrarchic Currency Reform At the end of the 3rd century *Diocletian and his colleagues introduced in different steps a broad and systematic reform of the monetary system. From AD 286, *gold coins were mostly minted on a standard of 1/60 pound. They were not in a fixed exchange ratio with other coins, and were accepted for their intrinsic value, as the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict makes clear, stating a price of 72,000 **denarii* per pound of gold, whether in ingots or in *coinage.

In 294 a pure *silver coin, the **argenteus*, was reintroduced, with a weight of 1/96 pound—recalling thus directly the *denarii* of Nero's reform. This had a value of 50 *denarii*. Divisional coins were the 'big laureate' which contained *c.*5% silver and bore the mark XX I, a mark of uncertain meaning which was already present on *Aurelian's **antoniniani*. The 'big laureate' coins had a value of 12.5 *denarii*, thus replicating in relation to the *argenteus* the ratio of 1:4 which had existed in Nero's time between *denarius* and *sestertius*, and between the 'radiate' (maybe the so-called **bicharacta*) and the 'small laureate'. These may have had a value of 2 and 1 (or 5 and 2) *denarii* respectively. *Tetradrachmae* of *Alexandria stopped being minted and *Egypt was integrated into the imperial monetary system. From 1 September 301 the nominal value of all coins, with the exception of gold, was doubled through the Currency *Edict of *Aphrodisias. FC

J. Lafaurie, 'Réformes monétaires d'Aurélien et de Dioclétien', *RevNum* série 6, 17 (1975), 73–138.

E. Ruschenbuch, 'Diokletians Währungsreform vom 1.9.301', *ZPE* 26 (1977), 193–210.
Cochrane, *Tetrarchs*, 134–5, 177–8, 206, 214–15, 228–9.
A. Chaniotis and T. Fujii, 'A New Fragment of Diocletian's Currency Regulation from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 105 (2015), 227–33.

Tetrarchic Land Surveys (296/7) Boundary stones in Syrian *provinces reflect a reorganization of the Empire under the *Tetrarchy. Thirty-seven full or partial *inscriptions reflect the division of territory, not by individual landholdings but by collective entities such as *villages, probably for *taxation purposes. The inscriptions are formulaic, *praise of the *Augusti (*Diocletian and *Maximian) and the *Caesars (*Constantius I and Maximianus *Galerius) is followed by the name of the village, the local *censitor*, and the date. EE

Millar, *RNE* 535–44.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*, 175–6.
H. Seyrig, in Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, III (1958), App. II, 6–11.

Tetrarchy The *Greek and *Latin word *tetrarches* generally denotes a subsidiary ruler or one who shares power with other rulers (e.g. *Lactantius, *Inst*. IV, 10, 18), not always to the number of four (Gk. *tessares*). Since the late 19th century, historians have applied the term to the regime of two *Augusti (Diocletian and *Maximian) and two *Caesars (*Constantius I and *Galerius Maximinanus) devised by *Diocletian in 293 to solve the problem of holding together an Empire whose three principal *frontiers, in the East, on the Rhine, and on the Danube, were under perennial threat. Contemporary sources do not employ the term, but the rule of four was praised as entirely in accordance with Nature (*PanLat* VIII (V), 4, 2), and *Tetrarchic art emphasizes the Tetrarchs' *concordia*.

Those Diocletian chose as Caesars, Galerius in the East and Constantius in the West, were already married to daughters of their respective Augusti. They also shared in the *patronage furnished by Jupiter to Diocletian and by Hercules to Maximian, divine protectors chosen specifically because the Jovian and Herculian emperors were thought to have the same effect on the world as their guardian gods (*PanLat* X [II], 11, 6 cf. IX [IV], 18, 5). Laws were issued in the names of all four emperors, but only the Augusti could initiate *edicts. Maximian did not always enforce edicts enacted by Diocletian, including the *Prices Edict of 301 and the Fourth Edict of the Great *Persecution, which in 304 commanded universal *sacrifice.

The system broke down in the aftermath of the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305, when *Constantius I and *Galerius were promoted to Augustus. Lactantius claims (*Mort*. 19) that Constantine was expected to succeed as Caesar; in fact the new Caesars were *Maximinus Daza, nephew of Galerius, and *Severus the Tetrarch. Constantine was acclaimed as an *emperor on the death of his father on 25 July 306, but the usurpation of *Maxentius, son of Maximian, on 28 October 306, followed by the return to power of Maximian himself, was not recognized by other emperors. Severus abdicated and died in 307 and the former Augusti and Galerius met at *Carnuntum in November 308 to replace him with *Licinius, whose primary task was to supplant Maxentius in *Italy.

Galerius, so Lactantius claims (*Mort*. 20; cf. 31, 2), had originally planned to imitate Diocletian by abdicating after twenty years as an emperor, leaving Severus and Licinius as Augusti and his own son *Candidianus as one of the Caesars. Events forestalled him. He found that the only way to contain the ambition of his subordinates was to style all four as '*imperator*' (*Mort*. 32); then in the spring of 311 Galerius died, leaving Maximinus Daia in *Oriens, Licinius in the *Balkans, Constantine I beyond the Alps, and the *usurper Maxentius in *Italy. With the elimination of Maxentius on 28 October 312 and of Maximinus Daza in the summer of 313, no semblance remained of the rule of four emperors. 'Where now,' asked Lactantius, 'are those Jovian and Herculian names, magnificent and distinguished among the nations?' (*Mort*. 52, 3).

Christians in any case were inclined to praise monarchy as the only polity consonant with their convictions. Procopius the *exorcist was martyred for saying as much (*Eusebius, *MartPal* 1), Lactantius drew the analogy from Nature—and from *Vergil—that a hive of *bees has only a single king (*Epit*. 2, 4), and in his *Tricennalia Oration* in *praise of Constantine Eusebius drew on the theory of Hellenistic kingship. In practice there persisted throughout the 4th century a sense that to hold the Empire together there had to be more than one emperor defending the frontiers. OPN

NEDC 3–8.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 46–89.
Corcoran, *Tetrarchs.*
W. L. Leadbetter, *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian* (2009).
M. Jones and S. McFadden, *Art of Empire: The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple* (2015).

Tetricus *Emperor in *Gaul 270–3. After the death of the Gallic Emperor *Victorinus, C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus, the *governor of the *province of *Aquitania, an aristocrat who had loyally served *Postumus and Victorinus, was acclaimed by the *army in Gaul, on the nomination of the mother of Victorinus (Aurelius *Victor, 33, 14–15; *Eutropius, IX, 10). His *accession came at a time of severe barbarian pressure, and having moved quickly to contain it, he settled at *Trier, where he celebrated his second year as *consul in 273 and

named his son Tetricus II as *Caesar. He extended the rule of the Gallic Empire to the southern provinces of *Gaul.

The *Emperor *Aurelian (270–5) was determined to re-establish legitimate imperial rule over all the provinces which had come under either *Palmyra or the so-called *Gallic Empire during the reign of *Gallienus. Aurelian encountered the Gallic armies near *Chalons-sur-Marne and it is claimed that Tetricus was so exasperated with the frequent mutinies of his soldiers that he surrendered to Aurelian voluntarily. He walked in Aurelian's triumph, was for a time governor of *Lucania, and survived many years as a private citizen (Aurelius Victor, 35, 2–4; Eutropius, IX, 13). The fall of Tetricus and his son ended the period of Gallic secession.

Tetricus struck a great number of low-quality coins. His **antoninianus* contained so little *silver that the market was flooded with imitations. In the ensuing monetary scarcity these coins continued to circulate for decades. RBr

PLRE I, Tetricus 1.

Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*.

S. Estiot, *Tétricus I et II: les apports de la statistique à la numismatique de l'empire gaulois* (Histoire & Mesure, 1989), 4/3–4. Varia, 243–66.

Teudemir (d. 744) A Visigothic **comes* in south-east *Spain immediately before and after the *Arab conquest. He signed a treaty with the Muslims on 5 April 713 which allowed him to maintain control of the *Tudmir region in exchange for *tribute. EMB

R. Collins, *Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (1994), 39–40.

B. Rosenwein, *Reading the Middle Ages: Sources from Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic World* (2006), 92.

textiles, Persian Despite their deep impact on Late Antique *dress in the Roman Empire as well as East and *Central Asia, few *Sasanian textiles have been discovered in Iran itself. Most examples with Persian motifs have emerged from European church treasuries, the Caucasus, or *Egyptian and *Central Asian deserts (most often with problematic provenances). *Rock reliefs, especially the 'Great *Ayvan' of *Taq-e Bostan, provide the bulk of evidence from Iran. *Sogdian wall paintings portray many textile patterns that overlap with Persian material. Though some scholars have tried, it is generally pointless to assign to individual motifs an exclusively Persian or Central Asian provenance. Prevalent in Persia and *Sogdiana, the roundel or 'pearl roundel' motif, containing symbolic animals, spread widely beyond the Iranian world. Geometric motifs include interlocking rhomboids, florets, or repeated triple dots. The most prized textile was *silk (MP *abrēšom*). Persian silk textile technique can be distinguished by the use of *berclé*. Despite Sogdian attempts to break their hold, the Sasanians largely controlled the *silk trade with the Roman Empire. MPC

EncIran (2009) *s.v.* Sasanian Textiles (M. Compareti).

D. Bénazeth, 'Les Textiles de luxe, marqueurs de la royauté', in F. Demange, ed., *Les Perses sassanides: fastes d'un empire oubli, 224–642: Musée Cernuschi, Musée des arts de l'Asie de la ville de Paris, 15 septembre–30 décembre Paris 2006* (2006), 257–60.

C. Fluck and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, eds., *Riding Costume in Egypt: Origin and Appearance* (Studies in Textile and Costume History 3, 2004).

A. Jeroussalimskaja, 'Soieries sassanides', in B. Overlaet, ed., *Splendeur des Sassanides: l'empire perse entre Rome et la Chine [224–642]* (1993), 113–18.

Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 195–207.

R. Schorta, ed., with A. D. H. Bivar, *Central Asian Textiles and their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages* (Riggisberger Berichte 9, 2006), 23–33.

textiles and textile manufacture Textile production was the most important industry of Late Antiquity. Each of the principal sources, however, which cast light on textiles and their methods of manufacture—archaeology, literature, documents, and iconography—has limitations. Actual textiles are rare survivals (mainly in desert contexts); literary authors tend only to mention textiles in passing; the documentary *papyri of *Egypt, while abounding in facts and figures, are also often cryptic; art concentrates on the lives of the wealthy. Finally, combining evidence from such disparate sources is an unavoidable, but hazardous exercise.

The geography of the textile industry corresponded closely to the geography of raw material availability, as entries in the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict and **Notitia Dignitatum* demonstrate. Unprocessed fibres were rarely traded over long distances, except for the highest grades, including *Bombyx mori* (*China) *silk. Noted centres for the wool trade and for clothing manufacture were *Laodicea ad Lycum and the *Meander Valley of *Phrygia, the Po Valley and *Apulia in *Italy, and some tribal territories in north *Gaul; but it is clear that *sheep were kept for wool almost everywhere. Centuries of selective breeding had improved wool quality: long-tailed sheep with a fine or medium-fine wool fleece are depicted on *sarcophagi, but peasants were content with coarser wools from more primitive breeds. The best wool was combed: the earlier flat double-ended iron wool-combs may have been superseded in Late Antiquity by types with iron tines set into a wooden bar with a handle.

The linen industry was dominated by growers near *Scythopolis, *Tarsus, *Byblos, *Laodicea, and *Alexandria (in descending order of quality) and in the Po and Rhône valleys. The time-honoured laborious methods of preparing flax, culminating in combing

with a multiple-toothed hackle (*aena*), continued. The resulting fine fibres were converted into clothing while the coarser tow (*stuppa*) became rope and sacking.

Cotton was a late arrival. In the 4th century irrigated cotton plantations are attested in some Egyptian oases, together with local cloth production. The fibre did not become economically significant, however, until after the *Arab conquest. Cultivated silk was imported as yarn from China, a practice which probably continued long after the introduction in 553–4 of *Bombyx*-based sericulture into the Roman world. Fibres of minor interest included goat hair (for sacking), hemp (for rope and coarse fabrics), and 'sea silk' (*lana marina*) from the Mediterranean mollusc *Pinna nobilis* (for exotic clothing).

Spinning was a traditional and essential everyday task for female members of every household. Short distaffs, often ornamental, carried thick wool rovings, longer distaffs hackled flax. Short spindles, with a whorl at top or bottom, were used most commonly in free-rotating mode, but the Virgin *Mary is shown in art as supporting her spindle in a bowl, perhaps to spin soft weft yarn. Spinning could be a production bottleneck; for several spinners were required to keep up with the working pace of a single loom. The *gold thread incorporated into the tapestry-woven, often *purple, decoration of *aristocratic *dress was prepared by the *barbaricarii*, who wrapped a narrow ribbon of gold sheet around a silk or linen core yarn.

Weaving was characterized by specialization in one or other fibre type, and by a hierarchy of skills and economic contexts headed by the (male) *sericarii*, silk weavers, and underpinned by domestic non-professional weavers (largely female). In Late Antiquity the wide vertical warp-weighted loom which had been in general use for most types of fabric until the 2nd century AD was confined to particular milieus, such as some modes of linen weaving, and the cotton industry of the Egyptian oases. The vertical two-beam loom which had overtaken it offered greater flexibility for pattern weaving (*Theodoret, *On Divine Providence*, IV, 24–5 of AD 435–7). It allowed for the insertion into a ground weave of tapestry-woven decorative bands (**clavi*) and panels or roundels (**segmenta*), and ornamental and functional pile: it was also the vehicle for a series of mechanically generated overall pattern weaves. They included geometric 'block' damask (*vestis scutulata*) in wool and silk (together with a later curvilinear variant), cloth decorated with weft floats, and the compound weaves which required separate devices for opening sheds for the ground weave and for the pattern. Compound tabby (*polymita*) may have been Hellenistic in origin, but the more complex compound twill overtook it in popularity after the 4th century, particularly for silks. (The horizontal draw loom is no longer thought to have existed in Late Antiquity, but to be a later development.) If the evidence for weaving narrow bands in pit-looms equipped with treadles at *Epiphanius' *monastery in *Thebes is correctly interpreted, they may be the first simple horizontal looms.

The spectrum of textile end uses reached far beyond personal clothing, although that was the main focus of the market. Public and private buildings were furnished with patterned *curtains and wall hangings, *altar cloths, feather-stuffed mattresses, bolsters, and cushions for bed and *couch, sleeping mats, blankets, and coverlets: utilitarian goods included sacks and sailcloth. Since the weaver planned the shape, material, weave, and function of a garment on the loom, there was little need for a tailor: his role rather was in the trimming and refurbishment of worn items. There was large-scale garment repair and recycling. The professional fuller was instrumental in both giving clothing the appropriate finish, and laundering it. *See also* DYES. JPW

J.-M. Carrié, 'Vitalité de l'industrie textile à la fin de l'antiquité: considérations économiques et technologiques', *AntTard* 12 (2004), 13–43.

S. Desrosiers, *Soieries et autres Textiles de l'Antiquité au XVI^e Siècle* (2004).

K. Dross-Krüpe, *Wolle—Weber—Wirtschaft. Die Textilproduktion der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel der papyrologischen Überlieferung* (2011).

S. Schrenk, *Textilien des Mittelmeerraumes aus spätantiker bis frühislamischer Zeit* (2004).

J. Thompson and H. Granger-Taylor, 'The Persian Zilu Loom of Meybod', *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre International d'Étude des Textiles Anciens* 73 (1995–6), 27–53.

J. P. Wild, 'Textile Production', in Oleson, *OHETCW*, 465–82.

J. P. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (1970).

Thabraca (mod. Tabarka, Tunisia) Port on the coastal *road between *Carthage and *Hippo Regius. Excavations *c.*1900 uncovered over 125 tomb *mosaics in a Christian *basilica and two urban cemeteries. The tomb mosaics probably date from the later 4th or early 5th century; the church buildings were substantially renovated after the *Byzantine invasion and seem to have remained in use, perhaps into the 7th century. AHM

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 170–1.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 150–2.

M. A. Alexander, 'Mosaic Ateliers at Tabarka', *DOP* 41 (1987), 1–11.

A. Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa* (2007).

Thagaste (mod. Souk Ahras, Algeria) *Municipium* of *Numidia, 93 km (58 miles) south of *Hippo. Little archaeological evidence survives. *Augustine was born (354) and spent his childhood in Thagaste, where his

father was a *city councillor; he returned as *teacher of *rhetoric (375) and as a Christian *ascetic (388–91). The city's *patron, Romanianus, made possible Augustine's education in *Carthage. Romanianus' relative Alypius, pupil of Augustine, became Bishop of Thagaste in 394. S. *Melania the Younger owned vast *estates at Thagaste and lived a monastic life there with her husband for four years after 410. There was a *bishop into the 8th century. RB

Lepelly, *Cités*, 2, 175–84.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 371–2.
Brown, *Augustine*, 7–13, 43, 125–30.

Thamugadi, and Album of Timgad The *city of Thamugadi (mod. Timgad, Algeria) seems to have been thriving well into the 4th century when several buildings were constructed or restored. Eleven churches are known. The largest, the 'Donatist Cathedral', may date originally to the late 4th/early 5th centuries. Thamugadi was the see of the *Donatist bishop Optatus, who was executed after *Gildo's fall. A fortress and church were built over the complex of the Aqua Septimiana Felix in 539/40.

The *inscription known as the Album of Timgad, found in the city's curia, lists members of the *city council in late 362/3 (*CIL* VIII, 17903). Largely complete, it names between 248 and 268 members of the *city council in order of status from the ten **clarissimi* and two **perfectissimi*, through current and former office-holders, to members of the council who had not held office, eleven clerics, and 70 members holding provincial and diocesan offices, such as the **annona* of *Africa. Individuals are grouped into 'chapters' under the title of their office or former office The text demonstrates the strength of the council. and the effects of *Julian's policy of forcing clerics to return to the municipal councils. An inscription known as the Timgad charge sheet erected by the *Consularis of *Numidia under Julian lists the *fees payable to *court officials by those engaged in litigation (*FIRA* [2nd edn.], I, 64 = *CIL* VIII, suppl., 17896). GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 1, 277–8, 285–6, 292, vol. 2, 444–76.
E. Boeswillwald, R. Cagnat, and A. Ballu, *Timgad: une cité africaine sous l'empire romain* (1892–1904).
J. Lassus, *La Forteresse Byzantine de Thamugadi: fouilles à Timgad 1938–1956* (1981).
I. Gui, N. Duval, and J.-P. Caillet, *Basiliques chrétiennes d'Afrique du nord: inventaire de l'Algérie, texte* (1992), 263–86.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 232–6.
A. Chastagnol, *L'Album municipal de Timgad* (1978).

Thannourios (also Tannuris, mod. Tuneinir, Syria) Tell commanding a crossing of the River Khabur *c.*30 km (19 miles) south-east of mod. Hasake. Coins of the Constantinian dynasty have been found and the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* XXXVI, 28) records a garrison of mounted archers. *Zacharias Rhetor records a failure to fortify Thannourios (IX, 2ab), but according to *Procopius, *Justinian I strengthened two fortifications called Thannourios as part of his string of forts beyond *Circesium, so that the garrison in the larger of the two could prevent *Arab incursions (*Aed.* II, 6, 12–16).

Excavations between 1987 and 2004, ahead of the building of a dam on the Khabur, revealed a mud-brick church of four superimposed phases, ranging from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages. At the southern end of the site were surface scatters of Late Roman *pottery and, on the site of a Roman watchtower, a *monastery with two 7th-century burials, one with a *glass phial. The monastery appears to have expanded in the early Islamic period so that it had a refectory able to seat 30 people and a fermentation vat capable of holding nearly 3,000 litres (540 imperial gallons) of *wine. OPN

Website of the St. Louis Archaeological Expeditions, maintained by N. and M. Fuller: <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/tuneinir/>
M. Fuller and N. Fuller, 'A Medieval Church in Mesopotamia', *Biblical Archaeologist* 57/1 (1994), 38–45.
M. Fuller and N. Fuller, 'Continuity and Change in the Syriac Population at Tell Tuneinir, Syria', *ARAM* 6 (1994), 259–77.
M. Fuller and N. Fuller, 'Archaeological Discoveries at Tell Tuneinir, Syria', *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 12/2 (1998), 69–82.

Thasos (Greece) An island, with a *city of the same name, in the northern Aegean Sea, *c.*10 km (6 miles) from the mouth of the Nestos River; in the *province of *Macedonia Salutaris. The island was known from the 7th century BC for *mines, *quarries, and *wine.

The town (modern Limenas) and its *harbours faced north, toward the mainland. It continued to function as a commercial, administrative, and ecclesiastical centre in Late Antiquity, although the abandonment of sanctuaries and public buildings (*macellum*, Agora) and the encroachment of *houses on public space changed the urban layout. In the Roman residential district to the south-west, the Tokatlis house was reconstructed between 500 and 550, and a small nymphaeum later added. East of the Agora, Domus 5 (*c.*30 × 45 m, *c.*98 × 148 feet) consisted of a courtyard surrounded by rooms, including a dining room with **stibadium*; a *bath was added in the mid-6th century. Following a drop in living standards around AD 600, an *earthquake destroyed the town in 620.

Written evidence for the *bishopric consists of Honoratos at the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451 and a dedicatory *inscription of Bishop Alexandros. *Gregory of *Nazianzus' reference (*De Vita Sua*, 875–8) to a *priest bringing *gold from the church of Thasos to *Constantinople to buy *marble from *Proconnesus *c.*380 fits with the first wave of church building in

Macedonia at the end of the 4th century; a possible explanation for his desire to purchase *Proconnesian marble, which is quite similar to that quarried on Thasos, might have been a wish to copy on the island the new shapes and decoration of *architectural sculpture used in churches in the capital.

Within the town of Thasos, ecclesiastical architecture with elaborate *liturgical arrangements included the cruciform, 6th-century Episcopal Church; also a three-aisled *basilica, with a later *martyrium for S. Acacius, inserted into the north side of the Agora already in the first quarter of the 5th century; and a basilica occupying the former *temple in the Heraklion. Extramural churches included a basilica at Evraiokastro, above a *pagan sanctuary; a double basilica at Ayios Vasilios; a church at Ayios Sisinios; and a possible monastic and agricultural complex at Molos or Tsoukalario. A *monastery has been tentatively identified within the town, at Domus 7.

Of the marble *quarries exploited during Late Antiquity, those on the peninsula of Aliki, at the south-east side of the island, are the best known; their white marble was exported around the Mediterranean. Associated with a quarry workers' village on the peninsula, a double basilica shows phases of construction between the early 5th and early 7th centuries. CSS

J.-P. Sodini, 'Thasos protobyzantine', *CRAIBL* (2011), 1161–207.

J.-P. Sodini, K. Kolokotsas, and L. Buchet, 'Aliki II: la basilique double', *Études Thasiennes* 10 (1984).

J.-P. Sodini, A. Lambraki, and T. Kozelj, 'Aliki I: les carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne', *Études Thasiennes* 9 (1980).

Theadelphia *Village in the Fayyum (*Arsinoite *Nome), *Egypt, archaeologically attested from the Pharaonic period to Late Antiquity and beyond. Legal and illegal excavations have brought to light thousands of *papyri, revealing aspects of public and private life in Egypt under the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine empires. They include the archive of *Heroninus, local administrator of the estate of the *Alexandrian councillor Aurelius Appianus and his heirs (*c.* AD 247–70) and the dossier of 34 *sacrifice certificates (**libelli*) from the *persecution of *Decius (AD 250), and also various administrative *archives of the Roman period, mostly of the 2nd century AD. RM

J. France, *Theadelpheia and Euhemereia: Village History in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Ph.D. dissertation, Leuven, 1999 (online at http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php)).

J. R. Knipfing, 'The Libelli of the Decian Persecution', *HTR* 16 (1923) 345–90.

D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (1991).

Theagenes (*c.*430–*c.*500) A native of *Athens, Theagenes served as the primary patron of the Athenian *Neoplatonic school in the later decades of the 5th century. He married Aclepigeneia, the granddaughter of the school's founder *Plutarch, and was the father of Hegias, a head of the school in the early 6th century. Theagenes fancied himself a *philosopher, tried to live according to philosophical principles, and surrounded himself with people who claimed to be philosophers. Theagenes did not take criticism well and feuded with the Neoplatonist *Marinus (*Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 100A) as well as the poet *Pamprepius (*Malchus, fr. 20), each of whom had once been a close friend. He was politically active and served both as an Athenian archon and a member of the *Senate of *Constantinople. A fragmentary *panegyric of him survives, possibly written by Pamprepius (Heitsch, *Dichterfragmente*, n. xxxv). EW

PLRE II, Theagenes.

Watts, *City and School*, 106–10.

Thebai Phthiotides, Thebes of Thessaly *See* NEA ANCHIALOS.

Thebais Prima and Secunda Early in 298, *Diocletian divided the existing *province of *Egypt into two provinces: *Aegyptus and Thebais, or the *Thebaid. Thebais at first covered everything from the apex of the *Nile Delta southwards to the First Cataract of the Nile, which was the point to which the former province's southern frontier had been withdrawn. Thebais was, accordingly, first a province in the *Dioecesis of *Oriens, and later one of the half-dozen provinces of the Egyptian **dioecesis* (**Notitia Dignitatum* [*or.*] XXIII, 8–14). In 539, by his *Edict* XIII, *Justinian I divided Thebais permanently into Prima (= Inferior, or Lower, Thebais) and Secunda (= Superior, or Upper, Thebais). The former's capital was *Antinoopolis, the latter's, *Ptolemais. JGK

Jones, *Cities*, 336–48.

CAH XIV (2000), 612–15.

Theban Legion A legendary 3rd-century Roman military unit traditionally believed to have been converted to Christianity and subsequently martyred in AD 286 by the *Emperor *Maximian in Agaune, south-east of Lake Geneva, on an important route leading over the Alps. A *letter from *Eucherius (*c.*450), *Bishop of *Lyons, written to Bishop Salvius of Albi in *Gaul contains the earliest account. Eucherius cites as his source Theodore, Bishop of Octudurum, who had a *basilica built in honour of the martyred *legion, a site which became a popular *pilgrimage destination. A *monastery was founded at Agaunum in 515 by King *Sigismund of *Burgundy.

According to the standard hagiographies derived from these sources, 6,666 men, led by S. Maurice, were killed for refusing to obey orders to *sacrifice to the emperor. In most accounts the soldiers were 'decimated', meaning that every tenth soldier was killed, for their insubordination, and in many accounts this penalty was repeated until all were dead. The narrative has long figured in Christian hagiography, appearing in the *Legenda Aurea Sanctorum* of Jacobus de Voragine as well as John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. AJM

BHL 5737–64 *s.n.* Mauritius et soc.
Passio Augaunensium Martyrum:
ed. B. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Meroving. III, 1896), 32–41.
ed. C. Wotke, CSEL 31 (1894), 163–73.
Delehaye, *Origines*, 86, 255.
D. F. O'Reilly, 'The Theban Legion of St. Maurice', *Vig-Christ* 32/3 (1978), 195–207.
ed. O. Wermelinger, *Mauritius und die Thebäische Legion. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums: Freiburg, Saint-Maurice, Martigny, 17.–20. September 2003* (Paradosis 49, 2005).
D. Woods, 'The Origin of the Legend of Maurice and the Theban Legion', *JEH* 45/3 (1994), 385–95.

Thebes and the Thebaid The main political and religious centre of southern *Egypt in pharaonic times, Thebes (mod. Luxor) gradually lost this position in the Graeco-Roman period. Nonetheless, the administrative unit of southernmost Egypt was named the Thebaid after the ancient city. With the administrative changes under the *Tetrarchy, *Thebais became a separate *province under a *Praeses who resided in *Antinoopolis. The command of the military units in Upper Egypt was given to a *Dux Thebaidis at the end of the 4th century, who was promoted to *Comes in the first half of the 5th century. With *Justinian's *Edict* 13 of 539, civil and military powers were combined in the office of Dux et *Augustalis.

Even if it no longer played a central role in the Thebaid, Thebes remained a significant provincial city in Late Antiquity. The main urban area on the east bank of the *Nile (usually referred to in the Graeco-Roman sources as Diospolis Magna) was the capital of the district (*nome) and had its own *bishop, perhaps already shortly after 325 and at least before 339. Moreover, in 301/2 *Diocletian turned the great *Temple of Ammon at *Luxor into an *army camp, garrisoned by a legion. The camp was abandoned only after the *Persian invasion and occupation (619–29), when several churches were built inside the precinct; a slightly earlier church was constructed at the end of the 6th century just outside the entrance.

In the large temple complex of Karnak several traces of Christian occupation have also been found, including *churches (notably those in the Temple of Khonsu and the Festival Hall of Thutmoses III). On the west bank, across the Nile, where the ancient necropolis of Thebes was located, a network of settlements and monastic communities arose in and around the former temples and *tombs during Late Antiquity. The main settlement was the town of *Jeme, situated in the mortuary *Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The town reached its greatest extension in the 7th and 8th centuries and possessed a large church built in the second forecourt of the temple, as well as at least three more churches. Though not as large as the metropolis on the east bank, Jeme was a central node in the western Theban area and maintained regular contacts with its monastic communities. Among these, the most important was the *Monastery of *Phoibammon, built in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari in the late 6th century. Smaller, less formal communities include the nearby Monastery of S. *Epiphanius. The attraction the Theban region continued to exert is further apparent from the many tombs reused by hermits. JHFD

A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IV^e siècle (328–373)* (1996), 54–60, 63–4.
P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (2002), 46, 448–54.
T. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antiquity* (2002).
Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*, 183–204.
B. Palme, 'The Imperial Presence: Government and Army', in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (2007), 245–8.
Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*.

Thebes of Boeotia Fortified *city in the *province of *Achaea (mod. central *Greece) located on a naturally formed steep acropolis, the Kadmeia, surrounded by fertile plains. Catacombs with wall paintings of *c.* AD 300 indicate an early association with Christianity. Many extant early Christian architectural members not associated with original buildings indicate a city of some standing. A large 5th-century *basilica on the Kadmeia, decorated with *mosaics ascribed to a local school of craftsmen, subsequently housed burials in tile-covered tombs. Amysius the *bishop supported *Cyril of *Alexandria at the *Council of *Ephesus in 431.

When *Alaric ravaged Boeotia in 396, he passed by Thebes, deeming it too strong for his forces (*Zosimus, V, 5, 4). The city walls were presumably among those of the towns of Boeotia restored by *Justinian I (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 2, 24), and Thebes became the see of a *metropolitan (**Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, 2, 79; *Hierocles, 645, 4). From the 7th century onwards the city was the administrative capital of the newly created *Theme of *Hellas.

For Thebes in Phthiotis, *see* NEA ANCHIALOS. PA; OPN

TIB 1 (1976), 269–71.

A. Louvi-Kizi, 'Thebes', in Laiou, *EHB* 1, 631–8.
S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (1985).
C. Koilakou, in Albani and Chalkia, *Heaven and Earth*, 180–91.

theca Ceremonial pen/*stylus* case, made of *gold, decorated with imperial *portraits, and greatly enlarged, standing 1.5 m (5 feet) on a tripod base, displayed, alongside an oversized *silver inkwell, by high-ranking officials on formal occasions (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 2, 14) and illustrated in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (2, 4 [*occ.*], 2, 22, 24 [*or.*]). CMK

Berger, *Insignia*, 184–90.

Thecla, S. Legendary companion of S. Paul the Apostle. Her *conversion and their adventures are recounted in the apocryphal *Acts of Ss. Paul and Thecla*, which survive in several languages. Tertullian (*On Baptism*, 17, 5) already knew of Thecla's reputation, and the principal virgin in *Methodius of Olympus' *Symposium* was named after her.

The shrine of S. Thecla at Meryemlik (mod. Becili), near *Seleucia ad Calycadnum (mod. Silifke, Turkey), was visited by *Gregory of *Nazianzus, by *Egeria (23), and by the *Emperor *Zeno who had a vision of her and built a vast sanctuary with a *porphyry colonnade where his dedicatory votives were still visible in the time of *Evagrius Scholasticus (*HE* III, 8). *Photius (168) had read a verse Life of S. Thecla, by Basil, *Bishop of Seleucia. The *Life and Miracles of S. Thecla*, completed around AD 470, summarizes the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* and then records 46 *miracles, ranging from cures and the discovery of thieves to warning *cities of surprise attacks by *brigands. The *Life and Miracles* was formerly also attributed to Basil of Seleucia but is actually by an adversary—Miracle 12, 44 calls Basil an urchin (Gk. *meirakion*).

S. Thecla had a large reputation. During the reign of his uncle *Justin I, *Justinian I built a shrine for her near the *Harbour of Julian in *Constantinople (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 4, 28) and *pilgrimage flasks showing her surrounded by beasts in the arena are known from *Palestine and *Egypt. OPN

Acts of Ss. Paul and Thecla, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (1891), 235–72.
ET Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 364–80.
Life and Miracles (*BHG* 1718, *CPG* 6675), ed. (with FT and introd.) R. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle* (SubsHag 62, 1978).
TIB 5, Kilikien und Isaurien (1990), 441–2.
R. Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion* (Ph.D. thesis, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2001).
S. F. Johnson, *The Life and Miracles of Thekla: A Literary Study* (2006).
S. J. Davis, *The Cult of St Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (OECS, 2001).
S. Hill, *The Early Byzantine Churches of Cilicia and Isauria* (BBOM 1, 1996), 209–34.

theft (Lat. *furtum*) Fraudulent interference with a movable thing belonging to another with a view to gain. A thing belonging to another could be stolen; further, unauthorized use of another's thing, and an owner improperly appropriating his own thing, also constituted theft. The *actio furti* (a personal legal action) could be instituted to punish the thief and the stolen property could be reclaimed with the *rei vindicatio*. If it could not be found, the owner had recourse to the *condictio furtiva*. Punishment varied depending on whether the thief was caught red-handed or not. In Late Antiquity the right to kill the thief caught red-handed was limited.

In the early Germanic period, theft was a crime which, although directed against individual interests, was a threat to the community. It was aggravated by the secrecy with which another's property was taken. The reaction to all offences was the *feud. The wrongdoer was outlawed. Later, in the Frankish Empire, the crown and the Church placed restrictions on feud. It was, however, still permitted for theft. The avenger's actions were limited and the king' officers were tasked with attempting to prevent feud by means of assisting the parties to come to an amicable settlement. RvdB; CHu

R. Hahlo and E. Kahn, *The South African Legal System and its Background* (1973).
M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* (²1975).
J. A. C. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (1981).
R. Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (1996).

Theia (d. 552) *Ostrogothic king (552), whose brief reign followed the Gothic defeat at *Busta Gallorum. His death at *Mons Lactarius marks the end of organized resistance to the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy. JJA

PLRE IIIB, Theia, 1224.
Wolfram, *Goths.*

theme system The Themes (Gk. *Thema*, plur. *Themata*) is the name traditionally ascribed to the Roman armies from the mid-7th century onwards. Their origin, nature, and development is the subject of protracted debate. The traditional account, articulated by G. Ostrogorsky, represented *Heraclius as fusing military and civil spheres into distinct administrative territories, each governed by a *Strategos, and paid primarily through inalienable land grants, called in later sources *stratiotika ktemata*. This new army, recruited internally and motivated by holding a landed stake, ensured imperial survival.

Every aspect of this reconstruction has been heavily critiqued. Even the etymology of *thema* is uncertain; J. Howard-Johnston argues it has a Turkic origin in the word for 10,000 men, and so sees the initial creation of the themes as a form of rebranding modelled on the feared Steppe warriors. Most scholars, though, adhere to the older notion that it derives from the Greek word *tithemi*, 'I place', and reflects the stationing of the Roman army in Asia Minor in the 7th century. Similarly, the first mention of *thema*, in the 9th-century *Chronicle* of *Theophanes during an account of Heraclius' reign, is either evinced as proof of an early origin or dismissed as an anachronism (AM 6113, cf. 6103).

Consensus now holds that the themes were directly descended from the *field armies of Late Antiquity, which, following his defeat at *Yarmuk in 636, Heraclius recalled and settled in Asia Minor. Thus the army of *Oriens became the *Anatolic Theme, that of *Armenia the *Armeniac, that of *Thracia the *Thrakesion, and the army 'in praesente' the *Opsikion Theme. Over time these four were subdivided and joined with other divisions, including the so-called naval themes, the *Carabisian and *Cibyrrhaeot. These new arrangements did not replace the *provinces, which survived into the 9th century, but were placed above pre-existing structures. Indeed, the precise relationship between the military and civil *administration remains unclear.

Furthermore, the period of pivotal change is now usually linked to the reign of *Constans II and the First *Arab Civil War (* *Fitna*), *c.*656–61. The nature of these reforms, though, is disputed. Some argue that it was now that soldiers were granted military lands for their upkeep, largely replacing cash payments, linking this to an apparent drastic reduction in the production of *coinage. Others, considering the process to have been more gradual, instead argue that soldiers were paid principally in kind, and that military lands, possessing privileged fiscal status, only emerged in the 9th century. However, it is clear that from the mid-7th century the Themata and their Strategoi had become the dominant force in the Empire, leading to multiple rebellions and the eventual dilution of their power in the 8th century. MTGH

ed. A. Pertusi (with IT and comm.), *Costantino Porfirogenito: De Thematibus* (ST 160, 1952).
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 435–38, cf. 429.
Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*.
Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 723–71.
J. Haldon, 'Military Service, Military Lands and the Status of Soldiers', *DOP* 47 (1993), 1–67.
J. Howard-Johnston, 'Thema', in Moffatt, *Maistor, Fs Browning*, 189–97.
R.-J. Lilie, 'Die zweihundertjährige Reform', *Byzantinoslavica* 45 (1984), 27–39, 190–201.
Ostrogorsky, *History*, 95–8.
Treadgold, *Byzantium and its Army*.

Themistius (*c.*317–*c.*389) *Rhetorician, *philosopher, and statesman. The son of the philosopher Eugenius, Themistius was born either in *Constantinople or *Paphlagonia and initially pursued a traditional career in *education. In *c.*347 he attracted the attention of the *Emperor *Constantius II, and in 355 was adlected to the *Senate of Constantinople; his speech of thanks survives as his *Oration* 2. Themistius then played a vital role in Constantius' expansion of the eastern Senate, touring the *cities to recruit suitable candidates in 358/9 and being appointed by name to the panel that reviewed new members of the Senate in 361 (*CTh* VI, 4, 12). He remained a prominent *senator and imperial spokesman for the next two decades, and near the end of his life he claimed to have increased the senatorial register from 300 members to 2,000 (*Oration* 34, 13 of late 384/early 385).

During his remarkable political career, Themistius served five emperors from Constantius to *Theodosius I. As a leading orator he gave numerous *panegyrics and was frequently called upon to defend unpopular imperial policies, notably *Jovian's treaty with the *Persian Empire in 363 (*Oration* 5) and the failure of both *Valens and Theodosius to defeat the *Visigoths (*Oration* 8, 10, 14–16). He also undertook a number of official missions, including one to the Roman *Senate in 357 for Constantius' state visit to *Rome (the context of Themistius, *Oration* 3) and again to the West in the 370s seeking aid against the *Goths. The only emperor with whom Themistius appears to have had a difficult relationship was his fellow *pagan *Julian. Themistius' writings to Julian are lost or fragmentary, but the tone of Julian's extant *Letter to Themistius* is cold if not openly hostile. Following Julian's death in 363, Themistius swiftly returned to prominence. After some 25 years of service, he was appointed *Praefectus Urbi at Constantinople by Theodosius in 384 and withdrew into retirement shortly afterwards. He died in Constantinople in *c.*389.

Themistius was often criticized in older scholarship as a flattering toady, and his modern reputation is that of an imperial spokesman and propagandist. Yet he was also a serious philosopher, despite repeated accusations from contemporaries that his career was too worldly for a true philosophical life (*Orations* 23, 29, 34). His speeches show some knowledge of contemporary *Neoplatonism, although his major surviving philosophical works are explanatory paraphrases of Aristotle. A lifelong pagan, Themistius promoted religious *toleration. He showed little support for Julian's pagan revival, and his retirement from public life coincided with the increasingly anti-pagan policies of the 380s. Through both his orations and his unprecedented public career, Themistius is a key figure in understanding the changing political and religious world of the 4th century.

A corpus of 34 orations attributed to Themistius survives, although *Oration* 12 in the traditional numbering is a later *Latin forgery. *Orations* 1–11 and 13–19 are official speeches concerning imperial affairs. *Oration* 20 is a *funeral oration for Themistius' father, and *Orations* 21–34 are private speeches on a variety of different topics. Of Themistius' Aristotelian paraphrases, three (concerning Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, *Physics*, and *De Anima*) survive in the original *Greek and two in medieval Hebrew *translations from *Arabic texts (on *De Caelo* and *Metaphysics* XII). His own *letters are lost, but Themistius is a recurring presence in the correspondence of *Libanius from the early 350s until his final appearance in 388. DMG

PLRE I, Themistius 1.

Orations: ed. H. Schenkl, G. Downey, and A. F. Norman, *Themistii Orationes*, 3 vols. (1965–74).

ET (annotated with introd.) P. Heather and D. Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius* (TTH 36, 2001).

ET (annotated) R. J. Penella, *The Private Orations of Themistius* (TCH 29, 2000).

Letter to Julian and Julian's *Letter to Themistius*, ed. (with ET and study) S. Swain, *Themistius, Julian, and Greek Political Theory under Rome* (2013).

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ed. M. Wallies et al., *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 5 in 5 parts (1900–3).

ET R. B. Todd, *Themistius on Aristotle On the Soul* (AncCommAristotle 1996).

ET R. B. Todd, *Themistius on Aristotle Physics*, 3 vols. (AncCommAristotle, 2003–11).

STUDY

J. Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court: Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius* (1995).

Theoctista Sister of *Maurice, attendant on the *Empress *Constantina, she helped rear Maurice's children. She was devout, got to know *Gregory the Great when he was living in *Constantinople, and received *letters from him in 590, 597, and 601. RCW

PLRE III, Theoctista 2.

Theodahad (d. 536) *Ostrogothic King of *Italy (534–6) and nephew of *Theoderic, known for his classical and ecclesiastical learning. He was made *Amalasuintha's royal consort following the death of *Athalaric. Intended to be a figurehead, he turned on the queen and orchestrated her murder. This displeased *Emperor *Justinian I, who attacked *Dalmatia and *Sicily in retaliation, thus initiating the *Byzantine invasion of *Italy. Theodahad attempted to negotiate, offering to become a client king or abdicate, but to no avail. His lack of military success soon led the Gothic army to elect *Vitigis as king, and he had Theodahad murdered. JJA

PLRE II, Theodahadus.

S. Barnish, 'Maximian, Cassiodorus, Boethius, Theodahad: Literature, Philosophy and Politics in Ostrogothic Italy', *NottMedSt* 34 (1990), 16–32.

E. Chrysos, 'Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum. Der Vertragentwurf des Jahres 535', *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 430–74.

Wolfram, *Goths*.

M. Vitiello, *Theodahad: A Platonic King at the Collapse of Ostrogothic Italy* (2014).

Theoderic (451/4–526) *Ostrogothic King (469/72–526). Born in *Pannonia as son of the Ostrogothic King Theodemer, Theoderic was successively *Magister Militum Praesentalis (476/7–8 and 483–7), *consul (484), and ruler of *Italy (489/93–526).

Early life and Eastern career

Around the age of 8, Theoderic was sent to live in *Constantinople as part of an agreement between the *Emperor *Leo I and King Valamer, his uncle. There he received a classical *education, although its extent is a matter of debate. At 18, he returned to *Pannonia and began establishing his credentials as a warrior. He probably became co-king at this time, becoming sole king when his father died around 474.

In 476 he assisted the Emperor *Zeno during the usurpation of *Basiliscus and was rewarded by being made *Magister Militum and **patricius*. The emperor also named him an *amicus* and adopted him as his son-in-arms. His relations with Zeno were nonetheless unstable and complicated by the emperor's dealings with *Theoderic Strabo, a rival *Gothic king. Despite a series of revolts, the two were at peace by 483. The following year, Theoderic served as *consul and received a triumph and a *statue in Constantinople. He was also reappointed Magister Militum and dispatched against the rebels *Illus and *Leontius. Relations with Zeno remained tense, however, and in 486 Theoderic revolted again, briefly marching on Constantinople.

In 488, after a shaky truce, he and Zeno came to a new arrangement. This time, Theoderic agreed to invade *Italy with his Goths and depose *Odoacer who had ruled Italy since the *fall of the Western Empire in 476. Whether Theoderic was intended to rule in Odoacer's place or to restore Italy to direct imperial control is unclear. Arriving in 489 and meeting with varied success, Theoderic began seeking the emperor's permission to rule Italy outright in 491. Zeno's death and delays in Constantinople led the Goths to proclaim him ruler of Italy without imperial

permission in 492. The following year, Theoderic entered *Ravenna after negotiating with Odoacer and then personally killed him.

Ruler of Italy

Now unopposed, Theoderic focused intently on the *security and recovery of his new kingdom. He granted a general amnesty and, with the assistance of the *Praefectus Praetorio *Liberius, revised the tax rolls and settled his Goths, who continued to serve as the backbone of his *army, on Italian land. Through diplomatic overtures and *marriage alliances, he established peace with the most significant barbarian kings of the West.

He likewise secured recognition in the East, and in 497 the Emperor *Anastasius I sent him the Western imperial *insignia. His exact constitutional position is, however, uncertain and remains a subject of debate. His official title was king (*rex*), and he seems to have avoided certain imperial prerogatives. Yet he wore sacred *purple, claimed that he ruled the Western Roman Empire, and represented his conquests of Pannonia Sirmiensis (504) and the remnants of Visigothic *Gaul and *Spain (508–11) as restorations of that Empire.

Theoderic's subjects, moreover, felt at ease imagining him as an imperial successor, some even referring to him as *imperator* and *Augustus. In general, his behaviour as king conformed to traditional expectations of Roman rule. In 500 he celebrated an imperial *tricennalia* (or *decennalia*) *anniversary at *Rome in grand style, reverencing Pope *Symmachus, staging a triumphal **adventus*, and hosting elaborate games. In the *forum he honoured the *Senate and people and promised to uphold Roman *law, later engraving his promise in *bronze. Despite leaving Rome after six months, Rome and Roman renewal remained core ideologies of his reign, and he continued to patronize the *city and its residents from afar.

Other *cities also benefited from his attention, including *Verona, *Milan, and especially *Ravenna, which was his principal residence, the location of a *palace and a royal church on the model of *Constantinople, and eventually the site of his mausoleum. A *Homoean ('*Arian') Christian with a Catholic mother, he was on good terms with the Catholic clergy and promoted a broad policy of religious tolerance as part of an ideology of *civilitas* (the rule of law). At the clergy's request, he intervened during the Laurentian Schism, ruling in favour of Symmachus in 498/9 and again in 506/7. Later, he assisted Pope *Hormisdas in his attempts to heal the *Acacian Schism, meeting with success in 519.

That same year his son-in-law and intended successor, *Eutharic, served as consul with Emperor *Justin I, who adopted him as his son-in-arms. This was a high point in Theoderic's reign, and his final years were marred by a series of damaging events. Eutharic died suddenly around 522 and a succession crisis emerged. Within this context the senators *Albinus and *Boethius were accused of *treason and arrested, the latter executed along with his father-in-law Q. Aurelius Memmius *Symmachus. Relations with the papacy also declined when Pope *John I failed to achieve Theoderic's wishes during a mission to Constantinople. John was detained at Ravenna, died under uncertain circumstances in 526, and was eventually celebrated as a martyr. Theoderic himself grew ill and died that same year, having named his grandson *Athalaric his successor. JJA

PLRE II, Theodericus 7.

P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (1997)

J. J. Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration* (2014).

A. Carile, ed., *Teoderico e i Goti tra Oriente e Occidente* (1995).

D. Claude, 'Universale und partikulare Züge in der Politik Theoderichs', *Francia* 6 (1978), 19–58.

G. Della Valle, 'Teoderico e Roma', *RendAccNapoli* 34 (1959), 119–76.

W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (²1959).

P. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).

M. J. Johnson, 'Toward a History of Theoderic's Building Program', *DOP* 42 (1988), 73–96.

J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (1992).

D. Kohlhas-Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Rechtsstellung Theoderichs des Großen* (1995).

B. Saitta, *La* Civilitas *di Teoderico: rigore amministrativo, 'tolleranza' religiosa e recupero dell'antico nell'Italia ostrogota* (1993).

A. Schwacz, '*Beato Petro devotissimus ac si catholicus*. Überlegung zur Religionspolitik Theoderichs des Großen', *MIÖG* 112 (2004), 36–52.

Teoderico il Grande e i Goti d'Italia: atti del XIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Milano 2–6 novembre 1992 (1993).

M. Vitiello, 'Teoderico a Roma: politica, amministrazione e propaganda nell'*adventus* dell'anno 500', *Historia* 53 (2004), 73–120.

Wolfram, *Goths*.

***Theoderic, Edict of* (*Edictum Theoderici*)** A legal text attributed to *Theoderic, King of the *Ostrogoths. It has in the past been attributed to other Ostrogothic kings, to *Theoderic II of the *Visigoths, and has even been declared a forgery. The earliest extant witness to the text is the *editio princeps* of 1579 by Pierre Pithou, based on two manuscripts, now lost. It is a collection of apparently recent *edicts, as well as Roman laws. These were drawn largely from the **Theodosian Code* and *Sententiae* of *Paul, and heavily adapted to fit the concerns of contemporary society, probably by skilled *jurists. Unusually for a post-Roman legal text, it is

explicitly intended for both Romans and barbarians. Its 154 chapters are wide-ranging in content, but far from comprehensive. Subjects covered encompass crime, including *homicide, and problems of property, *slavery, and *marriage. It is largely silent on public works and *taxation.

Ideological parallels have been identified with *Cassiodorus' *Variae*, notably the insistence on the devotion of all to Roman laws. It is an important source for understanding Theoderic's government, as well as social relations in Ostrogothic *Italy. TWGF

ed. F. Bluhme in MGH LL 5 (1870), 145–79.
ed. in *FIRA* 2, 683–710.
ET S. D. W. Lafferty, *Law and Society in the Age of Theoderic the Great: A Study of the Edictum Theoderici* (2013), 243–94.
P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy 489–554* (2003).
S. D. W. Lafferty, 'Law and Society in Ostrogothic Italy: Evidence from the Edictum Theoderici, *JLA* 3 (2010), 337–64.
H. Nehlsen, 'Review of Vismara, "Edictum Theodorici"', *ZRG* (*GA*) 86 (1969), 246–60.
G. Vismara, *Edictum Theodorici*, Ius Romana Medii Aevi 1, 2 b aa alpha (1967).

Theoderic I the Visigoth King of the *Visigoths (418–51) in succession to *Wallia (*Olympiodorus fr. 34 Blockley = I, 35 Müller *FHG*; *Jordanes, *Getica*, 174–6). He was probably the son-in-law of *Alaric I, and had six sons: *Thorismund, *Theoderic II, *Euric, Frederic, Retemer, and Himnerith (Jordanes, *Getica*, 190). One of his two daughters married the *Vandal King *Huneric, only to be sent back mutilated after an accusation of attempted murder (*Priscus, fr. 20, 2 Blockley; Jordanes, *Getica*, 184), while the other married *Rechiarius, King of the *Suebes (*Hydatius *s.a.* 449).

At the beginning of his reign, Theoderic oversaw the negotiated Visigothic settlement in south-west *Gaul initiated by *Wallia (Hydatius *s.a.* 418), and thereafter took advantage of the decline of Roman authority intermittently to expand his realm. After the death of the *Emperor *Honorius, he besieged *Arles in 425, but once *Aëtius intervened, he renewed by treaty his status as a Roman **foederatus*. He received Gallo-Roman aristocrats as *hostages and was visited by Eparchius *Avitus (the future emperor), who read *Latin poetry and Roman *law with his son Theoderic on a visit to his *court (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, VII, 494–9). Although Visigoths served in Roman armies, Aëtius was compelled to defeat a renegade band of Visigoths near *Arles in 430 (Hydatius *s.a.* 430). Later, while the Romans were distracted by Frankish expansion, Theoderic himself besieged *Narbonne in 436. He was convinced by Avitus to raise the siege, but was then himself defeated by Aëtius in 438—a *victory praised by Flavius *Merobaudes (*Panegyric*, I, fr. IIB). However, after he had captured and killed *Litorius in 439, another treaty was agreed through Avitus at Aëtius' behest (*Prosper, *Chron. s.a.* 436–9; Hydatius *s.a.* 437–9; *Cassiodorus, *Chron. s.a.* 439).

*Attila the Hun attempted but failed to gain the alliance of Theoderic in 450, and when the *Huns invaded Gaul the next year, the Visigoths fought for the Romans at the Battle of the *Catalaunian Plains, where Theoderic was killed, and succeeded by Thorismund (*Priscus, fr. 21, 1 Blockley, misnaming Theoderic as Alaric; Hydatius *s.a.* 452; **Chronicle of Saragossa s.a.* 450; Jordanes, *Getica*, 186–215; *Gregory of *Tours, *HF* II, 7). GDB

PLRE II, Theodericus 2.
New Pauly: Antiquity s.n. Theodericus (Theoderic) [1].
H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (1988), 172–8.

Theoderic II *Visigothic King (453–66), son of *Theoderic I the Visigoth and grandson of *Alaric I (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, VII, 505). In 453 he succeeded his brother *Thorismund, whom he and his brother Frederic murdered (cf. *Jordanes, *Getica*, 228–9).

He and his father had fought as Roman **foederati* against *Attila and the *Huns at the Battle of the *Catalaunian Fields in 451 (*Hydatius *s.a.* 452; Jordanes, *Getica*, 186–215). On the death of the *Emperor *Petronius Maximus in 455, he convinced Eparchius *Avitus, the Gallic *Magister Militum, with whom as a boy he had read *Vergil at his father's *court (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, VII, 494–9), to claim the imperial title. While Avitus was being defeated in *Italy, Theoderic campaigned successfully in 456 in *Spain with Burgundian support against the *Suebes under their king, his own brother-in law *Rechiarius, who was then killed (**Consularia Hafniensia s.a.* 457). Theoderic intervened regularly in the affairs of the Suebes until 465, when he permitted them to elect Remismund as king (Jordanes, *Getica*, 231–4).

In Gaul, he attacked the Roman general *Aegidius at *Arles in 458, but the intercession of S. *Martin rescued Aegidius (*Gregory of *Tours, *Miracles of S. Martin*, I, 2). The following year Majorian routed Theoderic, who was forced to retreat to *Aquitaine and make peace. After the death of Majorian, Theoderic and Frederic captured Narbo, but were defeated by Aegidius at *Orléans in 463, where Frederic was killed (*Gallic **Chronicle of 511*, line 643; Hydatius *s.a.* 455–63). Theoderic died in 466, murdered by his brother *Euric (*Marius of Avenches *s.a.* 467; *Gallic Chronicle of 511*, line 643; Hydatius *s.a.* 466; Jordanes, 235).

*Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep.* I, 2) gives a vivid description of his appearance and daily routine and calls him a 'pillar and salvation of the Roman people' (*Carmen*, XXIII, 69–73). GDB

PLRE II, Theodericus 3.
New Pauly: Antiquity s.n. Theodericus (Theoderic) [2].
H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (1988), 178–81.

Theoderic Strabo ('the Squinter', d. 481) East Roman general, leader of his Gothic people who had been settled in *Thrace since the 420s, occasional ally of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth (an *Amal) but, as son of Triarius, from a different clan of *Goths. He enjoyed Roman service and *tribute but experienced volatile and wary relations with successive Roman *emperors. He was nephew of the wife of the **patricius* *Aspar. Aspar's murder in 471 provoked him to seek from the Emperor *Leo I the legacy of Aspar and Aspar's position as *Magister Militum. Although Leo granted the title and Theoderic moved into imperial service, in 475 he revolted against the new Emperor *Zeno, joined *Basiliscus, and failed to secure Zeno's total support when Zeno was reinstated in 476. When Theoderic backed the usurpation of Fl. *Marcianus in 479, Zeno dismissed him. Theoderic then joined forces with Theoderic the Ostrogoth to lay waste to Roman Thrace, but in 481 was deflected from *Constantinople, and died from falling off his horse onto a spear. In 484 Zeno had Theoderic's son Recitach murdered and the clan's influence dissolved. BC

PLRE II, Theodericus 5.
Heather, *Goths and Romans*, 240–308.

Theodora (*fl.* late 3rd cent.) Augusta, daughter of *Maximian, married to *Constantius I before April 289 (*PanLat* X(2), 11, 4). Their six children included *Julius Constantius (father of the future *Emperor *Julian) and Flavius *Dalmatius, who were both killed in the purge of *Constantine I's family in 337, and daughters called Anastasia and *Constantia (married to *Licinius in 313). DMG

PLRE I, Theodora 1.
NEDC 33, 37, 125–6.

Theodora (*c.*497–548) *Empress, wife of *Justinian I. Theodora was born in *Constantinople, one of three daughters of Acacius, an animal keeper for the Green *circus *faction. Her mother was an actress and dancer. The rest of her biography, like that of her friend *Antonina, the wife of *Belisarius, remains controversial, owing to the hostile reporting of *Procopius, particularly in his *Anecdota* (*Secret History*). She apparently followed her mother's career, allegedly becoming notorious for promiscuity and for sexually explicit performances on stage, before leaving for *Libya Pentapolis with its new *governor, Hecebolus. He later threw her out, forcing her to work her way back to the capital, via *Alexandria and *Antioch, where she met Justinian and became his mistress.

Although Justinian made her *patricia*, they married only after the death of the *Empress *Euphemia, who had opposed the match, and *Justin I was persuaded to change the law to permit former actresses to marry persons of any rank. As *Augusta (527–48), she became effectively co-emperor with Justinian, regularly attended meetings of the *Senate, and insisted that visitors prostrated themselves in **adoratio* before both of them. Procopius also reports that she persuaded the emperor not to yield to the *Nika rioters, and that she engineered the deposition of Pope Silverius in 537 and the overthrow of the *Praefectus Praetorio *John the Cappadocian in 541. She took a strong personal interest in endowing churches, *hospitals, and *monasteries, and in saving women from *prostitution, for instance at the monastery of the *Metanoia on the *Bosporus.

Theodora is strikingly portrayed, drenched in *pearls, in the wall *mosaic of S. Vitale, *Ravenna. The same long-faced features appear on a *marble head in *Milan (*Age of Spirituality*, 27). Two statues known from *Constantinople are now lost (**Parastaseis Syntomai Chronikai*, 81; Procopius, *Aed.* I, 11). Her *monogram is carved with that of *Justinian at the churches of Ss. *Sergius and Bacchus (before 533), the *Holy Peace and *Holy Wisdom (532–7) in Constantinople, and S. John at *Ephesus (535–41).

Her religious politics are not as transparent as has sometimes been thought. Many contemporary sources, such as *John of *Ephesus (who lived for some time under her protection at Constantinople), suggest she actively supported the *Miaphysites in their struggles against the Chalcedonian orthodoxy promoted by Justinian (and the see of *Rome). More recent scholarship increasingly contends that, as Procopius suggested (*Anecd.* 10, 13), Theodora and Justinian worked as a team; in religious matters, she was primarily concerned with maintaining channels of communications with the Miaphysite leadership across the Empire, displaying sympathy for their cause in ways problematic for the emperor, so keeping open the possibility of eventual church reunion.

Although she may have had a son and a daughter when she was an *actor, Theodora's *marriage with Justinian was childless. Her death, in 548, was probably from cancer. The emperor was grief-stricken and never remarried. *Paul the Silentiary (*Description of Hagia Sophia*, l, 61) represents her in 563 as interceding with God on her husband's behalf. PNB; RKL

PLRE IIIB, Theodora 1.
Cameron, *Procopius*, ch. 5.
J. A. S. Evans, *Theodora—Partner of Justinian* (2002), 135–50.
Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea*.
Bell, *Social Conflict in the Age of Justinian*, ch. 5.
D. S. Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint* (2015).

Theodora *Empress 705–*c.*711. Wife of *Justinian II and sister of the *Khazar *Khagan, married during Justinian's exile. Theodora helped Justinian escape a plot instigated by *Tiberius III. She bore Justinian a son, *Tiberius, and both were called to *Constantinople after Justinian regained power in 705 (*Theophanes, AM 6198). The date and manner of her death are unknown. MTGH

PBE, Theodora 1.
PmbZ 7282.
C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (1972).

Theodore (6th cent.) *Dux *Palaestinae who quelled the *Samaritan rebellion under *Julian in 529, but was dishonourably discharged by *Justinian I for having intervened too late. RP

PLRE III, Theodorus 5.

Theodore Brother and *Curopalates of *Heraclius. Theodore and *Philippicus led the eastern troops in December 612. He was a commander against the Persians in 626 and organized the evacuation of Persian troops from *Syria and Roman *Mesopotamia after 628, encountering resistance at *Edessa (*Theophanes, AM 6119). He was defeated by the *Arabs in 634 at Ajnādayn, and returned to *Constantinople in disgrace. RCW

PLRE III, Theodorus 163.
W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1991).

Theodore Chief commander of the Roman forces during the *Arab conquest of *Egypt and later *Dux et *Augustalis at *Alexandria. Struggling with ill-prepared and unreliable troops, Theodore eventually withdrew to Alexandria. He was recalled to *Constantinople but returned to Egypt with *Cyrus al-Muqawqas, who subsequently negotiated the peace agreement with the Arabs. Having gathered all the Roman troops and hostages released by the Arabs in Alexandria, in 642 Theodore set sail to *Cyprus with the Roman *fleet (*John of *Nikiu, 120). PMS

PLRE III, Theodorus 166.
PmbZ IV, no. 7291.
Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt.*

Theodore II *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 730/1–742/3), whose life is related in the **History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* (PO V/1). Despite the absence of serious divisions in the Egyptian church at this time, Theodore faced onerous financial exactions from the *Arab rulers of *Egypt, especially 'Ubayd Allah b. al-Habhab, as well as problems caused by settlement of Arab tribesmen in the countryside. CJH

CoptEnc 7 *s.n.* Theodorus 2237a–b (S. Y. Labib).

Theodore Anagnostes *See* THEODORE LECTOR.

Theodore Lector Theodoros Anagnostes (d. after 518). A *reader in the Church of *Constantinople, Theodore was exiled with his *Patriarch *Macedonius (511), who stood up for the *Council of *Chalcedon. In exile in Gangra of *Paphlagonia, he composed a *Church History*, which was a four-book epitome of *Socrates, *Sozomen, and *Theodoret, and an independent four-book continuation from 439 until 518 (the accession of *Justin I and the restoration of Chalcedonian Christology). Formally, he shares many characteristics with his predecessors, such as using imperial reigns as chronological framework. He explicitly seeks to undermine the *Miaphysite view of events after 451 and sometimes refers to Miaphysite histories, such as that of *John Diacrinomenus. He emphasizes Constantinopolitan primacy in the East and sees the capital as the touchstone of orthodoxy. The work is mainly known through a 7th-century epitome and later users, such as *Victor Tonnennsis, *Theophanes, and *George Monachus. PVN

PLRE III, Theodorus 2.
ed. G. C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte* (2nd edn., GCS NF 3, 1995).
G. C. Hansen, 'Ein kurzer Bericht über das Konzil von Chalkedon', in L. Burgmann, ed., *Fontes minores* 10 (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 22, 1998), 101–39.
P. Nautin, 'Théodore Lecteur et sa "réunion de différentes histoires" de l'église', *REB* 52 (1994), 213–43.
B. Pouderon, 'Le Codex Parisinus graecus 1555 A et sa récension de l'Épitomè byzantin d'histoires ecclésiastiques', *REB* 56 (1998), 169–91.
P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451–491): de l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie* (BEFAR 327, 2006).

Theodore of Marseilles *Bishop of *Marseilles (before 566–after 591). A contemporary of *Gregory of *Tours, who portrays him as saintly. Theodore was implicated in the *Gundovald affair, and repeatedly arrested by *Guntram, but cleared each time. Pope *Gregory I rebuked him for baptizing *Jews by force (*ep.* I, 45). STL

PCBE IV/2, Theodorus 7, 1876–9.
Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 84–6.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (*c.*350–428) Exegete, theologian, *bishop. Born in *Antioch, where he studied with *Libanius, Theodore joined the ascetic community there, headed by *Diodore (later *Bishop of *Tarsus), with *John Chrysostom. He became a *priest in 383 and Bishop of Mopsuestia in 392.

Theodore wrote voluminously, with commentaries on most books of scripture and also theological treatises on various topics, including his *Catechetical Orations*,

fifteen books *On the Incarnation*, and *Against the Defenders of Original Sin*, probably occasioned by the visit of *Julian of Eclanum.

After his death in 428, the same year in which *Nestorius became *Patriarch of *Constantinople, Theodore attracted the critical attention of *Cyril of *Alexandria. *Rabbula of *Edessa openly attacked him in 432, accusing him of being the root cause for Nestorius' teachings. In the 6th century, after the *Three Chapters controversy, Theodore's writings were condemned at the Second *Council of *Constantinople (553).

Only a few commentaries survive in *Greek; many in *Syriac (with his *Catechetical Homilies*) and a few in *Latin. All that remain of his dogmatic works are extracts quoted by other authors. His interpretation of the *Bible resembled that of Diodore. He preferred to read the Old Testament on its own terms, without *allegorical or typological reference to Christ. His Christology was dyoprosopic, distinguishing between the Person (*prosopon*) of the Divine Word Who assumed Manhood as Christ and the *prosopon* of the human who was assumed. He remained, nevertheless, the great teacher for the *Church of the East where he was cherished as 'the Interpreter', and his exegesis acquired normative status. JBe

GEDSH s.v. Theodore of Mopsuestia, 401–2 (Van Rompay).

Works (*CPG* 3827–73):

Catechetical Homilies, Syriac ed. (with FT) R. Tonneau and R. Devréesse (ST 145, 1949); GT P. Bruns (FontChr 17; 1994–5); ET in E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (1972).

Commentary on S. John, Syriac ed. (with LT) J.-M. Vosté (CSCO 115–16, Scr. syr. 62–3, 1940); ET M. Conti (ACT, 2010).

Commentary on Psalms 1–80, ed. R. Devréesse (ST 93, 1939); ed (with ET) R. C. Hill (WGRW 5, 2006).

Commentary on Psalms 118 and 138–149, Syriac ed. (with FT) L. Van Rompay (CSCO 435–6, Scr. syr. 189–90; 1982).

Commentary on the Twelve Prophets, ed. H. N. Sprenger (Göttinger Orientforschungen, 5. Reihe, Bd. 1, 1977); ET R. C. Hill (FC 108, 2004).

Commentary on Pauline Epistles, ed. H. B. Swete (1880, 1882); ed. (with ET) R. A. Greer (WGRW 26, 2010).

Fragments, ed. (with ET) J. Behr, *The Case Against Diodore and Theodore* (2011).

STUDIES

J. Behr, *The Case Against Diodore and Theodore: Texts and their Contexts* (OECT, 2011).

P. Bruns, *Den Menschen mit dem Himmel verbinden. Eine Studie zu den katechetischen Homilien des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (CSCO 549, Subs. 89; 1995).

R. Devréesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (ST 141; 1948).

T. Jansen, *Theodore of Mopsuestia, De Incarnatione. Überlieferung und Christologie der griechischen und lateinischen Fragmente einschliesslich Textausgabe* (PTS 65; 2009).

R. A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (1963).

F. A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Analecta Gregoriana 82, 1956).

Theodore of Sykeon, S. (b. 527/65, d. 613) Founder and archimandrite of a *monastery in *Sykeon; later appointed *Bishop of Anastasioupolis in *Anatolia. A classic rural *holy man, Theodore underwent periods of extreme *asceticism to become an influential spiritual *patron, healer, and performer of *exorcisms in Sykeon and the surrounding countryside. He built a monastic complex for his community, as well as a church dedicated to S. *George, to whom he had a lifelong devotion.

In addition to his activities in *Galatia, S. Theodore travelled extensively and was courted by imperial and ecclesiastical officials. His *Life* recounts three *pilgrimages to the *Holy Land, and three journeys to *Constantinople at the behest of *Maurice (*emperor 582–602), *Phocas (emperor 602–10), and *Heraclius (emperor 610–41), respectively. He was spiritual adviser to Phocas' nephew, the *Curopalates Domnitziolus (*PLRE* III, Domnitziolus 2), who became a *patron of the monastery at Sykeon. During Theodore's visits to Constantinople, he was consulted by a succession of *patriarchs.

The *Life of S. Theodore of Sykeon* by Theodore's successor George is an important source, not only for the saint himself, but also for the turbulent political history of his day. It is a key witness to rural life in *Anatolia in the later 6th and early 7th centuries. A 9th-century encomium of S. Theodore by Nicephorus Skeuophylax narrates the translation of Theodore's *relics to Constantinople. *See also* SYKEON. SEI

VTheodSyk (*BHG* 1748–1749c):

ed. (annotated with FT and comm.) A.–J. Festugière, 2 vols. (SubsHag 48, 1970).

Partial ET (annotated) Dawes and Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, 87–192.

C. Kirch, 'Encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam', *AnBoll* 20 (1901), 249–72.

M. Kaplan, 'Les Sanctuaires de Théodore de Sykéôn', in C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan, and J.-P. Sodini, eds., *Les Saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance: textes, images et monuments* (1993).

J. O. Rosenquist, *Studien zur Syntax und Bemerkungen zum Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1981).

Theodore of Tarsus (602–90) Archbishop of *Canterbury and scholar. Theodore was of Greek origin,

born in *Tarsus of *Cilicia (mod. Gözlü Kule, Turkey) and probably educated in *Antioch, *Edessa, and *Constantinople. At the time of the *Arab conquests he moved to *Rome, apparently living there as a monk. In 668 Pope *Vitalian consecrated him as Archbishop of Canterbury and sent him to *England along with the Abbot *Hadrian, a *Greek-speaking North African. Arriving in England in 669, Theodore reformed the English Church, and established a famous school at Canterbury. The school became a noted centre of learning, serving as an important conduit for Greek scholarship into early *Anglo-Saxon England by teaching subjects such as *canon law, *liturgy, and *chant, interpretation of the *Bible, *metre, *astronomy, and *computus*. Theodore's surviving works include a set of biblical commentaries and glossaries, a few *Latin poems, a Latin translation of a Greek *Life* of S. Anastasius, and the *Laterculus Malalianus*: a historical exegesis of the life of Christ drawing in part upon the Greek *Chronographia* of *John Malalas. APS

ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge (annotated with ET), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994).

M. Lapidge, ed., *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence* (1995).

Theodore Rshtuni (d. *c.*655) *Armenian nobleman who defeated the *Arabs at Artsap'k' in 643, thereby preserving Armenian autonomy. In 645 *Constans II named him *Magister Militum per Armeniam, succeeding *Varaztirots' Bagratuni. His submission to *Mu'awiya in 653 destabilized *Armenia and undermined Roman resistance to *Arab conquests. TLA

PLRE III, Theodorus 167.

Thomson, Howard-Johnston, and Greenwood, *Sebeos.*

Theodore Syncellus (7th cent.) A senior cleric (*syncellus*) of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom at *Constantinople who delivered a thanksgiving *sermon for the city's successful resistance in 626 against the *siege by the *Slavs and *Avars. He had been sent with a legation on 2 August 626 to negotiate with the Avar *khagan. When the Avars abandoned the siege shortly afterwards, the *Patriarch Sergius asked Theodore to preach on the feast day of the Nativity of the *Theotokos (8 September). The sermon is couched in dense biblical language and refers to biblical precedents for the siege but constitutes a valuable contemporary eyewitness account which inspired *George of Pisidia's *Bellum Avaricum*. Another sermon by Theodore was delivered on 2 July 628 to honour the return to the church at *Blachernae by the Patriarch Sergius of the casket containing the Virgin's Robe, which had been deposited there, according to tradition, in the reign of *Leo I, and during the siege had recently become a crucial talisman for the city's protection. BC

PLRE III, Theodorus 159.

Siege sermon (*BHG* 1061):

ed. L. Sternbach, *Analecta Avarica* (1900), 2–37; repr. (with FT and comm.) T. Makk (Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica 19, Opuscula Byzantina 3, 1975).

Virgin's Robe sermon (*BHG* 1058):

ed. (with comm.) Chr. Loparev, *VizVrem* 2 (1895), 592–612.

ET Averil Cameron, 'The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Seventh Century Constantinople', *Byzantion* 49 (1979), 42–56, repr. in Cameron, *CCSCB*.

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 146–8.

C. Mango, *IntCongChrArch XIII: Split—Poreč 25.9.–1.10.1994* (1998), vol. 2, 61–76 at 67–9.

Theodore Tiro, S. *Military saint and *martyr, first attested in a festal *sermon of *Gregory of *Nyssa (*BHG* 1760), which praises paintings representing the martyr's struggle (*GNO* 10/1). S. Theodore's principal shrine was in *Euchaïta, and his feast day was 17 February. SEI

BHG 1760–73.

BHG 1760: ed. J. P. Cavarnos, *GNO* X, 1/2, 61–71.

ET (with comm.) J. F. Haldon, *A Tale of Two Saints: The Martyrdoms and Miracles of Saints Theodore 'the Recruit' and 'the General'* (TTB 2, 2016).

ET J. Lemmans in Lemmans et al., *'Let us die . . . '*, 82–91.

BHG 1761–64: ed. H. Delehaye in Delehaye, *Saints militaires*, 127–201, 11–43.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 298–9, 300.

C. Walter, *The Byzantine Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (2003), 44–66.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus (393–after 460) *Bishop of *Cyrrhus from 423, and the most learned and versatile Christian writer of his generation.

Theodoret was brought up at *Antioch by a pious mother who intended him from the first for the service of God. It is clear from his writings, composed in elegant, classicizing *Greek, that he received a full rhetorical education. In early adulthood he gave away his wealth and entered a *monastery near *Apamea. In 423 he became bishop of the small north *Syrian *city of Cyrrhus, where he remained thereafter (save for a brief period of *exile 449–51). His surviving *letters testify to the allies he cultivated among both the Syrian bishops and officials at *court, and inform us of his pastoral labours, which included constant attention to the material needs of his flock, and the *conversion to orthodoxy of whole villages of *Marcionites and other heretics within his diocese.

He was the leading Syrian pamphleteer in the Christological controversy that spanned the *Councils

of *Ephesus (431) and *Chalcedon (451). Even though he did not share *Nestorius' disapproval of the *Theotokos title for the Virgin *Mary, he continued to defend Nestorius' right up till Chalcedon, when he was finally compelled to anathematize him. His controversial writings, which included the five books of the *Pentalogium* (431–2) and a *Defence of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia* (438–9), were written at the request of the *Patriarch of Antioch and mainly directed against *Cyril of *Alexandria, whose Christology Theodoret confused with the errors, condemned back in 381, of *Apollinarius. His writings attacking Cyril and defending Nestorius and *Theodore were condemned at the Second Council of *Constantinople (553), in general terms and without being listed, which led to the loss of most of his dogmatic writings, apart from his *Eranistes* (447), which was preserved because its florilegia were found useful in the defence of Chalcedon. Two of his theological treatises, *On the Trinity* and *On the Incarnation*, survived, ironically, under the name of his opponent Cyril. His own Christology was dominated by a concern to protect divine immutability from being compromised by the Incarnation.

In contrast, many of his non-controversial works have come down to us. These include a strongly pro-Nicene *Ecclesiastical History* (completed in 450) covering the period from 323 to 428, as a continuation of *Eusebius of *Caesarea's *HE*, and the *Religious History* (probably 440), an account of some 30 Syrian hermits, many of whom Theodoret knew or had known personally and including S. Symeon Stylites the Older. His commentaries on the *Bible include the only Greek commentary on the *Psalms from the golden age of the fathers to have survived intact, as well as a substantial commentary on all the Pauline epistles. The most important of his apologetical writings is the *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* ('Cure of Pagan Maladies', date disputed), which not only castigates *paganism, but sets out the main distinctive features of Christian doctrine and practice. His *Compendium Haereticarum Fabularum* ('Epitome of Heretical Myths', *c.*453) was a substantial contribution to anti-heretical literature. Two hundred and thirty-two of his letters survive, largely dating to the periods of intense doctrinal debate (431–5, 448–51), but illustrating a wide range of his concerns and activities. In all, Theodoret was the most learned, lucid, and versatile of the Greek Christian writers of his generation. Taking his life and writings as a whole, he appears as less unscrupulous than his enemy Cyril, but equally determined to uphold, as uniquely valid, his own version of Nicene orthodoxy. RMP

CPG 6200–88 (incomplete).

PG 80–3, reprinting J. Sirmondus and J. L. Schulz (1769).

HE (*CPG* 6222):

ed. L. Parmentier and G. C. Hansen (GCS NF vol. 5, ^{3}1998).

ed. L. Parmentier and G. C. Hansen, annotated by J. Bouffartigue et al., FT by P. Canivet (SC 501, 530, 2006–).

Religious History (*BHG* 1439–40, *CPG* 6221):

ed. (annotated with FT) P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, 2 vols. (SC 234, 257; 1977–9).

Graecarum Affectionum Curatio (*CPG* 6210):

ed. (annotated with FT) P. Canivet, 2 vols. (SC 57, 1958, rev. edn., 2000).

Eranistes (*CPG* 6217):

ed. (with ET and prolegomena) G. H. Ettlinger (1975).

Letters (*CPG* 6238–78):

ed. (annotated with FT) Y. Azéma, 4 vols. (SC 40, 98, 111, 429, 1955–98).

ET NPNF, ser. 2, vol. 3 (1892) includes *Refutation of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas*, *Eranistes*, *HE*, and 181 letters.

Recent ETs of the *Religious History* (as *History of the Monks of Syria*): R. M. Price (CSS 88, 1985), of the *Eranistes* by G. H. Ettlinger (FC, 2003), and of the commentaries on the Psalms, Song of Songs, Jeremiah, Daniel, and the Pauline Epistles by R. C. Hill (2000–6).

F. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* (^{2}2010), 322–43, provides a good introduction.

P. B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451)* (2007).

A. M. Schor, *Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria* (2011).

T. Urbainczyk, *Theodoret on Cyrrhus: The Bishop and the Holy Man* (2002).

The best and most comprehensive monograph remains N. N. Glubokovsky, *Blazhenny Theodorit*, 2 vols. (1890).

Theodorias In 528, *Justinian I created a small *province from territory carved from *Syria Prima and Secunda, naming it after his wife, *Theodora (*John Malalas, XVIII, 39). Its main *cities were *Laodicea (the capital), Paltos, Balaneai, and *Gabala. They retained their earlier ecclesiastical affiliation to either *Antioch or *Apamea. The province is acknowledged by *George of *Cyprus, but ignored in the **Notitia Antiochena*. FKH

Jones, *LRE* 881.

Theodorus Mallius, Flavius *Consul 399; his consulship was praised in a surviving verse *panegyric by *Claudian. Probably of humble origins, Theodorus had a successful career in the imperial *administration, rising to be *Praefectus Praetorio for *Gaul (382) and *Italy (397–9). Retired from active life during 383, he composed *On Metres* (*De Metris*) and several other works on *philosophy and astronomy which are now lost. He was influential among the Christian circles of *Milan and is likely to have been the man 'swollen with pride' who lent 'Platonic books' to *Augustine (*Conf.* VII, 9, 13), who dedicated *De Beata Vita* to him. His

sister Manlia Daedalia, probably a *virgin, was buried adjacent to *Ambrose's brother in Milan (*ILCV* 1700).
DN

PLRE I, Theodorus 27.
De Metris, ed H. Keil in *Gramm. Lat.* VI, 585–601.
Claudian, *Panegyric*:
ed. (with GT and comm.) S. Werner (1975).
text (with ET) M. Platnauer, *Claudian*, I (LCL135, 1922), 336–63.
Brown, *Augustine*, 81–3.
J. Doignon, 'Augustin verus homo à Cassiciacum: la marque morale de Mallius Theodorus', *AntClass* 60 (1991), 193–200.
Courcelle, *Lettres grecques*, 119–29.

Theodorus of Tabennese Pachomian monk and eventually head of the Pachomian monastic federation in Upper *Egypt from 350 until his death in AD 368. Born of a prominent *family and well educated, Theodore became a favourite of *Pachomius and rose rapidly within the community. Initially passed over as Pachomius' successor, he eventually assumed the position during the crisis that followed *Horsiesios' appointment to the post. His importance is second only to that of Pachomius in the *vita* tradition. His writings include a series of instructions, only one of which is relatively complete, and two *letters, one surviving in Coptic, the other in a *Latin translation by *Jerome.
JEG

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Theodorus of Tabennesse, Saint, cols. 2239b–2240b (A. Veilleux).
ed. H. Quecke, 'Ein Brief von einem Nachfolger Pachoms', *Orientalia* 44 (1975), 426–33.
Rousseau, *Pachomius*.
A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, I–III (CSS 45–7; 1980–2).
B. Steidle, 'Der heilige Abt Theodore von Tabennesi. Zur 1600. Wiederkehr des Todesjahres (368–1968)', *Erbe und Auftrag* 94 (1968), 91–103.

Theodosian Code In AD 429 *Theodosius II initiated a compilation project that would result in what is known today as the *Theodosian Code*. It originally contained some 3,250 entries from the time following the conquest of *Italy by *Constantine I in 312; of these, 2,777 survive today more or less completely. Organized in sixteen books, it covered the legal basis of the imperial *administration (1); private law (2–5); state functionaries (6); the *army (7–8); criminal law (9); fiscal law (10–11); administrative details (12–15); and religious and ecclesiastical matters (16).

In the 4th century there were specific complaints about the confused nature of Roman law and judicial corruption (*Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis*, 21.1; *Ammianus, XXX, 4, 8 and 11–12). But it took until 26 March 429 for Theodosius II to establish a first editorial commission (*CTh* I, 1, 5). Its members were to collect all laws of general force (*leges generales*), valid and obsolete, from Constantine I onwards, and to organize them according to the model of the *Gregorian and *Hermogenianic Codes (compiled under the *Tetrarchy) to create a scholarly compendium of legislation. These three codes were to be combined with the commentaries of jurists to form a further *codex*, to be named after the emperor and containing only valid laws.

After sourcing the constitutions (from central *archives in *Constantinople and *Rome, provincial archives, law schools, and private collections), the commissioners were to strip them of excess verbiage, preserving only the core of the law, and to organize them under suitable headings. If one constitution regulated a variety of matters, it was to be split up and each part was to be assigned to a proper heading. All constitutions were organized in chronological order by consular date; in the case of contradictions, the most recent law would be authoritative.

By 435, the collection of *leges generales* seems to have been completed, and the editorial work could begin in earnest. A new commission was established on 20 December (*CTh* I, 1, 6). The editorial guidelines from 429 seem to have been modified by permission to 'add necessary words', to 'change ambiguities', and to 'emend incongruities'. The commissioners were to include laws valid not only in the entire Empire but also in specific parts thereof. The *Code* that has been transmitted to us thus differs fundamentally from the so-called 'judicial' edition envisaged in 429. It is unclear what the reason(s) for this change were, but either the completion of the judicial code was postponed—ultimately indefinitely—(Matthews) or a compromise between the 'scholarly' and 'judicial codes' was attempted (Sirks).

Theodosius II presented the first edition of the *Code* at Constantinople on 29 October 437 (*NovTh* 1). It was acclaimed by the *Senate at Rome on 25 December 437 (as recorded in its **Gesta*) and subsequently disseminated throughout the Empire by the four *Praefecti Praetorio and attained exclusive validity in the entire Empire by 1 January 439, thus resolving the legislative split between East and West that had been widening since 364.

No laws issued prior to the publication of the *Theodosian Code*, except for those included in the published version, or included in the *Gregorian* or *Hermogenianic Codes*, would retain their validity. Laws passed after the autumn of 437, known as *Novels (Lat. *Novellae*) were published in separate books divided up by emperor, those issued by Theodosius II in the East, and by emperors from *Valentinian III up to *Anthemius in the West. To control the distribution of the *Code* and to ensure the integrity and veracity of its contents, copies could only be produced by *constitutionarii* (*Gesta*, 5, 7; *Constitutio de Constitutionariis* of 443). With the exception of legislation pertaining to military or public accounts, laws issued after 438 were to obtain legal

force only after being confirmed by both the Eastern and Western *emperor (*NovTh* 1, 5–6).

The *Theodosian Code* remained authoritative in the Western Empire until its *fall in 475/6, and was influential beyond that date, particularly in *canon law. In the Germanic kingdoms, new codes appeared containing selections of relevant laws from a variety of sources including the *Theodosian Code*, e.g. the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* of 506, now commonly known as the *Breviarium of *Alaric*, and the **Lex Romana Burgundionum* of 517. *Justinian's *Cod*e (in its two editions of 529 and 534) and the **Digest* (of 533) replaced the *Theodosian Code* in the East. In the West, this process began in the 11th century.

The first scholarly editions of the *Theodosian Code* were produced by Jacques Cujas and the Pithou brothers in the 16th century. It was superseded by Jacobus Gothofredus' edition with commentary published posthumously in 1665. The current standard edition was published by Theodor Mommsen (1904/5); Paul Krüger's revision (1923/6) made better use of *CJust* but remained incomplete (*CTh* 1–8; Crogiez-Petrequin and Jaillette, 7f.). Clyde Pharr published an ET of the entire code. In addition, the *CTh* has been used to establish imperial regesta and itineraries originally by O. Seeck *Regesten* (1919), revised for 284–378 by T.D. Barnes in his *NEDC* (1982), *Athanasius and Constantius* (1993), and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1998). There are various partial updates available now (e.g. Projet Volterra; Cuneo; Schmidt-Hofner; Honoré), but the potential for a rigorous revision has not been exhausted (Coşkun). LLe; AC

ed. I. Gothofredus and A. Marvilius, *Codex Theodosianus cum Perpetuis Commentariis Iacobi Gothofredi* (²1740).

ed. T. Mommsen, P. M. Meyer, and P. Krüger, *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes* (1904/5).

ed. P. Krüger, *Codex Theodosianus*, Books I–VIII in 2 vols. (1923–6).

ET C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary and Bibliography* (1952).

Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (2000).

L. Atzeri, *Gesta Senatus Romani de Theodosiano publicando: il codice teodosiano e la sua diffusione ufficiale in occidente* (2008).

Corcoran, *Tetrarchs*.

P. O. Cuneo, *La legislazione di Costantino II, Costanzo II e Costante (337–361)* (1997).

A. Coşkun, 'Imperial Constitutions, Chronology, and Prosopography: Towards a New Methodology for the Use of the Late Roman Law Codes', in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Resourcing Sources: The Use of Computers in Developing Prosopographical Methodology* (2002), 122–41.

S. Crogiez-Pétrequin and P. Jaillette, eds., *Société, économie, administration dans le Code Théodosien* (2012).

S. Crogiez-Pétrequin, P. Jaillette, and O. Huck, eds., *Le Code Théodosien: diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives* (2009).

J. N. Dillon, *The Justice of Constantine: Law, Communication and Control* (2012).

J. D. Harries and I. Wood, eds., *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (²2010).

T. Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire, 370–455 A.D.* (1998).

S. Schmidt-Hofner, 'Die Regesten der Kaiser Valentinian und Valens in den Jahren 364 bis 375 n. Chr.', *ZRG (RA)* 125 (2008), 498–602.

Seeck, *Regesten.*

A. J. B. Sirks, *The Theodosian Code: A Study* (2007).

E. Volterra, 'Intorno alla formazione del Codice Teodosiano', *BIDR* 83 (1980), 109–45.

E. Volterra, 'Sul contenuto del Codice Teodosiano', *BIDR* 84 (1981), 85–124.

The Projet Volterra at University College London maintains a website on Late Roman law: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/volterra/

Theodosian Renaissance Term used in 20th-century scholarship to describe the revival of *classicism in the style of some art in the late 4th century, particularly its *sculpture and *metalwork. The poet *Claudian did indeed celebrate the resurrection of the Muses in the reign of *Theodosius I (379–95). UG

Theodosiopolis (mod. Erzerum, Turkey) A new fortress *city founded by *Theodosius II, located in the Armenian district of Karin (Karun) on the borders of Roman *Armenia. The date of foundation is disputed, but, unlike Theodosiopolis (*Resaina) in Mesopotamia refounded by *Theodosius I, the new Armenian *frontier created after 420 does not figure among the military dispositions listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (*Or.* 38) as under the command the *Dux Armeniae, dispositions which include units dating from the early 5th century. First besieged in 502 by *Kavadh I, it fell swiftly, unlike *Amida in a protracted siege in the same year. After the peace of 506 *Anastasius I is reported to have restored the *fortifications and given it his own name. *Procopius (*Aed.* III, 5, 4–5) provides a full but in places contradictory account with details matching closely his account of *Dara. Initially Theodosius constructed a fort on a hill, later extended by Anastasius, who created a city with walls 9 m (30 feet) high; however, these and other works were deemed inadequate and were extended and improved by *Justinian I. Elsewhere a new Church of the *Theotokos is noted. The city became the base for the new *Magister Militum per Armenias, a post created in 528, and it is a measure of the city's strength that it does not figure frequently in later campaigns. In 576–7 *Khosrow I failed to capture Theodosiopolis before finally meeting disaster outside *Melitene. As part of the great *Persian

invasion of Armenia in 606/7, the city's capture was followed by the loss of *Satala, *Citharizon, and Nicopolis, and in 609/10 the inhabitants were exiled to *Hamadan. A later Armenian historian, *Movses Khorenats'i, described the strong walls with prow-shaped towers. He attributed them to the Theodosian foundation, with a central place accorded to the Augusteum, warehouses, and a covered *aqueduct. The city fell in 650 during the *Arab conquest, but was briefly recaptured by *Constantine V. Remains of the *walls and towers survive, especially to the east, and are partly built into the medieval Çifte Minare Medrese. JCr

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* II, 185–216 (mostly medieval and Ottoman).
Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier and Persian Wars*, 363–630.
G. B. Greatrex, 'The Two Fifth-Century Wars between Rome and Persia', *Florilegium* 12 (1993) 1–14.
C. Zuckerman, 'Sur le dispositive frontalier en Arménie, le "limes" et son évolution, sous le Bas-empire', *Historia* 48, 108–28.

Theodosiopolis of Mesopotamia *See* RESAINA.

Theodosius *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Alexandria (535–66) whose life is recounted in *HistCoptPatr* 13 (*PO* 1/2). Theodosius supported the Christology of *Severus of *Antioch who had fallen out with his fellow Miaphysite refugee in Alexandria, *Julian of Halicarnassus. A large portion of the Egyptian Church supported Julian, and they consecrated the Archdeacon Gaianus as rival patriarch (*Liberatus, *Breviarium*, 20). Theodosius was ousted from his see, and was briefly restored with the backing of imperial troops. By late 536, Theodosius was summoned to *Constantinople, and after refusing to accept *Justinian I's Chalcedonian Christology, he remained under house arrest until his death in 566 (*Zacharias Rhetor, 10, 1b–c). However, Theodosius carried on a wide-ranging correspondence, and promoted the Miaphysite cause by ordaining *bishops, including *Jacob Burd'oyo. CJH

CoptEnc. vol. 7 *s.n.* Theodosius I, cols. 2241a–2241b (E. R. Hardy).
CPG 7148:
ed. (with LT) J.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad Origines Monophysitarum Illustrandas* (CSCO 17, Scr. syr ser. 2, t. 37; 103, Scr. syr. 52; 1907–33 repr. 1952–5 and 1962–5).
ed. (annotated with ET) A. Van Roey and P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century* (OLA 56, 1994).
Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy*, 101–7.

Theodosius (583/5–602) Son of the *Emperor *Maurice, *Caesar (587–90), *Augustus (590–602). Theodosius married the daughter of the *senator *Germanus in February 602. During the usurpation of *Phocas he fled from *Constantinople and was sent by his father to *Nicaea, ready to escape to *Khosrow II if necessary. However, Maurice recalled him and Phocas' supporters seized and executed him at *Chalcedon. Khosrow II exploited rumours that Theodosius had survived and fled to the *Persian Empire, with the intention of undermining Roman defensive efforts when Persian troops invaded the eastern Roman provinces in 603. GBG

PLRE III, Theodosius 13.

Theodosius Younger brother of *Constans II, murdered on his orders in 660; Theodosius was possibly involved in an anti-*Monothelete plot against Constans. Some sources report he participated in the sea battle against the *Arabs at the Battle of *Phoenix in 655 (*Agapius, 484 called 'Yaqout'), and that he was ordained a *deacon by *Patriarch Paul II (Symeon Logothete, *George Cedrenus). RCW

PmbZ no. 7797.
PBE, Theodosios 1.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 59.

Theodosius I 'the Great' *Augustus 379–95. Theodosius was the last *emperor to unite the entire Empire under his sole rule. His early life is known chiefly from the *panegyric of *Pacatus (PanLat II [XII]). Theodosius was born in *c.*346/7 at Cauca (near *Seville) in *Spain. His father *Theodosius Comes was a leading general under *Valentinian I, and the son followed the same military path and served under his father in *Britain in 367/8. In 373/4 the future emperor was *governor of *Moesia Prima, but in 375 Theodosius Comes abruptly fell from imperial favour and was executed at *Carthage in early 376. The younger Theodosius retired to his Spanish estates, only to be summoned by the Western Emperor *Gratian in 378 after the Battle of *Adrianople and the catastrophic defeat and death of the Eastern Emperor *Valens at the hands of the *Goths. Gratian initially appointed Theodosius *Magister Militum, but following early success Theodosius was swiftly proclaimed Eastern Augustus on 19 January 379.

The chief threat during the opening years of Theodosius' reign remained the Goths. Repeated campaigns failed to expel the invaders, and in October 382 Theodosius signed a treaty recognizing the Goths as **foederati* and granting them lands in *Thrace and *Moesia Inferior. Although imperial publicity sought to present the settlement as a victory (*Themistius, *Oration* 16), the Goths became the first autonomous people permitted to settle within Roman territory. In the short term the treaty secured peace in the *Balkans, but the settlement would have lasting implications. In the East Theodosius similarly negotiated an agreement with the *Persian

Empire over *Armenia in 386/7, restoring stability to a region troubled since *Julian's failed Persian expedition in 363, over twenty years before. On the base of the Egyptian *obelisk, erected opposite the imperial box in the middle of the *Circus at *Constantinople in 390, the emperor sits in triumphant *frontality, as on the *silver *Missorium of Theodosius, looming over kneeling foreign envoys. Constantinople's strategic location between the Balkan and Persian *frontiers was one reason that Theodosius built the city up as his principal residence in the East.

Theodosius was both a soldier and a pious Christian. In contrast to his predecessors in the East, *Constantius II and Valens, Theodosius shared the prevailing theology of the Christian West and upheld the Nicene *Creed of 325 as the symbol of orthodoxy. In February 380, before he had even entered Constantinople, Theodosius issued a decree from *Thessalonica that defined the true doctrine of the nature of Christ as the formulation taught by *Damasus of *Rome and Peter of *Alexandria (*CTh* XVI, 1, 2). This was followed by the First *Council of Constantinople in May–July 381, which endorsed the revised Nicene–Constantinopolitan Creed still used in Christian churches. Further laws enforced the council's decrees and deprived heretics of the right to own churches or hold assemblies within urban limits (*CTh* XVI, 5, 11–15).

In his attitude towards *paganism, Theodosius was at first less openly severe. Nevertheless, he made no attempt to check his *Praefectus Praetorio *Cynegius from leading attacks upon *temples in the East, provoking the protests of *Libanius in his *Oration* 30 *Pro Templis* (*c.*386). In the last years of his reign, in part under the influence of *Ambrose of *Milan, Theodosius' policy shifted. A law promulgated from Milan in March 391 banned all forms of traditional *sacrifice (*CTh* XVI, 10, 10), and in June of the same year even approaching temples and shrines was condemned (*CTh* XVI, 10, 11). The practical enforcement of such laws was always difficult, but by the end of Theodosius' reign the Empire was Christian in appearance.

Early in his reign Theodosius had fallen seriously ill and was baptized at *Thessalonica. Unlike *Constantine I and his successors, who had followed contemporary practice and postponed their *baptism until the end of their lives, Theodosius was therefore the first reigning emperor to share the obligations of a baptized Christian (except, paradoxically, for *Julian, who renounced them). This was reflected in his two famous clashes with Ambrose. In 388 a Christian mob destroyed a Jewish *synagogue at *Callinicum on the Euphrates. Theodosius ordered the local *bishop to repair the damage, but was persuaded by Ambrose to reverse his decision in order to avoid favouring the *Jews. Then, in 390 Ambrose refused to allow Theodosius to receive Communion after the lynching of the general Butheric led to the massacre of 7,000 civilians in Thessalonica. Theodosius backed down and did *penance, a humiliation that later came to be interpreted as a significant shift in the relationship between Church and State.

From 379 onwards Theodosius largely resided in the East, but was twice obliged to intervene due to events in the West. In 383 Gratian was murdered and the *usurper *Magnus Maximus claimed *Gaul, leaving Gratian's younger brother *Valentinian II to rule in *Italy. Theodosius provisionally tolerated Maximus' regime, but when the usurper expelled Valentinian in 387 Theodosius marched westward and defeated and executed Maximus in 388. He remained in the West until 391, and made a state visit to Rome in 389, which was the setting for Pacatus' panegyric. Valentinian II died mysteriously in 392, and in September 394 Theodosius returned west to defeat another usurper *Eugenius at the Battle of the River *Frigidus and so united the Empire under his sole rule.

Theodosius died at Milan on 19 January 395. Ambrose gave the *funeral oration (*De Obitu Theodosii*), before the body was returned to Constantinople and buried in the *Church of the Holy Apostles. By his first wife, Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, Theodosius had two sons, *Arcadius and *Honorius, while his second wife Galla was the mother of their half-sister Galla *Placidia. Theodosius' division of power between Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West followed 4th-century custom, and it is only with hindsight that we identify him as the last emperor to rule the united Empire. His political and religious legacy endured, 5th-century Christian writers already called him Theodosius the Great, and archaeologists and art historians have written of a '*Theodosian Renaissance'. DMG

PLRE I, Theodosius 4.

R. M. Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (2006).

I. Jacobs, 'The Creation of the Late Antique City: Constantinople and Asia Minor during the "Theodosian Renaissance"', *Byzantion* 82 (2012), 113–64.

N. Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (1961).

Lenski, *Valens*.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*.

McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*.

S. Williams and G. Friell, *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay* (1994).

Theodosius II (401–50) *Augustus in the East 402–50. Born to *Arcadius and *Eudoxia, he reigned with his father until the latter's death in 408, then alone until his own death in a riding accident. He married *Eudocia in 421 and fathered three children, including Licinia *Eudoxia.

Notoriously, Theodosius came successively under the influence of members of his family or high officials. His older sister *Pulcheria organized the *court as a cloister after 408 and supervised his education, including lessons in Christian piety and *asceticism, as well as study of *rhetoric, but though she is termed *epitropos*, guardian (*Sozomen, IX, 1, 2–3), the imperial office lacked an official regency. Influential early in the reign, *Anthemius, *Praefectus Praetorio (405–14), organized construction of the 'Theodosian' fortification *walls on the European side of *Constantinople that protected the city from *Hun attacks.

After 414, when Anthemius departed, Pulcheria appears to have inspired legislation against pagans, *Jews, and heretics. Theodosius' marriage in 421 may have enabled others among the elite to gain influence. During the 420s, *Nestorius, *Patriarch of Constantinople, came to prominence, but his rejection of the title *Theotokos for the Virgin *Mary offended the *virgin Pulcheria, and he credited his consequent defeat at the *Council of *Ephesus in 431 to the *emperor's sister and the emperor's pliable character. Similarly, a panel of experts assembled and edited imperial *laws in the **Theodosian Code* issued in the emperor's name in 438. Despite training in horsemanship and sword-play, Theodosius never took the field, and it was generals of barbarian origin who organized imperial defence, notably Plinta the *Goth and the *Alans *Ardabur and *Aspar. Typically, the pious court credited *victory in a successful war that Theodosius waged against the *Persian Empire in 421 to the *God of battles. The last to dominate Theodosius were the Praefectus Praetorio *Cyrus of *Panopolis and the *eunuch *Chrysaphius. By 443 Chrysaphius had overthrown both Eudocia and Cyrus. In alliance with the *Miaphysite monk *Eutyches, he persuaded Theodosius to convoke the 'Latrocinium', the 'Robber Council' of Ephesus (449) that undid the work of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus of 431. However pliable and weak-willed Theodosius was, a *papyrus from the second half of his reign, containing the only surviving autograph of a Roman emperor (Millar, 22–3, 63–4), indicates that he participated personally in shaping these momentous events. KGH

PLRE II, Theodosius 6.

Holum, *Empresses.*

F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II* (2006).

C. M. Kelly *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity* (2013).

Theodosius III *Emperor 715–17. A tax-gatherer (*eklēptōr/praktōr tōn dēmosiōn phorōn* or *dioikētēs*) at Adramyttion, he was acclaimed by the troops in the *Opsikion *Theme revolting against *Anastasius II. In 716 he concluded a treaty with the *Bulgar ruler establishing a recognized border between the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgar khanate, in north Thrace, between the Gulf of Burgas and across to Maritsa. The *Arab *siege of *Constantinople in 717/18 began at the end of his reign. He abdicated when *Leo III and *Artavasdus, who had rebelled almost as soon as news of Theodosius' accession reached their provinces, captured his son and his retinue at *Nicomedia. He and his son became monks at *Ephesus. RCW

PBE, Theodosios 2.

PmbZ 7793.

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 72–3.

Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 80–2.

Speck, *Kaiser Leon III*, 62–102.

Theodosius Comes (d. 375/6) General, and father of the *Emperor *Theodosius I, and a native of Gallaecia in *Spain. As a **comes* under *Valentinian I in 367, he restored order in *Britain after the *Barbarian Conspiracy (*Ammianus, XXVII, 8; XXVIII, 3). Promoted as *Magister Militum Equitum in 369, Theodosius was responsible for defeating the *Alamans in *Raetia in the following year (Ammianus, XXVIII, 5, 15). In 373, he successfully suppressed the usurpation of the Moorish-Roman *Firmus in *Mauretania, and returned *Africa to Roman rule. Theodosius was subsequently arrested in *Carthage and executed, probably in late 375 (Ammianus, XXVIII, 6, 26; XXIX, 5; *Orosius, VII, 33, 5–7). His sudden fall may have been associated with the death of Valentinian I in November 375. The generals who supported Valentinian's underage successors, *Gratian and *Valentinian II, may have seen Theodosius as dangerous to their own positions. His son was relieved of his command in *Moesia. Later, when his son became *emperor, Theodosius' reputation was rehabilitated and he received honours in *Italy, *Ephesus, and from the *Senate in *Rome. A lifelong Christian, he was baptized shortly before his death. GSN

PLRE I, Theodosius 3.

R. C. Blockley, 'The Date of the "Barbarian Conspiracy"', *Britannia* 11 (1980), 223–5.

O. Seeck, 'Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus', *Hermes* 18 (1883), 481–539.

Theodosius Grammaticus (late 4th/early 5th cent.?) **Grammaticus* of *Alexandria, whose *Introductory Rules of Nominal and Verbal Morphology* (*Gramm-Graec* 4/1; 3–99) was an extension of the handbook attributed to Dionysius Thrax and was used by *John Charax, George Choeroboscus, and many later grammarians. RAK

Kaster, *Guardians*, 366–7 (no. 152), cf. *PLRE* II, Theodosius 4.

Theodosius Grammaticus Poeta (7th/8th cent.) Author of an 81-line iambic poem celebrating successful

local resistance to the *Arab siege of *Constantinople, in either 674–8 (Olster) or 717 (Gero) and suggesting that a form of *Greek Fire was also known to the Arabs. Nothing is otherwise known about the author. BC

ed. S. P. Lampros, *Historica Meletemata* (1884), 129–32.

S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* (1973), 172, with ET in Appendix 3.

D. Olster, 'Theodosius Grammaticus and the Arab Siege of 674–78', *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995), 23–8.

Theodosius of Jerusalem (d. 457) *Patriarch of *Jerusalem (451/2–3). Anti-Chalcedonian monastic leader in *Palestine, installed as Patriarch during the revolt of the monks against *Juvenal after the *Council of *Chalcedon of 451. *See* NARRATIO DE OBITU THEODOSII HIEROSOLYMITANI. PMP

E. Honigmann, 'Juvenal of Jerusalem', *DOP* 5 (1950), 209–79.

Theodosius the Pilgrim (early 6th cent.) Author of a *Latin guide to the *Holy Land (*De Situ Terrae Sanctae*), composed *c.*518–30. Drawn from Christian and non-Christian itineraries, personal acquaintance, and pilgrims' *maps, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* contains several itineraries for *Palestine and *Jerusalem, as well as locations and traditions in Palestine and beyond. GAF

CPG 2328:

ed. P. Geyer CCSL 175 (1965), 113–25, reprinting CSEL 39 (1898), 135–50.

ET J. Wilkinson (annotated), *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (²2002), 9–10, 103–16.

Y. Tsafrir, 'The Maps Used by Theodosius: On the Pilgrim Maps of the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the Sixth Century C.E.', *DOP* 40 (1986), 129–45.

Theodota of Amida *Syriac Orthodox (or *Miaphysite) *holy man from late 7th-century north *Syria. Theodota became a monk at the *monastery of Zuqnin, and was a disciple of a holy man named Severos, of *Qenneshre, another monastery where Theodota spent time. In addition to various *miracles, Theodota's *Vita* recounts his *pilgrimage to *Jerusalem and *Egypt and his time as *Bishop of *Amida. This unpublished *Vita*, written in early 8th-century *Samosata by a priest named Shemʿūn, based on testimony from Theodota's disciple Joseph, is one of the longest extant narrative sources of any kind from early *Umayyad northern *Mesopotamia. Muslims, *Jews, Byzantines, Persians, and Christians of various allegiances all appear. The *Vita*, written in *Syriac, survives fully only in an early 18th-century Arabic (Garshuni) translation made before the *Syriac text was damaged. A joint Syriac and Garshuni edition and translation of the *Vita* is planned by A. Palmer and J. Tannous. Theodota died in 698. His feast days are 15 August and 8 September. JT

GEDSH s.n. Theodotos of Amid, 408–9 (Tannous).

Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, no. 444.

A. Palmer, 'Āmīd in the Seventh-Century Syriac Life of Theodūṭē', in E. Grypeou et al., eds., *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam* (2006), 111–38.

Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier*, 88–91 (including summary of *Life*).

J. Tannous, *Syria between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 2010).

Theodotion The name of an early *Greek *Bible translator, whose work survives only in the form of marginalia and citations, although some Greek versions are possibly by him, notably the Book of Daniel preserved in the Septuagint. His style of translation is part of a centuries-old movement to revise the Greek translation in a more literal fashion. *Epiphanius of Salamis (*On Weights and Measures*, 17) reports that he was a convert from the doctrine of Marcion to *Judaism in the 2nd century AD. WFS

Theodotus of Ancyra Two *inscriptions (*RECAM* 2, 211–12) mentioning S. Theodotus, together with the remains of a church, have been found at Malos (mod. Kalecik) *c.*40 km (25 miles) north-east of *Ankara. The author of an extant *Passio* written *c.*361/5 (*BHG* 1782) was clearly familiar with the site, but the historicity of the text is disputed. It claims that Theodotus was martyred at Ancyra (Ankara) under a *governor called Theotecnus. If this is the *Theotecnus who was *Curator of *Antioch under *Maximinus Daza, the martyrdom would have occurred in 312/13. OPN; PJT

BHG 1782: ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (1901).

TIB 4 (1984) *s.n.* Malos, 201–2.

S. Mitchell, 'The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra', *AnatSt* 32 (1982), 93–113.

Barnes, *Hagiography*, 155–9.

Theomnestus Author of a treatise on *horse medicine, fragments of which are preserved in the encyclopedic **Hippiatrica*. His work is notable for its case studies, personal experience, and rational approach. It describes how Theomnestus saw horses and their riders freeze to death as they accompanied *Licinius on his journey over the Alps to marry *Constantine I's sister at *Milan in January 313. An *Arabic version exists but there is no complete edition. MD

Greek fragments, ed. E. Oder and K. Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* (1924–7).

McCabe, *Horse Medicine*, 181–208 (with discussion of Arabic text).

R. G. Hoyland, 'Theomnestus of Nicopolis, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥaq and Islamic Veterinary Science', in R. G. Hoyland and P. K. Kennedy, eds., *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: Studies in Honour of Alan Jones* (2004), 150–69.

Theon (*c.*330–*c.*400) Mathematician, astronomer, and *philosopher who taught in *Alexandria from the 350s until, probably, the late 380s. He was one of the last known members of the Alexandrian Mouseion (**Suda*, *Θ* 205). He instructed his daughter *Hypatia and turned his *school over to her by the time that *Synesius studied there in 393. He wrote commentaries on various mathematical and astronomical works, including *Euclid's *Elements* as well as *Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* and *Almagest*. The later commentary may have been proofread by Hypatia. EW

PLRE I, Theon 3.

ed. A. Rome (annotated), *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, 3 vols. (ST 54, 72, 106, 1931–43).

ed. J. L. Heiberg and H. Menge, *Euclidis Opera Omnia*, vol. 7. *Optica; Opticorum Recensio Theonis; Catoptrica, cum Scholiis Antiquis* (1895).

Alan Cameron. 'Isidore of Miletus and Hypatia: On the Editing of Mathematical Texts', *GRBS* 31 (1990), 103–27.

E. Edson and E. Savage-Smith, 'An Astrologer's Map: A Relic of Late Antiquity', *Imago Mundi* 52 (2000), 7.

Theophanes Confessor (*c.*759/60–817/18) Author of a substantial chronicle covering 284–813, a continuation of *George Syncellus' *Chronicle* (Adam–283). Theophanes agreed to complete this, using material supplied by George. The two chronicles work as a single unit but the actual extent of Theophanes' debt to George, though clearly considerable, is still debatable.

Theophanes' importance lies partly in his influence on later chronicles but particularly in being our main narrative source for the 7th and 8th centuries, especially for *Bulgar, *Arab, and *Islamic expansion in this period, for much of which he is our sole narrative source. He also occasionally provides otherwise unattested information for earlier periods where in general his sources survive. His access to an Oriental source, probably *Syriac but available in *Greek translation, linked to *Theophilus of *Edessa, increases his value. Translation into *Latin in the *Chronographia Tripartita* of the papal librarian Anastasius in the late 9th century secured his influence indirectly in the West.

Born to a rich family, his father holding high office, Theophanes was made a **strator* in his teens and married at 18 but soon chose monasticism for himself and his wife. He attended the Seventh Œcumenical *Council in 787. Imprisoned by Leo V for standing against Iconoclasm, he was later banished to Samothrace, where he died after 23 days. His *Chronicle* was presumably compiled after the death of George Syncellus (d. *c.*814).

The narrative is strictly a year-by-year account. This means that Theophanes assigned a precise year for every event, even where his sources did not. Occasionally he achieved this by taking such liberties as rearranging the order of events recorded in the sources. His basic method is compilation. Where his sources are known, he can be seen to be reproducing their wording almost verbatim, but also with small but significant alterations, seemingly to underline God's support for orthodoxy. His language is a more elegant vernacular than that of *John Malalas. He read *Procopius' classicizing Greek competently and occasionally makes mistakes with *Theophylact Simocatta, but simplifies both. Despite concentrating on providing basic facts, Theophanes leavens his narrative with tales, sometimes quite complex in structure. References for each year to the *Era of the Creation (the Annus Mundi), to years since the Incarnation, the regnal years of the Roman and Persian (later replaced by Arab) rulers and the five main *patriarchs may be a later addition to Theophanes' original version. Later chroniclers, though relying heavily on Theophanes' narrative, abandon this strict annalistic system. References to Theophanes in *ODLA* are by Anno Mundi. RDS

ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (1863–5; repr. 1963).

ET (annotated with introd.) C. A. Mango and R. D. Scott with G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (1997).

Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, 205–34.

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 268–312.

M. Jankowiak and F. Montinaro, eds., *The Chronicle of Theophanes: Sources, Composition and Transmission: an International Workshop* (forthcoming).

Theophanes of Byzantium Mid- to late 6th-century historian, known only from *Photius (64). In ten books Theophanes covered *diplomacy and military relations with the Empire's eastern neighbours 566–81, including the smuggling to *Constantinople of *silkworm eggs. Photius states that Theophanes claimed to have written histories of *Justinian I and other works. RDS

PLRE III, 1306.

Work: *FHG* Müller, IV, 270–1.

ET (of Photius summary) in Wilson, *Photios*, 52–4.

Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 290–3.

Theophanes of Hermopolis Traveller who went one spring *c.*322/23 from *Egypt to *Antioch and returned after staying two and a half months. Detailed and revealing accounts of his expenses, *letters of introduction to *governors, and other ephemera are preserved on P.Ryl. 616–51, P.Herm. Rees 2–6, and other *papyri. OPN

ed. C. H. Roberts in C. H. Roberts and E. G. Turner, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands at the University of Manchester*, vol. 4: *Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods* (nos. 552–717) (1952).

ed. B. R. Rees, *Papyri from Hermopolis and Other Documents of the Byzantine Period* (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 42, 1964).
J. F. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business, and Daily Life in the Roman East* (2006).

Theophilus (d. in or shortly after 534) Antecessor (professor of law) in *Constantinople. In 528–33 he was *Tribonian's collaborator in the compilation of the first edition of *Justinian's *Code*, the **Digest*, and the **Institutiones* of *Justinian I. His main work, the *Paraphrasis Graeca* of the *InstJust* (dating from 533–4), survives in its entirety. ThEvB

PLRE III, Theophilus 1.
ed. J. H. A. Lokin, R. Meijering, B. H. Stolte, and N. van der Wal, *Theophili Antecessoris Paraphrasis Institutionum* (with ET by A. F. Murison, 2010).
G. Falcone, 'La Formazione del Testo della Parafrasi di Teofilo', *TRG* 68 (2000), 417–32.
J. H. A. Lokin, *Analecta Groningana ad Ius Graeco-Romanum Pertinentia*, ed. Th. E. van Bochove (2010), 89–162.

Theophilus of Alexandria *Patriarch of *Alexandria (r. 385–412), a vigorous promoter of the Alexandrian Patriarchate's authority within both *Egypt and the wider Mediterranean world. He was a protégé of *Athanasius and was uncle to his immediate successor, *Cyril of Alexandria (*Socrates, VII, 7).

Theophilus was a lightning rod of controversy, both in his own day and in subsequent tradition. Often vilified for his combative temperament, especially in the condemnation of the 'Tall Brothers' in 399–400 (Socrates, VI, 7 and 17; *Sozomen, VIII, 12–13) and the subsequent deposition of *John Chrysostom in 403 (*Palladius, *Dialogus*, 6–9; Socrates, VI, 2 and 9–10 and 12 and 15; Sozomen, VIII, 2–3 and 11–19), he had previously gained a considerable reputation as an astute and pragmatic negotiator in resolving succession disputes in *Antioch in 391–8 and *Bosra in 394, and in 396–8 for healing a breach between *John II, Patriarch of *Jerusalem, and *Jerome, who had settled at *Bethlehem.

Nonetheless, Theophilus' lasting reputation results from his forceful policy of Christianizing public places in Alexandria, building churches, and combating pagan cult throughout Egypt—most notably with the violent destruction of the cult of Serapis in Alexandria in 392 (*Rufinus, *HE* XI, 23–6; Socrates, V, 16–17; *John of *Nikiu, 78). He insisted on complete submission to his authority within the Egyptian Church, and resisted any interference by outside *bishops in his administration as patriarch. These guiding principles drew him into prolonged conflict with an influential and learned band of monastics at *Nitria (the 'Tall Brothers'). They sought protection from John Chrysostom in *Constantinople, so John himself became the target of an ecclesiastical vendetta by Theophilus. He employed the doctrinal disagreements aroused by '*Origenism' as a means to attack his opponents, but his vigorous *patronage of *Synesius, the philosophically minded Bishop of *Ptolemais, demonstrates that Theophilus' overriding concern was strict adherence to patriarchal authority as confirmed by *canon law. His life as it was remembered in the Coptic Church is recounted in *HistCoptPatr* I/11. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Theophilus, cols. 2247b–2253b (D. B. Spanel).
CPG 2580–684 and 2585–681:
ed. in *PG* 65. 29–68, 401–4.
ET (with introd.) of selections in N. Russell, *Theophilus of Alexandria* (2007).
Davis, *Early Coptic Papacy*.
A. Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria, 345 c.–412; scritti, vita e dottrina* (Bibliotheca del Salesianum 41, 1958).
J. Hahn, 'The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into the "Christ-Loving" City', in Hahn et al., *From Temple to Church*, 335–65.
T. Orlandi, 'Theophilus of Alexandria in Coptic Literature', *SP* 16 (1985), 100–4.

Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785) *Syriac astrologer, historian, and trilingual translator; identified as *Maronite or Chalcedonian in some Syriac sources. As chief astrologer to the *Caliph al-Mahdī (775–85) in Baghdad, he wrote several treatises in *Arabic on *astrology, and a book on military forecasts known to later *Greek scholars. His *translations from Greek into Syriac included Aristotle, *Galen, and, according to *Bar 'Ebroyo, *Homer's 'two books', the *Iliad* and possibly the *Odyssey*.

His *Chronicle* does not survive but it was a common source for historians describing the early Islamic period, being extensively quoted by *Dionysius of Tel-Mahre (and through him by *Michael the Elder and the Syriac *Chronicle of 1234*), by *Theophanes through an abridged Greek version, and by *Agapius of Membij. AHa

GEDSH s.v. Theophilos of Edessa, 409–10 (Van Rompay).
ET of reconstructed *Chronicle*, R. G. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle* (TTH 57, 2011) and in Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 400–10.
H. Teule, 'Theophilus of Edessa', in *Christian–Muslim Relations*, vol. 1, 305–8.
J. B. Chabot, *Littérature syriaque* (1934), 91.

Theophylact Simocatta (*c.*580–after 641) Lawyer, imperial official, and historian, born and educated in *Alexandria, where he gained command of both classical and biblical literature, including philosophy, which was being taught there by the *philosopher *Stephanus of Alexandria. Subsequently, Theophylact studied *law

at *Constantinople and his reputation led to his selection to give a public eulogy of the *Emperor *Maurice (582–602) at the beginning of *Heraclius' reign (*c.*610). In the imperial capital he enjoyed a successful administrative career, becoming *Praefectus Urbi and later acquiring a range of positions substantive and honorary: *Magister Scriniorum, judge, **referendarius*, *Consul.

Theophylact was a firm *Chalcedonian with a sound theological education and outlook. His extant writings are (i) a Platonic dialogue on natural marvels (*Quaestiones Physicae*); (ii) 85 letters between historical and mythical characters on a range of topics (*Epistolae*) famously translated by Copernicus in 1509; (iii) a topical treatise on predestination and length of life *(De Vitae Termino)*; (iv) a history of the period of his boyhood and youth (*Historiae* or 'Universal History') but written later in life (*c.*630) in the aftermath of Heraclius' triumphal return to Constantinople after his victories over the Persians. Consciously continuing the *History* of *Menander Protector (written *c.*587), Theophylact's *History* is preserved in full and is the last major historical work in the rhetorical tradition of classical *historiography, a genre requiring set-piece speeches and learned digressions on natural and other phenomena. Written partially under the inspiration of Sergius, *Patriarch of Constantinople, the *History* concentrates on the wars of Maurice against *Slavs and *Avars in the *Balkans in the 580s and 590s as well as against the Persians in the East in the 570s and 580s especially. Theophylact has almost nothing to say about *Italy or *Africa. The *History* is extant in eight books which follow events in annual chronological order from 582 to 602 (with a digression in Book III covering 572–82). Theophylact may have intended to extend the history to the late 620s but failed to progress further than 602. Two notable features of the history are its extremely intricate, periphrastic, and high-flown style with prominent influence of biblical and Christian texts, and its introductory dialogue between History and Philosophy (which may or may not be an integral part of the original history). Few of the sources he used are independently extant: *John of *Epiphania's *History* (preserved only in fragments) was a key source for the early books, though unacknowledged; an anonymous chronicle provided much information, especially for Constantinople, others possibly included a *panegyric on *Heraclius the Elder and a memorandum which extolled the deeds of the general *Priscus. Theophylact's literary and historiographical purposes were didactic and aesthetic. He was not an eyewitness to any of the events he records, had no military experience himself, and had never travelled to the battlefields he describes. His military and geographical knowledge was therefore inadequate at times and he could also be loose with his chronology. BC

PLRE III, Theophylactus 10 (also identifiable with several other Theophylacti).
ed. L. Massa Positano, *Questioni Naturali* (²1965).
ed. J. Zanetto, *Theophylactae Simocatae Epistulae* (1985).
ed. (with ET) C. Garton and L. Westerink, *On Predestined Terms of Life* (Arethusa monographs 6, 1978).
ed. C. De Boor (rev. P. Wirth), *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae* (1972).
ET (annotated) [L.] Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (1986).
Whitby, *Maurice.*
D. Brodka, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie in der spätantiken Historiographie. Studien zu Prokopios von Kaisareia, Agathias von Myrina und Theophylaktos Simokattes* (2004), 193–227.
Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, 329–40.

Theopolis (dép. Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, France) Unlocated *locus* in the French Alps north of Sisteron, provided with an access road, walls, and gates by the devout ex-prefect *Dardanus and his close family, as commemorated by the 'Pierre Écrite', a surviving roadside *inscription cut into the rock face (*ILS* 1279). It was presumably named after *Augustine's *City of God*. STL

CAGaule 04 (1997), 405–12.
H.-I. Marrou, 'Un lieu dit "Cité de Dieu"', in *Augustinus magister*, vol. 1 (1954), 101–10.

Theosophy of Tübingen Byzantine epitome of the last four books of an eleven-book theological treatise written *c.*500. The original text, now lost, began with seven books on the right faith (of which no trace remains), and continued with a four-book appendix of pagan testimonies to Christian doctrine. The first of these books contained *oracles of the pagan gods, the second sayings of Greek and Egyptian sages (notably *Hermes Trismegistus), the third *Sibylline oracles (of which a fragment survives independently), and the fourth prophecies of *Hystaspes as well as a brief millennarian chronicle from Adam to the *Emperor *Zeno (474–91). Nothing from the last book is included in the epitome. Title and content indicate that the *Theosophy* represents a later stage of the polemical appeal to *oracles inaugurated by *Porphyry, *Lactantius, and *Eusebius of *Caesarea. The epitome also contains otherwise unattested biographical material on Porphyry. Beatrice has discovered plausible hints of *Miaphysite orientation, suggested *Severus of *Antioch as the author, and attempted an ambitious, if not altogether persuasive, reconstruction. BMG

RE, 2e Reihe, Halbband 10 (1934) *s.v.* Theosophia, cols. 2248–53 (K. von Fritz).
ed. (with introd.) H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* (1941), 1–52, 167–201.

ed. (with introd.) H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (1995), ix–xxiv, 1–56.
P. F. Beatrice, 'Pagan Wisdom and Christian Theology', *JECS* 3 (1995), 403–18.
P. F. Beatrice, 'Monophysite Christology in an Oracle of Apollo', *IntJnlClassTrad* 4 (1997), 3–22.
P. F. Beatrice, *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia: An Attempt at Reconstruction* (VigChrist supplements 56, 2001).
S. Brock, 'Some Syriac Excerpts from Greek Collections of Pagan Prophecies', *VigChrist* 38 (1984), 77–90.
B. Daley, 'Apollo as a Chalcedonian', *Traditio* 50 (1995), 31–54.
C. Mango, 'The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church', *DeltChristArchEtair* 18 (1995), 201–3.
R. Van Den Broek, 'Four Coptic Fragments of a Greek Theosophy', *VigChrist* 32 (1978), 118–42.

Theotecnus of Antioch As *Curator Rei Publicae of *Antioch in *Syria during the final phase of the Great Persecution, from late 311 onwards, Theotecnus organized a *petition to the *Emperor *Maximinus Daza to have the Christians run out of the *city. He also set up a statue of Zeus Philios (not normally a prominent divinity in the Antioch pantheon) which uttered anti-Christian *oracles (*Eusebius, *HE* IX, 3). Maximinus Daza rewarded him with the *governorship of a *province (*HE* IX, 11, 5); the suggestion, based on the *martyr passion of S. *Theodotus of Ancyra (*BHG* 1782), that the province was *Galatia is not universally accepted. He may have earlier provided anti-Christian oracles to *Galerius (*Gelasius of Caesarea, fr. 3).

Following the defeat of Maximinus Daza by *Licinius in 313, Theotecnus was one of the procurers of oracles officially *tortured to death (*HE* IX, 11, 6; Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, IV, 2, 10–11). An allusion to him may lie behind the Prince of *Demons who fights the eschatological prophet in *Lactantius' description of the End Times (*Inst.* VII, 17). OPN

PLRE I, Theotecnus 1 and 2.
H. Castritius, *Studien zu Maximinus Daia* (FAS 2, 1969).
Barnes, *Constantine*, 98;
Barnes, *Hagiography*, 155–9.

Theoto II *Dux of *Bavaria (before 696–717/8). He exploited internal Frankish struggles to establish his authority over the Bavarian Church and maintained contact with both *Rome and the *Lombards as part of his political and ecclesiastical ambitions. MDi

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Theodo II, XXX (2005), 433–4 (M. Diesenberger).

Theotokos 'God-bearer', a title accorded to the Blessed Virgin *Mary by earlier Greek monks and theologians but challenged by *Nestorius, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, as confounding Christ's Godhead and Manhood. Its acceptance, and the condemnation of Nestorius, promoted by *Cyril of *Alexandria at the *Council of *Ephesus in 431, received enthusiastic popular endorsement. OPN

Thera (mod. Santorini, *Greece) Southernmost of the Cyclades islands, Thera is the rim of a volcanic crater. *Tax and census registers of the 4th century portray a landscape of disparate small farms worked by slaves or tenants, including one *estate which had over 152 slaves working on farms, listed in an *inscription published in 2005. Thera specialized in the production of *wine.

In the principal ancient settlement is a 5th/6th-century three-aisled *basilica with a double *narthex and central *apse. *Theophanes (AM 6218) gives a vivid description of a volcanic eruption on Thera in AD 726, which projected 'pumice stones as big as hills' as far as *Lesbos and *Abydos; the event, he says, fuelled *Emperor *Leo III's determination to persist with *Iconoclasm. PA; OPN

K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.
E. Gerousi-Bendermacher, 'Propriété foncière et inventaire d'esclaves: un texte inédit de Perissa (Thera) tardo-antique', in V. Anastasiadis and P. Doukellis, eds., *Esclavage antique et discriminations socio-culturelles* (2005), 335–8.

therapeutics Late antique medical therapeutics draw on the traditional triad of dietetics, combined with drugs (simple and compound) and *surgery. For all their dependence on *Galen's works (notably for pharmacology), Late Antique compilers such as *Oribasius, *Aëtius of *Amida, and *Paul of *Aegina demonstrate a wide-ranging knowledge and provide precious insight into the diversity of the remedies involved and of the therapeutical strategies in use. Surgical operations, in particular, are more precisely and vividly described than in any of our earlier sources (with the notable exception of Celsus). Indeed, those compilations not only preserve extensive fragments from Hellenistic and Roman surgeons (such as Antyllus) that would be otherwise lost, but also display wide-ranging personal experience and excellent rhetorical skills. It has often been argued that Late Antique *medicine focuses on 'practical' aspects at the expense of 'theory', but our sources have not been extensively researched. Such accounts as Oribasius' preface to his *Four Books to Eunapius* hint at a widespread demand for self-help medical books, a tendency that would peak in the medieval period, from Byzantium to North *Africa and the Latin West, with books such as al-Jazzar's *Zad al-mussafir* or John the Physician's *Therapeutics*. Such works say little in terms of medical theory (principles, physiology, causation of disease), but provide extensive therapeutical information for individuals and communities about common ailments. *Cassiodorus' comments (*Institutes*, I, 31, 2) on the medical contents of the *Vivarium

*library illustrate the practical purpose of medical books in the 5th century (herbals, general therapeutics, compilations) and their acceptance in Christian milieus. Late Antique therapeutics were more inclusive than Galen's, offering a wide range of remedies, some of which draw on 'Dreckapotheke', charms, *amulets, and incantations: *Alexander of *Tralles exemplifies this consciously eclectic approach, which is in turn confirmed by the many extant *magical *papyri of the period. CP

G. Ferngren, *Medicine and Healthcare in Early Christianity* (2009).

V. Nutton, 'From Galen to Alexander: Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity', *DOP* 38 (1984), 1–13.

O. Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians* (1991).

O. Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (1973).

Thessalia (Thessaly) *Province in east central *Greece lying between the Pindus range and the Aegean, dominated by Mount Olympus, in the *Verona List in the *Dioecesis *Moesiae and in the **Notitia Dignitatum* in the Dioecesis *Macedoniae, governed by a *Praeses (*or.* I, 118; III, 11). *Hierocles lists sixteen *cities, the principal being *Larisa, and the islands Skiathos, Skopelos, and Peparisthos (642, 1–13, 643, 1–5). Following *Slav incursions the Belegezitai tribe are recorded settled in southern Thessaly in the 7th century. PA

TIB 1 (1976).

Barrington Atlas, map 55.

Thessalonica (Thessaloniki, Greece, also formerly Salonica) Important *city, metropolis of *Macedonia Prima, imperial residence and later residence of the *Praefectus Praetorio of *Illyricum.

Founded in 316/315 BC, Thessalonica occupied a strategic location as an outlet onto the Mediterranean for the Macedonian hinterland and as an important stage on the *Via Egnatia (built 146–120 BC) for those passing between East and West. In Roman times it flourished as a 'free city' (*civitas libera*), enjoying, among other privileges, the right to administer itself, to mint its own coins, and to be free from the presence of a Roman garrison. S. Paul (*c.* AD 50) preached Christianity in the *synagogue (Acts 17:1–15; cf. Philippians 4:17). An imperial mint operated at Thessalonica continuously from *c.*198/9, except between 303/4 and 308 when personnel probably moved to *Serdica.

Throughout Late Antiquity threats to the Roman *frontier system on the Danube and Black Sea coast had repercussions for Thessalonica, for instance under *Valerian in 253 (*Zosimus, I, 29, 2) and again in 268 (Zosimus, I, 43). During the *Tetrarchy, it was the principal urban residence of Maximianus *Galerius (*Caesar 293–305, *Augustus 305–11), who founded a palatial complex in the south-eastern part of the city. This included a triumphal *arch, a *circus, and a massive surviving *octagonal building. Galerius was the principal promoter of the Great Persecution of the *Christians, in the early stages of which Ss. *Agape, Irene, and Chione were *martyred at Thessalonica.

Thessalonica played a significant part in the political and religious changes of the 4th century. *Constantine I made Thessalonica, which he came to control in 317 after the *Cibalensean War, a base for campaigning against the *Sarmatians on the Danube *frontier. He also built a *harbour, and used the city as the mustering point for the *fleet which he had gathered at Piraeus and for the army with which he attacked his eastern colleague *Licinius in 324 (Zosimus, II, 22). He also founded churches, aqueducts, and a *mausoleum decorated with *mosaics.

Under *Julian and *Theodosius I the city gained new privileges. Theodosius I reinforced and reconstructed its fortifications and lived in Thessalonica in 379–80 in the aftermath of the Battle of *Adrianople, and, being seriously ill, was baptized by Ascholius, *Bishop of Thessalonica (d. *c.*383). *Damasus, *Bishop of Rome (366–84), spread his influence by forming an alliance with Bishop Acholius; this was sustained by Damasus' succcessor Siricius (384–99), who claimed to confer on the bishops of Thessalonica the right to give or withhold consent to all episcopal consecrations in *Illyricum. This special relationship persisted until 732.

In 387–8 Theodosius I's youthful imperial colleague *Valentinan II took refuge at Thessalonica after he had been ousted by *Magnus Maximus; Theodosius conferred with him there and then went westwards to combat the *usurper. In April 390 retaliation for the lynching of a *Gothic Roman general at Thessalonica took the form of an official massacre of 7,000 people, an act for which Theodosius shouldered the responsibility (*Sozomen, VII, 25, *Theodoret, *HE* V, 17).

The *Dioecesis of Macedonia, of which Thessalonica formed a part, seems to have been assigned to *Honorius on the death of Theodosius in 395, but soon passed to *Arcadius, ruling the East from *Constantinople. It was at Thessalonica that the boy *Valentinian III was invested as Caesar in 424 (*Olympiodorus fr. 43 Blockley = 1, 46 Müller *FHG*). 'In the time of *Attila', presumably *c.*441, the residence of the Praefectus Praetorio of Illyricum was moved from *Sirmium to Thessalonica (*NovJust* 11, 1) and the Praefectus was certainly in residence in 479 when a Thessalonica mob attacked him because they feared he was planning to betray the city to the *Ostrogoths (*Malchus fr. 20 Blockley = 18 Müller *FHG*).

*Slavs were threatening Thessalonica as early as 550 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 11, 3). The city was frequently besieged by Slavs and *Avars in the late 6th and early

7th centuries; the two books of the *Miracles* of S. *Demetrius relate how the city was saved by the protection of its patron saint. In 688 *Justinian II cleared numerous Slavs and *Bulgars out of *Macedonia and re-entered Thessalonica in triumph. From the 7th century onwards Thessalonica was the only city except Constantinople with a mint which issued regular *gold *coinage; it remained the most important Byzantine city in Europe, after Constantinople, into the Middle Ages. PM; RRD; OPN

TIR K-34 (1976), 139, 158, and pull-out street map with Roman features.

A. E. Vakalopoulos, *History of Thessaloniki*, tr. T.F. Carney (1963).

J. -M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle: contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (BEFAR 254, 1984).

L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis, and St. J. Friesen, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (Harvard Theological Studies 64, 2010).

Ch. Bakirtzis, E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, and Chr. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Mosaics of Thessaloniki, 4th–14th Century*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, tr. A. Doumas (2012).

COINS

Bellinger, *DOC* I; Grierson, *DOC* II/1; II/2; III/1.
RIC V/1; V/2; VI; VII; VIII; IX; X.

Thessalonica, churches of In the 5th century, great *basilicas were built on the remains of Roman monuments, helping to transform *Thessalonica into a Christian *city.

The Basilica of S. *Demetrius was constructed over a Roman *bath; it houses the *tomb and a ciborium of the *patron saint of Thessalonica. Sometime after 620/30, when a fire and *earthquake damaged the 5th-century structure, a new five-aisled basilica with a crypt and an eastern transept was constructed. The church features 5th- and 6th-century *spolia, *marble revetment, and *opus sectile. Nine dedicatory *mosaic panels from the 5th to 9th centuries demonstrate the basilica's importance as a place of *pilgrimage and healing.

The Basilica of the Virgin *Mary Acheiropoietos was constructed in the mid-5th century. It comprises a wooden *roof, three aisles, two double *colonnades, an atrium, and a southern annexe. The central aisle preserves original marble flooring. Architectural *sculpture and the few remaining mosaics in the *arches of the colonnades feature Christian symbols and are contemporary with the church. An *inscription identifies a priest called Andreas as the donor.

The Rotunda remains a grandiose yet enigmatic monument of Late Antique Thessalonica. The cylindrical-domed structure was originally built as a mausoleum for *Galerius or *Constantine I. During the 5th century, the building was converted into a church dedicated to the Archangels. The Rotunda's celebrated mosaics date from the reign of Constantine I or *Theodosius I and include a standing male figure, possibly Christ, supported by flying *angels. Below, *palace *façades surround men in *prayer.

The *apse of the small Church of Hosios *David, located outside the city, features a 5th-century mosaic Theophany composition. It represents a youthful Christ surrounded by an *angel, an eagle, a *lion, and a calf, symbolizing the four Evangelists, and witnessed by two figures identified as prophets.

The Hagia Sophia was constructed in the late 7th–8th centuries on the remains of a 5th-century, five-aisled basilica. The church has a Greek cross plan with an ambulatory in its north, west, and south sides, a tripartite sanctuary, and a *dome on a square drum. The sculptural decoration features *spolia from the 5th to 7th centuries. The sanctuary vault contains an 11th–12th-century representation of the Virgin and Child, which covers traces of an *Iconoclastic *cross that was removed in the 9th century. The dome contains a 9th-century mosaic of the Ascension depicting Christ accompanied by the Virgin, angels, and the Apostles. NB

Janin, *Grandscentres*, 341–419.

R. S. Cormack, 'The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki', *ABSAthens* 64 (1969), 16–52.

E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki* (1997).

L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis, and S. J. Friesen, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (2010).

G. Soteriou and M. Soteriou, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (1952).

J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle: contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (BEFAR 254, 1984).

K. Theocharidou-Tsaprale, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia: From its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (BAR IntSer 399, 1988).

A. Xyngopoulos, '*Το Καθολικόν της μονής Λατόμου εν Θεσσαλονίκη και το εν αυτώ ψηφιδωτόν*', *ArchDelt* 12 (1929), 142–80.

Thessalonica, Massacre of Early in AD 390, the general Butheric was lynched by a mob at *Thessalonica over the imprisonment of a charioteer. *Theodosius I (*Augustus 379–95) punished the *city that April when his soldiers killed some 7,000 men, women, and children. *Ambrose, *Bishop of *Milan, condemned this harsh action.

Theodosius had been baptized during an earlier serious illness, so was a regular communicant. In an earlier clash, in 388, Ambrose had opposed Theodosius' command that a *synagogue in *Callinicum in *Syria,

destroyed by Christians, should be rebuilt. Now Ambrose refused Theodosius communion until he had sought absolution like the biblical King David (Ambrose, *Letter* 51). After eight months of *penance, Ambrose readmitted Theodosius to communion on *Christmas Day 390 (an episode commemorated in Ambrose's *funeral oration for Theodosius, *De Obitu Theodosii*, 34 and *Paulinus of Milan, *VAmbrosii* 7). The incident increased Ambrose's influence over the *emperor, and in the months immediately following Theodosius' restoration to communion several *laws were made against *pagan observances. DMG

McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 315–23.

Thessalonica, secular buildings and topography of In 299, *Galerius (*Caesar 293–305, *Augustus 305–11) selected Thessalonica as his capital and sponsored a building campaign that transformed the *city into an imperial residence characteristic of the *Tetrarchy.

In the south-east part of the walled city he built a *palace, architectural remains of which feature basilican halls, vestibules, administration spaces, and passageways around a grand court. Resting on a massive circular foundation, the Octagon remains the most prominent edifice at the site. The domed vault of this ceremonial building was completed under *Constantine I. Only fragments are preserved from the *hippodrome, which extended on a north–south axis between the eastern walls of the city and the palace.

The Arch of Galerius, located north of the imperial complex, is the only remnant of a once magnificent tetrapylon that was erected after 297 to commemorate Galerius' defeat of the Persian King *Narseh. The original tetrapylon featured four massive piers connected by arches carrying a blind dome. The monument, which was reached by way of colonnaded streets and porticoes, once linked the palace to the Via Regia, and the site of the rotunda, further to the north. The two surviving piers of the only standing arch are richly decorated with relief *sculpture celebrating the first Tetrarchy (293–305) and the emperor's accomplishments.

Almost 8 km (5 miles) in length, Thessalonica's walls are among the best surviving examples of Late Roman military architecture. From the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century, an ambitious fortification programme utilized an earlier wall from the early 3rd century and made extensive use of materials from collapsed or obsolete buildings including pagan *temples, as well as public institutions such as the hippodrome and gymnasiums. The walls of Thessalonica took on a trapezoidal outline, surrounding the sloping topography of the *harbour and the upper town. In addition to a series of closely positioned triangular bulwarks, the vulnerable lower section of the city was protected with outworks, while higher ground was defended with rectangular towers. The walls include two eastern and two western *city gates that correspond with the city's two main thoroughfares. The Via Regia (later Leophoros) ran from the Golden Gate in the western walls, which incorporated a 1st-century BC triumphal arch, to the Cassandreia (later Kalamaria) Gate in the eastern walls. Further north, the Letaia Gate in the western walls connected with the 'New Golden Gate' in the eastern walls.

Through Late Antiquity into the Byzantine period, Thessalonica retained its Roman infrastructure. The orthogonal *street grid, domestic architecture, *forum, *aqueducts, *cisterns, and extramural *cemeteries east and west of the city continued to shape the daily life of its inhabitants. NB

D. V. Grammenos, ed., *Roman Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki Museum Publications 1, 2003).

L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis, and S. J. Friesen, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (2010).

J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle: contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne* (BEFAR 254, 1984).

O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (1913).

M. Vitti, *Η πολεοδομική εξέλιξη της Θεσσαλονίκης από την ίδρυση της έως τον Γαλέριο* (1996).

Thetford Treasure (buried *c.*400) Hoard discovered in 1979 at Thetford, Norfolk, England, now in the British Museum. It comprises *gold *jewellery including bracelets, necklaces, a buckle with satyr, and finger *rings (mostly set with precious *stones), buried alongside *silver spoons, many with dedications to the pastoral god Faunus combined with Celtic epithets. RHob

C. M. Johns and T. W. Potter, *The Thetford Treasure: Roman Jewellery and Silver* (1983).

Theudebald *Frankish King (548–55) who succeeded as a sickly child to his father *Theudebert I's share of the Frankish kingdom. Both the *Emperor *Justinian I and the *Ostrogoths tried to win his support in their war in *Italy, but he declined to intervene directly on either side (*Agathias, I, 5–6). A *letter in Theudebald's name defends Theudebert against imperial criticisms (*Ep. Aust.* 18). He died in 555, and his kingdom was taken over by his uncle *Chlothar I (Agathias, II, 14, 8–10). EJ

PLRE IIIB, Theodebaldus 1.

Theudebert I (before 511–548) Frankish King from 533. Son of *Theuderic I, grandson of *Clovis. He led military campaigns against Danes, *Thuringians, and *Visigoths in his father's lifetime, and succeeded to his north-eastern Frankish kingdom despite the opposition of his uncles, *Childebert I and *Chlothar I, whom he

joined in defeating and partitioning the kingdom of the *Burgundians in 534. He invaded *Italy in 539 and attacked both Goths and Romans until an outbreak of dysentery in his army forced him to withdraw, but he subsequently occupied and, according to *Procopius, taxed parts of northern Italy during the 540s. In a *letter to *Emperor *Justinian I he listed 'the northern region of Italy and *Pannonia' amid an expansive description of his dominions (*Ep. Aust.* 20); he was even suspected of wanting to invade *Thrace and attack *Constantinople (*Agathias, I, 4). Theudebert was the first Frankish king to mint *gold *coinage with his own image, name, and titles (Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 33, 5–6). *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* III, 25) complimented him as a great king, distinguished for his justice and respect for the Church. His son *Theudebald succeeded him. RVD

PLRE IIIB, Theodebertus I.

R. Collins, 'Theodebert I, "Rex Magnus Francorum"', in Wormald, *Ideal and Reality*, 7–33.

Theudebert II (585–612) King of *Austrasia (596–612). A son of *Childebert II (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* VIII, 37), his reign was marked principally by conflict with his cousin *Chlothar II and by both cooperation and conflict with his younger brother *Theuderic II, King of *Burgundy, who overthrew him in 612 (*HF* IX, 32 and 36). He was seemingly killed soon afterwards (*Fredegar, *Chron*. IV, 16–38). He is the addressee of several *letters from *Gregory the Great, some of which are addressed jointly to his brother. ACM

PLRE IIIB, Theodebertus II.

Theudelinda (*c.*589–616/26) Queen of the *Lombard kings *Authari and *Agilulf. The chronicler *Fredegar (IV, 34) described her as the sister of *Grimoald, the Frankish *Mayor of the Palace; *Paul the *Deacon (*History of the Lombards*, III, 30) suggested noble *Bavarian descent. According to Fredegar, Theudelinda married Authari after an abortive betrothal to the *Merovingian King *Childebert II. Paul provides a considerably more romantic tale, describing the tricks employed by Authari to view his future bride at her royal Bavarian household. When Authari died (590), Theudelinda remained in power, with the agreement of the Lombard nobility, by marrying Agilulf (maternal kinsman of Authari), who became the next king. Even after Agilulf's death (616), she held the title of queen during the minority of her son, Adaloald, and retained that responsibility until her death. Her royal residences seem to have included *Verona, *Pavia, and *Milan. Pope *Gregory the Great wrote several *letters to her (*Ep*. IV, 4; IV, 33; IX, 67: XIV, 12), commending her devotion as a Christian and congratulating her for brokering peace between the Romans and Lombards. She also received a copy of Gregory's *Dialogues*. Paul furthermore comments on the part she played in the *conversion of Agilulf to Christianity and their *patronage of churches. MSB

PLRE IIIB, Theudilinda.

PCBE II/2, Theodelinda.

Theuderic I *Frankish King (511–33), the oldest surviving child of *Clovis I of the *Franks, born before Clovis' marriage to *Chlothild. He was active in conquering *Visigothic territory in *Gaul after 507. On his father's death in 511 he divided the kingdom with his three half-brothers (the children of Chlothild). His portion included the territory that would later be called *Austrasia, the homeland of the *Franks. He invaded the kingdom of the *Burgundians in 524, suppressed a revolt led by the Gallo-Roman Arcadius in the Auvergne, and defeated *Hermenefred of *Thuringia in 531. He was succeeded by his son *Theudebert. EJ

PLRE II, Theodericus 6.

Theuderic II (587–613) *Frankish King from 596. The younger son of *Childebert II, who inherited *Burgundy at his death. He fought intermittently with his cousin *Chlothar II, and both alongside and against his brother *Theudebert II, urged against him by their grandmother Queen *Brunhild. In 612 he attacked and killed Theudebert, but died when moving against Chlothar the following year. He received several *letters from *Gregory the Great, some addressed jointly to his brother. PJF

PLRE IIIB, Theodericus 4.

Theuderic III (*c.*651– 690/1) *Frankish King from 673. Middle son of *Clovis II and *Balthild, he succeeded his brother *Chlothar III in *Neustro-*Burgundy, but was deposed and tonsured by opponents of the *Mayor of the Palace *Ebroin in favour of his brother *Childeric II. Restored in 675, he became sole king in Francia in *c.*679 after the death of *Dagobert II. The defeat of Theuderic and the Neustro-Burgundian Mayor *Berchar by the *Austrasian Mayor *Pippin II at *Tertry in 687 paved the way for the domination of *Austrasia over the rest of Francia. PJF

LexMA 8 *s.n.* Theuderic III, 688 (U. Nonn).

Theuderic IV *Frankish King (721–37). Son of *Dagobert III, removed from the *Monastery of *Chelles by *Charles Martel to be king. Very little is known about him, and the fact that Charles did not trouble to replace him as king in 737 suggests that he was under the latter's control. PJF

LexMA 8 *s.n.* Theuderic IV, 688 (U. Nonn).

Fouracre, *Charles Martel.*

Theudis (d. 548) *Visigothic king (531–48). He was sent to *Spain by *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth from *Italy

to supervise *Amalric, and succeeded after Amalric was defeated by the *Franks. He married a wealthy Hispano-Roman woman, enabling him to equip an army of 2,000 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, V, 12, 50), thereby defeating the Franks in 541. In 546 he issued the *Lex Theudi Regis* at *Toledo, which regulated legal costs. Although Theudis was a *Homoean ('Arian'), *Isidore of *Seville praises him for permitting the Catholic *bishops to hold *councils (Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, 42). JWo

PLRE II, Theudis.

Lex Theudi Regis, ed. K. Zeumer in MGH LL nat. Germ.1 (MGH Leg., 1902). 467–9.

P. Fuentes Hinojo, 'La obra política de Teudis y sus aportaciones a la construcción del reino visigodo de Toledo', *En la España medieval* 19 (1996), 9–36.

theurgy Ritual practices for conjuring and controlling the gods in order to enlighten the theurgist's mind, purify his soul, and enable his ascent to union with the divine. Theurgy, literally 'god-work', was inspired in large part by the **Chaldean Oracles* (a set of teachings said to have been handed down by the gods in the 2nd century AD to Julian the Theurgist), but it incorporated still older Hellenistic religious rituals and was integrated into a *Neoplatonic idea of cosmic sympathy. Theurgic practices included the manipulation of objects like statues and of elements like the weather, purificatory and *ascetic exercises, rituals of *sacrifice, and invocations of the divine. Theurgy was primarily elaborated and practised by Neoplatonist philosophers like *Iamblichus, who argued in his *De Mysteriis* that it was an essential practice in elevating man to union with the divine, a state which could not be achieved by philosophical contemplation alone. This enthusiasm was not shared by all Neoplatonists; indeed, Iamblichus wrote *De Mysteriis* as a defensive response to *Porphyry's criticism of theurgy in his *Letter to Anebo* (now fragmentary). Porphyry's scepticism, as reported by *Augustine, was not complete; he apparently acknowledged that theurgy could purify the spiritual soul but also questioned its ability to lead the intellectual soul to a return to god. Porphyry also expressed hostility to the compulsion of the gods operated by theurgy, as well as to the self-interest of theurgists (Augustine, *City of God*, X, 9–10). In the 4th century, the *Emperor *Julian took a particular interest in theurgy under the tutelage of the *philosopher and thaumaturge *Maximus, and incorporated theurgic elements into his short-lived programme to revitalize *paganism. Thereafter, Iamblichean theurgy was practised and taught by Neoplatonists with varying shades of commitment, from the enthusiastic promotion of *Proclus to the more muted endorsement of Hierocles. Christians were universally hostile to theurgy, assimilating its ritual practices to fraudulent *magic and arguing that instances of its apparent success should be ascribed to the working of evil *demons (Augustine, *City of God*, X, 9). SJL-R

P. Athanassiadi, *Mutations of Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Variorum Collected Studies 1052, 2015).

G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (1986) 126–54.

S. I. Johnston, 'Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in its Cultural Milieu', in P. Schäfer and H. Kippenberg, eds., *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (1997), 165–94.

N. Janowitz, *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity* (2002).

Y. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (new edn., 1978).

C. van Liefferinge, *La Théurgie: des oracles chaldaiques à Proclus* (1999).

G. Luck, 'Theurgy and Forms of Worship in Neoplatonism', in J. Neusner et al., eds., *Religion, Science and Magic in Concert and in Conflict* (1989), 185–228.

G. Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (1995).

Rowland Smith, *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (1995).

Theveste (mod. Tebessa, Algeria) Several public buildings including the amphitheatre, theatre, and *baths were restored or improved between 293 and 392. *Bishops are known from 256 into the 9th century. The martyrdom of S.*Maximilian the Recruit (*BHL* 5813) is located at Theveste. The Christian complex north of the city was probably dedicated to the local *martyr S. *Crispina (*BHL* 1989) and her companions, executed on 5 December 304. A coin find dates the main church to after 388; it was built over an earlier cult site. A large cache of *sculpture was buried nearby. A *Manichaean text was found in 1920 in a cave near the city. The Byzantine city wall, built in 536/44, enclosed 7.5 ha (18.6 acres). GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 185–9.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 379–82.

Y. Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae* (1982), 694–5.

Gui, Duval, and Caillet, *Basiliques*, 311–17.

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 238–43.

Thibilis (mod. Announa, Algeria) Town in *Numidia, 23 km (15 miles) south-east of *Calama, emancipated from the 'Confederation of *Cirta' probably in 253/68. Most public buildings around the *forum date from Late Antiquity. The *city council dedicated a statue to *Julian as 'restorer of holy things' (*ILAlg* II, 2, 4674). The first *Bishop of Thibilis appears in 411; the neighbouring spa of Aquae Thibilitanae had a bishop already in 305 and a shrine of S. Stephen in the early 5th century (*Augustine, *City of God*, XXII, 8, 8). RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 477–85.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 246–7, 306.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 290, 301–2.
B. Cabouret-Larioux, 'Thibilis, le destin d'un cité de Numidie à l'époque tardive', in A. Groslambert, ed., *Urbanisme et urbanisation en Numidie Militaire* (2009), 125–51.

Thibiuca (Henchir Zouitine, Tunisia) Small *city about 50 km (30 miles) west of *Carthage. After the first edict of the Great *Persecution was promulgated at Thibiuca in June 303, *Felix the *bishop was ordered by the *Curator Magnilianus to surrender Christian books. He refused, and was sent to Carthage, where, after further interrogation by the *Proconsul *Anullinus, he was beheaded on 15 July. His *martyr passion alternates narrative and court report. During the *Vandal period, a new church was built at Thibiuca. RB; OPN

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 192–3.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 172–3.

Thirteen Syrian Fathers A group of Syrian monks who arrived in Caucasian *Iberia in the early 6th century. Georgian tradition ascribes to the fathers the foundation of organized *monasticism in eastern *Georgia. Their mission is mentioned in the **Moktsevai Kartlisai* (*Conversion of Georgia*). It is not certain whether they arrived as a group or separately, although it is almost certain that their total number exceeded thirteen, which was probably assigned because it was a sacred number. The foundations of almost all the major episcopal and monastic centres of Late Antique eastern *Georgia are attributed to the Syrian fathers. These include the Zedazeni Monastery in *Mtskheta, the Davit Gareja Monastery, the Nekresi Monastery, the Iqalto, Samtavisi, Tsilkani, Shio-Mghvime, and other important *monasteries. The leadership of the group is ascribed to a certain John, later known as John of Zedazeni. The dates, theological positions, ethnic backgrounds, and number of the fathers are widely contested. Their lives are described in four *Lives*: The *Life of Ioane of Zedazeni*, the *Life of Shio and Evagre*, the *Life of Davit of Gareja*, and the *Martyrdom of Abibos of Nekresi*. The oldest manuscripts date to the 10th century. Recent research has dated the oldest redaction of the *Lives* to the 8th century. NA

Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia.*
G. Peradze, *Die Anfänge des Mönchtums in Georgien* (1927).
B. Martin-Hisard, 'Les Treize Saints Pères: formation et évolution d'une tradition hagiographique géorgienne (Vie–XIIe s.)', *RÉGC* 44 (1985), 141–68, 45 (1986), 75–111.

Thirty Tyrants (*Tyranni Triginta*) The collective name given in the **Historia Augusta* to the *usurpers (*tyranni*) who allegedly appeared during the reigns of *Valerian (253–60) and *Gallienus (253–68). The chapter is attributed to *Trebellius Pollio, one of the six identities created by the *Historia Augusta*'s anonymous author, and the title alludes to the Thirty Tyrants who ruled Athens after the Peloponnesian War. In total 32 usurpers are named, with the last two stated to have lived under Maximinus Thrax and *Claudius II Gothicus respectively.

The 30 names assigned to the reign of Gallienus are most significant as evidence for the well-documented unreliability of the *Historia Augusta*. Some of those names are probably fictitious, including Trebellianus (26) and Celsus (29). A number of others are children who, if they existed, never claimed imperial status (e.g. Herodes (16), Herennianus (27), Timolaus (28)). Several should be dated not to Gallienus' reign but to those of Claudius II Gothicus and *Aurelian (e.g. *Victorinus (6), *Tetricus (24)). Two are women, *Zenobia (30) and Victoria (31), who could not claim imperial authority and were included explicitly 'that I might make a mock of Gallienus, a greater monster than whom the Roman state has never endured' (*Tyr. Trig.* 31, 7).

This still leaves a significant number of authenticated usurpers, testimony to the genuine turmoil of the mid-3rd-century Empire. Those whose existence can be confirmed through other evidence are *Postumus who founded the *Gallic Empire (3), Lollianus (actually *Laelianus, 5), *Marius (8), *Ingenuus (9), *Regalianus (10), *Aureolus (11), *Macrianus and his sons Macrianus Junior and Quietus (12–14), Valens (19), and *Aemilianus (22). Not all these men necessarily aspired to the status of emperor. *Odaenathus of *Palmyra (15) certainly did not claim imperial office, although he did emerge under Valerian and Gallienus. It is impossible to accept the *Historia Augusta*'s concluding claim to have written of the Thirty Tyrants 'not with elegance but with fidelity to truth' (*Tyr. Trig.* 33, 8). DMG

T. D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (1978).
R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta* (1971).
Potter, *Empire at Bay.*

Thomas, Acts of (early 3rd cent.) Legendary account of the mission of the Apostle Thomas to *India, written in thirteen Acts followed by an account of his *martydom. The *Acts of Thomas* were originally composed in *Syriac, probably in *Edessa, but translated immediately into *Greek. The versions developed independently and in multiple recensions, producing a complex textual history. The Wedding Hymn (chs. 6–7) and the beautiful Hymn of the *Pearl (chs. 108–13) antedate the *Acts of Thomas* but are incorporated in it. The text has a distinctive Christology, with Thomas as the twin brother of Jesus. It records early *liturgy and *prayers, including anointing before *baptism, and displays pronounced *Encratite and dualistic tendencies, arguably derived from Tatian and *Bardaisan. The *Acts of*

Thomas helped shape the 4th-century Christianity of Edessa, which was at the same time being radicalized by *Mani and his followers. KSH

GEDSH s.v. Thomas, Acts of, p. 410 (Childers).

EDITIONS

Syriac, ed. (with ET) W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871; repr. 1968).

ET of Syriac: A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (²2003).

Gk., ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (1903; repr. 1959).

ET of Gk. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 439–511.

Hymn of the Pearl, ed. (with FT) P.-H. Poirier, *L'Hymne de la perle des Actes de Thomas* (1981).

STUDY

J. N. Bremmer, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (2001).

Thomas Artsruni *See* TOVMA ARTSRUNI.

Thomas of Amida *Bishop of *Amida (505–19), a former monk who had also served as a *city councillor. *Joshua the Stylite (ch. 83) records that Thomas was appointed bishop while visiting *Constantinople as **chorepiscopus*; his rival, Nonnus, who had been consecrated by Flavian, *Patriarch of *Antioch, therefore had to wait until 519 to succeed. *Zacharias Rhetor records that Thomas played a key part in supervising the construction of the *frontier fortress at *Dara (*Chronicle*, VII, 5–6). GBG

E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe s.* (1951).

Thomas of Edessa (d. *c.*540) East Syriac theologian and exegete. Thomas was educated in *Edessa, travelled around the Roman Empire with the future *Catholicos Mar *Aba, and became teacher at the renowned School of *Nisibis in the *Persian Empire. From his pen survive *Explanations of the Nativity and Epiphany*, the oldest extant treatises in the influential genre of *'elta* (explanation). His theology relies heavily upon the heritage of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia. UP

GEDSH s.n. Toma of Edessa, 416 (Becker).

A new edn. (with ET) of *Explanations of the Feasts* is being prepared by U. Possekel and J. F. Coakley.

ed. S. J. Carr, *Thomae Edesseni Tractatus de Nativitate* (1898).

P. Bettiolo, 'Scuola ed economia divina nella catechesi della Chiesa di Persia: appunti su un testo di Tommaso di Edessa († ca. 542)', in S. Felici, ed., *Esegesi e catechesi nei padri, secc. IV–VII* (1994), 147–57.

Th. Hainthaler, 'Thomas of Edessa, Causa de Nativitate', *Parole de l'Orient* 31 (2006), 63–85.

U. Possekel, 'Thomas von Edessa über das Epiphaniefest', in W. Kinzig et al., eds., *Liturgie und Ritual in der Alten Kirche* (2011), 153–76.

Thomas of Harkel (*c.*570–after 631) *Syriac Orthodox *Bishop of Hierapolis (Mabbug, north-east of *Aleppo). Born at Heraclea (Harqel) in the Roman *province of *Euphratensis, Thomas studied *Greek at the *Monastery of *Qenneshre (*Bar 'Ebroyo, *Chron. Eccl.* I, 50; *Michael the Elder, *Chron.* X, 25). When expelled from his see by the Chalcedonians in 598/9, he and other members of the Syriac Orthodox hierarchy, including *Paul of Tella and Athanasius I, *Patriarch of *Antioch, established themselves at the *Ennaton Monastery near *Alexandria and there sought reconciliation between the Syrian Orthodox and the Egyptian (Coptic) *Miaphysites (616), and made *translations of the NT (615/16) and OT (617/19) from *Greek into *Syriac (known as the Harklean version). AKJ

GEDSH s.v. Tumo of Ḥarqel, 418 (Juckel); *s.v.* Ḥarqlean Version, 188–91 (Juckel).

DCB 4 (1887) *s.v.* Thomas Harklensis, 1014–21 (Gwynn).

BBKL 11 (1996) *s.n.* Thomas von Harqel, 1387 (Tamcke).

Thomas of Marga (9th cent.) East Syrian abbot, author, and *bishop. Born in north-east *Mesopotamia, Thomas as a young man joined the east Syrian *Monastery of Bet 'Abe (832). He became secretary to *Catholicus Abraham II (d. 850), himself a former monk of Bet 'Abe, and later was elected Bishop of *Marga. His *Book of Governors*, a lengthy monastic history of Bet 'Abe (and hence also known as the *Historia Monastica*), draws on earlier written documents as well as on oral traditions acquired from contemporaries. His *History of the Monks Cyprian and Gabriel* is attached as Book VI. An earlier hagiography, the *Histories of Some Holy Men*, does not survive. Although nominally centred on his home monastery, the *Book of Governors* discusses diverse aspects of the *Church of the East from the 6th to the 9th century, beginning with the establishment of the Great Monastery of Mount *Izla by *Abraham of Kashkar. Thomas presents an eclectic mix of history and *saints' lives, interspersing stories of teleporting trees, miraculously tamed *lions, and a petrified dragon with important sources for reconstructing Late Antique and early medieval *Syriac Christianity. Of particular interest are Thomas's accounts of the social, economic, political, and religious changes experienced by Christians under Islamic rule. MPP

GEDSH s.v. Toma of Marga, 417 (Witakowski).

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 213–15.

BBKL 11 (1996) *s.v.* Thomas von Margā, 1400–2 (Schwaigert).

ed. (with ET) E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of Governors*, 2 vols. (1893).

M. Debié, 'Writing History as "Histoires": The Biographical Dimension of East Syriac Historiography', in A. Papaconstantinou et al., eds., *Writing 'True Stories': Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East* (2010), 43–75.

J. M. Fiey, 'Thomas de Marga: notule de littérature syriaque', *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 361–6.
M. Penn, 'A Temporarily Resurrected Dog and Other Wonders: Thomas of Margâ and Early Christian/Muslim Encounters', *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), 209–42.
H. Teule, 'Thomas of Margā', in *Christian–Muslim Relations*, 688–90.
W. G. Young, *Patriarch, Shah and Caliph: A Study of the Relationships of the Church of the East with the Sassanid Empire and the Early Caliphates up to 820 AD* (1974), 106–27.

Thomas of Maurienne (d. by 720) Refounder of the *Monastery of Farfa in central *Italy, sometime between 680 and *c.*700. According to the 9th-century *Constructio Monasterii Farfensis* (*BHL* 8250), Thomas was a monk from the Valley of Maurienne in *Provence who returned from a *pilgrimage to the *Holy Land and established the monastery on the site of an abandoned *basilica. *Faroald II provided a grant of 11 *curtes* of land and subsequently obtained a papal privilege from *John VII which exempted the abbey from local episcopal jurisdiction. CTH

M. Costambeys, *Power & Patronage in Early Medieval Italy* (2007).

Thomas the Archdeacon (1200/1–68) Cleric and notary public in *Split, educated in Bologna where he heard S. Francis preach, active in public life in Split, buried in the Franciscan church there. His *Historia Salonitana* (*c.*1245–51) is partly autobiographical, but it also emphasizes the continuity of the Church of Split with that founded in apostolic times at *Salona. The oldest extant manuscript, from Thomas's time, is at Split; the first publication is by I. Lucius Lučić in *De Regno Dalmatiae and Croatiae Libri Sex* (1666). IDS

ed. O. Perić et al. (annotated with ET), *Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (2006).
M. Matijević Sokol, *Thomas the Archdeacon and his Work* (2002).

Thomas the Presbyter *See* CHRONICLES, SYRIAC.

Thorismund King of the *Visigoths (451–3). The eldest son of *Theoderic I, he succeeded his father, who was killed fighting the *Huns at the Battle of the *Catalaunian Fields where Thorismund himself was wounded. Having hastened to *Toulouse to secure his succession, he defeated the *Alans north of the Loire and menaced *Arles, but was soon murdered by his brothers *Theoderic II, who succeeded him, and Frederic. STL

PLRE II, Thorismodus.

Thousand and One Churches (Turkish Binbirkilise) Numerous churches on the Boratinon Oros (mod. Karadağ) in *Lycaonia, in and around modern Madenşehir, a *city possibly identical with ancient Barata. The remote mountain location and the use of local basalt as building material have caused the churches to be exceptionally well preserved and make them a valuable example of provincial architecture on the Central High Plateau of *Anatolia. The porous texture and dark colour of the basalt discouraged attempts at architectural *sculpture and impart a gaunt atmosphere, which is further enhanced by a preference for mullions instead of more sophisticated columns, and for stone vaults in place of more costly wooden trusses. Few and faulty *inscriptions confirm their primitive character. Many Late Antique churches here were later repaired or rebuilt during the Middle Byzantine period. PhN

TIB 4 (1984) *s.n.* Barata, 138–43.
G. L. Bell and W. M. Ramsay, *The Thousand and One Churches* (1909; repr. 2008).
S. Eyice, *Recherches archéologiques à Karadağ (Binbirkilise) et dans la région de Karaman* (1971).
M. Jackson, 'Binbirkilise', in P. Niewöhner ed., *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, (2017), 312–20.
H. Mert and P. Niewöhner, 'Blattkapitelle in Konya: Lykaonien zwischen Sidamaria und Binbirkilise', *IstMitt* 60 (2010), 373–410.
J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien. Ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (1903).

Thrace *See* THRACIA; THRACIAE; THRACE, THEME OF.

Thrace, Theme of Element in the *theme system, probably created *c.*680 by *Constantine IV north and west of *Constantinople as a defence against the *Bulgars. Initially it was probably manned by troops of the *Opsikion Theme; an independent *Strategos is first mentioned only in 742. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 731.

Thracia Landlocked *province of the *Dioecesis *Thraciae, carved from the former Roman province of Thrace, and included in the *Verona List. Thracia had *Rhodope to the south, *Moesia Inferior (Secunda) to the north, *Haemimontus to the east, and *Dacia Mediterranea and Dacia Ripensis (in the Dioecesis *Daciae) to the west. The *Via Militaris (from *Constantinople and *Adrianople westwards to *Serdica, and *Sirmium) ran through *Philippopolis, its principal *city. The **Notitia Dignitatum* (*or.* I, 73; II, 54) gives the *governor's title as *Consularis, as does *Hierocles (635, 3–8), who lists five cities in Thracia. ECD; OPN

Barrington Atlas, 101–2 and 51.
TIR Philippopolis K-35/2.
TIB 6 *Thrakien* (1991).

Thraciae **Dioecesis* recorded in the *Verona List, in the **Notitia Dignitatum* (I, 33; II, 6 and 52–8; XXVI), and by *Hierocles as comprising the *provinces of *Europa, *Rhodopa, *Thracia, *Haemimontus, *Scythia, and *Moesia Secunda. It therefore extended from the Aegean Sea to the Danube *frontier, westwards to the Dioecesis *Macedoniae and eastwards to the Black Sea coast. The *Theme of *Thrace controlled much of this territory from *c.*680. ECD; OPN

Barrington Atlas, 101–2 and 51–3.
TIB 6 *Thrakien* (1991).

Thrakesion Theme Element in the *Theme System, descended from the troops of the *Magister Militum per Thracias, transferred by *Heraclius to fight in the East. They were stationed in central western *Asia Minor; their *Strategos resided at Chonae. MTGH

Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast: History*, 723–43.

Thrasamund *King of the *Vandals (r. 496–523). He married the *Ostrogothic Princess Amalafrida in 500 (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 8, 11–13). Considerable *Latin poetry survives from his reign, leading some to identify it as a cultural renaissance. Thrasamund was interested in *Homoean ('Arian') theology and parts of his debate with *Fulgentius of Ruspe are extant. AHM

PLRE II, Thrasamundus 1.
Dicta Trasamundi, ed. J. Fraipont (CCSL, 91, 1968), 65–94.
Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, 59, 196–203, 222–5.

Three Chapters Controversy Doctrinal controversy caused by the longstanding attempt of the *Emperor *Justinian I to heal the divisions in the Church (especially in the Eastern part of the Empire) resulting from the *Council of *Chalcedon of 451. Justinian sought reconciliation on the basis of Cyrilline Chalcedonianism (or Neo-Chalcedonianism), an attempt to interpret the Council of Chalcedon in the light of the writings of *Cyril of *Alexandria. Part of this policy was the condemnation of the 'Three Chapters', that is, of the writings of *Theodore of *Mopsuestia, linked with the heresiarch *Nestorius in Cyril's later attacks on Nestorius; of the writings of *Theodoret of *Cyrrhus against Cyril; and of the *letter of *Ibas of *Edessa, to Mari the Persian.

Justinian believed that an unequivocal condemnation of these 'chapters' would facilitate the reconciliation of the *Miaphysites. In 544, he issued a letter condemning the Three Chapters, but it was too late to achieve any reconciliation with the Miaphysites. This condemnation also aroused opposition in the West, in *Rome, and especially in North *Africa, for Theodore of Mopsuestia had died in 428 in the communion of the Church; Theodoret of Cyrrhus had been one of the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon; and the letter of Ibas was a defence of the Formula of Reunion, interpreted as implying Cyril's withdrawal of the 'Twelve Chapters', directed against Nestorius, originally accepted at the Council of *Ephesus, but unmentioned at Chalcedon. The condemnation therefore called into question the authority of Chalcedon, and was resisted in the West, where the churches were much less in thrall to Cyril than were those of the East: Pope *Vigilius opposed it, as did the Africans *Facundus of Hermiane, *Ferrandus, *Liberatus of *Carthage, and *Victor Tonnennensis (whose *Chronicle* is an important source for these events). By bribes and bullying, Justinian secured the support of Vigilius at the Second Council of *Constantinople in 553, and of other bishops in the West, though for decades there were churches in the West in schism over the condemnation. The Council also failed to reconcile the Miaphysite Churches of *Egypt and the Levant with the Chalcedonian Church. AL

Justinian's letter condemning the Three Chapters: ed. E. Schwartz, *Abh.* (Bayr.), NF, 18 (1939), 45–69 (ET: K. Wesche, *On the Person of Christ* (1991), 115–58).
Latin version of the *Acta* of the Fifth Œcumenical Council, ed. J. Straub, *ACO*, iv.1 (1971); ET (with introd. and notes) in R. M. Price, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553: With Related Texts on the Three Chapters Controversy* (TTH 51, 2009).
Other texts bearing on the controversy (with study), in C. M. Chazelle and C. Cubitt, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: the Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (SEM 14, 2007), 279–83.
Grillmeier, 2/2 (1995), 411–62.

throne *See* CHAIR.

thrymsas Denomination of usually debased 7th-century English *gold coin, based on Roman models. Introduced *c.*550–680, probably based on the design of *Merovingian **tremisses*, *debasement transformed it into an almost completely *silver coin, before the *thrymsas* was replaced by the silver penny or **sceatta*. RRD

D. M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum* (1993–4), vol. 1.

Thuburbo Majus Modern Henchir Kasbat, small *colonia*, and location of a 4th-century *statio c.*60 km (*c.*38 miles) south-east of *Carthage. Public buildings elaborately restored during the 4th to early 5th centuries were being reused for private purposes soon afterwards. Churches were built in two *temple courtyards. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 199–205.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 90–1
A. Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa*, 91, 141–3, 209–10, 230–1.

Thugga Modern Dougga, *c.*130 km (*c.*81 miles) south-west of Carthage on the *Sicca *road, overlooking a broad fertile plain. Several monuments, including two *temples, were built or repaired at the *city in 286–305. An *aqueduct was repaired in 376/7 and the *city wall is Late Antique. Church building was limited. The temples of the Victory of Caracalla and of Caelestis may have been turned into churches. The Church of Victoria is customarily dated, without evidence, to the late 4th/early 5th centuries. Recent Italian surveys suggest that by the *Vandal period the decline in the urban infrastructure was matched by a reduction in rural sites. The **forum* appears to have been decaying during the 5th century and was turned into a fortress following the *Byzantine invasion. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 218–23.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 61.
M. Khanoussi, S. Ritter, and P. von Rummel, 'The German–Tunisian Project at Dougga: First Results of the Excavations South of the Maison du Trifolium', *AntAfr* 40–1 (2004–5), 43–66.
C. Poinssot, *Les Ruines de Dougga* (1958).
M. de Vos, 'The Rural Landscape of Thugga: Farms, Presses, Mills and Transport', in Bowman and Wilson, *Roman Agricultural Economy*, ch. 6.

thunder Romans knew that thunder and lightning came from Jupiter (e.g. Horace, *Odes*, III, 5, 1–2). Experts on the science of divination distinguished several ways a thunderbolt (Lat. *fulmen*) might relay a divine message; Caecina, a contemporary of Cicero, identified three. Such providentialist interpretation was not incompatible with scientific explanations offered by *philosophers (Seneca, *Natural Questions*, II, 32–51, esp. 39), though traditional interpreters and *philosophers might disagree on the significance of a specific lightning strike, as when *Julian's *Neoplatonic friends contradicted the traditional interpreters during the *emperor's advance into Persia in 363 (*Ammianus, XXIII, 5, 8–14).

Pagans continued to appreciate the *sumpatheia* which connected civic ritual and natural phenomena. In 408 traditional worship was offered at Narnia in Tuscany when the *Visigoths threatened; thunder and lightning drove them off (*Sozomen, IX, 6; *Zosimus, V, 41, 1). Christians rejected such interpretations. Though a law of *Constantine I permitted the performance of divinatory investigation if thunderbolts struck public buildings, it prohibited associated *sacrifices (*CTh* XVI, 10, 1), and the emperor elsewhere asserted firmly that it was the Christian God who had sent lightning in 303 to fire the *palace of his persecuting predecessors (*Oratio ad Sanctos*, 25). In time, *Gregory of Nyssa could appropriate the story of the Thundering Legion which in AD 172 had been saved from defeat by a thunderstorm; the soldiers were Christians and it was God who had sent the storm (*On the Forty Martyrs*, 2, 757C–760B). OPN

thunginus A somewhat shadowy judicial official found only in the *Frankish codification **Lex Salica*. The word has been interpreted as a synonym for **centenarius*, which is sometimes paired with it, as a term for an allegedly popular official presiding over the judicial assembly (*mallus*), as a petty (*Gau*) king prior to *Clovis' unification, and as a non-royal judicial official of minor competence, since he only appears attesting judicial acts, never presiding over disputes. ACM

A. C. Murray, 'The Position of the *Grafio* in the Constitutional History of Merovingian Gaul', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 787–805.

Thuringians and Thuringia A Germanic people in central Germania and the territory named after them. The Thuringii arrived in modern Thuringia *c.*280, after the *Alamans left it for lands farther south. A Thuringian kingdom emerged in the late 5th century under the leadership of Bisinus. His three sons Baderic, Berthar, and *Hermenefred fought over the kingship after Bisinus' death. Hermenefred killed Berthar, then enlisted the aid of the *Frankish King *Theuderic to eliminate Baderic, who was killed, leaving Hermenefred as sole ruler of the Thuringian kingdom. However, according to *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* III, 4, 7), Hermenefred did not keep the promises he had made to Theuderic, and the Thuringians committed other atrocities, so Theuderic attacked Thuringia with his brother *Chlothar I and his son *Theudebert I, overthrowing the Thuringian kingdom (*c.*531). Hermenefred died soon after, and his wife Amalberga, the daughter of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth, fled with their children. Chlothar claimed Berthar's daughter, *Radegund, as a captive and later made her his wife.

Now under *Merovingian rule, the Thuringians joined the *Saxons in a revolt against Chlothar in 556, and rebelled unsuccesfully against *Childebert II in 595. They fought alongside the Saxons for *Theudebert II in 612, and against the neighbouring Wends in the early 7th century. In 642, *Radulf, the Thuringian *Dux, rebelled against the Frankish King *Sigibert III. The subsequent history of Thuringia is obscure, but successive **duces* appear thereafter to have retained some measure of autonomy until *Charles Martel reasserted Frankish power in the region after the demise of *Hetan II in the late 710s.

The *Anglo-Saxon missionary *Bishop S. *Boniface subsequently worked to Christianize a region which, although nominally converted, had never been organized into ecclesiastical provinces and in which there survived practices which S. Boniface regarded as pagan. The Thuringians are also associated with the

neighbouring Angli and Warni, sharing a law code with them in the Carolingian period. The Warni were a separate people, possibly related to the Thuringians, who lived in the vicinity of Mecklenburg. EMB

LexMA 8, 747–57 *s.n.* Thüringen/Thüringer (H. Ament, M. Werner).

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Thüringer, XXX (2005), 519–44 (W. Heizmann et al.).

J. Fries-Knoblach, H. Steuer, and J. Hines, eds., *The Baiuvarii and Thuringi: An Ethnographic Perspective* (2014).

Thysdrus (mod. El Djem, Tunisia) *City in *Byzacena. Its prosperity rested on *olive cultivation. Little evidence survives of Late Antique spending on monuments. A *bathhouse was repaired in 326/33 (*CIL* 8, 22853). Some pre-existing houses had 4th-century *mosaics, others were transformed into cemeteries in the late 4th century. A church *council was held in 417. The vast early 3rd-century amphitheatre was still in use under the *Vandals. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 218–22.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 54.

Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, 257–61.

Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa*, 49–50, 140, 148.

Tiberianus (*fl.* late 3rd or early 4th century) Latin poet, variously identified as C. Annius Tiberianus (*PLRE* I, Tiberianus 4), *Praefectus Praetorio in *Gaul in 336–7; or as C. Iunius Tiberianus (*PLRE* I, Tiberianus 8), *consul in 281 and 291; or as his son (*PLRE* I, Tiberianus 7). He was an author of some repute in Late Antiquity but only four complete poems and exiguous fragments are extant. They are distinguished by a sensitive appreciation of the natural world and an interest in *Neoplatonic *philosophy. One poem beseeches God to answer cosmological questions suggested by Plato's *Timaeus*. Alan Cameron has argued most fully for his authorship of the **Pervigilium Veneris*. JFU

HLL, section 680:

ed. E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (1993), 429–36.

ed. S. Mattiaci, *I carmi e i frammenti di Tiberiano* (1990).

ed. J. W. and A. M. Duff (with ET), *Minor Latin Poets* (LCL, ²1982), vol. 2, 555–69.

Alan Cameron, 'The Pervigilium Veneris', in *La poesia tardoantica* (Atti del V Corso della Scuola Superiore di Archeologia e Civiltà Medievali, 1984), 209–34.

H. Lewy, 'A Latin Hymn to the Creator Ascribed to Plato', *HTR* 39 (1946), 243–58.

Tiberias *City on the western shore of the Sea of *Galilee. Upon its foundation in AD 19–20, Tiberias quickly assumed the role of primacy in Galilee given the presence and patronage of Herod Antipas. With the incorporation of the city into Agrippa II's realm to the east, this primacy undoubtedly waned. With Agrippa's demise *c.* AD 100, Tiberias soon resumed its leadership role in the region.

By the mid-3rd century, Tiberias' leadership was enhanced by becoming the headquarters of the Jewish *patriarchate, which moved there from *Sepphoris, as well as the site of the main rabbinic academy in *Palestine under the leadership of *Rabbi *Yohanan ben Nappaha.

In Late Antiquity, Tiberias became the centre of Jewish activity in Palestine and the Diaspora. This was due to the presence of the patriarchate, which emerged as the most important Jewish communal office in the 3rd century, reaching its apogee in the 4th and early 5th centuries, when it wielded far-reaching authority and recognition from Jew and Roman alike. Rabbinic sources speak of twelve or thirteen *synagogues in Tiberias (Babylonian *Talmud, Berakhot 8a), including a very impressive one located in the Hammath suburb to the south. This 4th century synagogue contains what is arguably the most impressive *mosaic floor of any ancient synagogue and is the first to feature the pagan images of the *Zodiac and the *Sun in its central panel.

The centrality of Tiberias in rabbinic life finds expression in the fact that most rabbinic works from the 4th century onward were edited there, including the Jerusalem Talmud and many aggadic midrashim, as well as 5th- to 8th-century liturgical poems (**piyyutim*) that were composed there.

A Christian community first appears in the city in the 4th century. Remains of a building from the turn of the 5th century have recently been discovered, and another 6th-century building was excavated on Mount Berenice to the west. Tiberian *bishops participated in *church councils from the 5th century onwards. A church stood on the supposed site of the home of the apostles Ss. James and John. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (7) passed through Tiberias and notes the presence of salt *baths. LL

ABD vol. 6, 547–9.

L. I. Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity* (2012), 243–59, 317–36.

Tiberius (*c.* 705–711) Son of *Justinian II and his second wife *Theodora, co-emperor during Justinian's second reign (*c.*705–711). Agents of *Phillipicus Bardanes dragged him from sanctuary at *Blachernae and cut his throat (*Theophanes, AM 6203). In 736/7 the *Arabs paraded through *Syria an imposter who claimed to be Tiberius (Theophanes, AM 6229). RCW

PmbZ 8490.

PBE, Tiberios 4.

C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (1972).

Tiberius II (Tiberius Constantinus) *Emperor (578–82), previously *Comes *Excubitorum (565–74),

*Caesar (574–8). A native of *Thracia, Tiberius served as a **notarius* in *Constantinople before being appointed Comes Excubitorum by *Justin II. Initially he was engaged in *diplomacy in the *Balkans, probably with the rank of *Magister Militum, during negotiations with the *Avars *c.*569. In subsequent campaigns in Thrace (570–1) an initial victory was succeeded by a crushing defeat. He was made Caesar by the ailing Justin II on 7 December 574 and adopted as his son; he took the name Constantine at this point. He sought to promote Roman fortunes in the continuing struggle with the *Persian Empire by recruiting substantial forces in the Balkans; this enabled Roman troops under the general *Justinian to win a decisive victory over *Khosrow I near *Melitene in 576 and to maintain the initiative in the hostilities that broke out anew in 578, when *Maurice was appointed Magister Militum per Orientem. In the Balkans, on the other hand, Tiberius' reign witnessed the capture of *Sirmium by the Avars and a general deterioration of Roman defences.

Tiberius is highly regarded in the historical tradition: his generosity is contrasted with the parsimony of his successor, the Emperor Maurice. He reinforced his popularity by tax remissions; he spent large sums on temporary truces with the Persians as well as in trying to shore up the Roman position in *Italy against the *Lombards. In doctrinal matters, he adopted a moderate policy, preferring to leave unmolested opponents of the *Council of *Chalcedon. GBG

PLRE III, Tiberius Constantinus 1.
Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches*, 56–116.
Treadgold, *Byzantine State and Society*, 223–7.
Whitby, *Maurice*, 86–9, 262–75.

Tiberius III (sometimes called Tiberius II) *Usurper, named Apsimar, who ruled as Tiberius (698–705). Drungarius of the *Cibyrrhaeotic *Theme under *Leontius, he was proclaimed *emperor by rebel officers of the *fleet in *Crete. He sailed to *Constantinople and blockaded the city, gaining entry through the *Blachernae *wall in the summer of 698. Tiberius deposed Leontius and ordered the slitting of his nose and his confinement to a *monastery. The new emperor repaired the sea *walls of Constantinople and created the themes of *Sicily and *Sardinia to bolster the defences of the West. Roman troops under Tiberius' brother Heraclius campaigned in *Syria; in 699 they reached as far as *Samosata, but the *Arabs made gains in *Armenia after 701. Tiberius bribed the *Khazar *khagan to murder *Justinian II, whom Leontius had exiled in 695, but Justinian managed to escape to the *Bulgars. In 705, Justinian and the Bulgar khagan *Tervel besieged Constantinople. When Justinian's partisans helped him seize the Blachernae, Tiberius fled into Thrace. As his army began to desert him, however, Tiberius surrendered. In February 706, both Tiberius and Leontius were executed at the Hippodrome. ABA

PBE, Tiberios 2.
ODB s.n. Tiberius II.
Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 517–22.
Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 74–7.

Ticinum *See* PAVIA.

Tigisis (mod. Aïn el Bordj, Algeria) Town in *Numidia of strategic importance, *c.*60 km (*c.*37 miles) south-east of *Cirta. *Bishop Secundus, presiding at the *Council of *Cirta in 305, was accused of bribery by a fellow bishop who admitted murdering two of his sister's sons. After the *Byzantine invasion, a large fort (*c.*220 × 190 m/726 × 627 feet) was erected, which housed the *Dux. There were bishops until at least the 9th century. RB

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 485–7.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 267–8.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 246–8.

Tigran, King Name of several kings of *Armenia from the Artashesid line (188 BC–AD 14), most notably Tigran II 'the Great' (95–55 BC) who, briefly, extended Armenian rule from its Caucasian homeland to *Syria and the Mediterranean coast.

The Tigran of Late Antiquity is known in the Armenian sources as Tiran. He was a king of the *Arshakuni (Arsacid) dynasty, a successor to *Trdat the Great in the mid-4th century. His reign is reported very differently by each of the Armenian sources in which his name survives—the internal chronology of the *'Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* suggests regnal dates of 338–50, while that of the *History* of *Movses Khorenats'i suggests 354–65. The *Buzandaran* focuses primarily on events inside Armenia during Tiran's reign, and emphasizes the wickedness of the king; Khorenats'i puts much more emphasis on Tiran's relationship with the Roman *emperors *Constantius II and *Julian, dwelling on the king's cowardly conduct in the face of Julian's campaign to restore pagan worship. Both the Armenian sources agree that Tiran was responsible for the martyrdom of the Patriarch Yusik (by beating or whipping) and an old *priest named Daniel (by strangling), and they both claim that his demise came by blinding at the hands of the Persians, though they disagree on the circumstances surrounding his blinding. *Ammianus Marcellinus, however, claims that it was Tiran's successor, *Arshak the Great, who was blinded by the Persian king. TLA

PLRE I, Tigran.

Tihama *Arabia's Red Sea littoral. Ancient Semitic word connoting seashore or coastline. Since Arabia's entire Red Sea coast never constituted a political unity, pre-Islamic south *Arabian and Islamic-era *Arabic

sources variously use the term Tihama to specify parts of, or the whole, Red Sea coast from *'Aqaba to Yemen. PAW

F. Stone, ed., *Studies on the Tihāmah* (1985).

tiles Mould-made clay architectural elements used as *roof coverings—in a combination of flat, flanged tiles (*tegulae*) and arc-shaped junction covers (*imbrices*)—or as revetment affixed with mortar. Tiles with painted or relief decoration are well attested in Late Antique North *Africa, *Spain, and *Gaul. Motifs include geometric, floral, and faunal patterns, chi-rhos, and schematic biblical scenes. Painted tiles have been recovered from at least six buildings in 3rd-century *Dura Europos, including 234 from the *synagogue ceiling painted with donor *inscriptions and images of creatures, personifications, *foliage decorations, and *evil-eye motifs. *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth was insistent that the Portus Licini tileworks at *Rome should sustain production of 25,000 tiles *per annum* (*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, I, 25). The ancient propensity for using roof tiles as missiles in times of public *disorder was sustained in Late Antiquity (*Rome: *Ammianus, XXVII, 3, 8; *Constantinople: XXXVI, 6, 16; Doliche: *Theodoret, *HE* V, 4). AY

G. Brodribb, *Roman Brick and Tile* (1987).

M.-Chr. Maufus, 'Observations sur la production et l'utilisation du décor architectural en terre cuite pendant l'Antiquité Tardive', in Xavier Barral i Altet, ed., *Artistes, artisans and production artistique au Moyen Age* 3 (1990), 51–68.

M. Steinby, 'L'industria laterizia di Roma nel Tardo Impero', in A. Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardoantico* 2 (1986), 99–159.

K. B. Stern, 'Mapping Devotion in Roman Dura Europos: A Reconsideration of the Synagogue Tiles', *AJA* 114 (2010), 473–504.

W. D. Barry, 'Roof Tiles and Urban Violence in the Ancient World', *GRBS* 37/1 (1996), 55–74.

timber and trees Timber was required as building material, especially for *houses, *temples, public buildings, and churches, but the scarcity of suitable wood in the Mediterranean basin generally limited its use to *doors and roof trussing. *Shipbuilding was especially demanding of wood, but the manufacture of wagons and carts, *furniture, lifting machinery, mining galleries, hand tools, *arms, *artillery, and numerous other objects required wood. In the *Persian Empire and most of the Islamic world, wood was difficult to obtain and dwellings used wood for roof beams, doorposts, windows, select screens and furnishings, and usually little else. Siberian elm from Hyrcania and beech from the Caspian were the most common types of wood used in Iran.

Common Roman trees for large projects were fir, oak, and ash; these were sold by the cubit and prices were high. In the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict (12, 1) large shipments of fir, 50 cubits in length, 4 cubits in circumference (73 feet or 22 m by 5.8 feet or *c.*2 m), were assigned a price of *denarii*, more than a 1,000 times the wage of a *mason. Most Roman *estates had carefully managed wood plantations to provide reliable sources of timber and fuel. In many regions, building wood was usually in short supply. When *Gregory of *Nyssa built a *martyrium, the wood had to be transported, possibly from Mount Argaeus near *Caesarea of *Cappadocia or even Pontus (*ep.* 26). In Roman and post-Roman northern Europe, by comparison, timber was comparatively abundant and many structures in *Gaul and *Britain continued to be built considerably or entirely of wood. MD

R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (1982).

Timgad *See* THAMUGADI AND ALBUM OF TIMGAD.

Timotheus of Gaza *Grammaticus* under *Anastasius I, to whom he addressed a (lost) discourse on the **chrysargyron*. He had been a pupil of *Horapollon. His book on exotic animals was known to *Syriac and *Arabic authors; fragments survive of a Byzantine paraphrase. He had seen a pair of giraffes. OPN

PLRE II, Timotheus 3.

ed. M. Haupt (1869).

ET (with comm.) F. S. Bodenheimer and A. Rabinowitz (1949).

R. Kruk, 'Timotheus of Gaza's *On Animals* in the Arabic Tradition', *Le Muséon* 114/3–4 (2001), 355–87.

Timothy II Aelurus *Miaphysite *Patriarch of *Alexandria (*r.* 457–77). After the *exile and death of *Dioscorus (454), Alexandrian opposition to the imperially appointed *Proterius (*r.* 454–7) coalesced around Timothy and he was consecrated as patriarch shortly before the murder of Proterius. In response to pressure from pro-*Chalcedonian *bishops, the *Emperor *Leo I sent Timothy into exile (460), first to Gangra and then to *Cherson. During his fifteen years of exile, Timothy wrote numerous works denouncing Chalcedon, praising Dioscorus, and portraying himself as the true successor to the legacy of *Cyril and Dioscorus. He returned to Alexandria in 475, and during his last two years, solidified Egyptian support behind a Miaphysite patriarchate in Alexandria. His nickname 'aelurus' (Gk. for cat or weasel) is variously attributed to his stature and his ambition. CJH

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Timothy II Aelurus, cols. 2263b–2268a (D. B. Spanel).

CPG vol. 3, 5475–91:

ed. R. Y. Ebied and L. R. Wickham, 'A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy Aelurus', *JTS* NS 21 (1970), 321–69.

ed. R. Y. Ebied and L. R. Wickham, 'Timothy Aelurus: Against the Council of Chalcedon', in Laga et al., *After Chalcedon*, 115–66.
Watts, *Riot in Alexandria* (2010).

tin *Latin *stagnum*, *plumbum album/candidum*, and *Greek *κασσίτερος*, may describe tin, tin alloys (pewter), and silver/lead alloys. Tin can occur as stannite in primary and as cassiterite in secondary deposits; the latter were more easily mined with stream workings. In the Late Roman period tin deposits were exploited in Cornwall (*RIB* I, 2405) as late as the 7th century (*Life of *John the Almsgiver*, 10), possibly in *Brittany in the late 6th century, and in the Bolkardağ area of Asia Minor. Tin is noted in a tariff list of customs duties from *Anazarbus (D. Feissel, ed., *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (1987), 108 (5th/6th cent.)). The Leyden Papyrus X (3rd cent.) offers a detailed account on the use of tin (and other metals). Tin is essential for the production of *bronze. Another tin alloy, pewter (containing 20–30% lead), was traded as ingots in 4th-century *Britain (*London, Thames River: *RIB* I, 2406) and made into tableware. Pewter vessels are found throughout Britain and northern *Gaul. AMH

J. C. Edmonson, 'Mining', in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *HGLA*, 579–80.
R. Lee, *The Production, Use and Disposal of Romano-British Pewter Tableware* (2009).
Papyrus de Leyden, papyrus de Stockholm, fragments de recettes, ed. and trans R. Halleux (1981).
B. Pitarakis, 'Mines anatoliennes exploitées par les Byzantins: recherches récentes', *Revue numismatique* 153 (1998), 141–85.

Tingi (mod. Tangiers, Morocco) Capital of *Mauretania Tingitana. The *city was strategically important. Its natural *harbour, an outpost on the Atlantic, was elaborately fortified under the *Tetrarchy. S. *Marcellus the Centurion was martyred at Tingi. RB

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 514.
M. Ponsich, *Recherches archéologiques à Tanger et dans sa région* (1970).

Tintagel Coastal promontory in north-east Cornwall, surmounting a small *harbour. Excavations in the 1930s and 1990s exposed extensive 5th to 7th-century multi-roomed dry-stone and turf-walled rectilinear buildings atop the promontory and on terraces on its slopes, defended to landward by massive earthworks. Occupation extended to the adjacent mainland, but its full extent is unknown. The presence of a short *inscription (the 'Artognou stone') indicates *literacy. Finds include *glass and *amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean and the largest quantity of Byzantine *pottery from any site outside the Mediterranean. Initially interpreted as a 'Celtic *monastery', the site is now deemed a royal centre, perhaps that of the kings of Dumnonia. KD

R. C. Barrowman, C. E. Batey, and C. D. Morris, *Excavations at Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, 1990–1999* (2007).
R. Harry and C. D. Morris, 'Excavations on the Lower Terrace, Site C, Tintagel Island 1990–94', *AntJ* 77 (1997), 1–143.
K. R. Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (2001), 125–8, plates 11–12, 130, 153–6, 162, 164–6, 169.
C. Thomas, *Tintagel: Arthur and Archaeology* (1993).
K. R. Dark, 'The Plan and Interpretation of Tintagel Castle', *CMCS* 9 (1985), 1–17.

Tipasa Coastal *city in *Mauretania Caesarensis. Tipasa's walls were reconstructed in 305/6 and a nymphaeum built near the *theatre, probably during the first half of the 4th century. *Firmus besieged Tipasa unsuccessfully in 371/2. Eight churches, most originating in the 4th–5th centuries, are known. The Basilica of S. Salsa, on the eastern hill, was surrounded by a substantial necropolis; the **Passio* of the *martyr (*BHL* 7467) was written by someone familiar with the site. The Basilica of Alexander and the Great Basilica complex were on the western hill, the former in an extramural necropolis. These complexes were all built away from the centrally located *forum, *amphitheatre, and *temples. The 'New' Temple also became a church. The appointment of a *Homoean *bishop by *Huneric in 484 caused many citizens to emigrate to *Spain. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 543–6.
Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 471–3.
Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 272–4.
Gui, Duval, and Caillet, *Basiliques* (1992).

Tiridates *See* TRDAT, KING OF ARMENIA.

Tirmidh (Termez, Tami) *City located on the north bank of the *Oxus River, an important centre of *Buddhism in *Central Asia. The Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 38–9) mentions ten Buddhist monasteries in the city with 1,000 monks, and another dozen monasteries in the surrounding region. Tirmidh was initially conquered by the *Arab renegade Ibn Khazim in 689/90, only coming under the control of the *caliphate in 704 (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 173–4). MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Tirmidh (W. Barthold).
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 71–6.

Tishtar (MP: Tištar, Tīr; Avest. Tishtriya) *Zoroastrian deity associated with the star Sirius. In the *Avesta, at the rising of the Dog Star, he appears in the shape of a white stallion, to fight the *demon of

drought Apaosha who has the shape of a black stallion, with Apaosha gaining the upper hand. At the sinking of the Dog Star, Tishtriya gains the upper hand fighting 'the witch of bad seasons' and the heavenly 'witches', i.e. shooting stars. He drives the water from the oceans up to the clouds by the strength of the wind, for it to rain down with the help of the **frawahr*s. Tishtar was identified with Tīr (the planet Mercury), the Babylon god of writing Nabu, and, after the Hellenistic period, Apollo.

*Ammianus Marcellinus (VI, 23) mentions that the generals of Lucius Verus captured a statue of Apollo at *Seleucia ad Tigrim, possibly that of an ancient temple of Apollo-Tīr documented in a Parthian inscription from a dedication deposited at the site. The god was part of the pre-Christian pantheon of *Armenia and appears in the name of several Arsacid kings; *Trdat (Tiridates) means 'created by Tīr'. S. *Gregory the Illuminator, 'Apostle of the Armenians', was celebrated for destroying the temple of Tir, along with others.

POS; MPC

EncIran (2005) *s.v.* Tištrya (A. Panaino).
ed. A. Panaino (with ET) 1: *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius* and A. Panaino, *Tištrya* 2: *The Iranian Myth of the Star Sirius* (SOR 68, 1 and 2; 1990 and 1995).
Skjærvø, *Spirit*, 17.

titles of honour By the 4th century AD, members of the senatorial and equestrian orders held regular titles: a *senator was *vir clarissimus* (Gk. *lamprotatos*) and equestrians were graded in ascending order *vir egregius* (or *sexagenarius*, Gk. *kratistos*), **centenarius*, *ducenarius*, and *perfectissimus* (or *tricenarius*, Gk. *diasemotatos*). Under the *Tetrarchy, the *Praefectus Praetorio (an official of equestrian rank) received the special title *eminentissimus* (Gk. *exochotatos*). The equestrian titles below *perfectissimus* had been tied to salaries in the imperial *administration; these would vanish during the 4th century.

*Constantine I began a process (often called title inflation) whereby equestrian officials were raised to senatorial rank. The rank of *perfectissimus* was then conferred on minor imperial officials and often awarded to men of *curial status seeking privileges of rank. Elite senators and the highest officials in the imperial *administration, meanwhile, came to be distinguished by still higher titles: by the later 4th century, the ranks of *spectabilis* (Gk. *peribleptos*) and *illustris* (Gk. *illoustrios/endoxotatos*) solidified as higher grades above *clarissimus*. The number of officials who held these ranks was small: *Vicarii and *Proconsuls were promoted to *spectabilis*, whereas the most eminent officials—Praefectus Praetorio, *Praefectus Urbi, and other high ministers—were made *illustris*. From the 5th to the 6th century, holders of the highest ranks received new titles, such as *gloriosissimus* (also Gk. *endoxotatos*) and *magnificus/magnificentissimus* (Gk. *megaloprepestatos*) and lower grades gradually depreciated. Eventually, equestrians would disappear entirely and only *illustres* remained senators. From the time of Constantine I, specially privileged persons might receive the title **patricius* ('patrician'), and others received the title **comes* ('companion'), of which there were three grades.

See also ARISTOCRACY, IMPERIAL; ARISTOCRACY, SENATORIAL; *HONORATI*. JND

A. Berger *s.v.* 'illustris', *RE* IX (1915), 1070–85.
W. Enßlin *s.v.* 'spectabilis', *RE* IIIA2 (1929), 1552–68.
O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Rangtitel der römischen Kaiserzeit', *Kleine Schriften* (1913), 657–71.
O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rankprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (1930).
P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel* (1903).
W. Kuhoff, *Studien zur zivilen senatorischen Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (1983).
C. Lepelley, 'Fine dell'ordine equestre: le tappe dell'unificazione della classe dirigente romana nel IV secolo', in A. Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, vol. 1 (1986), 227–44.

titles of honour, post-Roman Roman titles continued to be used or were adopted anew in Late Antiquity, but often with different nuances and less systematically than in imperial times. In addition, new, even vaguer titles such as **optimates* and *procures* came to replace many of the former Roman designations by the 7th century.

The title *Flavius was originally a *nomen* of the Flavian dynasty of *emperors, adopted by the *family of *Constantine I, but the association with imperial power which the word suggested led later emperors not of the Flavian dynasty to adopt it. Generals also sometimes added it to their names, especially Germanic ones to symbolize their entering the service of Rome. In the East, it was a courtesy used in front of aristocratic names and can be found on *papyri.

**Honestior* or *honestus* referred to the upper class in contrast to lower-class *humiliores*, and included *senators, members of *city councils, *milites*, and clergy. It was not a precisely defined category, and its privileges declined through Late Antiquity.

The designation *vir illustris* began as a title with the *Praefectus Praetorio in the 350s. It was not inherited but based on tenure in office or imperial grant. Under *Justinian I, all senators were expected to hold the title of *illustris* (occasionally spelled *inlustris*). In the Frankish kingdoms, especially in the 7th century, the title *vir inluster* was used for major aristocrats who were close to the king.

Vir gloriosus was a term for an upper-grade *illustris*, with its superlative *gloriosissimus* the highest rank eastern senators could achieve in the 6th century. It

developed as a way to re-establish an even more select body of noblemen once *illustris* and other senatorial titles had become overused and devalued. *Gloriosus* was restricted to the highest-level officials, such as the *Magister Militum, Praefectus Praetorio, and important rulers in the post-Roman West who were nominally under imperial rule. In *Ostrogothic and *Lombard *Italy, *vir magnificus* was used for high aristocrats; its equivalent in Francia was *vir inluster*. Lombard Italy also had the title *vir devotus*, a military title used for modest landowners. EMB

C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (2005).

titulus Name given to a neighbourhood church in the *City of *Rome, e.g. the Titulus of S. Pudenziana. The name of the *titulus* originally referred to the ownership of the property. In the course of the 6th century the *tituli* all received names of saints; e.g. the Titulus Callisti became the Titulus of S. Maria in Trastevere. All the *tituli* were employed in the daily *stational liturgies during Lent. They also served as 'parish centres' for catechumens and penitents. Later each Cardinal Priest of Rome was assigned his own *titulus*. JFB

J. P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 9/1, 1918).

Titus of Bosra (d. *c.*378) *Greek heresiologist, and *Bishop of *Bosra (Bostra) of *Arabia. Titus survived the *Emperor *Julian's command of 1 August 362 urging the citizens of Bosra to unseat him because he had influenced them during *disorders following the implementation of the emperor's pro-*pagan policies (437C–438C; *Socrates, *HE* III, 25). The following year Titus attended the Synod of *Antioch and signed a synodal *letter addressed to the Emperor *Jovian supporting the *Nicene *Creed. His important refutation of *Manichaeism in four books survives partially in *Greek, and in a *Syriac translation. An *Epiphany *sermon and two biblical commentaries survive in fragments. NJBB

CPG 3575–8: ed. P. A. De Lagarde, *Titus Bostrenus syriace et graece* (1967).

N. A. Pedersen, *Demonstrative Proof in Defence of God: A Study of Titus of Bostra's Contra Manichaeos—The Work's Sources, Aims and Relation to its Contemporary Theology* (2004).

toga The ample draped garment that was the distinctive attire of the free-born Roman man; for *Vergil the Romans were precisely *gens togata* (*Aeneid*, I, 282). In Late Antiquity, togas were not everyday but ceremonial garments (cf. *CTh* XIV, 10, 1). In the *provinces (e.g. at *Aphrodisias), a form of toga appears on portrait *sculpture down to the early 6th century. *John Lydus (Mag. I, 28, 4-5) claimed to be able to remember when *city councillors, not only in *Rome but also in provincial *cities, never wore anything but white formal *dress MGP

S. Stone, 'The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume', in J. L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (1994), 13–45.

R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300–600', *JRS* 89 (1999), 155–89.

M. Harlow, 'Clothes maketh the man: Power Dressing and Elite Masculinity in the Later Roman World', in Brubaker and Smith, *Gender*, 44–69, at 49, 51, 54.

R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (2016), ch. 1.

toga picta Also known as the *trabea triumphalis*, the *toga picta* was the most elaborate version of the *toga and formed part of Roman consular *dress worn by the *emperor, *consuls, and triumphing generals. The consular *toga picta*, made of *purple cloth and *gold thread, is represented on consular ivory *diptychs down to 540. By the 6th century, the gem-encrusted border of the imperial *toga picta* had developed into the **loros*. MGP

Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, 53–4.

Tokharian (Tocharian) language and literature Extinct Indo-European language spoken along the *Silk Road from *Turfan to Tumshuq, preserved in two dialects (Tokharian A, from Qarashahr and Turfan, and Tokharian B, from Kucha and Turfan) with a possible third (Tokharian C, from Loulan/Kroraina). Some scholars designate these as separate languages, not dialects; together they form a unique branch of the Indo-European language family. Although some Tokharian documents are epistolary, commercial, or medical, most are *Buddhist texts, the majority being translations from Sanskrit, thereby highlighting the role Tokharian played in spreading *Buddhism along the Silk Road.

The name Tokharian comes from Old Turkic references to the speakers as *twghry*, suggesting a relationship with the Tocharoi (Yüeh-chih) who invaded *Bactria (3rd cent. BC). Tokharian texts, written on palm leaves, paper, or wood and dated 6th–8th century, are nearly all written in Brahmi script, but a number of *Manichaean texts are in Manichaean script. Tokharian A was seemingly a *Buddhist liturgical language during this time, whereas Tokharian B was probably the vernacular; after the *Uighurs arrived (9th cent.), Tokharian apparently died out. Unlike other eastern Indo-European languages, Tokharian was a *centum* (not *satem*) language. MLD

C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (2009), 380–3.

G.-J. Pinault, *Chrestomathie tokharienne: textes et grammaire* (2008).

W. Winter, 'Tocharian', in G. A. and P. Ramat, eds., *The Indo-European Languages* (1998), 154–68.

Tolbiac, Battle of *See* ZÜLPICH, BATTLE OF.

Toledo (Lat. Toletum, Ar. Tulaytula) Under the Later Roman Empire Toledo was an obscure *civitas stipendiaria* in the *conventus* of Carthago Nova (mod. *Cartagena), within the province of Hispania *Carthaginiensis. It was the site of a church *council in 400, called to tackle *Priscillianism. The *Visigoths took it in 418 and *Bishop Montanus held a second council in 527, notably making provision for clerical education.

The Visigothic King *Theudis promulgated legislation at Toledo in 546 and by the reign of *Athanagild (r. 551/4–67/8), Toledo had seemingly become the royal capital. The conversion of the Visigoths from *Homoean ('Arian') Christianity to Catholicism was celebrated at the Third Council of Toledo in 589. Thereafter the city was the scene of regular 'national' church councils through the 7th century, during which its *metropolitan bishops attained ecclesiastical primacy.

Archaeology is lacking, but includes a large 4th-century *circus and public *baths, and the important Church of Santa Leocadia, site of the later councils. The 6th-century 'Visigothic' cemetery of El *Carpio del Tajo is just to the west.

Conquered by the Arab army of *Tariq b. Ziyad in 714, the city became known as Tulaytula. It was the scene of several legendary episodes of the *Arab conquest, notably the rape by King *Roderic of the daughter of Count Julian of Ceuta, and the 'sealed temple' (perhaps S. Leocadia) with its portentous but fabulous riches. Tulaytula was a focus of resistance 'to *'Umayyad rule, from the *Berber rising of 740, until its final subjection by Abd al-Rahman III in 930–2. GDB

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 14 (2009) *s.v.* Toletum, cols. 768–9 (R. Stepper).

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Ṭulayṭula (E. Lévi-Provençal; J. P. Molénat).

R. Collins, *Spain: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (1998).

Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*.

Toledo, Councils of *See* COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH, SPAIN.

toleration Romans had no word for toleration; the rare *Latin word *tolerantia* has the connotation of being able to endure suffering. However, they willingly permitted a broad range of private religious practice and philosophical convictions. They also did not in general interfere with the local religious practice of peoples they had conquered (except to end human *sacrifice or quell rebellion). They would apply to local pantheons an *interpretatio Romana*, identifying individual divinities by type and function with members of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, so that, for instance, Punic Ba'als in *Africa become Roman *Saturn. This practice grew from a sense that each community, clime (Lat. *plaga*), and people (including the *Jews) had its own appropriate blend of divine protectors. That is not to say that *pagans went in awe of all foreign gods. Apuleius was genuinely funny about the Syrian Goddess and the piping voices of her castrated priests (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 24–IX, 10). But as serious polytheists in their own *city cults, Roman pagans knew the importance both of placating the gods, and of maintaining a balance of power between them.

*Christians did suffer persecution and *martyrdom. This was not because of their opinions or practices but rather because they refused to cooperate in normal public religion in communal cults which, as a persecuting *emperor put it, 'perhaps their own forefathers had established' (*Galerius in *Lactantius, *Mort.* 34, 2). When the *Letter of *Licinius finally brought the Great Persecution to an end in 313, toleration was proclaimed. Other bodies of religious practice and ideas had always been tolerated, so this was novel only insofar as it applied to Christianity, and even for them not wholly new, as *Gallienus had restored places of worship and the right to assemble to Christians after the perscution under *Valerian half a century previously (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 13).

The end of the Great Persecution did, however, initiate the process by which during the 4th century Christianity came to dominate Roman religious life. This was marked by occasional surges of violent intolerance, such as the lynching of the *philosopher *Hypatia in 415. But pagan–Christian tensions in the 4th century were not in general about prohibiting individuals from holding opinions, they were about the proper way for the public as a whole to seek divine protection. When in his *Third Relatio* of 384 *Symmachus as *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome asked the emperor to reinstate the endowments of the *Vestal Virgins and the *Altar of the goddess Victory in the *Senate House, he was not seeking toleration for a point of view, he was claiming that the rites they were associated with conferred public benefits and so should be paid for with public money. Significantly, *Ambrose, *Bishop of *Milan, countered his claim by evoking the memory of the persecutions in which pagans had been glad to try and eradicate Christianity (*epp.* 17 and 18). This was a straightforward confrontation between rival public ideologies; it was not about the toleration of an eccentric minority ritual.

Discussion of doctrine within the Christian Church from the *Council of *Nicaea onwards certainly gave rise to frequent definitions of *heresy. What is striking about the '*Arian' controversies of the 4th century, however, is the lively ferment of potential solutions they threw up to genuine intellectual problems; no dissident suffered anything worse than *exile. The first Christian cleric to be executed by the Christian imperial

government was *Priscillian in 384, and that was for *magic, not for heresy. *Augustine went through strenuous intellectual anxieties before acquiescing in the use of secular means to bring the *Donatists into the Catholic Church. Later, findings against *Nestorius in the 5th century, the enforcement of measures against *Miaphysites from the time of *Justinian I onwards, and the anathemas against the imperially sponsored *Monotheletes in the 7th century led to schism and exile rather than to executions. OPN; SJL-R

P. D. A. Garnsey, 'Religious Toleration in Classical Antiquity', in W. Shiels, ed., *Persecution and Toleration* (SCH 21, 1984), 1–27.

M. Kahlos, *Forbearance and Compulsion: Rhetoric of Tolerance and Intolerance in Late Antiquity* (2009).

G. Stanton and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (1998).

tolls and fees (Roman and post-Roman) The Late Roman Empire maintained an extensive system of customs and tolls, comprising customs charges for *trade between *provinces, tolls levied by *cities (which *Constantine I diverted to central imperial coffers), and port charges. These tolls and customs were primarily levied on *merchants, whilst peasants and others transporting produce for use, consumption, and for the fulfilment of tax obligations were exempt.

The standard rate of toll would appear to have been 2.5% of the value of goods in transit in the 4th century and 5% in the 5th (with merchants travelling by sea presumably only paying fees on the value of goods bought and sold). In the year 444, the Western *Emperor *Valentinian III imposed a general sales tax known as the **siliquaticum*. This consisted of a charge of 1/24 on the value of every sale (the *gold **solidus* consisting of 24 **siliquae*), with the cost being met equally between the vendor and purchaser. The area over which Valentinian III ruled, however, was limited, and the tax is attested to have survived only in *Ostrogothic *Italy. *Procopius (*Anecd.* 25, 1–6) records that *Justinian I reorganized the collection of customs at *Abydos on the Hellespont and at *Hieron on the *Bosporus.

Emperors also attempted to regulate and levy fees on international trade, with commerce with neighbouring powers being directed towards specific entrepôts, such as *Nisibis or *Callinicum on the eastern *frontier. As well as facilitating the effective taxation of potentially highly lucrative international trade, such arrangements helped the imperial government to ensure that Roman merchants were not engaging in the export of such prohibited goods as *arms, *gold, or *salt) and that foreign merchants (who were frequently suspected of being *spies) could be kept under close observation. By the late 4th century, customs and tolls along the *frontiers of the Eastern Empire were overseen by officials known as the *Comites Commerciorum.

There is considerable evidence that tolls and customs on trade based on Roman models were maintained by rulers in the post-Roman West, especially in those parts of *Italy which came under *Lombard rule and in the *Frankish territories. The 8th-century Lombard King *Aistulf, for example, established toll stations in the Alpine passes, and Frankish royal officials (*missi*) seem to have levied tolls on those merchants who chose to buy and sell at markets that were licensed for the purposes of international trade. To some extent, such practices are likely to have resulted from an institutional inheritance from the Late Roman past. However, direct economic contact with the Eastern Roman Empire, which maintained and updated Late Roman policies concerned with the regulation and *taxation of trade, is also likely to have been important in perpetuating such practices and transmitting them to others, such as the rulers of the *Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. PS

Jones, *LRE* 429–30; 825–6.

N. Middleton, 'Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls on Foreign Trade', *EME* 13 (2005), 313–58.

Tomarza Site of a 5th- or early 6th-century church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary, 40 km (25 miles) southwest of *Caesarea of *Cappadocia, destroyed *c.*1921. The church's cruciform layout, rectangular tower without cupola, and pentagonal *apse exterior are characteristic of central Anatolian churches. PJT

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981), 296.

Restle, *Architektur Kappadokiens*, 67–73 and plates 133–7.

S. Hill, 'The Early Christian Church at Tomarza, Cappadocia', *DOP* 29 (1975), 149–64.

tombs and mausolea Roman architecture knew a rich variety of plan types and exterior forms for funerary buildings, termed variously *sacrarium*, *templum*, *heroon*, *sacer* in *Latin—the term 'mausoleum', derived from Maussolus, a Hellenistic dynast from *Caria, was not widely used in Antiquity. Forms included tumuli, houses, pyramids, cylinders on square podia, *altars, *octagons, and towers.

Significant Late Antique mausolea were of the 'domed rotunda type', a round or octagonal building with a *dome for a roof. This form probably imitates the shape of the *Pantheon in *Rome; it was symbolic of cosmic perfection and heaven. *Gallienus (253–68) was the first *emperor to adopt the type for his burial. It remained in use for imperial tombs into the 5th century, for instance for the Mausoleum of *Honorius (S. Petronilla) in Rome, which was probably also the burial place of Honorius' mother *Galla Placidia, rather than the building in *Ravenna generally called her mausoleum. Some imperial mausolea, for instance that of *Diocletian at *Split, have further

features of *temple architecture, underlining the divine character of the deceased.

The continuity represented by the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian in Rome gave way in the 3rd and early 4th century to individual tombs. The mausolea of the *Tetrarchy and the early Constantinian period were free-standing structures located at or close to imperial residences, including those at *Split, *Romulianum, *Šarkamen, and *Milan, and the mausolea of *Maxentius, *Helena, and *Constantia at Rome. An 'extra-dynastic' mausoleum was established again with the recentralization of imperial power in the new capital at *Constantinople with *Constantine I's mausoleum at *Holy Apostles. In the West, emperors continued to be buried in individual tombs; the mausoleum at *Centecelles in *Spain may be that of *Constans I.

Mausolea of the third century and Tetrarchy have two storeys, the lower one (crypt) for the burial and the upper room probably for ritual purposes. The upper rooms had lavish decorations in *marble, *mosaics, and paintings, and they were embellished with niches. Christian mausolea adopted the domed-rotunda type, but have no crypt; the *sarcophagi were set into a well-illuminated interior space. In the early 6th century the mausoleum of *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth in Ravenna readopted the two-storeyed type. Imperial tombs remained places for offerings and commemorations in Late Antiquity and in the Christian period. UG

M. J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (2009).

tomb violation A crime in Roman law (**Digest*, 47, 12). The distinction between damage to the *tomb and to the body appears in the 3rd century (*Sententiae* of *Paul, I, 21, 4). Tomb violation is also, though rarely, mentioned in Christian penitential canons, where it is punished by excommunication (*Basil, *ep*. 217, 66; *Gregory of *Nyssa, *Epistola Canonica*, 7; Council of Mâcon of 585, canon 17). Many funerary *inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, include *curses against tomb violators, particularly in *Anatolia. Their main function was to enforce the rules set by the founder for the use of the tomb. Concerns about the Resurrection appear only in a few 6th-century Italian inscriptions (*ILCV* 3845, 3850, 3863). ERe

É. Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, tr. E. Trapnell Rawlings and J. Routier-Pucci (2009; French original, 2003), 57–88.

J. H. M. Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi: Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor* (1997).

Tome of Leo the Great Christological treatise of AD 449 issued by *Leo I of *Rome, preserved as his *Letter* 28, probably compiled by his **notarius* *Prosper of *Aquitaine, responding to the request of Flavian *Patriarch of *Constantinople to publicize his synod condemning *Eutyches as a heretic. The *Tome* repudiated the errors of *Nestorius and Eutyches by establishing that Christ was fully human and fully divine, consisting of two natures, substances, and forms connected ontologically as a single person. It developed the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*, which said the divine and human natures were complete in their respective attributes and connected by the unity of their person such that the divinity and the humanity were each present in the actions of the other, without causing the other to change.

*Dioscorus, Patriarch of *Alexandria, and the Second *Council of *Ephesus rejected the *Tome* in 449, but the Council of *Chalcedon (451) accepted the *Tome* as the definitive statement of Christology. In 453, after Chalcedon, false translations of the *Tome* into *Greek circulated in *Palestine and *Egypt exaggerating Leo's dual-nature language and making him sound like a crypto-Nestorian. Leo practised diplomacy in both regions and asked the *Emperor *Marcian (450–7) to commission a more accurate translation for the Egyptians. His diplomatic efforts failed. The Eutychians, and Egypt and parts of *Syria and Palestine, which became the centres of *Miaphysite loyalty, rejected both the *Tome* and the Council of Chalcedon which had incorporated its Christology. SW

ACO II, 2, 1, 24–33; *ACO* IV, I, 167–72.

PL 54, 755–82.

ed. C. da Silva Tarouca, *S. Leonis Magni epistulae* … (Textus et Documenta, series theologica 9, 15, 20; 1932–5).

ET C. L. Feltoe (NPNF 12, 1894).

ET E. Hunt (FC 54, 1957).

Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1, 526–39.

Wessel, *Leo the Great*, 209–57.

Tomis (mod. Constanța, Romania) Principal *city of *Scythia Minor, with a *harbour on the Black Sea. Unusually, its *bishop had sole episcopal jurisdiction over the entire province (*Sozomen, VII, 19; *CJust* I, 3, 35, 2 of *Zeno). The *Paternus Plate of AD 498 from the *Malaia Pereschepina Treasure, four churches, a large building with *mosaics, and harbour remains, including workshops and warehouses, attest to the *city's prosperity in the 4th–5th centuries. *Attila captured it in 499. *Procopius (*Aed*. IV, 4, 20) lists it as a place whose fortifications were renewed by *Justinian I. The *Avars besieged it in 587 (*Theophylact Simocatta, II, 10, 12–13), and again in 599–600 (*Theophanes, AM 6092). AG; OPN

TIR L 35 (1969), 72–3.

M. Bucovala and V. Lungu, *Le Grand Édifice romain à mosaïque de Tomi* (1997).

V. Cosma, 'Anchors from Tomis', *IntJnlNautArch* 2/2 (1973), 235–41.

L. Buzoioanu and M. Barbulescu, 'Tomis', in D. V. Grammenos and E. K. Petropoulos, eds., *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*, 2, I (BAR Int. Series 1675/1, 2007), 287–335.
E. Popescu, 'Constantiana: un problème de geographie historique de la Scythie Mineure', *BZ* 66 (1973), 359–82.
A. Radulescu et al., 'Recente certari archeologice la Tomis (1971, 1972)', *Pontica* 6 (1973), 333–50.

tonsure *See* HAIR, BALDNESS, AND BEARDS.

tools, barbarian By the end of the prehistoric Iron Age, at the time of the Roman conquests in *Gaul and southern Germany, barbarian communities had developed extensive assemblages of tools to serve a wide range of purposes. Blacksmiths had learned how to produce steel by alloying carbon and *iron, and the blades of many swords, spears, axes, and knives were of fine steel. Agricultural tools such as ploughshares, coulters, sickles, and scythes were readily available. Kitchen implements—cauldrons, suspension chains, firedogs (andirons), and grills—were also in regular use. Tools appropriate for specific crafts, such as bone and antler carving, and *jewellery and *textile manufacture, including spinning and weaving, are also commonly found at sites throughout Europe. PSW

M. Müller-Wille, 'Der frühmittelalterliche Schmied im Spiegel skandinavischer Grabfunde', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 11 (1977), 127–201.
H. Roth, *Kunst und Handwerk im frühen Mittelalter: Archäologische Zeugnisse von Childerich I. bis zu Karl dem Grossen* (1986).

tools for cultivation Late Roman farmers used hand tools and simple machines, the latter usually animal-drawn. For preparing seedbeds, eliminating weeds, and digging the roots of vines and trees, spades (Lat. *bipalium*, *pala*, *rutrum*; Gk. *skapane*, *pala*, *skupale*), mattocks (*ligo*; Gk. *makele*), forks (Lat. *pastinum*; Gk. *dikella*), and hoes (Lat. *sarculum*, Gk. *skalis*) were the most commonly used. These implements were commonplace items and owned by the most humble cultivators. Most had wooden handles and *iron ends; all-wood examples were also known but uncommon. Various types of pruning knives (Lat. *falx*, Gk. *drepanon*) for tending vines and *fruit orchards were also ubiquitous; the same word could also designate sickles used for harvesting *grain. For tilling, *ploughs, harrows to break up the clots left after ploughing, and sledges to separate the heads of grain from the stalk were ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean and Near East. MD

K. D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* (1967).

Topirus (mod. Paradeisos, Greece) *City of *Rhodopa and station on the *Via Egnatia on the Nestus delta. *Slavs sacked it in 549/50 or 551/2, killing 15,000 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VII, 38, 9–18). *Justinian I rebuilt the fortifications afterwards (Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 11). Remains of the fortified settlement, cemeteries, a *basilica, and various buildings are known from the site. ER

TIR K_{35}, *I*: *Philippi* (1993), 58.
TIB 6 *Thrakien* (1991) 480–1 (*s.v.* Topeiros).

Tor de Schiavi *See* VILLA DEI GORDIANI.

Tor Pignattara Italian name for the mausoleum of *Helena (d. 327), mother of *Constantine I, located *c.*3.8 km (2.1 miles) south-east of *Rome on the Via Labicana, built *c.*315–26. A *porphyry *sarcophagus with *cavalry scenes, identified with the sarcophagus where Constantine buried his mother before an *altar of pure *silver (**Liber Pontificalis*, 34, 26), discovered inside, is now in the Vatican. A *cemetery *basilica, dedicated to Ss. *Marcellino e Pietro, adjoined the mausoleum on the west. DRB

J. Guyon, 'Helenae basilica, ecclesia, mausoleum, rotunda', in La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*, vol. 3, 45–9.
M. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (2009), 110–18.

torture The Roman judicial process used torture of both the accused and witnesses to collect evidence (*quaestio*) in both criminal and civil cases (*CJust* IX, 41, 15; *CTh* II, 27, 1–2). Torture of Christians during *persecutions and later of heterodox Christians presents a peculiar case, as the objective was not to collect evidence but to make the accused recant (*CTh* XVI, 5, 41).

Originally restricted, probably by custom, to slaves and perhaps non-citizens, except in cases of *treason (*crimen maiestatis*), by the 3rd century torture was extended to free *humiliores* and by the 4th century to **honestiores*. The latter development was mainly due to the association of a variety of crimes with *maiestas*, as at *Rome in 371 when members of the senatorial *aristocracy were tortured for adultery and *magic—a clear case of abuse according to *Ammianus (XXVIII, 1). Later laws reconfirm exemption from torture for persons 'of honour' (*honore munitae*, *CJust* IX, 41, 17).

Juridically the infliction of pain for torture was distinguished from that for punishment or for intimidation, even though methods akin to torture, such as bodily mutilation, were used to aggravate other penalties (*CTh* VII, 18,8) and people did die under torture (Ammianus, XXIX, 1, 44). Legal sources stress the formal conditions of torture. It should not be applied before judicial proceedings were initiated (*CTh* IX,

1, 14) and condemnation was not to be based on the evidence gathered under torture alone, as that was too unreliable (*Digest*, XLVIII, 18, 1).

A common instrument of torture was the rack (*eculeus*). Other methods included the infliction of wounds through torches or claws (*ungulae*), public scourging, or being chained in *prison (*Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians*, 1, 6; *Augustine, *ep.* 133, 2).

Christian authors were ambivalent about torture. While concerned about torture of the innocent, they explained infliction of pain through torture as a consequence of human sinfulness, or as a human judge's imperfect tool in a corrupt world (Augustine, *City of God*, XIX, 6). Furthermore, early Christian *martyrs had by their witness triumphed over their tortures in ways which were dramatized by such admirers as *Prudentius and the authors of 'epic' martyr *passions.

JHi

L. Grig, 'Torture and Truth in Late Antique Martyrology', *EME* 11 (2002), 321–36.

Harries, *Law and Empire*, 122–34.

RAC 8/57 (1972) *s.vv.* Folter and Folterwerkzeuge, cols. 101–41 (G. Thür, J. Vergote).

Tosefta A collection of *rabbinic legal regulations similar in language, structure, and content to the *Mishnah (first document of rabbinic law, edited around AD 200), but much longer and more elaborate. Scholars differ over the Tosefta's relationship to the Mishnah but most agree that the Tosefta contains traditions which comment on and supplement the earlier text. It is also generally agreed that the Tosefta was edited later than the Mishnah, perhaps in the 3rd to 4th centuries AD. Besides the Mishnah, the Tosefta is one of the most important compendia of ancient Jewish religious law on which the Palestian and Babylonian *Talmuds were based.

CH

ed. S. Lieberman, *The Tosefta: The Orders of Zeraim, Moed, Nashim, and Nezikin* [Hebr.], 4 vols. (1955–88).

ed. M. S. Zuckermandel, *Tosephta* [Hebr.] (repr. 1963).

ET J. Neusner, *The Tosefta: Translated from the Hebrew*, 6 vols. (1977–86).

Totila (Baduila) (d. 552) *Ostrogothic general and king (541–52), nephew of King *Ildibad. He was commander of the *Goths at Treviso and began negotiating with the Byzantines after his uncle's murder in 541. Offered the kingship later that year, he accepted and renewed Gothic resistance to Byzantine rule with vigour. Initially commanding 5,000 men, he won great victories at Faenza and *Florence in 542, swelling his ranks. By 543, he had captured *Naples and other important *cities, placing much of *Italy under his control. Despite the return of the Byzantine general *Belisarius in 544, he remained successful, capturing *Rome in 546 after a year-long siege. Following this, he made diplomatic overtures to the Emperor *Justinian I, which failed, but he acquired an alliance with the *Franks in exchange for *Venetia. He lost Rome to Belisarius in 547 but continued to have victories elsewhere, pushing the war beyond the confines of Italy in 549 by constructing a navy. In 550, he captured Rome again and was conciliatory, hosting games, praying at the *Vatican, and patronizing the *Senate. Still unable to achieve peace with the emperor, he conquered *Sicily, *Corsica, and *Sardinia between 550 and 551, but suffered a major naval defeat near Ancona in 551. This disaster was followed by the arrival of the Byzantine general *Narses with a sizeable army in 552. The two soon met at the Battle of *Busta Gallorum in central Italy, where the Gothic army was routed and Totila fatally wounded.

JJA

PLRE IIIB, Totila.

P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (1997).

P. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).

J. Moorhead, 'Totila the Revolutionary', *Historia* 49 (2000), 382–6.

Stein, *Histoire*, vol. 2 (1949).

Wolfram, *Goths*.

Totius Orbis Descriptio A *Latin geographical text of uncertain date (no earlier than the mid-4th cent.). It is closely related to the **Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* and/or the latter's *Greek model, and follows the same order of topics. The *Descriptio* is generally briefer than the *Expositio*, but occasionally more detailed. It includes several elements not found in the longer work: a preface by the *philosopher 'Junior' addressing the work to an unnamed son, a short list of authorities allegedly utilized, and a brief coda. The transmitted text incorporates some Christian elements and omits references to *pagan cult found in the *Expositio*.

GH

ed. J. Rougé (annotated with FT), in *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* (SC 124, 1966).

Toulouse (dép. Haute-Garonne, France, *civitas Tolosatium*) A substantial *city in the Late Antique province of *Narbonensis Prima, on a major river- and *road-axis between *Narbonne and *Bordeaux. *Ausonius, whose uncle was a professor there, mentions several of its *rhetoricians and its substantial early imperial ramparts, enclosing some 90 ha (*c.*222 acres), but the city only attained political importance once the *Visigoths were established 'in *Aquitaine from Toulouse to the Ocean' (*Hydatius, 69, ad ann. 418) in 418,

and gradually developed the 'kingdom of Toulouse' (Spanish *Chronicle of Saragossa*; MGH AA XI, p. 223, ad a. 507). A vast intramural building, perhaps part of a *palace, and the embellishment of a nearby extra-mural church at S. Pierre-des-Cuisines, both recently excavated, may be connected with the presence of the Visigothic kings, as perhaps is Notre-Dame de la Daurade, a decagonal church with lavish Late Antique *mosaic decoration, demolished in the 1760s.

The city's first securely attested bishop attended the *Council of *Arles in 314. S. Saturninus was supposedly an earlier bishop martyred during the *persecution of *Decius (*Sidonius, IX, 16). The *Passio* of S. Saturninus (*BHL* 7495) contains a fictitious account of his sufferings, but provides a description of the historical evolution of a church over his *tomb. Another church was built in the late 6th century at the site of his alleged precipitation from the steps of the city's capitol (Venantius *Fortunatus, *Carmen*, 2, 8).

Toulouse was attacked by the *Franks and *Burgundians following their victory over the Visigoths at the Battle of *Vouillé in 507, and then absorbed into the *Merovingian realm, briefly becoming the centre of the short-lived Aquitanian kingdom of *Charibert II (629–32) (Fredegar, IV, 57). The Aquitanian *Dux *Eudo won a resounding victory over the *Arabs there in 721, and his successors resisted the imposition of Carolingian authority into the later 8th century.

CD; STL

Topographie chrétienne, Gaule, vol. 7 (1989), 25–32; 16/2 (2014), 272–8.

J.-M. Pailler, ed., *Tolosa: nouvelles recherches sur Toulouse et son territoire dans l'Antiquité* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 281, 2002).

J. Guyon, 'Toulouse, la première capitale du royaume wisigoth', in G. Ripoll and J.-M. Gurt, eds., *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)* (2000), 219–40.

Tournai (prov. Hainaut, Belgium; *civitas Turnacensium*) A settlement located on the River Scheldt, which flourished during the Late Empire when it was elevated to the status of a *civitas*-capital. Its rectangular 13-ha (32-acre) wall-circuit incorporated a number of rebuilt structures, including a **gynaeceum* (**Notitia Dignitatum* [occ.] XI, 2). Its political importance persisted in the 5th century under the *Frankish warlords *Chlodio and *Childeric. The latter was buried in the S. Brice *suburb of Tournai (481/2), in a ritual that featured the deposition of rich grave-goods in his *tomb, and the sacrifice of dozens of *horses.

Although its first *bishop is not attested until 549, an episcopal church of the 5th century has been excavated under the modern cathedral, as well as a funerary church at S. Piat. *Chilperic I was besieged, and his son Samson baptized, at Tournai in 575, but the focus of the see appears to have shifted to Noyon in the 7th century. RBr

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 14 (2006), 107–16; 16.1 (2014), 279–83.

*RGA*2 *s.v.* Tournai, XXXI (2006), 99–106 (R. Brulet).

Coquelet, *Capitales*.

R. Brulet, ed., *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai: l'archéologie du site et des monuments anciens* (2012).

Tours (dép. Indre-et-Loire, France *metropolis civitas Turonum*) *City on the south bank of the Loire, commanding a river crossing, which reached its administrative apogee in the later 4th century, when it became the capital of the newly created *province of *Lugdunensis Tertia. The settlement had, however, been contracting since the mid-2nd century from its greatest extent of some 70 ha (*c.*173 acres). An initial *fortification of its amphitheatre was complemented by the completion of a wall-circuit in the mid-4th century, shortly before S. *Martin became *Bishop of Tours.

S. Martin's ascetic achievements in combination with the efforts of his biographer *Sulpicius Severus stimulated the steady development of his cult. The site of his *tomb, in a suburban *cemetery some 800 m (about half a mile) west of the walls, was progressively transformed into a monument, initially by Brice, his successor as bishop, and more substantially by Bishop Perpetuus *c.*470. It was here, in 508, that *Clovis celebrated his triumph over the *Visigoths at the Battle of *Vouillé.

By the time *Gregory of Tours, another assiduous promoter of the cult of S. Martin, became Bishop of Tours, the saint's shrine stood at the heart of a complex of churches, monastic buildings, and lodgings for pilgrims and mendicants, which existed in counterpoint to the cathedral complex within the walls, restored by Gregory after a fire. Topographically, Tours had become a bipolar city. The impression given in Gregory's writings of a thriving if beleaguered community, beset by civil wars and magnates seeking sanctuary at S. Martin's shrine, is contradicted by an archaeological record dominated by evidence of impoverishment and desertion. This seeming contrast has put Tours at the forefront of debates about the character of post-Roman Western urbanism. STL

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 5 (1987), 19–39; 16/1 (2014), 284–8.

L. Pietri, *La Ville de Tours du IVe au VIe siècle: naissance d'une cité chrétienne* (1983).

H. Galinié, ed., *Tours antique et médiéval: lieux de vie, temps de la ville. 40 ans d'archéologie urbaine* (2007).

Tovma Artsruni (d. after 905) Tenth-century historian of the Artsruni clan, the Armenian rulers of the province of Vaspurakan and rivals of the *Bagratuni clan for the Armenian throne after 990. Nothing is

known of Tovma apart from his authorship of the *History of the House of Elishe*, probably commissioned by Gagik I Bagratuni after his accession to the rule of Vaspurakan in 905. The *History* is a tripartite account of events from the time of Noah to his own day, and seems to be an Artsruni response to the *History* of *Movses Khorenats'i with its emphasis on the *Bagratuni clan of Širak to the north. Tovma's *History*, together with that of Khorenats'i, demonstrates the considerable influence of the work of *Elishe Vardapet on Armenian *historiography and historical consciousness. Tovma, needing to come up with an explanation for the insignificant part played by Artsruni princes in the 451 uprising of *Vardan Mamikonean, compared with the prominence of the Bagratunis, even goes so far as to invent a tale in which Elishe's original manuscript was altered by an enemy of the Artsruni, a monk named Barsauma, to omit all reference to one Vahan Artsruni. Tovma claims that Vahan fought and died side by side with the great Vardan, but that his heroism went unrecognized due to Barsauma's malicious intervention. His brief account of the origins of *Muhammad is influenced by that of *Sebeos, but also incorporates the ideas of Byzantine polemicists concerning the link between *Islam and *Arianism with his mention of the Arian monk Sargis Bahīra, who allegedly taught Muhammad in *Egypt. TLA

ET: R. W. Thomson, *History of the House of Artsrunik'* (1985).

towers Tall narrow structures either free-standing or integrated into buildings or walls. The rectangular towers of city walls were sufficiently robust to withstand *siege warfare and to permit *artillery to fire from. They were a feature of defensive architecture on the *city walls of *Rome, restored by the *Emperor *Aurelian (270–5). Later towers took different shapes—semicircular, as in the walls of *Nicaea and *Amida, and octagonal, as in the Land Walls of *Constantinople built under *Theodosius II. Triangular and pentagonal towers were a 5th-century innovation, both used in the city walls of *Thessalonica. Church *bell towers were seen as spiritual protectors of the faithful. SVL

J. Crow, 'Fortifications and Urbanism in Late Antiquity: Thessaloniki and Other Eastern Cities', in L. Lavan and W. Bowden, eds., *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism* (JRA Suppl. 42, 2001), 89–105.

C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (1986).

S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (1983).

E. Rizos, 'The Late-Antique Walls of Thessalonica and their Place in the Development of Eastern Military Architecture', *JRA* 24 (2011), 450–68.

Toxandria The exact location of Toxandria is controversial. The name evokes the Texuandri, a people who, according to *Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, IV, 106), lived west of the Scheldt River. But later sources, largely medieval, suggest its location south of Batavia and in the northern part of the civitas Tungrorum, which would put Toxandria in Limburg and the northern part of Brabant (mod. southern Netherlands and Belgium). Several sources attest to settlements there in the 4th century of Frankish groups proving troublesome to the Empire. According to *Zosimus (III, 6) the region was virtually abandoned to the *Franks after 342, with the approval of *Constantius II. *Ammianus describes leaders of the Salii offering peace to *Julian in 358 in return for the right to remain in Toxandria, where they had been residing for some time (XVII, 8, 3); problems recurred under *Valentinian I. Archaeology has not as yet provided relevant information. The area later became a frontier zone between Francia and *Frisia, whose aristocrats were drawn into the Frankish orbit in the years around 700. RBr

F. Theuws, 'The Integration of the Kempen Region into the Frankish Empire (550–750): Some Hypotheses', *Helinium* 26 (1986), 121–36.

A. Dierkens and P. Périn, 'The 5th-Century Advance of the Franks in Belgica II: History and Archaeology', in E. Taayke et al. eds., *Essays on the Early Franks* (2003), 165–93.

trabea *See* TOGA PICTA.

trade Generally vibrant over much of the Roman world through the 4th century, trade declined in the 5th–6th centuries in parts of the West. Food and raw materials, such as *timber and *marble, formed the bulk of traded goods. Long-distance trade routes, both maritime and overland, focused particularly on small quantities of luxury goods including *silk, *spices, and *amber, and connected the Roman Empire to *India, the northern world, and through the *Persian Empire to *China. Regional trade within the Empire is well documented in texts and archaeology; for example, *African Red Slip Ware circulated throughout North *Africa, but also gained a great share of the *pottery market overseas, while Egyptian Red Slip Ware was of greater importance within *Egypt and of only limited export significance. Local trade was encouraged by the continuing existence of *cities during the 4th century in the West, but declined with the troubles of the 5th and 6th centuries. MD

M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce 300–900* (2001).

trade, Aksumite The Aksumite kingdom depended heavily on trade: internally, with its immediate neighbours, and over greater distances. Most international trade was routed through the *port at *Adulis. Exports

were primarily raw materials, *ivory being especially important, and a range of luxury items, including fine *glass and quantities of *wine, was imported. An imbalance of trade with the Roman Empire may have given rise to the import of metals including *silver and possibly *gold. Confusion over the geographical meaning of the term 'India' (*see* ETHIOPIA) may have obscured understanding of Aksumite trade with the Mediterranean basin, which decreased greatly in the 7th century when control of the Red Sea waterway fell into *Arabian hands. DWP

ed. L. Casson (with ET and comm.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1989).
R. S. Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper* (2008).
Phillipson, *Foundations of an African Civilisation*, 77–8, 195–201.

trade, Far Eastern Commercial routes existed which linked northern Europe and the Mediterranean basin with *India, *Central Asia, *China, and south-east Asia. Trade between Europe and the Far East was characterized by the movement of high-value, low-bulk goods, especially *silk, *spices, *incense, precious *stones, and precious metals. Long distances, often conceptualized historiographically as 'routes' or 'roads', such as the so-called *Silk Road, were travelled by goods, probably moving from one interlocking mercantile network to another, at varying prices owing to local demand, and in return for a range of exchange media, including currency and bartered products.

Generally goods moved within two zones, either overland through Central Asia and southward through *Mesopotamia, or by water from the Red Sea or Persian Gulf across the Indian Ocean. These two zones could connect in specific places, such as at the port of Barygaza in India, where goods from the northern landward zone might move south to the sea routes or vice versa, but generally these seem to have been two fairly distinct trajectories of travel.

The Central Asian routes were dominated by the *Sogdians, an eastern Iranian people who established trading colonies from Chang'an in China to the *Crimea. Throughout Late Antiquity the landward route appears to have been dominated at its western end by the *Sasanian *Persian Empire, due to its physical control over the main terminal points of the route in Mesopotamia. This is reflected by the discovery of Sasanian *coinage and *Zoroastrian religious architecture in Central Asia and China, and is noted by the anonymous 6th-century author (known as *Cosmas Indicopleustes) of the *Christian Topography* (*SC* 159: II, 45–6). At its eastern end the Chinese state sought to control access to prestige goods brought from the west, although it was the Sogdians who were responsible for the actual commerce and increasingly played a large part in Chinese politics. As they became allied with the powerful *Türk steppe empire, the Sogdians were briefly able to break the Sasanian monopoly on the silk trade with the Roman Empire and, in the east, exert greater influence over China.

Control of maritime trade is harder to identify. *Merchants from the Later Roman Empire, particularly travelling from the *harbours of *Berenice, *Clysma, and *Myos Hormos on the Red Sea coast of *Egypt, had a share in the commerce; excavations at Berenice have yielded the largest archaeological deposit of black pepper ever recovered. Eastern products were apparently traded westwards in return for coined metal, as evidenced by Roman and East Roman coins in south India. Finds of *amphorae at south Indian sites may also point to exchange of goods, though the volume of both coins and *pottery is smaller than in the first two centuries AD.

Roman sources, in particular *Procopius (*Persian*, I, 20, 9–12), note the significant involvement of the Sasanian Empire in trade with the Far East. D. Whitehouse and T. Daryaee have both sought to elucidate Sasanian maritime trade, using legendary narrative accounts and the archaeology of the coastal site of *Siraf. The nature of Sasanian involvement or the use made of the Persian Gulf as a commercial maritime space is difficult to demonstrate archaeologically or textually, but its broad outlines can be traced. The decline of the Red Sea *trade was brought on by the Sasanians' development of trading *cities such as Siraf in the Persian Gulf. Able to beat the Romans to India due to their head start on the monsoon winds, Persian traders soon dominated the Indian Ocean trade, laying the groundwork for later Islamic expansion into south-east Asia.

For merchants travelling to or from either the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf it seems clear, archaeologically and textually, that southern India was the nexus point for maritime trade with the Far East. The *Christian Topography* (*SC* 197: XI, 17–20) also mentions Sri Lanka (Ceylon) as a possible hub of maritime trade, but it is unclear whether the author of the text travelled there himself and there is little archaeological evidence for the island having major commercial connections beyond India. Evidence from Sri Lanka, along with excavation at a range of sites in south-east Asia, such as Khlong Thom in Thailand, suggests a trade network connecting India and south-east Asia, within which Roman goods might move far beyond the limits of direct Roman commerce or the knowledge of Roman commentators.

The maritime trade route to the Far East seems to have declined from the mid-6th century and little can be said of it from the late 6th to the late 8th century, while the northern land zone seems to have enjoyed somewhat increased trade, especially with the East Roman Empire, in the 6th and 7th centuries. The rise

of *Islam altered the dynamics of Far Eastern trade dramatically, bringing both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and the landward route from northern India to the Mediterranean under a single political, legal, and monetary system, but the precise chronology and nature of consequent changes are not well understood and suffer from limited source material. RRD

B. Borell, B. Bellina, et al., 'Contacts between the Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula and the Mediterranean World', in N. Revire and S. Murphy, eds., *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology* (2014), 99–117.

D. Christian, 'Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History', *Journal of World History* 11 (2000), 1–26.

T. Daryaee, 'The Persian Gulf Trade in Late Antiquity', *Journal of World History* 14 (2003), 1–16.

G. Dawkes, 'Excavating a Silk Road City: The Medieval Citadel of Taraz, Kazakhstan', *Archaeology International* 16 (2013), 110–19.

É. de la Vassière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, tr. J. Ward (2005; French original 2004).

J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (1969).

Schafer, *Golden Peaches*.

R. Tomber, *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper* (2009).

D. Whitehouse, 'Sasanian Maritime Activity', in J. Reade, ed., *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity* (1996), 339–49.

ed. (with FT and comm.) W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes: topographie chrétienne*, 3 vols. (SC 159 (1970), 141 (1968), and 197 (1973)).

trade, Germanic Trade between the various regions beyond the Roman Rhine and Danube *frontiers was carried on in raw materials such as *salt, *copper, *tin, and zinc, and in finished goods such as ornate *pottery, specialized *iron tools, *bronze ornaments, *textile products, and *jewellery. Production of some commodities was concentrated in specific places, such as the sixteen workshops for making *combs out of *deer antler at Bîrlad-Valea Seacă in Romania.

Garnets, precious *stones often inset in *gold *jewellery, were imported from sources beyond Europe. *Amber gathered on the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea was prized throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world, and regular trade brought it across the continent and also into the Roman world along the Amber Road and other routes.

Goods imported from across the Roman *frontier had an impact on life in free Germany. Thousands of Roman objects including bronze vessels, fine pottery, *glass vessels, *coinage, figurines, *arms, and jewellery, have been recovered from settlements, graves, and ritual *weapon deposits throughout the Germanic regions of Europe. Roman swords reached Sweden.

The products exchanged for these Roman goods are not well documented archaeologically; they probably included metals, textiles, and foodstuffs, as well as slaves. Nor is it clear how trade was carried on, whether by barter, market trade, gift exchange, or exchanges associated with *patronage—not to mention plunder. Archaeology does not furnish the sort of evidence which makes it possible to distinguish between these various mechanisms, but all of them have been proposed by scholars intending to explain the discovery of foreign objects on archaeological sites in barbarian territory. PSW

B. Arrhenius, *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery: Emergence and Social Implications* (1985).

H. J. Eggers, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien* (1951).

K. Düwel, H. Jankuhn, H. Siems, and D. Timpe, eds., *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas in den Jahren 1980 bis 1983*. Part I: *Methodische Grundlagen und Darstellungen zum Handel in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit und in der Antike* (1985).

U. Lund Hansen et al., *Himlingøje-Seeland-Europa. Ein Gräberfeld der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit auf Seeland, seine Bedeutung und internationalen Beziehungen* (1995).

trade, Mediterranean The Romans were the first to unify the Mediterranean with a common currency, relative political stability, and common laws. During the Early Roman period, the growth of urban centres along the coasts fostered economic specialization in manufactured goods and agriculture. Improved transport facilities, such as *harbours and *roads, greatly eased communication and trade. Most goods, especially many bulky and industrial items, travelled by sea.

The fact that water carriage was the cheaper means of transport has led scholars to underestimate the frequency and importance of overland trade. Good overland communications also allowed for shifting of heavy raw materials such as *timber, *marble, and metals, but also merchandise such as *wine, *olive oil, *garum and *African Red Slip Ware (ARS), which reached far-flung spots like Vindolanda in *Britain and *Mons Claudianus in the Eastern Desert of *Egypt. The inland dispersal of military units discouraged *brigands and led to a general decrease in lawlessness detrimental to trade but also created important pockets of local demand for food staples and a diverse array of consumer goods, many of which were produced in the Mediterranean heart of the Empire. The imperial *court and *aristocratic landowners living in the *cities of *Rome and *Constantinople created considerable demand for luxury goods and other imports through which to display their wealth, while salaried bureaucrats, also mostly living in *cities, represented a large population with expendable income who could afford imported luxury goods. Thus Mediterranean trade was anchored in the

imperial centres of Rome, Constantinople, and a constellation of large, important emporia, especially *Carthage, *Alexandria, and *Antioch. Lesser port cities such as *Arles gradually rose in importance, especially after Rome declined.

The role of the state in the movement of goods cannot be overemphasized but the degree to which Late Antique trade was dependent on the state rather than independent *merchants is hotly debated. The state comprised the largest consumer of surpluses in the form of *taxation and requisitioned goods, and could demand onerous transport obligations from its citizens. State requirements for the *armies, and important cities such as Rome and others in both the West and the East, especially Constantinople, shaped the trading environment throughout the Mediterranean. In some cases the dominant place of the state in establishing and maintaining trade links is obvious; African Red Slip Ware *pottery and olive oil from North *Africa are among the best and most widely cited examples. Africa continued to profit from state investment that provided infrastructure and mechanisms for delivering the **annona* *grain through the **collegia* of seaborne shippers (**naviculariі*), who also mixed private trade goods into their *annona* cargoes. The knock-on effects of such connections and shifts were significant; in Africa and *Spain a whole range of industries, from *wine manufacture to salt *fish and *metalwork production, had been affected by late 2nd-century confiscations of local *estates and other financial policies.

The 'redistribution' model, in which the Roman economy was essentially restrictive and the state was the impetus for most trade, is controversial, and is favoured to varying degrees by scholars often called economic primitivists. In many Mediterranean exchanges, such as the trade in *textiles and clothing, which was a significant component of trade and the economy, the state played a less obvious role. *Synesius (*ep.* 52) described a visit of a clothing and footwear pedlar from *Athens to *Tripolitania, which was one of the more remote regions of the Mediterranean. 'Modernist' scholars view such pedlar activity as privately inspired and sustained in spite of the state, while primitivists see such 'mercantile opportunism' (Horden and Purcell, 374) as inextricably dependent on state activities. Traffic in many goods, such as slaves, luxury items, and *materia medica*, was only marginally supported by the state, whose primary interest in such objects was their *taxation.

From the 5th century onwards political and social changes in the Roman world gradually transformed the scope and scale of Mediterranean trade. H. *Pirenne theorized that it was the *Arab conquests of the 7th century, rather than the Germanic *Barbarian Migrations into the western Mediterranean world in the 5th century, which led to the severe decline in Mediterranean trade. Scholars have been sceptical of many of his conclusions, but the preponderance of textual and archaeological data indicate that Mediterranean commerce linking the Levant and Constantinople with *Italy and the West as far as post-Roman *Britain was not sustained far into the 7th century. Networks became geographically more limited, as did the range and volume of goods traded. MD

Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*.

M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy, A.D. 300–1450* (1985).

M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (2001).

Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

trade, Red Sea and Arabian Despite its ill reputation among mariners for shoals, coral reefs, and treacherous winds, the Red Sea had been a conduit for trade since Pharaonic times. During the Hellenistic and Early Roman eras, the Red Sea was exploited primarily as a means to reach south *Arabia, *India, and possibly Ceylon (Sri Lanka). *Harbours at *Clysma (Suez), *Aila (Aqaba), *Myos Hormos, and above all at *Berenice, served this burgeoning trade. Trade in the Red Sea suffered a temporary decline in the 3rd and early 4th centuries, but rebounded somewhat in the 5th. The rise of *Aksum and *Himyar, kingdoms at the south end of the Red Sea in East Africa and southern Arabia respectively, linked wealthy hinterlands into a flourishing regional trade network. The Aksumite port of *Adulis and the Himyarite ports of 'Aththar and Qani' (in the *Hadramawt) all thrived in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Trade within the region was at least as important as the *India trade for the prosperity of this period, evidenced by extensive distribution of *pottery from Aila and by Aksumite *coinage, which appears in large quantities in southern Arabia, possibly due to political and military as well as commercial connections. Towards the end of the 5th century, the Romans established specific entry points for foreign commodities at Clysma and at Iotabe, where *tolls and duties were imposed and lead *seals were affixed to cargoes. Seaborne exchange in the Red Sea declined during the 6th century. The precise causes for this decline in trade are debated but may have included warfare between Aksum and Himyar, the spread of *plague, and nomadic incursions in the Eastern Desert. Berenice appears to have been abandoned at this time, and by 600, Aksum's participation in seaborne trade all but ceased. The presence of imported pottery at Adulis through the end of the 7th century shows that it continued to function as a port, though in a much reduced capacity.

Caravan trade flourished through the *Hijaz between the Hadramawt and the Nabataean capital of *Petra of

*Arabia in the last several centuries BC, driven principally by the market for south Arabian aromatics and *incense. This caravan trade was largely superseded by Roman seaborne commerce through the Red Sea and little evidence of it survives from the 3rd to 6th centuries. Notwithstanding a brief revival of Himyarite power in southern Arabia in the 540s and 550s, the kingdom soon collapsed, and by *c.*570, it was annexed by the *Persian Empire. Out of the disorders of this period, caravan trade through the Hijāz appears to have been reorganized by the *Quraysh centred at their recently established town of *Mecca. While Mecca's prosperity was hardly of the order of earlier 'caravan cities' such as *Palmyra or *Edessa, it nonetheless flourished through the exploitation of the region's precious metals as well as more mundane goods like *leather, dates, and wool, providing the wealthy mercantile context in which *Muhammad was to preach in the 7th century. CJH

P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).
G. Heck, 'Gold Mining in Arabia and the Rise of the Islamic State', *JESHO* 42 (1999), 364–95.
Mango, *Byzantine Trade*.
D. P. S. Peacock and L. Blue, eds., *The Ancient Red Sea Port of Adulis, Eritrea: Results of the Eritro-British Expedition 2004–5* (2007).
D. W. Phillipson, *Ancient Ethiopia, Aksum: Its Antecedents and Successors* (1998).
T. Power, *The Red Sea from Byzantium to the Caliphate* (2012).
S. E. Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* (2011).

trade fairs Periodic trade fairs (known in *Greek as *panegyreis*) were an important feature of the commercial economy in Late Antiquity. They often coincided with religious *festivals, were usually held annually in urban locations, and could last for days or several weeks. Scale varied from trade in mainly local products, to trade in exotic goods carried long distances, such as the fair at *Batnae, held annually in early September, where *Ammianus Marcellinus says goods from *India and *China changed hands (XIV, 3, 3), or that at *Amida, also trading foreign goods (de Ligt, 74). Regulation of fairs may have varied widely across *cities: at *Aegae of *Cilicia in the 6th century taxes were rescinded for 40 days, and *Edessa also operated a tax-free fair (de Ligt, 74–5), while in the 8th century at *Ephesus 100 pounds of *gold annually were paid in duties (de Ligt, 80).

Trade fairs were also important in facilitating market exchange beyond cities, in the *villages and the rural hinterlands of the Later Roman Empire. The regulation of such fairs on *estates and in *villages was a repeated concern of imperial legislators (who were keen that *merchants should not neglect urban markets and thereby diminish the flow of goods to cities), and fairs became increasingly associated with shrines and celebrations associated with the cult of saints and the Christian calendar. Both in the post-Roman West and Middle Byzantine East, the significance and profile of such trade fairs were heightened by processes of urban decline, which served to undermine the commercial role of permanent markets located in cities. RRD; PS

Hendy, *Studies*.
L. de Ligt, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-industrial Society* (1993).
O. M. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Personal Associations in the Roman East* (1997).

Trajan the patrician Author of an excellent, very Christian, short chronicle extending to 720, written under *Justinian II, known only from the **Suda* (T 901) and presumed to be a common source of *Theophanes Confessor and *Nicephorus. RDS

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*.

Tralles (mod. Aydin, Turkey) *City in the *Meander Valley (western *Anatolia). Ignatius of *Antioch wrote to the church of Tralles in the 2nd century. Important 4th-century *census *inscriptions survive; the farms recorded vary in size from the 616 *decurio* (with 8–16 slaves and 56–112 workers) of the **decurio* Tatianus to the 39 *jugera* (with no slaves and 4–8 workers) of Fulvius the *priest. *Anthemius, professor of *geometry and *architect of the Church of the *Holy Wisdom under *Justinian I, came from a Tralles medical family. PS

Thonemann, *Maeander Valley*.
K. Harper, 'The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 98 (2008), 83–119.
P. Grierson, 'Two Byzantine Coin Hoards of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries at Dumbarton Oaks', *DOP* 19 (1965), 207–28.

transhumance The seasonal migration of people and their livestock between fixed summer and winter pastures. In mountainous areas, such movement tends to take the form of vertical transhumance, with herders (typically resident in the lowlands) moving their flocks or herds between higher summer pastures and lower winter ones. Such vertical transhumance (such as was common in the ancient and medieval worlds, for example, around *Trebizond, in parts of the *Balkans and the Pyrenees) tends to involve a minimum of human migration, with only a core body of herders accompanying their livestock. Processes of horizontal transhumance, by contrast, tend to involve larger human populations, with the search for pasture often being highly sensitive to changes in climate or political or military circumstance. Both a reconfiguration of political power along the Eurasian steppe, for example, and climate-change-driven disruption of pasturage have

been identified as possible causes for the westward expansion of the nomadic Türk Khaganate in the mid-6th century. PS

M. Adas, ed., *Agricultural and Pastoral Societies in Ancient and Classical History* (2001).

translation, Armenian The *Armenian translation movement began with the literary careers of Mesrop *Mashtots (*c.*355–439) and *Catholicus *Sahak I Part'ew (*c.*350–436) soon after the creation of the Armenian alphabet in 406 by Mesrop. This first wave of translation activity was carried out under their supervision by a group of enthusiastic collaborators known as the *Holy Translators (*T'argmanich'k'*). Their primary objective was to translate the *Bible, the *liturgy, and the works of the church fathers into Armenian from *Syriac and *Greek. The Armenian Church sanctified the translators, commemorating them annually on 11 October.

The second major wave of translation activity, known as the 'Hellenophile' School for its focus on translations from Greek, lasted from *c.*450 to *c.*710. This tackled works of the church fathers, such as *Jerome, *Athanasius of Alexandria, *Basil of *Caesarea, *Eusebius, *Ephrem the Syrian, *Gregory of Nazianzus and *Gregory of Nyssa, *Severianus of *Gabala, *John Chrysostom, *Cyril of Alexandria, *Cyril of Jerusalem, and *Evagrius Ponticus. Some of these translations have preserved texts of Greek and Syriac writers whose originals are lost. These include the first part of the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius of Caesarea, works by *Hippolytus of Rome, and the *Refutation of the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon* by *Timothy II Aelurus, among others.

In addition to the purely religious works, the translations of the Hellenophile school also include secular works such as the **Alexander Romance*, the *Ars Grammatica* of Dionysius of Thrax, treatises by Philo, and works of *philosophy, in particular the *Isagoge to Logic* of *Porphyry the *Neoplatonist on which *David the Invincible composed a commentary. VN

Thomson, *BCAL* 29–88, supplement 169–79.

Garegin Zarbhanalian, *Matenadaran Haykakan T'argmanut'eanc' Naxneac'* (4–13 dd) (Library of Armenian translated literature from the 4th–13th cents., 1889).

Levon Ter Petrosian, *Hay hin t'argmanakan grakanut'iwn* (1984) (ET Krikor Maksoudian, *Ancient Armenian Translation*, 1992).

V. Nersessian, 'Armenian', in R. B. Pynsent and S. I. Kanikova, eds., *The Everyman Companion to East European Literature* (1993), 508–12.

translation, Georgian Translation of texts into the languages of *Georgia in Late Antiquity was mostly from *Greek and from *Armenian. There is also indirect evidence of translations from *Syriac and *Arabic. The oldest period of Georgian translation history, the pre-Athonite epoch, consisting of translations made before the 9th century, can be further subdivided into three periods. The oldest period is that of the manuscripts: these are the **Bible Lectionary*, the *biblical books and saints' Lives, preserved in 5th–7th century palimpsests. Probably the first translation into Georgian was that of the Jerusalem Lectionary preserved in the 7th-century palimpsests followed by the biblical books. The second group of pre-9th-century translations survives in 9th–10th-century manuscripts which include almost all genres of church literature. These are the Georgian *Bible lectionaries, *Iadgaris* (*hymn collections), **Mravaltavis* (collection of *sermons), ascetical literature such as the *Letters of *Antony*, the *Letters of *Macarius*, the **Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, and the *Teachings of the Fathers*, and apocryphal literature both biblical and hagiographical. The third form of evidence for early translation history is preserved in the oldest Georgian original works (*Martyrdom of *Eustathius of *Mtskheta*, *Martyrdom of Abo*, etc.). A number of Greek hymns were translated and incorporated into the *Iadgaris*, which is the oldest Georgian collection of hymns and includes the Oldest Iadgari (8th cent.) and the Great Iadgari (9th–10th cents.). A number of hagiographical texts were translated before the 8th century, such as the *Martyrdom of S. Christina of Persia*, the *Martyrdom of Ss. Quiricus and Julietta*, *the Martyrdom of S. Marina*, and others. NA

K. Kekelidze, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur, auf Grund des ersten Bandes der Georgischen Literaturgeschichte, bearbeitet von M. Tarchnišvili, J. Assfalg* (1955).

translation, Persian The translation of Sanskrit, *Greek, and *Syriac works into Middle *Persian began during the rule of *Khosrow I, when a physician named Borzuye was sent to *India to collect important medical, scientific, and wisdom literature in Sanskrit and bring it back to the *Persian Empire.

After the disendowment of the *Academy at *Athens by the *Emperor *Justinian I, some *Neoplatonist *philosophers moved briefly to the *Persian Empire. However, the works on Aristotle's logic which *Paul the Persian presented to Khosrow I survive in *Syriac and it was to a large extent through Syriac *translations that Greek philosophy and science reached the Arabic translators of *'Abbasid Baghdad. But Middle Persian texts do suggest that *scientific texts on geography and other sciences were also translated either directly from Greek or by way of Syriac into Middle Persian, and traces of Aristotelian and *Neoplatonist philosophy exist in Middle Persian texts, which suggests knowledge of Greek texts. TD

H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in Ninth-Century Books* (1943).

D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (1998).

translation, Syriac An astonishing number of *Greek texts were translated into the *Syriac language between the 3rd and 7th centuries. Although texts which travelled in the opposite direction were far fewer, some of them proved to be very influential. The great majority of Greek texts were by ecclesiastical authors of the 4th to 6th centuries: especially favoured were the *Cappadocian Fathers; *saints' lives are also well represented. The Churches which rejected the Christology of the *Council of *Chalcedon preserved works by several writers condemned in the Chalcedonian tradition and hence lost in Greek: thus works by *Theodore of *Mopsuestia were transmitted in the *Church of the East, while extensive writings by *Severus of *Antioch were cherished in *Syriac Orthodox circles, and both traditions valued *Evagrius Ponticus. Some other works, not by suspect authors, also survive only (or mainly) in Syriac translation, such as *Eusebius of *Caesarea's *Theophany* and *Martyrs of Palestine*, the *Syriac Martyrology of 411*, and *Titus of *Bosra's *Against the Manichaeans*, all preserved in a manuscript copied in *Edessa in 411. A few *pagan texts of ethical interest, by Lucian, Plutarch, and *Themistius, also survive; these include two works lost in Greek, Themistius' *On Virtue* and a Pseudo-Platonic *dialogue. Greek medical and philosophical literature only began to be translated in the early 6th century; this undertaking is connected with the names of *Sergius of *Resaina (d. 536) and Probus.

The early date of these translations, and the fact that many are preserved in 6th-century manuscripts, make them of considerable potential interest for the early history of the underlying Greek texts. Over the centuries, translation practice shifted from free and dynamic renderings to mirror translations that reflect as many details as possible of the original; the climax for this fashion came in the 7th century, when a number of earlier translations were revised. The names of several translators are known, some of whom were important authors in their own right.

Works by *Bardaisan and by *Ephrem were translated from Syriac into Greek, probably not long after their deaths, and several Syriac hagiographical texts, such as the *Life of the *Man of God of Edessa* (Alexis) found their way into Greek and enjoyed great popularity. Two works of the late 7th century proved influential in translation: the *Apocalypse of Ps.-*Methodius* (*c.*692) had already reached *Latin, through Greek, by the early 8th century, and the 'First Part' of the monastic *Discourses* by *Isaac of *Nineveh were translated at the *Monastery of S. *Saba in the late 8th century.

Translations into and out of Syriac also concern other languages: the Syriac Old Testament comes from Hebrew (2nd cent.), and in the *Persian Empire several works were translated from Middle *Persian, notably the tales of Indian origin known as **Kalila and Dimna*. Several translations into *Armenian exist. SB

S. P. Brock, 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique', in *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (1992), study X.

S. P. Brock, 'Syriac Translations of Greek Popular Philosophy', in P. Bruns, ed., *Von Athen nach Bagdad* (2003), 9–28.

H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La Logique d'Aristote: du grec au syriaque* (2004).

A. Schmidt and D. Gonnet, eds., *Les Pères grecs dans la tradition syriaque* (2007).

Translation of Relics ivory Plaque of *ivory, 26 cm (10 inches) wide by 13 cm (5 inches) high, now in *Trier. It depicts a *procession watched by rows of people framed by the arches and pillars of a building. From the left, observed by a bust of Christ, two clerics holding a casket and preceded by an *emperor and two figures wearing *chlamyses are riding in an ornate four-wheeled open carriage drawn by two *horses towards an *empress holding a *cross standing outside a church whose *roof is still under construction. The style of the carving is idiosyncratic, making dating uncertain. The scene has been identified as the translation of the *relic of S. Stephen's right arm to *Constantinople at the behest of *Pulcheria Augusta in 421. A date as late as the 9th century has also been argued based on topographical arguments. JEH; OPN

Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 70–1, no. 143, pl. 45.

K. Holum and G. Vikan, 'The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen', *DOP* 33 (1979), 113–33.

J. Wortley, 'The Trier Ivory Reconsidered', *GRBS* 21/4 (1980), 381–94.

Transoxiana The land 'beyond the *Oxus', referred to in *Arabic as Ma wara' al-nahr, 'what lies beyond the river', by Islamic geographers and historians, who defined it as Muslim territory north of the Oxus. Although Transoxiana's borders were loosely demarcated, depending on political conditions, they generally included all territories between the Oxus and Jaxartes: *Khwarezm, *Sogdiana, *Chaghanian, and Khuttal in the south; *Chach, *Usrushana, and *Farghana to the north.

Before the *Arab conquest, Transoxiana experienced influence from both *China and the *Persian Empire. Although various *nomadic groups (Yüeh-chih, Kushans, *Hephthalites, *Türks) invaded, Transoxiana remained largely Iranian-speaking, with the *Khwarezmian, *Sogdian, and *Bactrian languages spoken in different parts. Local princes often ruled smaller states with economies based on agriculture and *Silk Road *trade. Transoxiana experienced more Turkic influence after

the establishment of the First Türk Empire (6th cent. AD). After the *Arab conquest (7th–8th cent. AD), Arabic and Persian became increasingly important in urban areas. Transoxiana's principal pre-Islamic religion was *Zoroastrianism, albeit in local manifestations. However, *Buddhism, Christianity, *Manichaeism, and *Mazdakism also had many adherents, especially in urban areas. This initial religious diversity was gradually eroded after the Arab conquest. MLD

EncIran (2011) *s.v.* Mā warāʾ al-nahr (Bosworth).
CambHistIran III, 232–62.
W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968).
G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905).

Transtigritanae regions In the aftermath of the death of *Julian in 363, the Romans were forced to relinquish strategically sited provinces and forts beyond the Tigris. *Ammianus Marcellinus lists them as '*Arzanena, Moxoena, *Zabdicena, together with Rehimena and *Corduena, fifteen forts (*castella*), and *Nisibis, *Singara and Castra Maurorum, 'a very important stronghold' (XXV, 7, 9). Castra Maurorum is not identified with certainty; the other two *cities were the 'hard points' whose loss Ammianus and other writers frequently bewailed. Of these regions, Arzanene and Moxonene were not strictly beyond the Tigris as they were east of the Nymphius (Batman Su).

These were all satrapies previously ceded by the Persian King *Narseh following *Galerius' victory of 298 (*Peter the Patrician, fr. 15; cf. *Festus, *Breviarium*, 25), although infrequent references to them from the later 5th century suggest they had fallen under direct *Sasanian rule. The *castella* are not known, but they represented Roman garrisons in these allied territories which may be represented in the **Notitia Dignitatum* by the Ala Carduenorum and the Cohors Zabdenorum (*or.* 36, 34, 36). JCr

M. Marciak, *Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia Between East and West* (2017).

trapezites (Gk. τραπεζίτης) Term for '*banker' (*trapeza* = 'bank,' 'money-changing counter', from lit. 'table'). Bankers are widely attested in Egyptian *papyri from the 3rd to the 8th centuries, both in the public and private spheres (*demosiai* and *kollybistikai trapezai* = public/private banks), and on the *estates of high-ranking *families (e.g. the *Apions). Related terms include *argyroprates* ('moneylender'), *argyramoibos*, and *kollektarios*. In *Latin, the terms **argentarius* and *nummularius* were used, but no attestations of bankers or credit loans happen to survive from the western half of the Empire between the mid-3rd century and the time of *Augustine. KF; TIC

J. Andreau, *Banking and Business in the Roman World* (1999).
R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica aegyptiaca: recueil de recherches sur la banque en Egypte gréco-romaine* (1994).
K. Verboven, ed., *Πίστοι διὰ τὴν τέχνην: Bankers, Loans and Archives in the Ancient World: Studies in Honour of Raymond Bogaert* (Studia Hellenistica 44, 2008).

Traprain Law Treasure Treasure, discovered in 1919 near Haddington, East Lothian, now in the National Museum of Scotland, containing over 160 pieces of *silver and gilt silver from the 4th/5th century, mostly folded or cut into pieces. The site has been excavated recently. MH

F. Hunter and K. Painter, *Late Roman Silver: The Traprain Treasure in Context* (2013).
A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain: A Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate* (1923).
Kent and Painter, *Wealth*, 123–7.

travelling for knowledge *Greek and Roman scholars long enjoyed a fascination with alien wisdom. It was generally believed that the Egyptians, for better or worse, had the oldest Gods (Herodotus, II, 53ff.; II, 144ff.; *Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, VII, 5; *Lactantius, II, 13, 10–13); though others considered those of the Phoenicians coeval (*Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, I, 6). It is not surprising, then, that Pythagoras and Plato were thought to have travelled to the East in search of wisdom (*Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras*, 6–8 and 11–12; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*, 2–4; Lactantius, *Inst.* IV, 2, 4). Late Antique scholars followed in their footsteps. *Plotinus joined the Persian expedition of *Gordian III to find out about Persian thought (*VPlot* 3). Nicagoras, torch-bearer of the mysteries of *Eleusis and professor at *Athens, visited *Egypt in 326, and in **graffiti* at the Valley of the Kings recorded his gratitude to the *Emperor *Constantine I for funding his expedition.

Christians had their own form of travelling for wisdom. *Egeria visited Egypt and the *Holy Land in 381–4. Her practice of going to 'the very place' where a biblical incident occurred, praying, reading the relevant passage of scripture, and offering an appropriate psalm and a further *prayer, suggests a form of *pilgrimage which might be called a walked devotional commentary on passages of the *Bible (10, 7). Similarly, the *Spiritual Meadow* of *John Moschus is more than a collection of clerical gossip. At a more practical level the visits to *Rome of the *Anglo-Saxon nobleman Benedict Biscop brought to *Wearmouth-Jarrow in *c.*671 a remarkable *library that was to fuel the life's work of the Venerable *Bede (Bede, *Lives of the Abbots*, 4).

Young men also travelled for practical wisdom. *Alexandria was famous for all forms of *philosophy at least till the time of *John Philoponus in the 6th century, and Athens drew students and professors of

*rhetoric, literature, and philosophy as diverse as *Longinus and Porphyry, *Proaeresius, *Basil of *Caesarea and the Emperor *Julian, and *Proclus, *Marinus, and (possibly) *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. The *colonia* of Berytus (*Beirut) received students of Roman *law from the time of *Gregory the Wonderworker to that of *Severus of *Antioch. Students who went to study at *Rome were obliged to register using the documents from their own provincial *governors authorizing their presence; should they misbehave, the *Praefectus Urbi could flog them and put them on a boat home (*CTh* XIV, 9, 1 of 370). *Theodosius II regulated the public teaching of *grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and law at *Constantinople (*CTh* XIV, 9, 3 of 425). Many other *cities were also famous for teaching rhetoric, including Libanius' Antioch, *Augustine's *Carthage and *Gaza of *Palaestina, where in *c.* AD 480 *Aeneas of Gaza wrote a *dialogue entitled *Theophrastus* which among other things held up travelling for study as a cultural ideal. MSB; OPN

A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (1975).

H. Dörrie, 'Platons Reisen zu fernen Völkern. Zur Geschichte eines Motivs der Platon-Legende und zu seiner Verwendung durch Lactanz', in W. den Boer et al., eds., *Romanitas et Christianitas, Studia I.H. Waszink Oblata* (1973), 99–118.

G. [L.] Fowden, 'Nicagoras of Athens', *JHS* 107 (1987), 51–7.

E. Watts, 'Student Travel to Intellectual Centers: What was the Attraction?', in L. Ellis and F. Kidner, eds., *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity* (2004), 14–23.

Trdat, King of Armenia (r. 287 or 298/9–*c.*330) Ruler credited with the conversion of *Armenia to Christianity at the beginning of the 4th century, an event which would turn Armenian culture definitively away from its Iranian past. Trdat was reputedly the son of Khosrov, an *Arshakuni king murdered *c.*252 in the wake of the *Sasanian overthrow of the Parthian royal house, although this presents some chronological difficulty. According to the *History* of *Agat'angelos, Trdat was smuggled out of Armenia as an infant following his father's death. Some scholars see Trdat's restoration to the Armenian throne as the work of *Diocletian; in any event Trdat rigorously enforced Diocletian's strictures against *Christians during the Great Persecution. Agat'angelos claims that S. *Gregory the Illuminator, a kinsman of the king who was brought up a Christian in *Cappadocia, returned to Armenia as an adult and was incarcerated by Trdat upon his refusal to participate in pagan *sacrifices. The king became seriously ill, the king's sister had a vision, Gregory was released, and Trdat was duly healed. In response he was converted to Christianity, the first ruler of a state to make such a commitment. The traditional date of Armenia's conversion is 301, although 314 is considered to be a more likely date by many scholars today. It was probably in 314 that Trdat sent Gregory to *Caesarea, where he was consecrated as a *bishop. In 325 he sent Gregory's son and successor, *Aristakes, as an Armenian delegate to the *Council of *Nicaea. Aristakes' attendance signalled the adherence of the Armenian Church to orthodox doctrine and its rejection of *Arianism. Although later kings displayed *Homoean ('Arianizing') sympathies, the doctrine of Nicaea was to prevail by the beginning of the 5th century. Trdat and Gregory are also credited with the spread of Christianity northwards, into *Iberia and Caucasian *Albania. Despite the succession of weak rulers who followed him and turbulence during the remainder of the 4th century, Trdat succeeded in setting Armenia on a firm Christian footing which was not to be shaken. TLA

PLRE I, Tiridates III.

ODB, 'Trdat the Great'.

M.-L. Chaumont, *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie de l'avènement des Sassanides à la conversion du royaume* (1969).

R. Darling Young, 'The Conversion of Armenia as a Literary Work', in Kendall et al., eds., *Conversion*, 115–35.

treason From the Late Roman Republic onwards, treason was called the *crimen laesae maiestatis* or simply *maiestas*; and legislation about it derived from the *Leges Corneliae* (*Ammianus, XIX, 12, 17) and *Lex Julia maiestatis* (*CTh* IX, 5; *CJust* IX, 8; *Dig.* XLVIII, 4). Treason could be defined as an offence 'committed against the Roman people or their safety' (*Dig.* XLVIII, 4, 1, 1). It embraced a concern on the one hand for maintaining state security and, on the other, for upholding the sovereignty and 'majesty' of the Roman people in general and that of the *emperor in particular. Included were threats to public order, military indiscipline and collusion with the enemy, and official insubordination.

Anxiety about *usurpers (Lat. *tyranni*), however, was paramount. Not only conspiracy but potentially any behaviour that undermined or offended the regime was suspect: e.g. forging the emperor's signature, counterfeiting *coinage, or maintaining a private *prison; wilfully abusing imperial statues; wearing *purple garments; casting the emperor's horoscope. *Valens conducted show trials and mass *executions at *Antioch in 371, spurred by reports that prominent figures had attempted to divine the name of his successor and by a not-unfounded fear of assassination (Ammianus, XXIX, 1, 5–38). In such cases restrictions on accusations by slaves against their masters and by women, for example, were set aside; as were immunities from examination under *torture. Prosecutions were irregular and ad hoc. *Valentinian I's order in 369, exposing *senators to torture under an arbitrarily expansive definition of *maiestas*, was overturned the following year only

through the intervention of a high-level delegation from *Rome (Ammianus, XXVIII, I, 11–24; cf. *CTh* IX, 35, 1). Conviction invariably carried the death penalty (*Paul, *Sententiae*, V, 29,1). CFP

R. A. Bauman, *The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate* (1967), esp. 266–92.
R. A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* (1974).
R. A. Bauman, 'The "*Leges iudiciorum publicorum*" and their Interpretation in the Republic, Principate and Later Empire', *ANRW* II.13 (1980), 103–233, esp. 180–233.
J. D. Harries, *Law and Crime in the Roman World* (2007), esp. 72–85.
Y. Thomas, 'L'Institution de la majesté', *Revue de synthèse* 4th ser., nos. 3–4 (July–December 1991), 331–86.

treasure trove (Lat. *thesaurus*) In Roman *law a treasure trove was a moveable valuable which had been buried so long ago that the owner could not be determined. Under a law of Hadrian, if a person found treasure trove on his own land or in a sacred place, the finder (Lat. *inventor thesauri*) could keep it. If it was found by chance on another person's land, half went to the finder and half to the landowner. If the treasure trove was found as the result of a deliberate search on another's land then the finder acquired no rights to it. *Constantine I decreed that the finder of treasure trove who voluntarily reported his discovery would keep half the find, with the other half going to the government, and that those who voluntarily reported their finds should not be subject to *torture (*CTh* X, 18, 1 of 315). A constitution of 380 (*CTh* X, 18, 2) extends the law on treasure trove to precious *stones and metals. The *Institutes* of *Justinian (X, 15, 1) also mentions things of special value. RvdB

Buckland, *Textbook of Roman Law*.

Trebizond (mod. Trabzon, Turkey) Port on the south-east coast of the Black Sea in the coastal *province of *Pontus Polemoniacus, and founded as a Greek colony (Trapezus), by tradition in 756 BC.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries Trebizond was of military importance as material brought to its *harbour could supply *Satala and the upper Euphrates *frontier. In the mid-3rd century barbarians coming by sea from the east unexpectedly captured Trebizond, despite it being defended by two walls and 10,000 soldiers over and above its usual garrison (*Zosimus, I, 33). The Legio Prima Pontica erected a monument to the *Tetrarchy and legion was still the garrison at Trebizond in the early 5th century (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *or*. XXXVIII, 16). The *bishop attended the *Council of *Nicaea.

*Justinian I subsumed the city into his new *province of *Armenia Magna Prima and it is mentioned in the accounts of his generals' military operations against the Persians in the eastern Black Sea region (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 29, 22–3; *Gothic*, VIII, 4, 1–6; *Agathias, III, 19, 3; V, 1–2). Procopius (*Aed*. III, 7, 1) records that Justinian restored churches and built an *aqueduct dedicated to the *martyr Eugenius—the earliest allusion to the city's patron saint. He also notes that honey from *bees around Trebizond is bitter (*Gothic*, VIII, 2, 6), a fact he may have culled from Xenophon (*Anabasis*, IV, 8, 20–1).

In the early 7th century the Armenian mathematician and geographer *Ananias of Shirak studied at Trebizond before going to *Constantinople. An *Umayyad army penetrated as far as Trebizond in 654 (*Sebeos, ch. 49, 169), but the city was reclaimed by the Byzantines and remained a Christian bastion until 1461. SGB; AG; OPN

Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*.

Trebonianus Gallus *Augustus 251–3. Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus was *governor of *Moesia when the *army acclaimed him *emperor after *Decius was defeated and killed by the *Goths in 251. Gallus made peace with the Goths (*Zosimus, I, 24–5), but threatened to continue Decius' persecution of *Christianity (*Origen quoted by *Eusebius, *HE* VII, 1). During his reign a serious outbreak of *plague killed his co-ruler Hostilianus (Decius' younger son). Gallus and his own son, the *Caesar Volusianus, gained popular favour at *Rome by arranging burials for the poorest plague victims, but both were murdered by their troops following the coup of *Aemilianus in 253 (Aurelius *Victor, *Caesars*, 30–1; Zosimus, I, 28, 3). He was succeeded by *Valerian. DMG

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 242–4, 247–8.
CAH XII (2005), 39–41

tremissis *Gold denomination worth one-third of a **solidus*, weighing *c.*1.52 g (0.05 oz). It was introduced by *Theodosius I and struck until the reign of *Leo III. The *tremissis* also became the prototype for various barbarian coinages (especially *Merovingian) and the English **thrymsas*. RRD

DOC 1, II.1, II.2, III.1.
Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*.
MEC 1.
RIC VIII, IX, X.

tribes, Arab Tribes were the units that constituted *Arab society, whether *nomadic, semi-nomadic, or sedentary. Theoretically agnatic descent groups, they usually included outsiders, and some were formed by alliances. Most bore the name or soubriquet of a real or imagined ancestor. Each considered itself as part of ever larger tribal units, reaching up to one of two distant eponyms, 'Adnan and Qahtan ('Northern' and 'Southern' Arabs respectively).

Tribal values included loyalty to the ancestors' customs, military prowess, generosity, and solidarity. Only the smaller units functioned as steady solidarity groups. At the level of the larger units loyalties often shifted. Inter- and intratribal *feuds and skirmishes were a regular feature of Arabian life, their objectives being spoils, water and pasture, and blood revenge. Most tribes were reconciled to the Islamic polity by AD 634 and together made up the Muslim *armies. With the *Arab conquests, tribal units migrated and scattered, and new tribal coalitions formed. Arab tribes remained a significant political and military force throughout the *Umayyad period (AD 660–750). With competition over the spoils of imperial power, large rival tribal coalitions were formed which bore tribal names: *Qays or Muda for purportedly 'Adnani tribes, *Kalb or *Yaman/Yemen for purportedly Qahtani, and *Rabi'a whose genealogy is disputed. Tribal conflict had a bearing upon *caliphal succession. Often an Umayyad contender would ally himself with one side (Qays or Kalb) and reward his allies once he came to power. The former functionaries (of the rival coalition) would be removed, often violently, with destabilizing consequences for Umayyad power. ELT

EQ s.v. tribes and clans (Landau-Tasseron).

P. Crone, 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties'?, *Der Islam* 71/1 (1994), 1–57.

E. Landau-Tasseron, 'From Tribal Society to Centralized Polity', *JSAI* 24 (2000), 180–216.

tribes and confederations, Central Asia Written sources from the Assyrian period onwards mention various tribes originating in the steppe, including the Sakas and the Cimmerians. *Greek and Old Persian sources also mention various Saka/*Scythian tribes, a designation that becomes problematic for identification of subsequent tribes and confederations. Roman and Late Roman sources continued to use the older term of Scythian to designate almost all tribes approaching the Danube *frontier of the Roman Empire. The invasion of *Attila and his *Huns brought a much better understanding of the tribes, while the Germanic *Barbarian Migrations started a process of integration of nomadic tribes into the Roman populace and a much greater degree of familiarity.

In the east, the same situation existed for the Chinese, Indian, and Iranian civilizations, to whom the tribes of *Central Asia often posed a serious threat. The earliest historical records of *China's existence as a coherent kingdom are intertwined with the efforts to control the nomadic tribes beyond the Yellow River.

The most famous Central Asian tribe of this early period was the Yueh-zhi, who went on in the 1st century BC to found the Empire of the Kushans. They were followed up by the 'Iranian Huns', including the *Kidarites, the Alkhan, and the *Hephthalites, and later the Western *Türks. This is the beginning of the Turkic phase of Central Asian nomads, followed by Oghuz Turks in the medieval Islamic world, and later the Mongols in the 13th century.

The issue of ethnogenesis and *barbarian identity is present in the discussion of these tribes. Based on external identification, and very little knowledge of their languages, the confederacies and individual tribes are identified as 'Iranian', 'Turkic', or 'Germanic'. It is often pointed out that these designations are arbitrary and, at most, refer to the family or clan of the rulers. However, assumptions of such identities also carry through to archaeology where dating of burial mounds and the discovery of grave-goods results in ethnic identification of goods and artistic styles. Consequently, various phases of Saka, *Sarmatian, Germanic, Turkic, and *Slavic presence have been identified on the steppe, although most coexisted at any given period. Among those in Central Asia, the ethnic identity of the Hephthalites, once the general umbrella term for all the 'Hunnic' tribes invading *Bactria in the mid-4th–mid-5th centuries, has been most present. Conclusions are drawn based on an isolated passage in *Procopius about the Hephthalites and their position within the 'Huns' as well as their features. Furthermore, linguistic connections between the words Hun, Xiong-nu, Huna, and Xyōn have been used to study connections between the 'European' and 'Asian' Huns. Developing information about the Iranian Huns has now resulted in a better understanding of the differences between the *Kidarites, Hephthalites, and Alkhans, although one cannot dismiss even these as simply political divisions. Titles such as *yabghu*, or more importantly khan, appear to be shared among many tribes with different 'ethnic' and linguistic identities. Discussions of the ethnic identity of the Hephthalites or the Alkhans as Turks or Iranians have resulted, alongside equally cursory onomastic information or isolated comments. KR

R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: the Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (2007).

Kazuo Enoki, 'The Origin of the White Huns or Hephthalites', *East and West* 6/3 (1955), 231–7.

E. de la Vaissière, 'Huns et Xiongnu', *Central Asiatic Journal* 49/1 (2005), 3–26.

Xinru Liu, 'Migration and Settlement of the Yuezhi-Kushan', *Journal of World History* 12/2 (2001), 261–92.

tribes and confederations, Germanic barbarian According to Roman geographers, ethnographers, and historians, Romans lived in the middle of the world, and the inhabited world (Gk. *oikoumene*) was surrounded by Ocean. Between Ocean and the Rhine and Danube *frontiers of the Roman Empire lived a large variety of tribes (*gentes*) collectively referred to as

'barbarians', a concept going back to ancient Greece. Tribes were generally organized on the basis of kinship. Confederations were semi-permanent political and military alliances consisting of multiple tribes. Germanic barbarians were organized in various groups of various sizes, and were distinct from other barbarians by their Germanic languages and civilization.

Julius Caesar in the 1st century BC distinguished *Galli* from *Germani* among the peoples living on both sides of the Rhine, in the early Principate the historian Tacitus defined in his *Germania* around 40 different Germanic tribes, and Roman sources frequently mention names of individual peoples. The extent to which such Roman classifications reflect actual *barbarian identity is a matter of discussion among scholars. Romans agreed that barbarians were less civilized the further they were from the Mediterranean and the centre of the world, the most uncivilized being steppe barbarians of *Central Asia, such as the *Huns.

Germanic barbarians were frequently depicted in the 3rd and 4th centuries as warrior bands led by chiefs or warlords plundering Roman territory. They constituted a more serious threat when the followers of several warlords joined together in a confederation, such as that which was defeated by the *Caesar *Julian at the Battle of *Strasbourg in 357. In Late Antiquity many Germanic barbarians dwelling along the Rhine and Danube frontiers were recruited to fight in the Roman *army as **laeti* and **foederati*. Some of them, including *Nevitta (*consul 362), *Bauto (consul 385), *Stilicho (consul 400 and 405), and the **patricius* Ricimer, had distinguished military careers.

From the beginning of the 5th century onwards a sequence of important confederations took over the Western half of the Empire during the *Barbarian Migrations. The sources name, among others, *Alamans, *Burgundians, *Franks, *Goths, *Lombards, *Suebes, *Vandals, *Thuringians, and *Anglo-Saxons. They never formed ethnically homogeneous entities but in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries were able to establish their own realms on former Roman territory. Of these, only the Frankish realm survived intact on the Continent until the Early Middle Ages. In the 19th century, a 'myth of nations' emerged which sought to identify these peoples as the common forefathers of a homogeneous German nation. GMB

H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut, and W. Pohl, eds., *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (TRW 13, 2003).

G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (2007).

H. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples*, trans. Th. Dunlop (1997; German original 1990).

Tribigild *Comes Rei Militaris of *Gothic origin. In the summer of 399 he revolted against the Empire, joined forces with *Gainas, and marched on *Constantinople, but died soon after Gainas reached an agreement with *Arcadius. DN

PLRE II, Tribigildus.

Cameron, *Barbarians*, 223–32.

Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians*, 104–10.

Tribonian (before 500–542/3) Pre-eminent jurist and *Quaestor Sacri Palatii of *Justinian I for the first half of his reign, Tribonian is renowned for the compilation of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*: the **Institutiones* of Justinian, *Justinian's *Code*, and the **Digest*. As Quaestor he will also have been instrumental in the drafting of many of Justinian's **Novels* (*NovJust*). He studied *law, presumably at *Beirut, and was among the scholars who compiled the first *Code* in 528/9. Soon afterward, Justinian appointed him Quaestor, which he would remain until his death, with an intermission during the *Nika Riot in 532. In 530 Justinian authorized him to assemble a commission of jurists to redact the works of (mainly) classical jurists. The commission compiled the *Digest*, incredibly, in just three years. He personally provided copies of obscure legal works; the nature and extent of his involvement in the excerpting and editing are controversial. Tribonian also oversaw the compilation of the *Institutiones*, published also in 533, and the revision of Justinian's Code in 534. He was rewarded with an honorary *consulship late in 533. Justinian praises his elegance and erudition (in constitutions Tribonian may well have written himself), as do *John Lydus and *Procopius. The latter author also accuses him of sycophancy, graft, and greed. He died *c.*542/3, perhaps perishing in the Justinianic *Plague. JND

PLRE III, Tribonianus 1.

T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (1978).

T. Honoré, *Justinian's Digest: Character and Compilation* (2010), 8–45.

W. Waldstein, 'Tribonianus', *ZRG (RA)* 97 (1980), 232–55.

tribunus Title for various military officers and civilian officials. Tribunes are attested for (among others) the following military units: Batavi (*AE* 1982.842), Jovii (*CIL* V, 8753), Cohortes (*Not. Dig.*[*occ.*] 26, 14–20), the Gens Marcomannorum (*Not. Dig.* [*occ.*] 34, 24), Cornuti, Scutarii, Gentiles Scutarii, *equitum turmae*, **vexillationes*, **numeri*, *armaturae* (*Ammianus, XVI, 11, 9; XVII, 10, 5; XX, 2, 5; XXI. 11, 2; XXV, 1, 9; XXV, 7, 13; XXVII, 2, 6). A tribunus *vacans* was one detached from his unit (Ammianus, XV, 3, 10).

In the civil administration, Tribuni Plebis are still mentioned (*CIL* VI, 40776 [337]), but only in formulaic phrases. Workers in a **fabrica* were commanded by *tribuni* (Ammianus, XIV, 9, 4). Originating from the

Vigiles was the Tribunus Vigilum (*CJust* XII, 54, 4 of *c.*443), from the urban cohorts (**cohortales*) the Tribunus Fori Suarii (*CIL* VI, 1156 of 317/37) and probably also the Tribunus Rerum Nitentium (*Not. Dig.* [*occ.*] 4, 17), the Tribunus Voluptatum (*CTh* XV, 7, 13 of 414–15), and the Tribunus Urbanicianus (*CTh* VI, 27, 8 of 396). Most imperial **notarii* ranked as *tribuni*. *Valens served as *Tribunus Stabuli before he became *emperor (Ammianus, XXVI, 4, 2). HCT

Jones, *LRE* 640, 691.

J. Barlow and P. Brennan, '*Tribuni scholarum palatinarum c.* A.D. 353–64: Ammianus Marcellinus and the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *CQ* 51 (2001), 237–54.

Castillo, *Tribunos*.

S. Roda, 'Magistrature senatorie minori nel tardo impero Romano', *SDHI* 43 (1977), 93–108.

Tribunus Stabuli Officer in charge of *horse procurement for the imperial *Comitatus and for the *army. He commanded the **stratores* who inspected the horses as they were requisitioned. From the late 4th century the title of the office became Comes Stabuli. This was an important position. It was also very lucrative since a fee was paid for each horse procured. HE

Jones, *LRE* 372–3, 625–6.

tribute (Gk. *phoros*, MP *bāz*) Payment, primarily of symbolic importance, signifying subject status. The issue of Roman payment of 'tribute' to the *Persian Empire arose after *Shapur I's victories over multiple Roman *armies. The **Res Gestae Divi Saporis* Shapur inscribed on the Ka'ba he erected at *Naqsh-e Rostam describes the *Emperor Philip's payment as evidence that he was now 'tributary and subject' (*pad bāz ud bandagīh*) and lists Rome among the lands subject to the Persian Shah. Shapur I's *rock reliefs reinforce these statements (*SKZ* 5.2, 8.3. Canepa, 53–78). After *Julian's defeat in 363, the *Persian Empire began to demand payments from Rome, ostensibly for upkeep of the *Dariel Pass defences. Rome mostly complied, with *Yazdegerd II (441) and *Qobad (502) launching campaigns when they refused. In 502, 530, and 540, Qobad and *Khosrow I ravaged the Roman East, withdrawing only after the Romans submitted *gold payments. These recurring *Persian–Roman wars ceased only in 562 when the Romans again agreed to submit annual payments of approximately 500 lb (150 kg) of gold.

This amount was infinitesimal compared to the Persian economy and could not have appreciably impacted the Sasanian Empire's finances (Börm). The primary significance was symbolic: propaganda directed at internal elites, testifying to the divinely ordained supremacy of the King of Kings and the Persian Empire as the ultimate seat of world sovereignty and to tangible evidence of Roman subordination. The amounts demanded were thus small enough that the Romans would consider it cheaper to pay them instead of responding militarily, yet substantial enough to make a symbolic impact.

The Sasanians suffered their own reversals. In 469 the *Hephthalites forced *Peroz to pay tribute and perform ritual obeisance after his deeply humiliating defeat. Rome only matched Persia's dominance after Galerius' victory over *Narseh (298–9), and after Heraclius' campaigns in the 7th century. Nevertheless, throughout Late Antiquity the Romans regularly portrayed diplomatic visits and gifts as evidence of tributary status of various states, including Persia, in imperial art, ritual, and *panegyric. MPC

H. Börm, 'Anlässe und Funktion der persischen Geldforderungen an die Römer (3. bis 6. Jh.)', *Historia* 57 (2008), 327–46.

Canepa, *Two Eyes*.

R. Payne, 'Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire, 502–628 CE', *P&P* 220 (August 2013), 3–33.

Tricamerum, Battle of *Belisarius' decisive victory over the *Vandals in mid-December 533, following the Battle of *Ad Decimum. *Procopius (*Vandalic*, IV, 1–4) provides an eyewitness account. The battle consisted of five stages: (1) the allies of both sides deployed separately and waited for the outcome; (2) the outnumbered Roman *cavalry defeated the Vandal cavalry in frontal combat; (3) the Roman *infantry arrived and proceeded against the enemy camp; (4) the Vandals fled when their King *Gelimer lost his nerve; (5) the Roman army lost its discipline, and started to loot the Vandal camp. The victory secured North *Africa for *Justinian I. IAPS

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 21.

Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.

triclinium A dining space defined by three rectangular couches arranged along three sides of a room. The *triclinium* fell out of favour as to the **stibadium* became more popular after the 3rd century, though the term was still used to refer to dining spaces (*Sidonius, *ep.* II, 2, 11). NFH

Dunbabin, *Roman Banquet*.

triconch, tetraconch A triconch is a building consisting of three, a tetraconch of four, semicircular niches arranged at right angles to each other and usually topped by semi-domes. The niches might be formed from solid walls or from columns arranged on a curved plan (*exedras). The square bay surrounded by the niches may be vaulted. JB

Trier (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany; *metropolis civitas Treverorum*) Capital of the *province of *Belgica Prima, Trier occupied a strategically advantageous

location on the River Moselle, and had already developed into an important centre by the later 2nd century, when it acquired a vast circuit of walls enclosing more than 280 ha (*c.*700 acres). It reached its apogee, however, in the 4th century as the main residence for the Western Roman *emperors on the Rhine *frontier and seat of the *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum.

The origins of Trier's elevated status can be traced back to the later 3rd century when the city became the capital of the independent *Gallic Empire. In 275/6, Trier was damaged during raids by *Franks and *Alamans, but was then elevated to the status of an imperial capital under the Emperor *Maximian in *c.*286, and became the seat of the Gallic prefecture under *Constantine I. As one of the most important cities in the Western Empire, Trier now benefited extensively from imperial *patronage, and under Constantine, who resided there regularly from 306 to 316, its townscape was transformed by an extensive building programme, including an audience hall (the modern Basilika), part of an extensive *palace complex, the imperial *baths (Kaiserthermen), which remained unfinished, and the first stages of a massive cathedral complex.

From 350 to 353, Trier was the main residence of the usurper *Magnentius. After his death, the city was again affected by Frankish and Alamannic incursions, but after its recovery under the *Caesar *Julian, Trier experienced its second heyday of the 4th century during the reigns of *Valentinian I and *Gratian, both of whom spent significant periods of time there. Extensive building programmes again took place at the cathedral and the imperial baths, which were probably converted into barracks. Gratian, who moved his court to northern *Italy late in his reign, was the last legitimate emperor to reside in Trier for any length of time, although the *usurper *Magnus Maximus made it his capital from 383 to 388, and Gratian's brother *Valentinian II also visited. From 395, however, the emperors ceased to come to the Rhine frontier, and at some time between 390 and 418, probably either *c.*395 or *c.*408, the Praetorian Prefecture was transferred from Trier to *Arles.

Trier was seriously affected by a succession of barbarian attacks in the first half of the 5th century, as reported in particular by *Salvian. As a result, the cathedral was significantly damaged and the city's population appears considerably diminished, with only a few traces of 5th/6th-century settlement identified in Trier's immediate environs. By the 470s, Trier was under the control of the *Comes *Arbogast, probably Comes Civitatis, who was perhaps a descendant of the *Magister Militum of the 4th century of the same name. Whether Arbogast governed in the formal capacity of an imperial office-holder or simply assumed his title remains unclear. At an uncertain date around the end of the 5th century, Trier came under the control of the Frankish King *Clovis I. The city was frequented by *Merovingian kings, including *Theudebert I, thereafter, but lost its pre-eminence to nearby *Metz.

Christianity became firmly established in Trier in the 4th century and the city's *bishops exercised influence over resident emperors. It was visited by prominent Christian figures including *Athanasius of *Alexandria, *Jerome, and S.*Martin of *Tours. Trier boasts a continuous episcopal succession throughout Late Antiquity and has yielded over 1,100 early Christian *inscriptions, by far the largest number to survive from any city in Gaul, and a valuable corpus of evidence for its large and prosperous Christian community.

Trier was also an important Late Roman economic centre, deriving its prosperity from *wine, *pottery, and *textiles produced in the region, as well as benefiting from the economic stimulus provided by the presence of the emperor and the prefecture, and the proximity of the frontier. Production of imperial *coinage in Trier began in late 293 or early 294. The city's mint soon became one of the most important in the Empire, striking coins bearing the images of 39 different emperors and members of the imperial family. Production slowed dramatically in the late 4th century, however, and the last coins were minted in the names of *Theodosius and *Arcadius.

Buildings

Largely destroyed by the *Alamans in 275, the centre of Trier was extensively rebuilt as an imperial capital between *c.*286 and the later 4th century. Evidence of grandiose scale and careful planning came from excavations in 1912–14 of the Imperial *Baths (Kaiserthermen) attributed to *Constantine I, extensively remodelled in the later 4th century. Four entire city blocks (*insulae*) of the older city were razed for this complex, whose heated bath building was preceded by a porticoed palaestra, with walls as high as 24 m (nearly 80 feet), some of them preserved in the medieval *city walls.

In the decades after the Second World War, Th. Kempel was able to carry out extensive excavations on the sites of the Imperial *Palace, not far north of the bath complex, and on the group of episcopal buildings under and around the medieval cathedral. The Imperial Audience Hall (Basilika) is a building on a *basilica plan, 69 m (226 feet) long, 28 m (92 feet) broad, and at least 30 m (98 feet) high, terminated by an *apse 12.5 m (41 feet) in diameter; much of the handsome *brick masonry survives in elevation.

Between this *palace and the Porta Nigra, an episcopal complex, oriented east–west, developed during the first half of the 4th century, on a plot composed of two earlier *insulae* and the *street which formerly ran between them. Kempel interpreted the triple-*apse structure to the south as part of a private aristocratic

*house (*domus*) which might have been made available to the local church for Christian worship in the years before *Constantine I. To the north stood another aristocratic residence, boasting a room whose painted ceiling depicted aureoled noble ladies wearing rich *jewellery. This palace had been remodelled *c.*315, Kempel suggests, for Constantine I's son *Crispus; the women depicted would therefore include his wife, and his stepmother *Fausta, and the bearded man would be Crispus' tutor, the Christian *rhetorician *Lactantius. When Crispus and Fausta were executed in 326 in obscure circumstances, the palace, it is argued, would have been demolished and the site redeveloped as an episcopal basilica on the north side of the city, at the same time that (following coin evidence) another *basilica was being built to the south. Although this vivid interpretation cannot be proved, the archaeological evidence does attest that, by the later 4th century, two large basilicas—each preceded by an atrium 150 m (492 feet) long and respectively 30 m (98 feet) and 40 m (131 feet) wide—stood side by side on the site, with a *baptistery incorporating an 8 sq.-m (26 sq.-foot) pool lying between them. The northern basilica was originally, Kempel argues, a palace chapel in which Constantine built a grandiose polygonal *memoria* to house *relics. The southern basilica would have been the bishop's cathedral; Christian *grafitti have been noted on low walls separating the choir and nave, and decoration included *marble chancel fittings and a *mosaic pavement. Both buildings were badly damaged by barbarian attacks in the 5th century; the southern one was quickly rebuilt and the northern left abandoned until the 6th century, when Bishop *Nicetius (525/6–65/9) restored it.

CRD; BKY

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 1, *Trèves: Belgica Prima*, ed. N. Gauthier and J.-Ch. Picard (1986) *s.n.* Trèves, 13–32 (N. Gauthier), and 16/2 (2014), 289–99.

RIC VI, VII, VIII, X.

H. Heinen, *Trier und das Trevererland in römischer Zeit. 2000 Jahre Trier, Band 1* (1985).

H. Heinen, H. H. Anton, and W. Weber, eds., *Im Umbruch der Kulturen. Spätantike undFrühmittelalter. Geschichte des Bistums Trier, Band 1* (2003).

H. H. Anton, *Trier im frühen Mittelalter* (1987).

E. Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich. Civitas, Stadt, Bistum* (1973).

W. Weber, ed., *Die Trierer Domgrabung*, 6 vols. (2001–).

M. Ghetta, *Spätantikes Heidentum. Trier und das Trevererland* (2008).

Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*.

E. M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (1970).

J. Zink, 'Die Baugeschichte des Trierer Doms von den Anfängen im 4. Jahrhundert bis zur letzten Restaurierung', in F. Ronig and G. Bereths, eds., *Der Trierer Dom* (1980), 17–111.

Trinitapoli Town in *Apulia (south *Italy) giving its name to an *inscription with the fragmentary text of a *Latin decree of *Valentinian I (*AE* 1984, 250). The inscription was reused as a tomb slab, but originally must have been displayed in a public place, probably in the nearby provincial capital of Canusium (Canosa). The decree is addressed to the prefect *Petronius Probus, and has been dated to *c.*368–75. It probably responded to citizens' complaints about *taxation frauds perpetrated by collectors in local rural districts (**praepositi pagi*) and city collectors (**tabularii*). The *emperor established that the *praepositi* should keep monthly accounts of tax collection, coordinate with the **tabularii*, and send their documents to the provincial *governor. The governor in turn had to tour the *province regularly and check during public audiences the landowners' payments against the accounts kept by the *praepositi*. RM

A. Giardina and F. Grelle, 'La tavola di Trinitapoli: una nuova costituzione di Valentiniano I', *MÉFRA* 95/1 (1983), 249–303.

Triphiodorus of Panopolis (late 3rd cent.) *Greek epic poet and **grammaticus* from the Thebaid in *Egypt. His only surviving work is a miniature *epic, the *Sack of Troy* (in 691 hexameter lines). This 'epyllion' focuses on a single episode from the Trojan War—the execution of the plan to build the Wooden Horse. Much like a wooden horse itself, Triphiodorus' text reveals hidden depths of sophistication—inspired by material from *Homer and Greek tragedy, but also from Hellenistic writers such as Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius and from the **Greek Anthology*.

Although once regarded as a rather uninteresting disciple of his compatriot *Nonnus of *Panopolis, the discovery of a fragment of *papyrus (P.Oxy. 2946) has shown Triphiodorus to be the earlier writer. Because of this it is now possible to appreciate how Nonnus' own extraordinary epic did not appear from a literary vacuum, but grew out of an existing literary milieu. Triphiodorus' lipogrammatic version of the *Odyssey* (where each Homeric book is rewritten without the use of one letter of the alphabet) no longer survives, but would no doubt have served as a dazzling showpiece of verbal ingenuity and Homeric emulation.

According to the **Suda*, Triphiodorus produced a mythological epic on the tragic story of Hippodameia (whose father Oenomaus was killed by Pelops in a chariot race to win her hand in marriage). He is also known as the author of a *Marathoniaca* (perhaps describing the capture of the bull of Marathon by Theseus—a story well known from Callimachus' *Hecale*). Triphiodorus' poetic production was no doubt enriched by his role as a grammarian—as hinted by his (lost) paraphrase of Homeric similes. RECS

ed. E. Livrea (1982).
ed. (with comm. and FT), B. Gerlaud, Tryphiodore: *La prise d'Ilion* (Budé, 1982).
Text and ET A. W. Mair *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (LCL 219, 1928).
E. Livrea, 'P.Oxy. 2946 e la constitution textus di Trifiodoro', *ZPE* 33 (1979), 54–74.

Tripolis (mod. Al-Mina, 5 km (3 miles) W of modern Tripoli, Lebanon) Coastal *city of *Phoenice. In the later 3rd century a series of **aureliani* were issued with the *mint mark TR, commonly thought to indicate Tripolis, though it may indicate *Tyre. Dionysius of Tripolis was martyred at *Caesarea of *Palestine in 305 (*Eusebius, *MartPal* (S & L) 3). The city's *bishop was present at the *Council of *Nicaea, and the *Bordeaux Pilgrim passed through in 333 (583, 4). The shrine of the *martyr S. Leontius (*BHG* 986–7) was visited by *Melania the Younger and the *Piacenza Pilgrim (1); *Peter the Iberian saw demoniacs healed there and it was where *Severus of *Antioch was baptized.

The *Emperor *Marcian restored an *aqueduct and summer *baths after an *earthquake in 451 (*John Malalas, XIV, 29) and the Piacenza Pilgrim saw the devastation caused by an earthquake in 551 (cf. Malalas, XVIII, 112; *Theophanes, AM 6043). After the *Arabs captured the city, its important *harbour was used as the base for the naval campaign which culminated in their victory over the Roman *fleet at the Battle of the Masts off *Phoenix of *Lycia (Theophanes, AM 6146). Little remains of the antique city. KETB; OPN

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Ṭarābulus (or Aṭrābulus) al-Shām col. 660 (F. Buhl, C. E. Bosworth).
N. Jidejian, *Tripoli through the Ages* (1980).
RIC V/1: 25.

Tripolitania *Province in the *Dioecesis *Africae by 303, governed from *Lepcis Magna by a *Praeses, but missing from (or corrupt in) the *Verona List. Tripolitania bordered *Byzacena in the north-west and *Libya Superior in the east. It was ceded to the *Vandals in 455. Following the *Byzantine invasion it was governed by a *Consularis. GMS

Barrington Atlas, 35–7.
Jones, *LRE* 1453.
Barnes, *NEDC*, 167–8, 212.
Mattingly, *Tripolitania*.

trireme (Gk. *trieres*; Lat. *triremis*) Oared war galley, powered by three ranks of oars, one square sail, and a ram (*rostrum*). The *ship's oar-system and rowing arrangement are still uncertain, despite trials with the replica *Olympias*. It was used in the Roman navy, for instance by *Licinius' fleet at the Battle of the Hellespont in 324, but in the 4th/5th century was replaced by the *triaconter*, used by *Crispus at the same battle (*Zosimus, II, 22–4). JC; AG

B. Rankov, *Trireme Olympias, the Final Report: Sea Trials 1992–4, Conference Papers 1998* (2011).
Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 148, 156.

Trisagion A Christian *hymn acclaiming God: 'Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy on us.' Related to the *acclamation of Isaiah 6:3, it should be distinguished from the Sanctus sung at the *Eucharist. Used at the *Council of *Chalcedon (451), legend places its composition when *Proclus was *Patriarch of *Constantinople (434–46). The additional phrase 'who was crucified for us' attributed to *Peter the Fuller (Patriarch of *Antioch intermittently 469–89) continued in use in non-Chalcedonian churches, where the hymn was thus understood Christologically. Other traditions saw it as Trinitarian. AMcG

H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (1990).
L. Koenen, 'Der erweitete Trishagion-Hymnus des Ms. Insinger und des P.Berl.Inv. 16389', *ZPE* 31 (1978), 71–6.

triumphal monuments In the Later Roman Empire, public monuments celebrating military *victories were built in the *Tetrarchic capitals (*Arch of *Galerius in *Thessalonica), and in the *provinces (*Ammianus, XXI, 16, 15 for *Gaul and *Pannonia), but the primary sites were *Rome and *Constantinople. Rome remained prominent in the 4th century, from the Arch of *Constantine to an arch built to celebrate *Honorius' victory over *Gildo (*Claudian, *De Sexto Consulatu Honorii*, 372–6). From the 5th century Constantinople predominated. The columns of *Arcadius and *Theodosius II, known from early modern drawings (now in Trinity College Cambridge), bore spiral friezes depicting military campaigns imitating the Roman columns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. The base of the Column of Arcadius also included Christian *iconography. Under *Justinian I, *mosaic was introduced as a medium for triumphal commemoration, with the vaults of the gate of the Great *Palace depicting the campaigns of *Belisarius (*Procopius, *Aed.* I, 10), campaigns which were rewarded with an actual *triumph. An *epigram on statues of *Justin II and *Sophia commemorates an 'Assyrian triumph' (*Anth. Pal.* IX, 810). After this the sources dry up, although the equestrian statue of *Nicetas erected by *Heraclius probably celebrated a military victory. The triumphal monument was a conservative genre, and innovation met with resistance. The 4th-century *pagan *Eunapius (fr. 78) ridiculed a painting erected by a *Praefectus Urbi for depicting the defeat of *barbarians by the *hand of God, not the *army. BWA

E. Mayer, *Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist. Untersuchungen zu den Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II* (2002).
F. A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz, und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (1996).
F. A. Bauer, 'Statuen hoher Würdenträger', *BZ* 96 (2003), 493–513.

Troad The modern Biga Peninsula, in north-west *Anatolia. Excavations at Ilion (Troy) reveal impressive 4th-century prosperity, and the granite *quarries at Koç Ali remained in use into the 5th century. PJT

C. B. Rose, in Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor*, 151–71.

Troesmis (mod. Igliţa-Turcoaia, Romania) *City of *Scythia Minor, on the Danube *frontier. The site consists of two forts and an extensive unfortified settlement. The south fort, excavated in the 19th century, was a strongly fortified enclosure (1.7 ha, about 4 acres) with military buildings built under the *Tetrarchy or *Constantine I. It was later probably converted into a civilian settlement with three Christian *basilicas. ER

TIR L 35: *Bucarest* (1969), 73–4.
C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae: Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube* (BAR IntSer 88, 1980), 31–2, plans VII–VIII.

***troparion* (plur. *troparia*)** One of the oldest and largest bodies of hymnody in the Eastern rite, earliest attested (4th cent. AD) as poetic-prose refrains in the recitation of *psalms and related chants in the Office. Though often a collective term for stanzaic hymnody generally, *troparion* refers also to the proper 'hymn of the day' (*troparion tes hemeras*), known as the 'dismissal hymn' (*troparion apolytikion*) because it was sung at the close of Hesperinos, the evening Office equivalent to Vespers in the Roman rite. AJH

H. Husmann, 'Hymnus und Troparion', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbestitz* (1971), 7–86.

trousers Late Antique men wore their knee-length tunics over a pair of tight trousers or leggings. One such pair is shown in a late 4th-century tomb at Silistra, Bulgaria. The depicted trousers would also encase the feet and were secured at the waist with a *belt. Archaeological evidence suggests that such trousers were of Germanic origin and must have infiltrated Roman civilian dress during the 4th century through the military. An edict of 397 (*CTh* XIV, 10, 2) forbade the wearing of trousers (*bracchae*) within the *City of *Rome on pain of exile, though it is unclear whether this restriction refers to trousers with integral feet or to the loose trousers that were considered characteristic of oriental, 'Persian' dress (depicted, for instance, in the *rock relief of the investiture of *Narseh the Persian King of Kings at *Naqsh-e Rostam). By the 6th century, *John Lydus (*De Magistratibus*, 1.17) lists white trousers (*periskelides*) with integral feet as part of the official attire of the patricians, while *Justinian I is portrayed wearing a purple pair at S. Vitale, *Ravenna. MGP

M. Harlow, 'Clothes maketh the man: Power Dressing and Elite Masculinity in the Later Roman World', in Brubaker and Smith, *Gender*, 44–69, at 63–6.
M. G. Parani, 'Defining Personal Space: Dress and Accessories in Late Antiquity', in L. Lavan, E. Swift, and T. Putzeys, eds., *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity* (2007), 497–529, at 505–6.

Trullo, Council in *See* QUINISEXT COUNCIL.

trustis Term in *Frankish legal sources for an armed troop placed under *oath to provide assistance. It was a term of public *law on at least two levels: it was applied to landholders obliged to perform duties of policing modelled on those of the imperial period, and to the pursuing band so constituted, and in a modified form it was also applied to an elite troop (*trustis dominica*) in personal service to the king. It may have had broader application to troops of varying kinds under the common term *solatium*. Members of the royal *trustis* appear to be attested as *antrustiones* in sources associated with **Lex Salica*. In the course of the 6th century, the local *trustes* were placed under the command of **centenarii*, and their associations were called *centenae*. Use of the word *trustis* has analogies with the non-Frankish terms *auxilium*, *solatium*, and the *Greek *boetheia*. ACM

A. C. Murray, 'From Roman to Frankish Gaul: "Centenarii" and "Centenae" in the Administration of the Merovingian Kingdom', *Traditio* 44 (1988), 59–100.

Tsathes I King of *Lazica (522–7/8). Son of Damnazes. Under *Justin I, he became the first Christian King of Lazica. He rejected *fire worship, chose to be crowned at *Constantinople, married a Roman lady, Valeriana, and was baptized. *John Malalas describes his *regalia. His defection from Persia caused hostility between the empires (Malalas, XVII, 9). He was attacked by the Persians in 527/8 and received military aid from *Justinian I. MO

PLRE II, Ztathius.

Tsathes II The younger brother of *Gobazes II, King of Lazica, lived in *Constantinople. After Gobazes' assassination in 555, the *Lazi requested his return. *Agathias describes the royal *insignia bestowed upon

him by *Justinian I in 555/6 (Agathias, III, 12; III, 14, 1–3). MO

N. Lomouri, *Egrisis samepos istoria* (History of the kingdom of Egrisi) (1968).

tsunamis Large sequences of waves created by seismic activity (formerly misnamed 'tidal waves'; there is no *Greek or *Latin word or expression). *Earthquake zones such as the eastern Mediterranean are prone to them. The most extensive and destructive tsunami of Late Antiquity occurred on 21 July 365. This earthquake has been linked with the uplift of western *Crete by up to 10 m (c.33 feet) and the resulting tsunami is well attested in *Alexandria, where *ships were thrown onto *roofs; the earthquake's anniversary was celebrated generations later (Ammianus, XXVI, 10, 15–19—perhaps the best-known Late Antique account of a tsunami; *Sozomen, VI, 2; *Theophanes, AM 5859). It also struck the Peloponnese (Ammianus, XXVI, 10, 19) and *Sicily (*Jerome, *Chron*. 244c Helm). Other noteworthy narratives include *Procopius (*Gothic*, VIII, 25, 16–23 (central *Greece: 551) and *Agathias II, 16, 1–6 (*Cos: 554–8). As Late Antique authors and ancient seismology associate tsunamis with earthquakes, it is occasionally uncertain whether descriptions are authentic or rhetorical elaborations of earthquake narratives. Descriptions often focus on the sea's disappearance and its subsequent breaking of its bounds before natural order is restored; divine punishment or providential response to human events is often implied. GAJK

E. Guidoboni et al., *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century* (1994) (for Late Antique tsunami, some of questionable historicity, see: #126, 128, 132, 143, 154, 155, 165, 189, 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 247, 249).

G. Kelly, 'Ammianus and the Great Tsunami', *JRS* 94 (2004), 141–66.

B. Shaw et al. 'Eastern Mediterranean Tectonics and Tsunami Hazard Inferred from the AD 365 Earthquake', *Nature Geoscience* 11 (April 2008), 268–76.

Tsurtavi Political centre of Gogarene (mod. Gugark, in the south-west foothills of the Caucasus). Residence of the *Pitiaksh in the 5th century. It was a bilingual Armeno-Georgian *diocese until the ecclesiastical schism in the early 7th century, when the *Armenian *Bishop of Tsurtavi was expelled by the Georgian *catholicus. NA

N. Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient* (1999).

Tübigen Theosophy *See* THEOSOPHY OF TÜBINGEN.

Tudmir Region in south-east *Spain governed by the *Visigoth *Teudemir after the *Arab conquest. Its seven towns (Orihuela, Valencia, Alicante, Mula, Bigastro, Ello, and Lorca) appear in a treaty of 5 April 713 which preserved Teudemir's control and local ownership of land. EMB

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Tudmīr (L. Molina).

R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (1994), 39–40.

B. Rosenwein, ed., *Reading the Middle Ages: Sources from Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic World* (2006), 92.

Tukharistan (Tocharistan) Narrowly defined, a region south of the *Oxus River, between *Balkh and Badakhshan (equivalent to ancient *Bactria); more broadly defined, it also included territory north of the Oxus and/or south of the Hindu Kush. The name, used primarily by Muslim geographers such as Ibn Khurdadhbih (23–7), al-*Yaqubi (102–7), and Ibn al-Faqih (382–3), recalls the Tocharoi (Yüeh-chih) mentioned by Strabo (XI, 8, 2) and *Ptolemy (VI, 11, 7), who invaded in the 3rd century BC and were subsequently absorbed into the multi-ethnic population (Kushans, *Hephthalites, and *Türks). *Xuanzang (I, 36–49) says Tukharistan consisted of 27 states, dependent on the Turks and stretching from the Iron Gate (north of *Tirmidh) to *Bamiyan in the Hindu Kush. *Buddhism flourished and *Bactrian was the primary written language of Tukharistan until the 8th century.

Initial Arab raids during *Uthman's *caliphate (644–56) brought resistance from Hephthalites, Türks, and remnants of the defeated *Sasanian dynasty, who hoped to restore *Yazdegerd III's son Firuz. Although the Arabs repelled Firuz into Chinese territory (667), the *Arab conquest and Islamization of Tukharistan was not completed until *Qutayba b. Muslim defeated Tarkhan *Nezak in 709/10; Balkh subsequently became an important Arab administrative centre. MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Ṭukhāristān (Barthold, Bosworth).

M. Hinds, tr., *Tabari*, XXIII: *The Zenith of the Marwanid House* (1990), 153–5, 164–74.

C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (2009), 380–3.

W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 66–71.

W. Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, tr. S. Soucek (1984), 6–34.

J. Harmatta and B. A. Litvinsky in *HCCA* III, 358–93.

G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 426–8.

tunica palmata Long *purple tunic, adorned with *gold. It was worn beneath the **toga picta*, part of the triumphal dress of *emperors, victorious generals, and *consuls presiding over games. MGP

Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, 53–4.

Tur 'Abdin Low mountain plateau forming part of the Anti-Taurus chain of mountains in south-east Turkey, bounded by the Tigris River on the north and east,

by the Mesopotamian plain on the south, and by *Mardin on the west. It was known as Mons Masius or *Izla in the Roman period and was part of the *province of *Mesopotamia. Tur 'Abdin means 'Mountain of the Servants (of God)' in *Syriac, but the name most probably comes from the nearby fortress, *Rhabdion (mod. Hatem Tai Kalesi), which, together with *Amida, was built by *Constantius II. Cepha tou Rhabdion may mean the region controlled by the fortress of Rhabdion. After *Nisibis and *Bezabde were lost to the Persians in 363, Tur 'Abdin lay directly on the eastern Roman *frontier. *Procopius (*Aed*. II, 4, 1–13) remarks on the position of the fort at Rhabdion. Both *George of Cyprus and the **Notitia Antiochena* mention 'Turabdium' as a bishopric.

The landscape of the Tur 'Abdin is dotted with around 82 *villages and 68 *monastery buildings. It was a predominantly *Syriac Orthodox region until the early 20th century. The earliest Christian ruins in the region date from the 6th century when Roman imperial *patronage in this frontier region resulted in remarkable architecture and architectural decoration, such as the *opus sectile pavement and the *apse *mosaic of the sanctuary of the main church of the *monastery named after Mar *Gabriel near Kartmen/Qart(a)min (Turkish Deyrulumur). Most of the remains from this period are from monasteries. One important exception is the *village of Hah, which was probably the seat of the *Bishop of Turabdium. Hah has a monumental 6th-century monastic church which is still in use, and remains of several others, one of which was the cathedral.

The *Arab conquest of Tur 'Abdin, with the rest of northern Mesopotamia, occurred in 640. It is generally agreed that Syriac Orthodox Christians flourished under the Arabs (*see* SYMEON OF THE OLIVES). There are at least 28 structures in Tur 'Abdin which were partly or completely built or rebuilt in the first century and a half of Arab rule. Many of the remarkable village churches are from that period.

Churches of the Tur 'Abdin have two predominant plans. The hall type is common in village churches (as at Arnas and Kefr Zeh) and the transverse-hall type is characteristic of monastic churches, as at the Church of Mar *Jacob the Recluse at Salah/Salhı/Bağlarbaşı, which also boasts a fine patterned *brick vault. There are also a few innovative plans which take features from both types. Both 6th- and 8th-century churches of the region have significant architectural decoration whose style is crucial for dating the monuments. EKK

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 3, 240–58 (plateau) and 350–1 (Hatem Tai Kale).

Bell and Mundell Mango, *Tur 'Abdin*.

Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier*.

G. Wiessner, *Christliche Kultbauten im Ṭūr Abdīn*, 4 vols. in 8 (1982–93).

A. N. Palmer, 'Corpus of Syriac Inscriptions from Ṭur 'Abdin', *OrChrist* 71 (1987), 53–139.

M. Mundell, 'The Sixth Century Sculpture of the Monastery of Deir Za'faran in Mesopotamia', *Actes du XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes, Septembre 1976*, II. Art et Archéologie, Communications (Athens, 1979–81), 511–28.

A. N. Palmer, 'La Montagne Aux LXX Monastères', in F. Jullien, ed., *Le Monachisme syriaque* (2010).

Tura manuscripts Collection of Greek manuscripts discovered by chance in 1941 in the stone *quarries of Tura, near Cairo. At least eight codices were found, but the quires were sold separately and dispersed into various collections. The manuscripts date from the 6th–7th century and include new works of two *Alexandrian theologians: treatises of *Origen and commentaries of *Didymus the Blind on several books of the Bible. AFVD

L. Doutreleau, 'Que savons-nous aujourd'hui des papyrus de Toura?', *RSR* 43 (1955), 161–93.

L. Koenen and L. Doutreleau, 'Nouvel inventaire des papyrus de Toura', *RSR* 55 (1967), 547–64.

Turan *See* CENTRAL ASIA.

Turcii Noble Roman family. Turcius Apronianus (*PLRE* I, Apronianus 9), the *pagan *Praefectus Urbi of 339 praised by *Ammianus, was a member (XXVI, 3, 1–5). One of his descendants, Turcius Secundus (*PLRE* I, Secundus 6), was converted to Christianity after marrying Proiecta, whose *epitaph was written by *Damasus, and who owned the *Projecta Casket, a *silver box, probably a wedding present, found among the *Esquiline Treasure. Another member of the family, a different Turcius Apronianus (*PLRE* I, Apronianus, 8), was a friend of *Paulinus of *Nola and was converted to Christianity by S. *Melania the Elder (*Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 54). DN

PLRE I, stemma 29, 1147.

A. Cameron, 'The Date and Owners of the Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence', *AJA* 89 (1985), 135–45.

Turfan Large oasis located on the *Silk Road north of the *Tarim basin (*Zhou-shu*, 5–8). It was the site of several ancient cities, including Kocho (Qocho), the capital of an *Uighur kingdom founded *c.*850. Before the Uighurs, the area was inhabited by various Indo-European speakers, including *Tocharians and *Sogdians, as well as by Turks. *Buddhism was the predominant religion, and the Buddhist traveller *Xuanzang (I, 17) passed through. *Manichaeism flourished after the Uighurs arrived. There was also a Christian presence amongst *Sogdian and Turkic speakers.

European expeditions to *Central Asia in the early 20th century resulted in thousands of texts and artefacts being removed from Turfan to St Petersburg, Helsinki, Berlin, Kyoto, London, and Paris. By far the largest haul was made by the four German Turfan expeditions led by Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq (1902–14). Manuscript fragments were discovered in over twenty different languages and scripts, including *Arabic, Bactrian, Chinese, Khotanese, Middle and New *Persian, Mongolian, Sanskrit, Sogdian, *Syriac, Tibetan, Tocharian, and Uighur *Turkic. Most texts were Buddhist or Manichaean, with a smaller number of Christian ones. A large number of artefacts, including Buddhist wall paintings taken from the Bezeklik Caves, were also removed and taken to Berlin.

The Turfan expeditions resulted in the discovery and deciphering of several previously unknown languages and scripts, including Sogdian, Tocharian, and Uighur Turkic, as well as shedding light on Late Antique and medieval Central Asian culture, particularly the role that Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity played in society. MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Turfan (S. Soucek).
EncIran (2004) *s.v.* Turfan Expeditions (W. Sundermann).
Journal Asiatique 269 (1981): *Manuscrits et inscriptions de haute Asie du Ve au XIe siècle*.
A. Cadonna, ed., *Turfan and Tun-huang, the Texts* (1992).
D. Durkin-Meisterernst et al., eds., *Turfan Revisited* (2004).
R. E. Emmerick et al., eds., *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang* (1996).
P. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (1980).
P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (1959), 161–5.
A. von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qoco (850–1250)* (1973).
A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (1928).
S. Whitfield and F. Wood, eds., *Dunhuang and Turfan* (1996).
Zhang Guang-Da in *HCCA* III, 303–14.

Türgesh Turkic tribal confederation that emerged in the late 7th century and took power *c.*700 in the western part of the Second *Türk Empire, the territory of the earlier Western Türk khaganate (qaghanate). After more than a decade of conflict, the Eastern Türks defeated the Türgesh (710–11), but after the latter elected *Suluk (Su-lu) as *khagan (qaghan) in 716, he restored Türgesh control of traditional Western Türk territory, from the northern steppe south to *Tukharistan. Allied with the Tibetans, they contained Chinese attempts to move westward and led *Sogdians and others in resisting the *Arab conquest of *Central Asia. However, a Chinese–Arab alliance against the Türgesh resulted in a decisive defeat of Suluk by the Arabs in 737; Türgesh power was broken by 740 and they were succeeded in Western Türk territory by the Qarluq Turks in 766. MLD

Chavannes, Documents, 43–4, 78–9, 81–5.
Chavannes, *Notes*, 25–95, *passim*.
*Orkhon inscriptions, 266, 269–70, 276, 280, 286–7.
S. Klyashtorny in *HCCA* III, 344–7.
M. Dobrovits, 'The Great Western Campaign of the Eastern Turks (711–714)', *ActOrHung* 58 (2005), 179–85.
E. Esin, 'Ṭabarī's Report on the Warfare of the Türgiš and the Testimony of Eighth-Century Central Asian Art', *CAJ* 17 (1973), 130–49.
H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923), 60–85 *et passim*.

Turkestan *See* CENTRAL ASIA.

Turkic languages and literature The Turks first appear in 7th-century Chinese accounts of the First *Türk Empire (552–659), located in Mongolia; based on extant inscriptions, *Sogdian was the official language. However, the earliest extant records of a Turkic language are the 8th-century *Orkhon inscriptions of the Second Türk Empire (682–742). Turkic must significantly pre-date these events; linguists posit that Proto-Turkic split at some indeterminate time into Common Turkic (ancestor of most modern Turkic languages) and Oghur-Bulghar Turkic (represented by the *Oghurs, *Onoghurs, *Saraghurs, and *Bulgars). From the original Turkic homeland in the Altai region of Mongolia and Siberia, Turkic speakers spread westward across the Eurasian steppe and southward into *Central Asia.

Reconstructing the Oghur-Bulghar Turkic languages is hindered by a lack of extant texts, but Common Turkic is much better attested, beginning with Old Turkic, primarily represented by pre-Islamic texts. These were written initially in a runic script derived from Aramaic and then in the *Uighur script, adapted from *Sogdian script. The runic script is used in many Old Turkic inscriptions (8th–10th cent.), including the *Orkhon inscriptions. Although the Uighur kingdom of Kocho (Qocho) established in *Turfan *c.*850 primarily used the Uighur script (later adapted for Mongolian), the runic script was also used. *Buddhist, *Manichaean, and Christian Turkic texts in Turfan were also written in Brahmi, Manichaean, and *Syriac scripts, respectively (9th–13th cent.). Later Turkic languages were for the most part used by Islamicized Turks and featured increasing Arabic and Persian lexical influences.

Turkic languages are characterized by a rich vowel system, vowel harmony, agglutination, postpositions, auxiliary verbs, and subject-object-verb word order. Linguists disagree about whether similarities between Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu languages reflect a common Altaic genetic origin or linguistic borrowing due to extended contact. Although various Turkic dialects were used by many early nomadic steppe federations, all members of these societies were not necessarily

ethnically Turkic; rather, the language of the ruling class functioned as the official lingua franca. MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Turks II. Languages (P. B. Golden); III. Literature 1. Pre-Islamic literature of the Türks (P. Zieme).
G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (1972).
P. T. Daniels and W. Bright, eds., *The World's Writing Systems* (1996), 536–58.
L. Johanson and É. Á. Csató, eds., *The Turkic Languages* (1998).
R. Loewenthal, *The Turkic Languages and Literatures of Central Asia: A Bibliography* (1957).
K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (1995).
G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. (1958).

Turkic religion The indigenous religion of the Türks had both imperial and popular forms. The former centred around the worship of the supreme Sky God Tengri, the Mother Goddess Umay, and the sacred Earth and Water Iduq Yer-Sub (*Orkhon inscriptions, 265, 277, 288). By contrast, popular religious expressions incorporated shamanism and totemism (*Movses Kaghankatvatsi ii.40). The sky dominated the steppe environment and steppe religion; sunrise, lunar phases, and astrological concerns were of prime importance. Certain territory was sacrosanct, particularly Ötüken, a mountainous forested area near the Orkhon River (Orkhon inscriptions, 261–2). Protecting the purity of water was vital and impure objects or people were purified by various fire rituals (*Menander Protector, fr. 10, 3).

Tengri was supremely important in the imperial manifestation of Turkic religion under the Türks, *Uighurs, and *Khazars. Like the Chinese emperor, Turkic *khagans (qaghans) were considered to rule by the favour (*qut*) of Heaven; the khagan and his consort the khatun were viewed as emanations of Tengri and Umay (Orkhon inscriptions, 265, 267, 268, 275, 280, 283, 288). Adherence to the Tengri-centred imperial cult was necessary to maintain political and military unity, without which steppe polities could not survive. Opposition to the khagan was opposition to Heaven. Popular religious practices overseen by shamans and other religious figures included healings, exorcisms, divination (using *dreams, animal entrails, and scapulae), shamanic journeys, and weather magic (particularly rainmaking), but shamanic claims of privileged access to heaven were considered challenges to khaganal authority. Similarly, local tribal totems were competition for the centrally mandated cult of the wolf, reflecting an origin legend of the Türks in which a she-wolf brought up a young boy, later bearing his children in a cave; the wolf was frequently used as a Turkic military standard and the khagan led annual religious ceremonies in an ancestral cave.

Early Turkic funerary practices involved offerings, lamentations, and ritual mutilations (Menander Protector, fr. 19, 1; Orkhon inscriptions, 271–2; 279–80). Sources describe both inhumation and cremation as ways pre-Islamic Turkic peoples disposed of their *dead, suggesting that practices differed chronologically and geographically. Throughout history, Turkic peoples have adopted major world religions, particularly in the 8th century, when the Uighurs adopted *Manichaeism, the Qarluqs Christianity, and the *Khazars *Judaism. At various times *Buddhism was influential amongst the early Türks; the Uighurs gradually converted to it in *Turfan. Eventually most Turkic speakers adopted *Islam, a process which took centuries to complete. MLD

EI 2 vol. 8 (1993) *s.n.* Ötüken (C. E. Bosworth); vol. 10 (2000) *s.n.* Tañri (V. F. Büchner, G. Doerfer).
A. Bombaci, 'Qutluγ Bolzun!' *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 36 (1965), 284–91; *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 38 (1966), 13–43.
G. Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (1972), 46, 164–5, 523–4, 594, 783–4.
J.-P. Roux, *La Religion des turcs et des mongols* (1984).
D. Sinor, 'The Legendary Origin of the Türks', in E. V. Žygas and P. Voorheis, eds., *Folklorica: Festschrift for Felix J. Oinas* (1982), 223–57.
D. Sinor, '"Umay", a Mongol Spirit Honoured by the Türks', in *Proceedings of the International Conference on China Border Area Studies* (1985), 1–7.

Türks (Kök Türks, Gökturks) Turkic tribal confederation which in 552 overthrew the Rouran (Juanjuan, known later in Europe as the *Avars), whom they had served as blacksmiths (*Evagrius, *HE* V, 1). 'Türk' was initially the ethnonym of a tribe led by the Ashina clan; later, it designated the multi-ethnic state that the Ashina-led Türks established. Since then, 'Türk' has been used for many different Turkic-speaking peoples, whether descended from the original Türks or not.

These early Türks are sometimes called Kök ('Blue, Heavenly') Türks (*Orkhon inscriptions, 263–4), a calque of *Khotanese Saka *āsseina* 'blue', i.e. the Ashina clan. Their origin is unclear; Chinese annals trace their lineage back to the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu). Certain aspects of Ashina-led Türk culture (eastward orientation, numeral system, some personal names) are not typically Turkic, suggesting a mixed ethnic origin. Chinese sources also refer to other Turkic peoples, some subservient to the Türks (*Gaoche*, 'High Carts') and others residing outside the Türk polity ('Yellow Head Türks', 'Ox-hooved Türks', 'Skiing Türks').

After the Türk defeat of the Rouran (Avars), *Bumin *Khagan (r. 552) established the First Türk Empire in the forested, steppe, and desert oasis regions around the Altai mountains, nominally divided (like many steppe polities) into eastern and western halves. The western half achieved semi-autonomy under Bumin's brother and Yabghu *Istemi (r. 552–76), under whom the

Türks quickly expanded westward across the steppe (pursuing the Avars) and southward into *Central Asia. Allied with the *Persian Empire, they defeated the *Hephthalites (557–61); *Sogdiana and other territories north of the *Oxus came under Türk rule, followed by much of *Tukharistan (south of the Oxus) after Türk relations with Persia soured. Diplomatic contact with the Eastern Roman Empire began in 563 (*Photius, §64; *Theophanes, AM 6055) and continued thereafter (*Menander Protector, frs. 18–22; *Theophylact Simocatta, III, 9, 7; *Theophanes, AM 6064), particularly through the Eastern Roman embassies of *Zemarchus (569) and Valentinus (576), to Türk territory (*Menander Protector, fr. 10, 19).

Under Istemi's son *Tardu (r. 576–603, intermittently), territorial expansion continued (despite Tardu's ongoing conflict with rival khagans). The East Roman–Türk alliance broke down due to East Roman tolerance of the Avars on traditional Roman territory and the Türks captured the *Crimean Bosporus (576–9). Under Tardu, the Western Türks controlled the whole Eurasian steppe zone plus the Pontic–Caspian Steppe, the north Caucasus, *Transoxiana, Tukharistan, and the northern *Tarim basin. Growing divisions between the eastern and western halves led to civil war (581–3). Unsuccessful attempts to invade both *China and the *Persian Empire during the 580s, the latter countered by the Persian *Bahram V Chobin (e.g. *Evagrius, *HE* VI, 15; *Theophylact Simocatta, III, 6, 9–14; III, 18, 12; IV, 4, 17; IV, 5, 9; cf. V, 10, 13–15; and *Theophanes, AM 6080–1) further weakened the Türk state and, by 583, the Eastern and Western Türk khaganates were formally separate states.

The Chinese Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties exploited this internecine conflict to strategic advantage by playing 'barbarian against barbarian'. The Eastern Türk khaganate ended in 630, when the resurgent Tang dynasty captured the Eastern khagan. The same year, the Western Türk ruler, Tung Yabghu Khagan, was assassinated. The Western Türk khaganate gradually disintegrated as the formerly subordinate *Khazars and *Bulgars established independent states. The Tang captured the last Western khagan in 657, finally defeating the Western Türks in 659.

The Second Türk Empire, also led by the Ashina, was established in 682, when the Türks under Elterish Khagan (r. 682–91) and his comrade Tonyuquq revolted against the Chinese, recaptured much of former Türk territory in Mongolia and Central Asia, and brought most Turkic tribes under their rule, except for the independent *Khazars on the western steppe. In Sogdiana and Tukharistan, expansion led to ongoing clashes with the invading *Arabs (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, I, 491–3;,II, 41–2, 160, 183–5, 198–201, 210–11). Again, rifts between the Eastern and Western Türks led to a gradual breakdown of the state, with the *Türgesh taking power in *Transoxiana *c.*700 and thereafter leading resistance to the Arabs. Despite a resurgence under Elterish's sons Bilga Khagan (r. 716–34) and *Köl Tegin (d. 731), who documented their achievements in the Orkhon inscriptions (263–4), the Second Türk Empire was weakened by internal divisions and ongoing conflict with the Arabs and Chinese. It was finally defeated by a coalition of other Turkic groups in 742, to be succeeded by the *Uighur Empire in 744. In 766, the Qarluq Turks defeated the *Türgesh, taking over former Western Türk territory.

The Sogdians played an important administrative, cultural, and mercantile role in the First Türk Empire and *Sogdian was probably the chancellery language. However, by the Second Türk Empire, the runic Old Turkic script had replaced it. The Türks oversaw much of the *Silk Road network, supplying *silk to the Romans and *horses to the Chinese. The *Emperor *Maurice (*Strategicon*, 23, 116–18 Dennis) observed their military methods. Although briefly, the Türks ruled one of the great empires of Late Antiquity alongside the Eastern Roman Empire, the *Persian Empire of the *Sasanians, and China. Arab scholars who discuss the Türks include al-*Yaqubi (108–13), Ibn al-Faqih (7–9, 240–2, 375), and Ibn Rusta (112–13). *Agathias (I, 3, 4) observes that both Türks and Avars have unkempt hair. MLD

BT II, *Τοῦρκοι*.

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Turks I History 1–3 (L. Bazin, P. B. Golden).

Chavannes, *Documents*, *passim*.

Chavannes, *Notes*, *passim*.

Pien-i-tien: S. Julien, 'Documents historiques sur les Tou-kioue (Turcs), extraits du Pien-i- tien', *Journal Asiatique* (1864).

Menander Protector, frs. 4.2, 10.1–5, 13.5, 19.1–2, 25.2.

D. Sinor, 'The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 285–316.

D. Sinor and S. G. Klyashtorny in *HCCA* III, 327–47.

J. Harmatta and B. A. Litvinsky in *HCCA* III, 367–83.

M. R. Drompp, 'Imperial State Formation in Inner Asia: The Early Turkic Empires (6th to 9th Centuries)', *ActOrHung* 58 (2005), 101–11.

P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (1992), 115–54.

P. B. Golden, 'The Turkic Nomads of the Pre-Islamic Eurasian Steppes', in E. Çağatay and D. Kuban, eds., *The Turkic Speaking Peoples* (2006), 83–103.

P. B. Golden, 'Ethnogenesis in the Tribal Zone: The Shaping of the Türks', *ArchEurasiaeMedAev* 16 (2008/9), 73–112.

M.-T. Liu, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)* (1958).

D. Sinor, 'Some Components of the Civilization of the Türks (6th to 8th Century A.D.)', in G. Jarring and S. Rosén, eds., *Altaistic Studies* (1985), 145–59.

turquoise A soft, opaque blue or greenish mineral (chemical formula $CuAl_6(PO_4)_4(OH)_8{\cdot}4H_2O$) used for inlays, beads, and *amulets since the 6th millennium BC. The earliest known mines were located in the *Sinai Peninsula (Serabit el-Khadim, Wadi Maghara), in Iran (e.g. *Nishapur), in *Central Asia, and in *China. *Sarmatian and *Bactrian items featured a large amount of turquoise mounted in *gold, as was the case for T'ang-dynasty jewellery in ancient China. Evidence of turquoise usage found in Western contexts is rare except for the chalice and paten of *Gourdon (France, 6th cent.), which are some of the few pieces known from early medieval Europe. SG

Tuscia et Umbria *Province in the *Dioecesis *Italiae created under the *Tetrarchy and included in the *Verona List (256 recto, 10–11). It was bounded by the Tiber River and the Apennines and had its capital in Volsinii, though a rescript of *Constans I gave permission to the city of *Hispellum, capital of the former Regio of Umbria, to build a *Temple of the Gens Flavia and hold the provincial festival there in alternate years with Volsinii (*ILS* Dessau, 705). Tuscia et Umbria was governed by a *Corrector, first attested *c.*310 (*ILS* Dessau 1217), then after 366 by a *Consularis. After AD 367, the province was divided into Tuscia Annonaria north of the Arno River and Tuscia Suburbicaria south of it, but the **Notitia Dignitatum* places the province as a whole under the jurisdiction of the *Vicarius Urbis Romae (*occ.* XIX, 4; cf. I, 57; II, 15). MMA

NEDC 100–1, 162, 218–19.

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Tyana (mod. Kemerhisar, Turkey) *City, *c.*30 km (*c.* 19 miles) north of the *Cilician Gates on the *Pilgrims' Road, home town of the 1st-century AD wonder-worker *Apollonius of Tyana, and subsequently renamed Christopolis. The *bishop attended the *Council of *Nicaea in 325. When *Valens divided *Cappadocia in 372, it became capital of *Cappadocia Secunda, giving rise to disputes with *Caesarea over ecclesiastical jurisdiction. *Eunomius of *Cyzicus was buried nearby in 398 (*Philostorgius, XI, 5). The *Passion* of S. Orestes (*BHG* 1383) records healings at his *martyrium on the mountain near Tyana. Its strategic position north of the *Cilician Gates made Tyana a target of *Arab raids in 707/8 and 806. Remains of an *aqueduct and *spolia are visible. IJ

TIB 2 *Kappadokien* (1981), 298–9.

van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow*.

Tyche of cities *See* PERSONIFICATIONS OF CITIES.

Tyconius (*c.*330–390) *Donatist theologian from *Africa who lived during the reigns of *Theodosius I and his sons (*Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.* 18). He was the author of four works. *De Bello Intestino Libri Tres* (*c.*370) and *Expositiones Diversarum Causarum* (*c.*375) are lost. The *Liber Regularum* (*c.*382) exists almost complete, and *In Apocalypsin* (*c.*385) survives in fragments. Tyconius was excommunicated from the Donatist Church *c.*380 for supporting the notions, apparently articulated in his first two books, that the Church was spread throughout the whole world and that no one could be stained by another's sin (*Augustine, *ep.* 93, 44). Despite excommunication, he refused to join the Catholics (Augustine, *Doctr. Chr.* III, 30). The *Liber regularum* offers seven rules which, like keys, open the 'recesses' of the 'universal law'. It eschews millenarianism in favour of a vision of the Church in present time, and insists on the existence of evil within the Church. Tyconius takes a similar approach in his commentary on the Apocalypse. He insists that history is a realm in which God operates, and that the End of Times and the identity of those who will be saved remain unknowable. Tyconius profoundly influenced Augustine, noticeably in *Doctr. Chr.* and *Civ. Dei*. *Primasius of *Hadrumetum, *Caesarius of *Arles, *Bede, and Beatus of Liébana (a Spanish monk who lived in the age of Charlemagne) incorporated Tyconius, specifically his commentary on the Apocalypse, into their own works. ETH

PLRE I, Ticonius.

PCBE I, Tyconius.

Book of Rules (CPL, 709).

ed. F. C. Burkitt (Texts and Studies III/1, 1894).

ET W. S. Babcock, *Tyconius: The Book of Rules* (1989).

Commentary on Revelation (*CPL*, 710):

ed. R. Gryson (CCSL 107A, 2011).

F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation* (1963).

P. Fredriksen Landes, 'Tyconius and the End of the World', *REAug* 28 (1982), 59–75.

T. Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien* (1900).

Monceaux, *HistLitt* (1920), vol. 5, 165–219.

K. B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of its Reception and Influence* (1987).

typology in art System in which narrative patterns were perceived and iconographic parallels established between Old and New Testament figures or events, or between Old Testament figures and Christian *emperors or saints or elements in the *liturgy. Based upon *typology in literature, described by *Origen as the second level of *Bible interpretation or exegesis, artists connected the prophecies of Old Testament figures with their fulfilment in Christ, as in the *apse *mosaic of the church built by *Justinian I for the *Monastery at Mount *Sinai, which depicts Moses and Elijah as witnesses to the

Transfiguration of Christ. Explicit associations between the two Testaments appeared on *sarcophagi and in illustrated Gospel *books, where Old Testament prophets were depicted below the related Christian *miracle in the New Testament. Old Testament figures, including Moses and David, were seen as types for Christ, and the story of Jonah and the Whale, frequently depicted in early Christian art, was interpreted as a paradigm of Jesus' death and resurrection (Matthew 12:39; 16:4). Artists also associated Daniel in the Lion's Den and the Three Hebrews in the Burning Fiery Furnace (Daniel 3), frequently depicted in the *catacombs and on *sarcophagi, with Christian *martyrs who were tortured in similar ways (1 Clement). Similarly, they connected David, the model Jewish king, with the Byzantine emperor, as on the 7th-century *David Plates. SVL

ODB s.v. 'typology', 2133 (G. Vikan).
R. M. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (2000), 64–93.
S. Schrenk, *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (JbAC Ergänzungsband 21, 1995).
C. B. Tcakz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (2002).

typology in literature From the late 4th century familiar themes of typology from the *Bible figure prominently in Christian literature. In poets of the late 4th and 5th centuries Adam, Abel, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, and David all appear as types of Christ, Eve regularly prefigures *Mary, and the wood of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil the wood of the *Cross. Old Testament episodes that serve as types of Christian salvation enjoy special popularity, particularly the stories of the Flood and the Exodus from Egypt and Crossing of the Red Sea. For the Old Testament poets Claudius *Marius Victorius and *Avitus, as well as for the author of the pseudonymous *Metrum in Genesin*, the Ark represents the Church and the waters of the Flood prefigure *baptism. For *Sedulius and Avitus the wood of the Ark corresponds to the Cross. *Prudentius in the *Cathemerinon* (XII, 140–72) gives a detailed typological reading of the events of the Israelites' Exodus; in particular, the Crossing of the Red Sea is universally seen as a type of baptism. *Rusticius Helpidius' *Tristica*, three-line *epigrams on biblical themes, begins with a set of sixteen poems matching Old Testament and New Testament stories.

Typological readings interpret Old Testament events as prefigurations not only of the New Testament, but also of the experience of the Christian Church and of the individual believer in the here and now, and of the blessedness to be enjoyed at the End of Time. The understanding of human history as revealing recurrent patterns and types influenced *historiography and *saints' lives. *Eusebius famously describes *Constantine I's victory at the *Milvian Bridge as re-enacting the Crossing of the Red Sea (*HE* IX, 9), with *Maxentius as Pharaoh. Prudentius has the saint Eulalia, in fleeing from her parents' home to avoid *marriage, retracing the Flight from Egypt (*Peristephanon*, III, 56–60). On occasions typology may shade into panegyrical comparison (e.g. a church builder outdoes Solomon and his temple). MJR

ed. R. Peiper, Ps.-Hilary, *Metrum in Genesin* (CSEL 23, 1881), 231–9.

Typos of Constans II An *edict of *Constans II issued in 648 in an attempt to defuse Christological controversies. Probably composed by Paul, *Patriarch of *Constantinople, the *Typos* forbade any discussion on the subject of Christ's wills or energies, whether supporting *Monotheletism or Dyotheletism, the doctrines of one or two wills in Christ. Instead the *Typos* demanded strict adherence to the doctrines of the first five Œcumenical *Councils of the Church. The **Ecthesis of Heraclius* was neither condemned nor condoned, but it was ordered to be removed from the Church of the *Holy Wisdom in Constantinople. Broadly successful in the East, in *Rome *Martin I, encouraged by *Maximus Confessor, rejected the *Typos*, which survives only in the text of the *Lateran Council of 649 called to condemn both the *Typos* and Monotheletism. This led to the arrest and trial for *treason of both Martin and Maximus. MTGH

ed. R. Riedinger, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*: *ACO* 2, 1 (1984), 208–11.
Hefele and Leclercq, 3.1 (1909), 432–4.
Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, 19–22.

tyrants *See* USURPERS.

Tyre Seaport on the coast of the Levant, originally a separate island and mainland, reputedly founded by Melqart, the Semitic equivalent of Hercules (*Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 40). It was the metropolis of *Phoenice and was made a *colonia* by Septimius Severus.

Ulpian the jurist and *Porphyry the *philosopher were born at Tyre. A *bishop is known from *c.*250 (*Dionysius of *Alexandria in *Eusebius, *HE* VII, 5). The cathedral, rebuilt following the Great *Persecution, was inaugurated with a descriptive *sermon by *Eusebius of *Caesarea, preserved in his *Church History* (X, 4, 37–46); the remains appear to have been discovered (Badoui). The *city was the site of important church *councils in 335 and 514.

Tyre produced *purple *dye from *murex. *Dorotheus of *Antioch, a congenital *eunuch and Christian *priest, learned in Hebrew as well as *Greek, was manager of the Tyre dye-works under *Diocletian (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 32, 2–3). *Trade in *textiles is attested by *inscriptions from the 6th-century necropolis, from which elaborate *sarcophagi are also known. The *Piacenza Pilgrim (2) found unspeakable luxury and

imperial factories (*_gynaecea_) for *silk and other textiles. The *harbour has been excavated recently. LJH

Millar, *RNE* 287–95.
A. Badoui, 'Découverte d'une basilique paléochrétienne à Tyr', in *Liban: l'autre rive* (exhibition catalogue, Institut du monde arabe, 1998), 214–15.
L. J. Hall, 'Tyre in Late Antiquity', *Electrum* 12 (2007), 73–87.
N. Jidejian, *Tyre through the Ages* (1969).
N. Marriner and C. Morhange, 'Under the City Centre, the Ancient Harbour: Tyre and Sidon', *JCH* 6 (2005), 183–9.
J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963–1974)*: I, *Inscriptions de la Nécropole* (BMB 29; 1977).
J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr* (BAAL supplement 3, 2006).

***tzangia* (sg. *tzangion*)** Knee-length boots of Persian origin with a long later history as Byzantine *regalia. *Procopius (*Aed.* III, 1, 23) states that only the Roman and Persian sovereigns could wear red *pearl-decorated *tzangia*, though rulers of *client kingdoms in the Caucasus, such as *Armenia and *Lazica (*John Malalas, XVII, 9; Theophanes, AM 6015; *Chronicon Paschale*, 522 AD), wore them previously too. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 201–4.

Tzania (medieval *Tao-Klarjeti) Mountainous region behind *Trebizond (Trapezus), inhabited by the Tzani, a west Georgian tribe (also known as the Chaldi and Sanni). They were notorious for their raids upon their neighbours, and were cattle-breeders, not arable farmers, because of the poverty of their land (*_Sybilline Oracles_, 13, 140; *Procopius, *Persian*, I, 15, 24). The region was included in the Roman *province of *Pontus Polemoniacus. Roman emperors tried to buy their loyalty with *subsidies, with no lasting results. Under *Justinian I, *Sittas defeated the Tzani, established garrisons around Tzania, and built a key fortress at *Horonon. Seeking to convert them to Christianity, he built a church there (*Aed.* III, 6, 22; *NovJust* 28 pref.). During the siege of *Petra in 548–9, the Tzani drove the Persians back inside their fortifications, but then promptly turned and looted the camp of the Roman besiegers and headed home to their own land (*Agathias, 5.1 ff.; Procopius, *Persian*, II, 30, 12–24). MO

Braund, *Georgia*, 289–91, 298, 311.
Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 2, 1–46.

Tzitzak (Çiçek) *See* IRENE.

U

'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad (d. 686) *Umayyad governor of *Khorasan, *Basra, and *Kufa, son of Ziyad b. Abihi. Known for his staunch loyalty to the Umayyad *caliphs, 'Ubayd Allah brutally repressed *Husayn b. Ali's rebellion at *Karbala (680) and multiple *Kharijite uprisings in the east during his term as governor of Iraq. After local discontent in Iraq ousted him from power in 684, he fled to *Syria in order to support *Marwan I b. al-Hakam in his struggle for the caliphate. ARH

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* 'Ubayd Allāh B. Ziyād, 763–4 (Robinson).

*Tabari, XVIII–XXI.

Uchi Maius (mod. Henchir Douamis, Tunisia) *Colonia* 12 km (7 miles) west of *Thugga. *Inscriptions indicate maintenance of the *forum and erection of imperial dedications during the 4th century; an unidentified building was restored as late as 382/93 (*CIL* 8, 26267). Excavation and survey by an Italian–Tunisian team has demonstrated that *olive oil production facilities were being built throughout the *city, including the forum, during the 5th century. The olive oil production facilities and private structures that colonized the forum were abandoned during the 6th and 7th centuries. A *city wall, enclosing 6 ha (14.8 acres) and incorporating a smaller citadel at the highest point of the city, probably post-dates the *Byzantine conquest. GMS

Lepelley, *Cités*, vol. 2, 233–5.

Mesnage, *Afrique chrétienne*, 57–8.

Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa*, 89, 135, 137, 144, 189, 233.

Pringle, *Byzantine Africa*, 303.

S. Gelichi and M. Milanese, 'The Transformation of the Ancient Towns in Central Tunisia during the Islamic Period: The Example of Uchi Maius', *Al-Masāq* 14/1 (2002), 33–45.

Udruh (Gk. *Ἀδρόων*, Roman Augustopolis) Nabataean/Roman town, and legionary fortress of either 2nd- or late 3rd-/early 4th-century date, reconstructed in the 6th century, and situated 12 km (7 miles) east of *Petra of *Arabia. MESW

A. C. Killick, 'Udruh and the Trade Route through Southern Jordan', *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 (1987), 173–9.

S. T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens: A History of the Arabian Frontier* (1986).

Uhud, Battle of The second confrontation between *Muhammad and his followers and their pagan opponents from *Mecca, which took place near *Medina and is often dated to 19 March 625. It was a victory for the Meccans, perhaps resulting from a breach of orders by a group of *archers. NK

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Uḥud, 782–3 (Robinson).

Uighurs The leading tribe of the Turkic *Toquz Oghuz* union. The Uighurs founded an empire (744–840) in Mongolia and adjoining areas. They overthrew the eastern *Türk Empire (552–630, 682–742/3) and seized supreme power (744) in the eastern steppes of *Central Asia. In the mid-8th century their inscriptions along the River *Orkhon claimed an imperial status antedating that of the Türks. After 755, they supported the Tang dynasty in *China (618–907), extorting large quantities of *silk in return. Their ruler Bögü Khagan (759–79) converted to *Manichaeism in 762. The Qïrghïz destroyed their empire in 840. Diaspora statelets continued in Gansu and the *Tarim Basin. PBG

Golden, *Introduction*, 93–5, 155–76.

A. K. Kamalov, *Drevnie uigury VIII–IX vv.* (2001).

S. G. Kliashtornyi, *Runicheskie pamiatniki uigurskogo kaganata i istoriia evraziiskikh stepei* (2010).

Ujarma Fortress in eastern Caucasian *Iberia. According to the **Lives of the Kings*, it was originally built by King Aspagur in the 3rd century BC. Ujarma was restored and made into a royal residence by King *Vakhtang I Gorgasali in *c.*550. NA

Rapp, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography.*

Uley A *temple complex at West Hill, Gloucestershire, England, with Iron Age origins. The stone shrine

and complex was built in the early 2nd century; finds include *curse tablets. By the latest 4th/early 5th century a timber *basilica, possibly a church, replaced it. This was followed by a smaller stone structure of the late 6th/early 7th century. A pit contained the head of a Mercury statue—perhaps a Christian act of cleansing and rededication or a continuation of pagan rituals. ACR

A. Woodward and P. Leach, *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977–9* (1993).

Ulfilas Apostle of the *Goths. Ulfilas was descended from Roman prisoners taken in *Cappadocia and transported to the north side of the Black Sea. He was consecrated *bishop by *Eusebius of *Nicomedia at *Constantinople in 341 under *Constantius II, according to *Philostorgius (*HE* II, 5), or (less likely) *c.*336, according to *Auxentius of *Durostorum, having already held office as a *reader in the Christian prisoner community. He returned to Gothia for seven years, before being expelled and resettled with many of his followers around *Nicopolis ad Istrum. Literate in *Greek and *Latin, he created a written form of the Gothic language, into which he translated the *Bible and other liturgical materials. His word-for-word translation technique (starting from the standard 4th-cent. Greek Bible text), is still clearly visible in surviving Gothic Gospels texts. His translation of the Epistles was later extensively revised in contact with Western, Latin biblical scholarship.

After his expulsion, Ulfilas, a traditional pre-Nicene Christian, became involved in the doctrinal disputes of the imperial Church. His reportedly numerous written interventions have not survived, but he signed up to the moderate non-Nicene doctrinal settlements brokered by *Constantius II and *Valens. He died at Constantinople in 383 while attending the so-called Council of the Sects under *Theodosius I. He may also have been involved in the negotiations of 376 which saw the Gothic *Tervingi cross the Danube by imperial agreement, at which point their leadership seems formally to have converted to Christianity. PHe

G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels: A Study of its Style and Textual History* (1926).

G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Epistles: A Study of its Style and Textual History* (1939).

Heather and Matthews, *Goths in the Fourth Century*, chs. 5–6.

Üllő 5 A *Sarmatian archaeological site of the 3rd and 4th centuries. Situated near modern Budapest, Hungary, it is the largest such site excavated to date, stretching over an area of 38 ha (94 acres). Between 2001 and 2005, rescue excavations discovered a total of 8,794 objects, many of which were clay products. Further studies have shown that much *pottery and *coinage was imported from the Roman Empire. Archaeologists have argued that the site was an important centre of *trade and was known in Late Antiquity for its pottery. ABA

B. Péterdi et al., 'Petrographic and Geochemical Investigation of Sarmatian Grinding Stones from the Üllő *5* Site, North Hungary', in I. Turbanti-Memmi, ed., *Proceedings of the 37th International Symposium of Archaeometry* (2011), 285–92.

Ulpiana (near mod. Lipljan and Gračanica, S of Priština, Kosovo) *City in *Dardania, a *municipium* since Trajan, situated in an important mining region. *Roads from Lissus on the Adriatic and *Thessalonica on the Aegean converged at Ulpiana with a route going north to *Niš and the Danube *frontier. Macedonius, *Bishop of Ulpiana, attended the *Council of *Serdica in 343. *Justinian I renamed the city Iustiniana Secunda, rebuilt its walls, and greatly improved it (*Procopius, *Aed*. IV, 1, 28–9). In 551 Justinian ordered soldiers dispatched to the *Lombard–*Gepid wars to remain at Ulpiana to pacify local Christians engaged in theological dispute (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 25, 13).

Excavations from 1957 to the 1980s uncovered a *basilica with *mosaics (2 phases, 5th–6th cent.) and three cemeteries. The north cemetery had a large, marble *sarcophagus, three *memoriae*, and a 4th-century single-nave *martyrium-basilica with mosaics and a crypt. International research and geophysical prospection started in 2008. Ulpiana was destroyed in the *Avar–*Slav attacks in the early 7th century. IDS

TIR K 34 (1976), 129.

E. Hoxhaj, 'Die frühchristliche dardanische Stadt Ulpiana und ihr Verhältnis zu Rom', *Südost-Forschungen* 59/60 (2001), 1–13.

Ulster, Annals of Two chronicles surviving primarily in a late 15th-century manuscript: first, the Dublin Fragment, covering the late 1st to late 4th century AD, combining Irish and Continental material with information from *Bede, and second an important, mainly contemporary, chronicle source for *Ireland and Scotland covering AD 431–1489, known as 'The Chronicle of Ireland', which was started *c.*550/650, probably at *Iona, and maintained after *c.*740, mainly at *Armagh, Derry, and the Midlands of Ireland. NJE

ed. (with ET) S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I. Text and Translation (1983).

ET (with comm., introd., and maps) T. M. Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols. (TTH 44, 2006).

N. Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles* (2010).

D. P. McCarthy, *The Irish Annals: Their Genesis, Evolution and History* (2008).

K. M. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (1972).

Koch, *Celtic Culture*, 70–1.

'Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazari (*fl. c.*710) *Umayyad governor (720–4) responsible for Iraq and *Khorasan, deeply embroiled in political relations between the northern *Arab *tribal group of *Qays, of which he was an important member, and *Yaman. He was appointed by *Yazid II and immediately dismissed at the accession of *Hisham. RJL

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ibn Hubayra, 802–3 (Makdisi).

*Tabari, XXIV.

P. Crone, 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?', *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 1–57.

'Umar I b. al-Khattab (*c.*592–644) Second *caliph (r. 634–44) and successor of *Abu Bakr. 'Umar was born in *Mecca in the Banu 'Adi clan of the *Quraysh tribe and earned his living as a *merchant. After initially opposing *Muhammad and his earliest followers, he himself adopted *Islam—according to tradition due to the efforts of his sister. This *conversion is usually dated to his 26th year, in 618, four years before the *Hijra to *Medina. After the Hijra, 'Umar became a leading figure in the new polity—a position reflected in his *marriage alliances, which included the marriage of his daughter *Hafsa to Muhammad in 625. According to Sunni sources concerning the leadership crisis after the Prophet's death, 'Umar soon emerged as the main creator of the *caliphate and as a loyal supporter of Muhammad's successor, Abu Bakr. The *Shi'ite view, however, which rejects the caliphates of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, alleges that both staged a coup to procure *'Ali's allegiance. During the short reign of Abu Bakr, 'Umar served as a political and military adviser. The sources describe at length his conflicts with *Khalid b. al-Walid, who is represented as holding the more aggressive position within the *Ridda Wars, whereas 'Umar appears as the more lenient and deliberate strategist.

Already appointed as Abu Bakr's successor during the latter's lifetime, 'Umar's accession to the caliphate was relatively unchallenged. In the decade of his reign, the Islamic Empire witnessed both a massive territorial expansion and the creation of a distinctive administrative system. After the *Arab *armies Muslim armies had conquered *Palestine and southern *Syria (634–6) and the besieged city of *Jerusalem had surrendered without a fight to 'Umar (*c.*637), he dismissed Khalid, whose position became more and more powerful. The Roman *army had been defeated decisively in the Battle of *Yarmuk in 636, while in the same year the *Persian army suffered losses in the Battle of *Qadisiyya; eventually, the Muslim victory in *Nihawand in the Persian highlands opened the way to the Iranian Plateau in 642. The same year witnessed the completion of the *Arab conquest of *Egypt, which was carried out since 639 under the command of *'Amr b. al-'As. During his caliphate 'Umar is said to have overseen numerous administrative and legislative developments in the nascent empire, perhaps most notably the institution of the **diwan* to manage the revenues of the new polity. In 639 he created the *Era of the *Hijra by decreeing that the Muslim year should be counted from Muhammad's flight to Medina.

The sources describe 'Umar as the accomplished architect of the Islamic Empire and praise his political and administrative talent as well as particularly his oratorical persuasiveness. At the peak of his career, he was assassinated by a Persian slave whose name is given in *Arabic as Abu Lu'lu'a and in Persian as Piruz Nahavandi or Piruz Nasrani. KMK

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* 'Umar (I) b. Khaṭṭāb, 818–20 (Bonner, Levi Della Vida).

F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).

M. Haddad, 'Umar b. al-Khattab and the Meccan Aristocracy', *Chronos* 6 (2002), 163–70.

K. Klier, *Ḫālid und 'Umar* (1998).

M. Lecker, 'The Medinan Wives of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and His Brother, Zayd', *Oriens* 36 (2001), 242–7.

W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1997).

'Umar II b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (682–720) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 717–20) of the Marwanid branch. 'Umar is unique among the Marwanid caliphs for the broadly positive portrayal he receives in Islamic *historiography. His reputation for piety and near-ascetic humility reached beyond the borders of *Islam, and pre-dates the classical historical tradition: even the Spanish **Chronicle of 754*, written in *Latin in *Spain, beyond the reach of the *'Abbasid Revolution, praises 'Umar for his benignity and his obedience to law. Upon succeeding his cousin *Sulayman, 'Umar is said to have tackled corruption and injustice within the recently expanded empire, notably punishing Sulayman's ally Yazid b. al-Muhallab—a beneficiary of the fall of *Qutayba b. Muslim—for hoarding profits made from raiding in *Central Asia. 'Umar is also credited with expanding the register of state stipendiaries, and apparently toyed with the idea of removing the all-too-luxurious *mosaics from the Great Mosque of *Damascus. NC

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.*'Umar (II) b.'Abd al-'Aziz, 821–2 (Cobb).

*Tabari, XXIV.

Crónica Mozarabe de 754: ed. with SpT: J. E. Lopez Pereira (1980), §67; ET: K. B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Medieval Spain* (²1999).

Antoine Borrut, 'Entre tradition et histoire: genèse et diffusion de l'image de 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 58 (2005).

Umayyad dynasty (661–750 in *Damascus; 756–1036 in Córdoba) Holders of the *caliphate until their overthrow in 750, and then rulers in *Spain until the 11th century. Members of the Umayya clan within

the tribe of *Quraysh, the Damascene Umayyads—both as a group and, with the exception of *'Umar II, as individuals—have a negative reputation in the *'Abbasid-era historiography that dominates our understanding of the early Islamic period. They are widely presented as latecomers to *Islam (and active opponents of *Muhammad in the movement's early stages); as mere 'kings', more interested in worldly power than pious leadership of the community; and as parochial pro-Arabs whose systematic exclusion of non-Arabs from social and political power was a primary cause of the Persian-led 'Abbasid revolution of 750. Some of these accusations are not without foundation, but they say more about Islam's evolution over the course of the first few centuries of its existence: ideas about the caliph's role had changed considerably by the time the Umayyads were being written about, not least with the emergence of a proto-Sunnī scholarly elite.

An Umayyad survivor of the 'Abbasid 'revolution' was 'Abd al-Rahman b. Mu'awiya (II), who took refuge in *Spain, where he and his descendants ruled until civil war (1009–31) ended their reconstituted caliphate. NC

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* Umayyads, 840–53 (Hawting and Molina).
al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*.
al-Jaḥiz, *Risala fi bani Umayya*, FT Ch. Pellat, 'La "Nâbita" de Djâhiz', in *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientates de l'Université d'Alger* 10 (1952).
al-Maqrizi, *al-Niza'*, ET C. E. Bosworth, *Maqrīzī's 'Book of Contention and Strife'* (1980).
*Tabari, XVII–XXVI.
A. Borrut and P. M. Cobs, eds., *Umayyad Legacies* (2010).
P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* (1986).
G. Fowden, *Quṣayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (2004).
G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).
H. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* (1996).
N. N. N. Khoury, 'The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century', *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 80–98.
A. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy* (2009).
J. M. Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate* (2000).
J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. M. G. Weir (1927).

'umma Arabic word for 'people' or 'community', which came to be an identifier for the greater Muslim confessional community in the early Islamic period.

The term is used on 62 occasions within the *Qur'ān, largely to refer to a general religious community. The Qur'ān says that mankind was once a single *'umma* (Q. 10: 19), and despite chronological differences, *Muhammad and the pre-Islamic biblical prophets constituted just such a single community (Q. 21: 92). In two separate instances, the word is used to mean a fixed term or time (Q. 11: 8 and 12: 45).

An important moment in the development of the term came with the so-called Constitution of Medina, the formation document reportedly drafted by Muhammad setting out guidelines for the first Islamic *'umma*. Whereas the foundations of pre-Islamic society were the tribal bonds of kinship, Muhammad's *'umma* shattered these divisions, creating a confederation of clans 'constitut[ing] a single community (*'umma wahida*) apart from other people' and including non-Muslim believers.

Later, the term came to define the Muslim community specifically, with non-Muslim religious communities such as *Jews, Christians, and *Zoroastrians each constituting a separate *'umma*. RJL

S. Arjomand, 'The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the Umma', *IJMES* 41 (2009).
S. Bashear, *Arabs and Others in Early Islam* (1997).
F. Denny, 'The Meaning of Ummah in the Qur'ān', *History of Religions* 15 (1975).
F. Denny, 'Ummah in the Constitution of Medina', *JNES* 36 (1977).
F. Donner, 'From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community', *Al-Abhath* 50–1 (2002–3), 9–53.

Untersiebenbrunn A *Migration Period site in Lower Austria which gives its name to a type of rich burial and *jewellery that combines barbarian and Roman elements (*c.*380/400–440/50 AD). Famous examples are from Airan, *Kerch, and Szilágysomlyó. AHi

M. Nothnagel, 'Bemerkungen zur so genannten "Männerbestattung" von Untersiebenbrunn', *JKMW* 12 (2010), 117–24.

Uppåkra Iron Age *village of *c.*40 ha (*c.*100 acres) 5 km (*c.*3 miles) south of Lund, southern Sweden. It shows a remarkable continuity between the Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Viking Period. Excavations, metal-detecting, and geophysical surveys began in 1996. Parts of floors, collapsed clay walls, ovens, and accumulations of loom weights have been documented in post-built *houses 12–20 m (*c.*40–65 feet) long and dating to the *Merovingian Period and Viking Age.

Remains of almost identical small timbered houses were also found in the same place. The houses were erected between AD 200 and *c.*900 in at least seven stages. Each structure was slightly convex, made of wood, measured 13.5 m × 6 m (*c.*44 × 20 feet), and had four large supporting posts and poles in all four gables. Each house had three entrances and an indoor fireplace. The houses also revealed many rich finds, including a metal beaker with embossed foil bands, gold-foil figures, *gold objects and unworked gold, *glass vessels, including a bowl, and ring handles. Around each house was a yard littered with fire-cracked

stones, more artefacts, and animal bones. *Weapon deposits and human bones were found north and south of the houses (Larsson, 2007).

The size of the village, its *farming economy, *cattle breeding, *trade and handicrafts, the quality of locally produced *bronze, antler and bone items, and the large quantity of finds originating from areas around the Black Sea and from Western Europe all indicate that the site was an important political and religious centre, a central place, in fact an Iron Age urban village (Larsson, 2004). KJe

L. Larsson, 'The Iron Age Ritual Building at Uppåkra, Southern Sweden', *Antiquity* 81 (2007), 11–25.

L. Larsson, ed., *Continuity for Centuries: A Ceremonial Building and its Context at Uppåkra, Southern Sweden* (Uppåkra Studies 10, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia 48, 2004).

Upper Zohar Fortress (*quadriburgium*) in the desert of *Palaestina Tertia, built in the late 4th/5th century and occupied until the 7th century. It is apparently related typologically to the temporary campsites or travellers' halts strategically positioned along the Avara Valley for patrolling routes between the desert and the Mediterranean ports. BH

R. P. Harper, *Upper Zohar: An Early Byzantine Fort in Palaestina Tertia, Final Report on Excavations in 1985–1986* (1995).

Uraias (d. 541) *Ostrogothic general and nephew of *Vitigis, who was offered the kingship at *Pavia after the Byzantines captured *Ravenna in 540. He declined in favour of *Ildibad and was soon murdered. JJA

PLRE IIIB, Vraias.

Wolfram, *Goths*.

Urbicius (*fl.* 434–504/5) *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi to seven *emperors, from *Theodosius II to *Anastasius I, whose *accession in 491 he supported. He was apparently involved in several imperial accessions and depositions, including those of *Zeno and *Basiliscus. He retired into the religious life *c.*450, but resumed office as Praepositus from *c.*470–81 and again from 491.

Urbicius was a benefactor of the *monastery of S. *Hypatius at *Chalcedon and paid for the *holy man's coffin. In 504/5 in the aftermath of the invasion by *Qobad I, he travelled in *Oriens, making large donations at *Amida, *Edessa, and elsewhere (*Joshua the Stylite, 84 and 87). He tried to take a great rock from *Jerusalem back to *Constantinople but a *miracle obliged him to leave it behind as an *altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. (*Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, 28). RCW

PLRE II, Urbicus 1.

Urbicius Barbatus Author of *military treatises under *Anastasius I: the *Tacticon* (later epitomized in the *Etymologicum Magnum*), *Epitedeuma* (advice to an *emperor on land combat), and perhaps the *Cynegeticus*. An *epigram attached to the *Tacticon* survives in the **Greek Anthology*, IX, 210. Little is known about Urbicius; he mentions his lack of military experience. *Epigrams from the reign of Leo VI suggest he was a **consularis*. The unreliable **Patria of *Constantinople* mention an Urbicius, *Magister Militum per Orientem and **patricius*, who built a Church of the *Theotokos, and was known as Barbatus. Greatrex, Elton, and Burgess (*contra PLRE* II *s.n.* Vrbicius 1 and 2) suggest he may be identified with *Urbicius, the *Praepositus Sacri *Cubiculi. FKH

PLRE II, Vrbicius 2.

ed. (with ET and comm.) G. Greatrex, H. Elton, and R. W. Burgess, 'Urbicius' *Epitedeuma*: An Edition, Translation and Commentary', *BZ* 98 (2005), 35–74.

A. Dain, 'Les Stratégistes Byzantins', *TM* 2 (1966), 317–92.

P. Rance, 'The Etymologicum Magnum and the "Fragment of Urbicius"', *GRBS* 47 (2007), 193–224.

Urfa *See* EDESSA.

Ursicinus Senior military officer Ursicinus served as *Magister Equitum (349–59) under *Gallus in the East but was recalled by *Constantius II in 354 (*Ammianus, XIV, 11, 2). He suppressed *Silvanus' revolt in 355 and served under *Julian in *Gaul in 356 (Ammianus, XVI, 2, 8). From 357 onwards he was again in the East but was blamed for the capture of *Amida by *Shapur II in 359, and was replaced by Sabinianus. In 359–60 he was Magister Peditum. His son was killed at the Battle of *Adrianople in 378 (Ammianus, XXXI. 13, 18). Ammianus Marcellinus served on his staff and was deeply loyal to him. HJWD

PLRE II, Ursicinus 2.

RE Suppl. 12 (1970) *s.v.* Magister Militum, 569–72 (A. Demandt).

Matthews, *Ammianus.*

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr Son of the eminent *Companion of the Prophet al-*Zubayr b. al-'Awwam (d. 656), 'Urwa lived most of his life in the *Hijaz, where he became one of the seven great legal scholars of *Medina. Despite taking the side of his brother, *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, during the latter's ill-fated bid for power, 'Urwa made peace with the *Umayyads and lived a life of scholarship in Medina. RHos

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) *s.v.* 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, 910–12 (Schoeler).

N. Abbot, 'Ḥadīth Literature—II: Collection and Transmission of Ḥadīth', and J. Jones, 'The Maghazi Literature', both in A. F. L. Beeston et al., eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983).

Usrushana (Ushrusana, Sutrushana) District in *Transoxiana between the Zarafshan River (south), *Jaxartes River (north), and *Farghana Valley (east). Lying on the route between *Samarkand and *Khojand and watered by many streams, it was a prosperous region with its own ruler, the Afshin. Despite *Arab raids under *Qutabyba b. Muslim (712–14), the region was not finally subdued by Islamic troops until 739, under Nasr b. Sayyar. Usrushana supplied many troops to the armies of the *'Abbasid *caliphate (al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, II, 203–5; al-*Yaqubi, 51, 55, 111). Other Arab and Persian geographers to discuss Usrushana include Ibn Khurdadhbih (21, 29), the *Hudud al-Alam* (115), and al-*Muqaddasi (240, 247). MLD

EI 2 vol. 10 (2000) Usrūshana (J. H. Kramers).

W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (1968), 165–9.

G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905), 474–6.

usurpers Individuals who attempt to seize *imperium* for their own use. The usual late *Latin term for a usurper was *tyrannus* (cf. *Orosius, VII, 42, 1; Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*, 209), though various other pejorative epithets emphasizing lack of legitimacy (e.g. *latro*, *pirata*) were also applied. An individual's ability to retain power might affect views of his legitimacy.

The 3rd century saw frequent usurpers. The **Historia Augusta*'s enumeration of *Thirty Tyrants exaggerates the number of claimants during the reign of *Gallienus. Many were military commanders raised to the *purple with the aid of their own troops. This can be attributed at least partially to the increased activity of troops on the *frontiers in the 3rd century. *Acclamation could follow a military victory, as happened with *Postumus and the *Gallic Empire. The Empire of *Palmyra of the 260s, under *Odaenathus and *Zenobia, might be considered an exercise in provincial self-help in the face of Persian threats. Usurpers such as *Carausius also appealed to local dissatisfaction for support and gained regional rather than empire-wide power. Other usurpations resulted from dissatisfaction with the *emperor, as with *Magnentius in 350. Support often required the use of bribes and large promises, since the supporters of usurpers, including troops, family, and friends, could pay a heavy or even fatal price for backing an unsuccessful imperial claimant. Moreover, usurpation disturbed the continuity of legislation (Harries, *Law and Empire*, 87). Following his death, a usurper's head might be displayed in public, as a warning to others, as *Constantine I did with the head of *Maxentius after entering the *City of *Rome in 312 or *Theodosius I did with *Eugenius' head in 394. Usurpers in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries included *Procopius (365–6), *Constantine III (407–11), *Hypatius (acclaimed during the *Nika Riots), and *Phocas (602–10). SEB

N. Christie, 'Wars within the Frontiers: Archaeologies of Rebellion, Revolt, and Civil War', in Sarantis and Christie, *War and Warfare*, 927–68.

M. [D.] Humphries, 'From Usurper to Emperor: The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine', *JLA* 1/1 (2008), 82–100.

Paschoud and Szidat, *Usurpationen in der Spätantike*.

P. J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers* (1994).

'Uthman b. 'Affan (*c.*577–656) Third *Caliph (r. 644–56) and the first from the *Umayyad branch of *Quraysh, he was elected by a council (**shura*) convened on the deathbed of the Caliph *'Umar I and is considered one of the 'Rightly Guided' rulers (*rashidun*) in the Sunni tradition of *Islam. He was a son-in-law to the Prophet *Muhammad, and had been among the first of the powerful *Meccan Umayyads to convert to Islam.

'Uthman is perhaps best remembered for the part he played in the codification of the *Qur'ān. He is reported to have ordered a single version of the scripture to be copied and distributed throughout the entirety of the Islamic world to ensure a common liturgy, purging previous copies in the process.

His reign as caliph is largely associated with nepotism and avarice, and he is often negatively contrasted with his predecessor 'Umar, who was depicted as just and humble. Governorships were mostly awarded to members of his immediate family, and his great wealth is said to have grown considerably through the development of the system of land grants.

His murder was an extremely divisive event for the young Islamic polity, and the primary catalyst for the First *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*). Dissenters, angry over his administrative and economic policies, besieged *Medina with their grievances, and 'Uthman agreed to substantial change. Petitioners from *Egypt are said to have intercepted *letters between the caliph and his governor ordering that the dissenters be put to death after they had left. This resulted in an extended siege and the eventual assassination of 'Uthman.

Even decades later, the doctrines and affinities of certain groups could be probed by querying their stance on his killing. RJL

*Tabari, XV.

T. El-Hibri, *Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History: The Rashidun Caliphs* (2010).

M. Hinds, 'The Murder of the Caliph 'Uthman', *IJMES* 3 (1972).

H. N. Keaney, *Medieval Islamic Historiography: Remembering Rebellion* (2013).

R. G. Khoury, *'Abd Allāh ibn Lahī'a: juge et grand maître de l'École égyptienne* (1986).

W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1997).

B. Sadeghi and M Goudarzi, 'Ṣan'ā' 1 and the Origins of the Qur'ān', *Der Islam* 87 (2012).

Utrecht (Netherlands; Roman *castrum Trajectum*) Site of a Roman fort in *Frisia and the main Christian centre in the region following the missionary work of S. *Willibrord. The town may also have been the base of the Frisian leaders Aldgisl and *Radbod. JTP

E de Bièvre, ed., *Utrecht: Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (British Archaeological Association conference transactions 18, 1996).

J. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World 690–900* (SEM 19, 2009).

utricularii *Inscriptions from southern *Gaul attest the existence of *guilds of *utricularii*, notably at *Arles (*CIL* XII, 700, 731, 733, 4107), *Ernaginum (*CIL* XII, XII, 982), and Lattes (Hérault) (*AE* [1965], 164 = [1966], 247). The other affinities of those commemorated suggest that, like **navicularii*, they were involved in water transport, perhaps carrying goods on rivers using rafts floated on inflated skins (Lat. *uter*). OPN; CAFSN

P. Kneissl, 'Die Utricularii. Ihr Rolle im gallo-römischen Transportwesen und Weinhandel', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 181 (1981), 169–204.

Utrigurs (Utighurs) Oghur-Bulghar Turkic group, located south-east of the Don River, near the Sea of Azov, and traditional enemies of the related *Kutrigurs, located west of the Don; both groups were often called merely *Huns or *Bulgars.

The Utrigurs alternated between alliances with the East Roman Empire and raids on it. Incited by *Justinian I, the Utrigurs under *Sandilkh attacked the Kutrigurs under *Zabergan in 551, 557/8, and 559 (*Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 4–5 and 18–19; *Agathias, V, 11, 2; 12, 6; 23, 7; 24, 4; 25, 1–6; *Menander Protector, fr. 2; 12, 6; 19, 1). Internecine warfare decimated both groups and, like other *Oghur-Bulgar Turkic peoples, the Utrigurs were conquered by the *Avars in 558 and then absorbed into the First *Türk Empire *c.*576, when they are mentioned under their leader Anaghay in the Türk attack on the *Crimean Bosporus. Their name as recorded in Byzantine sources probably reflects Oghur-Bulgar Turkic *otur oghur*, 'thirty *oghur*' (*oghur* meaning 'grouping of tribes'). MLD

BT II, *Οὐτίγουροι*.

P. B. Golden, 'The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes', in *CHEIA* I (1990), 257–9.

P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: An Historic-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, vol. 1 (2 vols., Budapest,1980), 30–4.

V

Vadomar King of the *Alamans in the time of *Constantius II. *Ammianus alleges that Constantius incited Vadomar to raid *Raetia in 361 in order to preoccupy *Julian (XXI, 3, 4–5). Julian arrested Vadomar, who subsequently entered Roman service, becoming *Dux of *Phoenice, and campaigning in *Mesopotamia in 371. SFT

PLRE I, Vadomarius.

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 315–18.

Vakhtang I Gorgasali (*c.*440–502) (Varazkhosrovtang) King of Caucasian *Iberia, successor of Mihrdat V. Vakhtang was nicknamed 'wolf-headed' by the Persians. His life and rule are described in the *Life of Vakhtang* (attributed to *Juansher). He is often celebrated as the founder of the city of *Tbilisi. In 486, he put to death Varsken, the *Pitiakhsh of Gugark/Gogarene, a Persian ally, initiating a rebellion against the Persians. He also actively opposed Roman expansion and launched several military campaigns into the Pontic regions. The **Moktsevai Kartlisai* (*Conversion of Georgia*) ascribes to Vakhtang the introduction of the office of the *catholicus. Vakhtang is a saint of the Georgian Orthodox Church and a hero of Georgian oral traditions. The Georgian royal flag was also known as the *Gorgasliani*. NA

C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio* 25 (1969), 28.

B. Martin-Hizard. 'Le Roi Georgien Vaxt'ang Gorgasal dans l'Histoire et dans le légende', in *Temps, mémoire, tradition au Moyen Âge: actes du XIIIe Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, Aix-en-Provence, 4–5 juin 1982* (1983), 205–42.

Valarshapat (Vałaršapat, Vagharshapat) (Parthian *Vałarš-ābād; Arm. Vałarš-a-pat, meaning 'populated' or 'walled by Vałarsh') *City in the Ayrarat province of Greater *Armenia. Built probably in the early 2nd century AD by the Arsacid (*Arshakuni) King Vałarsh. The Romans called it Kainē Polis (Gk. New City, Arm. Nor K'ałak'), and designated it as capital after their destruction of Artashat in 163. In 360 the Persians destroyed it and deported its people, among them probably the Syrians and *Jews primarily responsible for *trade. It was the residence of the Arsacid kings until 428.

From sometime in the 4th century until 484 the great church, later called *Edjmiatsin (Etchmiadsin, Ējmiacin), was the Mother See of the Armenian Church, and was so again from 1441. Valarshapat thus was an important centre of Armenian Christianity, and also housed the *martyria of S. Rhipsime (Hripsime) and her virgin companions, which developed into the churches of Ss. Gayane, Rhipsime, and Sholakat'. Their location was indicated to S. *Gregory the Illuminator (Grigor Lusaworits') in a vision. TMvL

N. G. Garsoïan, *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk' (The Epic Histories)* (1989), 498–9.

R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (2001), 62.

H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (1965), 83–6.

A. Zarian, A. Zarian, and A. Ter Minassian, *Vagharshapat* (1998).

Valarshapat (Vagharshapat), churches of Ss. Gayane and Rhipsme (Hripsime) The Church of S. Rhipsime (*c.*618) is a domed *tetraconch inscribed within a rectilinear mass, cut with exterior niches on each of its four façades. It is associated with the Armenian Patriarch Komitas (d. 628). The Church of S. Gayane (*c.*630) is a domed *basilica with four piers supporting a dome on squinches. Ss. *Gayane, Rhipsime, and their companions were allegedly martyred in the 4th century for their Christian faith by King *Trdat of *Armenia, before his *conversion to Christianity. The churches at *Valarshapat stand over their tombs. CM

P. Donabédian, *L'Âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne* (2008), 83–7; 105–7.

Valens Aurelius Valerius Valens, *frontier commander in *Dacia, was appointed an *emperor by *Licinius in 316 after Licinius' defeat at *Cibalae, but was deposed and

executed after the peace made on 1 March 317. Two coins survive. OPN

PLRE I, Valens 13.
NEDC 15.
Barnes, *Constantine*, 101–3.

Valens (328–78) Emperor (r. 364–78). Flavius Valens was probably born in *Cibalae in the *Balkans. He is recalled as largely unremarkable in character and intellect, with bowed legs and a rotund belly. He entered into a military career and later held his only attested military post, as a **protector domesticus* (imperial guardsman), during which time he may have resisted *Julian's pressure to perform *pagan *sacrifice (*Socrates, *HE* III, 13; IV, 1, 8). After the sudden death of the *Emperor *Jovian in February 364, Valens's brother *Valentinian I became *emperor and, on 28 March, he appointed Valens as *Augustus in the East. The brothers held distinctive religious positions, Valentinian as a Nicene Christian and Valens as a *Homoean ('Arian').

Valens faced several internal and external threats. In 365 the *usurper *Procopius was proclaimed emperor in *Constantinople, and when Valens sent troops against him, they defected to Procopius (*Ammianus, XXVI. 6, 11–14; XXVI, 7, 13–17). Valens was eventually victorious, but then had to deal with *Gothic and Persian threats. His first Gothic War ended with the Goths suing for peace and a hasty treaty (*Zosimus, IV, 11, 4; *Themistius, *Oration*, 10). Valens then hastened to the East to deal with the Persian threat. Tensions persisted particularly over *Armenia, and Valens began to plan a major expedition around 375. However, military conflicts with *Isaurians and *Saracens drew his attention from this objective. Moreover, his brother Valentinian in the West died suddenly of a stroke in 375.

In the same year, the *Huns began to displace groups of Goths, many of whom appealed to Valens for aid. Valens explicitly permitted *Fritigern and his Gothic followers to enter the Empire, but additional settlers accumulated and they were then abused by the Roman military organizers of the resettlement. A revolt broke out in 377, and the Goths proceeded to make allies of the *Alans and Huns. Valens was drawn from the East to deal with these developments and confronted the barbarians without waiting for Gratian to come to his aid with reinforcements. In August 378, at the Battle of *Adrianople, he was defeated and killed (Ammianus, XXXI, 5–13; *Orosius, VII, 33, 9–19). Valens had been Valentinian I's partner in the 365–8 *coinage reform, which centralized precious-metal bullion at the imperial *court. His defeat at Adrianople therefore resulted in the imperial government losing significant metal resources. SEB; RRD

PLRE I, Valens 8.
Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 247–54 (movements).
N. Lenski, 'The Chronology of Valens' Dealings with Persia and Armenia, 364–378 CE', in Den Boeft et al., *Ammianus after Julian*, 95–127.
N. Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.* (2002).
Matthews, *Ammianus*, 190–8.
U. Wanke, *Die Gotenkriege des Valens. Studien zu Topographie und Chronologie im unteren Donauraum von 366 bis 378 n. Chr.* (1990).
S. Moorhead, 'The Coinage of the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 364–498' in Metcalf, *OHGRC*, 601–32.

Valentia *Province listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* as part of the *Dioecesis of *Britannia and as ruled by a *governor with the title *Consularis. Its identity remains enigmatic. *Ammianus (XXVIII, 3) records it was reclaimed by *Theodosius Comes in 368 after the *Barbarian Conspiracy and renamed Valentia, suggesting it existed earlier. Possibly, however, this records a renaming of one of the existing provinces. ACR

S. Johnson, *Later Roman Britain* (1980).

Valentinian I (321–75) *Augustus (r. 364–75). Flavius Valentinianus was born in 321 in *Cibalae in *Pannonia. His father *Gratian, a senior army officer, also from Cibalae, had been *Comes *Africae. Valentinian served as a **protector*, as *tribunus in *Gaul in 357 and in *Mesopotamia under *Constantius II. After the death of *Jovian in February 364, an assembly of civil and military officials gathered at *Nicaea, summoned Valentinian and had him acclaimed as the next *emperor (*Ammianus, XXVI, 1–2). He initially appointed his brother *Valens as *Tribunus Stabulorum, but soon afterwards appointed him joint Augustus, on 28 March 364. Each began their first *consulship; Valentinian at *Milan in the West and Valens in *Constantinople (Ammianus, XXVI, 5, 4). In 367, Valentinian appointed his 8-year-old son *Gratian as Western co-emperor.

Valentinian dealt immediately with the *Alamans. When a delegation visited Valentinian in late 364, they were given *tribute of lesser worth than they had grown accustomed to and felt slighted by the emperor's *Magister Officiorum. As a result, they broke into raiding bands, attacking areas along the Rhine *frontier beginning in 365. Valentinian discovered this at the same time as he was notified about *Procopius' revolt in the East, while on his way to *Paris on 1 November (Ammianus, XXVI, 5, 8. Confirmation of Paris stationing: *CTh* VIII, 1, 11). After fortifying the frontiers, Valentinian eventually turned to the *Burgundians, enemies of the Alamans, for aid, but this plan also went awry. *Theodosius Comes, the *Magister Equitum of Valentinian, attacked the fragmented Alamans and resettled the prisoners in the Po Valley. It was not

until 374 that a treaty with the Alammanic King Macrianus could be reached. The emperor also had to deal with the *Barbarian Conspiracy in *Britain in 367–8, and a revolt in *Africa instigated by *Firmus in 373, both of which were subdued by Theodosius Comes.

Under Valentinian, the Roman senatorial *aristocracy lost influence, as military service secured social elevation. Valentinian was a Nicene Christian (*Sozomen, *HE* VI, 6) who, while often declining involvement in religious disputes, did halt the gathering of *Manichaeans in Rome in 372 (*CTh* XVI, 5, 3), and ruled against *Donatist bishops in 373 (*CTh* XVI, 6, 1). He was frugal and intensified tax collection in many provinces. From 365–8 onwards Valentinian reformed precious-metal *coinage, requiring all bullion to be melted and centralized in the imperial treasury before minting (*CTh* XII, 6, 12–13). Reformed coins were marked *OB (*gold) and *PS (*silver).

He died, possibly of a stroke, while dealing with the *Quadi in *Pannonia on 17 November 375.

SEB; RRD

PLRE I, Valentinianus 7.

E. D. Hunt, 'Valentinian and the Bishops: Ammianus 30.9.5 in Context', in den Boeft et al., *Ammianus after Julian*, 71–93.

Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 32–87.

P. Guest, *The Late Roman Gold and Silver Coins from the Hoxne Treasure* (2005).

S. Moorhead, 'The Coinage of the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 364–498', in Metcalf, *OHGRC* 601–32.

Valentinian II (371–92) Roman *emperor (r. 375–92) and son of *Valentinian I. After the sudden death of his father in 375, 4-year-old Valentinian was acclaimed by the Danubian troops and became *Augustus of the West (*Ammianus, XXX.10, 4) despite the fact that his half-brother *Gratian already held the position. The two ultimately shared power. Valentinian's *court and particularly his mother *Justina, a *Homoean, exercised considerable influence. In 383, *Magnus Maximus came to *Gaul and had *Gratian assassinated. With the help of *Theodosius I, a treaty was made between Magnus and Valentinian in 384, but it was broken in 387. Valentinian and his mother fled to Theodosius for protection. Theodosius retaliated on the teenager's behalf. Having defeated Maximus, Theodosius returned to the East, leaving *Arbogast to watch over Valentinian II, but in 392 Valentinian either committed *suicide or was killed by *Arbogast. SEB

PLRE I, Valentinianus 8.

B. Croke, 'Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II', *Historia* 25 (1976), 235–44.

McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*.

M. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (2013), 173–4.

Valentinian III (419–55) *Emperor in the West 425–55. Placidus Valentinianus was the son of *Galla Placidia and the future *Constantius III. In 421–2, his mother quarrelled with her half-brother, the Emperor *Honorius, and took refuge in *Constantinople, where, after Honorius died in 423, *Theodosius II recognized Valentinian as successor to Honorius. He was also betrothed to his cousin, Licinia *Eudoxia, whom he later married in Constantinople in 437. Valentinian returned to the West and became *Augustus in October 425, after the defeat of the *usurper *John. The political manoeuvring in his assumption of the imperial office included a deal through which Flavius *Aëtius was named *Magister Militum per Gallias.

Throughout most of his life, Valentinian remained a cipher, dominated by others. For the first twelve years, his reign was completely overshadowed by Galla and her competition with Aëtius. Under her regency the *Vandals were transported to *Africa and set up an independent kingdom hostile to the Empire. Aëtius rose to prominence as Magister Militum in the West, over Galla's favourites, Flavius Constantius Felix (**patricius* 425–30, *consul 428; *PLRE* II, Felix 14) and *Boniface (*patricius* 432). This, combined with Valentinian's majority in the late 430s, changed the balance of power in the imperial *court, without diminishing the emperor's deficiencies. Throughout the 330s and 340s, Valentinian passively accepted Aëtius' settlements of the *Burgundians, *Visigoths, and *Alans throughout the Western Empire.

In the late 440s and early 450s, miscalculations (partly by Aëtius) resulted in the invasion of the West by the *Hun confederacy under *Attila in 451–2. Their attack caused widespread destruction and forced the imperial court to move to *Rome, where *Bishop Leo I, and two *senators, had to negotiate Attila's departure. All this happened without apparent direction from Valentinian. Even Aëtius' execution in 454, which the emperor himself carried out personally, was effected by the political machinations of others. Aëtius' death led to Valentinian's own killing by two of the general's retainers in March 455.

Criticisms of Valentinian, while deserved, underplay his personal piety—an increasingly important component of the emperor's image. Residing in *Ravenna and *Rome, he endowed churches of S. *Lawrence in both cities. He ceded to the Bishop of *Rome, especially under the pontificate of *Leo I, greater honours and authority. He supported the Bishop of Rome's claim to authority over the entire Church in a decree issued in 445 (*NovVal* 17); he regulated episcopal *courts (*NovVal* 35); and he supported Leo's position on the Christological questions debated at the *Council of *Chalcedon. Moreover, throughout his reign Valentinian's descent from *Theodosius I meant that no *usurper ever challenged his rule; this contributed to stability. His daughters ensured that the Theodosian line remained important into the

6th century. Overall, however, the widespread disintegration of the Western Empire largely happened under his 30 years of ineffectual rule. GSN

PLRE II, Valentinianus 4.

T. D. Barnes, 'Valentinian, Auxentius and Ambrose', *Historia* 51/2 (2002), 227–37.

W. Ensslin, 'Valentinians III. Novellen XVII und XVIII von 445', *ZRG* (*RA*) 57 (1937), 367–78.

E. Fibronia, *Valentiniano III* (Studi e ricerche dei Quaderni catanesi 3, 1999).

P. Heather, 'The Western Empire, 425–476', in *CAH* XIV (2000), 1–32.

M. Muscemi, 'La politica ecclesiastica di Valentiniano III', *Siculorum Gymnasium* 30 (1977), 431–81.

W. Selb, 'Episcopalis audientia von der Zeit Konstantins bis zu Novelle XXXV Valentinians III', *ZRG* 84 (1967), 162–217.

Valentinus (d. *c.*645) *Armenian nobleman, appointed general by *Constantine III. After Constantine's death, Valentinus secured the accession of *Constans II, became *Comes *Excubitorum, and deposed *Martina and *Heraclonas. Following an attempted usurpation in 644 or 645, Valentinus was lynched. MTGH

PLRE III, Valentinus 5.

Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 54.

Valeria *Province in the west *Balkans in the angle of the Danube *frontier where the river turns from running east to running south, between *Aquincum and *Brigetio, and occupying that part of the pre-*Tetrarchic *Pannonia Superior lying north of the River Drava. The principal *city was *Sopiane (mod. Pécs, Hungary). It was named after the *Empress Valeria Galeria. The *Verona List places it in the *Dioecesis *Pannoniae. No *governor is listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum*, although considerable military forces are itemized under the command of the *Dux Valeriae (*occ.* XXXIII). ECD; OPN

TIR L-34 (1968).

NEDC 223.

RE Suppl. IX (1962), 565–82, 588.

Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia.*

Valeria (Italy) *Province in the *Dioecesis *Italiae, created out of the larger province of *Flaminia et Picenum in the late 4th century. It comprised the mountainous area south of the Esino River between the provinces of *Tuscia and Umbria, *Picenum Suburbicarium, *Samnium, and *Campania. A *Praeses governed it (**Notitia Dignitatum occ.* I, 95; cf. II, 25) under the *Vicarius Urbis Romae (XIX, 14), probably from Raete. MMA

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Valeria Galeria (d. *c.*314) Augusta. Daughter of *Diocletian and wife of *Galerius. Diocletian had her *sacrifice at the start of the Great *Persecution, but nothing suggests she was Christian (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 15, 1). When Galerius died, she took refuge with *Maximin Daia who ill-treated her (39–40). After *Licinius' victory in 313 she wandered in disguise for fifteen months before being beheaded; her body was thrown into the sea (50–1). The *province of *Valeria was named after her (*Victor, *Caesars*, 40, 10; *Ammianus, XIX, 11, 4). DMG; OPN

PLRE I, Valeria.

NEDC 9, 38.

Valerian *Emperor 253–60. In 253 P. Licinius Valerianus, an elderly *senator, was assisting the Emperor *Trebonianus Gallus in operations against the *usurper *Aemilianus when Gallus and then Aemilianus were successively killed by their own troops and Valerian was acclaimed as emperor. He promptly had the *Senate make his adult son *Gallienus joint emperor and sent him to the Rhine *frontier (Aurelius *Victor, 32; *Zosimus, I, 28–30).

Valerian himself faced *plague and damaging but ill-documented invasions of *Anatolia by *Borani and other barbarians, as well as serious threats from the Persians under *Shapur I, who had sacked *Antioch shortly before Valerian's *accession. In 260 Shapur invaded *Mesopotamia, defeated Valerian near *Harran, captured the emperor with his own hands, carrying him into captivity, and penetrated Roman territory as far west as *Cappadocia (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 19–37). Shapur commemorated the event in *rock reliefs carved on cliffs at *Naqsh-e Rustam and (twice) at *Bishapur, and also in a *cameo now in the Louvre. Roman sources allege treachery (Aurelius Victor, 32; Zosimus, I, 36) and claim that after his death Valerian's body was flayed and the skin hung as a trophy in a Persian *temple (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 5; *Peter the Patrician, fr. 13). The catastrophe set the tone for great power *diplomacy till the victory of *Galerius in 298; more immediate was the emergence of the self-governing polities of *Palmyra and the *Gallic Empire.

Valerian was initially sympathetic to Christians, but, according to *letters of *Dionysius of *Alexandria, he was influenced by Macrianus, his ambitious *Praefectus Praetorio, and in 257 he began a *persecution. Dionysius of *Alexandria recounted its enforcement in *Egypt, and describes his own trial, where he refused to 'worship the natural gods', and his *exile (*Eusebius, *HE* VII, 10–11). *Cyprian of *Carthage was exiled in September 257. In a letter (81) written in August or September 258 he reports news from *Rome that Valerian had responded to the Senate in a *rescript ordering the punishment of obstinate clergy, the execution of

Christian senators, and the dispersal to imperial *estates of Christians in the imperial household, and that he had sent imperial *letters of instruction (*mandata*) to provincial *governors. Cyprian was himself martyred on 14 September 258. Later Christians were to consider Valerian's capture by the Persians a divine punishment for the persecution (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 5; *Jerome, *Chron.* 220d Helm). After his father was taken, Gallienus ordered all churches and cemeteries be restored and that *bishops should enjoy 'complete liberty of action' (Eusebius, *HE* VII, 13). OPN; DMG

CAH XII (2005), 41–4.
Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 248–53.
Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 68–71.
R. Selinger, *The Mid-Third Century Persecutions of Decius and Valerian* (²2004).

Valerianus *Magister Militum (536–?559), possibly Magister Vtriusque Militiae per *Armeniam (541–7), and per *Orientem (556), who distinguished himself in the *Byzantine invasions of *Africa and Italy and in the *Persian wars of *Justinian I. He became **patricius* (559). *Gregory the Great deplored his alleged loose living, even in old age (*Dialogues*, IV, 54). PNB

PRLE III, Valerianus 1.

Valerii and Aradii Families of senatorial *aristocracy, connected through *marriage in the early 4th century. Originally from *Africa, the Aradii reached senatorial rank and the consulship in the early 3rd century. The Valerii were descended from Republican nobility. They occupied the highest magistracies at *Rome, including those of *Praefectus Urbi and *consul. They were *patrons of communities and corporations (*CIL* VI, 1684–94), and were converted to Christianity in the mid-4th century. The family owned *houses near the Porta Latina and on the Caelian hill. The latter belonged to Ss. *Melania and Pinianus, and was destroyed during the sack of *Rome in 410 (Gerontius, *VMel* 14). CARM

PLRE I, stemma 30, 1147.
A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (1962).
F. Guidobaldi, 'Domus: Valerii', in Steinby, *Lexicon* II (1995), 207.
S. Panciera, 'Ancora sulla famiglia senatoria "africana" degli *Aradii*', in *L'Africa Romana*, vol. 4: *Atti del IV convegno di studio* (1987), 547–72.

Valerius of Bierzo, S. (Valerius Bergidensis) (7th cent.) Hermit in the region of Castro Pedroso and Astorga, *Spain. A dispute with the local *priest forced him to move to a nearby *estate called Ebronanto owned by a nobleman named Ricimer, who proceeded to destroy the church to force Valerius out of his hermitage to become his *priest. Undeterred, Valerius with some companions built another hermitage next to a church in the countryside. Valerius' surviving writings include three brief accounts of visions of the afterlife seen by three of his monks, a summary of *Egeria's pilgrimage diary, monastic instruction, and poetry. The monastic rule that Valerius wrote betrays an unusual knowledge of royal legal codes. AF

CPL 1276–88:
ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Valerio del Bierzo: su persona, su obra* (2006).
Autobiography (*CPL* 1282), ed. C. M. Aherne (annotated with ET), *Valerio of Bierzo: An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period* (1949).
R. Collins, 'The "Autobiographical" Works of Valerius of Bierzo: Their Structure and Purpose', in A. González Blanco, ed., *Los Visigodos: historia y civilización* (1986), 425–42.

Vandalic War *See* BYZANTINE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF AFRICA.

Vandals Barbarian group, probably originating in the Middle Danube region, which rose to prominence as the dominant military *aristocracy in the Vandal Kingdom of *Carthage (*c.*439–534). The earliest history of the group is obscure. Various imperial sources refer to the *Vandili* (*Pliny, *Natural History*, IV, 98) or *Vandilii* (Tacitus, *Germania*, 2) as agglomerations of smaller ethnic groups, and locate them somewhere between the Oder and Vistula rivers. By the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, Roman commentators included the Vandals among the minor barbarian peoples of the Middle Danube, and they are said to have been involved in *Dacia in the 170s, and in *Noricum around a century later (Cassius Dio, 77, 11–12; 72, 2–4; 77, 20, 3–4; *HA Aurelian*, 18, 2 and 33, 1). This near-coincidence of names, and the later successes of the Vandals in North *Africa, have led historians to exaggerate the importance of Vandal 'prehistory', and to trace a bold migratory narrative that the sources do not support. The Vandals were not a major military presence on the Danube *frontier, and seem to have been a relatively small group at this time.

In AD 406, their fortunes changed. On New Year's Day of that year, a group of Vandals, *Alans, and *Suebes crossed the Rhine near *Mainz and occupied the *provinces of northern *Gaul (*Prosper, *ad ann.* 406). Three years later, they crossed the Pyrenees into *Spain, where they formally settled in 411. In 428 or 429, they crossed into North Africa. The size of the Vandal contingent at this time remains a matter of dispute. *Victor of Vita states that 80,000 Vandals crossed from Spain in AD 429, but his details are confused (Victor of Vita, I, 2). Many modern historians follow Delbrück's estimate of 10,000–15,000 Vandal

effectives at the time of the crossing, but even this may be too high. *Procopius states that the Vandal army was substantially reorganized under *Geiseric in around AD 442. He states that 80 chiliarchs were each given command of a unit, nominally of 1,000 men, but in reality much smaller: this may have given rise to Victor of Vita's mistake (*Vandalic*, III, 5, 18). Regardless of its size, the contingent was certainly ethnically mixed, and *Goths, Suebes, and Hispano-Romans were included in its number. In due course, 'Roman' and '*Moorish' inhabitants of North Africa also collaborated and identified with the Vandals (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 5, 20–2).

The first of the Vandal kings in North Africa was *Geiseric (r. *c.*428–77), who commanded the occupation of Carthage in 439, and brokered two treaties with the imperial powers, first in 435 and then in 442. The treaty of 442 formally recognized Vandal control of *Africa Proconsularis, *Byzacena, *Numidia, and parts of *Mauretania. After the death of *Valentinian III in 455, Geiseric extended Vandal rule further along the North African coast and incorporated *Sicily, *Corsica, *Sardinia, and the *Balearic Islands into his kingdom. Geiseric was succeeded by his son *Huneric (r. 477–84), who is best remembered for the vicious persecution of the Nicene Church commemorated in the *Historia Persecutionis* of Victor Vitensis. *Gunthamund (r. 484–96) is relatively poorly served by the sources, but may well have reorganized the royal fisc: royal monetary policy was completely reorganized during his reign, and the *Albertini Tablets date from this period. *Thrasamund (r. 496–523) is more familiar from the sources: several poems of the **Anthologia Latina* were written during his reign and he engaged *Fulgentius of Ruspe in theological debate. *Hilderic (523–30) was an elderly man at the time of his accession, thanks to the Vandal practice of succession by agnatic seniority. Like Thrasamund, Hilderic seems to have been a *patron of the arts, and was a favourite at *Constantinople, but he encountered difficulties in frontier wars with various Moorish polities and was overthrown in a coup by his distant cousin *Gelimer. Gelimer (530–4) was the last of the Vandal kings, and witnessed the surprisingly rapid demise of the kingdom in the aftermath of the *Byzantine invasion.

The Vandal kingdom enjoyed striking economic and cultural strength. The occupation of Carthage gave the Vandals one of the richest regions of the Roman Empire, one that had been spared much of the economic upheaval of the previous two centuries. Archaeological evidence suggests that the region remained productive, and that the Vandals did a great deal to continue this prosperity. *Taxation continued to be levied, and there is some evidence that Gunthamund's monetary reform influenced practices elsewhere. *City life also continued to flourish during the Vandal period, albeit in a changed register; while the great classical public buildings were increasingly adapted as *houses or sites for light industry, Africa continued to be a recognizably urban society.

Cultural life also flourished during the Vandal occupation. *Dracontius alludes to the continuation of formal *education, with schools attended by Roman and barbarian alike (*Romulea*, 5), and references in the **Anthologia Latina* reveal a continued taste for the mockery of lawyers, *doctors, charioteers, and theatrical figures well into the 6th century. The writers themselves form the clearest evidence for cultural continuity. Along with Dracontius, poets like *Luxorius, *Fulgentius the Mythographer, *Corippus, and Pompeius were all educated during the Vandal period. *Martianus Capella and Caelius *Aurelianus may also have been writing under the Vandals.

Nevertheless, the Vandals are best remembered for their military activity. For several decades following the capture of Carthage in 439, the Vandals exploited their new fleet to enjoy unrivalled influence in the western Mediterranean basin. In this period, Geiseric oversaw the sack of *Rome in 455, established a genuine thalassocracy in the western islands, and repelled a serious of imperial expeditions. The impact of these successes is vividly reflected in the poetry of *Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmen*, V, 335–41). As late as the early 6th century, Vandal naval power appears to have been regarded with caution by the *Ostrogoths, and Procopius hints at Byzantine trepidation in the Eastern Roman Empire at the time of the *Byzantine invasion (*Vandalic*, III, 14, 2).

Paradoxically, earlier authors had taken a very different view. *Orosius and *Salvian both state that the Vandals were notorious for their cowardice in the period before the capture of Carthage (Orosius, VII, 38, 1; Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, VII, 8). Similarly, Byzantine commentators, looking back on the rapid defeat of the Vandals by *Belisarius during the Byzantine invasion, castigated Vandal weakness and lack of martial spirit (Procopius, *Vandalic*, III, 9, 1–3; III, 19, 25–33). AHM

G. Berndt, *Konflikt und Anpassung. Studien zu Migration und Ethnogenese der Vandalen* (2007).

C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et L'Afrique* (1955).

M. E. Gil Egea, *África en tiempos de los Vándalos: continuidad y mutaciones de las estructuras socio-políticas romanas* (1998).

Merrills and Miles, *Vandals.*

Y. Modéran, 'L'Établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique', *AntTard* 10 (2002), 87–122.

Varakhsha *See* BUKHARA.

Varaz-Bakur (Aspagur II) Chosroid King of *Iberia 368–74, nominee of *Shapur II. He replaced *Saurmag (Sauromaces), his cousin (*Ammianus,

XXVII, 12, 16), and retained the eastern part of Iberia after the partition of 370, when his son remained as a *hostage in Persia. He may have regained the territory of Saurmag in 377 (Ammianus, XXX, 2, 7–8). MO
PLRE I, Aspacures.

Varaztirots' Bagratuni (d. 645) Son of Smbat *Bagratuni. *Marzban of *Persarmenia until 632/3 when he fled to the Roman Empire, fearing arrest. He was implicated in a plot against *Heraclius and exiled but recalled by *Constans II. Named *Curopalates and commander of unified *Armenia in 645, he died before the order reached him. TLA
PLRE III, Varaztiroch.
*Sebeos, 99, 103, 128–9, 132–3, 162.

Vardan Mamikonean (*c.*393–451) Head of the *Mamikonean noble house [*tun*] and hereditary grand marshal [**sparapet*] of the Armenian forces, Vardan Mamikonean also claimed descent from the house of *Gregory the Illuminator through his grandfather, the *Catholicus of *Armenia, *Sahak the Great. Vardan's story is narrated in the histories of *Elishe Vardapet and of *Lazar P'arpets'i. Against a backdrop of growing antagonism towards the Armenians by the *Sasanian king of kings, *Yazdegerd II, ostensibly because they shared a faith with Persia's great enemy, the Roman Empire, Vardan, and the other Armenian **naxarars* (*nakharars*) were called to the Persian *court and made to renounce Christianity. Upon their return to *Armenia in AD 450, most of the nobility including Vardan recanted. A full-scale rebellion broke out against the *Persian Empire, which Vardan led by virtue of his hereditary office of *sparapet*. The narration of Vardan's original apostasy and the circumstances of the rebellion differ in the accounts of Elishe and Lazar. Vardan and the majority of the *naxarars* fighting with him died in AD 451 at the Battle of *Avarayr; they were recognized as *martyrs and became saints of the Armenian Church. They are known collectively up to the present as the Vardanank'—the followers of Vardan. LA
PLRE II, Vardan.
HAndzB, vol. 5, 75–6 Vardan 6.

Varna Treasure Nine pieces of *c.*6th-century *gold jewellery, discovered near ancient *Odessos, Bulgaria, in 1961, and now in Varna Archaeological Museum. It is considered to constitute a noblewoman's toilet. HAHC
D. Dimitrov, 'Ранновизантийското съкровище от Варна', *Известия на Варненското* Археологическо Дружество/ *Izvestiia na Varnenskoto arkheologichesko druzhestvo* 14 (1963), 65–79.
D. Ovcharov, *Fifteen Treasures from Bulgarian Lands* (2003), 59–62.

Vasak Mamikonean (d. *c.*367) **Sparapet* (military general) of Greater *Armenia during the reign of *Arshak the Great (r. 350–*c.*367). According to the **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, he played a divisive role between Arshak and the *Sasanian Shah *Shapur II, and masterminded many Armenian victories over the Persian *army, but was put to death by Shapur upon the capture of Arshak. TLA

Vasak Siwni (Vasak Siwnec'i, Vasak of Siwnik', Vasaces) Persian *Marzban of *Georgia and then *Armenia in the 5th century, Vasak Siwni apostatized and allied himself with the Persians against the leaders of the Armenian rebellion of 450/1 which ended in the defeat of the Armenians at the Battle of *Avarayr. He was later seized by the Persians and died in prison. LA
PLRE II, Vasak.
HAndzB vol. 5, 44, Vasak 6.

Vatican Basilica *See* ROME, CHURCHES OF, VATICAN BASILICA.

Vatican Vergil Illustrated manuscript of *Vergil's canonical works, ascribed to *Rome, within one or two decades of 400, and now in the Vatican Library (Vat. Lat. 3225). When intact, it consisted of some 440 folios, written in rustic capitals, of which 75 now survive. They contain 50 illustrations, by three separate illustrators, whose figure style and framed composition are said to be influenced by wall painting and *mosaic decoration, particularly the mosaics of *S. Maria Maggiore (432–40), although they are somewhat later in style. NAS
CLA, I, 11.
D. H. Wright, *Vergilius Vaticanus. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3225 der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 2 vols. (1980–4).
D. H. Wright, *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art* (1993).
Cameron, *Pagans*.

vegetables A great variety of greens and herbaceous plants was grown in Late Antiquity and they were staple elements in the diet. Kale, cabbage, broccoli, and other brassicas were the most commonly consumed vegetables in the ancient and early medieval Mediterranean. They were easy to grow, tolerant of a range of climatic conditions, and are comparatively resistant to pests. Other leafy greens, such as lettuce, chard, endive, and orache (saltbush) were also staples. Root vegetables included carrot, leek, onion, radish, beet, and turnip; many of these root vegetables were sown late in the year and allowed for fresh greens into the winter months over much of the Mediterranean basin and parts of northern Europe (**Geoponica*, XII, 1). Beans and leguminous plants like peas were also common in the

Roman, post-Roman, Persian, and Arab diet. *Merovingian law (*Pactus Legis Salicae*, 27, 7) imposed fines up to 15 **solidi* for the theft of vegetables. MD

J. Koder, 'Fresh Vegetables for the Capital', in Mango and Dagron, 49–56.

Vegetius (late 4th/early 5th cent.) Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus was a Christian bureaucrat, author, and military theorist whose fame rests on his two extant works, the military treatise *De Re Militari* (also known as *Epitoma Rei Militaris*) and the less well known *veterinary treatise *Mulomedicina*. Vegetius was *vir *illustris* and a **comes*. The *Mulomedicina* proves that he was also a wealthy landowner with a keen interest in *horse-breeding.

The *De Re Militari* was written between 383 and 450. Historians have variously suggested it was written for either *Theodosius I (379–95), *Valentinian II (375–92), or *Valentinian III (425–55); most favour the first. The *De Re Militari* combines Vegetius' own observations and borrowings from earlier treatises, deployed selectively by Vegetius to promote his own views. Vegetius' goal was to reform the military by returning to the use of native conscripts and ancient legions. His sources included Cato, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus, Varro, and the Constitutions of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian, and/or later compilations of these. Vegetius wrote Book 1 separately to suggest solutions to contemporary problems of recruitment and training through the use of ancient Roman models. Book 1 met with the *emperor's approval, so Vegetius was commissioned to write three more books: Book 2 detailing legionary organization; Book 3 showing the legions in action; Book 4 describing *siege warfare and *naval warfare. The *De Re Militari* offers uneven treatment of military topics, because Vegetius dealt with only matters which in his opinion required reform. The sole exception is Book 3, which does offer comprehensive overall treatment of *warfare on land. It was because of this that Vegetius amalgamated the various historical military systems into one, and failed to discuss *cavalry warfare in any great detail. The *De Re Militari* became very popular in the *Latin-speaking West during the Middle Ages.

The *Mulomedicina* is a veterinary treatise consisting of four books, the last of which was added later. The first three books concentrate on the ailments and treatments of *horses and mules. Book 1 describes various symptoms and therapies; Book 2 deals with the medical conditions affecting the different parts of the horse's anatomy; Book 3 consists of pharmaceutical recipes; Book 4 contains remedies for *cattle ailments. The dating of *Mulomedicina* depends on that of *De Re Militari*. This treatise is also a compilation consisting of material borrowed from earlier veterinary treatises, and of Vegetius' own observations rearranged into logical order. Vegetius' sources included *Pelagonius, Columella, *Apsyrtus, the **Mulomedicina Chironis*, and other hippiatric and medical treatises. The treatise interests both veterinary and military historians for the information it provides on Roman and barbarian veterinary science and also on the qualities of the different breeds of horses. IAPS

PLRE I, Renatus.

De Re Militari/Epitoma Rei Militaris: ed. M. D. Reeve, *Vegetius: Epitoma Rei Militaris* (OCT, 2004).

ET N. P. Milner (TTH 16, rev. edn., 2011).

Mulomedicina, ed. E. Lommatzsch (1903).

T. D. Barnes, 'The Date of Vegetius', *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 254–57.

W. Goffart, 'The Date and Purpose of Vegetius' *de Re Militari*', *Traditio* 33 (1977), 65–100.

M. R. Mezzabotta, 'Aspects of Multiculturalism in the Mulomedicina of Vegetius', *Akroterion* 45 (2000), 52–64.

Veh-Ardashir *See* KOKHE.

vehicles Various types of wheeled land transport were used for different purposes.

The *quadriga*, a two-wheeled carriage drawn by four *horses side by side, was steered from a standing position and is prominent in Roman *art (e.g. statues, coins, reliefs) and served such special purposes as imperial triumphs, chariot races in the *circus, or during pagan *processions. A version with only two horses was called a *biga*.

Travellers could also use two-wheelers. The light *cisium*, an open wagon, accommodated one traveller. The *essedum* (of Celtic origin) was open and held two travellers. The *carpentum* had an arched roof, was drawn by two mules and was used in *Rome by noblewomen. For fast movement, travellers of the *Cursus Publicus used the *birota* with a maximum load of 200 Roman pounds (66 kg; *CTh* VIII, 5, 8). More comfortable were four-wheelers: the **reda* (carrying 1,000 Roman pounds), the *carruca*, and its sleeper version the *carrruca dormitoria* (**Digest*, 34, 2, 13; depicted on a relief from Virunum).

Other wagon types were used to transport goods. The oblong *carrus*, a four-wheeler used by the *army or civilians, had side walls which could be folded down, and was drawn by oxen, mules, or horses. The heavy two-wheeled *plaustrum*, drawn by oxen, carried *olive oil, *wine, cereals, or building material. The large **angaria* was used by the Cursus Publicus. AKo

G. Raepsaet, 'Land Transport, Part 2: Riding, Harness, and Vehicles', in Oleson, *OHETCW*, 588–602.

veil Women appearing in public in the Later Roman Empire might have their heads, though not their faces, covered with a fold of their draped mantle. Others

opted for the use of a veil, which was placed on the head and then fell down the shoulders.

Existing written and artistic sources do not reveal how usual the use of the veil was. For instance, in the late 4th and early 5th century it was against *court etiquette for an aristocratic lady to appear before an imperial princess with her head covered by a veil, as S. *Melania the Younger (383–439) did.

On the other hand, the veil apparently continued to be part of bridal *dress, though it differed from its Roman antecedent in appearance and symbolic function. The association of the veil with bridal dress seems to have informed the views of church fathers that women who dedicated themselves to the monastic life should be veiled as befitted 'brides of Christ' (cf. *Ambrose, *De Virginibus*, I, 12, 65). The female *orans figure painted in the *Catacomb of Priscilla at *Rome (*c.*200) has her head veiled, and Christian moralists strongly advocated the use of veils, especially in church, both in order to protect feminine modesty and as a sign of submission to God's authority (Tertullian, *De Virginibus Velandis*; **Didascalia Apostolorum*, III, 1, 8; *John Chrysostom, *Homiliae XXVI in epistulam I ad Corinthios*, 216–18 = PG 61, 211–24). MGP

M. G. Parani, 'Byzantine Bridal Costume', in *Δώρημα: A Tribute to the A. G. Leventis Foundation on the Occasion of its 20th Anniversary* (2000), 185–216, at 188–92.

M. Harlow, 'Female Dress, Third–Sixth Century: The Messages in the Media?', *AntTard* 12 (2004), 203–15, at 213–14.

velum *See* CURTAIN.

Venantius Fortunatus (530s–after 600) Poet and *Bishop of *Poitiers. Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus was born in Duplavis (mod. Valdobbiadene) near Treviso in the 530s, and educated in *Ravenna, and wrote some twelve books of mainly elegiac poetry, a four-book hexameter *Life of S. *Martin*, and seven prose hagiographical works on the lives and *miracles of saints. Later Bishop of Poitiers, he died probably in the early years of the 7th century. In 565 he travelled from his native *Italy to *Merovingian *Gaul, where all but two of his poems were written. His earliest datable poem in his new home is an epithalamium for the marriage of the *Austrasian royal couple *Sigibert I and *Brunhild in 566. Fortunatus was eventually to settle in Poitiers, where he became a close associate of *Radegund, former queen of *Chlothar I and founder of the Convent of the Holy Cross in that city, and of her abbess, Agnes. He also enjoyed the friendship and patronage of *Gregory of *Tours, to whom he dedicated the first collection of his poems and his *Life of S. Martin*.

The most widely accepted view is that Books 1–7 of the poetry were published together in 576, 8–9 separately sometime after 584, and 10–11 were collected and published after the poet's death. A further group of poems preserved only in a single manuscript of Fortunatus without the regular book divisions appears as an *Appendix* in Leo's edition.

Much of Fortunatus' writing is poetry of *praise, of clergy, especially bishops, and laity, including secular officials and even royalty. Typically the individual poems are short and sometimes somewhat formulaic; they present the individual to be praised as embodying order and conferring it on his surroundings. His poems for kings *Charibert I (6, 2) and *Chilperic I (9, 1) are longer and closer to the traditional *panegyric; bishops *Leontius II of *Bordeaux and *Felix of Nantes receive extended dossiers of poems. Book 4 contains only *epitaphs, of clergy and laity, including women and children.

The corpus also includes personal poetry and verse *letters: two groups of poems to Gregory of Tours (in Books 5 and 8), for whom he wrote a longer work celebrating his entry into Tours as bishop (5, 3), and a further 55 poems addressed to Radegund and/or Agnes, that speak to the close association the poet had with the women and the convent. His two famous hymns, *Pange, Lingua* ('Sing, my Tongue', 2, 2) and *Vexilla Regis* ('The Royal Banners', 2, 6), were written for the convent, to celebrate its acquisition of fragments of the *Relic of the Holy *Cross. The Radegund of the personal poetry reveals a sense of humour and some individual frailty, rather different from the ferocious ascetic of Fortunatus' *Life* of the saint. Among the poems written on behalf of the women and the convent is one in the voice of Radegund seeking news of her cousin, from whom she had long been separated (*Appendix* 1). Fortunatus' poetry shows a recurrent sensitivity to the pathos of separation. Two of his longest poems contain speeches of women parted from loved ones: the *Visigothic Princess *Galswintha, as she leaves for marriage to the Frankish King Chilperic, exchanges laments with her mother (6, 5); the Christian *virgin in Fortunatus' poem *De Virginitate* grieves at her separation from her bridegroom, Christ (8, 3).

A third group of works is hagiographical in content. S. *Martin of Tours and *Hilary of Poitiers figure most often in Fortunatus' writings. He composed two prose works on Hilary's life and *miracles. S. Martin's miracles are the subject of two sets of *epigrams written to accompany pictures in the cathedral of Tours newly restored by the Bishop Gregory of Tours in 590 (10, 6). Most ambitiously, Fortunatus composed a four-book hagiographical epic, the *Vita Sancti Martini*, based on *Sulpicius Severus' *Vita* and *Dialogi*. In the previous century *Paulinus of Périgueux had undertaken the same project. The two poems are rather different in nature. Eschewing the voice of a preacher that is prominent in Paulinus' poem, Fortunatus

composes something like a set of epigrams, meditating on the marvellous in the episodes he recounts. MJR

PLRE III A, Fortunatus 2.

PCBE IV/1, Fortunatus.

CPL 1033–44:

ed. B. Krusch, *Opera Pedestria* (MGH Auct. Ant. 4/2, 1885).

ed. F. Leo, *Opera Poetica* (MGH Auct. Ant. 4/1, 1881).

ed. S. Quesnel, *Vie de saint Martin* (annotated with FT, 1996).

ed. M. Reydellet, *Poèmes* (annotated with FT, 3 vols., 1994–2004).

ET (selections) J. W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: Personal and Political Poems* (TTH 23, 1996).

J. W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (1992).

S. Labarre, *Le Manteau partagé: deux métamorphoses poétiques de la Vie de saint Martin chez Paulin de Périgueux (Ve s.) et Venance Fortunat (VIe s.)* (1998).

M. Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus* (2009).

venatio (Lat. animal hunt) A popular public spectacle that pitted trained *venatores* against captured wild *animals in a *city amphitheatre. Rulers, magistrates, and **flamines* in both West and East laid on these costly games to mark their inaugurations and *festivals. They relied on the Empire's long-distance logistical networks to collect and transport exotic beasts (e.g. *CTh* XV, 11, 2), as *Symmachus realized when he organized games celebrating his son being *Quaestor (393) and *Praetor (400) in *Rome. The games outlasted *munera* involving *gladiators, and were presented by Roman *emperors and Germanic rulers into the 6th century. RLi

F. Bertrandy, 'Remarques sur le commerce des bêtes sauvages entre l'Afrique du nord et l'Italie (II^{e} siècle avant J.C.–IV^{e} siècle après J.C.)', *MÉFRA* 99 (1987), 211–41.

G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (1937).

M. MacKinnon, 'Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheatre Games: New Reconstructions Combining Archaeological, Ancient Textual, Historical and Ethnographic Data', *Mouseion* 6 (2006), 137–61.

R. Rea, 'Gli animali per la *venatio*: cattura, trasporto, custodia', in A. La Regina, ed., *Sangue e arena* (2001), 245–75.

Toynbee, *Animals.*

***Vendidad* (*Videvdad*)** An *Avestan ritual text, with surviving Middle *Persian translation and extensive commentaries. It is also the name given to the long *Zoroastrian liturgy, starting at midnight, in which the text is combined with the *Yasna* and the *Visperad* texts. The **Denkard*'s summary of the *Sasanian Avesta mentions the *Vendidad* as one of the seven *law books, making it the only book of the Sasanian Avesta to have survived in a nearly complete form.

The text of the *Vendidad* is commonly dated to the Achaemenid era (550–330 BC) on linguistic grounds, and takes the form of a dialogue between *Ohrmazd (Ahura-Mazda) and Zarathushtra (Zoroaster). Although the *Vendidad* is often described as a law book, jurisprudence and civil *law are not its primary concern. Its central theme is purity as a protective measure against pollution, which is caused by the onslaught of evil forces which aim to taint Ohrmazd's good creation. The text is especially concerned with the pollution caused by dead matter, so outlines the corresponding cleansing rituals in some detail, most prominently the *barashnom* ceremony, required after contact with a corpse. The chapter on burial rites contains the oldest mention of the *sagdid* ritual, in which a *dog is taken to view the deceased in order to confine contamination caused by the corpse. Other sections promote the welfare of dogs and outline their correct burial, but encourage Zoroastrians to destroy wicked animals, such as flies, snakes, and scorpions, which harm the creation. The text also discusses menstruation and the necessary code of conduct for women and men during this time. The *Vendidad* includes a geographical chapter with descriptions of sixteen lands, extending mostly through eastern Iranian territory. Although the date of the *Vendidad*'s composition is uncertain, it provides insights into the daily life of its era by proving details about matters such as medical fees, punishments for parties involved in an *abortion, and punishments for nullifying contracts. AZ

EncIran (2015) *s.v.* Vendīdād (W. W. Malandra and A. Cantera).

ET in W. W. Malandra, *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion* (1983), 162–82.

Venetia et Histria *Province in the *Dioecesis *Italiae, created under the *Tetrarchy, recorded in the *Verona List (as Beteiam Histriam, 256, 9–10) and listed in the **Notitia Dignitatum* as Venetiae (*occ.* II, 11) under the *Consularis Venetiae et Histriae (*occ.* I, 53). It was in *Italia Annonaria. The capital of Venetia et Histria was *Aquileia; the province was bounded by the Alps, the Adriatic Sea, and the rivers Po and Adda, so was largely contiguous with the former Augustan Regio X. MMA

NEDC 161–2, 218–19.

F. Ausbüttel, *Die Verwaltung der Städte und Provinzen im spätantiken Italien* (1988).

R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasions* (1947).

Venice, lagoon and settlement of Refugees from *Hun incursions into such towns as Altinum, Patavium (Padua), and *Concordia in the 440s are traditionally thought to have initiated stable settlement around the lagoons of north-east *Italy.

Archaeology has shown traces of occupation on islands such as San Francesco del Deserto and San Lorenzo di Ammiana; the scale of this cannot be estimated. Economic exploitation of the lagoons certainly has much older roots. *Cassiodorus, writing in the 530s, mentions *Ostrogothic tribunes administering the zone which suggests increasing coalescence of its scattered inhabitants into organized communities (*Variae*, XII, 24). In the 7th century Byzantine military officials, soldiers, and clergy are attested on the islands of Torcello and Murano, and archaeology indicates possible churches then on Venetian islands at San Lorenzo and San Pietro di Castello. An *inscription of AD 639 relates to the foundation of Torcello cathedral (the new seat of the Altinum bishopric) by the *Dux; excavations on the island have also revealed settlement and *glass workshops from the 6th–7th centuries. Control of the lagoons secured the north Adriatic and the Byzantine capital *Ravenna to the south, while also stimulating trade, which promoted investment in more permanent settlement bases on the islands. Venice itself emerged as a clear entity, articulated between a set of small isles centred on the Rivoalto/Rialto, after the mid-8th century, following the Byzantine loss of Ravenna. It became the ducal seat only *c.* AD 810, following its transfer from Malamocco. NJC

L. Leciejewicz, E. Tabaczynska, and S. Tabaczynski, *Torcello: Scavi, 1961–62* (1977).
E. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine: territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincial bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)* (1998), 126–8, 226–34.
A. J. Ammerman et al., 'More on the Origins of Venice', *Antiquity* 69 (1995), 501–10.
A. J. Ammerman and J. McClennen, *Venice before S. Marco* (2001).
Gelichi and Hodges, *From One Sea to Another.*

Verecundus of Junca (d. 552/3) *Bishop of Junca, *Africa (mod. Bordj Younga, Tunisia), author of *Commentarii super Cantica Ecclesiastica*, on the biblical *cantica* used in the *liturgy, and *Carmen de Satisfactione Paenitentiae*, expressing the state of mind of the penitent who laments his inability to shed sufficient tears or feel sufficient spiritual compunction. The poem concludes with a description of the Last Judgement. A supporter of the *Three Chapters condemned by *Justinian I, Verecundus died in *Chalcedon, where he had taken refuge. MJR

PCBE I, Verecundus.
HLL, section 759:
CPL 869–71.
ed. R. Demeulenaere (CCSL 93, 1976).
ed. M. G. Bianco, *Carmen de Paenitenia* (annotated with IT, 1984).

Vergil in Late Antiquity Unlike some classical authors whose work needed to be 'rediscovered' in the 4th century, Vergil was never out of wide circulation or favour, and remained Roman culture's *summus poeta*. Late Antiquity's interest in Vergil can broadly be categorized as biographical, exegetical, and literary. In the mid-4th century, the *Life of Vergil* by *Donatus drew heavily on that by Suetonius, yet seems to inaugurate a quasi-hagiographical approach. Donatus' commentary on Vergil is lost but influenced that of *Servius and the fuller version known as Servius Auctus (Servius Danielis).

Two illustrated manuscripts of Vergil (the *Vatican Vergil and the *Roman Vergil) survive from Late Antiquity as well as other evidence, such as a 3rd-century portrait *mosaic from *Hadrumetum in *Africa, now in the Bardo Museum, and a mosaic depicting Aeneas hugging Dido from *Low Ham, suggesting an appetite for visual representation of the poet and his texts. His poetry influenced a wide range of genres, from *epic and other hexameter verse, such as *Claudian's, to oratory and *historiography. His texts were often turned into *centos, as in the Christian *Cento* of *Proba and *Ausonius' scandalous *Cento Nuptialis.* RDR

S. MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (TCH 26, 1998).
S. McGill, *Virgil Recomposed: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity* (2005).
R. D. Rees, ed., *Romane Memento: Vergil in the Fourth Century* (2004).
J. M. Ziolkowski and M. C. J. Putnam, eds., *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (2009).

Verina *Aelia Verina, wife of the *Emperor *Leo I, so mother of *Ariadne, wife of *Zeno the Isaurian. When Leo died in 474, she backed the rebellion against Zeno of her brother *Basiliscus and *Illus, *Magister Officiorum. In 476 Illus went over to Zeno, Basiliscus was beheaded, and Verina exiled. Eventually Illus fell out with Zeno and in 484 he had Verina crown *Leontius, a general sent against him by Zeno, at S. Peter's Church near *Tarsus. She died during the prolonged siege of the fort of *Papirius in *Isauria by Zeno's troops. OPN

PLRE II, Verina.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 16–20.
E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.

Verona *City and *colonia* of the Late Roman *province of *Venetia et Istria, immediately south of the Alps, on the Via Claudia Augusta, a *road which led over the Reschen Pass to *Raetia, making Verona a crucial element of *Italy's northern defensive system.

The *Emperor *Gallienus (253–68) fortified the city with walls. The *Verona List and later imperial

legislation originating at Verona indicates the emperor's *Comitatus regularly passed through the city. The *sermons of *Zeno, *Bishop of Verona (362–*c.*375), emphasize the wealth and comforts of the city (*Sermons*, III, 5; IX; X, 5; XV, 6). One of the only **fabricae* for the production of mixed *arms was at Verona, which made it an attractive target for *Alaric in 401.

*Theoderic the *Ostrogoth defeated *Odoacer here in 489 and the region subsequently became a zone of Gothic settlement. The city served as a *Gothic capital perhaps equal to *Ravenna. The **Chronicon Theoderici* (*Anonymus Valesianus* II) describes Theoderic's construction of a *palace contained within a fortified complex on the opposite shore of the Adige River and his restoration of the *city gates and walls, *baths, and the *aqueduct. When the *synagogue of Ravenna was burnt in 519/20, the *Jews looked for Theoderic at Verona to seek justice (*Chronicon Theoderici*, 2, 82). *Procopius provides a lively account of how the Goths repelled Byzantine soldiers during the Gothic War (*Gothic*, VII, 3). Although the war technically ended in 554, Goths continued to hold Verona until its capture by a Byzantine force in 562.

It was conquered shortly thereafter, in 569, by the *Lombards, whose King *Alboin preferred the royal residence at Verona. *Paul the Deacon notes that it was here that Rosamund assassinated Alboin, who was subsequently buried under steps near the palace (II, 28). *Gregory the Great notes that the *plague afflicted the city in 552–3 and 600–1. Charlemagne besieged the city during his Italian campaigns in 773–4. The poem *Versus de Verona* later eulogized the city *c.*800. MSB

M. Humphries, 'Zeno and Gallienus: Two Gentlemen of Verona', *Classics Ireland* 4 (1997), 67–78.

F. Saggioro, 'Late Antique Settlement on the Plain of Verona', in Bowden et al., *Late Antique Countryside*, 505–34.

Verona List (*Laterculus Veronensis*) A compilation of lists found in a corrupt 7th-century manuscript (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare II(2), fols. 255–6) comprising: names of *provinces within twelve **dioeceses*; barbarian peoples under the *emperors, one group specified in *Mauretania; names of five *civitates* from across the Rhine *frontier, with brief notes. Recent scholarship has reinforced the view that the list of provinces is homogeneous and dates it to AD 314; but many provinces cannot be dated through external evidence and it could be an antiquarian construction, like its companion lists. Western *dioeceses* include provinces that can date only from AD 303/14, but coverage of *Italy omits provinces from this period. Eastern *dioeceses* include provinces that can date only from AD 314/24, but the history of provinces named *Arabia remains disputed, and glosses, noting the division of *Paphlagonia and the addition of *Armenia Maior, are usually dated to *Theodosius I. C. Zuckerman argues that the provincial list, including the glosses, is (almost) contemporary with, and provides a date for, the organization of provinces into *dioeceses c.*314. PMB

HLL 5, section 519.

Full text: ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum: Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Prouinciarum* (1876), 247–51.

Diplomatic text of list of provinces, correlated with their expected, uncorrupted names: Barnes, *NEDC* 201–8.

Manuscript: Lowe *CLA* IV (1947), 21, 477.

C. Zuckerman, 'Sur la liste de Vérone et la province de Grande Arménie, la division de l'empire et la date de création des diocèses', *TM* 14 (2002), 617–37.

Versus de Mediolano An 8th-century *Latin verse encomium of the *city of *Milan which was composed at the point of the Lombard King *Liutprand's (712–44) campaign against the '*Saracens' in *c.*739. The poem is composed of 72 lines; the first 23 stanzas have opening words arranged in alphabetical order. The final verse contains a *prayer to the *patron of the city. The unknown author provides a description of the city *'firmiter edificata opere mirifico'* (strongly built with wonderful work), adorned with the protection of so many saints and the 'pious king' Liutprand. CTH

ed. G. B. Pighi (with comm.), *Versus de Verona, Versum de Mediolano Civitate* (1960).

ed. L. Traube and J.-B. Pighi (CCSL 175, 1965), 369–77.

Vestal Virgins College of half a dozen priestesses central to the civic *pagan practice of the *City of *Rome. *Gratian disendowed them and other priestly colleges in 382. *Symmachus' request for their restoration (along with that of the *Altar of Victory) in his Third *Relatio* of 384 was rejected by *Valentinian II. *Ambrose compared them unflatteringly to Christian consecrated *virgins (*ep.* 18, 11–12) and *Prudentius derided them (*Contra Symmachum*, II, 1064–132). The last known Chief Vestal was Coelia Concordia, in 380 (*ILS* 1261), and *Zosimus (V, 38, 3–5) tells a story of the last Vestal upbraiding *Serena, wife of *Stilicho, for stealing *jewellery from a statue of the Magna Mater in 394/5. LHCG

R. Lizzi Testa, 'Christian Emperor, Vestal Virgins and Priestly Colleges: Reconsidering the End of Roman Paganism', *AntTard* 15 (2007), 251–62.

vestments, church It is assumed that there began to be specialized vestments for the Christian clergy in the 4th century, though the early stages of this development are difficult to trace. It is only in the 5th and especially the 6th century that more evidence becomes available, revealing that church vestments were derived

from Late Antique male secular *dress. The use of items of lay dress in the *liturgy resulted in their becoming detached from fluctuations of contemporary fashions and in their following their own distinct lines of development. This is evident even in the preferred length of the clerical garments, especially the tunics, which were long and stately, in contrast to the shorter, knee-length tunics favoured by the military at the imperial *court, as seen in the *mosaic portrayal of the guards of the *Emperor *Justinian I and *Maximian the *bishop at S. Vitale in *Ravenna (*c.*547).

Though a degree of regional differentiation must have existed, the evidence suggests that ecclesiastical vestments evolved along similar paths in the East and the West up to the 8th century. Some items of dress were common to all members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, while others were limited to specific ranks. Rank was indicated by the superimposition of garments, with those in the higher echelons being distinguished by their multilayered dress, as illustrated by the portrayal of Bishop Eufrasius and Claudius the archdeacon at the Eufrasian Basilica, *Poreč (543–53). All clergy would wear a long white tunic with narrow sleeves, the alb. Over the alb was the dalmatic, an outer tunic distinguished by its ample sleeves and often adorned with a pair of **clavi*. Fragments of two dalmatics traditionally associated with *Ambrose survive at *Milan. *Deacons and *priests would wear a narrow scarf, the *orarion* or stole, the deacons over the left shoulder, as seen in a *mosaic at the basilica of S. *Demetrius in *Thessalonica, the priests around the neck with both ends coming down the front. Priests and bishops also wore the chasuble (Gk. *phelonion*), an oval or circular mantle derived from the civilian *paenula*. Over the chasuble, bishops in the East and some in the West would wear the **pallium* (Gk. *omophorion*), a narrow white strip of wool draped over the shoulders, alluding to the lost *sheep of Christ's parable and the bishop's pastoral responsibility (*Isidorus of Pelusium, *ep.* 1, 136 = PG 78). The *belt also developed into a clerical vestment and the liturgical handkerchief developed in the West into the maniple, worn over the left wrist, and in the East into the *encheirion*. MGP

Dictionary of Art (= Oxford Art Online) 9 (1996) *s.v.* Early Christian and Byzantine Art: Religious Dress, Liturgical, 641–3 (K. C. Innemée).

J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (1907).

H. Granger Taylor, 'The Two Dalmatics of Saint Ambrose?', *Bulletin CIETA* 57–8 (1983), 127–73.

veterans, military Following their service, retired Roman soldiers received the status of veterans. They had various privileges including exemptions from *taxation for themselves and, depending on time served, other members of their *families, as well as exemption from *customs dues and market taxes. The *Brigetio Tablet (Riccobono, *FIRA* 1, no. 93) records an address to troops by *Licinius in 311, giving privileges for both serving soldiers and veterans and, like *Constantine I's address to troops in *Gaul (*CTh* VII, 20, 4), showing the concern felt by *emperors towards their troops. From the 4th century onwards veterans also received cash allowances or grants of land as well as supplies to help them become farmers, though the choice of the cash allowance was removed by *Valentinian I. In the early 6th century, older soldiers were often still carried on the rolls of their units, although by the end of the 6th century, there were also pensions for the families of soldiers who died on campaign.

As well as their privileges, veterans' families also had responsibilities. The sons of veterans were obliged to serve as soldiers, though this requirement was frequently evaded, and the requirement seems not to have been enforced in the 6th century. Because of their service, veterans were also exempted from serving on *city councils. HE

Jones *LRE*.

veterinary medicine Farmers and herders learned treatments by experience and from those in their communities. A handful of practitioners could be called specialists (*veterinarii*) and these and interested technical writers have left a number of treatises of variable quality.

Some treatises, such as the late 4th-/early 5th-century *Digesta Artis Mulomedicinalis* attributed to *Vegetius (probably not a practising veterinary surgeon but an armchair expert), deal primarily with ailments of equids. Such specialist literature seems to mirror actual practice, in which certain veterinary surgeons specialized in *horses, donkeys, and mules while others dealt primarily with bovine ailments. Given the practical and capital value of large animals and the cost of replacing them, it is not surprising that equids and oxen received the most veterinary attention. Little is known about the treatment of small *cattle and similar animals, though some remedies are provided in both classical and Late Antique literature, e.g. Varro (*De Re Rustica*), Columella, and *Palladius (Book 14) among the *Latin agronomists, as well as *Pliny the Elder, but also ancillary references in *Greek writers on nature, such as Xenophon (*De Equitandi Ratione*) and Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*). The bulk of surviving Greek veterinary tradition is found in the various versions of the **Hippiatrica* and **Geoponica*; these represent the state of the art as received in Late Antiquity.

As with human medicine, to which it owed its basic approach, veterinary medicine was dominated by the theory of the humours. Practitioners relied on a mixture of sympathetic cures based on organic compounds.

Some recipes are elaborate and require exotics such as silphium (a herb rare or extinct by Late Antiquity), a fact which casts doubt on how routinely they were employed. In most instances commonly available foods and materials like *wine and *olive oil were used in drenches and plasters. *Prayer and *magic were often employed, especially to counter incurable bacterial infections whose symptoms are clearly described even though their aetiology was not understood. These infections included rinderpest (among cattle by Late Antiquity), anthrax, and glanders (farcy).

The technical treatises also detail various pests and conditions common until the 19th/20th century: worms, fleas, and other parasites and their attendant ailments, such as scabies, abortions, or lack of fertility, laminitis in horses, prolapses, eye infections, colic, heat exhaustion, and the wounds caused by biting insects. They also describe conditions common to working animals. Bloodletting was apparently widely employed. Some surgeries were apparently performed on both cattle and horses, including cauterizing or suturing wounds, cataract removal, and correction of lameness. MD

J. N. Adams, *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* (1995).

K. D. Fischer, 'Ancient Veterinary Medicine: A Survey of Greek and Latin Sources and some Recent Scholarship', *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 23 (1988), 191–209.

M. R. Mezzabotta, 'Some Apsects of Multiculturalism in the *Mulomedicina* of Vegetius', *Akroterion* 45 (2000), 52–64.

Vetranio An elderly general, he was Constans I's *Magister Peditum when proclaimed *Augustus by the Roman *army on the Danube *frontier following the murder of Constans I by the *usurper *Magnentius in January 350. The purpose was probably to contain the threat from Magnentius in *Gaul, and, following negotiations, perhaps brokered by *Constantius II's sister *Constantina, Vetranio publicly surrendered to *Constantius II and was allowed to retire with a generous pension. JDH

PLRE I, Vetranio 1.

Vetus Latina *See* BIBLE, VERSIONS OF, LATIN.

vexillationes Term denoting detachments, or groups of detachments, from parent formations (legions, auxiliary regiments), taking its name from the temporarily assigned *standard (*vexillum*). The term was transferred to mounted units from the time of *Gallienus into the 6th century, perhaps because of the need to draw *cavalry detachments together for use in '*field' armies. *Vexillationes equitum* appear in the senior lists of the *'Notitia Dignitatum* as *palace regiments (*vexillationes palatinae*: 14 in East, 10 in West) or field army units (*vexillationes comitatenses*: 29 in East, 32 in West), but not in the *frontier forces (*Not. Dig. or.* V, 27–40; VI, 27–40; VII, 24–34; VIII, 24–32; IX, 18–20; *occ.* VI, 42–85). They were further designated by their equipment (*sagittarii*, **clibarnii*, **cataphractarii, scutarii, armigeri, cetrati*), and by ethnic names (e.g. *Alani, Batavi, Persae, Palmyreni, Parthi*). JCNC

R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* (1967).

Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*, 61–2.

Vézeronce, Battle of (dép. Isère, France) Fought in 524 between *Burgundians and *Franks. It resulted in the death of the Frankish King *Chlodomer (*Marius of Avenches, *Chron. s.a.* 524) and the recovery of the Burgundian kingdom by *Godomar, rendering *Gregory of *Tours's claims (*HF* III, 6) that it was a Frankish victory highly unlikely. RVD; STL

Via Diagonalis *See* VIA MILITARIS.

Via Egnatia Important Roman *road through the *Balkans, dating from the 2nd century BC, connecting the eastern and western *provinces of the Empire, running further south than the *Via Militaris. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim traversed it in 333 on his return from the *Holy Land to *Milan. From west to east, Via Egnatia began at *Dyrrachium in modern Albania on the Adriatic Sea and went on to *Lychnidos (Ohrid) and *Thessalonica. From Thessalonica, it ran through the valley of the River Maritsa and passed through *Philippi, *Heraclaea, and *Selymbria to reach *Constantinople through the Golden Gate. The Via Egnatia played a vital role in the imperial economy, and the *trade system revolving around it had important repercussions for the independent polities that came to emerge in the region. ABA

TIR K-34 (1976), 51.

Barrington Atlas, maps 55 and 56.

F. O'Sullivan, *The Egnatian Way* (1972) follows the route.

Via Militaris (Via Diagonalis) *Roman road running along the Danube *frontier in the North *Balkans, permitting connections to the Rhine *frontier (via northern *Italy) and the eastern *frontier (via the *Pilgrims' Road across *Anatolia). Together with the *Via Egnatia to the south, it served as the most direct landline between *Rome and *Constantinople. In 333, the *Bordeaux Pilgrim used it to reach the *Holy Land. From west to east, beginning at the Adriatic Sea, the Via Militaris passed along the valley of the River Sava through *Sirmium and Singidunum (mod. *Belgrade) before turning south along the Morava (*Margus) through *Niš (Roman Naissus) and *Remesiana to *Serdica (mod. Sofia), and then along the valley of the River Maritsa between the Haemus and the Rhodope Mountains, to *Adrianople

(mod. Edirne, Turkey) and Constantinople. As the main artery of traffic between the eastern and western Roman regions, the road had critical economic and political value for the Empire. In the Late Antique period, independent Balkan polities came to control the regions through which the road passed. ABA

TIB 6: *Thrakien* (1991).

C. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe* (1877).

Mitko Madzharov, *Roman Roads in Bulgaria: Contribution to the Development of Roman Road System in the Provinces of Moesia and Thrace* (2009).

J. Šašel, 'Viae militares', in D. Haupt, ed., *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II. Vorträge des 10. internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior* (1977), 237–44.

Vicarius (Gk. *bikarios*) Initially a temporary representative of the *Praefectus Praetorio (Agens Vices Praefecti Praetorio), the office of Vicarius was made permanent by *Diocletian. Each Vicarius was the civil (but not military) administrator of a **dioecesis* consisting of several *provinces (see *dioecesis* for a list). The Vicarius of *Oriens was known as the *Comes Orientis, the Vicarius *Ponticae was renamed Vicarius Pietatis by *Constantius II in honour of his wife *Eusebia (*Ammianus, XVII, 7, 6), and that of *Egypt (separated from Oriens under *Valens) was the *Praefectus Augustalis. Vicarii were subordinate to the *Praefectus Praetorio, although some argue that the *Vicarius Urbis Romae was subordinate to the *Praefectus Urbi. Below each Vicarius stood the provincial *governors, excepting *Proconsuls, who answered directly to the *emperor. The Vicarius was both a judicial and fiscal administrator. He could try cases in the first instance and hear appeals from the rulings of provincial governors, although many preferred to appeal directly to the Praefectus Praetorio or emperor. He was also instrumental in collecting the **annona*. His status rose dramatically over the 4th century from equestrian (*perfectissimus*) to high senatorial rank (*spectabilis*). Vicarii began to disappear in the 5th century and *Justinian I radically reformed provincial *administration. JND

RE 5 (1907), 727–34 (Kornemann).

Jones, *LRE* 47, 280–1, 373–5, 450, 481–2, 493, 592–3, 565–6.

Barnes, *NEDC* 195–208 and 224–5.

M. T. W. Arnheim, 'Vicars in the Later Roman Empire', *Historia* 19 (1970), 593–606.

Migl, *Ordnung der Ämter*.

Vicarius Urbis Romae Representative of the *Praefectus Praetorio at *Rome, where he oversaw the government of *Italia Suburbicaria including *Sicily, *Sardinia and *Corsica (**Notitia Dignitatum*, *occ.* XIX). A law of 384 (*CTh* I, 6, 2), modified in 400 (XI, 30, 61), confirmed that the *Praefectus Urbi might (as representative of the *emperor) hear appeals from judgements of the Vicarius. His functions under the *Ostrogoths are unclear. CARM

G. W. Sinningen, 'The *Vicarius Urbis Romae* and the Urban Prefecture', *Historia* 8 (1959), 97–112.

vicennalia *See* ANNIVERSARIES, IMPERIAL.

vicomagistri Officials responsible, under the **curatores* of the *Regiones, for administration and public order of each neighbourhood (*vicus*) at *Rome and *Constantinople. The *Regionary Catalogue of *Rome* counts 48 *vicomagistri* for each *regio*, the **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* has five for each *regio*. CARM

Jones, *LRE* 694.

Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine.*

Dagron, *Naissance*, 233–4.

Victor, Sextus Aurelius Born in *Africa, Victor became *governor of *Pannonia Secunda in 361 and *Praefectus Urbi at *Rome in *c.*389. His career can be confirmed from *Ammianus Marcellinus (XXI, 10, 6) and an *inscription (*ILS* 2945). In spring 361, he finished a short set of imperial bibliographies (*breviarium*) from Augustus to *Julian, usually referred to as the *Liber de Caesaribus*, but called *Historiae Abbreuiatae* in the manuscripts. In comparison to the elegant but colourless prose of *Eutropius, Victor wrote in an idiosyncratic and excessively didactic style that he developed from Sallust, and he filled his pages with his own opinions and moralizing judgements on a large number of topics, particularly *education and culture.

The **Kaisergeschichte* served as Victor's main source, though other written sources can also be detected, and he was much freer with his use of the *Kaisergeschichte* than any of the other witnesses to it. His name is falsely associated with the *Origo Gentis Romanae, De Viris Illustribus*, and **Epitome de Caesaribus* (still often credited to 'Ps.-Aurelius Victor'). His *Breviarium* was well known in the 4th century but was virtually lost thereafter (only mentioned by *Paul the Deacon and *John Lydus) and survives today in only two manuscripts of the 15th century that descend from a common exemplar. RWB

PLRE I, Victor 13.

HLL 5, section 537.

ed. F. Pichlmayr and R. Gruendel (1970), 77–129.

ed. P. Dufraigne (annotated with FT, 1975), unreliable and outdated.

ed. K. Gross-Albenhausen and M. Fuhrmann (annotated with GT), *S. Aurelius Victor. Die römischen Kaiser = Liber de Caesaribus: Lateinisch-deutsch* ([3]2009).

ET (annotated) H. W. Bird, *Liber de Caesaribus of Sextus Aurelius Victor* (TTH 17, 1994).

W. den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians* (1972), 19–113.

H. W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor: A Historiographical Study* (ARCA 14, 1984).
Giorgio Bonamente, 'Minor Latin Historians of the Fourth Century A.D.', in Marasco, *Greek and Roman Historiography*, 85–125.

Victorinus *Emperor in the *Gallic Empire, 269–71. In 266/7, Marcus Piavonius Victorinus was *Tribunus of the *Praetorian Guard (*CIL* XIII, 3679) under *Postumus, who then made him *consul (*CIL* II, 5736). Reputed to be a good soldier (Aurelius *Victor, 33, 12), he was proclaimed *emperor in late autumn 269 after the deaths of Postumus and *Marius, but was never recognized in *Spain. He besieged *Autun, which was loyal to the Emperor *Claudius II, for seven months, and captured it. *Coinage survives from his *Cologne *mint, and perhaps from *Trier. He was assassinated at Cologne in early 271. RBr

PLRE I, Victorinus 12.
Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire.*

Victorinus of Poetovio (d. 283/304) *Bishop of *Poetovio (later Pettau, mod. Ptuj, Slovenia) of *Pannonia. Probably a native *Greek speaker, he was consecrated bishop in a *Latin-speaking province. Various works are attributed to him, primarily commentaries in Latin on the *Bible. His commentary on the Apocalypse of John survives, and a fragment of a commentary on S. Matthew may also be his. These are the first systematic biblical commentaries in Latin to survive, but drew on a tradition of *allegorical Greek exegesis; indeed, Victorinus is said to have paraphrased some of *Origen's commentaries, but these do not survive. His Apocalypse commentary has a millenarian flavour, taking literally the prophetic predictions of a first and second resurrection. Another work possibly by Victorinus, *On the Fabric of the World*, is a **hexaemeron*; it considers the days of creation and interprets the seventh day of creation *typologically as anticipating the seventh millennium and rule of Christ. Victorinus was *martyred presumably in the Great *Persecution (*Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 74). He was regularly cited by Latin writers of the 3rd and 4th centuries, but was counted among the apocrypha by the *Gelasian Decree. SJL-R

HLL, section 573.
CPL, 79–80.
ed. J. Haussleiter (CSEL 49, 1916).
ET R. E. Wallis (ANCL 7, 1886), 388–433.
ed. (annotated with FT) M. Dulaey (SC 423, 1997).
G. Mercati, 'Anonymi Chiliastae in Matthaeum XXIV fragmenta', *ST* 11 (1903), 3–45.
C. H. Turner, 'An Exegetical Fragment of the Third Century', *JTS* 5 (1904), 218–27.
M. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio, premier exégète latin*, 2 vols. (1993).

Victorius of Aquitaine (*fl.* mid-5th cent.) Christian mathematician and expert on *chronography whose life is briefly recorded by *Gennadius (*Vir. Ill.* 89). To help resolve a dispute between *Rome and *Alexandria over the dating of Easter, Hilary, Archdeacon of Rome, asked Victorius to investigate the Alexandrian computus. In his subsequently published *Cursus Paschalis* (AD 457), Victorius used the 532-year Alexandrian paschal cycle; but he failed to adopt the Alexandrian method and sometimes included *Easter dates outside accepted norms. The 'Victorian cycle' ultimately gave way in the West to the more reliable computus later drawn up by *Dionysius Exiguus. Victorius also composed the *Calculus*, a multiplication table providing numbers from 1,000 to 1/144 multiplied by the numbers 2 to 50, along with their products. WA

PCBE IV/2, Victorius 3.
CPL 2282–3.
ed. T. Mommsen in *Chron. Min.* I (MGH Auct. Ant. 9), 667–735.
B. Blackburn and L. Holford-Strevens, *Oxford Companion to the Year: An Exploration of Calendar Customs and Time-Reckoning* (1999), 808–9.
G. Friedlein, 'Der Calculus des Victorius', *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* 16 (1871), 42–79.
A. M. Peden, ed., *Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey: Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine* (2003), esp. xv–xvii.

Victor of Vita (*fl.* 484/91) North *African *bishop and propagandist. His *History of the Persecution in Africa* details the sufferings of Homoousian ('Trinitarian') Christians under the *Homoean ('Arian') *Vandal regime. A prologue addresses an unnamed *patron, possibly Eugenius, Bishop of *Carthage; its authenticity, formerly questioned, is now generally accepted. The narrative begins with the Vandals' arrival and their depredations up to the death of *Geiseric in 477; the bulk of the work deals with the reign of *Huneric. The persecutions are described in lurid terms, with emphasis on *miracles. Eugenius comes in for particular praise. Like *Eusebius of Caesarea, with whose work he is clearly familiar, Victor incorporates various documents into his text: royal *edicts (2, 3–4; 2, 39; 3, 3–14), a letter of Eugenius to Huneric (2, 41–2), and a lengthy profession of faith (2. 56–101). The work concludes with lamentations and appeals for sympathy, perhaps with an overseas audience in mind. A brief notice of Huneric's death (3, 71) is probably a later addition. Victor writes as a participant and eyewitness, but his objectivity is questionable and his *Latin convoluted. His own narrative reveals that the number of actual *martyrs was small, and the regime less bloodthirsty and implacable than he suggests, but the *History* remains a valuable source. Transmitted with the *History* is a shorter text, not by Victor, narrating the deaths of seven martyrs mentioned at 3, 41. GH

PCBE I, Victor 64.
CPL 798–802.
ed. K. Halm (MGH Auct. Ant. 3. 1, 1879).
ed. M. Petschenig (CSEL 7, 1881).
ed. (annotated with FT) S. Lancel (2002).
ET J. Moorhead (TTH 10, 1992).
ET (annotated) in J. R. C. Martyn, *Arians and Vandals of the 4th–6th Centuries* (2009), 1–129.
C. Courtois, *Victor de Vite et son œuvre* (1954).
T. Howe, *Vandalen, Barbaren und Arianer bei Victor von Vita* (2007).
R. Pitkäranta, *Studien zum Latein des Victor Vitensis* (1978).
Conant, *Staying Roman*, ch. 3.

Victor Tonnensis Chronicler (d. post 566) and *Bishop of *ecclesia Tonnenensis*, an *African diocese which has not been securely identified. He was heavily involved in the African response to the *Three Chapters Controversy, and was exiled to *Alexandria around 553 (*Chron.* 153), and then imprisoned in a *monastery in *Constantinople from 555 (*Chron.* 169). While imprisoned, Victor produced a continuation of *Prosper's *Chronicle*, the extant portion of which runs from AD 444 to 566 and the accession of *Justin II. This *Chronicle* was continued in turn by *John of Biclar.

As was conventional in Late Antique chronicles, Victor's text purports to survey events across the Mediterranean, but the principal focus of the extant *Chronicle* is Africa, and particularly the history of the Church. Victor provides an important source on the events of the late *Vandal kingdom, the *Byzantine invasion and occupation under *Belisarius, and particularly the unfolding of the Three Chapters Controversy, and his own part within it. AHM

PLRE III, Victor 5.
CPL 2260.
ed. C. Cardelle de Hartman (CCSL 173A, 2001).
ed. T. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* II (MGH Auct. Ant. 11).
ed. (with IT, introd., and comm.) A. Placanica, *Vittore da Tunnuna. Chronica*: Chiesa e Impero nell'età di Giustiniano (1997).
ET (annotated) in J. R. C. Martyn, *Arians and Vandals of the 4th–6th Centuries* (2009), 130–66.
Y. Modéran, 'L'Afrique reconquise et les trois chapitres', in Chazelle and Cubitt, *Crisis of the Oikoumene*, 39–82.

victory and victory celebrations Military success remained one of the most important measures in Late Antiquity of imperial and royal effectiveness. The benefits it conferred were both economic (spoils, *tribute, slaves) and symbolic (virtue, support from the *God of Battles, peace). These outweighed any possible Christian criticism of the *emperor's conception of himself as a virtuous commander-in-chief, which even outlasted the transfer of actual military command to the generals from the late 4th century onwards. Throughout Late Antiquity, *emperors depicted themselves in ceremonial and imperial imagery as perpetual victors, and they celebrated military victories with spectacular *processions regularly called *triumphi* whether the enemies involved had been external or internal. Continuing older traditions, such celebrations were usually accompanied by games and spectacles, banquets, imperial addresses, donations, and *panegyric speeches. The emperors' victoriousness was also expressed in material form in statues, coins and medallions, *inscriptions, and occasionally in such grand monuments as triumphal *arches (e.g. the Arch of *Constantine at *Rome), columns carved with reliefs (e.g. the lost Columns of *Theodosius I and *Arcadius at *Constantinople), and church dedications and renovations.

The meaning of victory changed over time and with it triumphal representation. In the decentralized empire of the late 3rd and 4th centuries, most victory celebrations over external enemies were held in *cities where emperors resided (e.g. *Trier, *Sirmium, and *Antioch). The city of *Rome, at the same time, became the most important stage for triumphal entrances (**adventus*) after victory in civil war; the victor's presence in the old capital and his closeness to the *Senate underlined his claim to Empire-wide supremacy (most prominently Constantine I in 312, 315, and 326, *Constantius II in 357, Theodosius I in 389, and *Honorius in 403/4 and 416). After Constantine had dissolved the connections between triumphal celebrations and *pagan cult, the victory celebrations of the 4th century became religiously neutral or ambivalent. Disagreement about the religious character of military victory is apparent in the Third *Relatio* of *Symmachus, **Letters* 17 and 18 of *Ambrose, and *Prudentius' *Contra Symmachum*, concerned with the *Altar of Victory in the Senate House at Rome. Due to the ongoing importance of victory for Late Roman rulers, however, Victoria retained her central place in triumphal imagery, even if only as a personification deprived of her divine status.

It was only from the time of Theodosius I that Constantinople became the most important location for victory celebrations. The simultaneous rise to prominence of successful generals (for instance *Stilicho and *Belisarius) called for innovative ways of honouring them, while symbolically attributing the honour of victory to the emperor—so Belisarius' celebration of his victory over the *Vandals in 533 was linked with his performing *proskynesis* (*adoratio) before Justinian (*Procopius, *Vandalic*, IV, 9, 12).

During the 5th and 6th centuries, intensifying Christianization transformed victory celebrations into *processions giving thanks to God. Such processions could still be led by the emperor, on foot or mounted, but most often they led to an enthroned emperor awaiting

the masses in the *circus. Biblical and eschatological notions came to be intensely interwoven with the idea of triumphal rulership, notably in *Heraclius' triumphal *adventus* into *Jerusalem in 630, restoring the *Relic of the True *Cross which he had recaptured from the Persians. In the contemporary post-Roman West, victory celebrations were also performed largely as thanksgiving celebrations in honour of God, although generally with less pomp. JW

M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (2007).
H. Börm, 'Justinians Triumph und Belisars Erniedrigung. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser und Militär im späten Römischen Reich', *Chiron* 43 (2013), 63–91.
J. W. Drijvers, 'Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*: Notes on Symbolism and Ideology', in G. J. Reinink and B. H. Stolte, eds., *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation* (2002), 175–90.
J. R. Fears, 'The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems', in *ANRW* II.17.2 (1981), 736–826.
J. Gagé, '*Σταυρὸς νικοποιός*: la victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien', *RHPR* 13 (1933), 370–400.
McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.
J. Wienand, *Der Kaiser als Sieger. Metamorphosen triumphaler Herrschaft unter Constantin I* (2012).

Victricius of Rouen *Bishop of *Rouen (by 386–after 404). A former soldier turned *priest, Victricius engaged in missionary work both before and after becoming bishop. He was an associate of S. *Martin of *Tours, who introduced him to *Paulinus of *Nola, our main source for Victricius' life (*ep.* 18). For the ceremonial reception at Rouen of *relics sent by *Ambrose (*c.*396), Victricius preached the *sermon *De Laude Sanctorum*, his only extant work, which offered an innovative theology of relics. In 403/4 he defended himself against *heresy charges at *Rome, and received *letters from Pope Innocent I (*ep.* 2) and Paulinus (*ep.* 37). DGH

PCBE IV/2, Victricius.
Works (*CPL* 481):
ed. J. Mulders and R. Demeulenaere (CCSL 64, 1985).
ed. in *PL* 20.
ET (annotated) E. G. Clark, 'Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints', *JECS* 7 (1999), 365–400.
J. Fontaine, 'Victrice de Rouen et les origines du monachisme dans l'ouest de la Gaule (IV^{e}–VI^{e} siècles)', in L. Musset, ed., *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (IV^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles)* (1982), 9–29.
D. G. Hunter, 'Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen: Ascetics, Relics, and Clerics in Late Roman Gaul', *JECS* 7 (1999), 401–30.

vicus In rural context, a small settlement or *village, often in the *territorium* of a *civitas*; in a *city, a *street, a neighbourhood, or the area set apart for a particular trade, like the silversmiths' quarter at *Carthage, protected from thieves by lead gratings (*Augustine, *Conf.* VI, 9, 14).

The *vici* of *Rome were incorporated into the administration of the city by Augustus, under the supervision of *vicomagistri*. Their social and religious centres were the *compita*, and the city administration registered their properties and inhabitants. The Late Antique **Regionary Catalogues of Rome* record approximately 300 *vici* in the City, and their number must have varied with time. Division of cities into *vici* was common in various parts of the Empire. The **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitani* lists 372 *vici* for *Constantinople; these were sub-units of the city's division (following the model of Rome) into fourteen *regiones*. In the East, *vici* remained important in early Islamic cities. CARM

M. Tarpin, *Vici et Pagi dans l'Occident Romain* (2002).
N. Christie and S. Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (1996).

Vienna Dioscorides Illustrated Greek herbal manuscript of *Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* (cod. Vind. med. gr. 1). Written at *Constantinople, shortly before 515, for the Princess *Anicia Juliana, it has nearly 500 full-page miniatures, and is said to derive from the same ancestor as the *Naples Dioscorides. NAS

H. Gerstinger, ed., *Dioscurides: codex Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek; Kommentarband zu Faksimileausgabe*, 2 vols. (1970).
L. Brubaker, 'The Vienna Dioskorides and Anicia Juliana', in A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, *Byzantine Garden Culture*, 189–214.

Vienna Genesis Early 6th-century illustrated Greek *Bible fragment (Vienna ms. Theol. Gr. 31), consisting of 24 leaves of *purple-dyed parchment written in *silver uncial *script. All 48 surviving miniatures are in the lower margin. It is probably later in date than the *Cotton Genesis. NAS

O. Mazal, ed., *Wiener Genesis, Faksimile des Codex theol. Gr. 31 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 2 vols. (1980).
Emmy Wellesz, *The Vienna Genesis* (1960).

Vienne (dép. Isère, France; *metropolis civitas Viennensium*) A Julio-Claudian *colonia* on the middle Rhône, elevated to be the capital of a *province and of a **dioecesis* under the *Tetrarchy. From the mid-4th century the capital of the *dioecesis* moved to *Bordeaux and later to *Arles, which also came to dominate the southern half of *Viennensis. When Vienne was absorbed into the *Burgundian kingdom in the later 5th century, its church retained a reduced sphere of *metropolitan authority, and *bishops such as *Avitus played a prominent part in the evolving political context. But the *city

was eclipsed by its old rival *Lyons and the newly emergent *Chalon-sur-Saône, and did not regain wider significance under the *Franks.

Its Christian community is attested in a fine array of *epitaphs. A gradual accumulation of churches and *monasteries is known from texts, including the shrine of S. Ferreolus, a *Christian venerated as a *martyr of the Great Persecution, built by Bishop *Mamertus (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep*. VII, 1) and visited by *Gregory of *Tours (*Life* of S. *Julian of Brioude, 2) There is also archaeological evidence, particularly from S. Pierre, but the buildings of the *city are otherwise obscure. The course and date of the reduced enceinte that probably superseded Vienne's expansive Augustan wall-circuit remain somewhat hypothetical. The *suburbs across the Rhône were derelict by the 3rd century, though churches and *cemeteries subsequently developed there. STL

CAGaule 38/3 (2014), 69/1 (2006).

Topographie chrétienne, vol. 3 (1986), 17–35; 16/1 (2014), 314–23.

F. Descombes, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la renaissance carolingienne XV, Viennoise du Nord* (1985).

N. Nimmegeers, *Évêques entre Bourgogne et Provence: la province ecclésiastique de Vienne au haut Moyen Âge (Ve–XIe siècle)* (2014).

Viennensis (dioecesis) *See* SEPTEM PROVINCIAE.

Viennensis *Province created by the division into three of Gallia *Narbonensis and first attested in the *Verona List of *c.*314 (256, 5), which is unique in also naming as Viennensis the **dioecesis* in which it was placed—the **dioecesis* is elsewhere called *Septem Provinciae. The province incorporated fourteen *civitates* along the Rhône corridor from Geneva to *Marseilles (**Notitia Galliarum*, XI). The **Notitia Dignitatum* gives the *governor's title as *Consularis (*occ.* XXII). The *metropolitan status of its capital, *Vienne, from which the province took its name, was contested by the *bishops of *Arles from *c.*400, and the province lost its integrity in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres thereafter. STL

A. Chastagnol, 'Le Diocèse d'Aquitaine au Bas-Empire', *BullSNAF* (1970), 272–92.

Vigilius The papacy of Vigilius (537–55) marked a low point in relations with both his own citizens and *Constantinople. While his pontificate was relatively long, only seventeen of his *letters survive. He was previously *deacon and Apocrisiarius (representative of the See of *Rome) to Constantinople. From the start his reign was marred by his complicity in the deposition and death of his predecessor Silverius I, who had refused to agree to the restoration of *Anthimus as *Patriarch of Constantinople. Eight months before Silverius died in *exile, Vigilius was installed as pope on 29 March 537.

His pontificate was dominated by the *Three Chapters Controversy. From the outset, the clergy of *Sardinia, *Africa, *Milan, and *Rome remained united in their acceptance of the Three Chapters, which had been endorsed at the Council of *Chalcedon, and their authors. At the end of 545, on the eve of the *Byzantine invasion of *Ostrogothic *Italy, Vigilius with almost his entire clergy left Rome under Byzantine military escort, stopping for more than a year in *Sicily en route to Constantinople. From 547 until 554 *Justinian I pressed him to accede to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Vigilius' attempts to find a compromise met with serious opposition in the West, particularly in Africa where he was excommunicated. Vigilius was forced to swear allegiance to *Justinian in condemning the Three Chapters. After four years of indecision he fled to the Church of S. Euphemia in *Chalcedon, but was persuaded to return to Constantinople in 552. He continued to vacillate until December 553, condemning the Three Chapters in a letter to Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople. He died en route to Rome on 7 June 555. His life in the **Liber Pontificalis* (61) is the earliest added by the continuators of the second recension and is not without inaccuracies. BN

PLRE II, Vigilius 4.

PCBE II/2, Vigilius 6.

Letters (*CPL* 1694): PL 69, cols. 15–128.

Epistula ad Theodorum (*CPL* 1695; *CPG* 9347), ed. E. Schwartz, *Vigiliusbriefe* (Sb München 1940, 2es Heft, 15–18).

Constitutum (*CPL* 1696; *CPG* 9365), ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* 4/2 (1914), 15–18.

ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* 4/1 (1932).

ET R. Price, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553 with Related Texts on the Three Chapters Controversy*, 2 vols. (TTH 51, 2009).

EncPap 1 *s.v.* Vigilio, 512–29 (C. Sotinel).

Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, II, 229–86å.

Vigilius of Thapsus (*fl.* 484) North *African theologian and controversialist. He appears in a list of *bishops active under *Huneric but his career is otherwise obscure. His dialogue *Against the Arians, Sabellians and Photinians* portrays the founders of these heresies debating unsuccessfully against *Athanasius. His other certainly genuine work, *Against Eutyches*, attacks the Christology of *Eutyches defends *Pope *Leo I and the Council of *Chalcedon. It may have been composed at *Constantinople. The authenticity of a third work, *Against Felicianus the Arian*, is disputed. Vigilius mentions previous works *Against Maribadus* and *Against Palladius*, but extant treatises so titled are not his.

Other false ascriptions include a twelve-book work *On the Trinity*. GH

PCBE I, Vigilius 3.
CPL 806–12.
PL 62 (reprinting P. F. Chifflet, 1664).
Contra Eutychetem, ed. S. Petri (with IT) (2003).
G. Ficker, *Studien zu Vigilius von Thapsus* (1897).
R. Eno, 'How Original is Vigilius of Thapsus?', *Augustinianum* 30 (1990), 63–74.

Vigilius of Tridentum (d. 405) *Bishop of the *city (mod. Trento, *Italy) from *c.*385 until his death. He attempted to spread Christianity to rural areas of the region under the guidance of *Ambrose (Ambrose, *ep.* 19). After the death of the *Anaunian *Martyrs nearby, Vigilius sent their ashes and hagiographic *letters testifying to his Christianization efforts to Simplicianus of *Milan and *John Chrysostom. After the event Vigilius forgave the persecutors and requested that the *emperor commute their death sentences (*Augustine, *ep.* 139). RJM

Letters (*CPL* 212–13), PL 13, 549–58.
R. Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', *JRS* 80 (1990), 156–73.

Vilauba Scientifically excavated Roman *villa near *Gerunda in *Spain, important because it demonstrates transformations from the 1st to 7th centuries. There was a fire at the end of the 3rd century; subsequent rebuilding was arranged around a patio. A large *olive *press was installed in *pars rustica* over an *opus signinum* floor. There was gradual decline over the 5th century and withdrawal to the central block of the villa, with some *burials in side wings. Wild *deer and rabbit bones appear alongside farm animals, *cats, *dogs, and especially *horses at about this time. The site was abandoned in the 7th century. RJW

P. Castanyer Masoliver and Joaquim Tremoleda Trilla, 'La Villa romana de Vilauba (Girona) durante antigüedad tardía: continuidad o ruptura', *Saldvie* 2 (2001–2), 159–76.

vill *See* VILLA REGIA.

villa (economic) In *Latin sources of the Late Republican and imperial periods the term *villa* indicated a country mansion, including land, production spaces, and service buildings. A distinction was often made between the *pars urbana* of the villa, designated for residence and leisure, and the *pars rusticana*, dedicated to production and service. Archaeology has shed light on the structures and architecture of villas in the various regions of the Roman Empire, as well as their relationships with the ideals and theories exposed in the writings of Latin agronomists. Recent scholarship tends to reject the old distinction between an ancient *slave mode of production and a later serf system operating on villas, and has brought to light more complex systems and a multiplicity of regional variants in the ways land was exploited.

In Late Antiquity the term *villa* was employed in the West, mainly in *Italy and *Gaul, while other words, e.g. **oikos* (*household), were used in the East. In this period such terms indicate large *estates, which could even be spread over different provinces, composed of smaller units (e.g. Lat. **fundus*, Gk. **epoikion, *ktema*) and owned by aristocrats, the Church and religious institutions, or the imperial family. Their structure tended to be organized according to state land units, from the *province to smaller divisions such as **pagi*, *villages, and towns. There were two main systems for exploiting large estates: either through tenants with extensive holdings (**conductores*) or through estate managers (**actores*, *vilici*, **dioiketai, pronoetai*). Conditions for labour forces working on the production units of a *villa* could vary depending on local traditions of tenancy, serfdom, or the use of hired *wage-labour. The legal condition of peasants, especially **coloni adscripti* or **adscripticii*, is particularly debated: some scholars see them as a category of slaves of the land (i.e. serfs) because they were not free to move from their plots, while others interpret their status as limited by their special fiscal condition, since their taxes were paid by the landlord. RM

Bowden et al., *Late Antique Countryside* (LAA 2, 2004).
N. Christie, ed., *Landscape of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2004).
E. Lo Cascio, *Terre, proprietari e contadini dell'impero romano: dall'affitto agrario al colonato tardoantico* (1997).
A. Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History* (2007).
D. Vera, 'Dalla "villa perfecta" alla villa di Palladio', *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 189–211; 331–56.
Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

villa (residential) A luxurious house, typically situated in the countryside as a part of a larger *estate (the *villa rustica*). Many villas produced their own crops and some exported *grain, *olive oil, wine, and other produce on a large scale (*latifundia*). Central to the practice of *friendship and *patronage by the *aristocracy, villas were places where a proprietor could display his taste and erudition through elaborate architecture and decoration, including floor *mosaics, wall paintings, architectural *sculpture, and statuary. A villa might include porticoes, a dining room (**triclinium/*stibadium*), multiple reception rooms, private *baths fed by cisterns, a peristyle courtyard, and *gardens, as well as fortifications to protect the *estate from raiders.

Scholars previously believed that villa culture declined from the 4th century onwards. However, while some villas in the Western Empire were either

destroyed or abandoned as a result of turmoil, archaeological evidence has made it clear that the role of the villa in aristocratic culture evolved rather than declined. As property became concentrated in fewer hands, landowners increasingly ran their estates from their villas, which became larger and more elaborate in the 4th and early 5th centuries.

The *architects of these villas took inspiration from the monumental elements of imperial *palaces, including the palace of *Maxentius on the Via Appia outside *Rome and *Constantine I's Palatine *Basilica at *Trier. In *Sicily, the early 4th-century villa near *Piazza Armerina separated private from public areas, the latter including a monumental entrance with a portico, a large peristyle court, a second oval-shaped courtyard, a *triconch *triclinium*, an audience hall with an *apse, and a *bath complex, all of which were decorated with fine floor *mosaics. Similarly monumental villas were built around the same time in *Gaul (*Montmaurin) and *Britain (*Woodchester); some of these expanded earlier houses, as at *Chiragan in Gaul. In *Africa, mosaics celebrated the country life of the villa, for example the *Dominus Julius mosaic from *Carthage which depicts the way the owner enjoyed his **otium*. Roman authors who continued to praise villa life as an ideal through the 4th and even into the late 5th century include *Ausonius (*Mosella*) and *Sidonius Apollinarius (*Carmen*, 22), who both describe the fine villas of Gaul. In the West, most villas began to decline in the late 5th or early 6th century.

Less evidence survives from the eastern provinces, but it seems that *villages rather than villas dominated the *landscape. Large estates, such as the *Apion Estate in *Egypt, did indeed exist, but the villa houses on the estates were comfortable farmhouses rather than palaces. Rural villas have been excavated in *Greece, *Anatolia, and Jordan, while suburban villas at *Antioch and in Roman *Palestine were decorated with fine mosaic floors. In the East, villas prospered at many sites throughout the 5th century, including the so-called Late Roman Villa at Halicarnassus, and some new villas were built, as at *Ephesus, where an old Hellenistic residence was enlarged into a villa with a new audience room and courtyard in the 5th century. Large agricultural estates in the East were the basis for *Umayyad *palaces, including *Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi and Qasr *Mshatta, which were built around courtyards and featured types of reception rooms similar to those of monumental villas in the West.

SVL

C. Balmelle, *Les Demeures aristocratiques d'Aquitaine: société et culture de l'Antiquité tardive dans le Sud-Ouest de la Gaule* (2001).

K. Bowes and A. Gutteridge, 'Rethinking the Late Antique Countryside', *JRA* 18 (2005), 405–13.

G. P. Brogiolo and A. Chavarría Arnau, eds., *Aristocrazie e campagne nell'Occidente da Costantino a Carlo Magno* (2005).

A. Carandini, A. Ricci, and M. de Vos, *Filosofiana, the Villa of Piazza Armerina* (1982).

S. P. Ellis, 'The End of the Roman House', *AJA* 92 (1988), 565–76.

R. Francovich and R. Hodges, *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c.400–1000* (2003).

Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (1973), 133–68.

L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis, eds., *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops* (LAA 3.2, 2007).

T. Lewit, '"Vanishing Villas": What Happened to Élite Rural Habitation in the West in the 5th–6th c.?', *JRA* 16 (2003), 260–74.

S. Scott, 'Elites, Exhibitionism and the Society of the Late Roman Villa', in N. Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2004), 39–65.

C. Sfameni, 'Residential Villas in Late Antique Italy: Continuity and Change', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan, and C. Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (LAA 2, 2004), 335–76.

Villa dei Gordiani *Villa *c.* 3.6 km (2.2 miles) east of the walls of *Rome on the Via Praenestina, possibly belonging to the *emperors Gordian I, II, and III (*HA* Gordiani, 32). Built in the late Republic, it was expanded in the 2nd century. An octagonal entry hall was added sometime in the early 4th century. A mausoleum (the modern Tor de' Schiavi) and a large circus-form *basilica were also built on the site during that time. The attribution of these last two monuments remains unclear.

DRB

M. Maiuro, 'Gordianorum Villa', in La Regina, *Lexicon Topographicum: Suburbium*, III, 31–9.

M. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (2009), 93–103.

villages, Eastern The importance of villages increased as the significance of *cities declined, in the view of both the Church and the Roman *taxation authorities. Archaeological excavations show that the number of villages rose in the Eastern Empire during the 4th–6th centuries before the *Slav and *Persian invasions and the *Arab conquest. Roman *law codes reveal an increased involvement of imperial officials in village life starting with the *Tetrarchy, and a more rigorous categorization of agricultural land and population (**jugatio–*capitatio*). This involvement undercut the function of cities as intermediaries with the countryside, as did the creation of a new *province-level *aristocracy of former courtiers and **honorati*, although municipalities and those performing the civic duties known as liturgies were still important, and meetings of *city councils are attested into the 5th century.

This new system often recognized great *estates (e.g. those of the *Apiones of *Oxyrhynchus) and villages as tax-gathering units (*origines, *choria*), units in which peasants had both a communal responsibility to pay taxes on behalf of fellow villagers too poor to pay and also communal rights, especially the right to claim first refusal for all local land sales. *Senators also seem to have invested more heavily in *farming and *slavery during this period, so that new laws made to provide for tax remissions also indicate imperial concern for the fiscal viability of rural communities facing crop failure, invasion, or buyout by large landowners. Tax evasion thus becomes prominent both in literature and in *papyri from *Egypt as a viable accusation aimed against enemies, as a method of protest against unpopular clergy, and as a way to negotiate with imperial officials. *Saints' Lives and *rabbinic literature alike narrate many such conflicts (including contests of *magic and holiness) and negotiations across the changing divides of confession and civic identity.

In the course of Late Antiquity Christian institutions (churches, *martyria, *monasteries) became prime beneficiaries of aristocratic and communal investment instead of gymnasiums, *baths, or other emblems of traditional civic munificence; the fact that ecclesiastical beneficiaries were found in both town and country further flattened urban–rural distinctions. *Fairs and markets developed around the new calendars of Christian *festivals; this diversified the production of villages and may have encouraged greater focus on cash crops, which in turn may have widened socio-economic differences between and within villages and may have diversified rural–urban relationships. KF

Bagnall, *Egypt*.
Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*.
G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008).
C. Foss, 'The Near Eastern Countryside in Late Antiquity: A Review Article', in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research* (JRA Suppl. 14, 1995), 213–34.
C. A. Grey, *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside* (2011).
Haldon, *Seventh Century*.
Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*.
A. Harvey, 'The village', in *OHBS*.
J. G. Keenan, 'Byzantine Egyptian Villages', in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (2007), 226–43.
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001).
A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (1977).
A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (2007).
J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries', in *EHB* 231–310.
J. Lefort et al., eds., *Les Villages dans l'empire byzantine, IVe–XVe siècles* (2005).
D. W. Rathbone, 'Villages, Land and Population in Greco-Roman Egypt', *PCPS* 36 (1990), 103–42.
L. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-Century Roman Egypt* (2006).

villages, Western The Late Roman countryside in the West is often considered a mixture of *villas and *estates and a wide scattering of farms. However, archaeological field survey has long shown a wide variety of rural site types and scales, including groupings of farms which can be classified as hamlets or villages (cf. Christie, 437–40). Because these are seldom studied, given their lower-quality construction, the relation of such settlements to more socially prominent or more architecturally developed rural complexes is seldom considered, though they may have been bases for dependent estate workers, or free collectives, or extended family units.

The *Life* of S. *Melania the Younger (early 5th cent.) cites among her far-flung properties one sizeable estate in *Sicily, whose villa was serviced by 400 slaves living in 60 *houses or farms, together with numerous craftsmen and two *bishops. Archaeologically these living and work spaces might be considered villages. Some villages emerged from a break-up of villas, and a probable transition in ownership and function. For example, the earlier imperial villa at Monte Gelato north of *Rome experienced downgraded reoccupation with replacement utilitarian buildings from *c.*350. Its growth in the 5th to 6th century included the building, in *c.*400, of a small church; the village community was most likely (perhaps since the mid-4th cent.) church or papal property, providing housing for estate workers (Potter and King; wider coverage of late antique changes: Bowden et al.).

*Gregory the Great's letters to bishops in Sicily at the end of the 6th century refer to church-owned estates and villages with overseers. Gregory complained that **coloni* in both Sicily and *Sardinia were practising *pagan rites and he sought a crackdown from their landlords (*ep.* III, 59). In northern *Italy in the later 4th century rustic peasants are similarly associated with heathen activities: *Vigilius, Bishop of Trento, sent missionaries to convert highland village communities in the Val di Non. The Christian *priests were killed after they had closed a shrine of Saturn and built a church; troops and church agents were dispatched to demolish pagan idols and to enforce Christianity (Lizzi). Across the 4th to 6th centuries, saints and monks often, it seems, had to deal with what they considered residual *paganism and unreconstructed peasant communities; the building of churches provided a fresh focus for their villages.

Villages are much more commonly recognized and better studied beyond the Alps, particularly from the 6th century onwards, whether in *Anglo-Saxon England (sites such as *Mucking and *West Stow), *Visigothic Spain, *Frankish Gaul, or *Bavaria. They generally developed from a smaller cluster of farms (for synthetic overviews see Quirós Castillo; for examples in *Gaul, Germany, and Switzerland see Passard et al.; for north-west Europe see Hamerow). Some may have resulted from new groups settling the land, others from local people coming together. Whether such groups were free or dependent cannot easily be ascertained. Where settlements appear to have been planned one might assume some guiding authority, whether monastic, clerical, or aristocratic. Where sites adjoin *cemeteries, the presence of high-status burials among these usually suggests the existence of some form of social hierarchy. Early medieval nucleated settlements often have some relationship to former villa sites: this may be because they were on good agricultural land, perhaps still provided with evident and workable fields and boundaries, or there may have been some other, more obscure connection with the site and previous landowners. Other early medieval nucleated settlements, however, lie away from places inhabited in Roman and earlier times, occupying, for example, peninsulas or hilltops, as traced in detail in central Italy at both Poggibonsi and Miranduolo (Francovich and Hodges). NJC

Bowden et al., *Late Antique Countryside*.

K. Bowes and A. Gutteridge, 'Rethinking the Later Roman Landscape', *JRA* 18 (2005), 405–13.

Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*.

R. Francovich and R. Hodges, *From Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c.400–1000* (1993).

H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe AD 400–900* (2002).

P. Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', *JRS* 80 (1990), 156–73.

F. Passard, S. Gizard, J.-P. Urlacher, and A. Richard, eds., *Burgondes, Alamans, Francs, Romains dans l'est de la France, le sud-ouest de l'Allemagne et la Suisee (Ve–VIIe siècle après J. C.)* (Actes des XXI Journées Internationales d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, Besançon, 20–22 Octobre 2000, 2003).

T. W. Potter and A. C. King, *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato: A Roman and Medieval Settlement in South Etruria* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 11, 1997).

J. A. Quirós Castillo, ed., *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe* (Documentos de Arqueología e Historia 1, 2009).

villa regia Centre of royal power in the early Middle Ages, used by itinerant rulers for public assembly, administration, and to exercise other functions of *kingship (e.g. *Bede, *HE* II, 14; III, 17 and 22). They generally included substantial halls with subsidiary buildings and often churches. Relatively few have been excavated; examples include *Yeavering in Northumbria. SCT

B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (corrected edn., 2009).

Viminacium (mod. Kostolac, Serbia) Capital of *Moesia Superior originating from a legionary camp with adjacent civilian settlements. *Diocletian killed *Carinus at Viminacium (*Bordeaux Pilgrim, 564, 9). *Attila sacked it in 441. *Justinian I restored it. The *Avars sacked it in 584, but it remained in Roman hands until the late 6th century. The generals *Priscus and *Comentiolus visited while campaigning. On the site there is a small Late Antique fort and cemeteries including vaulted tombs with Christian wall paintings of the 4th century and 'barbarian' burials of the 5th to 7th centuries. Various *silver has also been found at the site. ER

M. Korać, 'The Paintings in the Late Classical Tombs of Viminacium', in D. Srejović, ed., *The Age of the Tetrarchs* (1995), 169–83.

L. Zotović, 'Early Christianity in Viminacium', in D. Srejović, ed., *The Age of the Tetrarchs* (1995), 339–48.

M. Mirković, *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau* (2007), 52–6, 100–1, 108–12.

D. Mladenović, *Urbanism and Settlement in the Roman Province of Moesia Superior* (2012), 131–2.

M. Tatic-Djuric, 'La vaisselle en argent de Kostolac', *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu* 5 (1967), 237–46.

Vincent of Lérins (d. before 450) Gallic *priest associated with the monastic community on the island of *Lérins. He is traditionally identified with the 'semi-Pelagians' or *doctores Gallicani* in the controversy over the reception of *Augustine's writings in south *Gaul, and in his *Commonitorium* and *Objectiones* expressed his objections to some of Augustine's teaching on grace. The *Commonitorium* was a handbook for distinguishing true teaching, including a definition of orthodoxy as what has been believed 'always, by everyone, and everywhere'. He edited a collection of Augustine's thoughts in his *Excerpta*. His writings influenced the *Athanasian Creed. *Gennadius (*Vir. Ill.* 65) noted his authorship of *Commonitorium* and his death. AYH

CPL 510–11:

ed. R. Demeulenaere (CCL 64, 1985).

ET (annotated) *Commonitories*, tr. R. E. Morris (FC 7, 1949), 267–332.

A. M. C. Casiday, 'Vincent of Lérins's *Commonitorium, Objectiones* and *Excerpta*', in A. Y. Hwang et al., eds., *After Augustine and Pelagius* (2013).

Vinchy, Battle of (dép. Nord, France) Victory of *Charles Martel over *Neustrian forces under *Chilperic II and *Ragamfred in March 717. It was the second of three victories in quick succession that broke the power of the Neustrian opposition to Charles's bid for control over the *Merovingian kingdoms. EM

Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, 64–78.

Vindex Official appointed to a *city by the *Praefectus Praetorio to supervise tax collection and municipal finances. Instituted in the early 6th century by *Anastasius I on advice from *Marinus, later Praefectus Praetorio (*John Lydus, *Mag.* 3, 49). Budget reforms in *Alexandria by the Vindex Potamon are summarized in *EdJust* 13, 15. CMK

Jones, *LRE* 236, 347, 457.
Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, 408.

Vindicianus, Helvius *Proconsul of *Africa 380/1 (or possibly 382/3), distinguished physician from *Carthage, teacher of Theodorus *Priscianus, *Comes Archiatrorum to *Valentinian I or II, and author of several medical treatises, *Gynaecia, De Semine*, and *letters to his kinsman Pentadius (about the humours) and to Valentinian (dedicating a lost work). *De Natura Generis Humani* and *Epitome Altera* are also attributed to him. He rejected *astrology, and advised *Augustine against it (*Conf.* IV, 3, 5; VII, 6, 8). ARD

PLRE I, Vindicianus 2.

Epistula ad Valentinianum, ed. M. Niedermann and E. Liechtenhan in *Marcelli de Medicamentis Liber* (CML V, 1968).

Gynaecia, Epitome Altera, Epistula ad Pentadium, ed. V. Rose in *Theodori Prisciani Euporiston* (1894).

De Semine, ed. M. Wellhausen, *Fragmente der sikelischen Ärzte*, 208–34.

De Natura Generis Humani, ed. M. E. Vásquez Buján, *Dynamis*, II (1982), 48–56.

A. Önnerfors, 'Das medizinische Latein von Celsus bis Cassius Felix', in *ANRW* II.37.1 (1993), 281–8.

vintage scenes Scenes of the gathering and treading of grapes are common on *mosaics from the 3rd century on, especially in the African and Hispanic *provinces (good examples at *Caesarea of *Mauretania, and *Merida, Spain). They are also found on *sarcophagi and in painting. The context is either *Dionysiac, with vintaging satyrs or *erotes/putti*, or generically rural with peasants as vintagers, and the vintage is often associated with the *season of autumn. Details of the procedures such as the vats and the wine press may be shown clearly, though often the scenes are stereotypical. The subject was adopted in Christian contexts, for instance on the vault mosaics of S. *Costanza in *Rome; it appears widely on church mosaics in the East (Jordan), normally in association with other genre figures. Christian symbolism of the vintage may be implicit, but is seldom overt. KMDD

C. Balmelle and J.-P. Brun, 'La Vigne et le vin dans la mosaïque romaine et byzantine', in H. Morlier, ed., *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine*, vol. 9 (2005), 899–921.

A. Tchernia and J.-P. Brun, *Le Vin romain antique* (1999).

violence, crimes of Roman *law did not class all acts of aggression against persons or property as crimes of violence (Lat. *vis*) in their own right, or, in fact, as crimes at all. Under the early imperial *Lex Julia De Vi* it was possible to bring accusations of either public violence (*vis publica*) or private violence (*vis privata*). *Vis publica* might involve a magistrate's abuse of power. *Vis privata* could include violence by individuals for political ends (e.g. sedition—by Late Antiquity including also *pagan attacks on Christians: *CTh* XVI, 4, 3), economic gain (e.g. armed seizure of property), or sexual gratification (e.g. *stuprum*). As violence was also a recognized attribute of other crimes, the scope of the *Lex Iulia De Vi* overlapped with other criminal statutes, thereby giving victims a wider choice of accusation. By Late Antiquity, for example, shutting someone up in a private *prison was also classed as *treason (*CTh* IX, 11). Outrage (*iniuria*), the attack on a person's honour that usually arose from spontaneous disputes between neighbours, and could range from verbal insult to assault, was probably the most common form of violence. It could be dealt with by civil remedies, although in Late Antiquity there was a shift towards frequently allowing and bringing criminal action for *iniuria* (*Digest*, 47, 10, 45; *Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 54, 14).

The aim of Late Roman *emperors was, above all, to strengthen a monopoly of violence for the state. This was particularly the case with violent disputes about property and the forceful exaction of *debt, for which a charge of *vis privata* could be brought (e.g. *CJust* IX, 33, 3). However, violence in the form of self-help was also an integral and accepted part of Late Roman society and the law acknowledged that in retrospect it was often difficult to identify a culprit (*CTh* IX, 10, 1). Furthermore, as the amount of outrage was measured according to the *dignitas* of the victim (*InstJust* IV, 4, 9), many acts of violence, above all in a domestic context against slaves, *children, and wives, hardly resulted in legal action (for wives see, e.g., *CJust* V, 17, 8, 2). JHi

J. D. Harries, 'Violence, Victims and the Legal Tradition in Late Antiquity', in H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity* (2006), 83–100.

J.-U. Krause, *Kriminalgeschichte der Antike* (2004), 87–122.

O. Robinson, *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome* (1995), 48–51, 81.

Virgil of Salzburg *Bishop of Salzburg (746/7–84). Irish abbot, who clashed with S. *Boniface over questions of *cosmology and rebaptism, but was granted Carantania as a mission field by successive popes. He began building a cathedral in Salzburg in 774. MDi

LexMA 8 *s.n.* Fergil, 1711–12 (F. Prinz).

H. Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich* (1995), 252–74.

virgins and widows The first monks looked to Jesus as the exemplar of their *asceticism (Matt. 19: 21). Acts 4:32 proposes Gospel communism. Virginity and asceticism were already important concepts in apocalyptic Christian thinking in the 1st century (1 Cor. 7: 25–31), and (female) *virgins (Acts 21:9) and *widows (Acts 6:1) formed distinct groups in churches. *Origen in the 3rd century ranked virgins below only apostles and *martyrs (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 9, 1 = PG 14, 1205). *Bishop Cornelius of *Rome (d. 253) reports that the Church of Rome cared for over 1,500 widows (*Eusebius, *HE* VI, 43,11). By the 4th century *praise of virginity was commonplace. *Methodius of Olympus (d. 311) rhapsodized that virgins, though on earth, are already among 'the assembly of those who are in heaven', and when they die, like martyrs will obtain paradise immediately (*Symposium*, 8, 2).

How early virgins and widows each comprised a distinct group (Gk. *tagma/taxis*) within the Church is more difficult to ascertain. In *Egypt and *Anatolia, by the end of the 3rd century women with the title of widows or virgins led lives vowed to God and wore special dress. Before becoming an ascetic, S. *Antony (*c.*251–*c.*356) disposed of his property and entrusted his sister to 'well-known and faithful virgins, giving her to them to be raised in virginity' (*VAntonii* 3, 1). Such virgins must have been *apotaktikai*, 'renunciants'. They did not live in the desert or in isolation but, like widows, together and in towns and *villages. *Egeria mentions apotactites in the Church at *Jerusalem (28, 3; 40, 1; 44, 3; 49, 1) and had a friend, a *deaconess who was the superior of an apotactite community near *Seleucia ad Calycadnum (23).

Before S. Antony and *Pachomius (*c.*290–346) established the eremitic and coenobitic forms of *monasticism, male ascetics, like the village ascetics to whom Antony apprenticed himself (*VAntonii* 3, 3 and 4, 1), adopted and adapted forms of communal life centred around renunciation and service which had already been established by women. By the first third of the 4th century in Egypt, canons show that virgins and widows were distinct groups set apart, who prayed, fasted, and cared for the sick. Other canons, possibly of the 4th or 5th century, show that widows and virgins had the same rule (*nomos*) and position (*topos*), but that virgins had a higher rank (*tagma*). Egyptian canons of the 4th/5th century show that numbers of virgins had increased and by then formed two distinct groups: those who live within a family and those who form a separate community. In 4th-century Egypt, the monastic systems of both Pachomius and *Shenoute each had monasteries of women, as did *Oxyrhynchus.

Virgins also formed a distinct order in the *Latin-speaking Church. *Cyprian wrote about the conduct of consecrated virgins (*De Habitu Virginum*); he disciplined virgins who had shared a bed with men (*ep.* 4), and praises virgins condemned to the *mines during the persecution of *Christians under *Valerian (*ep.* 76, 6, 2). Later, *Ambrose in his *De Virginibus*, dedicated to his sister Marcella, a consecrated virgin, used the example of virgin *martyrs such as S. Agnes to inspire young women to embrace virginity (I, 2, 5–9). *Jerome, the spiritual director of several senatorial virgins and widows, praised *marriage because it produces virgins (*ep.* 22, 20); he believed that it was the example of monks accompanying *Athanasius of *Alexandria during one of his periods of *exile from *Egypt which had inspired aristocratic ladies to embrace the monastic life. *Augustine's **Letter* 211 (of AD 423) to the monastic community of women at *Hippo, of which his own sister had been head, was to influence the *Rule of the Master and the *Rule of S. *Benedict*. TV

E. Castelli, 'Virginity and its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity', *JFSR* 2/1 (1986), 61–88.

Davies, *Revolt of the Widows.*

Elm, *Virgins of God.*

D. Scholer, ed., *Women in Early Christianity* (Studies in Early Christianity 14, 1993).

E. A. Judge, 'The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk" (P. Coll. Youtie 7 7) and the Origins of Monasticism', *JbAC* 20 (1977), 77–89.

Visigothic slates *Latin texts inscribed on stone, discovered across the northern Meseta of *Spain, principally around Ávila and Salamanca, datable to the 5th to 8th centuries. Some 163 have been published to date, but new finds are regularly made. Comparable with documentary *papyri, the Visigothic slates may be classified into four groups. Most numerous are administrative texts, such as inventories and accounts, which may record either state *taxation or *estate management. Legal texts, including sales and *contracts, are identical to parchment *charters, following templates from the *Visigothic formulary and featuring autograph signatures. Educational texts, such as alphabets and exercises, show how these literate skills were acquired, while religious texts, including *prayers and talismans, indicate concurrent ritual practices. Found at over 30 rural sites with minimal evidence of ecclesiastical or scribal presence, the Visigothic slates, like the *Albertini *Tablets from *Vandal *Africa, suggest widespread practical *literacy was normal amongst laymen. There are also numerical slates, whose rows of Roman numerals served

some unknown accounting function, and pictorial slates, bearing sketches and artistic representations. GDB

ed. I. Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas: entre el latín y su disgregación. La lengua hablada en Hispania, siglos VI–VIII* (2004).

Visigoths This tribe of *Goths was first distinguished in name from its eastern counterpart, the *Ostrogoths, by *Cassiodorus in the 6th century; it was as the Goths that they petitioned the Romans in 376 to cross the Danube *frontier, fleeing the *Huns (*Ammianus, XXXI, 2). Initially **foederati* of the Eastern Roman Empire, they soon revolted against mistreatment by provincial officials, and in 378, under the leadership of *Fritigern, defeated the Roman army at the Battle of *Adrianople, killing the *Emperor *Valens. A crushing victory, it did not fundamentally alter the balance of power: *Theodosius I made peace with the Goths, and they remained in the *Balkans, appointing *Alaric I as their king in 391.

Early history

When Theodosius died in 395, the situation become one of recurrent tension and occasional conflict between Alaric and the regimes of *Honorius and *Arcadius. After *Stilicho was executed in 408 and Germanic soldiers in the Roman army were massacred, Alaric declared war and invaded northern *Italy, bolstered by recruitment of further Goths from *Pannonia and *Alans. While the imperial *court was based at *Ravenna, Alaric besieged *Rome itself, and sacked the city in 410, a blow to Roman self-confidence which gained great symbolic currency in Christian *historiography. Alaric thereafter led the Goths to the south of Italy, making for North *Africa, but died that year.

*Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law, succeeded and led the Goths into *Gaul in 412. While periodically battling the Romans, he married Galla *Placidia, sister of Honorius and his prisoner since 410, a union which the historian *Orosius deemed a sign of Athaulf's willingness to join Roman service. Indeed *Wallia, his successor but one, concluded a treaty with *Constantius III in 418, recognizing Gothic settlement in and control of *Aquitaine.

The establishment of the Visigothic kingdom was the work of his successor *Theoderic I the Visigoth, who broke the treaty with Rome intermittently to expand his realm, besieging *Arles and fighting against the Roman general *Aëtius. However, when the Huns sought his alliance in 450, he declined their offer, and he fought and died alongside Aëtius and the Romans at the Battle of the *Catalaunian Plains in 451.

Expansion of territory and move to Spain

*Theoderic II, Theoderic I's son, and successor but one, began the Visigothic ascent to hegemony in Gaul, elevating his own candidate Eparchius *Avitus to be Western emperor in 455, while campaigning against the *Suebes in *Spain. His brother *Euric ended the treaty with Rome and expanded Visigothic control over both Gaul and Spain, as far as the Loire in the north and south across most of the peninsula, conquests acknowledged by the Empire in 475. He also promulgated a collection of Roman provincial *law known as the *Code of *Euric* (*Codex Euricianus*), the first definite instance of a Germanic king acting as a legislator. *Sidonius Apollinaris is a particularly colourful witness to these transformative decades.

The Visigothic presence in *Spain was extended and consolidated in the 490s by *Alaric II, who also faced increasing aggression from the north of Gaul by the *Franks under *Clovis. The Visigoths had already been converted to *Homoean ('Arian') Christianity by *Ulfilas in the mid-4th century, before crossing the Danube *frontier in 376. This doctrinal difference strained relations between the Visigoths and their Gallo-Roman subjects. To promote reconciliation, Alaric issued the *Breviarium of *Alaric*, an abbreviated version of the **Theodosian Code*, in 506, and in the same year organized a church *council at Agde under the presidency of *Caesarius, *Bishop of Arles. All to no avail: in 507 the Visigoths were soundly defeated by the Franks and *Burgundians at the Battle of *Vouillé, and Alaric was killed.

This marked the end of Visigothic rule over and presence in Gaul but for a vestigial province in *Septimania. The capital shifted from *Toulouse to *Narbonne to *Barcelona, and finally to *Toledo, and a new period began, the Visigothic kingdom of Hispania. At first inauspiciously: the *Ostrogothic King *Theoderic intervened from Italy to check further Frankish advance, and became regent for Amalaric, the son of Alaric II, effectively ruling from 511 until his death in 526. Theoderic appointed *Theudis his successor, and he became king himself upon the death of Amalaric in 531, but the period of Ostrogothic overlordship ended with the accession of Agila I in 549.

Visigothic control of the peninsula had meanwhile contracted from its height in the late 5th century. Indeed in 551, as Agila was dealing with a rebellion by *Athanagild, the *Byzantine invasion occurred, carving out a small enclave in the coastal *province *Carthaginensis. *Leovigild properly founded the kingdom based at Toledo: during his reign, he pacified most of Spain, as chronicled by *John of Biclar, most notably conquering the *Suebes in north-west Spain in 585/6, and putting down a revolt by his son *Hermenegild, who at some stage converted to Catholicism.

Conversion to Catholicism

*Reccared, Leovigild's son and successor, solidified these efforts, converting to Catholicism himself in 587

and calling the Third Council of Toledo in 589, presided over by *Leander, Bishop of *Seville, to proclaim the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism and seal their confessional unity with the majority Hispano-Roman population and begin their integration. This council also secured a relationship of mutual support between the institutional Church and the small pool of Visigothic aristocratic families from which kings were elected. Hereditary succession never became a stable feature of the kingship, and elections were often fraught with violence and usurpation, condemned by *Gregory of *Tours and the subject of attempted regulation by *Isidore of Seville at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633. Regular church councils issued *canons not only on ecclesiastical matters, but also in answer to important political questions raised in a prefatory address by the king. One result of this was a series of spiritual sanctions against treason; another was the anointing of the kings, from as early as the succession of Liuva II in 601.

Later history

In the 7th century, the history of the Visigoths, as distinct from their kingdom, is difficult to narrate, partly owing to the dearth of descriptive narrative sources beyond the scanty chronicles of Isidore, but certain features set Visigothic kings apart as rulers. One is a minimum of external conflict against a maximum of internal unrest. *Suinthila completed the Visigothic conquest of the Peninsula by expelling the Byzantines from Carthaginiensis in 624. Thereafter the kingdom was largely secure but for raids by or against the *Basques in the north and the odd skirmish with the Franks in Gaul.

Yet the Visigothic kingship was defined by constant aristocratic uprisings, most notably under *Chindasuinth in the 640s, which he pre-empted by a mass execution of the nobility, and the rebellion of *Paul in the 670s, whose defeat and trial by *Wamba is recounted by *Julian of Toledo. Wamba himself was forced to retire from the kingship in suspicious circumstances, probably an ecclesiastical coup, in 680.

Literature and laws

Another distinctive element is Visigothic participation in and promotion of high literary culture, a feature of the kingdom at Toulouse as well. King *Sisebut was a cultivated literary personality in his own right, writing *saints' lives and *letters and patronizing Isidore in the 610s, although he earned reproof from the bishop for forcing *baptism on the kingdom's *Jews in 615. The literary bishops closely associated with the throne began with Leander and Isidore in the late 6th and early 7th centuries, and were followed by *Braulio of Zaragoza and *Julian, *Ildefonsus, and Eugenius II, bishops of Toledo, as well as the great monastic founder *Fructuosus of Braga.

A further aspect of the distinctively literate Visigothic understanding of rule is unparalleled royal legislative activity. Leovigild had issued a *Codex Revisus* which does not survive, but much of it was incorporated into the **Book of Judges* (*Leges Visigothorum* or *Liber Iudiciorum*), a sweepingly ambitious territorial law code in twelve books, promulgated by *Reccesuinth in 654 and revised and reissued by *Ervig in 681. Most Visigothic kings legislated, but the later legislation becomes increasingly preoccupied with measures against the Jews, and *Egica ruled that they should all be enslaved in 694.

Collapse of power

The downfall of the Visigoths was a combination of the constant internal tension with invasion from without. After the death of *Wittiza in 710, his partisans vexed his successor *Roderic, who apparently came to power in a coup, and in this context an *Arab expeditionary party under *Tariq b. Ziyad invaded in 711, defeating the Visigoths at the Battle of Guadelete that year. The *Arab conquest was essentially complete with the death of Achila II in 713/14, but the last king, Ardo, was not defeated until 720/1, when the Arabs took Narbonne. The Visigoths lived on, however, for the Asturian kingdom, founded in revolt against Arab rule in 718/22, defined itself as their dynastic continuation and preserved their law, while Visigothic ancestry remained prominent in al-Andalus, emblematically in the name of the 10th-century historian Ibn al-Qutiyya, 'son of the Gothic woman'. GDB

New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 15 (2010) *s.n.* 'Visigoths' cols. 465–7 (A. Schwarcz).
E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (1969).
P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (1972).
P. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).
P. Heather, ed., *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century* (1999).
R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (2004).
J. N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in History and Legend* (2009).
A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418–711: A Bibliography* (1998, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2014).

Vision of Dorotheus (*c.*5th cent.) A *Greek hexameter poem (343 extant lines), preserved in a *papyrus codex from Upper *Egypt where possibly it was composed. The first-person narrator, Dorotheus son of Quintus, relates that at *midday in an earthly *palace—imperial or provincial—he falls asleep and *dreams he is in the heavenly palace (*megaron*) staffed with the *biarchoi* (cavalry commanders), *domestikoi* (soldiers attached to a court), *praipositoi* (officers), and *primikêres* (bureau chiefs) familiar from human

hierarchies; he also sees (apocalyptic?) elders, and repeatedly encounters Christ face to face. Three times he is told by the Archangel Gabriel to guard the gate as an *ostiarios*, but each time he fails. He is rebuked by Christ, who orders him to be punished with beatings; then he is restored and dressed in court *dress, and undergoes *baptism, choosing the saint's name Andreas expressing his new-found courage (*andreia*). In an epilogue he asks to become a messenger (*angelos*), voicing his intention to compose this *praise poem. The text is dated from both internal evidence and the physical form of the codex to the late 4th to early 5th century, and, apart from its religious significance, provides useful information about court ranks and dress. LSBM

ed. A. Hurst et al. (annotated with FT and introd.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: La 'Vision de Dorotheos'* (1984).

T. Gelzer, 'Zur Frage des Verfassers der "Visio Dorothei"', in A. Hurst and J. Rudhardt, eds., *Le 'Codex des Visions'* (2002), 139–54.

A. Kessels and P. van der Horst, 'The *Vision of Dorotheos* (Pap. Bodmer 29)', *VigChrist* 41 (1987), 313–57.

L. MacCoull, 'A Note on the Subscription of the *Visio Dorothei*', *ZPE* 83 (1990), 292.

J. Bremmer, 'An Imperial Palace Guard in Heaven: The Date of the Vision of Dorotheus', *ZPE* 75 (1988), 82–8.

Vitalian *Magister Militum per *Thracias in 514–15, despite having revolted against *Anastasius I in 513, playing on discontent among his troops and his *Chalcedonian predilections. He was definitively defeated in 515 following his third attack on *Constantinople. *Justin I made Vitalian *Magister Militum Praesentalis (518–20) and *consul (520), but in 520 he was murdered in the *palace. FKH

PLRE II, Vitalianus 2.

Haarer, *Anastasius*.

Meier, *Anastasios*.

Vitalian *Bishop of *Rome (657–72) Born in Signia, *Campania. Unlike his predecessor, *Martin I, Vitalian took care to announce his election to *Constantinople. He welcomed the *Emperor *Constans II to Rome in July 663. He celebrated Mass in the four principal churches of Rome for the emperor, who bathed and dined at the papal palace, but removed all the *city's portable *bronze, even the *bronze roof tiles of the *Pantheon (S. Mary ad Martyres), and sent them to Constantinople (**Liber Pontificalis*, 78; *Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, V, 11). Vitalian wrote to *Oswy, King of Northumbria (*Bede, *HE* III, 29), and sent *Theodore of *Tarsus and *Hadrian to England to continue *Gregory I's mission to the *Anglo-Saxons (*HE* IV, 1). BN

PBE, Bitalianos 3.

Letters (*CPG* 1735): PL 87, 999–1008.

EncPap III *s.v.* Vitaliano, 606–9 (Longo).

M. Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space, and Authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great', in K. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds., *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, (2007), 21–58 (56).

Vitalis and Agricola of Bologna, Ss. Two Christians revered as *martyrs of the Great *Persecution. *Ambrose of *Milan in his *Exhortatio Virginitatis* (1–2) provides details of their lives, their discovery, buried in a Jewish *cemetery in Bologna, and the translation of their *relics to the *Basilica of S. *Lawrence in *Florence *c.*394 (*BHL* 8689). Churches were dedicated in the name of S. Vitalis at *Rome and *Ravenna, a relic of S. Agricola was honoured by *Victricius at *Rouen, and relics of both saints were taken ceremoniously to *Clermont in the 5th century. RJM

Delehaye, *Origines*, 94–5, 373–4.

Vitigis (d. *c.*542) *Ostrogothic general and King of *Italy (536–40). A proven veteran, he served as King *Athalaric's sword-bearer (*Spatharius) and probably continued in this office under *Theodahad. When the Byzantine general *Belisarius invaded Italy, he was in command of a Gothic army in southern Latium. Due to *Theodahad's inactivity, the army revolted in late 536 and proclaimed him king. He moved quickly, ordering the assassination of Theodahad and marrying Matasuintha, the granddaughter of *Theoderic, at *Ravenna. He then prepared for war, unable to achieve peace with the *emperor. His forces were augmented by recalling the Gothic army from *Gaul, which was abandoned to the *Franks. However, he soon lost *Rome to Belisarius and failed to recapture the *city, despite a year-long siege. The arrival of Byzantine reinforcements and the losses of *Ariminum (Rimini) and *Milan in 538 put him on the defensive. By early 539, he had relocated to Ravenna and was seeking allies among the *Lombards and *Persians; by the end of the year, he was under siege. Rejecting an alliance with the Franks, who had recently invaded Italy, he began negotiating with the Emperor *Justinian I. Initial *diplomacy was frustrated, but in 540 his offer to abdicate in favour of Belisarius was accepted by the general, who entered Ravenna unopposed. Following this, Vitigis was sent to *Constantinople, where he was made a **patricius* and died soon thereafter. JJA

PLRE IIIB, Vitigis.

P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (1997).

P. Heather, *The Goths* (1996).

Stein, *Histoire*, vol. 2 (1949).

A. Schwarcz, 'Überlegungen zur Chronologie der ostgotischen Königserhebungen nach der Kapitulation des

Witigis bis zum Herrschaftsantritt Totilas', in K. Brunner and B. Merta, eds., *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung* (1994), 117–22.
Wolfram, *Goths*.

Vitruvius in Late Antiquity Vitruvius was a military *engineer and architectural author of the 1st century BC. Cultural and architectural changes in the imperial period and Late Antiquity rendered his ideals concerning architectural orders and monumental buildings redundant. His text remained pertinent for engineering, infrastructure, and machine building, but it is difficult to assess its actual influence: *Faventinus, *Servius, *Sidonius Apollinaris, *Palladius the agricultural writer, and possibly *Isidore of *Seville used it as a source. It was available to Carolingian scholars like Einhard, Alcuin of *York, and Hrabanus Maurus, and had limited influence on the development of Carolingian and Ottonian architecture. The earliest known manuscripts are Carolingian. In the East, Vitruvius was virtually unknown. ER

C. H. Krinsky, 'Seventy-Eight Vitruvius Manuscripts', *Jnl Warburg & Courtauld Inst* 30 (1967), 36–70.
H.-W. Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory: From Vitruvius to the Present*, tr. R. Taylor, E. Callander, and A. Wood (1994; German original 1985), 30ff.
H. Plommer, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals* (1973).

Vivarium (Lat. fish pond) *Monastery founded in the mid-6th century or earlier by *Cassiodorus at Santa Maria de Vetere, south of modern Squillace in south *Italy. A 6th-century *sarcophagus may be that of Cassiodorus. The programme of study at Vivarium, influenced by the model of education found at the Schools of *Nisibis, joined religious and intellectual formation through the study and copying of texts, both sacred and secular. Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* introduces its content. The dispersion throughout much of Europe of books collected and copied at Vivarium forms the monastery's legacy. RHW

F. Bougard and G. Noyé, 'Squillace (Prov. de Catanzaro)', *MÉFRMoyen-AgeTM* 98/2 (1986), 1195–212.
O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, ch. 6.
P. Courcelle, 'Nouvelles Recherches sur le monastère de Cassiodore', in *Actes du Ve congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (1957), 511–28.

Völkerwanderungen *See* BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS.

Volusianus Roman *senator C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus was *consul in 311 (under *Maxentius) and 314 (under *Constantine I). He had been *Corrector Italiae for eight years in the 280s, and later *Proconsul Africae. As Maxentius' *Praefectus Praetorio he suppressed the *usurper *Domitius Alexander in *Africa, probably in 309 (Aurelius *Victor, 40, 18; *Zosimus, II, 14, 2), and was rewarded with appointment as *Praefectus Urbi (310–11) and consul (311). Like others favoured by Maxentius (e.g. C. Annius *Anullinus, Aradius Rufinus), he was reappointed under Constantine, both as Praefectus Urbi in 313 and consul in 314; he was also Constantine's **comes*. His departure from office during Constantine's Roman visit of 315 may have been precipitous: he is almost certainly the two-time consul whose *exile is described by *Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis*, II, 29, 10–13). He is not known to have been recalled to office; but his descendants were prominent Roman aristocrats for generations. GAJK

PLRE I, Volusianus 4.
NEDC 14, 100, 127, 143, 169.
Bagnall et al., *CLRE* 156, 162–3.
T. D. Barnes, 'Senators under Constantine', *JRS* 65 (1975), 40–9.

Volusianus, Rufius Antoninus Agrypinus *Praefectus Urbi (417) and *Praefectus Praetorio (428–9), he was the son of the prefect Albinus and a Christian mother. A cultured man, he was a friend of *Rutilius Namatianus and, although a *pagan, corresponded with *Augustine about Christianity. He died in 437 at *Constantinople where he was negotiating the *marriage of *Valentinian III and *Eudoxia. During his last illness, he was baptized, persuaded by his niece S. *Melania the Younger (Greek *VMel* 50–5). DN

PLRE II, Volusianus 6.
PCBE II/2, Volusianus 1.
A. Chastagnol, 'Le Sénateur Volusien et la conversion d'une famille romaine au Bas-Empire', *REAnc* 58 (1956), 251–62.

Volusianus *signo* Lampadius C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius, a Roman noble and administrator, is called Volusianus in *inscriptions, and Lampadius in literary texts. As *Praefectus Praetorio in *Gaul in 355, he schemed against *Silvanus and was sacked, but was subsequently cleared of wrongdoing (*Ammianus, XV, 5, 4–14). His tenure as *Praefectus Urbi at Rome in 365 (–366?) was noted for rioting and, according to Ammianus (XXVII, 3, 5–10), for monumental self-regard: his enthusiastic self-commemoration is confirmed by nine dedicatory inscriptions surviving from perhaps a year in office (*PLRE* wrongly limits his tenure of office to about six months). A keen *pagan, he once deliberately insulted the plebs in the *circus by bestowing fortunes on 'paupers summoned from the Vatican', perhaps Christians. GAJK

PLRE I, Volusianus 5.
R. Lizzi Testa, *Senatori, popolo, papi* (2004), 61–85.

Vopiscus, Flavius Alleged author of the lives of *emperors from *Aurelian to *Carus, *Carinus, and *Numerian which close the **Historia Augusta*. OPN

Vorbasse Area in central Jutland, Denmark, with settlements and small cemeteries dating from the Iron Age to the Viking Age (*c.*200 BC to the end of the 11th century AD).

Excavations in the 1970s and 1980s provided fresh insights into early social organization, as for the first time archaeologists could observe the use of space in the building of *houses, farmsteads, and *villages in various phases from pre-Iron Age until the end of the Viking Age. For example, about eight farmsteads dating from the 4th/5th centuries, and ten dating from the 6th/7th were arranged in rows with open areas between fenced compounds. Some *longhouses had internal partitions, and quite a few had stalls with partitions for animals. Smaller buildings were normally erected on each compound. During the Viking Age a very large farm was built, along with a 24-m (nearly 80-ft) long 'Trelleborg house', byres, and houses with intermediate functions, all in a fenced area containing twenty buildings.

Thus evidence spanning some 1,200 years shows the development of *farming, stock breeding, *iron production, and local production of *tools for daily life, while imported finds indicate long-distance contact with people to the north and south. KJe

S. Hvass, 'Vorbasse: The Viking-Age Settlement at Vorbasse, Central Jutland', *ActArch* 50 (1980), 137–72.

S. Hvass, 'The Development of a Settlement through the First Millennium AD', *Journal of Danish Archaeology* (1983), 127–36.

***vota*, imperial** *See* ANNIVERSARIES, IMPERIAL.

votive offerings, barbarian, non-Christian People in Central and Northern Europe customarily made ritual dedication of valued objects in expectation of or in thanks for divine favour. Ancient writers (Julius Caesar, *Orosius) say that barbarians would make offerings to the gods, for example after a military victory. It is, however, far from easy to decide whether stray finds are necessarily these offerings to the gods. Archaeologists now tend to favour such terms as 'intentional deposits' or 'traces of ritual actions'.

Deposits of *pottery and other objects within postholes or by hearths may have had some ritual purpose, as may the burial of portions of animals on settlement sites. The best-known intentional deposits are from bogs in Sweden (*Skedemose on Öland; Hassle Bösarp in Skåne), Denmark (Vimose and Kragehul on Fyn; *Illerup, Ejsbøl, and *Nydam on Jutland), and northern Germany (Thorsberg). Large quantities of *arms and armour (often Roman in origin) have been found, as well as items made of precious metals. Most of the finds date from the last centuries of the Western Roman Empire. At Thorsberg, the early deposits were mostly items such as pottery, with *weapon deposits coming to predominate later. There was a similar pattern at Skedemose, although there the deposition of animals continued throughout the period, with weapon deposits appearing only in the *Barbarian Migration Period. EJ

T. Linders and G. Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas, 1987).

I. Beilke-Voigt, *Das 'Opfer' im archäologischen Befund. Studien zu den sog. Bauopfern, kultischen Niederlegungen und Bestattungen in ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Siedlungen Norddeutschlands und Dänemarks* (2007).

J. Lund, 'At the Water's Edge', in M. Carver et al., eds., *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited* (2010).

votive offerings, Christian Objects dedicated to God or the saints as a result of a personal vow (Gk. *euche*; Lat. *votum*). Virtually nothing is known of such dedications by Christians before the time of *Constantine I. Although images of Christ, for example, were used in *prayer by *Gnostics in the 2nd century (Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, I, 23, 4; I, 25, 6), it is unclear whether these were votives. Once churches were permitted to receive bequests in *wills and acquire permanent buildings of their own, the two preconditions were established for votive offerings to become an ecclesiastical institution. In general, the higher the social or ecclesiastical status of the donor, the more likely the votive offering is to carry an *inscription (e.g. *ILCV* 1863; *ICVR* VI 15764 = *ILCV* 1765), though the actual motive for the dedication is very rarely stated.

A wide range of portable objects survives: medallions with scenes from Christ's or a *saint's life in various media, *crosses in various media, *ivory plaques, *pyxeis* (boxes) in ivory, precious metal, or wood, *reliquaries, *jewellery, book covers, double and triple *icon covers, metal trays, *polycandela, *lamps in all qualities, *incense burners in *bronze, other liturgical objects, and *pilgrimage flasks in various media. The *Kaper Koraon treasure from 6th/7th-century *Syria is a large collection of offerings from a *village church. Floor and wall *mosaics, and immovable church furnishings such as *thrones, memorial columns, wells, or fountains are typical votive gifts for the embellishment of churches. There is no convenient synthetic study of Christian votive offerings. RLG

J. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (1997).

C. F. Mawer, *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain: The Small Finds* (BAR BritSer 243, 1995).

G. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (rev. edn., 2010).

Age of Spirituality.
Westenholz, *Images of Inspiration.*

votive offerings, Roman, non-Christian Personal gifts offered to divinities on the principle of '*do ut des*', the expectation that a gift would be reciprocated, usually as good fortune or health. They were often associated originally with *sacrifice. *Lamps were common, though many types of object were offered. Interpretation of votive deposits as pagan requires caution, because motivation for object deposit is often unclear, and *iconography does not indicate a votary's religious affiliation. Identifiably pagan practices declined sharply in the 4th and 5th centuries, though they continued at some sites across Europe, especially at water sources, and sometimes at demolished *temples, or alongside Christian and Jewish practice (as at the Fountain of the Lamps, *Corinth). That votive practices continued in pagan homes is indicated by 4th–5th-century deposits in the 'House of Proclus', *Athens. Votive items might be destroyed along with pagan *temples, or, since some were valuable, were sometimes stolen. Pagan votive practices ceased in the 6th century. HAHC

Lavan and Mulryan, *Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'.*
A. Karivieri, 'Magic and Syncretic Religious Culture in the East', in D. Gwynn and S. Bangert, eds., *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity* (2010), 401–31.

Vouillé, Battle of (dép. Vienne, France) Fought in 507 between the *Frankish King *Clovis I, and the *Visigothic King *Alaric II, whose defeat and death enabled the Franks to extend their power into *Aquitaine at Visigothic expense. *Gregory of *Tours (*HF* II, 37) located the battle at *Campus Vogladensis*, 16 km (10 miles) from *Poitiers, generally identified with Vouillé, north-west of Poitiers. Another possible site is Voulon, south-west of Poitiers, on the Clain River (cf. **Liber Historiae Francorum*, 17). Gregory of Tours subsequently represented the battle as the victory of a champion of Catholic Christianity over a *Homoean ('*Arian') Christian king. RVD

R.W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer, eds., *The Battle of Vouillé, 507 CE: Where France Began* (2012).

Vrt'anes K'ert'ol (*c.*550–620) Poet and author who temporarily held the office of *Catholicus of the Armenian Church 604–7, after the death of Movses II, and figured prominently in the schism between the Armenian and Georgian churches that culminated in 608/9. He is also noteworthy for his defence of the use of images in Christian worship. VN; TLA

Thomson, *BCAL* pp. 213–14.

Vulgate *See* BIBLE, VERSIONS OF, LATIN.

W

Wadi an-Natrun *See* SCETIS.

Wadi Sarga Site *c.*24 km (*c.*15 miles) south of *Lycopolis (mod. Assiut, Egypt) on the west bank of the *Nile, containing a *monastery named after one Apa Thomas (active sometime before AD 600), partially excavated by R. Campbell Thompson in 1913/14. The monastery, inhabited in the 7th and 8th centuries, consisted of a number of larger structures, many smaller buildings (perhaps monastic cells), and churches in the Pharaonic *quarries and caves. The title of archimandrite given to the leader of the monastery in texts from the site implies the settlement was a **coenobium*. MCh

CoptEnc vol. 7 *s.n.* Wadi Sarjah col. 2312a (R.-G. Coquin and M. Martin).

W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, eds., *Wadi Sarga: Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations Undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account* (1922).

wage-labour In Hellenistic and Roman legal thought, the act of selling or hiring out one's labour in return for a wage (known in Roman *law as *locatio conductio operis*) was regarded as personally demeaning. Indeed, it was regarded by some Roman jurists as sufficient to lead to a loss of status as legally defined, rendering one *iuris alieni* or subject to the legal authority of another. Nevertheless, it is clear that in Late Antiquity wage-labour was an increasingly pronounced feature of social and economic relations in both urban and rural contexts, its development catalysed by the broader monetization of the Late Roman economy. The payment of wages (**misthoi*) to agricultural workers in both cash and coin is amply attested in the documentary *papyri from Late Antique *Egypt, as too is their payment in the form of credit notes or cheques (*pittakia*). The papyri also record the payment of wages to *bath attendants, *camel drivers, and field guards as well as to skilled workers, managers, and government officials. Imperial legislation concerning agricultural workers on large *estates likewise tended to define them in terms of their commodified labour, whilst *Justinian I sought to constrain levels of payment not only to agricultural workers, but also to builders and artisans. Wage-labour is likely to have declined in prominence in the post-Roman West due to broader processes of *demonetization. PS

J. Banaji. *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation* (2010).

Sarris, *Economy and Society*.

Wahram (MP Wahrām, var. Warahrān; NP Bahrām; Avest. Verethragna) Popular *Zoroastrian martial deity and the namesake of several kings (*see* BAHRAM). In the *Avesta he is the companion of *Mihr and appeared in ten virile forms: the impetuous wind, bull, white horse, rutting *camel, aggressive male boar, young man of 15, falcon, ram, buck, and adult man. In the Hellenistic and Parthian periods, he was identified with the classical Heracles/Hercules and Ares/Mars (both deity and planet), an astrological association that persisted into Late Antiquity.

In the *Sasanian period, *fires of the highest grade were called 'Wahrām Fires', and considered to be victorious fighters of darkness. Persian *art of the Sasanian period preserves no definite representations of the god, although he has been identified in a small figure holding a club in *Ardashir I's *relief at *Naqsh-e Rajab and a chain-mail-wearing warrior on two of a group of sculpted column capitals from the reign of *Khosrow II. In addition, various figural *crown attributes and *silk patterns have been interpreted as symbols of the god, though this is not conclusive. POS; MPC

EncIran III/5 *s.v.* bahrām, i. In Old and Middle Iranian texts, 510–14 (Gnoli).

M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (1979), 64–5.

S. M. Forrest with P. O. Skjærvø, *Witches, Whores, and Sorcerers: The Concept of Evil in Early Iran* (2011), 128–35.

M. Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images* (2014), 159–63.

al-Walid I b. 'Abd al-Malik (*c.*674–715) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 705–15). With the Second *Arab Civil War

(*_Fitna_) of his father *'Abd al-Malik's time concluded, al-Walid's reign saw the Umayyad empire expand considerably, although his own role in planning and implementing this may not have been as large or proactive as later historical tradition implies. In the west, the bickering patron-client duo *Tariq b. Ziyad and *Musa b. Nusayr conquered most of *Spain between 711 and 715; in the east, *Qutayba b. Muslim campaigned in *Central Asia, while Muhammad b. al-Qasim—nephew of al-*Hajjaj, governor of Iraq—led the charge in *Sind (mod. Pakistan). Al-Walid's brother *Maslama, meanwhile, was responsible for regular raiding across the Arab–Byzantine *frontier. At home, al-Walid built the Great *Mosque of *Damascus, decorating it with the aid of Byzantine mosaicists. He also modified the Prophet's Mosque in *Medina, and probably completed his father's work on al-Aqsa in *Jerusalem. Al-Walid's attempt to circumvent his father's succession plans, replacing his brother *Sulaymān with his own son 'Abd al-'Aziz, was apparently supported by al-Hajjaj and Qutayba, but came to nothing. After al-Walid's death, his surviving allies were killed either by Sulayman's order (Muhammad b. al-Qasim, and in some accounts Musa, too), or their own intransigence (Qutayba). NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* al-Walīd, 127–8 (Kennedy).
al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashrāf*.
*Tabari, XXII, XXIII.
al-*Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh* (1960).
Fathnama-i Sind, ed. N. A. Baloch (1983); tr. M. Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sind* (²1979).
F. B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (2001).
H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (1923).
G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).
H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (1986).
A. Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World* (2002).

al-Walid II b. Yazid (*c.*706–44) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 743–4). Condemned in later historical tradition—perhaps unfairly, and certainly exaggeratedly—as dissolute and impious, al-Walid II was also a notable *poet, and built the 'desert *palace' of *Qusayr 'Amra. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* al-Walīd, 128–9 (Jacobi).
*Tabari, XXVI.
F. Gabrieli, 'Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd: il califfo e il poeta', *RSO* 15 (1934), 1–64.
G. Fowden, *Quṣayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (2004).
R. W. Hamilton, *Walid and his Friends* (1988).
S. Judd, 'Reinterpreting al-Walīd b. Yazīd', *JAOS* 128 (2008), 439–58.

Wallia *Visigothic king (r. 415–18), elected successor of Segeric (*Olympiodorus, 26,1) probably at *Barcelona, as the Visigoths occupied north-east *Spain; also grandfather of *Ricimer (*Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, II, 363). In 416 he planned to escape pursuit by *Constantius III by crossing over to *Africa but was deterred by a storm, and concluded a treaty with the Romans whereby he gave *hostages, returned Galla *Placidia (*Athaulf's *widow) to the Romans, and agreed to campaign against the other barbarians in *Spain (*Orosius, VII, 43, 10–15; *Prosper, *Chron.* 415–16; Olympiodorus, 30 Blockley = 1, 31 Muller FHG); *Marcellinus Comes, AD 414). A Roman federate from 416 to 418, he fought the *Alans and *Vandals in *Gallaecia, *Lusitania, and *Baetica, eliminating the Siling Vandals and Alans (*Hydatius, AD 416–17; Sidonius, *Carmen*, II, 362–6; *Jordanes, *Getica*, 32, 166; *Gallic *Chronicle of 511*, AD 562 and 564). He arranged with the Romans in 418 to settle the Visigoths in south-west *Gaul (Prosper, *Chron.* 419), but died the same year (Jordanes, *Getica*, 34, 173; Olympiodorus, 34 Blockley = 1, 35 Müller FHG); the settlement was completed by his successor *Theoderic I. GDB

PLRE II, Vallia.
New Pauly: Antiquity, vol. 15 (2010) *s.n.* Vallia, col. 197 (W. Lütkenhaus).

walls, defensive, Byzantine From the late 4th century onwards throughout the *Balkan provinces there emerged a new form of internal defences. Barrier walls were mostly located in narrow strategic locations across passes, isthmuses, or peninsulas. JCr

J. Crow, 'Fortification and the Late Roman East: From Urban Walls to Long Walls', in Sarantis and Christie, *War and Warfare*, 397–432.

walls, defensive, Byzantine, Anastasian (Long) Walls The Long Walls of Thrace or the Wall of Anastasius were the most celebrated building achievement of the *Emperor *Anastasius I and were the last and most monumental Roman barrier wall in Europe. The wall stretches 58 km (36 miles) from the coast of the Black Sea in the north to the Sea of *Marmara, near *Selymbria in the south, and guarded the western approach to *Constantinople, located 74 km (46 miles) to the east. It was constructed *c.*505 as an outer defence for the *city, probably in response to the increasing threat of new steppe invaders, the *Bulgars. *Justinian I undertook a major restoration after 540. The wall is especially well preserved in the northern sector, where the surviving line of the wall, small forts, *towers, and ditch demonstrate how the wall provided a formidable barrier throughout the 6th century. The small forts or *bedestens* were located every 3.5 km (2 miles), but with only limited crossing places and a high barrier probably 10 m (33 ft) high the Long Wall created a serious impediment to movement for both friends and invaders.

*John Malalas refers to it as the Wall of Constantinople (XVIII, 129), distinguishing it from the earlier *city walls of *Constantine I and *Theodosius II. The last evidence for restoration was in the early 7th century, after which time it was abandoned and fell into decay. JCr

A team from Edinburgh started making a comprehensive record of the Anastasian Wall in 1994: http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/projects/longwalls/

B. Croke, 'The Date of the Anastasian Long Wall', *GRBS* 20 (1962), 59–78.

J. Crow and A. Ricci, 'Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on the Anastasian Wall Project', *JRA* 10 (1997), 235–62.

walls, defensive, Byzantine, Chersonese (Tauric) Wall *Procopius (*Aed.* III, 7, 17) reports that *Justinian I constructed a long wall in the *Crimea to provide security for the Roman Empire's *Gothic allies. The location is not certain. It was either at Perekop to the north-west or across the *Kerch peninsula to the east, where an earlier wall of Asander (Strabo VII, 4, 6) is known. JCr

walls, defensive, Byzantine, Chersonese (Thracian) Wall These defences constructed in the 5th century run *c.*8.5 km (*c.*5 miles) across the *Chersonese (mod. Gallipoli or Gelibolu Peninsula); it is recorded that 50 towers were demolished by an *earthquake in 478. The wall was overrun by the *Kutrigurs in 540 (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 4, 11), and later reinforced by *Justinian I (Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 10, 1–17). Traces survive west of Kavak Köy. JCr

walls, defensive, Byzantine, Isthmian Wall Defensive wall, 7.6 km (4.7 miles) long, built across the Corinthian isthmus ensuring the security of the cities of the Peloponnese (*Procopius, *Aed.* IV, 2, 27–8). There was an irregular system of 153 projecting towers and a fortress of 2.7 ha (6.67 acres) towards the eastern end, close to the Isthmian Sanctuary and former *Temple of Poseidon. Gates are known only at the fortress and towards the east end. Construction began in the first decades of the 5th century and the North Gate was restored after 548 by Victorinus. The fortress continued in occupation into the second half of the 7th century. JCr

T. E. Gregory, *Isthmia*, vol. 5: *The Hexamilion and the Fortress* (1993).

walls, defensive, Byzantine, Thermopylae wall Thermopylae has been one of the key strategic pinch points throughout Greek history. A restored line of defences was constructed by the early 5th century, repelling *Atilla's *Huns in 447 and the *Bulgars in 517 (*Marcellinus Comes, *ad ann.* 517). The defences were overrun in the great invasion of 540 (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 4, 10). Procopius reports differently on *Justinian I's restoration of the defences in the *Secret History* (*Anecd.* 26, 31–4) and the *Buildings* (*Aed.* IV, 2, 3–15). Originally guarded by local farmers, the garrison was replaced by 2,000 soldiers funded by the Greek *cities, who were later transferred to the Italian wars (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 26, 1–2). The defences resisted the great raid of 559. JCr

T. E. Gregory, 'Procopius on Greece', *AntTard* 8 (2000), 105–14.

walls, defensive, Persian *Sasanian fortification walls were made of packed earth (*Firuzabad), mud-brick (*Ctesiphon, *Istakhr), stone rubble (Qaleh-ye Dokhtar), and cut stone (*Takht-e Solayman), often characterized by semicircular bastions. In addition to city walls, the Sasanians built massive walls to protect their frontiers in the *Caucasus and *Central Asia. At *Derbent, in Daghestan, portions of a 46-km (28.5-mile) long wall stand to a height of 15 m (50 feet). According to al-*Masudi, it was built by *Khosrow I to prevent invasion by *Alans, *Türks, Serirs, *Khazars, and other northern enemies.

An even more impressive structure is the 195-km (121-mile) long *Gorgan wall (mud-brick), along which some 29 fortresses have been documented, and which generally follows the Gorgan River, parallel to the modern Turkmenistan border. The shorter, Tammishe wall (mud-brick) ran north–south from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea. Both were built in the 5th or early 6th century when repeated fighting between the Sasanians and the *Hephthalites occurred. DTP

EncIran II/3 *s.v.* Architecture iii. Sasanian Period, 329–34 (D. Huff).

EncIran VII/1 *s.v.* Darband (1), 13–19 (E. Kettenhofen).

J. Nokandeh et al., 'Linear Barriers of Northern Iran: The Great Wall of Gorgan and the Wall of Tammishe', *Iran* 45 (2006), 121–73.

R. Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman und Umgebung* (Führer zu archäologischen Plätzen in Iran 2, 1977).

H. O. Rekavandi et al., 'An Imperial Frontier of the Sasanian Empire: Further Fieldwork at the Great Wall of Gorgan', *Iran* 45 (2007), 95–136.

E. Sauer et al., *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity: The Great Wall of Gorgan and Frontier Landscapes of Sasanian Iran* (2013).

E. Sauer et al., 'Die sasanidischen Mauern', in A. Nunn, ed., *Mauern als Grenzen* (2009), 126–43.

Wamba *Visigothic King (672–80) in immediate succession to *Reccesuinth. After his election by Reccesuinth's deathbed he was anointed king in *Toledo, perhaps the first royal unction in *Spain (or anywhere in the

West). He almost immediately had to face a serious aristocratic revolt, led by the *usurper *Paul, in Gallia *Narbonensis and eastern *Tarraconensis (mod. Catalonia). The anointing and subsequent revolt are related in the *History of Wamba* by *Julian, *Bishop of *Toledo. Wamba seems to have involved himself in ecclesiastical affairs, arousing some opposition among *bishops. In 680 he was fraudulently deposed by a magnate, *Ervig, and lived the rest of his life as a penitent, although Asturian *chronicles state he still had an influence on royal politics until he died in Pampliega in 688. CMG

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004), 92–102.

P. C. Díaz, C. Martínez Maza, and F. J. Sanz Huesma, *Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda: historia de España*, V (2007), 584–93.

wandering monks *Ascetics who observed a monastic model of constant itinerancy, particularly in the Eastern Empire from the 3rd century. Unlike settled monastic groups, wandering monks relied on *begging to support themselves. This feature of their way of life provoked criticism from a number of authors (e.g. *Augustine, *De Opere Monachorum*, 28, 36; *RegMag* 1, 32–49, 163–73; *RegBen*, 1, 10–12). Various negative terms were adopted to describe them: *gyrovagi* (*RegMag*, *RegBen*), *sarabaites* (*John Cassian, *Collatio*, 18, 7), *remnuoth* (*Jerome, *ep.* 22, 34). Their way of life brought them into conflict with the Church, and resulted in certain canons of the *Council of *Chalcedon (451), which sought to confine monks to communities under the control of *bishops (P. P. Joannou, *Discipline générale, antique* (1962), t. 1/1, 72–4). SEI

D. Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (2002).

Wandregisel (S. Wandrille) (d. 668) Born into an aristocratic *Austrasian family, Wandregisel was educated at *Dagobert I's *court with *Audoenus and *Desiderius of Cahors. He went on a lengthy peregrination, including periods at the *monasteries of *Bobbio and Romainmôtier, before being ordained *priest at *Rouen by its *Bishop Audoenus, who encouraged him to found a monastery on fiscal land at Fontanelle in 649. His first *Vita* was written soon after his death in 668, and the monastery became known as *S. Wandrille. RLJ; STL

LexMA 8 'Wandregisilus', 2029 (J.-C. Poulin).

Vita Wandregiseli Abbatis Fontanellensis (*BHL* 8804–5), ed. B. Krusch in MGH SS rer. Meroving. 5 (1910), 1–34.

Wansdyke Name applied to two distinct stretches of linear earthwork connected by a Roman *road along a west–east axis from west of *Bath to Savernake Forest, near Marlborough, Wiltshire, England. In both cases a substantial ditch faces northwards. The name is recorded in 10th-century *charters and means Woden's Ditch. A sub-Roman date has been argued, but the orientation and scale of the monuments suggest a later date and a West Saxon frontier against the Mercians. ARe

A. Reynolds and A. Langlands, 'Social Identities on the Macro Scale: A Maximum View of Wansdyke', in W. Davies, G. Halsall, and A. Reynolds, eds., *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300* (2006), 13–44.

al-Waqidi (747/8–802) Controversial historian. Al-Waqidi worked as a *qadi* (judge) under the *'Abbasid *caliphs Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809) and al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33), after impressing the former as a tour guide in his native *Medina. Al-Waqidi's reputation as a historian is mixed: many, including contemporaries, have questioned his judgement and reliability. He was widely quoted by other writers, but only one of his books survives, in a late 10th-century recension; a legendary compilation attributed to him, *Futuh al-Sham* ('Conquest of Syria'), is probably not his work. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* al-Wakidī, 101–3 (Leder).

Kitab al-Maghazi, ed. J. Marsden Jones (1966); ET R. Faizer, *The Life of Muḥammad: The Kitāb al-Maghāzī of al-Wāqidī* (2010).

ANCIENT SOURCES

Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau (1904–40).

Al-Dhahabī, *Siyār a lām al-nubalā*, ed. S. Amāʾūt and H. Asad (1981–8).

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M. Lecker, 'The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad's Father: Did Wāqidī Invent Some of the Evidence?', *ZDMG* 145 (1995), 9–27.

Waratto *Mayor of the Palace in *Neustria-*Burgundy, 680–6. He succeeded *Ebroin, and pursued conciliatory relations with *Pippin II and the *Austrasians, only to be displaced by his more forceful son Ghislemar. He regained office on the latter's death, but soon died in turn and was followed by *Berchar, his son-in-law. PJF

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CCCVIII.

wardship and tutelage Roman *law placed all fatherless children below puberty under guardianship (*tutela impuberis*). This ended at the age of 12 (girls) or 14 (boys). The guardian (*tutor*) administered the ward's property, not selling land and avoiding risk. In rich families the father would nominate a guardian in his *will. Otherwise the nearest male relative was called to this duty, or a guardian was appointed by a magistrate. Officially, women could not be guardians, although local tradition in *Egypt, *Palestine, and probably elsewhere had allowed mothers this role. Imperial law admitted *widows as guardians over their children in the 4th century, if they pledged not to remarry. By the 6th century, unmarried widows were customarily

recognized as guardians both in the East and West. The *Visigothic and *Burgundian laws endorsed the same usage, while the position among the *Franks and other Germanic peoples is unclear.

From the late 2nd century, magistrates regularly appointed a *curator (*curator minoris*) for all adolescents between puberty and 25 years. From AD 324 a personal majority (*venia aetatis*) could be granted for boys at the age of 20 and girls at 18, if they proved their honourable character. In the law of the Late Empire, the roles of *tutor* and *curator* were gradually assimilated. Curators were also appointed in special circumstances, such as mental illness or profligacy.

Originally, adult Roman women were also placed under guardianship (*tutela mulierum*). As they needed the guardian's consent only for certain legal acts, his functions were in practice limited. An adult wife who had given birth three times qualified for exemption from guardianship (*ius trium liberorum*). The official Roman system replaced or transformed provincial customs in the 3rd century (poorly known, but attested especially in Egypt). Having lost all real meaning, the guardianship of women was abolished in imperial law in the 4th century, leaving room for local variation. Later, Eastern and Western practice tended to accept the husband as virtual guardian of his wife.

In post-Roman societies, married women may have kept some of their legal autonomy, but eventually Roman and Germanic traditions fused: unmarried girls were supervised by their relatives, and wives by their husbands, whereas widows were legally independent. Only in *Lombard *laws were women always subject to male supervision (*mundium*). AAr

Arjava, *Women and Law*.
Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme*.
Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law*.
M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, 2 vols. (²1972–5): vol. 1, 352–72; vol. 2, 222–37.
J.-U. Krause, *Witwen und Waisen im Römischen Reich*, 4 vols. (1994–5), vol. 3.

warfare, Arab and Islamic Tribal infighting was commonplace in pre-Islamic *Arabia, often finding as a root cause blood *feud due to intertribal death or physical harm to a member. Should such harm occur, a vicious cycle began, with the slighted *tribe engaged in a vendetta against those responsible, seeking primarily the death of the perpetrator (*tha'r*) from the other *tribe or their nearest kin, or the payment of blood money as retribution (*diya*). In the north of the *Arabian Peninsula, the Roman and *Persian Empires forged alliances with Arab tribes. In the 6th century AD the *Ghassanids and *Lakhimids fought alongside the Roman and Persian *armies in some engagements and adopted the same technology and tactics as their patrons.

The *armies of the early *Arab conquests were largely organized along tribal lines. The *Arabic sources state that the senior commanders were chosen and sent out by the *caliph. Payment for the soldiers involved in the conquests came primarily from the spoils earned through conflict. Spoils would be divided into fifths and distributed, with a fifth reserved for the Prophet, his family, and the needy (*Qur'ān 8: 41). Once the Islamic state came to be more centralized and the conquerors began settling in the new territories, payment came through *taxation of the conquered non-Muslims. The stipendiary register (**diwan*) is said to have been established by the Caliph *'Umar I (r. 634–44), and provided payment for those who participated in conflict from the lifetime of the Prophet onward, as well as subsequent generations of important early converts.

Most soldiers in the Muslim *armies—as in the armies of their Roman and Persian opponents—fought as infantry. They advanced to battle mounted on *horses or *camels, but engaged the enemy on foot. However, cavalry were also known, and units of Persian heavy *cavalry (Arabic *asawira*) joined the Muslim armies in return for high stipends.

Precisely how a region came to be conquered was of importance in Islamic *law, and the circumstances of conquest of individual *cities and areas are frequently noted in al-*Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. Whether the land capitulated through a peace treaty (*sulḥan*) or by defeat in conflict (*'anwatan*) dictated the levels of tax which could be obtained by the state, as well as the extent of the claims which the conquerors had on the property of the defeated. Territories which made a settlement agreement with the Muslims seem to have found those terms binding well into the *Abbasid era. Arabic sources claim that Muslim armies provided protection for the indigenous populations in the conquered territories in exchange for *taxation. Additional concessions were often required. These included having Muslim troops *billetted on them when necessary, not giving support to other forces, and allowing the use of spaces for Muslim worship, which often involved the appropriation of churches. RJL

Yahya b. Adam, *Kitab al-Kharaj*, tr. A. Ben Shemesh as *Taxation in Islam*, vol. 1 (1958).
C. E. Bosworth, 'Armies of the Prophet: Strategy, Tactics and Weapons in Islamic Warfare', in B. Lewis, ed., *World of Islam* (1976).
P. Crone, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire* (2008).
F. Donner, 'Centralized Authority and Military Autonomy in the Early Islamic Conquests', in F. Donner, ed., *The Expansion of the Early Islamic State* (1995).
F. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981).
H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs* (2001).
Shahid, *BAFIC*.
Shahid, *BASIC*.

warfare, Germanic Warfare was a constant part of life in Germanic societies. It should not be understood, however, as a series of continuing conflicts between state structures, like modern warfare, but rather as based on *feuds between families, armed rivalry between clans and their followers, and warfare which drew in broader tribal elements.

Written sources on the nature of Germanic warfare are scant and ambiguous. The most informative are Tacitus, *Germania*, chapter 6 (*c.* AD 98), and the **Strategicon of* *Maurice Book 11 (*c.*570–630), as well as occasional descriptions of Roman–Germanic encounters, such as *Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the Battle of *Strasbourg (Argentorate) in 357 (XVI, 12).

These sources, combined with archaeological finds, suggest that the level of tactical organization among Germanic societies during Late Antiquity was rather low. The preferred method of attack was to attempt to destroy the enemy's formation by deploying *archers, infantry with little or no body protection, and mounted warriors in fast-advancing surprise attacks. Late Roman writers considered these tactics wild and disorganized. No reliable data can be found on the preferred battle order, though wedge-like formations such as the boar's snout (*caput porci*: *Vegetius, III, 19; Ammianus, XVII, 13, 9; *Agathias, II, 8, 8) and lined arrays (*phalanx*: e.g. *Orosius, VI, 7, 8, drawing on Caesar, *Gallic War*, I, 52) are both described in the sources. Battles themselves were thought to be decisive, their outcomes binding: the battlefield was perceived as physically circumscribed, and the victorious army was entitled to claim men, *horses, and equipment from it.

Descriptions of raids, both terrestrial and maritime, show that Germanic armies were capable of covering large distances in a short time. Evidence for sieges of larger settlements is sparse, and mostly concern attacks on Roman territory. However, defensive works known from 1st- to 6th-century northern Europe include long walls and ring fortresses. Barbarian *armies of up to 2,000 men headed by a single leader are conceivable for Central Europe in the 3rd and 4th centuries, and in special circumstances short-lived alliances could bring together larger armies, such as the confederation which fought the Battle of Strasbourg. Methods of recruiting, preparation, and tactics for fighting the Romans were different from those required for fighting other barbarians.

Sea transport of troops in the Baltic and along the North Sea coast is evidenced by finds of *ships and ship parts of the *Nydam boat type rowed by 20–30 men. These were deployed against both Romans and other barbarians. In the 3rd and 4th centuries large sea barricades protected Danish fjord inlets from seaborne attacks, and raiding on the coasts of Late Roman *Gaul and Britain made necessary the system of defence along the North Sea and English Channel which was commanded by the *Comes of the *Saxon Shore.

Warrior *aristocracies were important in the life of Germanic societies. Martial topics are represented in early personal names, in images, and in the earliest Germanic literature. *Ulfilas' translation of the *Bible into *Gothic omitted the OT Books of Kings, because they might have served to foment smiting and justify strife (*Philostorgius, *HE* II, 5). Warfare was also closely connected to religious rituals, as is apparent from the large *weapon deposits from the 4th century BC to the 6th century AD, at, among other sites, *Illerup and Nydam. Elsewhere, *conversion to Christianity could be consolidated by the *God of battles. AR

F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée romaine et les barbares du III^e^ au VII^e^ siècle: actes du Colloque international: Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 24–28 février 1990* (1993).

RGA2 s.v. Kriegswesen, XVII (2001), 333–73 (Bulitta, Springer, Eggers, Ebel, Steuer).

M. P. Speidel, *Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas* (2004).

warfare, Persian Given the size of the *Persian Empire and its multiple *frontiers, conflicts arose regularly with neighbouring powers, and consecutive years, or even decades, of warfare punctuate its history. Far from being an exception, a state of war was the norm in the *Sasanian world, with campaigning being one of the king's expected responsibilities. The *Everlasting Peace concluded between Rome and Persia in 532, intended to conclude three decades of war, lasted only nine years.

Adversaries

Not surprisingly the motivations and justifications for warfare varied from case to case. The ongoing rivalry with the world's other superpower, Rome, often involved campaigns of expansion that took Sasanian *armies well to the west of the Roman *frontier and the Euphrates. The *Persian invasions in the reign of *Khosrow II took Persian forces all the way to *Jerusalem, *Egypt, and even to the gates of *Constantinople.

To the north and east, incessant conflicts with the Kushans, *Huns (*Chionite, Alkhan, *Kidarite), *Hephthalites, and *Türks were undertaken to punish groups that threatened Sasanian rule in *Bactria, *Sogdia, and more generally the area north of the River *Oxus. The Sasanians often tried to force such northern peoples into tributary status, in some cases turning them into auxiliary forces in their own army, as with the Chionites under Grumbates who fought alongside *Shapur II at *Amida in 359 (*Ammianus Marcellinus, XIX, 1–2). The general aim was to enhance the security of the Iranian heartland (south of the Oxus). However, the Persians were often defeated by their northern

adversaries; in 484 they actually killed King *Peroz. In many ways the most serious threat to the Persian Empire came from *Central Asia. Notwithstanding the distance from this theatre of war to the Roman territories in *Armenia and *Anatolia, several monarchs sought Roman subsidies with which to prosecute their wars in Central Asia, usually demanded as contributions to the defence of the *Caucasus Passes, in particular the Caspian Gates. Although *diplomacy was vigorously pursued in many cases, ideological justifications for instigating a state of war were just as often invoked. These included treachery, lying, subterfuge, or the outright abrogation of a treaty on the part of a state or group that was party to a treaty with Persia.

Strategy and defences

Details on the actual prosecution of a war are difficult to glean from the often cursory accounts given in contemporary and later sources. Often sources move from an account of the provocation, to the raising of an army, to the campaign, whether successful or disastrous. In the case of victory, looting, destruction, and the extraction of *tribute normally followed. In the case of defeat, tribute was exacted, royal hostages might have to be given over to foreign captors, and, in some cases, the king and his close entourage lost their lives. Divination and the observation of propitious, heavenly signs often figured at the inception of a conflict and, in some cases, at the end. Frontiers were maintained with garrisons. Strategically important frontiers were fortified by extensive defensive *walls. Remains of these fortifications survive, as attested by the remains at *Derbent, Tammishe, and in *Gorgan, where Iran's Great Wall built by *Peroz I (459–84) ran for over 195 km (121 miles) eastwards from the Caspian Sea. DTP

Disposition and tactics

The Sasanian *army was made up of heavy *cavalry supported by infantry employing *archery. The main attacking force, on the outer rims of the army formation, was the heavy cavalry who were covered in *armour and used lances to attack. Infantry archers often wore down the enemy with heavy shooting before the cavalry advanced. The presiding commander usually surveyed the field from a distant elevation, or was on a platform in the middle surrounded by the crack *Pushtigban* forces. *Elephants were used in warfare mainly to cause disorganization among the enemy army. Although their strategic value was probably quite low, their use is frequently reported.

In many cases, in order to avoid direct engagement, the commanders opted for one-to-one competition between the chosen heroes of each side, and accepted the results. One-to-one equestrian duels or 'jousts' were also common, as is shown on several rock reliefs from *Naqsh-e Rostam and even attested by *Heraclius' duel with the Persian general Rōwehān (Gk. Razates).

In full-scale engagements, lighter cavalry was used in addition to the heavy infantry. These lighter, faster horsemen were often recruited from among nomadic allies beyond the Oxus in the north and east. They used both archery and swords to engage the enemy. The same allied forces were also used for *siege action, in which the Sasanians became masters from the successful sieges of *Shapur I, such as that attested archaeologically at *Dura Europos in 256 on into the 7th century. Various eastern allies cooperated with *Qobad I in his invasion of the Eastern Roman Empire. Later instances of siege and use of siege *artillery, as well as underground tunnels, are reported in the wars of the 6th and 7th centuries. KR

EncIran II/5 (1986) *s.v.* Army i. Pre-Islamic, 489–99 (S. Shahbazi).

EncIran (1998) *s.v.* Elephant ii. In the Sasanian Army (M. B. Charles).

R. C. Blockley, 'Subsidies and Diplomacy: Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 62–74.

M. H. Dodgeon and S. N. C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, AD 226–363: A Documentary History* (1991).

G. Greatrex and S. N. C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, Part II. AD 363–630* (2002).

K. Maksymiuk, *Geography of Roman–Iranian Wars: Military Operations of Rome and Sasanian Iran* (2015).

M. R. Shayegan, 'On the Rationale behind the Roman Wars of Šābuhr II the Great', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* New Series 18 (2004, app. 2008), 111–33.

E. Winter, *Die sāsānidisch-römischen Friedensverträge des 3. Jahrhunders n. Chr.—ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der außenpolitischen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Großmächten* (1988).

warfare, Roman and post-Roman Warfare in the Roman world reached a peak in organization, technology, and continuity of practice not seen again in this region until the Early Modern period. It may be examined through the narrative sources (e.g. *Ammianus, *Zosimus, *Procopius, *Agathias, *Menander Protector, *Sebeos), and through the literary genre of surviving technical manuals (*strategemata, taktike, poliorketika*; notably those by Arrian, *Vegetius, *Maurice, Leo the Wise; the *Anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis*, the **Notitia Dignitatum*, and anonymous works on *archery and *artillery). Legal codes, *papyri, and epigraphy provide valuable information about the organization, rank structures, *administration, and supply of military formations. Late Roman, Persian, *Nubian, *Arab, and Asiatic nomad *art informs the study of *dress and equipment, while the archaeology of military installations, urban fortifications, and conflict landscapes is increasingly valuable.

Almost as much importance was placed in the literature on the order of march as on the order of battle. It was important that an army could form a battle line from the march speedily and efficiently, and that advances should be well scouted for terrain, *intelligence, and ambushes. The practice of surveying and fortifying encampments containing regular lines of tents was also central to Roman military culture, as it allowed line-of-march security, safe storage of equipment, and control of men and animals, so creating a provisioned and restful environment.

Roman *armies continued the Mediterranean tradition of close-order, armoured *infantry, with the Italic emphasis on swordsmen with missiles. The latter developed especially to disrupt the cohesion of northern *barbarian foot soldiers. The superior stamina and fencing skills of trained Roman soldiers allowed offensive swordsmanship to carve through such opponents on contact. Deep formations were developed to face Persian and other eastern *cavalry. Roman *cavalry played an auxiliary role on an army's wings; it also provided scouting before battle and pursuit afterwards.

Roman warfare was adapted to the different circumstances and opponents on different fronts, as the Empire had the ability to deploy the varying skills of its constituent and neighbouring military cultures to best advantage. Thus, eastern archers on the Danube *frontier were deployed against steppe nomads, and western cavalry on the eastern *frontier against horse-archers. The technology of Levantine archery and later that of *Central Asia was especially skilfully employed, notably against unarmoured Germanic infantry (across the Rhine and Danube *frontiers in the 3rd–5th centuries, and in northern *Italy in the 6th century). From the 5th century onwards, wars against Persian, *Hun, and *Avar enemies enhanced the tactical role of armoured, bow-armed cavalry, as the writings of Procopius and Maurice's *Strategicon* clearly demonstrate.

The development of fixed Roman installations drew heavily on Hellenistic traditions of *siege warfare, defensive architecture, and *artillery design. Large-scale battles were fought during the repeated *Persian-Roman wars. Also, the strongest fortifications and concomitant siege techniques were developed. For the troops deployed, there was even greater emphasis on the provision of missiles and *arms and armour. In addition, both sides were directly affected by Asiatic peoples in their horsemanship, armour, and archery. All this made the *Syria–*Mesopotamia–*Armenia theatre in the 4th century, and again in the 6th–7th centuries, a real school of war.

Installations such as small forts and watchtowers were developed on Roman territory for frontier patrolling, policing, intelligence-gathering, and the gathering of *taxation. Urban centres across the Empire received strong fortifications so as to act as bases for *field army formations, secure centres of storage, manufacture, and supply, and to retard incursions along the well-developed imperial *road networks. Planned storage and supply allowed Roman armies to operate earlier and longer in the campaign season than their opponents. Taxation in kind and direct government provision supplied the troops with food, clothing, equipment, and animals, backed by specialized *textile works (**gynaecea*) and arms factories (**fabricae*). Some legislation, notably the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict, was intended to ensure a stable supply economy for government purposes.

From the early 3rd to the 7th centuries there was a slow shift in Roman military posture away from large, concentrated forces ready for future imperial expansion to a defensive cordon of units along the *frontiers, then to a combination of troops in frontier *provinces backed by reserves of 'field armies'. The latter were strategically poised to deal with frontier crises, offensive wars, and the suppression of internal *usurpers.

Expansion of the armies under the *Tetrarchy, and increased emphasis on field armies under *Constantine I, both received contemporary and misleading criticism (*Lactantius, *Mort.* 7; Zosimus, II, 34), but the available military resources inevitably waxed and waned over time with the expansion and contraction of Roman territory and demographic base. During the 4th and 5th centuries reliance was also placed on recruitment of Germanic barbarians and foreign mercenaries, taking advantage of their manpower and warrior *aristocracy.

Units became smaller and more specialized so that they formed the flexible building blocks of field armies, a situation reflected in the *Notitia Dignitatum* in the early 5th century. The western provinces were lost to Germanic peoples during the *Barbarian Migrations of the 5th century. The greater tactical importance of horse-archery enhanced the tactical importance and status of cavalry formations as they appeared in 5th–6th-century Roman armies. In his successful invasion of Persia, the *Emperor *Heraclius relied heavily on Turkic allies from Central Asia.

After the eastern and southern Mediterranean provinces had been lost to *Islam during the *Arab conquests of the 7th century, the empire concentrated on defending its Danubian border and the Arab–Byzantine *frontier in *Anatolia. This defence was furnished by the *Theme system, formed from armies based in territorial *themata* which evolved from the former eastern field armies. Internal security concerns towards the mid-8th century and a return to offensive wars in the 11th century again saw the development of elite field formations (**tagmata*) directly under the emperors. JCNC

H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (1996).
Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society.*
Haldon, *Byzantine Wars.*

G. Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900* (2003).
Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire*.
C. M. Giliver, *The Roman Art of War* (1999).
Syvänne, *Hippotoxotai*.
A. D. Lee, *War in Late Antiquity: A Social History* (2007).
Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment*.
P. Sabin, H. Van Wees, and M. Whitby, eds., *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (2007), vol. 2.

warfare, steppe Steppe polities (*Scythians, *Sarmatians, *Alans, *Huns, *Hephthalites, *Avars, *Türks, *Bulgars, *Khazars, *Uighurs, and others) were renowned for their military expertise. Writers from sedentary civilizations typically attributed their skill at mounted warfare to the harsh steppe environment and a lifestyle based on pastoral nomadism and *hunting. Their geographical location between *China, the *Persian Empire (later the Arab *caliphate), and the Eastern Roman Empire gave ample opportunity for military conflict, whether initiated by the steppe dwellers or their sedentary neighbours. Thus, the lure of conquest and booty and the need to defend against the surrounding empires made military expertise crucial.

*Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI, 2) emphasizes the reliance of the *Huns on their *horses. The **Strategicon* of the Emperor *Maurice goes into considerable detail concerning the various military practices of steppe peoples, including their superb horsemanship, *archery skills and use of ambushes, feigned retreats, and night attacks. The text also encourages Roman military commanders to adopt steppe-*nomad clothing, weapons, and tactics, and to exploit their dependence on good pasture and tendency to divisiveness (12–13, 23, 24, 52–4, 61–2, 65, 68, 72, 73, 94–5, 103, 114, 115, 116–18, 122, 167, 168). Jahiz's *Treatise on the Turks* highlights steppe-nomad riding and fighting skills, strategic retreats, keen sight, mobility, discipline, endurance, tenacity, and loyalty to their nation and leaders (665–97).

Steppe-nomad weapons included compound bows, swords, spears, and lances. Troops were organized along decimal lines, especially in Turkic polities. Most troops were light *cavalry, although infantry were also sometimes used. The Türks' reputation for military discipline and skill made them attractive to later Muslim rulers as *mamluks*, slave-soldiers, and bodyguards who increasingly gained control of the caliphal armies. However, steppe nomads had limitations; although highly mobile, they were dependent on adequate pastures for grazing their horses. Political crisis and disunity produced by internal warfare frequently rendered them militarily ineffective and vulnerable. Steppe polities differed chronologically and geographically from each other; where national unity, strong leadership, careful planning, coordination, and abundant resources were lacking, steppe-omad military success was unlikely. MLD

N. Di Cosmo, ed., *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800)* (2002).
D. Sinor, 'The Inner Asian Warriors', *JAOS* 101 (1981), 133–44.

Warnachar *Mayor of the Palace of *Burgundy (613–26), who conspired, according to *Fredegar (IV, 40–2), in the overthrowing of the young King *Sigibert II and his great-grandmother. *Chlothar II bestowed on him the post of Mayor for life. He subsequently appears as the leader of the Burgundian *aristocracy and an enemy of the *monastery of *Luxeuil, whose abbot, *Eusthasius, was a supporter of Chlothar II. BD

PLRE IIIB, Warnacharius 2.
PCBE IV/2, Warnacharius 2.
Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CCIX.

Warni *See* THURINGIANS AND THURINGIA.

Wasit Garrison settlement (**misr*, plur. *amsar*) established by al-*Hajjaj (d. 714) for his Syrian soldiers in Iraq. The earliest *mosque excavated at Wasit is probably the one constructed by him in 703. Notable features are the inaccurate orientation and the absence of a concave niche (**miḥrab mujawwaf*) in its *prayer hall. The archaic features of the plan correlate well with written descriptions of mosques constructed in the *amsar* of *Kufa and *Basra in the 7th century. MCM

K. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (rev. edn., 1989).
F. Safar, *Wāsit: The Sixth Season's Excavations* (1945).

water-clocks The technology of water-clocks was already over a millennium old in the 3rd century AD. There were simple outflow instruments which measured a discrete interval of time, controlled by the size of the container from which the water flowed. There were also elaborate inflow clocks arranged to activate astronomical displays, drive automata, and give aural indications. Duration of the time measured by such water-clocks could be lengthened by using an overflow tank ensuring a permanent supply of water, while the 'sinking-bowl', a pierced vessel floated in a reservoir to sink in a pre-arranged time, could be used either alone or as a control element in larger machines.

Water-clocks were employed throughout Western Europe, the *Persian Empire, and *India, although they were most highly developed in the East Roman and Islamic empires. A crucial document is the *Kitâb Arshimîdas fi 'amal al-binkamât*, which offers a synthesis of Greek, Roman, Persian, and Arab ideas. An *Oxyrhynchus *papyrus of the 3rd century (P.Oxy. III, 470) preserves calculations for the size of vessel and quantity

of water needed for an outflow instrument, and Greek tradition stemming from *Hero of *Alexandria was developed also in Persia. Details are known of one 4th-century clock at *Gaza, in which scenes showing the Labours of Hercules animated by automata represented the daylight hours. Several water-clocks known from *Constantinople include that erected by *Justinian I on the Milion and the 24-hour indicating structure at the Church of the *Holy Wisdom. Similar devices, attested by the automaton clock presented by vassals of the *Abbasid Caliph Harun ar-Rashid to Charlemagne in 807, were known in the Islamic world. Skill in clock-making had existed earlier in Western Europe. One of two surviving fragments of anaphoric clocks can be dated to the 3rd century, and in 507 a water-clock was sent by *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth to *Gundobad of *Burgundy.

Surviving evidence for water-clocks favours astronomical and automaton models. Humbler devices, however, existed, such as the alarm clocks prevalent in *monasteries—one is mentioned in the 9th century in the Rule of Theodore the Studite in Constantinople, and a description of the late 10th/early 11th century survives from northern *Spain. Public and private, simple and complex water-clocks supplemented *sundials throughout the civilizations of Late Antiquity. AJT

D. R. Hill, *Arabic Water Clocks* (1982).
A. J. Turner, *Water-Clocks, Sand-Glasses, Fire-Clocks* (Time Museum Catalogue of the Collection I/3, 1984).

Water Newton Treasure (buried *c.*410) Hoard of *silver vessels, from Roman Durobrivae, near modern Peterborough, England. Some vessels bear *inscriptions with Christian dedications, and there are *votive plaques with 'chi-rho' symbols. This is considered the earliest surviving Christian liturgical *silver. RHob

K. S. Painter, 'The Water Newton Treasure', in Hartley et al., *Constantine*, 210–22.

water supply, Persian and Mesopotamian Water for human and animal consumption, as well as for *irrigation, was obtained from perennial rivers and streams, springs, precipitation, and sub-surface aquifers. In addition to the major rivers (Euphrates, Tigris, Greater and Lesser Zab, Karkheh, Karun, Sefid Rud), a host of minor streams drained the Zagros, fed by a combination of spring discharge and snow melt. Rainfall was low across much of *Mesopotamia and Iran, higher in the Zagros Mountains and greatest around the Caspian Depression (Gilan, and *Tabarestan, mod. Mazandaran). Wells and **qanats* brought water from sub-surface aquifers to the surface where it could be drunk, fed to livestock, and used to irrigate *gardens and fields; promoting fertility in this way was an act of piety for *Zoroastrians. Persian hydraulic engineering was highly developed, and involved the building of *bridges and dams as well as providing water for agricultural use. Water usage in Sasanian Iran was regulated by a registry office (Kāteb Khwārezmi, *Mafātih al-'olum*). DTP

EncIran I/1 (1982) *s.v.* āb, i. The concept of water in ancient Iranian culture, 27 (M. Boyce).
P. Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources en Iran du 7^e^ au 19^e^ siècle* (Bibliotheque iranienne 46, 1996).
F. Rahimi-Laridjani, *Die Entwicklung der Bewässerungslandwirtschaft im Iran bis in sasanidisch–frühislamische Zeit* (BI 13, 1988).

water supply and hydrostatics Procuring a reliable supply of clean water was essential for settled life in Late Antiquity just as it was in earlier times. Basic technologies devised during the Early Roman Empire continued to gather, lift, and convey vast quantities of water over long distances to meet local needs for *farming and *city life. The expansion and maintenance of earlier *aqueducts and urban distribution systems reflect the histories of individual *cities as well as the success of local authorities in maintaining their public infrastructure. Many East Mediterranean cities invested heavily in urban supply and distribution to meet public and private demand through the 5th and 6th centuries. Complex hydrostatic systems in the West continued mainly at places of episcopal power and royal residence.

Individual systems of water capture and transport reflect the nature of local hydrological resources, geographical barriers, and urban density. Typical sources include perennial rivers, artificial lakes and retaining basins, and natural springs. Managers preferred to draw on multiple sources spread over a wide area. Extra-urban supplies were carried by a combination of rock-cut passages, mortared channels, and lines of terracotta pipes, which followed natural topographic contours whenever possible. The greatest part of any aqueduct system was kept below ground to minimize evaporation and for safety. When required, bridges could carry multiple channels across uneven terrain or narrow valleys. Roman engineers knew of inverted siphons and other exotic means for spanning wider valleys, such as the pressure towers at Aspendus of *Pamphylia, but these were not often employed. Lead, being expensive, was used only where such considerations as high water pressure made it necessary.

The provisioning of *Constantinople with water was one of the great engineering achievements of Late Antiquity. A major expansion of earlier facilities was realized under *Valens, and by the 6th century three major channels with a combined length of 600 km (375 miles) were bringing water from several sources across eastern *Thrace. More than 30 stone *bridges and long sections of subterranean tunnels have been identified as

belonging to this longest of Roman *aqueducts, whose best surviving fragment is a 30-m (over 98-foot) high arched bridge spanning the third and fourth hills of the city. Three open-air reservoirs and numerous vaulted *cisterns supplemented this main supply during times of drought and *siege. High-pressure lines of terracotta and lead pipes ran beneath *streets and alleys to supply the *Palace quarter, elite *houses, public *baths and fountains, and the general population. The early 5th-century **Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (ed. Seeck, 1876, 229–43) lists four primary fountains, including a Nymphaeum Maius that stood near the Forum of *Theodosius. Among the 153 public baths mentioned by the *Notitia* were the great Baths of Zeuxippos and of Constantius, whose substantial discharge flushed neighbourhood latrines and drains. Distribution stations managed by the *Praefectus Urbi apportioned water within the city, shutting down non-essential services in times of shortage.

Similar patterns of procurement, circulation, and drainage are well documented in other eastern cities. In many places aqueducts continued functioning into the 5th or 6th century, with covered drains regularly cleaned and distribution pipes often repaired. Limited industrial applications included water-powered *mills for grinding *grain and sawing *marble. Declining interest in public bathing was partially offset by the building of smaller baths in private residences, suburban *villas, and *monasteries. In elite houses, the calculated display of running water in courtyard fountains, taps, basins, and latrines offered an index of social prestige and domestic affluence. *Households lacking such amenities relied on streetside fountains, private cisterns, and wells.

*Rome's complex water-supply system continued to function throughout Late Antiquity, although on a scale that reflected the reduced needs of a smaller population. Ecclesiastical officials faced the decline of imperial *patronage by assuming greater responsibility for urban maintenance. Around AD 500 Pope *Symmachus took steps to improve the water resources of local churches. Pope Hadrian sponsored repair of four of the city's eleven aqueducts in the late 8th century.

Elsewhere in the West functioning aqueducts usually reflect the interest of local patrons. *Paulinus of Nola writes at length of the aqueduct, baths, and fountains he built for the shrine of S. Felix at *Cimitille. *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth took an active interest in *Ravenna's water supply in the late 5th century, and the *Visigoth *Leovigild provided his new capital of *Reccopolis with an aqueduct in the late 6th century. In contrast to these exceptional displays of royal patronage, most communities increasingly turned to traditional cisterns and wells to meet reduced, local needs. MLR

A. I. Wilson, 'Hydraulic Engineering and Water Supply', in Oleson, *OHETCW.*

R. Coates-Stephens, 'The Water-Supply of Rome from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', *ActaIRNorv* 17 (2003), 165–86.

Crow et al., *Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople*, publishing the results of the Water Supply of Constantinople Project begun in 1995, which has a website: http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/projects/longwalls/WaterSupply.htm.

A. T. Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts & Water Supply* (1992).

C. Mango, 'The Water Supply of Constantinople', in Mango and Dagron, 9–18.

P. Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000* (2002).

J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Aqueduct at Aspendos', *PBSR* 23 (1955), 115–23.

Ö. Wikander, ed., *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (2000).

water transport Men and goods, both commercial and military, circulated both on rivers and by sea. Coastal *navigation came to a standstill in the winter, but routes on the high seas (Lat. *altum*) were open for sailing in summer and winter alike, even if risks increased much more during the traditional '*mare clausum*' period, between November and March (*CTh* XIII, 9, 3, 3).

All types of goods circulated by sea, including *grain, wine, slaves, and (in the case of the *Marzameni *shipwreck) the internal *marble fittings of a church. Most significant was the carriage of the *food supply of the greatest *cities of the Mediterranean. In Late Antiquity, *Africa supplied *grain for *Rome, as did *Egypt and the Black Sea regions for *Constantinople. The Tetrarchic *Prices Edict indicates that transporting grain by sea from *Alexandria to Rome raised the cost of it by only 16%. The Mediterranean-wide network of *harbours boasted specialized architecture such as *lighthouses,and docks and quays, both for mooring and for loading and unloading goods. The corporations of **naviculariі* were regulated by the authorities (*CTh* XIII, 5–6).

Commercial water transport by canal and river, as well as along the coasts or on the high seas, was very common. Such rivers as the Tiber, Danube, and Rhône provided the best alternative to *road networks for moving heavy goods inland. Inshore channels and navigable canals were also developed under the Roman Empire, in particular in *Dacia, in *Gaul (e.g. the canal linking the Rhône to the Mediterranean at Fosse-sur-Mer), and in *Italy (e.g. the numerous canals around the *Venice Lagoon). Networks of *fossa*e provided ships with safe transit from Chioggia to *Aquileia, avoiding potentially difficult weather in the Adriatic.

Few naval battles occurred in Late Antiquity but the Romans continued to maintain military *fleets. Coastal installations commanded by the *Comes of the *Saxon Shore protected southern and eastern *Britain and

northern Gaul from maritime attack, and a permanent fleet with a base at *Brigetio was maintained on the Danube *frontier into the late 4th century.

*Ships were essential in many military operations, both for fighting and for furnishing supplies. *Constantine I's conquest of *Licinius in 324 was assured by the naval victory won by his son *Crispus at the Dardanelles (*Zosimus, II, 22–6). *Julian's Persian expedition in 363 was provisioned from water transport floating down the Euphrates alongside the army. In 468 *Leo I assembled a very large fleet to attack the *Vandals in *Africa and in 533, the success of the African expedition of *Belisarius was assured by his ability to transport troops and provisions by sea. JC; OPN

J. E. Jones, *The Maritime Landscape of Roman Britain: Water Transport on the Coast and Rivers of Britannia* (BARBritSer 556, 2012).

S. MacGrail, *Ancient Boats in North West Europe: The Archaeology of Water Transport to AD 1500* (new edn., 1998).

A. Wilson, 'Developments in Mediterranean Shipping and Maritime Trade from the Hellenistic Period to AD 1000', in D. Robinson and A. Wilson, *Maritime Archaeology and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean* (Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology, 2011), 35–59.

weapon deposits, Germanic Across Central and Northern Europe, Germanic *votive offerings of weapons and other military equipment have been discovered, either on hilltops or at wetland sites. They range from deposits of single items of *arms or armour to comprehensive deposits of the weapons and equipment of an entire army. Especially informative are the deposits of complete army equipment in lakes and bogs in north Germany, Denmark, and south Sweden, where tens of thousands of weapons and warrior-related artefacts have been found (e.g. *Illerup, *Nydam). The preservation of organic material provides information about weapon components, warrior *dress, and horse *harness which could not have been gained from burial or settlement sites. Germanic weapon deposits are often interpreted as sacrificial offerings of enemy equipment after victory in a battle, as Roman writers such as *Orosius (V, 16, 5–7) mention such dedication of spoils of war.

Larger Germanic weapon deposits dating from between the 4th century BC and 6th century AD show similarities with weapon dedications in various European cultures, e.g. by Greek, Etruscan, Roman, or Celtic societies. A particular feature of the Germanic deposits is the often deliberate destruction of the weapons prior to the act of deposition; the character of the deliberate damage is often related to the quality and thus the social significance of the weapon. Germanic weapon deposits therefore articulate ritual interactions between men and gods and reflect religious gratitude, martial dominance, social order, and demonstrations of human power. AR

L. Jørgensen, L. G. Thomsen, and B. Storgaard, eds., *The Spoils of Victory: The North in the Shadow of the Roman Empire* (2003).

A. Rau and C. von Carnap-Bornheim, 'Die kaiserzeitlichen Heeresausrüstungsopfer Südskandinaviens', in H. Beck, D. Geuenich, and H. Steuer, eds., *Altertumskunde—Altertumswissenschaft—Kulturwissenschaft. Erträge und Perspektiven nach 40 Jahren Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (2012).

weapons factories *See* FABRICAE.

Wearmouth-Jarrow Two Northumbrian *minsters founded *c.*674 and *c.*682 respectively near the mouths of the rivers Wear and Tyne, and most famous as the home of the scholar *Bede. The two sites may have been separate initially, but were both under Abbot Ceolfrid by *c.*688 and are thought to have formed one monastic community during the 8th century. They are amongst the best-known *monasteries of *Anglo-Saxon England thanks to outstanding contemporary written sources (including two 8th-century histories: Bede, *Hist. Abb.* and Anon., *Hist. Abb.*) and 20th-century archaeological research. Both were founded by Ecgfrith (King of Northumbria 670–85) through substantial grants to Benedict Biscop, a nobleman who had travelled several times to *Rome. Benedict's international contacts significantly influenced life at his monasteries, facilitating the acquisition of *relics, a substantial library, instruction in Roman *liturgy and *chant, and painted decorations for the churches (Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 6). Archaeological evidence shows that window *glass was used extensively in the substantial stone buildings. Parts of the early churches survive at both sites and make extensive use of masonry from nearby Roman forts. SCT

R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. 1 (2005) and vol. 2 (2006).

Ian Wood, *The Origins of Jarrow: The Monastery, the Slake and Ecgfrith's Minster* (Bede's World Studies 1, 2008).

ed. C. Grocock and I. N. Wood (with ET), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow: Bede's Homily i, 13 on Benedict Biscop; Bede's History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow; The Anonymous Life of Ceolfrith; Bede's Letter to Ecgbert, Bishop of York* (OMT, 2013).

Weh-andīōg-husraw (Rūmagān) ('Better Antioch of Husraw', 'Roman City') *City about one day's walk from *Ctesiphon, founded by *Khosrow (Husraw) I to house deportees from his sack of *Antioch in 540. Khosrow provided the city with Roman *baths, a *circus, and charioteers. It is mentioned by *Procopius (*Persian*, II, 14, 1–8; *Anecd.* 2, 25–9) and in the *Miracles of S. Anastasius the Persian* (3, 1–4 and 15), a Persian nobleman converted to Christianity by the sight of the

*Relic of the True *Cross when Khosrow II brought it to the *Persian Empire. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes*, 173–4.

ed. (with FT and comm.) B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (1992).

weights and measures Despite efforts by the Roman imperial government to standardize methods of measuring land and of determining the weight and volume of liquid and solid commodities, variation was common and local usage persisted throughout Late Antiquity, especially in regions like *Egypt and the Levant with long histories of state intervention in markets and on the land. However, standard measures promoted fair dealing, and the success of the imperial authorities in maintaining them is perhaps best seen by the way that Late Antique *amphorae were manufactured to relatively close volumetric standards. Legislation is particularly concerned that taxpayers, particularly taxpayers in kind, should be treated equitably; a law of 386 required measures of weight and volume to be deposited in every *mansio* and *city (*CTh* XII, 6, 21 = *CJust* X, 72, 9; cf. XII, 6, 19 of 383).

Some *scales and weights survive, as do instruments used by *surveyors. Textual sources, such as the *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* of *Epiphanius of *Salamis, which survives in *Syriac, *Armenian, and *Georgian translations from the *Greek, or the 208 *Latin hexameters of the *Carmen de Ponderibus*, or the notes of *Polemius Silvius (*Laterculus*, 7), are not always easy to interpret.

For the measurement of weight, *Constantine I moved to a *gold standard, and required that each **solidus* should weigh one *carat (Gr. *keration*), equivalent to 1/72 of a Roman pound (Lat. *libra*). The Roman pound was equivalent to 323 or 327 g (11.393 or 11.535 ounces avoirdupois). The Roman pound was divided into 12 *ounces (*unciae*), 288 **scripula*, and 1,728 **siliquae*. Most weights were made of metal; *bronze and lead were the most common, lead and *iron were liable to lose mass, and the law of 386 specifies bronze and stone. *Glass coin weights were easy to produce to good tolerances and may have been a response to the shift to the gold standard, where high levels of accuracy would have been desirable. There is a glass weight of the 6th/7th century weighing 2.25 g (0.08 oz), the weight of a **semissis* (a half-*solidus*), in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (accession number 81.10.148).

Measurements of length were based on an anthropometric system. The fundamental unit was the Roman foot (Lat. *pes*; Gk. *pous*) of about 30 cm (11.8 inches). There were local variants, some as long as 32 cm (12.6 inches). The foot was divided into fractions: three-quarters of a foot or a span (Lat. *palmus major*, Gr. *spithane*), half a foot (Gr. *hemipodion*), one-quarter of a foot or a palm (Lat. *palmus*, Gr. *palaiste*), and one-sixteenth of a foot or a *digitus* (Gr. *daktylos*). In *Egypt the depth of the *Nile was measured by the ell or cubit (Gk. *pechus*, Lat. *ulna*).

Longer distances were measured in Roman miles (Lat. *mille passus* or *mille passuum*, abbreviated *m.p.*, Gk. *milion*). The Roman mile comprised 5,000 Roman feet (about 1.5 km, 1,618 yards, or about 0.91 of a statute mile). Miles along Roman *roads were marked by *milestones. The Milion, the point near the Augustaeum in *Constantinople from which distances were measured, was marked by a tetrapylon, of which fragments survive. Distances in *Gaul were reckoned (e.g. by the *Bordeaux Pilgrim before he crossed the Alps) by the league (Lat. *leuca* or *leuga*), measuring 1.5 Roman miles (*Verona List, 15, 7).

The unit for measuring area used by land *surveyors and farmers was the *jugerum* (from Lat. *jugum* = yoke) equivalent to 2,675.6 square m (28,800 square feet) or 0.27 hectares (two-thirds of a statute acre). Two hundred *jugera* made a century (Lat. *centuria*). The Greek equivalent was the *zeugarion* of approximately 30,000 square feet, though variation, again, was considerable.

Liquid volume was based on the Roman pint (Lat. *sextarius*, Gk. *xestes*), equal to one and two-thirds lbs of *wine, equivalent to 546 millilitres (0.96 imperial pint). Six *sextarii* made a *congius*, and eight *congii* comprised an *amphora*, equivalent to about 26 litres or 5.7 imperial gallons.

The main dry measure was the Roman peck (Lat. *modius*; Gk. *modios*) equivalent to about 8.6 litres (0.95 imperial pecks) and subdivided into 16 *sextarii*. The *modius castrensis* of approximately 13 litres (1.42 imperial pecks) was the standard dry measure cited by the *emperors throughout the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict of AD 301. At *Cuicul (mod. Djemila, Algeria) there survives a set of masonry compartments marked with these standard Roman measures, to be used both for collecting *taxation in kind and also in marketplace transactions.

See also SCALES AND WEIGHTS. MD; OPN

ed. (with ET and comm.) J. E. Dean and M. Sprengling, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (1933).

Carmen de Ponderibus et Mensuris: ed. F. M. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae*, 2 (1866), 88–98.

R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (1990).

C. Entwistle, 'Byzantine Weights', in *EHB* 611–14.

***Welsh Annals* (*Cambrian Annals, Annales Cambriae*)** Chronicles focused on the Britons and *Anglo-Saxons from the 5th century AD onwards, surviving in *Latin (called *Annales Cambriae*) and *Welsh versions (called either *Brut y Tywysogion* or *Brenhinoedd y Saeson*) in manuscripts from *c.*1100 onwards. Apart from additional material, their sources were northern

British annals, Irish chronicles, other British sources of uncertain reliability, and, from the late 8th century, a S. *David's chronicle. NJE

ed. with ET, J. Morris, *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (1980).

D. N. Dumville, 'The Welsh Latin Annals', *StudCelt* 12/13 (1977/8), 461–7.

K. W. Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages* (1980).

Welsh Language and Literature *See* BRITISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

wergeld *See* COMPENSATION.

West Heslerton Historic parish in the Vale of Pickering (formerly East Riding of Yorkshire, northern England) best known as the site of the most fully excavated *Anglo-Saxon settlement in northern England. Excavations between 1977 and 1996 revealed an early medieval *cemetery used until the 7th century on a site with prehistoric barrows and other features, *c.*300 m (1,000 feet) north of an extensive settlement of 5th- to 9th-century date. The excavator, D. Powlesland, argues that the settlement was divided into different zones for housing, industry, crop-processing, and other functions. The project has pioneered the application of remote sensing for early medieval archaeology, with results which show that a number of similar settlements existed in the local region and that settlement was much denser than previously realized. SCT

C. Haughton and D. Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian Cemetery*, vol. 1 (1999) and vol. 2 (2000).

D. Powlesland, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Structures, Form and Layout', in J. Hines, ed., *The Anglo-Saxons* (1997), 101–24.

West Stow An extensively excavated *Anglo-Saxon settlement of the mid-5th to earlier 8th centuries AD in Suffolk, England. A contemporary *cemetery lay close by. The site reached its greatest extent during the 6th century and at no time exceeded four farm units, each comprised of earthfast timber buildings with adjacent *Grubenhäuser* (*SFB-s). Charred *timbers indicate suspended timber floors in certain SFB-s. An unusually rich finds assemblage included extensive faunal remains as well as *combs and *metalwork otherwise rare from settlements of this period. Occupation continued into the 8th century, as revealed by the presence of Ipswich ware, and in its later phases the site was divided into a series of enclosed spaces. ARe

A. Reynolds, 'Boundaries and Settlements in Later 6th to 11th Century England', in D. Griffiths, A. Reynolds, and S. Semple, eds., *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain* (2003), 97–139.

S. E. West, *West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village* (1985).

Whitby and Synod of Whitby *Anglo-Saxon *monastery founded at Streanæshalch (mod. Whitby on the Yorkshire coast) in *c.*657 by King *Oswy, and burial place of the kings of Deira (southern Northumbria). It had a daughter house at Hackness. This was a double monastery, housing both men and women, and under its first abbess, the Princess *Hild (d. 680), was renowned for its learning—five future *bishops were educated under her, and the herdsman Cædmon was divinely inspired to compose *Anglo-Saxon Christian *poetry (*Bede, *HE* IV, 21–2). The earliest *Life* of *Gregory the Great (*BHL* 3637) was written at Whitby in the late 7th/early 8th century. Stone sculpture and inscribed stones survive from this period, and excavations have uncovered imported goods and styluses.

In 664 King Oswy convened a synod here to resolve different ways of calculating the date of *Easter (Bede, *HE* III, 25; *Stephen, *VWilfridi* 10). Colman, Bishop of *Lindisfarne, expounded the older 84-year cycle espoused by Irish tradition. S. *Wilfrid championed the 'Roman' nineteen-year cycle perfected by *Dionysius Exiguus. The king decided for the Roman method because of the authority of S. Peter, who has power to deny Christians access to heaven. HFF

P. Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (1985), 3–32.

T. Styles, 'Whitby Revisited: Bede's Explanation of Streanaeshalch', *Nomina* 21 (1998), 133–48.

A. Arceo, 'Rethinking the Synod of Whitby and Northumbrian Monastic Sites', *HaskSocJnl* 20 (2009), 19–30.

Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity*, ch. 7.

White Huns *See* HEPHTHALITES.

White Monastery (founded 4th cent.) *Monastery near modern Sohag, *Egypt, part of a federation including the *Red Monastery and a women's foundation at Atripe, the remains of which may be located in the Pharaonic *temple. It was founded by Pgol, *Shenoute's uncle, and based on a model originating with *Pachomius. Until activity there faded in the late Middle Ages, the monastery was a popular *pilgrimage site.

The 5th-century Church of Shenoute remains in use. Shenoute details its construction in his *Canon* 7 and it is here that Shenoute's works were stored until the late 19th century. Archaeological investigations at the monastery have revealed numerous buildings and architectural features, including a funerary chapel, parts of the enclosure wall, a well and extensive water distribution system, and areas for preparing food and probably dyeing *textiles. The architectural stratigraphy of these buildings, activity areas, and installations suggests that the layout of the monastery was carefully planned at its

foundation. Modifications and additions to these structures can be traced throughout the lifetime of the monastery, from Late Antiquity to at least the 12th century. EFD; GPy

E. Bolman, S. Davis, and G. Pyke, 'Tomb Chapel at the White Monastery', *JECS* 18 (2010), 453–462.
D. Brooks Hedstrom and E. Bolman, 'White Monastery Federation Project', *DOP* 65 (2011).
P. Grossman, D. Brooks Hedstrom, and M. Abdal-Rassul, 'Excavation in the Monastery of Apa Shenute', *DOP* 58 (2004), 371–82.
U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohag (Deyr el-Abiad et Deyr el-ahmar): ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* (2 vols., 1925–6).

Whithorn Town on the coast of Galloway, south-west Scotland. Fieldwork and excavation since the 1880s have revealed successive phases of occupation from *c.* AD 500 indicated by imported *pottery, *glass, and inscribed memorial stones. *Bede records that the British *bishop S.*Ninian built a stone church dedicated to S. *Martin at Ad Candidam Casam (*HE* III, 4) in the 5th or early 6th century. In the late 7th/early 8th century the region came under Northumbrian control; Bede says Whithorn had recently in 731 acquired Pechthelm, disciple of *Aldhelm, as its first bishop (*HE* V, 23, cf. V, 18). SCT

P. Hill, *Whithorn and St. Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (1997).

widows In all Mediterranean societies, widows had a twofold status: they were thought to face poverty and need special protection from the state or Church, while they also enjoyed considerable social freedom. The Church discouraged remarriage, but it remained permissible and common everywhere. In the post-Roman kingdoms, widows were still deemed self-governing, while married women had lost most of their former independence.

See also MARRIAGE, ADULTERY, DIVORCE, AND REMARRIAGE; WARDSHIP AND TUTELAGE; and for consecrated widows, VIRGINS AND WIDOWS. AAr

Arjava, *Women and Law*.
Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la femme*.
Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law*.
J.-U. Krause, *Witwen und Waisen im Römischen Reich*, 4 vols. (1994–5).

Wielbark Culture An archaeological culture (sometimes called the East Pomeranian-Mazovian Culture) named after a burial site in northern Poland. It originated during the early 1st century AD in Pomerania and the lower Vistula basin and gradually expanded south-eastwards, leaving former territories uninhabited. Burials of the Wielbark Culture include both cremations and inhumations. Up until the 5th century AD characteristic accessories associated with female *dress and the absence from grave-goods of any *arms and armour differentiates the Wielbark archaeological culture from other neighbouring cultures.

The Wielbark Culture spread in a series of sporadic migrations, and this gradual displacement has been associated with *Jordanes' account of the movement of the *Goths from the southern rim of the Baltic Sea towards the Black Sea, though there is scholarly disagreement about the dynamics of these cultural changes. It is certain, however, that people and goods from south-eastern Europe reached northern Europe by way of the corridor occupied by people of the Wielbark Culture, while *amber travelled from north to south along the Amber Road. AR

RGA2 s.v. Wielbark-Kultur, XXXIV (2007), 1–20 (Mączyńska).

Wilfrid (*c.*634–709/10) *Bishop of *Hexham and Abbot of *Ripon. Wilfrid's career was marked by power struggles but he played an important role in the ecclesiastical politics of late 7th-century England. Wilfrid was ordained bishop in 663: he was a key participant at the Synod of *Whitby (664), where he supported the (victorious) Roman method of dating *Easter. He journeyed to *Rome several times (sometimes requesting papal support against enemies in England) and was strongly influenced by continental ecclesiastical practices. He converted the *Anglo-Saxons of Sussex. *Stephen of Ripon wrote his biography (*BHL* 8889) and Bede has much to say about him (e.g. *HE* V, 19). HFF

ODNB s.n. Wilfrid (Thacker).
I. N. Wood, 'Northumbrians and Franks in the Age of Wilfrid', *Northern History* 31 (1995), 10–21.
D. P. Kirby (ed.) *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (1974).

Willibald, S. (*c.*700–*c.*787) *Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to the *Holy Land, one-time monk of *Monte Cassino, and *Bishop of Eichstätt (from *c.*746) who is often argued to have written the *Life* of S. *Boniface of Mainz (*BHL* 1400). He dictated the story of his travels, which encompassed *Rome and *Umayyad *Palestine, to the nun Hygeburg, who included them in her account of his life. JTP

Life (*BHL* 8931): ed. O. Holder-Egger in MGH SS XV/1 (1887), 80–117.
ET: C. H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (1954), 153–77.
J. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World* (2009).
H. Wagner, *Bonifatiusstudien* (2003).
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 223–6.

Willibrord (657/8–739) *Anglo-Saxon missionary to *Frisia, brought up at *Ripon and in *Ireland.

A note for the year 728 in 'S. Willibrord's calendar' (Paris, BN ms. Lat. 10837, fols. 34–41), perhaps in Willibrord's own hand, records that he came to *Francia in 690, and was consecrated *bishop in *Rome by Pope Sergius in 695. Willibrord was supported by *Pippin II, who eventually gave him *Utrecht for a see (*Bede, *HE* V, 10–11; *Boniface, *ep.* 47). He was also abbot of the *monastery at *Echternach, noted for manuscript production, where he was buried. Alcuin wrote *Lives* in prose (*BHL* 8935) and verse (*BHL* 8938) for liturgical and school use respectively. HFF

ODNB s.n. Willibrord (Costambeys).

M. Costambeys, 'An Aristocratic Community on the Northern Frankish Frontier', *EME* 3 (1994), 39–62.

G. Kiesel and J. Schroeder, eds., *Willibrord, Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (1989).

wills *See* INHERITANCE AND WILLS.

wills, Frankish Twelve authentic wills, including those of *Abbo, *Aredius, *Bertram of Le Mans, *Burgundofara, and *Remigius, and two *formulae for wills survive from *Merovingian *Francia. They cover the whole period from the early 6th to the mid-8th centuries, and have a wide geographical range. Most were written by clergy, and several are by women. In form they seem to derive from Roman practice. They preserve important evidence for aristocratic landholding and social structure. TWGF

U. Nonn, 'Merowingische Testamente. Studien zum Fortleben einer römischen Urkundenform im Frankenreich', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), 1–129.

G. Spreckelmeyer, 'Zur rechtlichen Funktion frühmittelalterlicher Testamente', in P. Classen, ed., *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (1977), 91–113.

Winchester *City in south England. A Roman *civitas* capital as Venta Belgarum, it declined in the 4th century, although important Late Roman *cemeteries have been excavated in the city's Lankhills area. Only in the 7th century did Winchester revive as a clearly urban centre of occupation and, as Uintancaestir, the episcopal see of Wessex (*Bede, *HE* III, 7). DAP

M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Winchester: From *Venta* to *Wintancaestir*', in L. Gilmour, ed., *Pagans and Christians: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages; Papers in Honour of Martin Henig, Presented on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (BAR IntSer 1610, 2007), 189–214.

windows The traditional Roman preference for *light, airy spaces in architecture is well documented by both Seneca and *Vitruvius. Public buildings therefore had large and numerous windows, the most common form being round-headed. *Bathhouses with complex vaulted *roofs were often lit by rows of clerestory windows. A characteristic window style of the period is the so-called Diocletianic window, a perfect semicircle usually divided into three panels. These windows graced the Baths of *Diocletian at *Rome and can also be seen in the tympana of *Justinian I's Church of the *Holy Wisdom. Small square windows were typical of standard urban domestic architecture. Churches of the period, like public buildings, favoured long arcades of large round-headed windows. Windows were often glazed, as window *glass was a relatively cheap commodity in Late Antiquity according to the Tetrarchic *Prices Edict. Decorated windows have been found at *Kenchriae, the port of *Corinth. Alternative closures were thin slabs of *marble or stone which allowed some diffused light to enter buildings or sometimes wooden shutters or metal grills, usually on ground-floor windows. CN

Lavan et al., *Housing.*

D. B. Whitehouse, 'Window Glass between the 1st and the 18th Centuries', in F. Dell'Acqua and R. Silva, eds., *Il colore nel medioevo: arte, simbolo, tecnica: atti delle giornate di studi, Lucca, 2–3–4 maggio 1996* (2001), 31–40.

wine and wine trade It has been estimated that per capita wine consumption in the Early Roman Empire was about one litre per day (Tchernia, 26); this is unlikely to have changed much across the Mediterranean in Late Antiquity. Fermented grape juice could be preserved for long periods in sealed *amphorae made of baked clay, and thus transported over great distances.

Wine consumption contributed to calorific and nutritional intake, offered enjoyable intoxicating properties, and was a safer source of sterile fluid than untreated water for drinking. The use of wine in the *Eucharist was a further factor in its widespread consumption during Late Antiquity. Wine was also thought to have wide-ranging medical uses, from contraception (*Aëtius of *Amida, *Iatricorum*, 16,18) to treatment of colic (*Alexander of *Tralles, II, p. 353).

Medical texts especially attest to numerous varieties of wine made from *fruit other than grapes, including date, pomegranate, myrtle berry, cornel berry (**Geoponica* 7.35), fig, apple, pear, and honey. *Beer was considered to be barley or millet wine. Date wine was made in two ways: by piercing the trunk of the date palm and collecting sap which fermented quickly but did not keep well, or from date fruit, the high sugar content of which produced wines with high alcohol content that could be stored. Date wines were common in the semi-arid regions of the Roman Empire, the pre-Islamic *Arabian Peninsula, and the Persian Gulf region.

Wine was widely drunk among all classes in the Roman and *Persian Empires, and was included in the free *food supplied at *Rome and *Constantinople.

Specialized vineyards on the shores of the Sea of *Marmara provided for the discriminating Constantinople consumer (Günsenin). Though Islamic *law prohibits wine consumption, wine continued to be produced and drunk in the areas covered by the *Arab conquests throughout Late Antiquity.

Wines from the eastern Mediterranean were especially popular and were transported in recognizable jars; the wines of *Gaza and Ascalon were shipped in both elongated Late Roman amphorae Type 4 (LRA 4) and bag-shaped Late Roman amphorae 5/6 (LRA 5/6) found in hundreds of Late Antique sites from the Black Sea to North *Africa and *Britain. Textual references attest to the use of Palestinian wines in medicine (*Cassius Felix, *De Medicina*, p. 101, 42). Wines from *Egypt, especially the white wines produced around Lake *Mareotis south of *Alexandria, were also of high quality. Athenaeus in the late 2nd/early 3rd century (1, 33 D) praised Egyptian wines as first-rate and these were frequently exported in ribbed, conical jars known today as Late Roman Amphora Type 7 (LRA 7). While LRA 7 are found in smaller quantities than other eastern wine jars, around Lake Mareotis Egyptian potters also imitated Palestinian LRA 5/6.

As with the wines of *Palestine, circulation of Egyptian vintages may have been encouraged by *pilgrimage to important shrines such as *Abu Mina. Some LRA 1 amphorae, made in the north-eastern Mediterranean, and LRA 3 types from western Anatolia also contained wine and had a wide distribution from Egypt to the Black Sea and as far west as Britain. In the Roman West, the famous Falernian wine from *Campania (mentioned by *Isidore *Etymologiae* XX,3,6) continued to be exported in Late Antiquity in an amphora type that replaced Dressel 2-4 types. North Africa, whose vineyard production increased greatly under Roman rule, reached a peak of export to Rome in the 3rd century, but declined somewhat thereafter in the face of local competition from western *Italy and eastern *Sicily. African wine continued to circulate throughout the Mediterranean from *Spain to Egypt and coastal Asia Minor, attested archaeologically by finds of so-called *spatheion*-type amphorae (Bonifay, 126–8), which also appear in Egyptian texts. *Gaul, whose output of wine was largely eclipsed by imports in the Early Roman period, nevertheless maintained local production, and *Gregory of *Tours compared the wine of Langres to Falernian (*HF* III, 19), and mentions vineyards at Tours and in Châteaumeillant *(HF* III, 49 and 41). The products of *Spain, especially those from Baetica, also demonstrate some level of continued vitality; they circulated within the western Mediterranean and on the Atlantic seaboard (Bernal). In the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean a lively trade flourished throughout Late Antiquity, especially in Mesopotamian wine shipped in distinctive wide-mouth jars ('torpedo jars'), probably manufactured near *Ctesiphon and circulating from the coast of Arabia to *India (Tomber). MD

D. Bernal Casasola, 'Ánforas y vino en la Antigüedad Tardía: el ejemplo de la "Hispania" meridional', in J. Blánquez Pérez and S. Celestino Pérez, eds., *El vino en época tardoantigua y medieval* (2008), 33–60.

M. Bonifay, *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique* (2004).

J.-P. Brun, *Archéologie du vin et de l'huile dans l'Empire romain* (2004).

Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth.*

A. Tchernia, *Le Vin de l'Italie romaine: essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores* (1986).

N. Günsenin, 'Ganos: centre de production d'amphores à l'époque byzantine', *Anatolia Antiqua* 2 (1993), 193–201.

R. Tomber, 'Rome and Mesopotamia: importers into India in the first millennium AD', *Antiquity* 81 (2007), 972–88.

witchcraft Term with no precise ancient equivalent, sometimes used to translate various words (Gk. *βασκοσύνη*, *φαρμακεία*, *μαγεία*, *γοητεία*, *κατάδεσμος*, *πνεῦμα πονηρόν*; Lat. *maleficia, malae/maleficae/magicae artes, nefariae preces, sortilegia*). These are often applied to persons acting malevolently and denote either the projection of malignant mystical force upon a target (from the supposed agent's perspective) or (from the perspective of the person on the receiving end) to subjective distress, physical, mental, or economic—especially the loss of crops due to hailstorms—diagnosed according to relatively specific criteria as having been caused by such projection. Like practices concerned with the *evil eye, belief in witchcraft links subjective misfortune to a moral reading of the social and natural environment. Witchcraft is thus primarily a matter of diagnosis and accusation, among the elite (*Porphyry, *VPlot* 10; *Libanius, *Oration* 1, 243–50), in competitive contexts (e.g. charioteering: *Jerome, *VHilarion* 11, 3–13 Morales), in intrafamilial conflicts (e.g. over 'virgins of God', Jerome, *VHilarion* 12), and in the unstable social and natural circumstances of *farming where conflicts were intensified by the tax regime (e.g. *VTheodSyk* 114, 116). RLG

J.-B. Clerc, *Homines Magici: étude sur la sorcellerie et la magie dans la société romaine impériale* (1995), 9–84.

A. Lotz, *Der Magiekonflikt in der Spätantike* (2005).

P. Brown 'Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity: From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages', in Brown, *Religion and Society*, 119–47.

Wittiza King of the *Visigothic kingdom of *Toledo (702–?710). Immediate successor to *Egica, his father, who had previously associated him to the realm (probably 694/5) and had him anointed (700) before he died in 702. He pardoned some victims of Egica's repression

and summoned a general *council whose acts are lost. Generally speaking, the evidence on his reign is almost non-existent. It probably ended with a coup in 710, giving way to a war between aristocratic factions.

CMG

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (2004), 111–13.
L. A. García Moreno, *El fin del Reino visigodo de Toledo* (1975).

***Wizārišn ī Catrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardašīr* (*The Explanation of Chess and the Arrangement of Backgammon*)** A late *Sasanian Pahlavi text, which tells how, during the reign of *Khosrow I, the King of *India sent the game of *chess to the Persian court challenging him to explain its play. A Persian sage, said to be *Bozorgmihr (MP Wuzurgmihr-ī Bōxtagān), worked it out easily and Khosrow won a lavish prize. Then the same sage invented backgammon, which was sent to India with a similar challenge. The Indians were stymied and had to pay double. The text contains Persian vocabulary for the chess pieces.

WWM

EncIran V/4 (1991) *s.v.* chess, i. The history of chess in Persia, 393–7 (Bo Utas).
ed. T. Daryaee (with introd., notes, and ET), *On the Explanation of Chess and Backgammon* (2011).

women's work Women most commonly focused on tasks related to the internal management of the *household (**familia*), but their duties also included *trade and professional work outside the home, sometimes with male representation. The principal woman in a household (the householder's wife or widow, the *matrona*) was expected to direct slaves in the oversight of larders, food preparation, cleaning, and the maintenance of household accounts. She was also expected to provide for her slaves' basic needs, and to discipline them. Bearing and bringing up children were also components of the *matrona*'s work, and mothers typically oversaw the care of children too young for schooling and of girls in their earlier years of education. Literary sources also underline wool working as the characteristic female domestic activity that employed even the most aristocratic *matronae*.

Male and female domestic slaves did different work. Female slaves typically attended to the *matrona*'s *dress and *hair, assisted her in *textile production, and provided childcare (excluding wet-nursing, which was undertaken by a hired free woman); some were also obliged to engage in intercourse with their masters, a practice condemned by *Lactantius (*Inst.* VI, 23, 23).

Free women could own property, and female landowners sometimes performed the same activities as male landowners: oversight of agents, stewards, and slaves; management of agricultural production; and litigation of property disputes. Free rural women engaged in domestic work, but also undertook more strenuous manual labour, such as firemaking, grinding, baking, *pottery manufacture, and helping with *farming and harvesting.

Outside the household, women had limited professional options. Some worked in *drama and as dancers, as musicians, and perhaps even as *gladiators until the sport was banned. However, these were low-status professions that were thought to shade into *prostitution, which was yet another form of low-status, paid female labour. There is some evidence for women engaging in commerce as *merchants. Most strikingly, a group of Christian women in *Egypt appears to have overseen an all-female network for buying and selling *wine, grapes, sandals, cakes, and even luxury items such as ostrich eggs, but such networks are not often mentioned in the sources.

KMS

G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (1993).
K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household* (2007).

Woodchester *Villa near Stroud, Gloucestershire, England, in a valley of a tributary of the Severn. Found in 1793, the villa's early development from the 1st century is obscure, but by the 4th century the complex had over 65 rooms, decorated with wall plaster, *marble, and statues, and three courtyards. A 15-m (50-foot) square room contained an Orpheus *mosaic of Cirencester-type still mostly *in situ*. The *estate may have had links with *Gloucester 18 km (11 miles) to the north.

ACR

T. Copeland, *Roman Gloucestershire* (2011).
S. Lysons, *An Account of Roman Antiquities Discovered at Woodchester in the County of Gloucester* (1797).

woodland Rough grazing and woodland (Lat. *silva*) always had a place in Roman *farming (e.g. *Ausonius, *Herediolum*, 23). In the 6th and 7th centuries, various environmental and social factors caused woodland to expand around the western Mediterranean basin and in northern Europe. Population declined, especially in *cities; this, along with *climate change, led to the abandonment of large areas of arable land which gradually became forest. The return of woodland over previously cultivated land had significant implications, marking a lapse in market-oriented farming and a return to less intensive and often less productive silvopastoral economies, which were local or regional in scale. Forest provided wild food (*fruit, nuts, seeds, herbaceous plants) and some wild-game *meat, building *timber, and fuel for heat and industrial purposes. Woodland was also exploited by *sheep and *goats and managed through coppicing (cutting certain tree species whose rootstocks produce shoots after trunks have

been harvested) and pannage of chestnuts, acorns, and beechnuts. In *Anatolia, woodland expanded from *c.*670 onward in the highlands of *Cappadocia, indicating a similar shift from arable farming to silvo-pastoralism (England et al.). It has been suggested that the *Arab conquests led to an increase in *pastoralism and consequently a loss of arable land and deforestation (Kedar), but current evidence suggests that a drying climate and the advance of forest prevailed in some areas AD 600–700 (Lucke et al.). MD

J. Blondel, 'The "Design" of Human Landscapes: A Millennial Story of Humans and Ecological Systems during the Historic Period', *Human Ecology* 34/2 (2006), 713–29.

R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (1982).

A. England, W. J. Eastwood, et al. 'Historical Landscape Change in Cappadocia (Central Turkey): A Palaeoecological Investigation of Annually Laminated Sediments from Nar Lake', *The Holocene* 18/8 (2008), 1229–45.

B. Kedar, 'The Arab Conquests and Agriculture: A Seventh-Century Apocalypse, Satellite Imagery, and Palynology', *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985), 1–15.

B. Lucke, 'Questioning Transjordan's Historic Desertification: A Critical Review of the Paradigm of "Empty Lands"', *Levant* 44/1 (2012), 101–26.

writing, Greek and Coptic *Greek and *Coptic writings reflect the multilingual environment of Late Antique *Egypt, where Greek, *Latin, and Coptic were widely spoken and written. In this period (*c.*300–800) writing systems were influenced by important changes in the material written on (parchment as alternative to *papyrus), and in *book production (the codex replacing the roll). Criteria for assessing the evolution and the chronology of a piece of writing are (1) the degree of stylization aimed at by the scribe; (2) the speed and skill of execution; (3) the size, shape, and regularity of the individual letters; (4) the inclination of the script to one side or the other; (5) the need for the writing to be legible.

Greek writing

By about the 4th century the codex had superseded the roll as the predominant vehicle for the circulation of literature. The surfaces of a papyrus roll are fibrous, so normally only one side of a roll was written on; this confined the text to narrow columns and guided the scribe to keep the columns vertical and the lines regular. The codex first emerged in the 2nd century, probably in imitation of jointed wax writing *tablets. It was formed of folded quires and written on both sides. Writing on parchment required whole skins to be cut to make up the bifolia which formed the quires, and the leaves had to be ruled to guide the scribe. The dominance of the codex over the roll has been thought to derive from its adoption by early Christians, although this is debated because classical texts were also copied in codex form as early as the 2nd century.

Various literary and documentary styles of handwriting, usually classified as book hands, cursives, and everyday writing, existed side by side until the emergence during the 9th century of the Minuscule script, in which the ascenders and descenders of the letters protrude above and below the line boundaries. From the 4th century onwards different styles of script developed with increasing autonomy; in particular, book hands came to be less influenced in their appearance by contemporary documentary hands. Two book hands in particular reached a high degree of stylization (or canon) and a mannered appearance. These were the Biblical Majuscule, a round hand with regular and heavier letters fitting into the space of a square and contrasting width, and the Alexandrian Majuscule, which had a tendency to regularity and to contrast between narrow and wide letters, or thick and thin strokes. Biblical Majuscule is represented by Codex Sinaiticus (4th cent.) and by the *Vienna *Dioscorides (*c.* AD 513). The Alexandrian Majuscule, a soft and flowing script, was adopted for the manuscript of the *Festal Letters issued by the *Patriarchs of Alexandria (BerlKlasstext 6, 55–109 of 713 or 719). Other book hands are the Sloping Pointed Majuscule, which has a slight inclination to the right, and the Upright Pointed Majuscule (also known as Ogival Majuscule) marked by a heavy shading and decorative blobs which terminate the fine strokes.

The Cursive hands used for chancery and private purposes evolved ligatures—abbreviated combinations in which two or more letters are tied together and lose their original shape. These ligatures were at the origin of the Minuscule hands of the 9th century onwards. The Upright Cursive hand (PSI 1, 60 of 595) carries forward the development of the Minuscule alphabet, where the d-shaped *delta*, the incipient minuscule *mu*, and the h-shaped *eta* appear. From the time of *Diocletian onwards, a common Graeco-Latin script began to emerge in official documents, especially in some *reports of trial proceedings (P.Lips. 1, 38; 390). Cursive hands continued to be used down to the *Arab period in a style definitely inclined to one side, and in a stylized script tending to isolate the letters with an upright axis.

Coptic writing

The Alexandrian type (or Coptic uncial), adapted to the Coptic alphabet (a variant of the Greek alphabet augmented by extra letters for phonemes not found in Greek), was used for ecclesiastical texts (see the *Nessana Papyri from the *Negev, *c.*500–700; P.Ness. 11). It was during the 3rd century that Egyptian-speaking people adopted a coherent linguistic and

graphic system under the influence of Old Coptic. Translations of the *Bible into the vernacular language of *Egypt were written in Coptic hands, and the writing of *liturgical books and ordinary texts became significantly more common from the 4th century to the *Arab conquest (641), a period in which the evidence for Coptic and Graeco-Coptic writings on surviving papyri is plentiful. These writings either employ Coptic literary hands, the dating of which is notoriously difficult, or they are in regular scripts sharing forms of the biblical and Alexandrian styles being written by professional scribes, or they exhibit the formal type of the *Nag Hammadi codices (*c.*300–90; P.NagHamm. C1), a collection of *Gnostic texts from Upper Egypt.

Coptic did not begin to be used for everyday writings until the 4th century. Scribal skills appear in notarial documents, penned with a few ligatures and ornamental hooks, whereas the everyday hands are irregular and hybrid, their letters vary in size and in form, and they are marked by a rightward slant tendency, with detached signs (P.Neph. 15, 4th cent.; P. Clackson 44, 6th cent.). Specimens from the *archives of monks and anchorites speaking Coptic include papyri from the *Meletian *monastery in the Cynopolite Nome (4th cent.; P.Lond. 6, 1920–2), from Apa Johannes at *Lycopolis (*c.*375–400; P.Amh. 2, 145), the texts from *Kellis (Dakhla *Oasis), from a *Manichaean circle (*c.*350–70; P.Kell. 5, Copt. 22), and the writings of *Dioscorus, *notary of *Aphrodito (*c.*506–85; P.Cair. Masp. 3, 67353*r*). These documents illustrate Coptic writing in the private sphere (epistolary), in judicial documents, and in the milieu of the Church, alongside the dossier of *Bishop *Abraham of *Hermonthis (*Thebes, *c.*600; O.Crum 29), who did not know Greek. After 641 Coptic ceased to be understood and used in everyday life, whereas Greek continued in use at least to the end of the 8th century (P.Clackson 45–6, 8th cent.). IA

Duke University Checklist of editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets: https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html/

Leuven Database of Ancient Books: http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/search.php/

R. S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (2011).

A. Boud'hors, 'Paléographie et codicologie coptes: progrès et perspectives (1996–2004)', in *Huitième Congrès International d'Études Coptes* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 15, 2006).

G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800* (BICS Supplement 47, 1987).

G. Cavallo, 'Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri', in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (2009), 101–48.

M. Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie* (1964).

writing, Latin The years *c.*300–*c.*700 witnessed a mixture of lapidary conservatism and imaginative innovation in writing. The monuments of luxury Latin book production, the *Vatican Vergil, *Roman Vergil, and Vergilius Mediceus (4th–5th cents.), are written in varying levels of Capitalis Rustica, harking back to stone and metal *inscriptions of the Early Empire. Other examples are the Codex Bembinus of Terence and the later Paris *Prudentius and Turin *Sedulius. Rare examples of Square Capitalis occur in fragments of *Vergil and Lucan from St Gall and *Verona (Vergil), Vienna and *Naples (Lucan). Apparently Capitalis was restricted to the great classical and Christian poets.

Everyday purposes such as the writing of private *letters and bills of sale demanded a script that could be written with less effort entailing reduced letterforms and the ability to connect them. The reduced letterforms of Old Roman Cursive (ORC) reflect the angularity of the epigraphic scripts and resistance to rounding in letters such as *a, p, r, s*, and *v* (*u*). In the 4th century—when New Roman Cursive (NRC) gets under way—one notes the rounding of letters and introduction of bows to previously bowless letters such as *a* and *p*, while loops appear in the ascenders of *h* and *l*. In general, the letterforms of NRC (4th–6th cent.) show greater distinction from each other and begin to resemble those of some early medieval scripts. In contrast to early examples of NRC, Cursive writing of the late 6th century looks fluid, sloping slightly to the right, letters rounded, bows exaggerated, and clubbing evident in the ascenders. Word separation is evident, in contrast to early NRC which permitted ligatures between words.

While traditionalist scribes were producing Vergil in Capitalis, other copyists experimented with less taxing calligraphic hands. The 4th century saw the introduction of the oddly named 'Uncial' ('inch-high') and Semi-Uncial, both influenced by the curved and rounded letter shapes of NRC. Uncial was apparently intended as a rival book hand to Capitalis. Self-consciously a majuscule script, it admitted only a few of the letterforms attested in Cursive, but absent in Capitalis, namely *d, h, m*, and *q*. It also adhered more or less to the limited number of ligatures allowed in Capitalis: *OR, UNT, UR*. Its development from the script of early fragments known as 'the Epitome of Livy' and *De Bellis Macedonicis* is controversial, though clearly 'Uncial' letterforms existed in earlier calligraphic examples. The script was used, though not exclusively, for luxury Christian works, both biblical and patristic. Famous survivals include a fragment of *Justinian's *Code* dated to 529/33, the lower script of the palimpsest of Cicero's *De Republica*, and the Vercelli Gospels. Its use extended into the early Middle Ages for whole texts and continued much later as a display script.

The calligraphic Semi-Uncial, which appears later than Uncial, is similarly rounded, but is more obviously a Minuscule script. Additional to the Minuscule letters imported by Uncial, Semi-Uncial appropriates *f, g, p, r*, and *s*, as well as 'bowed' *a*; ascenders and descenders go well above and below the line of writing. The earliest example is the *consular Fasti for 487–94 in a Verona palimpsest; a copy of S. Hilary's writing is dated to before 509/10. The script arrived in *Ireland probably in the 6th century, forming the basis of Insular Half Uncial. Borrowing Uncial forms *D, R, S*, and Minuscule *n*, the hybrid script served as a suitable calligraphic medium for scriptural texts. MWHe

J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (1952).
B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, tr. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (1990).

writing, Semitic, Arabic The *Arabic script developed from a cursive form of the *Nabataean Aramaic script through a 'transitional' stage known from 4th- and 5th-century **graffiti* from northern Arabia (L. Nehmé). The pre-Islamic *inscriptions employed a *scriptio defectiva*, in which several characters had more than one phonological value. One of the characteristic features distinguishing pre-Islamic inscriptions from even the earliest texts from the Islamic period is the optional use of diacritical markings to disambiguate polyphonic glyphs. Other orthographic differences exist, including the representation of word medial long *a* and the use of the *ta' marbuta* in construct position. Remarkably, the same practices are found across *graffiti*, *papyri, and monumental inscriptions. The scarcity of attestations in the Arabic script from the pre-Islamic period makes it difficult to make a chronology for these changes. C. Robin hypothesizes that a script reform carried out by the Medinian state is responsible for these developments. Scholars have termed the script of the texts composed in the 7th and first half of the 8th century 'Hijazi'. By the late 7th century, the Hijazi script had achieved a more uniform character, perhaps, as Déroche suggests, as a result of the Arabization of the *Umayyad *administration in this period. In the 8th century, the standardized Umayyad script gave rise to the so-called Kufic script, although the exact developmental relationship between the two remains unclear. The Kufic hand enjoyed much success as a calligraphic style, and modified forms of this script are popular even today. AMA

L. Nehmé, 'A Glimpse of the Development of the Nabataean Script into Arabic Based on Old and New Epigraphic Material', in M. C. A. Macdonald, ed., *The Development of Arabic as a Written Language* (Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 40, 2010), 47–88.
F. Déroche, 'L'écriture arabe', in W. Fischer, ed., *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, vol. 1: *Sprachwissenschaft* (1985), 325–9.
A. George, *The Rise of Arabic Calligraphy* (2010).
C. Robin, 'La Réforme de l'écriture arabe à l'époque du califat médinois'. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006), 319–64.

writing, Semitic, Hebrew The Palaeo-Hebrew script is an offshoot of the West Semitic alphabet used by the Phoenicians. In its earliest stages, the script was indistinguishable from its Canaanite forebear. Word medial vowels were generally not indicated while word final vowels were represented by the consonants *y, w*, and *h* (*matres lectionis*). The Phoenician script was not modified for the phonological needs of Hebrew, which had a richer consonant inventory than Phoenician in this period. As a result, the several characters represented more than one phoneme. The most notable example is the glyph *šin*, which represented both the *sh*-sound and a voiceless lateral sound, similar to Welsh *ll*. This distinction survives in the Tiberian reading tradition, although the original lateral pronunciation was replaced by /s/. Other polyphonic letters can be deduced from transcriptions. *Greek renditions of Hebrew names in the Septuagint indicate that the *ḥēt*-glyph signified both *ḥ* and *ḫ*, and the same was true of *ʿayin*, which stood for both ʿ and ġ. Around the 3rd century BC, Jews began to write Hebrew in an adapted form of the Aramaic script, known as the 'Jewish script' or the 'square script', although the older Hebrew script continued to be used sporadically by Jews, mainly on coins. The *Samaritans, on the other hand, continued to use the Palaeo-Hebrew script exclusively, and still do today. By the early Middle Ages, the philological schools of *Palestine and *Mesopotamia developed several diacritical systems to indicate vowels, gemination, and stress. Of these, only the Tiberian tradition continues to be used today. AMA

J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* (²1987).

writing, Semitic, pre-Islamic The Semitic scripts of Late Antiquity derive from the West Semitic *abjad*, a writing system in which symbols correspond to consonants but not vowels. This arose in the first half of the second millennium BC due to stimulus diffusion from Egyptian writing. Setting aside the cuneiform *abjad* of Ugaritic, the West Semitic *abjad* can be divided into two branches: (1) a northern branch that finds an early expression in the Phoenician writing system, which was borrowed by Hebrew and Aramaic as well as by *Greek. Over time, the Aramaic writing system diversified into a number of different scripts (e.g. Palmyrene, *Syriac). One of these was eventually borrowed by Hebrew speakers to become the Hebrew square script (*see* WRITING, SEMITIC, HEBREW). Another of these, Nabataean, was adapted for the writing of *Arabic.

(2) A southern branch represented by the writing systems of Ancient North Arabian and of Old South Arabian. The latter was borrowed to write the earliest *inscriptions in Classical Ethiopic (*Ge'ez), and with this language it was eventually modified to indicate vowels as well as consonants. The writing of the northern branch is typically right to left with a few exceptions (e.g. the top to bottom writing of Syriac), whereas early inscriptions of the southern branch are often boustrophedon (switching directions). The letters in the southern branch follow the so-called *halaḥam* order (*ḥ, l, ḫ, m* …), differing from that of the northern branch (*ʾ, b, g, d,* …). Interestingly, the order of the southern branch is attested in an abecedary from Beth Shemesh in *Palestine as well as one from Ugarit (against the normal order there). AMB

J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet* (²1987).

B. Sass, *Studia Alphabetica: On the Origin and Early History of the Northwest Semitic, South Semitic, and Greek Alphabets* (1992).

writing, Semitic, Syriac *Syriac writing derives from the form of Aramaic script that was used in the *city of *Edessa (mod. Sanlıurfa/Urfa, south-east Turkey), in the first three centuries AD. This script is attested on stone, *mosaics, and parchments, as a monumental as well as cursive script.

Edessa played a central role in the development of a Syriac literature and Christian *liturgy. The *Bible was translated there as early as the 2nd century AD, and it is from Edessa that Christianity spread to *Mesopotamia and further east, so that the script of Edessa became that of Christians throughout these regions.

The formal Syriac script, named estrangelā, is first attested in an *inscription on a *mosaic dated AD 406/7 from a *monastery near Jerablus in *Syria, and in a manuscript from Edessa written in AD 411 (BL Add. 12,150).

In *Mesopotamia and further east, Syriac script kept its original form till the end of the Middle Ages and is only distinctive through a system of vocalization by dots. In Syria, a more cursive form, called sertō, derived from Edessan cursive, appears in colophons as earlier as the 6th century; from the 10th century onwards it developed into a form also called sertō, generally used for manuscripts. FBC

F. Briquel Chatonnet and A. Desreumaux, 'Oldest Syriac Christian Inscription Discovered in North Syria', *Hugoye* 14/1 (2011), 93–106.

F. Briquel Chatonnet, 'De l'écriture édessenienne à l'estrangelā et au serṭō', *Semitica* 50 (2000), 81–90.

W. H. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (1946).

J. F. Healey, 'The Early History of the Syriac Script: A Reassessment', *JnlSemSt* 45 (2000), 55–67.

writing, technology of *Books and documents were chiefly written with a reed pen on *papyrus rolls with ink made of soot, oak gall, or iron sulphite. From the 2nd century AD papyrus sheets were also folded and sewn to form codices, shaped like modern books. Parchment made from the skin of calves (vellum) or *sheep was also used for books; the earliest surviving examples date from the 4th century. Luxury Gospel books were sometimes copied on parchment which had been dyed *purple. Wax writing *tablets were used for notes and for *letters; a metal stylus was used to write in the wax. DG

Wroxeter City in the western English Midlands, Roman Viroconium Cornoviorum, founded in the AD 90s. It played an important part in the 4th-century *province *Britannia Prima. There are important standing Roman structural remains, including the wall of the *baths-*basilica (the 'Old Work'), and the post-Roman sequence of rectangular *timber buildings identified through meticulous excavations. Recent research indicates that the settlement became an important local power base; it dispels former views of a violent end, and suggests that Wroxeter was probably abandoned in the early 8th century. ACR

R. White and P. Barker, *Wroxeter: Life and Death of a Roman City* (1998).

Wulfoald (d. *c.*679) *Mayor of the Palace (657–75) under *Childeric II, first in *Austrasia, then from 673 of the whole *Frankish kingdom. He fled to Austrasia at Childeric's fall, and may have supported *Dagobert II, but was dead by 680. RVD

Ebling, *Prosopographie*, no. CCCXIII, 241–3.

Wulfolaic (Vulfilaic; S. Walfroy) *Deacon and monk, *fl.* 585. A *Lombard, Wulfolaic was a protégé of *Aredius of Limoges, before founding a church in honour of S. *Martin and a *monastery in the Ardennes near Carignan, and converting pagans. Despite the harsh winters, he lived as a *stylite, until local *bishops destroyed his column (*Gregory of *Tours, *HF* VIII, 15–16). RVD

PCBE IV/2, Uulfilaicus.

Würzburg (Bavaria, Germany) A fort or *civitas* which was the base of the *Thuringian ducal *court until the death of *Hetan II. Burchard, its first *bishop, was established there by S. *Boniface in *c.*742. JTP

H. Mordek, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im austrasischen Frankenreich', in J. Jarnut et al., *Karl Martell*, 345–66.

X

xač'k'ar *See* KHATCHKAR.

Xanthus of Lycia (nr mod. Kınık, SW Turkey) *City, ecclesiastically suffragan to *Myra, which prospered in Late Antiquity with new construction, including peristyle *houses and several churches, which respected the urban layout. Notable was a richly decorated *basilica with a *tetraconch *baptistery, probably the cathedral, dating to the second half of the 5th century. The buildings of the nearby *Letöon, the pagan religious centre of *Lycia, were exploited as *quarries, and a 6th-century *monastery dominated the site until its destruction in the 7th century when much of the city was abandoned. New fortifications on the acropolis may date to this period of strife. PTa

J. Des Courtils, *The Guide to Xanthos and Letoon* (2003).
TIB 8, 911–15.
C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age', *DOP* 48 (1994), 1–52, at 9–14.
J. des Courtils and L. Cavalier 'The City of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine Times', in Parrish, *Urbanism of Roman Asia Minor*, 148–71.

xenodocheia *See* HOSTELS.

Xi'an stele (Nestorian monument, Sian-Fu stele, Chang'an stele) A black limestone monument from Xi'an, western capital of the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–907), inscribed in Chinese and *Syriac and erected in 781. The Chinese text, composed by the *priest Jingjing (Syr. Adam) and entitled *Stele on the Propagation of the Luminous Religion in China*, expounds the doctrine and history of Christianity (called *Jingjiao*, 'the luminous religion') in *China up to 781. It describes the mission of the Persian monk *Aluoben to China in 635 and the authorization of the Tang Emperor Taizong (627–49) to spread Christianity there. The Chinese text exhibits significant acculturation of the faith, incorporating terms borrowed from *Buddhism and Taoism. A list of names in Chinese and *Syriac includes *bishops, *priests, *deacons, and monks, several of Persian origin. The stele refers to the Patriarch Henanisho, who had died in 780 and been replaced by Timothy I.

Christianity continued to prosper in China until opposition from the native Chinese ideologies of Confucianism and Taoism to foreign religions resulted in an imperial edict ordering the dissolution of foreign *monasteries in 845. The stele was presumably buried at this time, remaining hidden until its discovery in either 1623 or 1625 (debate still surrounds the exact date and place). A recently discovered pillar (814/15) describing the Christian community in Luoyang, the eastern Tang capital, provides an interesting parallel. MLD

J. Foster, *The Church of the T'ang Dynasty* (1939).
J. Legge, *The Nestorian Monument of Hsî-an Fû in Shen-hsî, China Relating to the Diffusion of Christianity in China in the 7th and 8th Centuries: With the Chinese Text of the Inscription, a Translation and Notes* (1888; repr. 1966).
A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (1930).
F. Nau, 'L'Expansion nestorienne en Asie', *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de vulgarisation* 40 (1914).
P. Pelliot and A. Forte, *L'Inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou* (1996).
P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (1951).
N. Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. I: *635–1800* (2001).
L. Tang, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and its Literature in Chinese* (2004).

Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang, Hiuen-tsiang) (*c.*596/602–664) *Buddhist monk, traveller, and translator who journeyed from *China to *India through *Central Asia in search of Buddhist scriptures which could be used in the reform of Chinese Buddhism. Leaving Chang'an (Xi'an) in 629, Xuanzang travelled north of the *Tarim basin, through Hami, *Turfan, Kucha, and Aqsu, over the Tien Shan range to Issyk-Köl, where he met the Western *Türk *Khagan. He then passed through *Talas, *Chach, *Samarkand, Kesh, and *Tirmidh, across the Oxus and into *Tukharistan, visiting Kunduz, *Balkh, and *Bamiyan before crossing the

Hindu Kush, thence into Gandharan territory and finally India. On his return journey, he travelled through Ghazna, Kunduz, Badakhshan, Wakhan, *Kashgar, and *Khotan, eventually arriving in Chang'an in 645. Despite its hagiographical elements, Xuanzang's travel account, *Da Tang Xiyu Ji* (*Hsiyü Chi*, *Si-yu-ki*), provides invaluable insights into *Central Asia and India in Late Antiquity, particularly the status of Buddhism in those areas. His disciple Huili wrote a biography of Xuanzang, which was translated into Old *Uighur in the 10th century. MLD

ET S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (1911; repr. Trübner's oriental series 2003).

ET S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols. (1884).

R. Bernstein, *Ultimate Journey* (2001).

S. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, 2 vols. (1857–8).

É. de la Vaissière, 'Note sur la chronologie du voyage de Xuanzang', *Journal Asiatique* 298 (2010), 157–68.

T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629–645 A.D.*, 2 vols. (1904–5).

***Xwaday Namag* (*Khvadhaynamagh, Book of Lords*)** An elusive and no longer extant Middle *Persian chronicle recounting Iran's national history, presumed to have been compiled during the *Sasanian era (224–651). *Agathias furnishes a conspectus of the whole history of the Sasanian dynasty excerpted from the Persian royal records and translated into *Greek for him by *Sergius the Interpreter (IV, 24–30, 5) as well as an account of Persian religion (II, 23–7), and it is likely that what he has to say is related to what is known of the *Xwaday Namag* from historians and poets writing in the centuries following the *Arab conquests.

Early Islamic sources mention a number of vastly different *Arabic translations of this 'Book of Kings', notably one by Ibn Muqaffa (d. AD 756/9) and another by one Bahram Mardanshah, presumably a *Zoroastrian priest of the 8th/9th century AD. Although none of these translations has survived, scholars have inferred the existence of different versions in Middle Persian. Given the absence of an attested Middle Persian version of the text, the appellation *Xwaday Namag* is perhaps best considered a reference to a genre rather than to one particular text or its different versions.

Another lost translation, known as the *Shahnama* of Abu Mansur, composed in New Persian prose in the mid-10th century AD, reportedly formed the basis for the versified introduction to the *Shahnama* of the mid-/late 10th-century poet Daqiqi. Scholars assume that the poet Ferdowsi (d. 1020) relied on Daqiqi alongside an unknown version of the *Xwaday Namag* to provide material for his great epic the *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*).

The *Xwaday Namag* thus emerges as the distant Middle Persian predecessor of the New Persian *Shahnama*, and scholars have sought to reconstruct its content, working from a comparison between Zoroastrian literature, Arabic sources, and Ferdowsi's poem. The text, it is believed, spanned the legendary and mythological history of Iran, from the Creation, through the first man and king and the legendary dynasties, to the Sasanian era. AZ

EncIran XII/3 (2003) *s.n.* historiography ii. pre-Islamic period, 325–30 (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

EncIran I/6 (1984) *s.n.* Agathias, 608–9 (M.-L. Chaumont).

Agathias: ed. (with ET and comm.) Averil Cameron, 'Agathias on the Sassanians', *DOP* (1969/70), 67–183.

A. Sh. Shahbazi, 'On the *Xwadāy-nāmag*', in *Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Acta Iranica 30, 1990), 208–29.

O. M. Davidson, *Poet and Hero in the Persian Book of Kings* (³2013).

***xwarrah* (*farrah*)** Middle *Persian word from the Avestan *xvarənah*, denoting the divine royal fortune which marked the rightful Iranian king. *Xwarrah* manifested itself as a bodily glow or light around a ruler's head, portrayed as a *nimbus in Persian *art of the late *Sasanian period. A ruler might lose it through hubris. MPC

Canepa, *Two Eyes.*

EncIran (1999) *s.v.* farr(ah) (G. Gnolli).

EncIran (2010) *s.v.* farr(ah): ii iconography of farrah/*x*ᵛarənah* (A. Soudavar).

Y

Yaman Tribal group originating from southern *Arabia, among whom were the tribes of *Azd, *Kalb, *Kinda, and Tanukh, the *Ghassanids, *Himyarites, and *Lakhimids. The Yaman had a long-running rivalry with another group, the *Qays, frequently mentioned by *Tabari, which came to define much of the politics of the 8th-century *Umayyad period. The support of Yamanis in *Syria was integral to the victory of the Umayyad *Mu'awiya in the First *Arab Civil War (656–61), and essential to the Umayyads regaining power in the Second Arab Civil War (683–92).

The Third Arab Civil War (744–7) was characterized by conflict between them and the Qays, with a Yamani alliance responsible for the assassination of al-*Walid II in 744. RJL

P. Crone, 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?', *Der Islam* 71 (1994), 1–57.

A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate* (1971).

al-Ya'qubi (*fl.* later 9th cent.) Muslim historian. Among his surviving works are a universal history (*Ta'rikh*) and a descriptive geography (*Kitab al-Buldan*) influenced by the secretarial writing style known as *adab*—i.e. the wide-ranging interests required by a refined courtier. The former has been taken to indicate *Shi'i sympathies. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* al-Ya'kūbī, 257–8 (Zaman).

Ta'rikh, ed. M. Th. Houtsma as *Historiae*, 2 vols. (1883).

Kitab al-buldan, ed. M. J. de Goeje (1892); FT G. Wiet, *Les Pays* (1937).

Mushakalat al-nas li-zamanihim, ed. W. G. Millward (1972); ET William G. Millward, 'The Adaptation of Men to their Time: An Historical Essay by al-Yaqûbî', *JAOS* 84 (1964), 329–44.

E. L. Daniel, 'Al-Ya'qūbī and Shi'ism Reconsidered', in J. E. Montgomery, ed., *'Abbāsid Studies* (2004), 209–31.

T. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (1994).

W. G. Millward, 'Al-Ya'qūbī's Sources and the Question of Shī'a Partiality', *Abī-Nahrain* 12 (1971–2), 47–74.

E. L. Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (1964).

Yarmuk, Battle of (636) Arab Muslim forces under the command of Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah and a Byzantine *army commanded by the generals Vahan and Theodore Trithurios, brother of the Byzantine Emperor *Heraclius, clashed in the Yarmuk Valley (modern north Jordan) in July 636. The Arab Muslim *army won decisively and the victory presented the Muslims with the opportunity to push into northern *Syria, eventually driving the Byzantines into *Anatolia. MCE

J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis* (2010).

W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992).

Yassi Ada shipwrecks Yassi Ada is an island off the Turkish coast, south of Bodrum in the Chukka Channel. Reefs and strong winds make the place unsafe for navigation and several wrecks have been discovered off the southern tip of the island.

Two sites in particular have been excavated, revealing wrecks of the 4th century and 7th century, both located off the south-west tip of the island. The *ships exhibit different stages of a mixed construction technique, indicating a shift from a frame-first to skeleton-first construction method. The hull planking of the 4th/5th-century wreck was generally loosely and widely spaced by mortice-and-tenon joints. Half-frames were erected after the assemblage of the first five planking strakes, which helped shape the hull. In contrast, the hull construction of the 7th-century wreck shows extremely small and widely spaced mortice-and-tenon joints only in the lower part of the hull up to the waterline.

The 4th-century ship, less than 20 m (66 feet) long, had a cargo which included *pottery, among it more than 1,100 *amphorae of Aegean provenance of at least three different types, and also some plates, dishes, bowls, and a few cooking pots.

The 7th-century ship, of similar dimensions, had a capacity of 60 tons. Its cargo comprised about 900

amphorae, of two basic shapes, and also plates, dishes of many types, pitchers, cups and cooking pots, a censer, and also sixteen *gold and 54 *copper coins, dating from 586 to 626. The unusual nature of the ship and its cargo makes the 7th-century Yassi Ada wreck one of the most interesting and important excavated shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. The ship, which belonged to the Church, may have been providing military supplies for a *fleet based at *Samos during *Heraclius' *Persian War of 626. JC; AG

G. Bass and F. H. Doorninck Jr., 'A Fourth-Century Byzantine Shipwreck', *AJA* 75/1 (1971), 27–37.
G. Bass and F. H. Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada, A Seventh Century Byzantine Shipwreck* (Nautical Archaeology Series 1, 1982), vol. 1, I, 6–31, VII, 145–7.

Yathrib *See* MEDINA.

Yazdegerd I (MP Yazdgird) *Sasanian king (r. 399–420/1). He is famous both for his prudent and peaceful policy towards East Rome and his favourable treatment of *Jews and Christians of the *Church of the East who, in AD 410, were allowed to hold their first *council, the Synod of Beth Lapat. His western policy led to the (disputed) tradition that the Emperor *Arcadius had asked Yazdegerd to become the guardian of his son *Theodosius II (*Procopius, *Persian*, I, 2). His religious policy, together with his harsh treatment of parts of the *aristocracy and the *Zoroastrian clergy—after all, three of his predecessors had met violent deaths at the hands of the nobility—earned him the epithet 'the sinner' (Arabic *al-Athim*) in the later sources, reflecting the views of the aristocracy. Yazdegerd's *coinage added to the royal style the legend 'who maintains peace in his dominion' (MP *Ramšahr*), one of the first Kayanid titles to appear in official Sasanian titulature. JWi

EncIran s.v. Yazdegerd I (A. Sh. Shahbazi).
PLRE II, Isdigerdes I.
T. Daryaee, 'History, Epic, and Numismatics: On the Title of Yazdgerd I (Ramšahr)', *American Journal of Numismatics* 14 (2002 (2003)), 89–95.
N. Schindel, 'Yazdgerd I', in M. Alram and R. Gyselen, eds., *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3/1 (2004), 318ff.

Yazdegerd II (MP Yazdgird) Persian king (r. 438–57). He defeated the Kushans in the east and with the aid of his minister *Mihr-Narseh subdued *Armenian attempts to assert their independence. His persecution of *Christians is apparent from the number of *Syriac martyr passions originating during his reign and from his devotion to *Zoroastrianism. Yazdegerd II was the first to incorporate the title 'Kay' on his numismatic titulature, which overtly connects him and the dynasty to the mythical Kayanid dynasty celebrated in the *Avesta. TD

EncIran (2003) *s.n.* Yazdegerd II (A. Sh. Shahbazi).
PLRE II, Isdigerdes II.
T. Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia* (2013).

Yazdegerd III (r. 632–51) The last *Sasanian king. His *armies were defeated during the *Arab conquest, and he was obliged to take refuge in the East.

Yazdegerd III emerged as Shahanshah from the series of short-lived monarchs (including *Qobad II, *Ardashir III, *Shahwaraz, *Boran, *Hormizd V, and *Khosrow III) who held power and minted *coinage in the disorder in the *Persian Empire which ensued on the death of *Khosrow II in 628. He was crowned at the Adur *Anahid *fire temple in the province of *Fars, the location where *Ardashir I, the first Sasanian King of Kings, was crowned.

After the loss of *Mesopotamia during the Arab campaign of 635–8, followed by defeat at the Battle of *Nihawand in 640/2, Yazdegerd moved from province to province, but, unable to bring unity to the Empire, he eventually fled to the north-east. He was finally murdered at *Merv at the instigation of Mahuy, the governor of *Khorasan, in AD 651.

He sent his sons and daughters to *China and the East Roman Empire, to seek help in recovering the *Persian Empire from the Muslims. He minted coinage in all provinces, but mostly in the east, in *Kirman and *Sistan which were the last places where he held out before his death. Some provinces continued to mint coins in his name, upholding his rule. Some *Zoroastrians continued to use the date of his coronation as the beginning of a distinctive *era. TD

Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 34–8.

Yazdgushnasp (Gk. Isdegousnas Zich) (d. 567) Persian ambassador to the *Emperor *Justinian I. *Khosrow I first deployed him in 547 when under the pretext of leading an embassy to the Romans he was to seize *Dara; the plan failed as the Romans limited his retinue to twenty followers, and he proceeded on to *Constantinople (*Procopius, *Persian*, II, 31–44). Later, he negotiated with *Peter the Patrician the five-year treaty of 551 and demanded 2,000 pounds of *gold from Justinian (Procopius, *Gothic*, VIII, 15, 1–7). He was the senior negotiator for the treaty of 557 after the campaign in Transcaucasia (*Agathias, IV, 30, 7–10) and the principal negotiator, again with Peter the Patrician, in the protracted negotiations of 561–2 that resulted in the *Fifty Years Peace which was supposed to bring an end to the *Persian–Roman wars (*Menander Protector, fr. 6, 1 Blockley). KR; OPN

PLRE III, Isdegousnas Zich.
Greatrex and Lieu, 123–36.

Yazid I b. Mu'awiya (644/7–83) *Umayyad *caliph (680–3). Yazid I's reign marked the end of the control of the caliphate by the Sufyanid branch of the *Umayyad clan. His time is generally known for its crises: the conflict with al-*Husayn b. 'Ali, and the latter's violent death at *Karbala in Iraq in 680, an event commemorated with ceremonies of mourning by *Shi'ites today; and the beginning of what would become the Second *Arab Civil War (**Fitna*), a struggle for control of the caliphate between the Umayyads and *'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, who had a great deal of support, notably in the *Arabian Peninsula. In the course of a campaign against the latter, *Mecca was besieged and the *Ka'ba damaged by fire. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* Yazīd (I) b. Mu'āwiya, 309–11 (Hawting).

*Tabari, XXIV.

G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).

H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (²2004).

H. Kilpatrick, "Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz, al-Walīd ibn Yazīd and their Kin: Images of the Umayyads in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*', in A. Borrut and P. M. Cobb, eds., *Umayyad Legacies* (2010), 63–87.

J. E. Lindsay, 'Caliphal and Moral Exemplar? 'Alī Ibn 'Asākir's Portrait of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya', *Der Islam* 72 (1997), 250–78.

Yazid II b. 'Abd al-Malik (*c.*690/1–724) *Umayyad *caliph (r. 720–4), son of *'Abd al-Malik and grandson of *Yazid I. Yazid's reign bears several typical Umayyad features: trouble with the *Muhallabid family (in the form of a revolt by Yazid b. al-Muhallab in 720), meddling in tribal factionalism (Yazid sided with the *Qays against the *Yaman), a thwarted effort to control the succession (like al-*Walid I, Yazid wished to pass the throne to his son al-*Walid b. Yazid, but was obliged instead to name as heir his brother *Hisham), and a later historical reputation that paints him as a decadent dilettante in thrall to a singing-girl (**qayna*) named *Hababa. Yazid also ordered the destruction of human and animal imagery in his domains. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* Yazīd (II) B. 'Abd al-Malik, 311 (Blankinship).

*Tabari, XXIV.

Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣfahani, *Kitab al-aghani*, 24 vols. (1927–74).

P. M. Cobb, 'The Empire in Syria, 705–763', in *NCHIslam*, 226–68.

G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).

Ch. Pellat, 'Les Esclaves-chanteuses de Ǧāḥiẓ', *Arabica* 10 (1963), 121–47.

Yazid III b. al-Walid (d. 744) Short-lived *Umayyad *caliph (r. 744). Yazid was the son of al-*Walid I and of a granddaughter of the *Sasanian King *Yazdegerd III. He seized the *caliphate from his cousin al-*Walid II. Some medieval authors cast this act, and the subsequent overthrow of Yazid III's successor by *Marwan II a handful of months later, in terms of doctrinal dispute, portraying Yazid as an adherent of the free-will Qadari creed, and his rivals as believers in predestination. Others devote more space to the tribal affiliations of Yazid's supporters: they are said to have been largely *Kalbi/*Yamani. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.n.* Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd (I), 311–12 (Hawting).

*Tabari, XXVI.

al-*Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*.

G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986).

S. C. Judd, 'Medieval Explanations for the Fall of the Umayyads', in A. Borrut and P. M. Cobb, eds., *Umayyad Legacies* (2010), 89–104.

Yeavering Archaeological site on the River Glen in Northumberland, England, believed to be the location of a royal residence called Ad Gefrin by *Bede (*HE* II, 14). Crop marks photographed by J. K. St Joseph in 1949 showed a complex of features which were investigated by B. Hope-Taylor from 1952 to 1962. His excavations revealed the vestiges of a series of early medieval features including large timber halls, *burials, a palisaded enclosure, and a unique timber 'grandstand'. This existed in a landscape rich in prehistoric features whose earthworks were visible to the *Anglo-Saxons. SCT

B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering* (1977).

P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien, eds., *Yeavering: People, Power and Place* (2005).

Yemen *See* ARABIA, SOUTHERN.

yields of grain crops Differing regional and annual environmental conditions caused yields of *grain to vary across the Late Roman world. In *Egypt, sowing rates of one **artaba* of about 30 kg (66 lbs) of wheat per **aroura* (2,760 sq. m = 0.7 acres) were standard, and returns of 10:1 expected. Since Egypt normally produced two grain crops per year, potential surpluses were considerable. From *Nessana in the *Negev, 6th-century documents indicate yields of eight measures for each one sown. Other yield figures obtained from archaeology and ethnohistory generally correlate well with these figures; estimates range around 4 tonnes per hectare in *Syria for wheat yields, while estimates for wheat in *Spain range from 1.6 tonnes per hectare in the north-east to 1.2 tonnes per hectare in the south-east. MD

G. A. Slafer, I. Romagosa, and J. L. Araus, 'Durum Wheat and Barley Yields in Antiquity Estimated from 13C Discrimination of Archaeological Grains: A Case Study from the Western Mediterranean Basin', *Functional Plant Biology* 26/4 (1999), 345–52.

Yohanan ben Nappaha (*fl. c.*250; second-generation *amora*) As the authority cited most often in the Palestinian *Talmud, Yohanan exerted a decisive impact on the *rabbinic movement of 3rd- and 4th-century Roman *Palestine. He began teaching in *Sepphoris, but later established his own circle of disciples in *Tiberias, where he trained many of the most prominent rabbinic scholars of the next generation. While the precise referent of 'Nappaha' remains uncertain, most scholars assume this cognomen means 'the blacksmith', perhaps pointing to Yohanan's middling origins in the artisan class. But narratives about Yohanan, as well as his own recorded statements, such as the account of how he sold family lands to pay for his studies (*Leviticus Rabba 30: 1), may suggest that he belonged to the wealthier strata of provincial Jewish society. Indeed, various traditions suggest that he sought—and perhaps exerted—influence over communal affairs, aligning himself carefully with the household of the Jewish *Patriarch, settling legal disputes and making judicial appointments, addressing how *Jews ought to navigate the perils of Roman urban culture, and perhaps engaging in extended polemical exchanges with Christian contemporaries like *Origen. Among the most fascinating features of the biographical legends about Yohanan are his famed and apparently androgynous beauty and the intimate and productive scholastic partnership he enjoyed with his brother-in-law Simeon (Resh) Lakish (cf. Palestinian Talmud *Megillah* 1: 11 [72b] and Babylonian Talmud *Bava Metzia* 84a). RSB

D. Boyarin, 'Homotopia: The *Fem*inized Jewish Man and the Lives of Women in Late Antiquity', *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 7 (1995), 41–81.

R. R. Kimelman, 'Rabbi Yohanan of Tiberias: Aspects of the Social and Religious History of Third-Century Palestine', Ph.D. thesis (Yale, 1977).

R. R. Kimelman, 'Rabbi Yohanan and Origen on the Song of Songs: A Third-Century Jewish–Christian Disputation', *HTR* 73 (1980), 567–95.

York Standing at the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Foss in Yorkshire, York (Eboracum) was the most important Roman settlement in north England. It was the most remote of those *cities whose proximity to *frontiers made them in the 3rd and 4th century appropriate imperial residences. Septimius Severus in 211 and *Constantius I in 306 both died at York, and *Constantine I was acclaimed *emperor there. Eborius, *Bishop of York, attended the *Council of *Arles in 314.

As a former fortress, *colonia*, provincial capital, and bishopric, the fabric of the late 4th-century city included the vestiges of many significant monumental buildings. Fragmentary archaeological material from the basilican hall of the *principia* and other buildings suggests their use continued into the early 5th century. There is little evidence for occupation in the city between the mid-5th and late 6th centuries, although several *Anglo-Saxon *cemeteries of this period have been identified outside the walls, including cremations on the Mount and at Heworth and inhumation *burials off Heslington Lane. Whilst a settlement of the 6th–7th centuries has been recognized at Heslington, at present archaeological evidence demonstrates occupation within the city only from the mid-7th century. A zone approximately 700 m (765 yards) in length running along the east bank of the River Ouse from Fishergate up to George Street/Dixon Lane is thought to represent the Anglian trading site of *Eorforwic*. Finds, including imported continental *pottery, show the area was occupied into the 9th century. Historical evidence suggests other parts of the city were used from rather earlier in the 7th century: for example, *Bede reports that King *Edwin of Northumbria was baptized in a hastily constructed wooden church dedicated to S. Paul (*HE* II, 14). The church became the see of Bishop *Paulinus, and was rebuilt shortly afterwards in stone. Its school was famous for the range of its curriculum: under *Egbert (who became York's archbishop from 735) and his successor Aelbert (Æthelbert), the York school produced scholars such as Charlemagne's adviser Alcuin. SCT; OPN

RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York*, vol. 1: *Eburacum, Roman York* (1962).

P. Bidwell, 'Constantius and Constantine at York', in Hartley et al., *Constantine*, 31–40.

D. Tweddle, J. Moulden, and E. Logan, *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence* (1999).

R. Hall, 'Recent Research into Early Medieval York and its Hinterland', in D. Petts and S. C. Turner, eds., *Early Medieval Northumbria* (2011), 71–84.

younger fill *See* LANDSCAPE AND LANDSCAPE CHANGE.

youth organizations Organizations for *iuvenes* or *epheboi* (usually 14 or 15 years of age) offered male citizens their first entry into public life while they were still technically minors. While civic organizations of the Principate declined in the 3rd century, some survived in the *cities. In *Alexandria, the *neoi*—young men connected with gymnasiums—had formal organizations with officials and treasuries, and were actively involved in local politics (Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 48). The Schola Juvenum at *Mactaris in *Byzacena was rebuilt under the *Tetrarchy; the city of Complutum in *Spain grandly rebuilt its *collegium iuvenum* in the early 4th century.

Cities offering advanced *education had a *de facto* cadre of *neoi*. Legislation controlled student behaviour in the City of *Rome (*CTh* XIV, 9; *CJust* XI, 19).

*Gregory of *Nazianzus writes of initiation rituals and formal student *dress (*Carmen de se ipso*, 666–7). Students were not always positively received: *Augustine spoke about their reckless behaviour (*Confessions*, III, 3–4 and V, 12), sometimes made worse by pagan–Christian rivalries (e.g. M. A. Kugener, ed., *Zacharie le scholastique: Vie de Sévère, PO* 2/1 (1907), 41–6). *Monasteries also possessed cadres of oblates, although from the 7th century the minimum age for a postulant was 10.

We also know of less formal associations. 'Juvenes' were ubiquitous in cities, where they often lampooned public officials and morality (**Digest*, 48, 19, 28:3). *Circus *factions in *Constantinople and elsewhere, mostly led by youths wearing distinctive *dress and *hairstyles (*Procopius, *Anecd.* 7, 8–14), were often at the forefront of urban *disorder and violence.

See also CHILDHOOD; EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS, LATIN AND EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS, GREEK.

GSN

J. Gagé, 'Les Organisations de "iuvenes" en Italie et en Afrique du début du IIIe siècle au "bellum Aquileiense" (238 ap. J.-C.)', *Historia* 19/2 (1970), 232–58.

S. Rascón Marqués, 'La ciudad de Complutum y su comarca en los siglos IV y V d.C.', in R. Teja y C. Pérez, eds., *La Hispania de Teodosio: Actas del Congreso Internacional. Segovia—Coca 1995* (1997), 649–62.

Yusuf Ash'ar (Dhu Nuwas) King of *Himyar in southern *Arabia (r. 515/17/23–5), and adherent of *Judaism. He is named Masruq in *The Book of the *Himyarites*, and Dhū Nuwās in later *Arabic literature. His persecution of Christians in *Najran and *Yemen, recorded in extant *inscriptions (see Hoyland, 52), prompted attacks from across the Red Sea by the kingdom of *Aksum, backed by the Eastern Roman Empire. Yusuf was defeated and committed *suicide.

PAW

G. D. Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia* (1988).
R. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001).

Yusuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafi Governor of Iraq (741–9) and son of previous Iraqi governor *'Umar b. Hubayra at what proved to be the onset of the *'Abbasid revolution. He hesitated in assisting the Governor of *Khorasan with the revolt of *Abu Muslim until it was too late.

RJL

EI 2 vol. 3 (1971) *s.v.* Ibn Hubayra, 802–3 (Makdisi).

Z

Zabdicene One of the *Transtigritanae regions, it was an *Armenian satrapy located on either side of the Tigris, including the cities of *Bezabde and Phinika (Finik), ceded to the Persians after 363. JCr

Zabergan Leader of the *Kutrigur *Huns who crossed the frozen Danube in spring 559 with considerable cavalry to raid *Scythia Minor, *Moesia, and *Greece and attack *Constantinople. Zabergan used his hatred of the *Utrigur Huns under *Sandilkh, who were Roman allies, as an excuse for Kutrigur hostility towards the Romans. The Kutrigurs ravaged the countryside around Constantinople, seizing booty and prisoners and approaching the inner walls of the imperial city. Thanks to Roman resistance under *Belisarius and *Germanus, Zabergan was unable to capture the city and departed with a gift of *gold from *Justinian I. To prevent further such threats, Justinian then induced Sandilkh to attack Zabergan and the Kutrigurs; the subsequent warfare seriously weakened both groups (*Agathias, V, 11–25; *Menander Protector, fr. 2). MLD; ABA

PLRE III, Zabergan 2.

Zacharias Doctor and diplomat under *Justin II and *Tiberius. Born at *Sura on the Euphrates *frontier, he arranged the truce following the Persian capture of *Dara in 573 and served on several embassies thereafter. OPN

PLRE III, Zacharias 2.

Zacharias *Bishop of *Rome 741–52 Zacharias inherited the difficulties experienced by his predecessors *Gregory II and Gregory III in dealing with a *Lombard monarchy at the height of its powers while imperial authority in *Italy was restricted to a diminished *exarchate of *Ravenna and the far south. On two occasions Zacharias intervened personally to persuade King *Liutprand to return captured fortresses and to evacuate the overrun exarchate. He continued support for the missions of S. *Boniface in Germany and in a momentous ruling backed the replacement of the *Merovingian kings with Pippin the Short. His life is summarized in **Liber Pontificialis*, 93. CTH

PBE, Zacharias 16.

Zacharias of Sakha *Bishop of Sakha (east of *Alexandria) in the 8th century, born probably soon after the *Arab conquest of *Egypt (641). 'Learned in the secular and ecclesiastical sciences', Zacharias was appointed to the *diwan*, the Islamic *administration. At some point he left the *diwan* and became a monk at the *Monastery of *John Colobus in the Wadi al-Natrun (*Scetis). In addition to *sermons, John's major surviving work is the *Life of John the Little*, 'a biography in the form of a *panegyric', extant in *Coptic, *Syriac, and *Arabic. The *Life* borrows about 38% of its content from the **Apophthegmata Patrum*; the remaining 62% is not extant elsewhere. TV

CoptEnc vol. 7 s.n. Zacharias, Saint, cols. 2368a–2369a (C. Detlef, G. Müller).

ed. (with LT) I. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, I, 1 (CSCO 47 and 67, 1954), *sub die* Amshīr 21.

Life (*BHO* 309): ET (with introd., including discussion of the text) Maged S. A. Mikhail and T. Vivian, *The Holy Workshop of Virtue: The Life of Saint John the Little* (2010).

Zacharias Rhetor of Mytilene (*c.*465–after 536) *Bishop of *Mytilene, advocate, historian, hagiographer, and polemicist. Born in *Gaza, Zacharias studied *rhetoric and *philosophy at *Alexandria (485–8), where he came to know *Severus, the future *Patriarch of *Antioch; they both went on to study *law at *Beirut (Berytus). Zacharias then moved to *Constantinople to practise law, probably in 492.

His first work, *De Mundi Opificio* ('On the creation of the world') or *Ammonius*, is an anti-*pagan *dialogue set in Alexandria with echoes of *Aeneas of *Gaza's *Theophrastus*. He enjoyed the support of some eminent courtiers in Constantinople to whom he dedicated biographies in the 490s of the holy men *Peter the *Iberian (*BHO* 956, fr.), Isaiah, and Theodore, *Bishop of *Antinoë.

In the mid-490s he produced his most ambitious work, a *Church History*, covering the period from the *Council of *Chalcedon in 451 to the *accession of *Anastasius I in 491. Like earlier such works, it incorporated extensive quotations from documents in an effort to support his moderate anti-Chalcedonian stance: Zacharias is supportive of the compromising position of Peter Mongus the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was willing, unlike some hard-line *Miaphysites, to back the Emperor *Zeno's **Henotikon*. The work may originally have been divided into three books, one each for the reigns of the *Emperors *Marcian, *Leo I, and Zeno. It is firmly centred on the *Egyptian patriarchate with some detail on *Palestinian affairs.

Sometime after 512 he composed his biography of *Severus of Antioch, an odd work that provides many insights into student life in Alexandria and Berytus but often loses sight of its intended subject. It was designed to defend the new patriarch against accusations of *paganism. He also wrote two polemical works directed against the *Manichaeans, from which it emerges that he was well informed about their cosmology and beliefs. His hostility to the *Council of *Chalcedon ultimately waned, and under *Justinian I he became Bishop of Mytilene; he is attested as such at a *council in Constantinople in 536.

Only the two brief polemical treatises and his philosophical dialogue survive in Greek; the remainder of his works are transmitted in *Syriac. The *Church History* was incorporated into a larger composite work of which it formed the centrepiece. The whole work was attributed, however, to Zacharias, and consequently its author is known as 'Pseudo-Zachariah'. The compiler pieced it together in *Amida in 569 or 570. In Books I–II he brought together various interesting legends, such as that of the *baptism of *Constantine I by *Sylvester at Rome and the legend of the *Seven Sleepers of *Ephesus. Zacharias' work, shorn of various elements and with a few dates inserted, occupies Books III–VI in this compilation, while Books VII–XII (of which parts of X and XII are lost, XI in its entirety) take the narrative up to the 560s and incorporate detailed accounts of both political and ecclesiastical events, including an abridged version of *Ptolemy's *Geography* and a Syriac version of the **Notitia Urbis Romae*. GBG

PLRE II, Zacharias 4.
PCBE III, Zacharias 1.
GEDSH 448-9, s.nn. Zacharias, Pseudo (Harrack) and Zacharias Rhetor (Brock).
Capita VII contra Manichaeos:
ed. S. N. C. Lieu (annotated with ET) in S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (1994), 203–305, cf. S.N.C. Lieu 'An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism: the *Capita VII Contra Manichaeos* of Zacharias of Mytilene ', *JbAC* 26 (1983), 152–218.
Antirrhesis:
ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, vol. 1 and only (1866), 1–4.
ed. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, vol. 5 (1888), 67–70.
De Opificio Mundi:
ed. (annotated with IT) M. Minniti Colonna, *Zacaria Scolastica. Ammonio* (1973).
Life of Severus (BHO 1060):
ed. (with FT) M.-A. Kugener, PO 2, fasc. 1 (1903/ 1907), 7–115.
ET L. Ambjörn (TeCLA 9, 2008).
Church History:
ed. E. W. Brooks (with LT), *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori Vulgo Adscripta*, 4 vols. (CSCO 83–4, 87–8; Scr. syr. 38–9, 41–2; 1919–24).
partial ET (annotated) C. Horn, R. Phenix, and G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor* (TTH 55, 2011).
partial GT (annotated), K. Ahrens and C. Krüger (1899).
Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451–491)*, ch. 7.
G. Greatrex, 'Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene: The Context and Nature of his Work', *JCSSS* 6 (2006), 39–52.
Watts, *Riot in Alexandria*.

Zafâr (Ẓafār, Sa[p]phar, Ta[p]phar) Capital city of the ancient *south Arabian kingdom of *Himyar, located in the Yemeni highlands, 9.5 km (6 miles) south of Yarīm. Settled at the latest in about the 1st century BC and encircled by a double wall, the city soon became the seat of Himyarite power (*Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, VI, 26, 104; *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 22; *Ptolemy, *Geographica*, VI, 7, 41). *Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, 47) makes Zafâr one of the seven chief cities of Arabia Felix. The surroundings were landscaped with cultivated terraces watered by dams and *cisterns. Sabaic inscriptions mention a *synagogue and *Philostorgius a church (*HE* III, 4), both reflecting the conversion of Himyarite kings to *Judaism and the presence of a Christian community. After the *Aksumite conquest of Himyar (*c.*525–30), Zafâr declined. Excavations have yielded no evidence of consistent post-Himyarite occupation. JS

P. Yule, ed., *Late Antique Arabia: Ẓafār, Capital of Ḥimyar* (2013).

Zaitha 'Place of the Olive Tree' near the Persian *frontier and site of the cenotaph of *Gordian III, seen by *Julian's army while advancing down the Euphrates in 363 (*Ammianus, XXV, 3, 7). OPN

Matthews, *Ammianus*, 130–2.
Potter, Empire at Bay, 236.
M. J. Johnson, 'The Sepulcrum Gordiani at Zaitha and its Significance', *Latomus* 53 (1994 [1995]), 141–4.

zakat *See* ALMSGIVING, ISLAMIC.

Zand (Zend) Term denoting the Middle *Persian (Pahlavi) translations with commentary of the *Avestan texts, commonly in the expression 'Avesta and Zand'. The original meaning of Zand may have been 'knowledge' or something similar. In the manuscripts the Avestan text and its Zand alternate, although in editions they are usually treated as individual texts. The Zand represents the oral traditional understanding of the Avesta, and developed over centuries before it was written down. It is therefore not entirely faithful to the original text of the Avesta, since the meaning of many words had been lost and the grammar of Avestan and Middle Persian is totally different. Nevertheless, many correct Avestan meanings and grammatical forms have been preserved in the Zand. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Avestan text was to some extent interpreted on the basis of the Zand, which caused numerous misunderstandings. The commentaries in the Zand provide valuable evidence for *Sasanian *Zoroastrian religion.

The primary function of the commentaries was to make sense of literal renderings of the text of the Avesta, but they often also incorporated more extensive discussions, which related traditional issues to contemporary conditions. This was the case in particular of the Zand of the **Vendidad* and *Nirangestan*, which contained rules for maintaining ritual purity and for correct ritual performance, and was of importance for correct ritual behaviour. The *Vendidad* had several Zands, the one found in the *Vendidad* manuscripts, and one which stands alone, together with some known only from being mentioned in other texts. The terms Avesta and Zand or Zand-Avesta were known early in both the Near East and the West; Zand was thought to mean 'living book' (cf. Persian *zende* 'alive'), and Zand/Zend was also thought to be the term denoting the Avestan language itself. In 19th-century editions, the Avesta was regularly called Zend-Avesta. POS

EncIran III/1 (1987) *s.v. Avesta* i. Survey of the history and contents of the book, 35–44 (Kellens).

EncIran IX/2 *s.v.* Exegesis i. In Zoroastrianism, 113–16 (P. G. Kreyenbroek).

P. O. Skjærvø, 'The Zoroastrian Oral Tradition as Reflected in the Texts', in A. Cantera, ed., *The Transmission of the Avesta* (Iranica 20, 2012), 3–48.

zanj In medieval *Arabic *zanj* refers to people of black African origin, especially from East Africa. East African slaves were already found in pre-Islamic *Arabia. In the Islamic period, large numbers were brought into the *caliphate. Many served as agricultural plantation slaves, notably in southern Iraq. The sources record a series of *zanj* rebellions there, in 689–90, in 694, and—the longest and best known—in 869–83. AM

A. Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century* (1998; French original 1976).

Zayd b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn (d. 740) The great grandson of the *Caliph *'Ali (r. 656–61), and eponym of Zaydi *Shi'ism, Zayd was born at *Medina in 659 to *'Ali b. al-Husayn Zayn al-'Abidin, whom later tradition regarded as the fourth Twelver Imam or third Isma'ili Imam. After moving to Iraq, Zayd studied under Wasil b. 'Ata' (d. *c.*748), a 'rationalist' (later Mu'tazili) scholar. At this time, Zayd is said to have begun to formulate the views that would come to define Zaydi theology, including the *imamat al-mafdul* (the leadership of the inferior) which would reconcile the *caliphates of *Abu Bakr (r. 632–4) and *'Umar I b. al-Khattab (r. 634–44) for Zaydi Shi'is, and the concept that any learned descendant of 'Ali and *Fatima who raised a revolt against injustice was the rightful imam. Zayd raised his revolt in January of 740, earlier than planned due to patchy support and the personal ambitions of his allies and of others in his extended family. His defeat and death following shortly thereafter. RHos

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, 128–9 (Madelung).

*Tabari, XXVI.

M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (1985).

Zemarchus (*fl.* 569–71/2) Roman general, *senator, and envoy to the *Türks, dispatched in August 569 in response to a *Sogdian-led Türk embassy to *Constantinople. The story is preserved most completely by *Menander Protector (frs. 10, 1–5; 13, 5; 19, 1–2 Müller, *FHG* IV, 273–4) and *John of *Ephesus (*HE* III, 6, 23), with briefer references in *Theophanes of Byzantium (*Photius cod. 64), *John of Epiphania, and *Theophylact Simocatta (III, 9, 7). Zemarchus travelled to *Sogdiana and beyond, met the western Türk ruler Istemi, called Sizabulos by Menander (*PLRE* III, Sizabulus), concluded a Roman–Türk treaty, and returned to Constantinople with another Türk embassy, led by Tagma Tarkhan (*PLRE* III, Tagma); the party arrived back in 571/2. Persian attempts to assassinate the embassy on the return journey resulted in renewed Persian–Byzantine warfare in 572.

Zemarchus' account gives valuable insights into Turkic culture, and into the role of Sogdians in the First Türk Empire, particularly in the person of *Maniakh (*PLRE* III, Maniach); Sogdians served as Türk ambassadors, they oversaw the *silk trade for the Türks, and their language was used for the Türk chancery. There were several more diplomatic exchanges between Byzantium and the Türks before the last Roman embassy to the Türks in 576 under Valentinus (*PLRE* III, Valentinus 3), who met Turxanthus, a name probably representing the title Türk-shad (*PLRE* III, Tourxanthus), and Tardu (*PLRE* III, Tardou), both sons of Istemi (Sizabulos). Anger over Byzantine

relations with the *Avars soon led to the Türk invasion of the Crimean *Bosporus (576–9). MLD

PLRE III, Zemarchus 3.
D. Sinor, 'The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire: Byzantine–Türk Relations', in *CHELA* I (1990), 301–5.
B. Baldwin, 'Menander Protector', *DOP* 32 (1978), 101–25.
M. Dickens, 'John of Ephesus on the Embassy of Zemarchus to the Türks', in I. Zimonyi, ed., *Eurasia in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden* (Turcologica 104, 2016), 103–32.
M. Dobrovits, 'The Altaic World through Byzantine Eyes: Some Remarks on the Historical Circumstances of Zemarchus' Journey to the Turks (AD 569–570)', *ActOrHung* 64 (2011), 373–409.
I. I. Russu, 'Zemarchos. Ein Beitrag zur Byzantinischen Prosopographie (6. Jh.)', *Dacia* 14 (1970), 411–18.
D. Sinor, 'Diplomatic Practices in Medieval Inner Asia', in C. E. Bosworth et al., eds., *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis* (1988), 337–55.
É. de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History*, tr. J. Ward (2005), 202–3, 209–10, 227–37.

Zeno *Emperor 474–91. Zeno changed his name from *Tarasicodissa to honour his fellow *Isaurian, the famous general Fl. *Zeno. In 466, Zeno exposed the treachery of *Ardabur; *Leo I rewarded Zeno with the position of *Comes Domesticorum and marriage to his daughter *Ariadne. He was *Magister Militum (467–9), and *consul for 469. Although involved in the plot to kill *Aspar, Zeno saved Hermineric (Aspar's youngest son). He was Magister Militum Praesentalis (473–4) and became **patricius* (471/4). His son *Leo II proclaimed him emperor (February 474) and they reigned jointly until Leo's death (November 474), when Zeno became sole ruler.

Three revolts challenged Zeno's authority. In 475 *Verina, widow of Leo I, her brother *Basiliscus, and *Armatus threatened him; Zeno was restored to the throne in August 476 by *Illus and his brother Trocundes. In 479, Fl. *Marcianus gained control of *Constantinople but was defeated by Illus. However, relations between Zeno and Illus deteriorated: Illus kept *hostage Verina and Fl. *Longinus (Zeno's brother), and in 484 had Verina crown as emperor the Magister Militum *Leontius, but was finally defeated after a four-year siege at *Papirius in Isauria.

These internal revolts left Zeno little time for dealing with external threats, notably those posed by *Theoderic the *Ostrogoth and the Goth *Theoderic Strabo. After the latter's death, Zeno sent Theoderic the Ostrogoth to *Italy to remove *Odoacer and rule in his place (**Chronicon Theoderici*, 49). This arrangement was vague; this later caused problems for defining Theoderic's authority in Italy.

When Zeno became emperor, the empire had financial difficulties, and political and military threats caused further expense. According to *Malchus (fr. 8), Sebastianus, his *Praefectus Praetorio, openly sold offices and *titles of honour.

Zeno was concerned to resolve the doctrinal problems following the *Council of *Chalcedon. His *edict, the **Henoticon*, partially reconciled *Constantinople and *Alexandria, but was rejected by *Rome, leading to the *Acacian Schism.

Zeno was unpopular amongst the senatorial *aristocracy, the people, and army because of his Isaurian birth, and the sources present him unflatteringly. He died on 9 April 491. FKH

PLRE II, Zenon 7.
E. W. Brooks, 'The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians', *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.
W. D. Burgess, 'Isaurian Factions in the Reign of Zeno the Isaurian', *Latomus* 51 (1992), 874–80.
B. C. Croke, 'Dynasty and Ethnicity: Emperor Leo and the Eclipse of Aspar', *Chiron* 35 (2005), 147–203.
A. Laniado, 'Some Problems for the Reign of the Emperor Zeno', *BMGS* 15 (1991), 147–95.
D. S. Pingree, 'Political Horoscopes from the Reign of Zeno', *DOP* 30 (1976), 133–50.

Zeno, Flavius Military commander from *Isauria, rewarded with the *consulship of 448 after using a force of fellow Isaurians to defend *Constantinople against *Attila. He died under *Marcian. The future Emperor *Zeno took his name. OPN

PLRE II, Zenon 6.
Haarer, *Anastasius*, 15–16.

Zenobia (mod. Halebiye, Syria) Site of a now-abandoned *city on the west bank of the Euphrates, 45 km (28 miles) upstream of Deir ez-Zor. *Procopius, who gives an elaborate account of the restoration of its defences by *Justinian I in the 6th century (*Aed.* II, 8, 8–25), claims that it was named after *Zenobia, Queen of *Palmyra in the 260s. There are a few Palmyrene-type tower tombs to the north and south; all other remains belong to a later period.

The archaeological remains are impressive. The site is roughly triangular in shape, with substantial and well-preserved walls of gypsum enclosing 12 ha (30 acres) and rising to a citadel overlooking the Euphrates. The rest of the city is on level land between the citadel hill and the river. Zenobia was planned, according to Procopius, by *Isidore of *Miletus the younger and John of *Constantinople. Its axial main *streets meet in a tetrapylon; there are colonnaded porticos, an open

square, traces of a large *bath building and a complex, possibly an episcopal palace.

Zenobia's location made it vulnerable to Persian assault. It was bypassed by *Khosrow I in 540 (Procopius, *Persian*, II, 5, 4–7), but captured by *Shahrwaraz in 610. The mass of adults and children whose skeletons were found in one of the tower tombs may have been victims of an enemy attack. KETB; OPN

J. Lauffray, *Halabiyya-Zenobia: place forte du limes oriental et la Haute-Mésopotamie au VIè siècle*, 2 vols. (1983–91).

S. Blétry, 'Les Nécropoles de Halabiya-Zénobia: premiers résultats (2009–10)', *Syria* 89 (2012), 305–30.

Zenobia (Palymrene Bath Zabbai) (240/1–272 or after 274) Queen of *Palmyra (regent 266/7–272). Born in *Palmyra (*Syria), thought to be daughter of Julius Aurelius Zenobios, a city *strategos* at about the time of her birth. Of Aramaic or *Arabic stock, her family were Roman citizens and Zenobia nurtured a taste for Graeco-Roman culture, summoning from *Athens during her reign the rhetorician *Longinus to improve her *Greek. Gibbon extolled her learning: 'her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study'. Her political career sprang from her *marriage to Septimius *Odaenathus, an aristocrat who pursued a successful relationship with Rome, becoming its most powerful citizen in the East and the self-styled King of Palmyra. On his death in 266/7 in a dynastic struggle whose circumstances are unknown, Zenobia became regent for their eldest son, Vaballathus, and was the force behind the subsequent emergence of the Empire of Palmyra. When the Romans had reversed her remarkable territorial gains and were at the gates of the *city in 272 she fled with her entourage but was captured near the Euphrates and sent to Rome. Tradition divides on her fate: one story is that she died en route to the city (*Zosimus, I, 59), another that she was paraded there in *Aurelian's triumph and thereafter lived out her days on an estate in *Italy (*HA Triginta Tyranni*, 30, 27). The rapidity of Zenobia's rise, her reputed bravery and beauty, and her status as a female ruler who challenged an imperial power ensured an enduring fame. A leader of distinct learning, ability, and ambition, she marked the history of the Empire like few other women. SGB

PLRE I, Zenobia.

Potter, *Empire at Bay*, 259, 262–4, 266–8.

P. Southern, *Empress Zenobia: Palmyra's Rebel Queen* (2008).

R. Stoneman, *Palmyra and its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome* (1992).

Zenonis *Aelia Zenonis, wife of *Basiliscus, *emperor at *Constantinople in 475–6. When *Zeno overthrew her husband, she was exiled to *Cappadocia where she starved to death in a dry cistern.

PLRE II, Zenonis.

Zeno of Verona (*fl.* 360–80) *Bishop of *Verona from *c.*362. A collection of 92 *sermons divided into two books (*Tractatus*) attributed to Zeno survives, of which only about 30 are complete, and some are extremely fragmentary. The earliest manuscript dates to the 8th century, and neither *Jerome nor *Gennadius refers to Zeno; the sermons were thus probably collected for circulation sometime after his death. They are one of the earliest bodies of *Latin homilies to survive and are a valuable witness to the preaching, theology, and practical concerns of a northern *Italian bishop before and besides *Ambrose. The sermons include anti-*Arian and anti-Photinian polemic, references to the continuation of *pagan worship, and *baptismal exhortations addressed to catechumens. His congregation emerges as small and embattled. Zeno's works also illuminate contemporary social and political conditions: *Tractatus*, 1, 14 refers to the redemption of captives, housing of refugees, and bestowing of charity, perhaps dating it close to the Battle of *Adrianople of 378. Zeno may have originated in *Africa; he was strongly influenced by writers such as *Cyprian and *Lactantius and wrote a eulogy on a *martyr from *Mauretania (*Tractatus*, 1, 39). *Gregory the Great styles him a martyr (*Dialogues*, 3, 19), but there are no more contemporary testimonies about how he died. SJL-R

PCBE II/2, Zeno.

HLL, section 578.

BHL 9001–9012a.

CPL 208;

PL 11, 253–528, reprinting P. and G. Ballerini (1739).

ed. B. Löfstedt (CCSL 22, 1971).

IT C. Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio: testi e contenuti della predicazione cristiana per le chiese di Verona, Brescia e Aquileia (360–410 ca.)* (1985).

IT G. Banterle, *I discorsi* (1987).

A. Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona* (1904).

G. P. Jeanes, *The Day Has Come! Easter and Baptism in Zeno of Verona* (1995).

R. Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', *JRS* 80 (1990), 156–73.

M. Stepanich, *The Christology of Zeno of Verona* (1948).

Zenophilus, Domitius (*fl.* 320/33) An important administrator under *Constantine I, who held several *governorships, including successive *proconsulships (*Achaea, *Asia, *Africa), culminating in becoming *Consul Ordinarius (333). Of unknown background, his exceptional career may suggest *conversion to

Christianity, perhaps after 320, when he appears still *pagan (*AÉ* 2003, 2022).

He is best known for presiding as *Consularis of *Numidia at *Cirta (mod. Constantina, Algeria) in December 320 over the trial and condemnation of *Bishop Silvanus on charges of *traditio* during the Great *Persecution. This mirrored the *Donatists' attack on the consecration of Caecilian of *Carthage, since Silvanus had participated in consecrating Caecilian's Donatist rival, Majorinus. A detailed, if incomplete, *report of proceedings, the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, survives in a single manuscript, as the first document in the *Optatan Appendix, and provides a vivid picture of the start of the Great Persecution of the *Christians at Cirta in 303.

SJJC

NEDC 106–7.

Gesta apud Zenophilum, ed. C. Ziwsa (CSEL 26, 1893), 185–197, with Duval 2000: 495–8.

A. de Beynast, 'Domitius Zenophilus, les Actus Silvestri et la province d'Asie', *AntTard* 18 (2010), 199–209.

Y. Duval, *Chrétiens d'Afrique à l'aube de la paix constantinienne: les premiers échos de la grande persecution* (2000).

Zerubbabel, Book of Jewish *apocalypse dated early to the 7th century, given its allusions to the *Persian–Roman war of 604–30. Like most Jewish apocalypses, revelation is ascribed pseudonymously to a historical figure: Zerubbabel appears in the *Bible in connection with the construction of the Second Temple and hopes of reviving the Davidic dynasty (Zechariah 1–8). The Book of Zerubbabel ascribes to him a miraculous journey to *Nineveh (Rome, i.e. Byzantium) where he meets the future messiah in 'a house of disgrace' (anti-temple, i.e. Christian church) and receives revelation from the Angel Michael about a series of ten kingdoms, culminating with King Armilos (Romulus, i.e. the *Emperor *Heraclius), the Antichrist and spawn of Satan, and a statue of a beautiful woman (probable allusion to images of the Blessed Virgin *Mary). Michael reveals that Armilos will be defeated with the help of the mother of the Messiah, Hephzibah; God will resurrect the righteous, restore the Temple and Jerusalem's sovereignty. It is unique amongst Jewish apocrypha for the military role it accords the messiah's mother, subverting Roman military reliance on the protection provided by *icons of Mary. Its sparing reference to the Torah and *rabbis also distinguishes it from other texts of rabbinic eschatology.

PAW

M. Himmelfarb, 'Revelation and Rabbinization in Sefer Zerubbabel and Sefer Eliyyahu', in P. Townsend and M. Vidas, eds., *Revelation, Literature, and Community in Late Antiquity* (2011), 218–36.

Zeugitana *See* AFRICA PROCONSULARIS.

Zeugma (Gk. 'link'; mod. Kavunlu, formerly Belkis, Turkey) Fortified *city strategically located on the west bank of the upper middle Euphrates, founded *c.*300 BC by Seleucus I, joined to Apamea on the east bank by a *bridge (*Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, V, 86). *Houses with elaborate *mosaics of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (now in the Gaziantep Museum) were abandoned after the city was sacked in 253 by *Shapur I (**Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, 19). The city's *bishops were at the *Council of *Nicaea and later councils, and a late 4th-century *city councillor called Publius became a hermit and mentor of the monk-bishop Aphthonius (*Theodoret, *Religious History*, V, 1). *Justinian I reinforced and expanded the walls (*Procopius, *Aed.* II, 9, 18–20), and there was a Bishop of Zeugma until the 11th century, by which time the crossing point had moved south to Birecik. Recent excavations prior to flooding by dam construction have revealed elaborate Roman *villas.

SGB; OPN

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, 152–6.

J. Wagner, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma* (1976).

R. Early et al., eds., *Zeugma: Interim Reports* (JRA (Suppl.) 51, 2003).

D. Kennedy et al., eds., *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates: Rescue Work and Historical Studies* (JRA (Suppl.) 27, 1998).

K. Görkay, 'Zeugma in Light of New Research', in K. Konuk, ed., *Stephanèphoros de l'économie antique à l'Asie Mineure* (2012), 275–300.

Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (Ziyad b. Abihi) (*c.*632–673) Often referred to as 'Ziyad son of his father', as the circumstances of his birth were dubious. He served the *Caliph *'Ali (r. 656–61) before being adopted as a brother by 'Ali's rival and successor, *Mu'awiya (r. 661–80) in 665. Mu'awiya made Ziyad governor over *Basra (665–73) and later also *Kufa (670–3). Ziyad is remembered as an outstanding administrator responsible for major building projects in both *cities.

RJL

*Tabari, XVIII.

Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al-Ṭabaqat al-Kabir:* ed. E. Sachau (1917–40) in C. Brockelmann, ed., *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams* (1904).

K. Fariq, 'A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor: Ziyad b. Abihi', *Islamic Culture* 26/4 (1952), 1–31.

I. Hasson, 'L'Affiliation (di'wa) de Ziyad b. Abihi', *JSAI* 29 (2004), 413–25.

Zodiac In the Late Antique system of *astrology developed by Hipparchos and *Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* the Zodiac was an important celestial zone, as it comprised the stars adjacent to the orbit cycle of the *Sun. They were divided into twelve constellations, associated with the months and named after mythological or animal figures. Astrologers saw the Zodiac as present in

Christianity (governed by Virgo), Judaism (Aquarius), *Islam (Cancer) and, most explicitly, in *Mithraism in the iconography of the bull-slaying. Astrology was condemned by the Church but it remained popular, and *Zeno of *Verona in the 4th century entertained the *curiositas* of the newly baptized by expounding the twelve signs of the Zodiac allegorically as a type of the Twelve Apostles (*Sermon, 38).

The *Talmud and the *Midrash contain numerous references to the Zodiac, while the *mosaic floors of six *synagogues represent the Zodiac: at Hammat *Tiberias (4th cent.), *Sepphoris (5th cent.), Huseifa (5th/6th cent.) and Beit Alpha, Na'aran, and Ein Gedi (6th cent.). The signs of the Zodiac are depicted in the middle of three concentric cycles set inside a square with *allegories of the *Seasons at four corners. This standard pattern served as a reminder of cosmic order and of the duties owed to God throughout the revolutions of the calendar.

The design was a development of earlier circular forms, such as those of the Ptolemy manuscript in the Vatican Library gr.1291 of the third quarter of the 8th century. These forms are also visible in the *Palmyra *ceiling of the 1st century and in mosaic floors from *Antioch (2nd cent.), Münster, Bir-Chana (3rd cent.), *Carthage (4th cent.), and Beth She'an (*Scythopolis, 6th cent.). The *stucco ceiling of the Ponza Mithraeum, the Modena Mithraic relief figure and Mithraic sculptures of the tauroctony also represent the Zodiac, the Symmachorum Apotheosis *diptych (*c.*400) from *Rome shows a section of its celestial sphere, and the wall paintings of the Zodiac in the *baths at the 8th-century *'Umayyad *palace at *Qusayr Amra were copied from a Greek astronomical manuscript, all illustrating a common sense that the stars and the seasons set rhythms which condition life on earth. DK

T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (1994).
I. Fishof, ed., *Written in the Stars: Art and Symbolism of the Zodiac* (2001).
R. Hachlili, 'The Zodiac in Ancient Jewish Art', *BASOR* 228 (1977), 61–77.
R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun* (2006).

Zonaras, John (d. after 1159?) Byzantine canonist and historian. Senior courtier under Alexius Comnenus, then monk and author. His massive *Chronicle* (Adam to AD 1118) in eighteen books, though a compilation, is written in his own style. It exploits an unusually wide range of sources: Josephus for biblical history, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Arrian for Greek, and Cassius Dio for Early Roman. Zonaras is our main source for Books 1–21 of Dio's *Roman History*. After 146 BC, he seemingly relies on Plutarch's *Lives* of Pompey and Caesar and his account reveals the characteristic Byzantine weakness on the Late Republic, but, exceptionally, Zonaras was aware of this. Alongside the epitome of Dio by Xiphilinus, he is our main source for reconstructing Books 61–8 of Cassius Dio. From Trajan to Alexander Severus Zonaras unfortunately relied on Xiphilinus' abridgement rather than Dio's original text. For the remainder of the 3rd century he is credited with using *Eusebius of *Caesarea and *Peter the Patrician, but arguably his source was *John of *Antioch. For later periods he used standard Byzantine chronicle accounts but his narrative is more sober and includes material unattested elsewhere. His writings on apostolic constitutions, council canons, patrology, hagiography, and homiletics are collected in *PG* 38. RDS

Chronicle:
ed. L. A. Dindorf, 6 vols. (1868–75).
ed. M. Pinder and Th. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (CSHB, 1841–97).
Partial ET T. M. Banchich and E. N. Lane, *The History of Zonaras: From Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great* (2009).
Hunger, *Literatur*, vol. 1, 416–19.
F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), 2–3, 195–6.
ODB III, 2229.

Zoodochos Pege The 'life-giving spring' at Balıklı outside the Selymbria Gate of *Constantinople. *Procopius attributes the church and gardens to *Justinian I (*Aed*. I, 3, 6–10), later legend to *Leo I who allegedly healed a blind man with its waters (*Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE* 15, 25). JPH; OPN

Janin, *CPByz 451–2.*
Janin, Églises CP 223–8.

Zorava (mod. Izra, Ezra, or Zorah) *Village in southern *Syria, best known for its centrally-planned Church of S. *George. A *Greek *inscription over the entrance (*CIG* 8627) dated AD 515 claims that the 'house of *demons has become the house of God' and now contains the body of the *martyr George who had appeared openly (not in a *dream) to the councillor who gave the land for the church. This is the first dated epigraphic allusion to a saint called *George. KETB; OPN

Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, 122–5.

Zoravar The church of Zoravar (medieval Ayrarat province, mod. Kotayk province, Armenian Republic) is a domed octoconch. Only the north side is now preserved. Structural and textual evidence suggest a date in the latter 7th century. CM

P. Donabédian, *L'Âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne* (2008), 185–7.

Zoroastrianism The 'Mazda-worshipping' (Middle *Persian *mazdēsn*) religion refers to the Iranian religion

promoted by the *Sasanian Dynasty, focused on the worship of *Ohrmazd. While related in many ways to earlier Iranian religious traditions, only in Late Antiquity did Zoroastrianism take a distinctive form based on ancient beliefs and rituals and with a cohesive set of doctrines.

Although earlier scholarship stressed absolute continuity between the traditions reflected in the most ancient texts of the religion, the *Avesta, it is clear that the development of a mainstream, 'orthodox', form of the religion was not completed under the Sasanians. In fact much of what we know about Sasanian Zoroastrianism is mediated through the later winnowing, compilation, and rewriting of religious literature in the early Islamic period, in the form of Middle *Persian commentaries on the Avestan texts and the composition of religious treatises such as the **Denkard*, the **Bundahishn*, and various ritual and legal texts. Zoroastrianism understood that the world was a battlefield between the forces of good, led by Ohrmazd and his creations, and the Evil Spirit, *Ahriman, which would culminate ultimately in an *apocalyptic battle and the defeat of evil, the resurrection of the dead, last judgement, and renovation of the earth. It was the function of humans to contribute to this battle and live a life of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

*Ardashir I (224–40), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, may have come from a priestly family. The eponymous founder of the dynasty, Sasan, was reportedly a 'priest' of the temple of *Anahid (Anahita) in *Staxr (Istakhr) in *Fars (Gk. Persis), the native region of the dynasty. The later legend preserved in the **Karnamag-i Ardashir-i Pabagan* (*Book of the Deeds of Ardashir son of Pabag*) ascribes the founder's success to a transfer of **xwarrah* (*farr*, the Royal Glory) from the Arsacid Artabanus (Ardawan) to Ardashir. The Sasanian founder is also assigned a chief priest, *Tansar* or *Tosar*, in a later Muslim text (12th cent.), who supposedly organized the religious administration under Ardashir.

The most important, and well-documented priest of the early Sasanian period was *Kerdir, who started his career under *Shapur I (240–71) and became archmagus under *Bahram II (276–93). In addition to establishing orthodox beliefs, whose veracity was revealed to him in a self-induced shamanic trance, Kerdir succeeded, after a decades-long struggle, in arranging the execution of *Mani, the founder of Manichaeism. He also laboured to suppress other religions (including Christianity and *Buddhism). His deeds, and his supposed influence in establishing a Sasanian 'state church', are only known through his personal testimony in his rock-cut *inscriptions and find reflections in no other source, though his deeds are paralleled by other Zoroastrian priests who appear in the Pahlavi books. Other reformers, such as *Adurbad Mahrspandan, are said to have been active in presenting their own reading of the religion and its doctrine and ritual, which was considered to be orthodox. Other early compositions such as the **Arday Wiraz Namag* (*c.*4th cent.) also show an interest in proving the presence of a single correct interpretation of the doctrine, although their success cannot be assessed historically.

Zoroastrianism did not develop a set of beliefs with cohesion similar to those of Christianity (or later *Islam), nor was it a universal religion open to all. Rather, it was the religion of the Iranian *aristocracy, and apostasy was actively punished. When individuals or, in the case of *Armenia, entire regions left the religion, there was persecution or war. The unsuccessful attempts of *Yazdegerd II (438–57) and his famed minister *Mihr Narseh to convert the recently Christianized *Armenian nobility (**naxarars*) to Zoroastrianism resulted in revolt; the Battle of *Avarayr, despite being a Sasanian victory, alienated the Armenian nobility and strengthened Christianity in the region.

Although the late Sasanian and medieval texts present the image of a monolithic religion, our sources hint at numerous moments of controversy where multiple rival variants, often promoted by different charismatic priests, competed for the favour and support of the *court. For example, the 5th century saw a period of intense struggle between what became Zoroastrianism, defined as the belief system promoted by the Persian royal court, and other manifestations of common Iranian *cosmology and belief. The most important of these heterodox beliefs, what is called *Mazdakism, presented grounds for drastic social reforms, including communal sharing of property and wives, although the exact character of its doctrine is unknown due to a lack of sources.

The reaction of Zoroastrianism against threats such as Mazdakism appears to have been the development of a religious organization, including hierarchies, which were perhaps modelled on those of the contemporary Christian Church in the Eastern Roman Empire. This suggests that struggles against Mazdakism were less a fight against completely alien forms of paganism than a doctrinal contest like those between varying forms of Christianity in the Roman world. Despite this, there is in fact little evidence for the presence of a rigid Zoroastrian clerical system throughout the Sasanian period.

*Khosrow I appears in the later medieval religious and secular texts as a hero of Zoroastrianism. Under Khosrow's rule (531–79) a semblance of clerical organization can be discerned in the evidence. *Seals of priest-judges holding various positions relating to social organization and local religious establishment have been found from this period. This suggests an effort to establish a religious organization that acted as the

central government's arm in dispensing social justice and perhaps curbing poverty and disillusionment.

Whatever their power, the clerical hierarchy could not have been very powerful in the affairs of the realm or influential on the person of the ruler, in a way resembling the development of clerical influence in the East Roman Christian or later Islamic state systems. *Khosrow II (591–628), the last great Sasanian King of Kings, was certainly as strong a supporter of the Zoroastrian 'Church' as his grandfather Khosrow I. However, his most favoured queen was a Christian woman named *Shirin, and she was the mother of his successor *Qobad II. Khosrow II was also known for convening Christian *councils in his capital at *Ctesiphon, and for supporting both the *Church of the East and the spread of the *Miaphysite *Syriac Orthodox Church in Persian *Mesopotamia, even before the *Persian invasions of the Eastern Roman Empire in 602–28. Zoroastrian clerical power was not strong enough to stop its greatest supporter from marrying outside the faith.

Some have suggested that the greed of the **mowbeds* (priests) and the strict rules of the 'Zoroastrian Church' contributed to the defeat of the Sasanians during the *Arab conquest, through their weakening of the morale of the population, but evidence to support such theories is largely lacking. In fact, it appears that the Zoroastrian establishment was not much present in the process of the Arab conquest. Indeed, most of the local population of Mesopotamia, the initial scene of the Muslim conquests, consisted of Christians of the Church of the East.

In the aftermath of the Arab conquests, the Zoroastrian scholarly classes, as well as the Zoroastrian population at large, appear to have survived in the interior of the Iranian Plateau. For several centuries, their great numbers are reported as still dominant even in cities such as Shiraz, and there are indeed still Zoroastrians at present around the cities of Yazd and *Kirman. Initially, great Islamic cities also attracted at least Zoroastrian scholars, who wrote several treatises under Muslim rule. *Caliphs were fond of conducting interfaith debates in their *courts, to which Zoroastrian scholars were also invited. These were sometimes recorded in Middle Persian texts such as *Gujastag Abalish*, and new doctrines were refined based on contacts with new faiths.

The early Islamic period appears to have seen the consolidation of written culture in the hitherto oral tradition of Zoroastrianism. In addition to the text of the *Avesta itself, which had probably been first committed to writing already in the Sasanian period, new texts, treatises, commentaries, and *apocalyptic works were composed and collected between the 7th and 12th centuries. Composed mainly in Middle Persian, the language of the former Sasanian court and now increasingly a religious language, these texts set for the rapidly dwindling Zoroastrian community the fundamentals of what they represented as the 'correct' form of the religion. Provisions were made for the incorporation of various beliefs, including apocalyptic prophecies based on memories of past conquests. Much of the mythology of the religion, perhaps even the final form of the biography of its founder Zoroaster, now depicted as a Late Antique prophet, were written down during this period. Struggle continued against what were considered the heterodox beliefs of other Iranian cults, such as the Khurramdiniyah, a remnant of the same stream to which Mazdakism had belonged. Such competition shaped the formation of religious doctrines and the composition of its texts. Important treatises such as the *Bundahishn* (a record of the universal history of the religion), the *Denkard* (basic explanation of the doctrine), **Sheyist ne Sheyist* (fundamental explanation of ritual), and others were produced during this period. More philosophical texts, including **Menog-e Xrad*, were also produced, partly explaining the Iranian method of reasoning. The Avestan texts, reworked through a combination of Iranian, Indic, Hellenistic, Islamic, and Syriac Christian philosophical thoughts, were also made accessible to the community through learned commentaries known as the *Zand, a tradition dating back to the Sasanian period. Despite all this, we can still not claim that the principles of the religion, including a clearly defined exclusive doctrine and firm rituals, were established in this period. In fact, the process is often thought to have continued into the modern period. KR

EncIran (2015) *s.v.* Zoroastrianism: i. Historical review: up to the Arab conquest (W. W. Malandra).

M. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1 (1975; 3rd corrected repr. 1996); vol. 2 (1982); vol. 3 (1991); vol. 4 (forthcoming).

M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (1979).

R. Payne, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity* (2015).

M. Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathustras. Geschichte—Gegenwart—Rituale* (2002).

M. Stausberg and Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, eds., *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (2015).

Zoroastrianism, Armenian Prior to its *conversion to Christianity in the 4th century, *Armenia had a varied pantheon of deities and temple cults. Within this syncretistic context, Zoroastrian divinities and practices occupied a dominant place in Armenian worship. Introduced during the Achaemenid period and reinforced under Parthian Arsacid rule, Zoroastrian terminology, belief, and symbolism infused the Armenian religious world-view and lexicon.

Both Classical and Armenian sources provide information on the Armenian pantheon and their centres of worship. Of the eight divinities whose cultic centres *Agat'angelos (*History*, §§778, 784, 786,790) describes, six clearly represent Zoroastrian *yazata*s or divinities worshipped in Armenia. Aramazd (Ahura Mazdā, *Ohrmazd) figured as the head of the Armenian pantheon, whose cult was celebrated chiefly at Ani-Kamakh (mod. Kemah), also the site of a royal necropolis of the *Arshakuni (Arsacid) dynasty, and at *Bagavan. The cult of Anahit (Anāhitā, *Anahid), the goddess of fertility and abundance, predominated in the region of Ekeleats' (Akilisene); while that of Vahagn (Vərəthraghna, *Wahram), warrior god of victory, was centred at *Ashtishat. The divinity *Mihr (Mithra), the god of fire, whose cult centre was located at Bagayarich, also featured strongly in the Armenian religious tradition. The temple of the god Tir (Tīr), the divine scribe, was located at Artashat. It is also possible that the Semitic goddess Nane, whose cult was celebrated at T'il, was introduced to Armenia via Parthian channels. Classical sources such as Strabo (*Geography*, XI, 13, 9; XI, 14, 16) point to the similarity between Armenian and Iranian religious practices, and archaeological excavations attest the construction of *fire temples in the *Sasanian period.

The struggle over the course of the 4th century to convert Zoroastrian Armenia to Christianity is recorded primarily in the **Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* and the history of *Movses Khorenats'i. In the 5th century, the Sasanian Shah, *Yazdegerd II (r. 438–57), attempted to reimpose Zoroastrianism forcibly. Although the Persians won the war that culminated at the Battle of *Avarayr in 451, this effort ultimately failed. In 484, the Sasanian Shah *Balash (r. 484–8) granted Armenians the right to worship as Christians. SVLa

J. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (1987).
N. Garsoïan, 'Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Elements in Arsacid Armenia', *Handes Amsorya* 90 (1976), 177–234.
J. Russell, 'Pre-Christian Armenian Religion', *ANRW* II.18.4 (1990), 2679–92.

Zosimus of Panopolis (*c.* AD 300) Earliest historically attested alchemist and apparently the founding father of his art, Zosimus was not satisfied with practical recipes. He undertook an extensive research programme and eventually defined what would for centuries constitute *alchemy. His writings range from strictly technical instructions concerning laboratory apparatus up to theoretical speculations and highly *allegorical tales including *dream visions about the manipulation of matter. His background encompasses genuine technical craftsmanship, primarily *metallurgy, Greek *philosophy, and gnostic and hermetic concepts—all flavoured with ancient *Egyptian elements (ideas and settings).

Zosimus employed alchemy to improve imperfect natural matter by first separating 'body' and 'spirit' through distillation and then reuniting them after purification, thereby aiming for proper transmutation rather than just superficial colouring. He further offers a rich digest of alchemical historiography, including the earliest caution against false alchemists. Most of his works appear as lessons or *letters to students—Theosebeia and Theodorus—whose questions he answers by quoting a vast variety of earlier pseudonymous adepts such as Agathodaemon, Ps.-Democritus (*Physica et Mystica*), *Hermes Trismegistus, and Maria. Unfortunately the numerous works of Zosimus are preserved only in sparse fragments in *Greek, *Syriac, and *Arabic, mostly as quotations by later commentators such as *Olympiodorus. TH

PLRE I, Zosimus 1.
ed. M. Berthelot and Ch.-Em. Ruelle in *Collection Alchimistes* (1888; repr. 1963), III, 3ème partie, i–lvi, 108–252; FT (annotated): II, 3ème partie, i–lvi, 117–242.
ed. M. Mertens (with FT), *Alchimistes Grecs*, IV/1 (1995).
B. Hallum, *Zosimus Arabus: The Arabic/Islamic Reception of Zosimos of Panopolis*, (2008).
L. M. Principe, *The Secrets of Alchemy* (2013), 15–24.

Zosimus the historian (*c.*435–*c.*501) Described by *Photius (cod. 98) as a **comes* and **advocatus fisci* and called by the **Excerpta* a native of Ascalon in *Palestine (perhaps through confusion with a contemporary rhetorician also called Zosimus), Zosimus is the author of a so-called *New History*, of which five books survive complete (except for a considerable lacuna at the end of the first book and the beginning of the second) and a brief sixth which stops abruptly just before *Alaric's capture of Rome in 410. Zosimus mentions the tax called **collatio lustralis*, abolished by *Anastasius in 498, in the past tense (II, 38, 2–4); the *New History* was cited in the *History* of *Eustathius of *Epiphania which itself ended in 503. The abrupt early 5th-century ending of Zosimus' work (which was already in the text read by Photius in the 9th century) was probably the result of the author's death, The text which we have may therefore be a first draft, which might account for many of its faults.

The first book, after a discussion of Polybius' explanation of the rapid rise of Roman power, offers a summary of Greek history followed by a brief account of the Julio-Claudian, Flavian, and Antonine dynasties and an expanding narrative from Septimius Severus to the reign of *Probus, which is interrupted by the lacuna (that covers the years 278–305). The second book begins with an extended discussion of *Constantine I's failure to hold the *Secular Games in 313, and thereafter the narrative continues almost intact until it breaks off in 410.

Zosimus, as an adherent of traditional Roman religion, uses his *History* to provide a systematic explanation of the demise of Roman power. Hence, his initial discussion of Polybius points out that the Romans acquired their empire within fifty-three years through divine providence cooperating with spiritual well-being. In contrast, Zosimus proposes to show how spiritual barrenness has led to its present demise. His overarching themes are, therefore, the abandonment of the old cults by the Christian *emperors and their consequent inability to ward off barbarian attacks. As might be expected in such a work, the Emperor *Julian is the hero, and Constantine I and *Theodosius I the villains.

The *New History* is the only complete (or nearly complete) secular history that survives in *Greek between Herodian (in the 3rd cent.) and *Procopius (in the 6th). As it stands, it is almost completely derivative. With the exception of some additions by the author himself, mainly concerned with religion, it is a compilation from *Dexippus, *Eunapius, and *Olympiodorus. Its Greek, however, is not the Attic of its sources but the literary *Koine*, probably because its avowed model was Polybius. The main value of the *New History* is that it preserves material from these sources which survive otherwise only in fragments. RCB

PLRE II, Zosimus 6.
ed. L. Mendelssohn (1887).
ed. (with FT and comm.) F. Paschoud, 3 vols. in 5 (Budé, new edn., 2000–3).
ET R. T. Ridley (Byzantina Australiensia 2, 1982).
F. Paschoud, *Cinq études sur Zosime* (1975).
W. Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (2007), 107–14.
J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, 'Pagan Historiography and the Decline of Empire', in G. Marasco, ed., *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Centuries A.D.* (2003), 176–218.

Zotto of Benevento (r. *c.*570/1–590/1) First *Dux of *Lombard *Benevento. Beyond two notices in *Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* (III, 33 and IV, 18) nothing certain can be asserted regarding Zotto. Paul indicates that he was the first Dux in Benevento and that he ruled for twenty years. CTH

PLRE IIIB, Zotto.
S. Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi* (1978), 86.

Ztath *See* TSATHES; TSATHES II.

al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam (d. 656) Cousin and *Companion of the Prophet, very early convert to *Islam and one of ten companions promised Paradise by *Muhammad; father of the counter-caliph 'Abd *Allah b. al-Zubayr (r. 683–92). Al-Zubayr participated in the **hijra*s to Abyssinia and *Medina and fought alongside the Prophet Muhammad in all his major battles. *'Umar I appointed al-Zubayr as one of the six members of the electoral council (*shura*) that selected his successor, *'Uthman b. 'Affan. After the murder of 'Uthman, al-Zubayr conspired with *Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah and *'A'isha to oppose *'Ali b. Abi Talib's claim to the caliphate. The dispute culminated in 'Ali's victory at the Battle of the Camel and the death of al-Zubayr. In Sunni tradition, al-Zubayr is renowned for his courage on the battlefield and loyalty to the Prophet. For the *Shi'a, however, his legacy is tarnished by his opposition to 'Ali. ARH

Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir* (1904).
EI 2, vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* 'al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām', 549–51 (Hasson).

zuhd *See* ASCETICISM, ISLAMIC.

Zülpich, Battle of References to a conflict between *Franks and *Alamans called the 'Battle of Zülpich', also known as the Battle of Tolbiac, most likely conflate three different incidents: a victory of *Clovis in 496/7, during which Clovis allegedly pledged to convert to Christianity; a later conflict near Zülpich (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany), in which *Sigibert the Lame was wounded; and another Frankish victory in 506. HF

D. Geuenich, 'Chlodwigs Alemannenschlacht(en) und Taufe', in D. Geuenich, ed., *Die Franken und die Alamannen bis zur Schlacht bei Zülpich (496/97)* (1998), 423–37.

Zunbil (Rutbil) Title, which in unpointed *Arabic script reads as Zunbil or Rutbil, for Hindu rulers of what is now south-eastern Afghanistan. Successive Zunbils resisted Muslim forces between 643 and their defeat by the Saffarids in 870. NC

EI 2 vol. 11 (2002) *s.v.* Zunbīl, 571 (Bosworth).
A. Wink, *Al-Hind* (2002).

Zurvan and Zurvanism (MP Zurwān) The deity of Time in *Zoroastrianism and the supreme deity in Persian *Manichaeism. Scholars have claimed that Zurvanism was a distinct religious movement in ancient and Late Antique Iran; others suggest it was a Zoroastrian 'heresy' or perhaps even the dominant form of Zoroastrianism under the *Sasanians (see Zaehner; Boyce; Christensen, respectively).

Zurvanism is associated with the belief that 'Father Time' begat both *Ohrmazd and *Ahriman, the former from a primordial sacrifice and the latter from a moment of doubt that the sacrifice would be efficacious. In orthodox Zoroastrianism, time is simply a feature of reality that Ohrmazd changed from infinite to finite to create a trap for Ahriman and put a limit on his existence. Indigenous Iranian (Zoroastrian) sources are largely silent on the subject and we know of Zurvanism primarily from the accounts of classical, *Armenian, *Syriac, and Islamic

authors like Plutarch (*c.* AD 46–120), *Elishe Vardapet (d. AD 480), Theodore bar Konai (9th cent. AD), and al-Shahrastani (d. AD 1153) in which Zurvan features prominently. The reason for this discrepancy remains unresolved in scholarship, although it is clear that this formulation did not survive as a dominant tendency in the form of Zoroastrianism that prevailed among surviving Zoroastrian communities after the coming of *Islam.

We do not have any firm iconographic, ritual, or ethical materials to determine whether there were distinctive social practices associated with Zurvanism. Increasingly, scholars have cast doubts on a wider socio-economic or political impact of Zurvanite trends in Late Antique Iran (Shaked) and the existence of a distinct religion. Yet attestations in the onomasticon of the Persian Empire and wider Iranian world testify to Zurvan's importance and wide popularity in Late Antiquity. Names like Zarvandād, 'created/made by Zurvan', appear in Syriac, and *Zrwmβntk*, 'slave of Zurvan', in *Sogdian. Within the *Persian Empire, even a daughter of the King of Kings *Shapur II bore the name Zurwānduxt, 'daughter of Zurvan'. YSDV; MPC

M. Boyce. 'Some Further Reflections on Zurvanism', in D. Amin et al., eds., *Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Acta Iranica 30, 1990), 20–9.

A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (1936).

Sh. Shaked, 'The Myth of Zurvan: Cosmogony and Eschatology', in I. Gruenwald et al., eds., *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser* (TSAJ 32, 1994), 219–40.

R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (1955).

Zvart'nots' (Zuart'noc', Zwart'noc') The complex of Zvart'nots' (medieval Ayrarat province, mod. Armavir province, Armenian Republic), now in ruins, comprises an aisled *tetraconch church and patriarchal residence. It is attributed to Nerses III, Patriarch of *Armenia from 640/1 to 660/1. CM

P. Donabédian, *L'Âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne* (2008), 190–8.

C. Maranci, 'The Archaeology and Reconstruction Theories of Zuart'noc'', *DOP* 68 (2015), 69–115.

C. Maranci, *Vigilant Powers: Three Churches of Early Medieval Armenia* (2015).

LATE ANTIQUE RULERS

Principal Roman Emperors and Usurpers 1619
Barbarian Kings 1622
Persian Kings of Kings of the Sasanian Dynasty 1625
Caliphs 1626

PRINCIPAL ROMAN EMPERORS AND USURPERS

249–51: *Decius
- 250–251: Herennius Etruscus (son of Decius)

251–53: *Trebonianus Gallus
- 251: Hostilianus (son of Decius)
- 251–53: Volusianus (son of Trebonianus Gallus)
  - 253: *Aemilianus (usurper)

253–60: *Valerian
- 260: *Ingenuus (usurper; *PLRE* I, Ingenuus 1)
- 260: *Regalianus (usurper; *PLRE* I, Regalianus)

253–268: *Gallienus (son of Valerian, sole rule from 260; *PLRE* I, Gallienus 1)
- c. 253/7–c.258: Valerian II (son of Gallienus)
- 258–260: Saloninus (son of Gallienus)

Empire of Palmyra
- *c.*261–c.266/7: *Odaenathus (*PLRE* I, Odaenathus)
- *c.*266/7–272: *Zenobia (wife of Odaenathus; *PLRE* I, Zenobia)

Gallic Empire
- 259/60–68/9: *Postumus (*PLRE* I, Postumus 1)
- 268: *Laelianus (*PLRE* I, Laelianus)
- 268/9: *Marius (*PLRE* I, Marius 4)
- 269–271: *Victorinus (*PLRE* I, Victorinus 12)
- 270–273: *Tetricus (*PLRE* I, Tetricus 1; his son Tetricus II Caesar 273)

268: *Aureolus (*PLRE* I, Aureolus)

268–270 *Claudius II Gothicus (*PLRE* I, Claudius 11)

270: *Quintillus (brother of Claudius; *PLRE* I, Quintillus 1)

270–275 *Aurelian (*PLRE* I, Aurelianus 6)
- 270/5: *Domitianus II (usurper in Gaul)

275–276: *Tacitus (*PLRE* I, Tacitus 3)

276: *Florian (*PLRE* Florianus 6)

276–282: *Probus (*PLRE* I, Probus 3)

282–283: *Carus (*PLRE* I, Carus)
- 282–83: *Numerian (Caesar, son of Carus; *PLRE* I, Numerianus)
- 282–85: *Carinus (Caesar, son of Carus; *PLRE* I, Carinus)

284–305: *Diocletian (Augustus; *NEDC* 30–2)

285–305: *Maximian (Caesar 285, Augustus 286–305; usurper 307–10; *NEDC* 32–35 and 13)

293: Formation of the First *Tetrarchy composed of Diocletian and Maximian (Augusti, abdicated 305)
- 293–306: *Constantius I (Caesar 293–305, Augustus 305–06; *NEDC* 35–37)
- 293–311: *Galerius (Caesar 293–305, Augustus 305–11; *NEDC* 37–38)

305: Formation of the Second Tetrarchy composed of
Constantius I (Augustus, died 306)
Galerius (Augustus, died 311)
305–307: *Severus the Tetrarch (*NEDC* 38–39)
305–313: *Maximinus Daza (*NEDC* 39)

306–37: *Constantine I (son of Constantius I; *NEDC* 39–43)
306–312: *Maxentius (usurper, son of Maximian; *NEDC* 12–13)
308–309/11: *Domitius Alexander (usurper in Africa; *NEDC* 14–15)

308–24: *Licinius (*NEDC* 43–44)

Caesars appointed by Licinius and Constantine I in 317
317–326: *Crispus (son of Constantine; *NEDC* 44)
317–324: *Licinius Caesar (son of Licinius; *NEDC* 45)
317–337: *Constantine II (son of Constantine, Augustus 337–340; *NEDC* 44–45)

Caesars appointed by Constantine I
324–337: *Constantius II (son of Constantine I, Augustus 337–361; *NEDC* 45)
333–350: *Constans I (son of Constantine I, Augustus 337–350; *NEDC* 45)
335–337: *Dalmatius (*NEDC* 45)

337: Following Constantine I's death in 337 his three sons succeeded as Augusti
337–361: Constantius II (*PLRE* I, Constantius 8)
337–350: Constans I (*PLRE* I, Constans 3)
337–340: Constantine II (*PLRE* I, Constantinus 3)
350–353: *Magnentius (usurper; *PLRE* I,)
351–354: *Gallus (Caesar; *PLRE* I, Constantius 4)
355–361: *Julian (Caesar; *PLRE* I, Iulianus 29)

361–363: Julian (Augustus)
363–364: *Jovian (*PLRE* I, Iovianus 3)
364–375: *Valentinian I (*PLRE* I, Valentinianus 7)
364–378: *Valens (brother of Valentinian I; (*PLRE* I, Valens 8)
375–383: *Gratian (son of Valentinian I joint emperor with him 367–375; *PLRE* I, Gratianus 2)
375–392: *Valentinian II (*PLRE* I, Valentinianus 8)
383–388: *Magnus Maximus (usurper in Gaul; *PLRE* I, Maximus 39)
379–95: *Theodosius I (jointly with Gratian till 383 and with Valentinian till 392; then with his sons Arcadius from 383 and Honorius from 393; *PLRE* I, Theodosius 4)
392–394: *Eugenius (usurper; *PLRE* I, Eugenius 6)

Emperors in the West
395–423: *Honorius (393–395 with Theodosius I; 395–423 in the West, *PLRE* I, Honorius 3)
407–411: *Constantine III (*PLRE* II, Constantinus 21; with his son Constans)
409–410, 414–415: *Attalus (*PLRE* II, Attalus 2)
409–411: *Maximus (possibly again in 420–422; *PLRE* II, Maximus 4 and ?7)
411–413: *Jovinus (*PLRE* II, Iovinus 2)
421: *Constantius III (jointly with Honorius, (*PLRE* II, Constantius 17)
423–425: *John (*PLRE* II, Ioannes 6)
425–455: *Valentinian III (*PLRE* II, Valentinianus 4)
455: *Petronius Maximus (*PLRE* II, Maximus 22)
455–456: *Avitus (*PLRE* II, Avitus 5)

457–461: *Majorian (*PLRE* II, Maiorianus)
461–465: *Libius Severus (*PLRE* II, Severus 18)
467–472: *Anthemius (*PLRE* II, Anthemius 3)
472: *Olybrius (*PLRE* II, Olybrius 6)
473–474: *Glycerius (*PLRE* II, Glycerius)
474–475: *Julius Nepos (d. 480; *PLRE* II, Nepos 3)
475–476: *Romulus Augustulus (*PLRE* II, Romulus 4)

Emperors in the East

395–408: *Arcadius (383–395 with Theodosius I; Augustus 395–408 in the East (*PLRE* I, Arcadius 5)
408–450: *Theodosius II (402 joint rule with Arcadius; (*PLRE* II, Theodosius 6)
450–457: *Marcian (*PLRE* II, Marcianus 8)
457–474: *Leo I (*PLRE* II, Leo 6)
474: *Leo II (*PLRE* II, Leo 7)
474–491: *Zeno (*PLRE* II, Zenon 7)
475–476: *Basiliscus (*PLRE* II, Basiliscus 2)
484–488: *Leontius (*PLRE* II, Leontius 17)
491–518: *Anastasius I (*PLRE* II, Anastasius 4)
518–527: *Justin I (*PLRE* II, Justinus 4)
527–565: *Justinian I (*PLRE* II, Iustinianus 7)
565–578: *Justin II (*PLRE* III, Justinus 5)
578–582: *Tiberius II (Caesar from 574; *PLRE* III, Tiberius 1)
582–602: *Maurice (*PLRE* III, Mauricius 4)
590–602: *Theodosius (son and joint Augustus. *PLRE* III, Theodosius 13)
602–610: *Phocas (*PLRE* III, Phocas 7)
610–41: *Heraclius (*PLRE* III, Heraclius 4)
630–41: *Heraclonas, alias Heraclius II (Caesar 630–38, Augustus 638–41, *PBE* Heraclonas)
641: *Constantine III (*PLRE* III Heraclius Constantinus 38)
641–68: *Constans II (*PBE* Konstans 1)
668–85: *Constantine IV Pogonates (*PBE* Konstantinos 2)
668–81: Heraclius (junior emperor, *PBE* Heraklios 1)
668–81: Tiberius (junior emperor, *PBE* Tiberios 1)
685–95: *Justinian II (first reign, *PBE* Ioustinianos 1)
695–698: *Leontius (*PBE* Leontios 2)
698–705: *Tiberios III (*PBE* Tiberios 2)
705–11: Justinian II [2nd reign (*PBE*, Ioustinianos 1
705–11: *Tiberius (junior emperor, *PBE* Tiberios 4)
711–13: *Philippicus Bardanes (*PBE* Philippikos 1)
713–15: *Anastasius II (*PBE* Anastasios 6)
715–17: *Theodosios III (*PBE* Theodosios 2)
717–41: *Leo III the Isaurian (*PBE* Leo 3)
717–18: Tiberius (pretender, *PBE* Tiberios 3)
727–31: Tiberius *Petasius (pretender in Italy, *PBE* Tiberios 10)
741–75: *Constantine V Copronymus (*PBE* Konstantinos 7)
741/2–743: *Artavasdus (pretender, *PBE* Artabasdos 1)
743: Nicephorus (Junior emperor to Artavasdus; *PBE* Nikephoros 4)

BARBARIAN KINGS

Visigoths in Gaul and Spain

395–410	*Alaric I (acclaimed in Thrace, died in Italy)
410–415	*Athaulf
415	Sigeric
415–418	*Wallia
418–451	*Theoderic I the Visigoth
451–453	Thorismund
453–466	*Theoderic II
466–484	*Euric
484–507	*Alaric II
507–511	Gesalic
511–531	Amalric
531–548	*Theudis
548–549	Theudigisel
549–555	Agila I
555–567/8	*Athanagild
567/8–571/2	Liuva I (Septimania)
568–86	*Leovigild (Spain 568; sole rule 572)
586–601	*Reccared I
601–603	Liuva II
603–610	Witteric
610–612	Gundemar
612–621	*Sisebut
621	Reccared II
621–631	*Suinthila
631–636	Sisenand
636–640	Chintila
640–642	Tulga
642–653	*Chindasuinth
653–672	*Reccesuinth (joint rule 649–53, sole rule 653–72)
672–680	*Wamba
680–687	*Ervig
687–702	*Egica
702–710	*Wittiza (joint rule 698–702; sole rule 702–10)
710–711	*Roderic
711–714	Agila II

Vandals in Africa

439–477:	*Geiseric
477–484:	*Huneric
484–496:	*Gunthamund
496–523:	*Thrasamund
523–530:	*Hilderic
530–533:	*Gelimer

Kings of the Franks

[Merovech]

460–482 *Childeric I

482–511 *Clovis I (Chlodovech, Ludovicus I)

- 511–524 *Chlodomer (at Orleans)
- 511–533 *Theuderic I (at Reims)
  - 533–548 *Theodebert I (Reims)
  - 548–555 *Theudebald (Reims)
- 511–558 *Childebert I (Paris)
- 511–561 *Chlothar I (Soissons, sole rule 558–61)

561–593 *Guntram (Burgundy)

561–567 *Charibert I (Paris)

561–575 *Sigibert I (Reims, Austrasia)

575–596 *Childebert II (Austrasia 575, Burgundy 592)

- 596–612 *Theudebert II (Austrasia)
- 596–613 *Theuderic II (Burgundy, Austrasia 612–613)
- 613 *Sigibert II (Austrasia, Burgundy)

561–584 *Chilperic I (Soissons, Neustria)

584–629 *Chlothar II (Neustria 584–629; Burgundy 613–29; Austrasia 613–23)

623–639 *Dagobert I (Austrasia 623–32, Neustria and Burgundy 629–639)

- 629–32 *Charibert II (Aquitaine)

632-*c.*656 *Sigibert III (Austrasia)

639–657 *Clovis II (Chlodovech II; Neustria and Burgundy 639–57; Austrasia c. 656–657)

656–662? *Childebert the Adopted (Austrasia)

657–673 *Chlothar III (Neustria and Burgundy)

- 675–676: Chlodovech

662–675 *Childeric II (Austrasia 662–675, Neustria and Burgundy 673–675)

676–679 *Dagobert II (Austrasia)

675–690/1 *Theuderic III (Neustria and Burgundy 673 and 675–690/1, Austrasia 687–90/1)

690/1–694/5 *Clovis III (Chlodovech III)

694/5–711 *Childebert III

711–715/6 *Dagobert III

715–21 *Chilperic II (alias Daniel the Monk)

- 717–19 Chlothar IV (Austrasia)

721–37 *Theuderic IV

737–43 Interregnum

743–51/2 *Childeric III

Ostrogoths in Italy

493-526 *Theoderic the Ostrogoth

526-534 *Athalaric

534 Queen *Amalasuintha

534-536 *Theodahad

526-40 *Vitigis

540-41 *Ildibad

541 *Erarich

541-52 *Totila

552 *Theia

Lombards in Italy

560/1–572	*Alboin (in Italy 568–72)
572–574	Clef
574–584	Interregnum
584–590	*Authari
590–616	*Agilulf (qui et Ago)
616–626	Adaloald
626–636	Arioald
636–652	*Rothari
652–653	Rodoald
653–661	Aripert I
661–662	*Perctarit
661–662	Godepert
662/3–671	*Grimoald
671–672	Garibald
672–688	Perctarit (again)
688–700	*Cunincpert (joint rule from 680)
*c.*688–689	Alahis of Brescia
700–701	Raginpert
701–712	Aripert II
712	Ansprand
712–744	*Liutprand
744	Hildeprand (joint ruler 735)
744–749	*Ratchis
749–756	*Aistulf
756–757	Ratchis (restored)
757–74	Desiderius (Adalgis, 759–74 joint ruler)

Anglo-Saxon Kings
listed as having* imperium *in Bede* HE *II, 5

late 5th century:	*Ælle (South Saxons)
d. 593:	*Ceaulin (Cælin) (West Saxons)
c. 560/585–616:	*Ethelbert (Æthelberht) (Kent)
d. 616/27:	*Redwald (Rædwald) (East Anglia)
616/7–633:	*Edwin (Northumbria)
633–642:	*Oswald (Northumbria)
642–671:	*Oswy (Oswiu) (Northumbria)

PERSIAN KINGS OF KINGS OF THE SASANIAN DYNASTY

224–239/40:	*Ardashir I	(MP Ardaxshir I, Gk. Artaxerxes)
239/40–270/72:	*Shapur I	(MP Shabuhr I; Gk. Sapor)
270/2–273:	*Hormizd I	(MP Ohrmazd I, Gk. Hormisdas)
273–276:	*Bahram I	(MP Wahram I, Gk. Vararanes)
276–293:	*Bahram II	(MP Wahram II)
293:	*Bahram III	(MP Wahram III)
293–302:	*Narseh	(MP Narseh; Gk. Narses)
302–309:	*Hormizd II	(MP Ohrmazd II)
309–379:	*Shapur II	(MP Shabuhr II)
379–383:	*Ardashir II	(MP Ardaxshir II)
383–388:	*Shapur III	(MP Shabuhr III)
388–399:	*Bahram IV	(MP Wahram IV)
399–421:	*Yazdegerd I	(MP Yazdgird I, Gk. Isdigerdes)
421–439:	*Bahram V Gor	(MP Wahram V, Gk. Vararanes Gororanes)
439–457:	*Yazdegerd II	(MP Yazdgird II)
457–459:	*Hormizd III	(MP Ohrmazd III)
459–484:	*Peroz	(MP Peroz; Gk. Perozes)
484–488:	*Balash	(MP Walaxsh, Gk. Valas)
488–96:	*Qobad I	(MP Kawad I; Gk. Cabades)
496–499:	*Jamasp	(MP Zamasp, Gk. Zamasphes)
499–531:	Qobad I	(second reign)
531–579:	*Khosrow I Anoshirvan	(MP Husraw I; Gk. Chosroes I; Ar. Kisra I)
579–90:	*Hormizd IV	(MP Ohrmazd IV)
[590	Bahram VI Chobin	(MP Wahram VI Chubin)]
590–628:	*Khosrow II Aparwez	(MP Husraw II)
628:	*Qobad II Širuya	(MP Kawād; Gk. Cavades II qui et Siroes)
628–629:	*Ardashir III	(MP Ardaxshir III)
629:	*Shahrwaraz	(also Shahrbaraz, Rasmiozan, Khoream, Gk. Sarabanes)
629–31:	*Boran	(NP Buran)
c. 630:	*Khosrow III	(MP Husraw III)
?630–32:	*Hormizd V	(MP Ohrmazd V)
630–31:	Azarmidokht	(MP Āzarmīgduxt)
632–651:	*Yazdegerd III	(MP Yazdgird III)

CALIPHS

Orthodox or Rightly-Guided Caliphs

632–634 (11–13 A.H.):	*Abu Bakr
634–644 (13–23 A.H.):	*'Umar I b. Khattab
644–656 (35–40 A.H.):	*'Uthman b. 'Affan
656–661 (35–40 A.H.):	*'Ali b. Abi Talib

'Umayyad Caliphs

661–680 (41–60 A.H.):	*Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan
680–683 (60–64 A.H.):	*Yazid I b. Mu'awiya
683 (64 A.H.):	Mu'awiya II
684–685 (64–65 A.H.):	*Marwan I b. al-Hakam
685–705 (65–86 A.H.):	*'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān
705–715 (86–69 A.H.):	al-*Walid I b. 'Abd al-Malik
715–717 (96–99 A.H.):	*Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik
717–720 (99–101 A.H.):	*'Umar II b. 'Abd al-'Aziz
720–724 (101–105 A.H.):	*Yazid II b. 'Abd al-Malik
724–743 (105–125 A.H.):	*Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik
743–44 (125–126 A.H.):	al-*Walid II b. Yazid
744 (126 A.H.):	*Yazid III b. al-Walid
744 (126 A.H.):	Ibrahim
744–749/750 (127–32 A.H.):	*Marwan II al-Himar

BISHOPS OF THE FIVE GREAT PATRIARCHAL SEES

Listed in alphabetical order of bishopric

See of Alexandria	1629
See of Antioch	1631
See of Constantinople	1633
See of Jerusalem	1635
See of Rome	1636

SEE OF ALEXANDRIA

247/48–264/65:	*Dionysius
264/65–82:	Maximus
282–28 December 300:	Theonas
300–26 November 311:	*Peter (martyr)
312	Achilas
313?–17 April 328:	Alexander
8 June 328–2 May 373:	*Athanasius
373–80:	Peter II

***Homoeans*:**

336/338:	Pistos
339/41–344/48:	Gregory
357–61:	*George of Cappadocia (lynched)
365 and again 375–8:	Lucius

380–4:	Timothy I
384–412:	*Theophilus
412–44:	*Cyril of Alexandria
444–51	*Dioscourus (deposed at *Chalcedon, d. 454)
451–7:	*Proterius
457–60:	*Timothy II Aelurus 'the Cat' (Miaphysite)
460–75:	Timothy II Salofaciolus 'of the White Turban' (Chalcedonian)
475–7:	Timothy II Aelurus (Miaphysite) again
477:	Peter III Mongus 'the Hoarse' (Miaphysite)
477–82:	Timothy II Salofaciolus (Chalcedonian) again
482	John I Talaia (Chalcedonian)
482–9:	Peter III Mongus (Miaphysite) again
489–96:	Athanasius II Kelletes (Miaphysite)
496–505:	John I (Miaphysite)
505–16:	John II (Miaphysite)
516–17:	Dioscurus II (Miaphysite)
517–35:	Timothy III (Miaphysite)

Chalcedonian (*Melkite) Patriarchs

537–40:	Paul the Tabennesiote
540–51:	Zoïlus
551–70:	Apollinarius
570–80:	John II
581–607:	*Eulogius
608–9:	John Scribo
610–619/20:	*John the Almsgiver 'Elymosinarius'
620?–30?	George

630/1–21 March 642: *Cyrus al-Muqawqas (Monothelete, *PBE* 1, Kyros 2)
642–51: Peter III (*PBE* Petros 144)
Topoteretes (representative):
in 655: Theodore (*PBE* 1, Theodoros 51)
in 680: Peter (*PBE* 1 Petros 17), bishop in 692
742–68: Cosmas (*PBE* 1 Kosmas 3)

Coptic (Miaphysite) Patriarchs

535–67: Theodosius
Julianists (*Aphthartodocetae*, *followers of *Julian of Halicarnassus*)
535: Gaïnas
?–565: Elpidius
565–*c.*580: Dorotheus
575–87: Theodore (not widely recognized)
575–78: Peter IV
578–607: Damian
607–19: Anastasius
619–26: Andronicus
626–65: Benjamin
634: Menas (Julianist)
665–81: Agathon
681–9: John III
690–2: Isaac
692–700: Simon I
*c.*695: Theodore (Julianist)
704/5–29: *Alexander II
729–30: Cosmas
730–42: Theodore II
743–67: Michael I

SEE OF ANTIOCH

*c.*240–51:	Babylas
251–3:	Fabius
253–*c.*260:	Demetrianus
*c.*260–268/9:	Paul of Samosata
268/9–*c.*273:	Domnus
*c.*273–279/80:	Timaeus
279/80–303:	Cyril I
304–*c.*314:	Tyrranus
*c.*314–320:	Vitalis
320–4:	Philogonus
323/4–327/8:	*Eustathius (deposed, d. before 337)
330:	Paulinus of *Tyre
331–2:	Eulalius
332–3:	Euphronius
333–42?:	Flacillus
342–4:	Stephen I
344–58:	Leontius
358–9:	Eudoxius
359:	Annaias
360–81:	Meletius
Intruders	
360–76:	Euzoius (*Homoean)
362–88:	Paulinus III (Nicene)
375?:	Vitalis (Apollinarian)
376–81:	Dorotheus (Homoean
381–404:	Flavian (successor to Meletius)
388–92/3:	Evagrius (successor to Paulinus III)
404–14?:	Porphyry
414–24:	Alexander
424–8:	Theodotus
429–441/2:	John I
441/2–49:	Domnus II
450–5:	Maximus I
459–71:	Martyrius
471:	*Peter the Fuller
471–5:	Julian I
475–7:	Peter the Fuller (again)
479–2:	Stephen II and III
482–4:	Calandion
485–8:	Peter the Fuller (again)
488–98:	Palladius

498–512:	Flavian II
512–18:	*Severus

Chalcedonian (*Melkite) Patriarchs

519–21:	Paul II
521–6:	Euphrasius bar Malaha
527–45:	*Ephrem of *Amida
545–59:	Domninus III
559–70:	Anastasius I
570–93:	Gregory I
593–8:	Anastasius I (again)
598–609:	Anastasius II
609–39:	*Sedes vacans*
639–49:	Macedonius (*PBE* Makedonios 1)
?:	George I (*PBE* Georgios 251 or Georgios 7)
?–681:	Macarius (*PBE* Makarios 1)
681–?:	Theophanes (*PBE* Theophanes 5)
?–685:	Thomas (*PBE* Thomas 65)
685?–700:	George II (*PBE* Georgios 16)
742/3–744/5:	Stephen III (*PBE* Stephanos 9)
744–51:	Theophylact Bar-Quanbara (*PBE* Theophylaktos 5)

Syrian Orthodox (*Miaphysite, Jacobite) Patriarchs

557/8–*c.*561:	Sergus of *Constantia-Tella
564–81:	Paul the Black
581–91:	Peter of *Callinicum
591–94:	Julian I
595–631:	Athanasius the Camel-Driver
631–48:	John I
649–67:	Theodore
668–680/84:	Severus
684–7:	Athanasius II
687–708:	Julian II
709–22:	Elijah
724–40:	Athanasius III
740–54:	John II

SEE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

314–37:	Alexander (formerly Bishop of Byzantium)
337–50:	Paul of Constantinople (exiled 337–41, 342–6, 349–50, killed 350)
337–41:	*Eusebius of *Nicomedia
342–60:	*Macedonius I
360–79:	Eudoxius of *Antioch
370–9:	Demophilus
379–81:	*Gregory of *Nazianzus
381–97:	Nectarius
398–404:	*John Chrysostom
404–5:	Arsacius
406–25	Atticus
426–7:	Sisinnius I
428–31:	*Nestorius
431–4:	Maximian
434–46:	*Proclus
446–9	Flavianus
449–58	Anatolius
458–71:	Gennadius I
472–89:	Acacius
489–90:	Fravitta
490–6:	Euphemius
496–511:	*Macedonius II
511–18:	Timothy I
518–20:	John II the Cappadocian
520–35:	Epiphanius
535–6:	Anthimus I
536–52:	Menas
552–65:	Eutychius
565–77:	John III Scholasticus
577–82:	Eutychius (again)
582–95:	John IV the Faster
595–606:	Cyriacus
607–10:	Thomas I
610–38:	Sergius I
638–41:	Pyrrhus (*PBE* Pyrrhos 1)
641–53:	Paul II (*PBE* Paulos 2)
654:	Pyrrhus (again) (*PBE* Pyrrhos 1)
654–66:	Peter (*PBE* Petros 2)
667–9:	Thomas II (*PBE* Thomas 2)
669–75:	John V (*PBE* Ioannes 2)
675–7:	Constantine I (*PBE* Konstantinos 3)

677–9:	Theodore I (*PBE* Theodoros 4)
679–86:	George I (*PBE* Georgios 1)
686–7:	Theodore I (again) (*PBE* Theodoros 4)
688–94:	Paul III (*PBE* Paulos 3)
694–705/6:	Callinicus I (*PBE* Kallinikos 2)
705/6–712:	Cyrus (*PBE* Kyros 1)
712–15:	John VI (*PBE* Ioannes 4)
715–30:	Germanos I (*PBE* Germanos 8)
730–54:	Anastasius (*PBE* Anastasios 2)

SEE OF JERUSALEM

after 212–250/1:	Alexander (died in prison)
250/1–after 260:	Mazabanes
after 260–*c.*298:	Hymenaeus
*c.*298–300:	Zabdas
300–*c.*313	Hermon (Hermas)
*c.*313–333/4:	Macarius I
333/4–*c.*350:	Maximus II
*c.*350:	Heraclius
*c.*350–387:	*Cyril
387–417:	*John II
417–22:	Praulius
*c.*422–458:	*Juvenal
451/2–453:	Theodosius (d. 457)
458–78:	Anastasius I
478–86:	Martyrius
486–94:	Sallustius
494–516:	Elijah I (Chalcedonian, d. 518)
516–24:	John III
524–52:	Peter
544–52:	Macarius II (Origenist)
552–63/4:	Eustochius
564–74:	Macarius II (again)
575–94:	John IV
594–601:	Amos
601–9:	Isaac
609–32:	Zacharias (in exile 614–628)
*c.*614–628:	Modestus (appointed under Persian rule)
632–4:	Modestus (during Zacharias's exile)
634–8:	*Sophronius
638–?:	*sedes vacans*
Toporetes in 681	Theodore (*PBE* Theodorus 23)
by 692–705:	Anastasius II (*PBE* Anastasios 13
705–35:	John V (*PBE* Ioannes 532)
752/4–767+:	Theodore I (*PBE* Theodoros 12)

SEE OF ROME

236–50:	Fabian (martyr)
251–23:	Cornelius
253–4:	Lucius
254–7:	Stephen
257–8:	Sixtus (Xystus) II (martyr)
260–8:	Dionysius
269–273/4:	Felix I
274/5–282/3:	Eutychius
282/3–295/6:	Gaius
295/6–304:	Marcellinus (*traditor*)
306–8:	Marcellus (exiled)
308:	Eusebius
308:	Heraclius (rigorist; exiled)
308–11:	*sedes vacans*
311–14:	Miltiades
314–35:	*Silvester
336:	Mark
337–52:	Julius
352–66:	*Liberius (exiled 355–7)
355–7:	Felix (II) (d. 365)
366–84:	*Damasus
366–7:	Ursinus
384–99:	Siricius
399–401:	Anastasius I
402–17:	Innocent I
417–18:	Boniface I
418–19:	Eulalius
422–32:	Celestine I
432–40:	Sixtus III
440–61:	*Leo I
461–8:	Hilarius
468–83:	Simplicius
483–92:	Felix III (II)
492–6:	*Gelasius
496–8:	Anastasius II
498–514:	*Symmachus
498–9 and 501–6:	*Laurentius
514–23:	*Hormisdas
523–6:	*John I
526–30:	Felix IV (III)
530–2:	Boniface II
530:	Dioscorus

533–5:	John II
535–6:	*Agapetus I (*PLRE* III, Agapetus 1)
536–7:	Silverius
537–55:	*Vigilius (*PLRE* II, Vigilius 4)
556–61:	*Pelagius I
561–74:	John III
575–9:	Benedict I
579–90:	*Pelagius II
590–604:	*Gregory I the Great (*PLRE* III, Gregorius 5)
604–6:	Sabinianus
607:	Boniface III
608–15:	Boniface IV
615–18:	Deodatus I or Deusdedit
619–25:	Boniface V
625–38:	*Honorius I
638–40:	Severinus (*PBE* Severinus 1—*sic*)
640–2:	John IV (*PBE* Ioannes 533)
642–9:	Theodore I (*PBE* Theodoros 49)
649–55:	*Martin I (*PBE* Martinos 6)
654–7:	Eugenius I (*PBE* Eugenios 5)
657–72:	*Vitalian (*PBE* Bitalianos 3)
672–6:	Deodatus II (*PBE* Adeodatos 3)
676–8:	Domnus I (*PBE* Donos 2)
678–81:	Agatho (*PBE* Agatho 1)
682–3:	Leo II (*PBE* Leo 16)
684–5:	Benedict II (*PBE* Benediktos 3)
685–6:	John V (*PBE* Ioannes 31)
686–7:	Conon (*PBE* Konon 10)
687–701:	Sergius I (*PBE* Sergios 30)
701–5:	John VI (*PBE* Ioannes 227)
705–7:	John VII (*PBE* Ioannes 228)
708:	Sisinnius (*PBE* Sisinnios 35)
708–15:	Constantine (*PBE* Konstantinos 136)
715–31:	Gregory II (*PBE* Gregorios 72)
731–41:	Gregory III (*PBE* Gregorios 7)
741–52:	*Zacharias (*PBE* Zacharias 16)